Gal 1 D g

AN Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF GREAT BRITAIN, CHIEFLY OF ENGLAND:

From the FIRST PLANTING of
CHRISTIANITY, in this ISLAND,
With a Brief ACCOUNT of the
AFFAIRS of RELIGION in *IRELAND*.

Collected from the beſt Ancient HISTORIANS,
COUNCILS, and RECORDS.

Ro: **VOL. II.** Chapman

Beginning at the Reign of King *HENRY* VIII. and continued to the
Death of King *CHARLES* II.

By *JEREMY* COLLIER, M. A.

Nec Studio, nec Odio.

LONDON:
Printed for **SAMUEL KEBLE** at the *Turk's-head* in *Fleetſtreet*, **RICHARD SARE** at
Grays-inn-gate, *Holbourn*, **JOHN NICHOLSON** at the *Queen's-arms* in *Little Britain*,
BENJAMIN TOOKE at the *Middle-temple-gate* in *Fleetſtreet*, **DANIEL MIDWINTER**
at the *Three Crowns* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, **GEORGE STRAHAN** at the *Golden-*
ball in *Cornhill*, and **MAURICE ATKINS** at the *Golden-ball* in St. *Paul's Church-*
yard. MDCCXIV.

11

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE
PREFACE.

THIS Second Volume acquaints the Reader with no ſmall Revolution in the Belief, and Worſhip, in the Revenues, and Juriſdiction of the Church: This Matter, not carried at firſt without Oppoſition, and deſcending in the Conſequences upon after Ages, muſt of Courſe be differently receiv'd. I'm ſenſible a Subject of ſo nice and weighty an Importance, can't be undertaken without ſtanding ſome Hazard. When Mens Opinions are conteſted, when they are not entertain'd in their Humour, nor carreſs'd in their imagined Intereſt, they are apt to grow diſconcerted, and run out into Cenſure. But a Church Hiſtorian eſpecially, ought to be proof againſt Attacks of this kind. His Buſineſs is neither to take too much Freedom with the Dead, *nor be Over-aw'd by the* Living. *Caution in Exceſs, Affectation of Popularity, and Mercenary Regards, are dangerous Qualities: He that* ſeeks to pleaſe Men, *upon theſe Motives,* cannot be the Servant of Chriſt. †

On the other Hand, where Truth and publick Service will give Leave, gentle Uſage, and ſmooth Report, are clearly to be preferr'd. A proſecuting Manner, *when unſeaſonably indulg'd, is an argument of Prejudice, and ill Nature; tends only to give Diſguſt, and provoke to Repriſals. A* Writer, *who without Neceſſity, bears hard on the* Credit *of others, takes the likelieſt Methods to raiſe a Party upon his own. I hope there will be no juſt occaſion for a Charge in this* Article. *But profeſſions of Candour are, it may be, to little purpoſe. The* Criticks *are ſometimes diſpos'd to over-look the Evidence, to preſs into the Dark, to conjecture beyond Appearance, and pronounce unkindly upon the Mind and Intention. I muſt confeſs an* Authors *Fate lies too much at*

---

† Gal. 1. 10.

Mercy this way, were it not for the Relief of an Appeal to a Higher Court.

To qualify my ſelf for the following Undertaking, I have look'd out for the beſt Materials: *And had the good Fortune to ſucceed in this preparatory Search. I receiv'd the Favor of free Acceſs to the publick* Repoſitories *of* Records: *Some worthy Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, have likewiſe oblig'd me with very valuable* Remains *in Manuſcript. The* Places, *and* Perſons *are inſerted in the* Margin, *which I mention here by way of Acknowledgment.*

Some Prints *I have made uſe of, are upon the Score of their ſcarceneſs, no leſs Curioſities than thoſe Unpubliſh'd. And of this the firſt* Common-Prayer *drawn up in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth, might have paſs'd for an Inſtance. But about half a Year after I had gone thro' a ſhort Defence of this* Service, *and tranſcrib'd the* Communion Office, *a Book intituled, The* Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order, &c. *appear'd in Print.* † *In this* Treatiſe *as I am inform'd, (for as yet I have not given my ſelf the Satisfaction of peruſing it,) ſome part of that* Common-Prayer *is publiſh'd. As to this, I muſt ſay, I knew nothing of the learned Authors Deſign: Neither was I acquainted with his having vindicated the* Euchariſtick Sacrifice, *'till I had finiſh'd my Remarks upon that Subject.*

† London An. 1711.

As the main Points in Difference, between the Churches of Rome *and* England *came up, I have endeavor'd in both Parts of this* Hiſtory, *to juſtify the* Reformation *of the latter.*

And here it may be obſerv'd the Council *of* Trent *conven'd in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth, has diſſerv'd the Union of Chriſtendom. For the purpoſe; This* Synod *has decreed diſputable Doctrines into Articles of* Faith. *And whereas before, either ſide of the Queſtion might have been held without Cenſure; Now, that Liberty is gone; and every one is oblig'd to come up to the Terms of the* Council. *Amongſt theſe Miſfortunes may be reckon'd, their ſetting* Scripture *and* Tradition *upon an equal Foot of Authority, and extending the* Canon *to the* Apocrypha. † *Pope* Pius *the Fourths Creed will furniſh ſomewhat farther. Thus inſtead of* Relaxing, *they have drawn the*

† Father Paul's *Hiſt. of the Council of* Trent. Du Pin's *New Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Cent. 16. Vol. 2.

Knot cloſer, thrown in new difficulties, and made the conditions of Communion more ſhocking and impracticable.

In the Courſe of this Work *I had occaſion to take notice that one Queſtion of no ſmall Importance, does not properly lie within the Cogniſance of the* long Robe. *But in this Remark I meant no abatement of regard to that* Profeſſion. *The Law is a very uſeful, and creditable Employment. It requires Induſtry and cloſe Thinking: And without natural Fund, Time, and Application, there's little Progreſs to be expected. I heartily wiſh the Clergy would imitate their Predeceſſors, and make it more of their Study. In my humble Opinion,* Cokes Inſtitutes, *would be better Furniture than* Calvin's Inſtitutions: *And the reading the* Statute Book *much more ſerviceable than ſome* Syſtems *of* Dutch Divinity. *The Jewiſh Prieſts underſtood* Property, *and Pleas of the* Crown. † *The* Pontifical *College of the old Romans were Famous for Attainments of this kind.* † *And ſo were the Engliſh Church-men in former Ages: Were this Cuſtom reviv'd in thoſe of that Function, they might meet with an encouraging Return: A moderate Improvement in this Knowledge, would guard their Intereſt, oblige their Pariſh, and ſtrengthen their Character. Neither would this be any Encroachment on a Foreign Employment; any interloping upon the* Inns *of Court: For the* Conſtitution *is no Incloſure: 'Tis deſign'd for common Benefit: And as King* James I. *juſtly obſerves, every Subject ought to underſtand the Laws under which he lives.* †

† Deut. 17. Deut. 21.

† Gutherius, de jure Veter. Pontific.

† Wentworths *Office of Executors.* Pref.

When the firſt Part *of this* Hiſtory *was finiſh'd, only Five* Tomes *of the* Tower Records *were publiſh'd by Mr.* Rymer, *which I then made uſe of: But now that number is encreas'd to Fourteen. And ſince moſt of theſe* Collections *fall ſhort of the Reign of King* Henry VIII. *a brief Account, I conceive, of what's moſt remarkable, may not be amiſs.*

In the firſt Place, I ſhall tranſcribe King Edward III. *Licence to the Biſhop of* London *for Impriſoning an Heretick; and keeping him in ſafe Cuſtody, 'till he ſhould recant his Miſperſwaſion, and return to the* Belief *of the Church.*

Rex venerabili in Chriſto Patri S. eadem Gratia Epiſcopo Londoniæ Salutem. †

† An. 45. E. 3. Fœdera, Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 6. *p.* 651.

Quia accepimus per Inquiſitionem veſtram quod Ni-

cholaus de Drayton veſtræ Diœceſis ſuper Erroribus contra Articulos Fidei Catholicæ, populo noſtro, in diverſis locis in Diœceſi veſtræ, per ipſum Publicatis, coram vobis congrue convictus, & pro Hæretico Adjudicatus exiſtit; quodque in ſuo Errore nephando, animo indurato, nequiter perſeverans, ad Fidei Catholicæ unitatem redire non curavit, nec curat in præſenti, licet ſæpius ad hoc excitatus, & inductus, ſententiam majoris Excommunicationis in hac parte incurrendo, in Animæ ſuæ grave periculum, & plurimorum pernicioſum exemplum.

Cum igitur Sancta Mater Eccleſia ita tales Hæreticos proſequitur ne ſuo veneno alios inficiant, ut in Carceribus cuſtodiri præcipiat.

Super quo nobis ſupplicaſtis, ut vobis dictum Nicholaum carcerali cuſtodiæ veſtræ mancipare, & ipſum in carcere veſtro cuſtodire, quouſque errorem ſuum hujuſmodi nephandum revocaverit, & ad Fidei Catholicæ Unitatem redire voluerit, Licentiam in hac parte ſpecialem concedere dignemur; nos Supplicationi veſtræ prædictæ gratanter concedentes, ad ipſum Nicholaum Hæreticum carcerali cuſtodiæ veſtræ mancipare, & ipſum in carcere veſtro cuſtodiri faciendum, quouſque dictum errorem ſuum revocaverit, & ad Fidei Catholicæ unitatem redire voluerit, quantum in nobis eſt, Licentiam concedimus ſpecialem. In cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium viceſimo die Martii.

From this Licence 'tis plain 'twas not the Cuſtom of the Church of England *to go to Extremities with Hereticks, to move for capital Puniſhment, and deliver them over to Fire and Faggot. The common Method in the* Spiritual *Courts was to carry their Diſcipline no farther than Impriſonment. When any Perſon was convicted of Hereſy, the Biſhop petition'd the* Crown *for leave to confine the Criminal in the Priſon of the Dioceſe; which it ſeems the* Ordinary *could not have done without ſuch an Authority. This Impriſonment was to continue during Life, unleſs the Perſon renounc'd his Heterodoxy; in which caſe he was* rectus in Curia, *and reſtor'd to his Liberty; I grant the learned* Fitz-

Herbert, *affirms* Burning *was the Puniſhment for Hereſy by the Common Law.* † *But then, as far as it appears, this Rigor was never executed 'till after the* Statute *againſt the* Lollards. †

To proceed: The Kings of England *prior to the* Reformation, *were not unmindful to guard their* Crown *againſt* Papal *Encroachments. Upon this view* James Dardain *the Popes* Collector *was oblig'd to give King* Richard II. *the Security of an Oath at the* Council Board. *I ſhall Tranſlate the Subſtance of this Solemn Engagement. He Swears to* be True and Faithful to our Sovereign Lord the King: Neither to do, or ſuffer, as far as in him lies, any thing to the prejudice of his Highneſs, any thing that might be detrimental to the Realm, or over-bear the Laws, and publick Cuſtoms. That he would keep the King's Secrets from all Perſons Living: That he would neither execute, nor ſuffer the Execution, of any of the Popes Mandates, to the diſadvantage of his Majeſty, of his Prerogative, his Laws, or his Realm.

That upon his receiving any Letters from his *Holineſs or the Conclave*, he will bring them to *the Privy Council*, before he had either publiſh'd or ſhew'd them to any Perſon Living. That he would export no Mony, or Plate, out of *England*, nor make any remittances by Bills of Exchange, without ſpecial *Licence* from the King, or his Council. That he would ſend no Letters to Foreign Parts, to the King's Diſſervice.

That he would begin no New Practice, either with Foreign Authority, or without it, unleſs impower'd by his Majeſty's ſpecial Licence for that purpoſe. And in caſe he receiv'd any ſuch Commiſſion, he would lay it in the firſt place before the King, or his *Council. And laſtly,* that he would not convey himſelf out of the Kingdom without his Majeſty's Licence under the Broad Seal. †

The Year following, the King in his Writs, *directed to the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, takes notice the Pope had attempted to Tax the Engliſh Clergy; and order'd the Biſhops to aſſiſt in levying the Mony. His Majeſty* complains of this, as a New and Unwarrantable Impoſition, that the Parliament had

addreſs'd

† See Vol. 1. of this Hiſt. p. 615.

† Ibid p. 618. 2 H. 4. c. 15.

† *Conventiones Acta publica, &c. Tom. 7. p.* 603.

addreſs'd him upon this Head, and made a *Proviſion* againſt ſuch Demands. He therefore requires the Lords Spiritual, under the higheſt Forfeitures, to deſiſt from executing the Popes Bull, and not contribute themſelves in the leaſt proportion for that purpoſe. †

† Id. p. 644. 13 R. 2.

The laſt thing I ſhall obſerve under this Prince, is his Majeſty's Writ *iſſued to the High Sheriff of* Devonſhire, “ *and to* “ *the Mayor, and Bayliffs of* Exeter, *to ſupport the* Chapter “ *of that* See *in the free Choice of a Biſhop: And that thoſe who* “ *diſturb the Election; ſhould be Committed. This Order was ſent to prevent the Popes* Proviſion *from taking Place.* †

† Id. p. 792. 18 R. 2.

Henry IV. *in the firſt Year of his Adminiſtration; reſtores Thirty Two* Priories *belonging to French Monaſteries, which had (ſome of them at leaſt) been alienated by King* Edward III. *But Eight Years afterwards, with the Aſſent of the* Privy Council, *he Seiz'd the Revenues of the* Priors Aliens, *for the expence of his Houſhold.* †

† Conventiones Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 8. p. 101. and p. 510.

To go on in the order of Time, it may not be improper to acquaint the Reader *that the Proceſs againſt Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *and the Tenents of this Gentleman, tranſlated from* Walſingham *in my firſt* Volume, *agrees with the* Record *of that matter enter'd upon the* Regiſter *at* Lambeth. *

See 1 Part of this Hiſtory p. 650.
* Regiſt. Chichely p. 2.

King Henry V. *Orders that all Biſhops* Elect *ſhould be* confirm'd *by their* Metropolitans, *during the vacancy of the* See *of* Rome. *The* Inſtrument *ſets forth, that conſidering the preſent* Schiſm, *their waiting for the Choice of another Pope, was a dangerous Expedient: That all the Biſhopricks in* England *might poſſibly be come void by ſuch delays. And that* Metropolitans *confirming their* Suffragans, *while the Apoſtolical* Chair *ſtood* empty, *was a cuſtomary Practiſe in other Countries.* *

* Conventiones Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 9. p. 337.

The Council *of* Conſtance *was held in this Reign: At this* Synod, *the King's Ambaſſadors, and the other* Engliſh *Repreſentatives, got the following* Reformation *paſs'd by the* Fathers, *and confirm'd by Pope* Martin V. *The* Articles *point only upon Diſcipline.*

And firſt 'twas agreed that “ *the honour of the* Cardinalate “ *ſhould not be laviſhly beſtow'd: That this diſtinction ſhould be*

" *conſin'd to a moderate number: That the Church might not be*
" *over-burthen'd, nor the Dignity grow cheap, by making the* Col-
" lege *too full. And that Cardinals ſhould be indifferently choſen*
" *out of all Chriſtendom by the Majority of that* Order.

The reſt of the Articles *relate wholly to the Churches of* England, Wales, *and* Ireland.

The foremoſt ſets forth, " *That* Indulgences *and Faculties be-*
" *ing too plentifully granted by the Apoſtolick* See, *for Abſolving*
" *thoſe who* offer'd, *at particular Places for Devotion; ſeveral*
" *People took the Liberty to run Riot with leſs Reſtraint: To Slight*
" *their proper Paſtors; to ramble from their Pariſh in* Pilgrimage,
" *after theſe celebrated* Indulgences, *and refuſe paying the Du-*
" *ties at* Home *in Tythes, and Oblations.*

To remedy this Grievance; " *The* Dioceſans *are impower'd*
" *to inſpect theſe* Licences, *with Authority to ſupercede ſuch as*
" *are ſcandalous, and ſolicite the Pope for a Revocation.*

" 2*ly, That for the future, no Appropriations ſhall be made,*
" *unleſs the Suggeſtions reported are approved by the Biſhop, who*
" *is to enquire into the Truth, and ſufficiency of them. And* Livings
" *appropriated upon frivolous, and undue Motives, ſhould be re-*
" *ſtor'd to their former condition by the* Ordinary.

" 3*ly, That all Unions, Appropriations, and Conſolidations of*
" *perpetual Vicarages, made ſince the* Schiſm, *ſhall be revok'd*
" *without exception, and perpetual Vicars competently endow'd for*
" *Maintenance and Hoſpitality, ſettled by the* Ordinary.

" 4*ly, That all Privileges of wearing* Miter *and* Sandals,
" *and ſuch Epiſcopal Diſtinctions, granted the Inferior Prelates,* †
" *ſince the Death of Pope* Gregory XI. *ſhall be recall'd.*

† Some Abbots.

" 5*ly, That tho' plurality of Benefices ſtand cenſur'd by the* Ca-
" nons, *and Diſpenſations can't be fairly given, (excepting to Per-*
" *ſons diſtinguiſh'd by Birth, or Learning;) theſe Favors however,*
" *are not ſeldom improperly indulg'd: 'Tis provided therefore that*
" *this practice ſhall ceaſe; and the Regulations of the* Council
" *take Place: But as touching Retroſpections to be made by the*
" Ordinary, *they were to be ſo manag'd, that nothing done, ſhould*
" *be unſettled, Inſtances of ſcandal excepted.*

" 6*ly, That of late eſpecially, ſeveral* Incumbents *have pro-*
" *cur'd* Diſpenſations *from the Pope, ſometimes for Seven Years,*
" *ſometimes during Life, to excuſe them from entering into ſuch*
" Orders *as are requiſite to qualify them for their Function: And*
" *that the Church ſuffer'd very much by ſuch Relaxations.*

" *To prevent theſe occaſions of* Scandal, *all ſuch* Diſpenſa-
" tions *were to be cancell'd, the Beneficed Perſons put under the*

“ *Direction of the* Canons, *and oblig'd to take proper* Orders, *provided they were furniſh'd for that purpoſe.*

“ *7ly, That ſince upon the ſcore of* Diſpenſations *being ſometimes granted by the Apoſtolick* See *for Nonreſidency, and for enabling Archdeacons to make their* Viſitations *by* Proxy; *the Cure of Souls is neglected, and the Epiſcopal Authority fallen under Contempt.*

“ *'Tis therefore Decreed, that no ſuch* Diſpenſations *ſhall be granted without expreſs mention of a warrantable conſideration: And that his* Holineſs *ſhall ſend the* Ordinaries *a Commiſſion to call in ſuch* Diſpenſations *as have been gain'd upon unreaſonable Suggeſtions.*

“ *8ly, That all* Faculties *granted by the Court of* Rome, *to any of the Monaſtick* Order *for holding Benefices, either with Cure or without; that all ſuch Faculties not executed, and driven to Effect, ſhall be Revok'd: And that no ſuch Liberty ſhall be indulg'd for the future.*

“ *9ly, and laſtly, That the* Engliſh, *in caſe they are qualified, ſhall be admitted to Preferments in the Court of* Rome, *and ſtand upon an equal Foot of Regard with other Nations.*

This Reformation *was entred upon the* Regiſter *in the Popes* Chancery, *exemplified by his* Holineſſes *Order, and atteſted by the Officers of that* Court. †

† Ex Biblioth. Cotton Tiberius B. 6. Fol. 32. An. Dom. 1419.

To proceed, King Henry VI. *at the requeſt of Two Ciſtertian Abbots,* William de Claravelle, *and* John de Theoloc; *gives them a Commiſſion to* viſit *all the Monks of their* Order *in* England, Wales, *and* Ireland. *They are impower'd to enquire into the management of the* Religious, *to exert the Diſcipline of the* Rule *upon Miſbehavior, and bring up practice to the* Inſtitution. †

An. 10. H. 6. An. Dom. 1432.

† Conventiones Acta publica, &c. Tom. 10. p. 501.

This Authority ſeems an unuſual Inſtance of the Regale: *For in the Reign of King* Henry VIII. *who ſeldom ſlept over his Prerogative, Cardinal* Woolſey *receiv'd a* Bull *from* Clement VII. *for this purpoſe,* † *'Tis probable therefore theſe Abbots might be Commiſſionated by the Pope for their* Viſitation. *But to move with more Force and Expedition, they applied to the* Crown *for the Concurrence of the* Civil *Magiſtrate: For by the* Inſtrument, *all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs,* &c. *are commanded to aſſiſt them.*

† Id. Tom. 14. p. 18.

The next thing I ſhall obſerve, is a Royal Licence *granted to* Robert, Gilbert Elect *of* London, *either to go, or ſend to* Rome *for the* Confirmation *of his Election. Such Applications to the Pope were then the cuſtomary Practiſe: But the* Licence *looks more like Favor, than common Right. For by the Form we may conjecture, the King might have denyed it.* †

† Conventiones Acta publica, &c. Tom. 10. p. 636.

In the Vacancy of the See *of* Lincoln, *the* Chapter *Choſe* William *Biſhop of* Norwich *for that Dioceſe: Upon this, the King wrote to* Eugenius IV. *for leave, that the Biſhop of* Norwich *might quit his Biſhoprick, and remove to* Lincoln. † *From whence we may Collect that the* Tranſlation *of Biſhops was part of the Claim of the Court of* Rome.

In the Nineteenth Year of this Government, the King conveys all Mannours and Eſtates of the Priories Alien *then in the* Crown, *to* Henry *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, John *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, John *Biſhop of St.* Aſaph, *and* William *Biſhop of* Sarum, *To* William *Earl of* Suffolk, *To* John Somerſeth, Thomas Beckington, Richard Andrewe, Adam Moleyns, Clerks, *To* John Hampton, James Fenys, *and* William Treſham *Eſquires. The Lands, Rents, Reverſions,* &c. *belonging to theſe* Priories *are paſs'd to the Perſons abovemention'd their Heirs and Aſſigns: They were oblig'd to do Fealty for anſwering the* King *all Services and Demands which might legally be requir'd.* †

From hence 'tis plain there were Reſervations in the Grant: To ſpeak clearly, the Conveyance was probably nothing more than making them Truſtees *for transferring theſe Eſtates upon publick Benefactions, as the* Reader *may diſcover in the following* Hiſtory.

Twenty Years forward, this Prince gives Franciſcus de Coppinis Pius II. Legate, *a Licence to accept any Biſhoprick in* England, *to which this Pope, or his Succeſſors, ſhould* provide *him, excepting the* Sees *of* Canterbury, York, Lincoln, Wincheſter, Durham, *and* Bath *and* Wells. †

From this Reſtraint it may be obſerv'd. Firſt, That the Popes had no arbitrary ſway in diſpoſing Spiritual Preferments. 2ly, By the Order in which the reſerv'd Sees *are mention'd, we may Collect that* Lincoln, *and* Bath *and* Wells *tho' ſlenderly Endow'd at preſent, were then very Wealthy Biſhopricks.*

In the Tenth Year of King Henry VII. *Pope* Alexander VI. *iſſued Two* Bulls *for ſuppreſſing the* Priories *of* Montisfont *in the Dioceſe of* Wincheſter, *and* Luffeild *in the Dioceſe of* Lincoln. *The reaſon aſſign'd for diſſolving theſe* Houſes, *is the decay of the Revenues; the firſt being able to maintain but Four, and the other but Three* Religious. *The Diſſolution was granted at the King's Requeſt: And the* Crown *impower'd by the* Bull, *to erect* Montisfont *into a Collegiate Church, conſiſting of a Dean and Prebendaries, and ſettle the Revenues of* Luffeild *on the Chappel,* Chantry, *and Hoſpital, of St.* Georges *at* Windſor. †

This Year Laurence Burelly *a Frenchman,* Provincial *of the* Carmelites, *and deputed by the* General *to* Viſit *the* Engliſh *of that*

† Id. p. 645.

† Id. p. 802.

† Conventiones Acta Publica, &c. Tom 11. p. 468.

† Conventiones, Acta publica, &c. Tom. 12. p. 562, 3.

that Order, *procures a Licence from the King to Execute his Commiſſion. But 'twas upon condition that he attempts nothing to the King's Prejudice, nor Levies, or exports any Mony without his Majeſty's expreſs leave.* †

† Id. p. 574.

An. 19. H. 7.

† Conventiones Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 13. p. 100.

† Conventiones Acta publica &c. paſſim.

† Conventiones Acta publica &c. Tom. 13. p. 158.

This Prince got a Bull *from Pope* Julius II. *for exempting his Chappel at* Weſtminſter, *from the Juriſdiction of the* Ordinary, *and putting it under the immediate Protection of the* See *of* Rome. †

Through the Reigns prior to King Henry VIII. *the Cuſtody of the* Temporalties *of Biſhopricks were commonly granted to Biſhops, to Abbots, or Deans and* Chapters. † *This was done to prevent* Waſt, *and guard the Patrimony of the Church. And which deſerves to be remark'd; the King's ſometimes gave the Rents, and Profits, accruing in the* Vacancy, *to the ſucceeding Biſhop.* †

They conſider'd, 'tis likely, the Eſtates of the Church *were ſettled upon Religion, and veſted, as it were in God Almighty: And thus they might think that Seizure, and* Secular *Application, tho' but for a ſhort Interval, was breaking in upon the* Conſecration, *and foreign to the meaning of the Endowment.*

I am now advanc'd to the Period of the former Volume, *and ſhall Charge the* Preface *with no more* Records.

Since the Writing this Preface, *and when this Second Part was almoſt Printed off, Mr.* Rymer *Publiſh'd the Fifteenth Volume of the* Tower Records: *Having look'd over this Book, I ſhall Tranſcribe ſome things which I conceive more particularly Supplemental, and New to the* Reader.

An. Dom. 1546 Pat. 37. H. 8. p. 9. M. 28. Fœdera Conventiones, Literæ, &c. Vol. 15. p. 85.

The firſt I ſhall mention is the Grant from the Crown *of the Biſhoprick of the Iſle of* Man, *to* Henry Man *Doctor in Divinity. The moſt remarkable Part of the Inſtrument runs thus.* Eundem Henricum Man in Epiſcopum dicti Epiſcopatûs præficimus & deputamus, cum omnibus & ſingulis præfati Epiſcopatûs Commoditatibus, Juribus, & Emolumentis quibuſcunque, tam *Spiritualibus*, quam Temporalibus.

Curamque Regimen & Gubernationem, & Adminiſtrationem ejuſdem Epiſcopatus, & in eodem degentium, eidem Henrico in *Domino* committentes, & per preſentes committimus, &c. *The Biſhop is likewiſe diſcharg'd from the Payment of* Firſt Fruits, *and Tenths during Life.*

An. Dom. 1546.

This Volume *gives us a Copy of King* Henry VIII's. Will *Tranſcrib'd from the Original. It agrees with what I mention'd from* Fuller. *And the Sixteen Executors are the ſame.*

An. Dom. 1549. An. 3 Edw. 6. Pat. 3. p. 6. M. 28. Id. p. 181.

In the next Reign there's a Commiſſion iſſued to ſeveral Biſhops, Divines, and Secular Gentlemen, for enquiry into Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy: In this Proſecution the Cuſtomary Methods of Tryal are ſuperceded, the Forms of Law, diſpenc'd with, and if any Statutes happen to claſh with the Powers in the Commiſſion, *they are over-rul'd with a* non obſtante.

The Record ſhall be Tranſcrib'd at length.

Rex Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati, & Metropolitano, ac Reverendis in Chriſto Patribus, Thomæ Elienſi, Nicholao Wigornienſi, Thomæ Weſtmonaſterienſi, Georgio Ciceſtrenſi, Henrico Lincolnienſi, & Nicholao Roffenſi, Epiſcopis.

Prædilectiſque & Fidelibus Conſiliariis noſtris Willielmo Petre, Thomæ Smith, Militibus, ſecretariis noſtris: Dilectis nobis Richardo Coxe Elimoſinario noſtro, Antonio Cooke Militi, Jacobo Hales Militi, ſervientibus ad Legem. Willielmo Mey Decano Sancti Pauli, Johanni Taylour Decano Lincolniæ, Willielmo Cooke Decano de Arcubus, Simoni Haynes Decano Exon. Johanni Redman, Hugoni Latimer, Egidio Eyre, & ---- Tonge Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſoribus: ---- Crooke, Richardo Lyell, & Rolando Taillour, Legum Doctoribus: Johanni Goſnold Armigero, & Willielmo Cycill, Salutem.

Etſi Regibus quidem omnibus qui Chriſti nomen profitentur, nihil æquè incumbat ac Fidem Chriſtianam in ſuo populo, ac in Eccleſiis ſuæ Auctoritati Regiæ Subjectis, ſartam, tectam, atque Incolumem conſervare, nobis tamen qui Fidei Defenſor peculiari quodam, Titulo vocitamur, maximè præ cæteris curæ eſſe debet, ut non ſolum pro viribus annitamur ut Chriſti Religio quam puriſſimè atque integerrimè populo noſtro tradatur, verum etiam ut omni quâ poſſumus ratione caveamus ne Chriſti Adverſarius, ut eſt ſemper ad omnia corrumpenda paratus, noxium Hæreſios ſemen, & Labem malæ Doctrinæ clanculum in ſegetem Chriſtiani Populi, & hoc Arvum nobis Commiſſum ſeminet, ſed ſiquid fortè emerſerit tale, quod ſperamus Deum averſurum, ſaltem ut quam primum evellatur, ne latius ſerpens illud virus etiam ſanas & ſalubres partes corrumpat.

Et quoniam nos ipſi non poſſumus ad omnia ejuſmodi in noſtra perſona obeunda & curanda ſemper eſſe in otio & parati, & modò, ad chariſſimum Avunculum noſtrum Edvardum Ducem Somerſetiæ Gubernatorem perſonæ noſtræ Regiæ,& protectorem omnium Regnorum noſtrorum ac cæteros noſtros Conſiliarios perlatum eſt, exoriri in nonnullis Regni noſtri locis quoſdam qui reſuſcitant Sceleratos *Anabaptiſtarum* errores, & qui aliarum Hæreſium impia & impura Dogmata ſerunt & inſtillant in aures rudis vulgi & imperitæ plebis noſtræ, Mentes illis nefariis opinionibus infecerint, ut antequam illud venenum latius ſerpat, opportunum & neceſſarium Remedium pro facultate noſtra Regia adhibeamus.

De Conſilio & Adviſamento prædicto, vos ſelegimus, quibus hanc noſtram curam, & hoc tam neceſſarium munus extirpandæ, & reprimendæ Hæreſios committeremus.

Ad inquirendum igitur de omnibus Articulis Hæreſios cujuſcunque, & examinandum omnes Hæreſios, aut erroris in Chriſtiana Doctrina ſuſpectos, detectos, denuntiatos, inquiſitos, vel accuſatos.

Et quoſcunque Teſtes, aliaque probationum genera quæcunque, pro veritate præmiſſorum eruendâ, quomodolibet requiſita, recipiendum & admittendum Teſteſque hujuſmodi in forma jurandorum Teſtium jurandum & examinandum.

Ac omnibus aliis viis, modis & formis quibus melius & efficaciùs potetis, de veritate præmiſſorum etiam ſummariè & de plano, ac ſine ſtrepitu et figura Judicii, cognoſcendum inquirendum & inveſtigandum.

Et ſi per Examinationem & Inquiſitionem hujuſmodi, aliquem de alicujus Hæreſios, ſive impiæ opinionis crimine contractum & involutum eſſe deprehenderitis, ab erroribus ſuis revocandum eumque ſi errorum ſuorum pertæſum eſſe compereritis, ad errorum ſuorum hujuſmodi Abjurationem et Renunciationem inducendum. Et ſubſequenter in ſacro ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Gremium admittendum, aliàsve, pro ut Juris et Æquitatis ratio perſuaſerit, abſolvendum & dimittendum, Pœnitentiaſque ſalutares & condignas pro commiſſis infligendum et imponendum.

Pertinacem vero, et obſtinatum erroribus ſuis deſperatè immerſum, ſiquem deprehenderitis, ex cœtu Fidelium ejiciendum et exterminandum, ac ſæculari poteſtati, ſi ita Facti atrocitas expoſcat, committendum, tradendum et liberandum: Nec non omnes et ſingulos Rectores, Vicarios, Clericos, et Miniſtros Eccleſiaſticos quoſcunque, ac Laicos cujuſcumque conditionis exiſtant, *Librum appellatum*, *&c.* aut divina Officia in eodem expreſſa et inſerta, vel aliquam partem eorundem contemnentes, ſpernentes, adverſantes ſive obloquentes, ſiqui tales ſuſpecti, reperti, detecti, inquiſiti aut accuſati fuerint, juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti in ea parte editi et proviſi, puniendum et corrigendum: Cæteraque omnia et ſingula faciendum, exercendum & expediendum, quæ circa dictæ Inquiſitionis & Examinationis Negotia neceſſaria fuerint ſeu quomodo libet opportuna; vobis 25, 24, &c. aut tribus veſtrum (quorum Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, Epiſcopum Elien. Epiſcopum Wigorn. Epiſcopum Weſtm. Epiſcopum Ciceſtren. Epiſcopum Lincoln Epiſcopum Roffen Willielmum Petre, Thomam Smythe, Richardum Coxe, aut Willielmum Mey, unum eſſe volumus, & in executione Præmiſſorum intereſſe) de quorum ſana Doctrina, Fidei Zelo, vitæ & Morum Integritate, exactaque in rebus gerendis Dexteritate, ſpecialem in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus, vices noſtras committimus, ac plenam Tenore præſentium concedimus Facultatem.

Cum Poteſtate pleniſſima Perſonas ſic detectas denunciatas inquiſitas vel ſuſpectas, evocandi coram vobis, & carceri & vinculis, ſi opus fuerit, mancipandi; ac Teſtes quoſcunque, pro veritate Præmiſſorum explicanda & eruenda, quomodolibet requiſitos, coram vobis quibuſcunque Diebus & Locis, veſtro arbitrio in hac parte limitandi, evocandi, & citandi, eoſdemque Teſtes ſeſe ſubtrahentes omnibus modis & Juris Remediis quibuſcunque compellendi.

Cumque omni aliâ Juriſdictionis & Auctoritatis noſtræ Legitima Cohertione in hac parte & poteſtate, voſque ad Effectus prædictos Cognitores, Inquiſitores, Judices & Commiſſarios noſtros nominamus, facimus, conſtituimus & deputamus per Præſentes.

Eo non obſtante quod Denunciatio, ſive Indictatio contra Perſonas prædictas ejuſmodi in hac parte non proceſſit, ſive aliquibus aliis Statutis aut Ordinationibus in Parliamento noſtro in contrarium editis ſeu proviſis, in quibus Major forſan Solempnitas & Circumſtantiæ ad hujuſmodi exequenda Negotia requiruntur, cæteriſque in contrarium facientibus, non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

Mandantes omnibus & ſingulis Theologis & Juriſperitis, nec non Majoribus, Vicecomitibus, Ballivis, aliiſque Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris quibuſcunque quatenus vobis in, & circa Præmiſſorum Executionem effectualiter, ſi per vos requiſiti & interpellati fuerint, aſſiſtant, & ſuffragentur.

In cujus rei, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Leighes duodecimo die Aprilis per ipſum Regem.

Id. p. 240. *About Two Years forward there's another Commiſſion for the ſame purpoſe, and in the ſame Form. 'Tis Dated at* Weſtminſter, January 18. 1551.

The next thing I ſhall preſent the Reader *with, as ſomewhat of a Curioſity, is a* Licence *granted by King* Edward VI. *to* Dudley *Earl of* Warwick, *his Counteſs, and Family, for eating Fleſh in Lent, and all other Days of Abſtinence. 'Tis to continue during the Earls Life, and ſets aſide all Acts of* Parliament, *and* Canons *to the contrary. It ſtands thus.*

An. 1550. Pat. 4. E. 6. p. 2. m. 32. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. ſciatis quod nos, de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia, & mero Motu noſtris, nec non de aviſamento & conſenſu Conſiliariorum noſtrorum.

Id. p. 207. Licentiam dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per Præſentes damus & concedimus, prædilecto, & Fideli Conſiliario noſtro, Johanni Comiti Warwici, Magno Admirallo noſtro Angliæ, & Dominæ Johannæ Uxori ſuæ, ac toti ipſius Familiæ, ac omnibus (quoquot ſunt) ad eundem Comitem, vel dictam Uxorem ſuam accedentibus, quod ipſi, & totæ ejuſdem Comitis Familiæ ubicunque fuerint, ac omnes alii ad eundem Comitem, aut dictam Uxorem ſuam, forſan accedentes, deinceps, durante vita naturali ipſius Comitis, *temporibus Quadrageſimalibus*, & aliis *Diebus Jejunalibus* quibuſcunque, Carnibus & Lacticiniis veſci liberè & impune valeant et poſſint,

aliquo Statuto Actu ſive Proclamatione, Conſtitutionibus aut Ordinationibus quibuſcunque in contrarium factis aut editis, ſeu impoſterum fiendis, vel edendis, in aliquo non obſtantibus.

Eo quod expreſſa mentio de certitudine præmiſſorum, Actuque ſive Statuto de Abſtinentia à Carnibus in Parliamento noſtro apud Weſtm. Anno Regni noſtri Secundo, tento, aliquove vel alio Actu ſive Statuto noſtro qualitercunque edito, vel edendo, aut aliquâ aliâ Re, Cauſâ, vel Materiâ quacumque, in aliquo modo non obſtantibus.

In cujus rei, *&c.*

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium decimo Octavo Die Februarii.

Per ipſum Regem.

To conclude, I ſhall Tranſcribe but one Record *more, and that is a Warrant and* Writ, *in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign for the burning of Hereticks. The Tenor of the* Warrant *is as follows.*

An. Dom. 1575. Pat. 17. Eliz. p. 5. m. 9. Id. p. 740.

Elizabeth *by the Grace of God Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *to our right Truſty, and right Well-belov'd Counſellor, Sir* Nicholas Bacon, *Knight, Lord Keeper of our Great Seal of* England *Greeting.*

Where the Reverend Father in God Edwin *Buſhoppe of* London, Edmunde *Buſhoppe of* Rocheſter, *and our right Truſty, and Well-beloved, Sir* William Cordell, *Knight, Maiſter of the Rolls,* Roger Manhood, *and* Robert Mounſon, *Two of the Juſtices of our Common Pleas, with others our Commiſſioners ſufficiently Authoriz'd by our Commiſſion, under our Great Seal of* England, *have travaill'd upon the Examination, Hearing, and Determination of* John Peeters, *and* Henry Turwert, *being Flemings Born, and now Living in this our Realm, concerning their falſe Opynyons and Sects of Anabaptiſts, holden and averred by them, wherein they have before the ſaid* Reverend Fathers, *and others our ſaid Commiſſioners, maintain'd their ſaid moſt perillous and dangerous Opynyons, for the which they are by Definitive Sentence, declayred by the ſaid Reverend Father the Buſhoppe of* London, *with the Conſent of other our ſaid Commiſſioners, juſtlie adjudg'd and declared to be Hereticks, and therefore as corrupt Members to be cut off from the reſt of the Flock of Chriſt, leſt they ſhould infect others profeſſing the true Chriſtian Faith, and are by them left under the Sentence of the great Excommunication to be by our Secular Power and Aucthoritye as Hereticks puniſhed, as by the* ſignificavit *of the ſaid Reverand Father in God the Buſhoppe of* London, *with the aſſent of our ſaid Commiſſioners, remaining in our Court of* Chancery, *more at large appeareth; And altho' the ſaid Anabaptiſts have ſince the ſaid Sentence pronounced againſt them binne often and very Charitably traveled with, as well by the Miniſters of the Duche Church in the Citye of* London, *as by other Godly and Learned Men, to diſſwade revoke and remove them from their Anabaptiſtical and Heretical Opynyons, yet they arrogantlie and willfully perſiſt and continewe in the ſame.*

Wee therefore according to our regal Function and Office, myndynge the Execution of Juſtice in this behalfe, and to give example to others leaſt they ſhould attempt the like hereafter, have determined by the aſſent of our Counſayll, to will and require you the ſaid Lord Keeper, immediately upon the receipte hereof, to award and make out our Writt of Execution; according to the Tenor in theſe Preſents enſuinge, and theſe our Letters Sign'd with our Hande ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant for the ſame.

Part of the Writ *runs thus,*

Elizabetha Dei Gratia, *&c.* Vicecommitibus London Salutem, *&c.*

Nos igitur ut Zelator Juſtitiæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defenſor, volenteſque Eccleſiam ſanctam ac Jura et Libertates ejuſdem, et Fidem Catholicam manu tenere et defendere, ac hujuſmodi Hæreſes et Errores ubique (quantum in nobis eſt) eradicare et extirpare, ac Hæreticos ſic convictos Animadverſione condigna puniri, Attendenteſque hujuſmodi Hæreticos in forma prædicta convictos et damnatos, juxta Leges et Conſuetudines Regni noſtri Angliæ in hac parte conſuetas, ignis Incendio comburi debere.

Vobis præcipimus quod dictos Johannem Peters, et Henricum Turwert in Cuſtodia veſtra exiſtentes, apud *Weſt-Smithfield* in Loco publico et aperto, ex cauſa Præmiſſa, coram populo Igni committi, ac ipſos Johannem Peters, et Henricum Turwert in eodem igne realiter comburi faciatis, in hujusmodi criminis Deteſtationem, aliorumque Hominum Exemplum, nè in ſimile Crimen Labantur, et hoc ſub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittatis.

Teſte Regina apud Gorambury Decimo Quinto Die Julii.
Per ipſam Reginam.

In this Second Part *I have touch'd but lightly upon the* State-Hiſtory; *had the Management been otherwiſe, the Bulk would have Swell'd out of Proportion. Beſides;* the Civil *Tranſactions of theſe* Times *are pretty well known: To which I may add, that the Affairs of the* Church *are all along conſiderable enough to draw Enquiry, and furniſh Entertainment for the* Reader.

ERRATA.

Preface, page 12. line 33. for *Sixteen* read *Thirteen*. *Book*, p. 15. col. 2. l. 38. *after by* dele *the*, Ibid l. 67. f. *than Orders ought to be no more repeated that*, r. *that Orders ought to be no more repeated than*, p. 34. c 2. l. 33. f. *Supplementary* r. *Supplemental*, p. 38. c. 2. l. 14. dele *which*, p. 40. c. 2. l. 46. f. *of* r. *for*, p. 50. c. 2. l. 51. f. *the* r. *their*, p. 98. c. 1. l. 26. f. *Domions* r. *Dominions*, p. 101. c. 1. l. 70. dele *that*, p. 102. c. 2. l. 12. f. James *the Fourth* r. James *the Fifth*, p. 106. c. 1. l. 66. f. *porportion* r. *proportion*, p. 107. c. 2. l. 57. f. *Night* r. *Eight*, p. 111. c. 1. l. 24. f. *Eccrus* r. *Eccius*, p. 125. c. 2. l. 25. dele *that* Ibid l. 28. f. *to be* r. *are to be*, p. 129. c. 1. l. 61. f. *exceſs* r. *exceſſes*, Ibid. c. 2. l. 69. f. *motion* r. *motive*, p. 133. c. 1. l. 57. f. *on courſe* r. *of courſe*, p. 134. c. 2. l. 61. dele *Time*, p. 136. c. 2. l. 25. f. Pilate r. Pilot, p. 144. c. 1. l. 19. f. *Excchariſt* r. *Euchariſt*, p. 146. c. 2. l. 18. f. *out all* r. *out of all*, Ibid l. 23. dele *and*, p. 148 c. 2. l. 50. f. *no* r. *any*, p. 152. c. 2. l. 69. f. *the See the Year* r. *this See in the Year*, p. 157 c. 2. l. 8. f. *upon* r. *on*, p. 159. c. 1. l. 48. f. *like* r. *likely*, p. 160. c. 2. l. 51. f. *raizing* r. *razing*, p. 168. c. 2. l. 23. f. *Reſidants* r. *Reſiants*, p. 203. c. 1. l. 59. f. *with* r. *in*, p. 208. c. 1. l. 18. f. *Edowments* r. *Endowments*, Ibid. l. 23. f. *ſhe* r. *he*, p. 218. c. 1. l. 72. f. *attaining* r. *attainting*, p. 219. c. 1. l. 50. f. *declare Knowledge of their Kings* r. *declare their Knowledge of the Kings*, p. 224. c. 1. l. 18. f. *Archbiſhops* r. *Archbiſhop*, p. 229. c. 2. l. 36. dele *all*, *p.* 231. c. 2. l. 50. f. *a Liberty* r. *the Liberty*, p. 232. c. 2. l. 18. f. *prov'd* r. *prove*, p. 236. c. 1. l. 40. f. *that Day* r. *that a Day*, p. 240. c. 2. l. 59. f. *Saviour* r. *Saviour's*. p. 241. c. 1. l. 44. f. *then* r. *them*, p. 54. c. 1. l. 9. f. *was* r. *it was*, p. 255. c. 1. l. 47. f. *follows* r. *follow*, p. 261. c. 2. l. 65. f. *at Fife* r. *in Fife*, p. 262. c. 1. l. 72. f. *caurſly* r. *coarſly*, p. 265. c. 1. l. 59. f. *Apoſtle* r. *Apoſtles*, p. 269. c. 1. l. 56. f. *ſeem* r. *ſeems*, p. 271. c. 1. l. 15. f. *Doctrines* r. *Doctrine*, p. 279. c. 1. l. 50. dele *the*, p. 280. c. 2. l. 43. f. *we read* r. *was read*, p. 281. c. 1. l. 63. dele *that*, Ibid c. 2. l. 40. f. *Canoninal* r. *Canonical*, p. 284. c. 1. l. 53. f. *the Reforming* r. *Reforming*, p. 290. c. 2. l. 70. f. *admiral* r. *admirable*, p. 297. c. 1. l. 57. f. *Bubrick* r. *Rubrick*, p. 303. c. 1. l. 39. f. *Fryars* r. *Triers*, p. 308. c. 2. l. 2. f. *chaange* r. *change*, p. 328. c. 2. l. 30. f. *Friers* r. *Triers*, Ibid l. 44. f. *Friers* r. *Triers*, p 352. c. 2. l. 52. f. *Spirituality, and Temporality* r. *Spiritualty, and Temporalty*, p. 352. c. 1. l. 23. f. *proceeding* r. *proceedings*, p. 367. c. 1. l. 2. f. *Biſhopricks* r. *Biſhoprick*, p. 380. c. 2. l. 1. dele *upon*, p. 386. c. 2. l. 11. f. *where* r. *were*, p. 390. c. 1. l. 20. f. *prove* r. *proves*, p. 410. c. 2. l. 60. f. *and* r. *or*, p. 413. c. 2. l. 55. f. *Aderman* r. *Alderman*. p. 457. c. 2. l. 55. f. *of Congregation* r. *of the Congregation*, p. 458. l. 25. f. *quick* r. *quickly*, p. 463. c. 2. l. 21. f. *Euchariſts* r. *Euchariſt*, p. 468. c. 2. l. 2. f. *they* r. *the*, p. 486. c. 1. l. 1. dele *down*, Ibid l. 56. f. *The* r. *Theſe*, Ibid l. 59. f. *from others* r. *from the others*, p. 488. c. 2. l. 61. f. *in* Bennet Colledge *Manuſcripts* r. *in the* Bennet College *Manuſcript*, p. 501. c. 2. l. 14. dele *to*, p. 507. c. 2. l. 57. f. *Novelties* r. *Noveliſts*, p. 514. c. 2. l. 5. f. *reſtrain'd* r. *conſtrain'd*, p. 529. c. 1. l. 18. dele *where I ſhall give the Reader an Account*, &c. p. 530. c. 2. l. 58. f. *by* r. *of*, p. 543. c. 2. l. 73. dele *hear*, p. 545. c. 1. l. 30. f. *Canons* r. Canon, p. 546. c. 1. l. 39. *after Cenſure* dele *of*, p. 556. c. 1. l. 60. f. *Biſhop* r. *Biſhops*, p. 558. c. 1. l. 45. f. *Hand* r. *Word*, p. 573. c. 1. l. 4. f. *pronoмce* r. *pronounce*, p. 587. c. 2. l. 8. f. *their* r. *the*, p. 603. c. 1. l. 16. f. *Interrogatives* r. *Interrogatories*, p. 604. c. 1. l. 22. f. *Etections* r. *Erections*, p. 614. c. 2. l. 47. f. *Supernatual* r. *Supernatural*, p. 629. c. 2. l. 24. *after tender'd* dele *to*, p. 643. c. 2. l. 71. f. *Reaching* r. *Reach*, p. 651. c. 1. l. 67. dele *and*, Ibid c. 2. f. *like* r. *liked*, p. 662. c. 1. l. 26. f. *their* r. *by their*, Ibid l. 28. f. *Excommunications* r. *Excommunication*, p. 663. c. 2. l. 63. *after remorſe* dele *he*, p. 668. c. 2. l. 68. f. *pretence any* r. *any pretence*, p. 674. c. 2. l. 11. f. *affirming* r. *affirm'd*, p. 689. c. 2. l. 18. f. *as* r. *at*, p. 702. c. 2. l. 12. f. *for* r. *or*, p. 705. c. 1. l. 59. f. *Sacrament* r. *Sacraments*, p. 723. c. 2. l. 65. *after* Canterbury add *and*, p. 741. c. 2. l. 75. f. *Servies* r. *Services*, p. 748. c. 1. l. 60. f. *Forehand* r. *Forehead*, p. 761. c. 2. l. 6. dele *and*, p. 774. c. 1. l. 76. f. *upon* r. *on*, p. 777. c. 1. l. 32. f. *clear* r. *clearly*, p. 781. c. 1. l. 24. f. *where* r. *were*, p. 798. c. 1. l. 14. dele the, p. 821. c. 1. l. 31. f. *Aerinomaſtix* r. *Aeriomaſtix*, p. 838. c. 2. l. 28. f. *or* r. *at*, p. 839. c. 2. l. 17. f. *makes* r. *make*, p. 843. c. 2. l. 24. f. *Groheads* r. *Groſtheads*, p. 845. c. 2. l. 1. f. *Conſciences* r. *Conſcience*, p. 846. c. 2. l. 38. f. *diſpenc'd* r. *diſpens'd with*, p. 847. c. 2. l. 21. f. *Apoſtle* r. *Apoſtles* p. 863. c. 1. l. 1. f. *diſceded* r. *deſcended*, p. 876. c. 1. l. 47. after *degree* add *in*, p. 881. c. 2. l. 57. after *Deacon* add *a Comma*, p. 882. c. 2. l. 24. after *Thoſe* add *Rubricks*, p. 884. c. 1. l. 38. f. *worſe* r. *worſt*, p. 887. c. 1. l. 25. f. *procurational* r. *procuratorial*.

A LIST OF THOSE SUBSCRIBERS Who have ſent in their NAMES.

A

THE Rt. Rev. *William*, Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph.*
The Rt. Hon. the Viſcount *Arburthnott.*
The Rev. Dr. *Adams*, Provoſt of *Kings Col. Camb.*
The Rev. *Fitzherbert Adams*, Rector of *Lincoln College Oxon.*
The Rev. Mr. *Ainger*, Rector of St. *Mary Woolnoth.*
The Rev. Mr. *John Aiſley*, of *Walſingham*, Biſhoprick of *Durham.*
The Rev. Dr. *Alſton*, Archdeacon of *Eſſex.*
The Rev. Dr. *Altham*, Rector of St. *Buttolph*'s, *Biſhopſgate.*
The Rev. Mr. *Geo. Anderſon*, Rector of *Lutterworth*, *Lincolnſhire.*
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Arrowſmith*, *Norfolk.*
The Rev. *Solomon Aſhburn*, D. D. Fell. of *Lincoln College*, *Oxon.*
The Rev. Dr. *Atterbury*, Rector of *Shipperton.*
The Rev. Mr. *Adams.*
Abraham Aſhworth, Bookſeller in *Durham.*
John Anſtis, Eſq;

B

THE Rt. Rev. the Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells.*
The Rt. Hon. the Ld. *Willoughby*, of *Brook*, Dean of *Windſ.*
Lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton.*
Sir *Robert Barnadiſton*, of *Ketton Hall*, *Suffolk*
Mr. *Baker.*
John Bateman, M. D.
The Rev. Mr. *Richard Banner.*
Charles Battely, Gent.
——— *Bateman*, M. D.
George Bewe, Apothecary, in *Grace-Church-Street.*
Dr. *Beauford*, of St. *Columbe.*
The Rev. Mr. *Bedford*, *London.*
The Rev. Mr. *George Bell.*
Mr. *Thomas Bell*, *London.*
Dr. *Richard Bettenſon*, of *Bath*, *Somerſetſhire.*
The Rev. Dr. Bedfor, Rector of St. *George*'s *Buttolph-lane.*
——— *Betteſworth*, LL. D. Dean of the *Arches.*
The Rev. Mr. *John Beddingfield*, Rector of *Hedenham*, *Norf.*
Mr. *William Biſhop.*
The Rev. Mr. *Hope*, Biſhoprick of *Durham.*
The Rev. Dr. *Biſh*, Preacher at the *Rolls.*
The Lady *Bland*, of *Blackiſton*, *Durham.*
Mr. *George Bloodworth*, of *Spittle-fields*, Weaver.
The Rev. Dr. *Blake*, Vicar of St. *Sepulchres.*
The Rev. Dr. *Bloomer*, Prebendary of *Canterbury.*
Charles Blunt, Gent.
Ralph Bolton, Eſq;
Thomas Bowdler, Gent. *London.*
Brereton Bourchier, Eſq; of *Barneſly*, *Glouceſter.*
Mr. *Francis Brook*, Vicar of *Surlingham*, *Norfolk.*
The Rev. Mr. *Edward Brooks*, Rector of *Wood Church*, *Kent.*
——— *Brooky*, M. D.
The Rev. *John Brereton*, B. D. Fellow of *Linc. Col. Oxon.*
The Rev. Mr. *John Bradford*, M. A. Fell. of *Bal. Coll. Oxon.*
The Rev. Mr. *John Brompton.*
The Rev. Dr. *Brabant*, Rector of St. *Andrew Underſhaft.*
The Rev. Dr. *Brampſton*, Rector of St. *Chriſtophers.*
Thomas Brampſton, Eſq.
The Rev. ——— *Brett*, LL. D. Rector of *Bettiſhanger*, *Kent.*
The Rev. Mr. *Bryan*, Maſter of *Harrow School.*
The Hon. ——— *Bridges*, D. D.
The Rev. Dr. *Broderick*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter.*
The Rev. Mr. *Broughton*, Vicar of *Kingſton.*
The Rev. Dr. *Brown*, Canon of *Windſor.*
Captain *Brown*, of *Greenford.*
Richard Brown, of *Iſlington*, Eſq.
Gilbert Brown, of *Lincolns Inn*, Eſq.
Mr. *Ralph Bunting*, Alderman of *Stockton*, *Durham.*
Mr. *John Burdett*, of *Stockton*, Grocer, *Durham.*
The Rev. Mr. *Rowland Burdon*, *Durham.*
The Rev. Mr. *Tho. Burton*, M. A. Vicar of *Hallifax*, *Yorkſh.*
The Rev. Mr. *Jo. Butterfield*, Rect. of *Stoke Dawbernon*, *Surry.*
The Rev. Mr. *Tho. Burrough*, Rect. of *Bradford* St. *George*, *Suff.*
Mr. *Bulſhy*, Merchant.
The Rev. Mr. *Burton.* A. M.
The Rev. Mr. *Button*, M. A. Schoolmaſter, at *Edmonton.*
Mr. *Richard Bynes*, of *Carſhalton*, *Surry.*
Mr. *Joſeph Button*, Bookſeller, in *Newcaſtle.*
Thomas Bale B. D. Fellow of *Jeſus College* in *Cambridge*

C

THE Rt. Rev. the Biſhop of *Carliſle.*
The Rt. Rev. the Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter.*
The Rt. Rev. the Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*
The Hon. *Archibald Campbell*, Eſq. *London.*
Cathedral of *Ely.*
The Rev. Mr. *Philip Caſtle.*
Mr. *Henry Carrington*, Attorney at Law, *Barneſly*, *Yorkſhire.*
Thomas Cartwright, of *Aynho*, Eſq;
Robert Carr, Eſq; of *North Biddick*, Biſhoprick of *Durham.*
The Rev. Mr. *Calvert*, Vicar of *Stanwell.*
The Rev. Mr. *Alexander Chalmers.*
The Rev. Mr. *James Chalmers.*
Charles Choldmondley, Eſq.
William Chaloner, Eſq. of *Giſbrough*, in the County of *York.*
Mr. *Chamberlain*, Merchant.
Sir *John Cheſſyer*, Serjeant at Law.
The Rev. Mr. *Chiſſul*, Rector of *Walthamſtow.*
Mr. *Alexander Cleave*, Deputy.
The Rev. Mr. *Gregory Clark*, Rector of *Blunderſton*, *Suffolk.*
Sir *Samuel Clark.*
John Clark, Eſq.
——— *Clements*, LL. D.
Dr. *Nicholas Clagett*, Archdeacon of *Sudbury.*
Sir *John Colliton*, Bar.
William Cockbourn, M. D.
William Collier, of *Hatton Garden*, Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Philip Collier*, Rector of St. *Columbe*, *Cornwall.*
Thomas Cotton, Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Cooper*, *Norfolk.*

Mr. *John Cook*, Merchant of *Stockton*, *Durham*.
George Cook, Eſq. firſt Prothonotary, of the Common Pleas.
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Cook*.
——— *Cobb*, LL. D. Warden of *New College*, *Oxon*.
Anthony Collins, Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Cooper*, Rector of *Harlington*.
Mr. *Cottle*, of the *Prerogative Office*.
Sir *Clement Cotterel*.
Mr. *Francis Croſs*.
The Rev. Mr. *William Cromer*, Vicar of *Tillingham*.
John Crawly, of the *Navy Office*, Gent.
Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Clerk, Dorceſterſhire.
Mr. *Robert Cruickſhank*, *M*erchant
Mr. *John Crooks*, of *Hartle Pool*, *Durham*.
Thomas Chafin, Eſq. of *Zeales*, in the County of *Wilts*.
Mr. *William Clayton*, Bookſeller of *Mancheſter*.
Mr. *Cromfield* Printer in *Cambridge*.
Mr. *Robert Caſtel Merchant*
Mr. *Clements* Bookſeller in *Oxon*.
Walter Chetwind of *Radgly Staffordſhire* Eſq;
John Coats Member of Parliam. for the City of *Litchfield* Eſq;

D

THE Rt. Rev. *Philip*, Lord Biſhop of St. *David's*.
The Lord *D'la War*.
Sir *Charles Dalſton*, Bar.
Thomas Daviſon, of *Blackiſton*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*.
Mr. *Benjamin Derby*, A. M. Rector of *Brianſton*, *Dorſet*.
Mrs. *Cecilia Deacon*, *Stepney*.
Mr. *David Denune*, Student in Phyſick, *London*.
Mr. *William Denton*, Attorney at Law, Stockton, *Durham*.
Duncan Dee, Eſq. Common Serjeant.
The Rev. Mr. *Dechair*, M. A.
The Rev. Mr. *Jeremy Dodſon*, Rector of *Hurſt Pierpoint*, *Suſſex*.
The Rev. Mr. *John* Downing, Rector of *Monks Eleigh*, *Suffolk*.
William Doble Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Doughty*, *London*.
The Rev. Mr. *William Dugard*.
Robert Duncan, A. M.
The Rev. Mr. *William Dunne*, M. A. Rector of *Redmarſhall*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.
The Rev. Mr. *Duboyſe*, Schoolmaſter, *Iſlington*.
The Rev. Dr. *Dwight*, Vicar of *Fulham*.
Dr. D*avis* of *Birmingham*

E

THE Rt. Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of *Ely*.
The Rt. Rev. *Offspring*, Lord Biſhop of *Exeter*.
The Rev. Mr. *Eaſtwick*, Rector of St. *Michael*, *Queenhith*.
Mr. Deputy *Edmunds*, *Cripplegate*.
Mr. *James Edwards*, St. *Burian*.
John Egerton, Eſq.
Mr. *Charles Elliſton*, of *Spittlefields*.
John Elſtob, Gent. of *Foxton*, *Durham*.
The Rev. Dr. *Elſtob*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*.
The Rev. Mr. *Elſtob*, Rector of St. *Swithin*.
The Rev. Mr. *Ellis*, Schoolmaſter, *Thiſleworth*.
John Evans, Eſq.
Mr. *Arthur Evans*, Merchant.
The Rev. Mr. *Evans*.
The Rev. Mr. J*ames Ellis*, *Thiſleworth*
Mr. *Everard Exton*, of *Doctors Commons*.
Thomas Eyres, Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas England*, of *Wenbury*, *Devonſhire*.
William Elſley, A. M. Rector of *Ruſher*, *Yorkſhire*.

F

THE Rev. Mr. *Robert Falconer*, Vicar of *Dunmow*, *Eſſex*.
The Rev. Mr. *Fenton* —— ,of St. *Cuthberts Carliſle*, *Cumb*.
The Rev. Mr. *Mich. Fenwick*, Rector of *Longnewton*, *Durham*.
Mr. *Feaſt*.
Mr. *Feltham*.
The Hon. Dr. *Finch*, Dean of *York*.
David Fotheringham, Merchant.
Sir *Stephen Fox*.
The Rev. Mr. *Forſter*, Rector of St. *Clements*, *London*.
The Rev. *Pexal Forſter*, Rector of *Egleſcliff*, *Durham*.
The Rev. *Joſhua Forſter*, of *Norton*, *Durham*.
The Rev. Dr. *Fogg*, Rector of *All-hallows Stayning*.
The Rev. Mr. *Foley*, A. M.
The Rev. Dr. *Foulks*, Canon Reſidentiary of *Exon*.
John Fowle, Eſq. of *Brome-hall*, *Norfolk*.
The Rev. Dr. *Friend* Maſter of *Weſtminſter School*.
Mr. *John Fowler*, Bookſeller, *Northampton*.
Mr. *William Freeman*, Bookſeller, *Durham*.

G

THE Rev. Dr. *Gatford*, Rector of *Back Church*.
The Rev. Mr. *Henry Gandy*, *London*.
The Rev. Mr. *Gadderer*, *London*.
The Rev. Dr. *Gaſcoyn*, Rector of *Enfield*.
The Rev. Dr. *Gaſketh*, Rector of *Allhallows Berkin*.
The Rev. Dr. *Gaſtrell*, Canon of *Chriſt Church*.
John Galpin, A. B. Clerk.
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Gery*, of *Chattris*.
The Rev. Dr. *Gee*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*.
The Rev. Dr. *Gibſon*, Archdeacon of *Surry*.
William Glover, Eſq. of *Froſtenden*, *Suffolk*.
The Rev. Dr. *Glover*, Rector of *Jekenham*.
William Gore, Eſq.
The Hon. Maſter of *Gray*.
The Rev. Dr. *Godolphin*, Dean of St. *Paul's*.
Sir *Edward Gold*.
Dr. *Thomas Gooch*.
The Rev. Mr. *Goſling*, Subdean of St. *Paul's*
The Rev. Dr. *Grandorge*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*.
Mr. *Green*.
The Rev. Dr. *Green*, Rector of the *Old Jewry*.
Thomas Girdler, A. M. Fell. of *Wadſh. Coll. Oxon*.
John Gurdon, Eſq. of St. *Aſſington*, *Suffolk*.
The Rt. Hon. the Lady *Chriſtian Guyer*.
The Lady *Guyer*, *Stepney*.
The Rev. Mr. *Gray*, Rector of *Broughton*, in the County of *Southampton*.
Mr. G*oddard* Bookſeller in *Norwich*
Mr. G*ray* Bookſeller in *Yarmouth*
The Rt. Hon. *John* Lord *Gower* Baron of *Stettnam*
The Rt. Hon. the Lady Dowager *Gower*
Jeffry Williams M. A. Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Lady Dowager *Gower*
Thomas Greſly of *Nethenſell Liceſterſhire* Eſq;

H

THE Rt. Honourable the Earl of *Hume*.
Captain *Richard Haddock*.
Francis Hayes, Eſq. of the *Inner Temple*.
The Rev. Mr. *Hall*, *London*.
The Rev. Mr. *Hall*, Vicar of *Elyn*.
Dr. *Edmund Halley*, Geometry Profeſſor at *Oxon*.
The Rev. Mr. *William Handbury*, M. A.
John Harriſon, Eſq. of *Perivall*.
The Rev. Mr. *Harper*, Rector of St. *Catherine Coleman*.
The Rev. Mr. *Hawkins*, Vicar of *Wilſden*.
The Rev. Mr. *Stephen Heath*, Rector of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſy*.
Mr. *Heath*.
The Rev. Mr. *Henchman*, Vicar of *Harrow*.
——— *Henſhman*, LL. D.
Richard Hewitt, Gent. of *Stockton*, *Durham*.
The Rev. Dr. *George Hicks*, *London*.
The Hon. *Richard Hill*, Eſq.
Mr. *John Hill*, Proctor of Doctors Commons.
The Rev. Dr. *Higden*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*.
Benjamin Hilton, Eſq.
The Rev. Mr. *Henry Holbier*.
Mr. *Horton*.
Edward Husbands, Eſq. of *Little Horſely*, *Eſſex*.
Mr. *William Hurton*.
The Rev. Dr. *Hutchinſon*, Fellow of *Queen's College*, *Oxon*.
Mr. *Jer. Hutchinſon*, of *Darlington*, *Durham*.
The Rev. Mr. *William Hutton*, Rector of *Lucthigh*.
The Rev. Mr. *Humphry's*, Rector of *Weſtcomb*, *Kent*.
John Hungerford, Eſq.
The Rev. Dr. *Hutchinſon*, Preacher at St. *Edmonsbury*.
Ambroſe Holbeech, Eſq;

Nathaniel Highmore, A. M. Rector of *Horton*.
John Heenwood M. A. Maſter of the Free School of *Newport* Shropſhire, and Prebendary of the Cath. Ch. of *Litchfield*
Sir *Ch. Holt* of *Aſton Warwickſhire*
Mr. *Hide* Bookſeller in *Dublin*
Mr. *Hilliard* Bookſeller in *York*
The Rev. Mr. *Anthony Hall* Fellow of *Queens College Oxon*.

J

THE Rev. Mr. *Jackſon*, Prebendary of St. *Paul's*.
The Rev. Mr. *Jacques*, Rector of *Cowley*.
Edward Jeffreys, Eſq.
Sir *Joſeph Jekyle*.
Henry Jennings, Eſq.
Mr. *John Jeniſon*, Gent. of *Hurworth*, *Durham*.
The Rev. *Alexander Innes*, D. D.
Sir *William Ingoldſby*.
The Rev. Mr. *David Jones*, Rector of *Upper Hardreſs*, *Kent*.
The Rev. Mr. *Edward Jones*, Canon of *Windſor*.
The Rev. Mr. *Richard Johnſon*, Schoolmaſter, at *Nottingham*.
John Iſham, Eſq.
Mr. *Thomas Jukes*.
The Rev. Mr. *Benjamin Jenks*
William Ing of *Thorp* in *Staffordſhire* Eſq;
Mr. *Jeffreys* Bookſeller in *Cambridge*
Mr. Michael Johnſon of the City of *Litchfield* Bookſeller

K

THE Rt. Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Kilſyth*.
Samuel Kemp, Eſq. of *Canclow*, *Cornwall*.
Thomas Kennerſly, Eſq.
The Rev. Dr. *Kennet*, Dean of *Peterborough*.
The Rev. Dr. *King*, Rector of *Chelſey*.
Sir *Peter King*.
The Rev. Mr. *Richard King*.
Mr. *Robert Kitching*, of *Barnerds Inn*.
James Knox, A. M.

L

THE Rt. Honourable the Earl of *Lowdown*.
The Honourable the Lady *Lucy*, *London*.
The Rev. Dr. *Lamden*.
George Lawſon, Eſq. of *Harlſey*, *Yorkſhire*.
The Rev. *Langford*, Vicar of *Axminſter*, *Devonſhire*, M. A.
The Rev. Mr. *Lamie*, Rector of *Slain*, *Middleſex*.
Sir *Biby Lake*, Bar.
The Rev. Dr. *Lancaſter*, Rector of St. *Martin*'s in the Fields.
The Rev. Mr. *Laſingby*, Rector of St. *Antholin*'s
Roger Lawrence, A. M.
Charlwood, Lawton, Eſq.
Sir *Nicholas L'Eſtrange*, Bar. of *Hunſtanton*, *Norfolk*.
Sir *Francis Leigh*.
The Rev. *Thomas Ley*, M. A. Vicar of *Crediton*, *Devon*.
The Rev. *John Lehunt*, M. A. Miniſter of *Brentford*.
William Lehunt, Gent.
Nicholas Letchmere, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *John Liſter*, Rector of *Rochford*, *Eſſex*.
Lincoln College, Library.
The Rev. *Lithgold*, A. M.
George Lockhart, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *Ralph Lounds*, *Cheſhire*.
John Lowther, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *Lord*, Rector of *Toddington*.
John Loving, Eſq.
Mr. *Henry Louth*.
The Rev. *William Lupton*, D. D. Fellow of *Lin. Coll. Oxon*.
Thomas Lutwych, Eſq;
The Rev. Dr. *Lynford*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*.
Dennis Lyddall, Eſq; Commiſſioner of the *Navy*.
The Rev. Dr. *Laney*.
Lewis Legrand, Eſq;
Nath. Lane of *Longs* Eſq; *Staffordſhire*

M

G*Eorge Marſh*, A. M. Vicar of *Milton Abbat*, *Dorſetſhire*
Mr. *Thomas Martin*, Merchant, *London*.
Alexander Macgie, Eſq. of *Poclyonan*.
Reginald Marriot, Eſq; of *Parſons Green*.
Samuel Martyn, Vicar of St. *Enoder Cornwall*.
Mr. *John Mander*.
The Rev. *Tim. Mawman*, Rector of *Eltow*, *Durham*.
Mr. *John Maddiſon*, of *Billingham*, *Durham*.
Thomas Marriot, Eſq;
The Rev. *Marſhall*, LL. D. Vicar of St. *Pancras*.
The Rev. Mr. *Martin*, Rector of St. *Mildred Poultrey*.
John Martin, Eſq;
Mr. *Mittford*.
The Rev. Mr. *Robert Middleton*, Rector of St. *Mary Colcheſter*.
Mr. *George Middleton*, Goldſmith.
Mr. *John Mills*, of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.
The Rev. Dr. *Millington*, Rector of *Kenſington*.
Walter Mills, M. D.
Richard Moſtyn, Gent. of *Penbiow*.
The Rev. *John Morley*, D. D. Fellow of *Lin. Coll. Oxon*.
The Rev. Dr. *Moſs*, Dean of *Ely*.
Mr. *William Moubray*, of *Doctors Commons*.
Thomas Maynard, Gent. of *Yarme*, *Yorkſhire*.
Mr. *Daniel Midwinter*.
Mr. *Charles Mather*.
Mr. *John Montford* Bookſeller in *Worceſter*

N

THE Rt. Rev. *Charles*, Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*.
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Northesk*.
Robert Nelſon, Eſq; *London*.
The Rev. Mr. *Needham*, Chancellor of St. *David's*
William Newland, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *Newton*, Rector of St. *Auſtin*'s.
Sir *Iſaac Newton*.
Mr. *Norris*, of the *Prerogative Office*.
Sir *Edward Northy*, Attorney General.
The Rev. Mr. *Newte*.

O

THE Rt. Rev. *John* Lord Biſhop of *Oſſery*.
Mr. *Alexander Omliterlong*, Merchant.
The Rev. Mr. *Oliver*, Subalmoner.
Dr. *Onely*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*.
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Orrery*.
M—— *Oakes* M. A. Rector *Hopsworth Staffordſhire*

P

MR. *Paſk*.
M—— *Paſk* LL. D.
Samuel Percival, Gent. of the *Navy Office*.
Mr. *John Pearſe*, of *Penryn*.
The Rev. Mr. Thomas *Pearſon*, Principal *Edmund Hall*, Oxon.
William Pearſon, Eſq. of *Stockeſly*, *Yorkſhire*.
Mr. *Thomas Pearſon*, of *Stockton*, *Durham*.
Mr. *Pearſon*, Proctor of *Doctors Commons*.
The Rev. Dr. *Pelling*, Rector of St. *Ann*'s *Weſtminſter*.
Henry Penrice, LL. D.
Thomas Pitt, Eſq;
Charles Pinfold, LL. D.
The Rev. Mr. *Pomeroy*, of *Cork*, *Ireland*.
The Rev. Mr. *Poſtlethwait*, *Norfolk*
Mr. *John Porrett* of *Stockton*, *Durham*.
Mr. *Carolus Pool*, LL. B. Rector of *Breoc*, *Cornwal*.
Dr. *Pooley*, Vicar of St. *Leonard*, *Shoreditch*.
The Rev. Mr. *Pocock*, Rector of *Thames*, *Ditton*.
William Preſcott, Gent. of the *Navy Office*.
Louice Price, Eſq;
The Hon. Mrs. *Prince*.
Mr. *John Proud*.
Robert Pulloyne, Eſq; of St. *Neots*, *Huntingdon*.
Mr. *Gertrude Pyncomb* of *Welshire*, in *Poughill*, *Devonſhire*.
Richard Pyle, LL. B. Fellow of *New College*, Oxon.
Mr Baron *Price*.
The Rev. Mr. *Pugh*, *Thiſleworth*.
Mr. *Pieſley* Bookſeller in Oxon.

R

THE Rt. Rev *Francis*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, Eſq; *London*.
Mr. *Richard Rayne*, of *Stockton*, *Durham*.
Mr. *Ratcliff*, Merchant.
Richard Rawlinſon, Eſq;
The Rev. Dr. *Rawſon*, Rector of St. *Mary Magdalen*, and St. *Gregory*.

Sir

17

Sir *Jemmet Raymond.*
Sir *Robert Raymond*, Solicitor General.
Mr. *Thomas Redman*, of *Stockton*, *Durham.*
Mr. *William Redmayne*, Printer, in *Jewen-ſtreet*, *London.*
The Rev. Mr. *Reves*, Rector of *Craneford.*
Thomas Rhodes, M. A. of *Lincoln College Oxon.*
The Rt. Hon the Lady *Rich.*
Robert Richardſon, Eſq;
Mr. *Richardſon.*
Nicholas Ridgeway, A. M. Rector of *Okford Fitzpain*, *Dorſet.*
Thomas Rogerſon, A. M.
Mr. *Royſton.*
Robert Roilton, M. A Fellow of *Queen's College*, *Oxon.*
Mr. *Rouſe*, Proctor of *Doctors Commons.*
The Rev. Mr. *Roſſel*, Rector of St. *John Wapping.*
John Rudd, Eſq; Councelor at Law, of the City of *Durham.*
The Rev. Mr. *Richardſon*, of *Wiſt Dean*, *Suſſex.*
Mr. *Thomas Ryles*, Bookſeller, *Hull.*
Mr. *Richard Randall*, Bookſeller, *Newcaſtle.*

S

THE Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Southesk.*
The Rt. Hon. the Viſcount *Strathalan.*
The Rt Hon. the Counteſs of *Sandwich.*
William Sandford, Eſq; of *Aſkham*, *Weſtmoreland.*
William Sancroft, Eſq;
Henry Scagrave, Eſq;
William Sanders, Rector of *Acton.*
Mr. *Sear*, Proctor at *Doctors Commons.*
The Rev Dr *Scott*, Dean of *Glaſcow.*
Mrs. *Julia Shalcroſs*, of *Hatfeild Woodhall*, *Hertfordſhire.*
The Rev. Mr. *John Sheppard*, *Suffolk.*
Hugh Shortrudge, D. D. Rector of *Fetcham*, *Surry.*
The Rev Mr. *Sherlock*, Maſter of the *Temple.*
John Short, Eſq;
Peter Short, Attorney at Law.
Mrs *Sleorgin*
The Rev. Mr. *John Slater*, of *Chattris.*
Dr. *James Smith*, of *Cottenham.*
The Rev. *Joſ. Smith*, D. D. *London.*
Mr. *Joſeph Smith*, of *Yarome*, Merchant, *Yorkſhire.*
Mr. *Thomas Smelt*, of *Stockton*, Durham.
The Rev. Dr. *Smalridge*, Dean of *Chriſt Church*, Oxon.
Mr. *Richard Snow*, in *Six Clerks Office.*
The Rev. Dr *Snape*, Rector of St *Mary Hill.*
The Rev. Dr. *South*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter.*
The Rev. Mr. *N. Sphinks.*
The Rev. Mr *Sparling*, Rector of *Wake Colonc. Eſſex.*
The Rev. Mr. *Spratt*, Archdeacon of *Rocheſter.*
William Strahan, LL. D of *Doctors Commons.*
John Stukely, Eſq; of *Plymouth*,
The Rev. Mr. *William Starkey*, Rector of *Pulham*, *Norfolk*
The Rev. Mr. *Stamp*, *Iſlington.*
The Rev. Dr. *Stanley*, Dean of St. *Aſaph.*
The Hon. Mr. *Edward Stawell.*
Henry Stephens, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *Pawlet St. John*, Rector of *Yeilding*, *Bedford.*
The Rev. Mr. *Steward*, Fellow of St. *John's College*, *Oxon.*
Mr. *John Stock*, of *Stockton*, Durham.
Mr. *Nicholas Swainſton*, Attorney at Law, of *Stockton*, *Durh.*
Mr. *Symonds.*
Sir *Philip Sydenham*, Baronet.
——— *Sharp*, Eſq.
The Rev Mr. *Sleeth.*
The Rev. Mr. *Charles Seward*
Mr. *Benjamin Smithurſt*, Bookſeller in *Plymouth.*
The Rev. Mr. *Sixeſmith*, Rector of *Wadingham*, *Lincolnſhire.*
Mr. *Thomas Smolwood* Curate of *More Staffordſhire*
Ralph Snegd of *Keile* Eſq; and one of the Knights in the preſent Parliament for the County of *Stafford*
Mr. *Iſaac Stonton* of *Birmingham*
Mr. John *Swall* Bookſeller in *Leeds*
Mr. *Nevil Simonds* Bookſeller in *Sheffeild*

T

THomas Tanner, Gent. of the *Navy Office.*
The Rev. Mr. *Taylor*, Rector of *Barnet.*
Joſeph Thurſon, Eſq; of *Little Wenham*, *Suffolk.*
The Rev. Mr. *Thorold*, *Rotterdam*, *Holland.*
The Rev. Dr. *Thompſon*, Rector of St. *Matthew Friday-ſtreet*, and *Peter Cheap.*
Lieutenant General *Tidcomb.*
The Rev. Dr. *Tipping*, Vicar of *Camberwell.*
Mr. *Thomas Tonkins*, of *Trevanance*, *Cornwall.*
Mr. *William Torkington*, Rector of *Wiſton*, *Huntingtonſhire.*
The Rev. Mr. *Tomkinſon*, Fellow of *St.* John's *College*, *Camb.*
Samuel Trotman, Eſq;
Lawſon Trotter, Eſq; of *Skelton Caſtle*, *Yorkſhire.*
The Hon. *Thomas Trever*, of the *Temple.*
Mr. *William Timms*, Attorney at Law, *Woodſtreet*, *London.*
Mr. *Trubee.*
The Rev. Mr. *Turton*, Rector of St. *Olave*, *Hartſtreet.*
The Rev. Mr. *Seth Turner*, *Suffolk.*
The Rev. Dr. *Trumbull.*
John *Temple*, Eſq;
Mr. *Toogood* Rector of *Burton*, Dorſeſterſhire.
Mr. Jonathan *Taylor*, Bookſeller in *Witchurch*, *Shropſhire.*
Mr. *Thurlebame* Bookſeller in *Cambridge.*

U

THE Rev. *William Veſey*, B. D. Fellow of *Lin. Coll.* Oxon.
The Rev. Mr. *Vicker.*
The Rev. ——— *Vudale*, LL. D.
The Rev. Mr. *Upton.*
George Vernon of *Sudbury* Eſq; *Derbyſhire*, and one of the Kts in this preſent Parliament for the County of *Stafford*
Mr. *George Unite* Bookſeller in W*olverhampton.*

W

THE Rt. Rev. *William* Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter.*
The Rt. Rev. *Thomas*, Lord Biſhop of *Waterford.*
The Rt. Hon. *Thomas* Viſcount *Weymouth.*
The Rev. Dr. *Waddington*, Rector of *Allhallow's Thamesſtreet.*
John *Walton*, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. *Waſhbourn*, Vicar of *Edmonton.*
The Rev. Dr. *Waugh*, Rector of St. *Peter's Cornhill.*
Mr. *Hanbury Walthall.*
The Rt. Hon. *Heneage*, *Earl of Winchelſea.*
John *Ward*, Eſq; Alderman of *London.*
Edmund Warnford, Eſq;
Mr. *Watſon.*
Mr. *Thomas Watſon*, Grocer, of *Stockton*, *Durham.*
Mr. *William Weſtbrook.*
The Rev. Mr. *Wells*, Rector of   *London.*
R. Welton, D. D. Rector of *White Chappel.*
The Rev. Mr. *Richard Webſter*, of St. *Edmond's Bury.*
Mr. John *Wells*, of *Stockton*, *Durham.*
Nicholas Weſtcomb, Eſq;
Mr. *Nathaniel Whaley*, A. M. Fellow of *Wadham Coll.* Oxon.
Sir *George Wheeler*, Bart. Prebendary of *Durham.*
Sir *William Whitlock.*
Sir John *Whatton.*
——— *Willmot*, M. D.
Mr. *Willmot*, Merchant.
Mr. *Robert Wilſon*, Merchant.
Thomas William, Eſq; of *Stoke*, in *Suffolk.*
The Rev. Mr. *Philip Williams*, Rector of *Doddington.*
John *Worten*, Gent. of the *Navy Office.*
John *Worth*, Eſq; of *Penryn*, *Cornwall.*
The Rev. Mr. *Wood*, Rector of St. *Michael Royal.*
——— *Woodward*, M. D.
The Rev. Mr. *Wright*, Rector of *Stepney.*
George Wright, Eſq; of the *Inner Temple.*
Mr. John *Wakefield*, Rector of *Seaſtry*, *Yorkſhire.*
Mr. *Roger Warne*, Bookſeller, in *Chippenham*, *Wilts.*
Mr. *Ralph Watſon*, Bookſeller, in *Bury.*
Mr. John *Williamſon*, Attorney, in Dublin.
Mr. W*ilmot* Bookſeller in *Oxon.*
Mr. *Wilkin* Bookſeller in St. *Pauls Church-yard*

Y

THE Rev. Mr. *Yeates*, Archdeacon of *Wilts.*
The Rev. Dr. *Younger*, Dean of *Sarum.*

Z

THE Rev. Mr. *Zinzano*, Rector of St. *Martins*, *Outwich.*

AN

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

CHIEFLY OF

ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK I.

A.D. 1509.

UPON the Death of King *Henry* the Seventh, his Son of the ſame Name ſucceeded to his Dominions. This *Henry* was the only ſurviving Iſſue Male, and about Eighteen Years of Age, at his Acceſſion to the Throne. He was a very promiſing Prince, both as to Perſon, Capacity, and Improvement. He was tall, ſtrong built, and proportion'd, and had an Air of Authority and Empire. His Genius was lively, and his Education puſh'd, and well manag'd: For beſides the cuſtomary Exerciſes and Accompliſhments of a Prince, he had made conſiderable Advances in Learning. He was a good Latiniſt, a Philoſopher, and Divine: And as for Muſick, his Progreſs in that Science was ſo unuſual, that two entire Maſſes of his own compoſing, were ſung in his (a) Chapel. (b) His Inclination to *Letters* was early perceiv'd: And if his elder Brother had liv'd, 'tis ſaid his Father deſign'd him for the See of *Canterbury*.

King Henry the Eighth a learned and promiſing Prince.

But *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* dying, the late King contracted his Son *Henry* to *Catherine* of *Spain*. The Motives of engaging in ſo exceptionable a Relation, were to prevent the parting with the Princeſs's Dower: This amounting to a great Revenue, they were afraid might break the Ballance; eſpecially if this Lady happen'd to marry with the *Houſe* of *France*. Beſides, the preſerving the Alliance with *Spain*, was look'd on as a ſerviceable Expedient (c).

He is contracted to Catherine of Spain in his Father's Reign.

And here to ſilence the Cenſures for marrying the Brother's Wife, and ſecure the Iſſue from Blemiſh

(a) *Lord* Herbert.

(b) F. Paul Hiſt. Con. Trent.

(c) *Lord* Herbert, p. 8.

miſh and Inconvenience, it was thought neceſſary to apply to the Pope for a Diſpenſation. Pope *Julius* the Second comply'd with the Requeſt, and grants a *Bull* and a *Brief* for this purpoſe *(d)*. They were both dated *Dec.* 26. 1503.

(*d*) *See Records*, Num. 1.

In theſe Inſtruments, the Impediments of Affinity, the Objections of *Catherine*'s Cohabitation with *Arthur*, the Suppoſition of her being already marry'd to Prince *Henry*, are all overruled and diſpens'd with. For tho' there was no matter of Fact to reſt the laſt Caſe upon, yet the Court of *Rome* was reſolv'd to make all ſure. But here it muſt be ſaid, the Pope proceeded againſt the Opinion of many of his Cardinals *(e)*.

Pope's Diſpenſation in favour of the Marriage.

(*e*) *Lord* Herbert p. 8.

How agreeable ſoever this Alliance might be at firſt to King *Henry* the Seventh, he afterwards, it ſeems, repented its being made. For as Sir * *Richard Moriſin* reports, he charg'd his Son to break the Contract. This Advice was given, as this Author continues, upon Principles of Conſcience; *(f)* and a full Perſuaſion of the Ingagement's being unlawful. And becauſe Affection takes its Riſe from Converſation, and ſometimes grows unmanageable in young People; for this Reaſon the King wou'd not ſuffer his Son to viſit the Princeſs, or hold any Correſpondence with her *(g)*.

* *This Sir* R. Moriſin *was employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies in the Reigns of* Hen. VIII. *and* Edw. VI.

(*f*) *Moriſin*'s Apomaxis Calumniarum, *&c.* p. 13.

(*g*) Id. p. 14.

And therefore the *Proteſtation* made by Prince *Henry* about two Years after, was done without doubt by his Father's Direction *(h)*. For this *Proteſt* in Form againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Contract, *(i)* could not be any Suggeſtion of Scruple in the young Prince. He wanted ſomething of fourteen Years, when he thus publickly declar'd his Diſlike †. Now this is an Age too young for Caſes of Conſcience and Debates about Marriage.

(*h*) Id. p. 13.

(*i*) *See Records* Num. 2. *He proteſts againſt the Contract when Pr. of* Wales.

† *He was born* Jun. 28. 1491. *and the Proteſtation bears date*, June 27. 1505.

And that he was ſway'd by his Father in this Affair, is pretty evident by the Change of his Mind not long after. For before he had reign'd two Months, he was ſolemnly marry'd to the Princeſs *Catherine (k)*. When he came into his own Conduct, his Fancy govern'd the matter, and made him forget his Father's Inſtructions *(l)*. Now, as Sir *Richard Moriſin* obſerves, he began to reaſon from his Inclination, and to conclude, that Pope *Julius* wou'd never have allow'd the Marriage, had it been repugnant to the Laws of God, or above his Holineſs's Diſpenſation. Thus when the Heart is once gain'd, the Objections commonly vaniſh *(m)*.

But afterwards marries the Princeſs.

(*k*) June 3. 1509. Holningſhed.

(*l*) Moriſin p. 14.

(*m*) Id.

The next Year Pope *Julius* the Second made his Court to King *Henry*: He ſent him a golden Roſe dipt in Chriſm, and perfum'd with Muſk. It was directed to Archbiſhop *Warham*, who had Inſtructions to preſent it at High Maſs, with the Pope's Benediction *(n)*.

A. D. 1510. *The Pope ſends the King a Preſent.*

(*n*) Spelman Concil. Vol. 2. p. 725.

This *Julius*, who was a warlike Prelate, having carry'd his Point in *Italy* the laſt Campaign, was willing to accept the Submiſſion of the *Venetians*. He made a Peace with this State *February* 24; and being uneaſy at the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Italy*, he endeavoured to oppoſe their Succeſs. To this purpoſe he brought *Ferdinand* of *Spain* into his Intereſt, by giving him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*. He likewiſe endeavour'd to draw the King of *England* into a War againſt *France*, by putting him in mind of the Victories of his Anceſtors, and the great patrimonial Dominions they had in that Countrey. And to ſollicite him more effectually, he offer'd King *Henry* the Honour of being Head of the League with the *Italian* Princes. The King cloſing with the Propoſal, diſpatch'd *Bambridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, to *Rome*, with Inſtructions to treat this Affair. In the mean time, the Pope and the *Venetians* made an Attempt upon *Ferrara* and *Genoa*. But failing of Succeſs, the Pope applies to the Cenſures of the Church, and excommunicates the Duke of *Ferrara*, with all his Adherents. On the other ſide, to make this Expedient unſerviceable, *Lewis* the Twelfth conven'd a Synod of the *Gallican* Church at *Tours*. At this Aſſembly the Pope's late Management was cenſur'd, and his Excommunication declar'd void. It was likewiſe reſolv'd a Remonſtrance ſhould be drawn up, and an Admonition ſent to perſuade him to Peace, and gentler Meaſures. And if theſe Terms were refus'd, he ſhou'd be put in mind of the Decree of the Council of *Baſil*, and requeſted to call a General Council. *Lewis* the *French* King having made this Step, prevail'd with the Emperor *Maximilian*, and ſome of the *Cardinals*, to joyn him in the Motion. By this face of Authority, a Council was ſummon'd to *Piſa*, and the Pope requir'd to appear there. While this Buſineſs was tranſacting, the *French* Forces under *Chaumont*, ſat down before *Bononia*. The Pope being ſurpriz'd, and lying ſick in the Town, was forc'd upon harſh Conditions. This beſieging his *Holyneſs* ſounded ill, and was look'd on as a very hardy Enterprize; inſomuch that King *Henry* preſently enter'd into a League with *Ferdinand* in *Julius*'s Defence.

And endeavours to make him break with France.

Dupleix.

Lord Herbert.

1 Sept. 1511. *A Council ſummon'd at* Piſa.

This Year ſeveral in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury* abjur'd for Hereſy, before Archbiſhop *Warham*, at his Mannor of *Knoll*. *Chriſtopher Grebel*, one of 'em, abjur'd the Articles following. The Form runs thus:

Several Perſons abjure for Hereſy.

In the Name of God, *Amen*. “Before yow the moſt Reverend Father in God, my Lord *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I *Chriſtopher Grebel*, Layman, of the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, of my pure Heart and free Will, confeſs and knowledge, That I in times paſt, have believ'd, ſaid, affirm'd, hold'n, and taught of the Sacraments of the Church, and other Articles of Faith, otherways than the Holy Church of *Rome*, and univerſal Church of God teacheth, *&c*. And ſpecially, amongſt others, theſe Errors and Hereſies following, that is to wit, That in the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Chriſt, but material Bread: Alſo, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm and Confirmation, is not neceſſary nor profitable for Man's Saul. Alſo that Pilgrimages to holy and devout Places, be not profitable neither meritorious for Man's Saul. Alſo that Images of Saints be not to be worſhipp'd: And that a Man ſhould pray to no Saint, but only to God. Alſo that Holy Water and Holy Bread be not the better after the Benediction made by the Prieſt, than they were before.” *William Oldburd*, *Agnes Ive*, *Agnes Chettingden*, *Thomas Manning*, *John Collins*, *Robert Hills*, *Thomas Harwood*, *Stephen Caſtiline*, *William Oldbeard*, *Robert Reynolds*, *Thomas Feild*, *John Oldbeard*, *Vincent Linch*, and ſome others abjur'd the ſaid Articles, and ſome, only ſome of 'em. For their Penance, they were order'd to go bare-foot, and offer a Taper: Some of 'em were enjoyn'd to carry Faggots, and leave 'em at the Church Door, and to offer ſomething at the High Altar, when Maſs was ſaid *(q)*. *Stephen Caſtiline* being a leading Perſon, and having brought over ſeveral to his Opinions, had ſomething particular in his Penance. He was confin'd to a ſort of perpetual Impriſonment in the Monaſtery of *Leeds* in *Kent*. And in caſe he took the liberty of going farther than a Mile from that Place, was to be treated as a Perſon relaps'd. The other part of his Penance was to carry a Faggot the next Lord's Day, into the Church of *Tenderden*, before the Proceſſion; and during this Confinement, he was to mortify in his Diet, and to be fed *Pane doloris, & aqua anguſtia (r)*.

Grebel *Orthodox in ſome Points, and Heterodox in others.*

(*q*) Regiſt. Warham fol. 144. 173.

Sept. 11.

(*r*) Id p. 174.

About this time, *Elizabeth Samſon* in the Dioceſe of *London*, was delated for holding Heretical Opinions. She is charg'd with ſpeaking irreverently, and indeed impiouſly, of the Holy Euchariſt, declaring againſt Pilgrimages, and the Worſhip of Images: And here, tho' ſhe was right in the main, yet her Language was intemperate and indecent. The other two Articles objected againſt her, were plain Hereſies, being no leſs than the denying our Saviour's Aſcenſion, and the general Reſurrection. She confeſſes the Charge, and abjures (*ſ*).

(ſ) Regiſt. Fitz James, fol. 4.

Joan Baker was likewiſe convented for Hereſy. She deny'd the Pope's Power in granting Pardons; refuſ'd to pay Reverence to the *Crucifix*; declar'd againſt Pilgrimages, and ſaid the Lady *Young*, who was burnt for ſuch Opinions, dy'd a Martyr. She was diſmiſs'd upon abjuring (*t*). About this time one *William Potear* of *Whitcallne*, abjur'd.

(t) Id. fol. 25.

He held, That if the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, were Three Perſons, they were Three Gods; and that *Holy, Holy, Holy*, was ſung in the Church *Service* to ſignifie as much.

Item, That he did not underſtand what Benefit the World receiv'd by our Saviour's Paſſion; becauſe ſince his Incarnation, as well as before, Men are damn'd for mortal Sins. And laſtly, That he cou'd not tell to what purpoſe the Sacrament of Baptiſm was available. He confeſſed all theſe Articles in his Abjuration.

A Council at Lyons.

The Pope was unſucceſsful this Campaign in *Italy*, loſt *Bononia* to the *French*, and was defeated in the Field by *Gaſton de Foix*. This Diſgrace was follow'd by another: His Supremacy receiv'd a Check, and a Council was meeting at *Piſa* againſt his Will. To prevent this Misfortune from going farther, he excommunicates the Princes and Cardinals who ſummon'd the *Council*. But this Cenſure was not regarded by the other Party. However, the Prelates who came thither, being diſcountenanc'd by the Burghers of *Piſa*, tranſlate the Council to *Milan*; and finding no better Entertainment there, remov'd to *Lyons*. Hither *Julius* is ſummon'd, and his Authority ſuſpended, for not appearing. Upon this, the Pope thunders his Cenſures againſt *France*, nulls the Council of *Lyons*, and ſummons another to be held at the *Lateran* in *Rome*. In this Council the *Engliſh* had a Repreſentation; two Biſhops and two Abbots being ſent thither; *viz. Silveſter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Dockra*, Lord Prior of *St. John's*, and *Richard*, Abbot of *Winchelcomb* (*u*). In this *Lateran Synod*, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Members and Abettors of the other Council was confirm'd, and the Acts of it voided. The Pope to fortify himſelf further, endeavoured to draw King *Henry* into the Quarrel againſt the *French* King. Archbiſhop *Bambridge* was the Pope's Agent in this matter, and for his Service was made a Cardinal (*w*).

Feb. 4. 1512.
(u) Lord Herbert.
Voided by the Council of Lateran.

(w) Id. p. 17.
Id.

King *Henry* being reſolv'd to comply with the Pope, and attack *France*, demanded the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Guienne*, &c. which had formerly been parcel of the *Engliſh Crown*. This Claim being not conſider'd by King *Lewis*, the War broke out. The Preparations for this Expedition were manag'd by Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was now a growing Favourite. This *Wolſey*, a Perſon of mean Birth, had begun to make his Fortune in the late Reign. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, recommended him to King *Henry* the Seventh, who employ'd him in an Embaſſy to the Emperor *Maximilian*. *Wolſey* manag'd this Affair with ſo much Expedition and Addreſs, that the King rewarded him with the Deanry of *Lincoln* at his return, and ſoon after made him his Almoner (*x*).

(x) Cavendiſh *Mem. of Card.* Wolſey.

Fox *recommends* Wolſey.

About this time there was a Miſunderſtanding between *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*. The Biſhop, who was Principal Secretary and Lord Privy Seal, charg'd the other, who was Lord Treaſurer, with being too laviſh of the King's Money, and exhauſting the Exchequer, which was left ſo plentifully furniſhed by King *Henry* the Seventh. The Earl juſtify'd himſelf, by alledging the King's ſpecial Order. (*y*) The Biſhop being ſomewhat worn out by Age and ill Health, diſengag'd from the Court, and retir'd to his See; (*z*) and that no ill Offices might be done him with the King, he made a Friend of *Wolſey*, who, by the Biſhop's Intereſt, was brought farther into the King's Eſteem, and ſworn of the *Privy Council*. To let the Reader into ſome part of his Character, he is ſaid to be a Perſon of great Induſtry and Diſpatch, was always puſhing his Fortune, and made the moſt of an Opportunity. He was reckon'd a very good Speaker, manag'd to commendation in the *Star-Chamber*; and upon the ſcore of his Elocution, was aſſign'd by that Court to report their Proceedings to the King. However, the Methods of his Riſe were not all defenſible, for he is charg'd to make his Intereſt with the King with too much Art, to apply to his Inclination, and gratify his Fancy, without regard to the Merit of the Caſe. (*a*) The King being young was govern'd by his Diverſions: *Wolſey* perceiving the bent of his Humour, undertook to eaſe him of the Fatigues of Buſineſs. Upon this the King put the Adminiſtration moſtly into *Wolſey*'s Hands; and what Satisfaction he gave his Maſter, may be gueſs'd by his Promotion. For the King made him firſt Biſhop of *Tournay*, lately taken from the *French*, and afterwards upon the Death of Dr. *Smith*, he was prefer'd to the See of *Lincoln*: to which we may add the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which was giv'n him at the Deceaſe of Cardinal *Bambridge*. And having mention'd the Death of theſe Biſhops, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething about them. To begin with *William Smith*, who was bred at *Pembroke-hall* in *Cambridge*, and from thence promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Lichfeld*: here he founded an Hoſpital, with Maintenance for a Maſter, two Prieſts and ten poor People. He likewiſe founded a School there: and towards the Endowment procur'd a Grant of the Hoſpital of *Don-hall* in *Cheſhire* of King *Henry* the Seventh. To this we may add the Foundation of another School at *Farmworth* the Place of his Birth, where he ſettles 10 *l.* a year for the Maſter's Sallary; and to conclude with his Benefactions, he began to build the College of *Brazennoſe* in *Oxford*, but here Death prevented the finiſhing his Deſign. He was tranſlated to *Lincoln* in the Year 1495; and was Lord Preſident of *Wales* from the ſeventeenth of *Henry* the Seventh to the fifth of *Henry* the Eighth, in which he died (*b*). To proceed in a word to Cardinal *Bambridge*: This Prelate was extracted from a conſiderable Family near *Appleby* in *Weſtmorland*, bred in Queen's College at *Oxford*: and being Doctor of Law, was made Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Dean of *York*. In the Year 1507, he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Durham*, and tranſlated to *York* the Year after. He had a publick Character from the King at the Court of *Rome*, as has been obſerved already. In his Return from thence towards *England*, he died at *Roan*. It is thought, his Paſſion was the Occaſion of his Death; for *Rivallus de Modena*, his Steward, being can'd by the Cardinal, he poiſon'd him in Revenge. He died *July* 14. 1514.

(y) Lord Herbert.

(z) Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ. p. 309.

Somewhat of Wolſey's *Character.*

(a) Cavend. p. 12.

Id.

Smith, *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *his Benefactions.*

Dec. 31. 1513.
(b) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl.

The Death of Card. Bambridge.
Id. & Cavend.

A. D. 1512.

I muſt now go back a little, and acquaint the Reader, that at a *Parliament* held in the fourth Year of this Reign, there was an *Act* made, That **all Perſons hereafter committing Murder or Felony in any Church, Chapel, in the King's Highway, or thoſe that ſhou'd rob or murder any Perſon in his Houſe, &c. ſhou'd not be admitted to the Benefit of the Clergy** (*c*).

(*c*) 4 H. 8. c. 2.

The Abbot of Winchelcomb's *Sermon gives Occaſion to a debate concerning the Exemption of the Clergy.*

This *Act*, tho' ſerviceable to the Quiet of the Kingdom, prov'd the Occaſion of a great Diſpute at the next *Parliament* held in the Year 1515: For it ſeems the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* had lately been ſo imprudent in his Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs*, as to declare that the *Act* abovemention'd was directly contrary to the Law of God, and ſubverſive of the Liberties of the *Church*; and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who had paſs'd the *Bill* had incurr'd the *Cenſures*. And to fortify his Aſſertion, he produc'd a *Decree*, upon the Authority of which Citation, he affirms that all *Clerks*, both in greater or leſſer *Orders*, were exempt from the Cogniſance of Temporal Courts in *Criminal Cauſes*. For, ſays he, all *Orders*, thoſe below a Subdeacon as well as thoſe above, are *holy Orders* (*d*). Upon this, the King, at the ſpecial Requeſt of the Temporal Lords, and ſeveral of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, order'd the Caſe to be ſolemnly argued at *Black-fryers*. And here we are to obſerve, that the Judges were preſent at the Debate. When the Buſineſs came on, *Henry Standiſh*, Doctor of Divinity, *Warden* of the Fryers Mendicants in *London*, and one of the King's Spiritual *Council*, argued thus. That the Act abovemention'd, and the proſecuting of Clerks before Temporal Judges in Criminal Cauſes, was by no means inconſiſtent with the Law of God, nor the Liberties of holy Church. That ſuch Proſecutions being cuſtomary Practice, and conformable to the Laws of the Kingdom, they ought not to be over-rul'd. His Reaſon was, that the publick Advantage was very much ſecur'd this way, and that all the Laws of the World ought to be conſtrued in Favour to the General Good.

(*d*) Keilwey's Reports fol. 181.

On the other ſide, the *Council* for the *Spirituality* reply'd, that there was a Decree or Canon directly contrary to *Standiſh*'s Plea, and that all Chriſtians were bound to obey this *Canon*, under the Danger of ſinning mortally. And therefore the conventing Clerks before Temporal Judges in Criminal Cauſes was evidently indefenſible. To this *Standiſh* returns, God forbid; for there is a *Decree*, ſays he, that all Biſhops ſhou'd be reſident at their Cathedral upon every *Feſtival*; and yet we ſee the greateſt part of the Engliſh Biſhops practiſe the contrary. Beſides, this *Decree* for the Exemption of Clerks was never admitted in *England*: the contrary Uſage having all along been receiv'd here, as well ſince, as before the making of it: now ſince the *Decree* has never gain'd Reception in *England*, for this Reaſon it does not bind the Subject. The *Council* for the Clergy, it ſeems did not anſwer this part of the Argument, but endeavour'd to ſupport the Cauſe by ſaying, that Clerks were exempted by the expreſs Command of our Saviour Chriſt: he endeavour'd to prove his Affirmation by this Text, *Touch not my Anointed*. Now, ſays he, no Cuſtom, how general ſoever, can ſtand againſt this Authority: for all Laws and Uſages, which Claſh with the Commands of God, are downright damnable; from whence it follows, that the trying Clerks before Temporal Judges in Criminal Cauſes, is a direct Contradiction to the Law of God. To this *Standiſh* rejoins, that theſe Words *Touch not my Anointed*, were ſpoken by the Prophet *David* above 1000 Years before the *Incarnation*, and that he could never prove our bleſſed Saviour had ever ſpoken thoſe Words. And to make the matter better underſtood, he added, that the reaſon of King *David*'s uſing this Expreſſion was becauſe the greateſt part of the World at that time were Infidels: that upon this Ground, he call'd thoſe, who believ'd the Law of Moſes, and the Revelation of the Old Teſtament, *God's Anointed*; and therefore commanded the unbelieving *Gentiles* not to touch or hurt theſe *Anointed*. By the way, this Expoſition is almoſt as untoward as the other; however as *Keilway* reports, the Clergy's Council made no Defence to that point: But as to the main, he held up the Argument, and pretended himſelf able to baffle any Perſon of a different Sentiment. But notwithſtanding this Flouriſh, he argued faintly, when put to the proof: inſomuch that certain *Members* of the Houſe of *Commons* made a Motion that the Biſhops wou'd order the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to go to St. *Paul's-Croſs*, and there openly recant his firſt Sermon: But the Biſhops refus'd to comply with this Expedient, declaring (if this *Reporter* is not miſtaken) that they were oblig'd by the Laws of holy Church to maintain the Abbots Opinion in every Branch of it. And thus the matter reſted till *Michaelmas-Term* following. In the mean time one Dr. *Horſy* (as *Keilwey* continues) *Chancellor* to the Biſhop of *London* convented one *John Hun* of *London*, for Suſpicion of *Hereſy*, and afterwards, by virtue of his Authority, committed him to the *Lollard's Tower*, which was a Priſon of the Biſhop's at St. *Paul*'s. There was a Miſunderſtanding between this Dr. *Horſy* and *Hun*, upon the ſcore of a *Præmunire* brought againſt the Doctor at *Hun*'s Suit. The Occaſion of the Diſpute was this: this *Hun* a Merchant Taylor in *London* had a *Mortuary* demanded of him for a Child of his: the Clergyman claim'd the *bearing Sheet*, which *Hun* refuſing to give, he was ſued in the Spiritual Court. His *Council* advis'd him to bring a *Præmunire* againſt the Clerk for ſuing the King's Subjects in a foreign Court. That the Biſhop's Court was foreign, his Lawyer pretended to prove becauſe the Court ſat by Authority from the *Legate*. (*e*) But here ſeems to be a double Miſtake; for, 1*ſt*, The Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Court *Hun* was ſued, had no Legantine Commiſſion, but acted upon his ordinary Juriſdiction; beſides here was no *Bulls* or *Inſtruments* procur'd from the Pope, or any thing made uſe of in the Name of the See of *Rome*; 2*dly*, If by a Stretch of Conſtruction, the Biſhop of *London* ſhou'd be ſaid to be an Abettor of a foreign Juriſdiction, becauſe he did not formally diſclaim *Wolſey*'s *Legantine* Authority: To this I anſwer, that Cardinal *Wolſey* had the King's Licenſe under his *Broad Seal* to execute the Functions of a *Legate*. 3*dly*, It may be obſerv'd, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* have been all along ſtiled the Pope's Legates from the Reign of *Henry* the Firſt, and yet their Juriſdiction was never queſtioned (*f*). While this Suit was depending, *Hun* was queſtion'd for Hereſy, and impriſon'd: He was afterwards found dead in his Chamber. Dr. *Horſy* and the Keeper affirm'd he had hang'd himſelf: But their Relation being queſtion'd, the *Coroner's Inqueſt* paſs'd upon the Body. This *Jury* acquitted *Hun* of being *Felo de ſe*, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the Charge of the Priſon (*g*).

Hun *proſecuted for Hereſy in the Biſhop of* London's *Court.*

(*e*) *Dr.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Reform. part* 1. *p.* 14.

(*f*) *See the* 1*ſt Part of this Hiſt. p* 317.

He is found dead in the Biſhop's Priſon. A. D. 1514.

(*g*) Holing. *p.* 835. *and Dr.* Burnet.

While the Inqueſt proceeded in this Tryal, the Biſhop began a new Proceſs againſt *Hun* for other points of Hereſy. The Articles are ſaid to have been drawn out of *Wickliff*'s Preface to the *Bible*. This Book being in *Hun*'s Poſſeſſion paſs'd for Evidence: So that in ſhort he was pronounc'd a Heretick, and his Body, being deliver'd to the Sheriff, was burnt in *Smithfield*. *Fox* makes a Tragical Repreſentation of this matter, and if his Narrative will hold, the Proceedings were very extraordinary: But to give the *Reader* a more diſtinct View of the Caſe, I ſhall ſet down the firſt Articles objected againſt *Hun*, as they ſtand in *Fox*.

Holing. *and Dr.* Burnet Ibid.

The Articles with which Hun *was charg'd before the Biſhop.*

" 1*ſt*, He is charg'd to have taught, publiſh'd " and obſtinately defended that the Clergy had " no Right to demand *Tithes*, and that the Prieſts " had nothing but their own Covetouſneſs for " their Title.

" 2*dly*, That he maintain'd and publiſh'd, that " Biſhops and Prieſts are the Scribes and Phariſes that crucify'd Chriſt, and condemn'd him " to die.

" 3*dly*, That he taught and maintain'd, that " Biſhops and Preiſts preach'd one way, and liv'd " another: that they minded no part of their " Function: that Avarice and Rapine was their " Buſineſs; and that they took every thing, and " gave nothing.

" A fourth Article objected to him, was his " Defence of the Opinions of *Joan Baker* above-" mention'd,

Hun in his Anſwer deny'd the Opinions charg'd upon him, as they are couch'd in the Articles. However he own'd his having ſpoken ſome words which might be drawn towards ſuch a Conſtruction. For this he profeſs'd himſelf ſorry, begg'd God's Pardon, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhop's Correction (*h*). As to the Depoſitions concerning *Hun*'s Murder, the Proceſs of the Biſhop upon the dead Body, the bringing the Cauſe into the *Parliament Houſe*, and the King's *Precept* for the Reſtitution of his Goods; for Proof of this, *Fox* vouches the *Records* of the Proceedings then in the Hands of *Hun*'s Grandſon. I ſhall now lay before the *Reader* the Account which Sir *Thomas More* gives of this Matter; Sir *Thomas More*, I ſay, who was a Perſon of no ſlender Character, and liv'd in *London*, when the Caſe happen'd. This Gentleman, in Anſwer to a *Pamphlet* call'd the *Supplication of Beggars*, endeavours to take off the Imputation charg'd upon Dr. *Horſy* and the Biſhop of *London*, as to the Buſineſs abovementioned.

(*h*) Fox *Vol.* 2.

Fox ibid. *p.* 22.

Sir Thomas Moore'*s Defence of the Proceſs in this Matter.*

And 1*ſt*, Whereas it was objected, that provided *Hun* had not commenc'd an Action of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt, he had neither loſt his Life, nor been counted a Heretick. To this Sir *Thomas Moore* anſwers, that it was well known that *Hun* was charg'd with Hereſy, before the *Præmunire* was either ſued or thought on; and that he began this Suit to diſintangle himſelf from the *Spiritual Court*; and for ſome time found his Account in the Expedient. For the Biſhop, to prevent Calumny and Miſconſtruction, order'd his Proſecution to be ſtopp'd: And why ſo? Becauſe *Hun* might be the better at leiſure to make the moſt of his Action at Common Law. *Hun* therefore going on with his Suit, the King's Judges declar'd the Action would not *bear*; the matter in queſtion being a *Mortuary*, which by the Law plainly belong'd to the Juriſdiction of the *Spiritual Court*. *Hun* being thus baffled at the Common Law, the Biſhop went on with his Proceſs, and prov'd the Charge of erroneous Doctrine againſt him under his own Hand.

2*dly*, Whereas it was ſaid, that Doctor *Horſy* and his Officers murder'd *Hun* in Priſon; the contrary, ſays Sir *Thomas Moore*, is well known, and that the Man hang'd himſelf out of Deſpair, Revenge, and want of Grace.

3*dly*, The Author of the *Supplication of Beggars* pretends, that Doctor *Horſy* purchas'd the King's Pardon for the murdering of *Hun*. This Sir *Thomas Moore* poſitively denies, and ſays, there was never any Attempt made to procure a Pardon; but that after a conſiderable time, when the Matter had been examin'd to the bottom, the King was ſatisfy'd that Doctor *Horſy*, and thoſe brought into trouble with him, were wrongfully charg'd with the Murder. Upon this, when they were arraign'd upon an Indictment, and pleaded not guilty, he order'd the Attorney General to allow their Plea, and diſcharge them *. Sir *Thomas Moore* replies to two other Objections againſt Doctor *Horſy*, which being not ſo material, I ſhall wave the recital.

* Moore'*s Works*, 297. & deinc.

To return to *Keilwey*: The Biſhops (as this *Reporter* continues) perceiving the Jury intended to indite Doctor *Horſy* and the Keeper for the Murder of *Hun*, notwithſtanding their Advice to the contrary; and it may be concluding, Doctor *Standiſh* might have given ſome Occaſion to this Matter; order'd him to appear before the *Convocation*. And here the Doctor had certain Queſtions put to him by word of Mouth. 1ſt. *Whether it is lawful for a Temporal Judge to bring any Clerks before him in a Court of Juſtice*, &c. 2dly, *Whether the firſt Orders are Holy Orders or not*. 3dly, *Whether a Conſtitution made by the Pope and Clergy is binding, in a Country where the contrary Practice has all along prevailed*. 4thly, *Whether a Temporal Prince can check the Proceedings of Biſhops who miſbehave themſelves in correcting thoſe under their Juriſdiction*. What Anſwer Dr. *Standiſh* made to theſe Queſtions, *Keilwey* does not inform us: But another Day, as he goes on, *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deliver'd him a *Bill*, or Paper, in full *Convocation*; it contained the ſame Senſe with the Articles above-mention'd, and a Day was aſſign'd him to put in his Anſwer. Doctor *Standiſh*, perceiving the *Convocation* diſaffected to him, and apprehending the Conſequence, applyed to the King for Protection. Upon this, the *Clergy* made their Excuſe to the King, acquainted his Majeſty, that they had no Quarrel to the Doctor, upon the Score of his Pleading againſt the Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, and that this Pretence of his was mere Calumny. On the contrary, their Exceptions againſt *Standiſh* were, certain publick Diſcourſes he had made at St. *Paul*'s and other Places, long after he had been entertain'd as the King's Council: In which Diſcourſes, he had poſitively maintain'd the Opinions mention'd in the *Bill* exhibited againſt him: That theſe Propoſitions were directly contrary to the *Law*, and Liberties of *Holy Church*: Adding withal, that they were bound to endeavour the Suppreſſion of ſuch Innovations, and begging the King's Aſſiſtance purſuant to the Oath at his Coronation.

An. 7. H. 8. Mich. *Term.* *Dr.* Standiſh *cited before the Convocation.*

He is charged with Tenents derogatory to the Privilege and Juriſdiction of the Church.

After this the Temporal Lords and Judges, at the inſtance of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, intreated the King to maintain his Royal Juriſdiction; for this, as they ſuggeſted, was likewiſe part of his Coronation Oath. To this they ſubjoyn'd their Requeſt, that His Majeſty would be pleas'd to ſhelter Doctor *Standiſh* from the Malice of the *Clergy*: For that the principal Matter of their *Bill* againſt him, and that which the Abbot declaim'd on in his Sermon, were in effect the ſame things; and tended both to maim the Juriſdiction of the Temporal Courts, and exempt the Clergy from Puniſhment. The King having weigh'd the Requeſt of either Party, call'd Doctor *Veſey* the Dean of his Chapel to him, and commanded him upon

He is abetted by the Temporalty.

A. D. 1515.

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

upon his Faith and Allegiance to declare the Truth, according to the beſt of his Knowledge, upon the following Queſtion. That is, whether the trying of *Clerks* in *Criminal Cauſes* before Temporal Judges, is directly contrary to the Law of God, and the Liberties of holy Church, as the *Spiritualty* pretend. To this, after mature Deliberation, Dr. *Veſey* told the King with all the Solemnity required, that the trying of Clerks before Temporal Judges, purſuant to the Cuſtom of *England*, was very conſiſtent with the Law of God, and the Liberties of holy Church: And here he alledg'd ſeveral Reaſons and Authorities in proof of his Opinion. Soon after, the Judges, the King's Council Spiritual and Temporal, and certain *Members* of the *Parliament*, were order'd by the King to meet at *Black fryers* upon this matter. And here the *Convocation Bill* againſt Dr. *Standiſh* was read: The Words are theſe,

He was firſt to anſwer, whether he had publickly or privately maintain'd the following Propoſitions; the firſt was, *that the leſſer Orders were not holy.* 2dly, *That the Exemption of Clerks was not* Jure Divino. The third was, *That the Laity might lawfully puniſh the inferior Clergy, in caſe the Prelates proved negligent.* 4thly, *That poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Laws are binding to none but thoſe that receive them.* 5thly, *That the Study of the Canon Law ought to be laid aſide, becauſe being but Miniſterial to Divinity, it taught People to deſpiſe that nobler Science.* 6thly and laſtly, *That the Obligatory part of the* Decretum *might be held in a Man's Hand.*

His anſwer.

“These Propoſitions being read, Dr. *Standiſh* began with his Anſwer to the 3d Propoſition, and denyed he had ever maintain'd it. He gave much the ſame Anſwer to the 5th and 6th, as to any deliberate aſſerting them: However, whether he might not have ſaid ſomething towards that Senſe in Converſation, he ſhou'd not be poſitive, neither did he believe his Caſe required it. As to the 1ſt Propoſition relating to the *Leſſer* Orders, he anſwer'd they were *holy* in one reſpect, and not ſo in another. And to the 2d Concluſion touching the *Exemption* of *Clerks*, he anſwer'd that the ſummoning of 'em before Temporal Judges, imply'd no Repugnancy to the poſitive Laws of God. And his Anſwer to the 4th Concluſion was, that Eccleſiaſtical *Conſtitutions*, where the Practice runs againſt them for 300 Years, bind no where but where they are receiv'd.

To this Anſwer the Managers for the *Clergy* reply'd, that the Temporal Judges cou'd no more juſtify the Calling their *Spiritual*, than their *Natural* Father before them; and that as the trying their *Natural* Father implies expreſs Diſobedience againſt the Fifth Commandment, ſo the Inference wou'd hold to their *Spiritual* Parent, whoſe Honour is ſecur'd by that Precept; adding withal, that no Cuſtom ought to be pleaded in Bar of the Ten Commandments. To this Dr. *Standiſh* reply'd,

1ſt, By allowing the Parallel; That the Temporal Judge might ſummon both one *Father* and t'other before him, without any Breach of the Fifth Commandment: He might do this, he ſaid, provided he manag'd with Diſcretion, and kept to a temper in the Proceſs: that is, in caſe they were both found guilty, if he deliver'd his *Spiritual* Father to the *Ordinary*, and defer'd to give Sentence upon his *Natural*: The keeping within this compaſs, he ſaid, was no Failure in regard to either Relation.

2dly, He reply'd there was a Diſparity in the Caſe: for ſuppoſing a Judge cou'd not juſtify the conventing of his *Spiritual Father*, yet it does not follow, but that he might order other *Clerks* to be brought before him; for every Clerk is not his *Spiritual* Father. He argued farther, that every Command was not to be reſtrain'd to a literal Senſe, a Latitude of Interpretation being ſometimes neceſſary. For inſtance, *Thou ſhall not kill*, *Thou ſhall not ſteal*, are parts of the *Decalogue*, and of a Moral Nature. This Bar notwithſtanding, the *Iſraelites* both kill'd and ſpoil'd the *Egyptians*, without violating the Law. It is true, they had a Warrant from God to juſtify this Liberty. And ſince a Branch of the Moral Law may be diſpens'd with, it would be ſtrange if the *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, ſhou'd be wholly unalterable.

Hen. VIII. K.

He is ſeconded by Veſey.

Veſey ſeconded *Standiſh*, and repeated the Reaſons he had laid before the King upon this Argument. He ſaid, that in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, all ſecular Prieſts had the Liberty of marrying: But that afterwards, when *Auſtin* the Monk came over, there was an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in reſtraint of this Liberty: that becauſe this Conſtitution was received with us, and in other parts of the *Weſt*; We, ſays he, that are *Engliſh* Prieſts live ſingle. But then we ought to take notice, that this *Decree* was not received in ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom*, particularly not in the *Eaſt*: For this reaſon the Prieſts in the *Greek* Church marry no leſs than the *Laity*. Now if an *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution* may be over-rul'd by Non-reception, and the Prevalence of a Counter-cuſtom; then, *a fortiori*, the trying of *Clerks* in Temporal Courts ought not to be conteſted. For here, beſides the Plea of Cuſtom, the Benefit of the Government is concern'd in the Practice. Now the Common Good, as had been urg'd already, ought to have a favourable Allowance, and be prefer'd to other Conſiderations.

The Judges Opinion upon the Caſe.

The *Judges* having heard the Caſe argued on both ſides, came to this Reſolution, that thoſe of the *Convocation*, who awarded a Citation againſt Dr. *Standiſh*, had fall'n under a *Præmunire*. They likewiſe affirm'd, that the King might hold a *Parliament* with his Temporal Lords and *Commons*, without the Lords *Spiritual*: Their Reaſon was, becauſe the *Spiritual* Lords don't ſit in *Parliament* by the Privilege of their *Spiritualty*, but only upon the ſcore of their Temporal Eſtates.

But here, if the *Reporter* has dealt clearly, the Reſolution of the Judges ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary: For, *1ſt*, They pronounce the Clergy guilty of a *Præmunire* for citing *Standiſh* before the *Convocation*, and trying him for Heretical Opinions, of which the Biſhops were evidently Judges by Law (*k*).

2dly, They aſſert the King may hold a *Parliament* without the Biſhops, which is no leſs a Contradiction to the *Engliſh Conſtitution*; for nothing is more plain, than that the *Prelates* have been always reckon'd an Eſſential Part of the *Legiſlature*. In all Acts of *Parliament*, where the Subjects are mention'd, the *Spiritual Lords* are named in the firſt Place: And in Caſes of *Blood*, when the Biſhops were reſtrain'd by the *Canons* from being preſent, the Cuſtom was to make a Proteſtation to ſave their Privilege: Of this we have a famous Inſtance in the time of King *Richard* the Second. In this Reign *Courtney*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, made a *Proteſtation* in the name of all the Biſhops: It ſets forth, that the Lords *Spiritual* by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to ſit, debate, vote, and give Judgment with the reſt of the Peers in all Caſes and Matters tranſacted in Parliament, *&c.* This *Inſtrument*, at the Inſtance and Petition of the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans, was read in a full *Houſe*, and enter'd upon the *Parliament Rolls* by the

---

(*k*) Fitzherbert N. B. *fol.* 169. 2 H 4. cap 15. Coke Inſtitut. *part* 4. *fol.* 25.

the King's Command, with the Aſſent of the Temporal Lords and Commons (*l*): Farther, We are to obſerve, that there was no Creations by *Patent* till the Reign of King *Henry* the Third. Till this time all the Temporal Peers were noble in virtue of their *Fiefs*; 'twas the manner of holding their Land, which gave 'em their *Quality*. And of this we have ſtill an Inſtance in *Arundel* Caſtle; For whoever is Owner of this Caſtle has the Dignity of a *Peer*, and a Right to ſit in *Parliament*. From hence it appears, that the Reaſon the Juſtices give for their Opinion is inconcluſive. They ſay the Biſhops don't ſit in *Parliament* by virtue of their *Character*, but upon the account of their *Temporal Poſſeſſions*. That is true: But what follows? Why the contrary of the Judges Concluſion. For if the Biſhops ſit by virtue of their Temporal Poſſeſſions or Baronies, then, by the Judges Confeſſion, their *Tenures* give them a right to ſit: And by conſequence they cou'd not be denyed that Right, without open Breach upon the Conſtitution. But I need ſay no more in ſo plain a Caſe. And therefore upon the whole, as the *Clergy* were miſtaken one way, the Reverend Judges were no leſs another.

(*l*) Antiquit. Brit. *p.* 267. Regiſt. Courtney *fol.* 174. Rotul. Parl. 11. Ric. 2. *N.* 9.

After this Debate, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* and a great many of the Houſe of *Commons*, together with the *Juſtices* and the King's Spiritual and Temporal Council, were order'd by his Majeſty to meet at *Baynard's* Caſtle. And here the *Cardinal* of *York*, kneeling to the King, declared, that he believed none of the *Clergy* had any intention to diſoblige the Prerogative Royal. That for his part he ow'd all his Promotion to his Highneſs's Favour: And therefore wou'd never aſſent to any thing that ſhou'd leſſen the Rights of the *Crown*. But then he ſubjoins, that this Buſineſs of conventing *Clerks* before Temporal Judges was, in the Opinion of the *Clergy*, directly contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of *Holy Church*: That both himſelf and the reſt of the *Prelates* were bound by their Oath to maintain this Exemption: For this Reaſon he intreated the King in the name of the *Clergy*, that his Majeſty would pleaſe to refer the Deciſion of this point to the Pope and the *Conclave*. To this the King reply'd, that he thought Dr. *Standiſh* and others of his *Spiritual* Council had given the Clergy a ſufficient Anſwer. Upon this the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, Sir, *I warrant you Dr.* Standiſh *will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril. To this the Doctor anſwer'd, what ſhou'd one poor Fryer do alone againſt all the Biſhops and Clergy of* England. After a little Pauſe, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* acquainted the King in the name of the *Clergy*, that in antient times ſeveral holy Fathers of the Church had oppoſed the Common Law in this matter: And ſome of 'em had carried the Conteſt ſo far as to ſuffer Martyrdom in the Quarrel. On the other hand *Juſtice Fineux* reply'd, that the trying *Clerks* in Temporal Courts had been maintain'd in the Reigns of ſeveral pious Princes and that many holy Prelates had acquieſc'd under this Law of the Country; which, 'tis preſum'd, they wou'd never have done, had it been ſo contrary to the Laws of God, as is now pretended. Beſides, the *Prelates* have no Authority to try any *Clerk* for *Felony*. The Archbiſhop anſwer'd, they had ſufficient Authority for that purpoſe; but brought neither Precedent nor Argument to ſupport his Aſſertion. *Fineux* on the other ſide rejoin'd, that in caſe a *Clerk* was apprehended for *Felony*, and afterwards deliver'd to the *Ordinary* by the Temporal Judge; you, ſays he, ſpeaking to the Biſhops, have no Authority to try the Fact. To what purpoſe therefore ſhou'd he be put into your Hands: In ſhort, therefore either a *Clerk* muſt be proſecuted in the Temporal *Courts*, or otherways there will be no way to make him ſuffer the Law for the higheſt Crimes.

To this, the *Prelates* making no Anſwer, the King ſpoke to this effect: “By the Providence and Permiſſion of God, we are King of *England*: In which Realm our Predeceſſors have never own'd any Superiour: And therefore I wou'd have you (meaning the Clergy) take notice, that we are reſolved to maintain the Rights of our *Crown* and Temporal Juriſdiction in as ample manner as any of our Progenitors, and that with reſpect to the Caſe in queſtion. And as to your *Decrees*, we are very well ſatisfy'd, that you depart from the literal Conſtruction in many Inſtances, as has been ſufficiently prov'd to you by our *ſpiritual* Council. And therefore you muſt not expect, that we ſhould gratify your Requeſt, any farther than has been formerly done by our Progenitors.” Upon this the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* petition'd the King in the Name of the *Clergy*, that the Matter might reſt till they cou'd ſend to *Rome* for the Reſolution of that Court: And in caſe the Non-exemption of *Clerks* was conſiſtent with the Law of God, they were willing to conform to the Uſages of the Country.

The Clergy deſire this matter may be refer'd to the Court of Rome.

How the *Court* of *Rome* reſolv'd the Caſe is uncertain, but it does not appear that the Pope interpos'd in the matter.

To return, the King made no Anſwer to the Archbiſhop's Requeſt: However the motion prov'd ſerviceable to Dr. *Horſy*, inſomuch that his Proſecution ſlept for ſome time, and he was only confin'd in the Archbiſhop's Houſe, till the Noiſe about *Hun's* Murder went off; and then upon his appearing at the *King's-Bench*, he was diſcharg'd, as has been already related. And as for Dr. *Standiſh*, the Biſhops promis'd the King, he ſhou'd be diſmiſs'd from farther Trouble in the *Convocation*; which was done accordingly (*m*).

Dr. Horſy *and Dr.* Standiſh *are diſcharg'd.*

(*m*) Keilwey ibid.

Pope *Julius* was now dead, and ſucceeded by *Leo* the Tenth, of the Houſe of *Medici*. This Pope being over-munificent, endeavour'd to recover his *Exchequer* by a plenary *Indulgence*. Theſe Favours of the Court of *Rome* uſed to be publiſh'd by the *Hermites*; but the *Dominicans* being look'd on as the beſt Managers, the Matter was put into their hands (*n*). Theſe Men, it ſeems, flouriſh'd extravagantly upon the Virtue of *Indulgences*, and told the People they wou'd wipe out the Blemiſh of any Crime whatever: That they need not queſtion their being happy in another World; and that as ſoon as the Money was paid for the Dead, the Souls in Purgatory wou'd be immediately diſcharg'd, and mount to the Regions of Bliſs (*o*). “*Martin Luther*, a *Hermite* Fryer of *Wittenburgh*, was diſturb'd at theſe Abuſes. He thought the People doubly cheated, and that they not only loſt their Money, but were in danger of ſuffering much farther in their ſpiritual Intereſt. To ſtop the courſe of this Miſchief, he wrote to *Albert* of the Houſe of *Brandenburgh* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. And here putting this *Prelate* in mind of his Office, he intreats him to ſuppreſs the *Pamphlets* put out for recommending the *Indulgences*: And to order the *Publiſhers* to be leſs mercenary and ſcandalous in their Harangues: For unleſs ſome Prevention of this kind was made uſe of, 'twas to be fear'd, there might be a Rupture in the *Church*. With this *Letter* he ſent his ninety five Concluſions, upon which he had diſputed at *Wittenburg*. In theſe *Theſes*, Purgatory, Penance, and *Indulgences* were handled, together

(*n*) *F.* Paul. *Hiſt. of the Coun. Trent.*

A. D. 1517.

(*o*) Id. & Sleidan Comment. *p* 1.

Luther *appears againſt Indulgences.*

“ with ſome Strokes of Satyr upon the exceſſive Rhetorick of the *Dominicans*: But all this was only in a Problematical way, without coming to any poſitive Deciſion. And that the Difficulty of the Caſe might be the better diſintangled, he invited all Men of Learning to come and argue the Point. That thoſe who were not at leiſure ſhou'd ſend their Opinion in writing: proteſting at the ſame time, that he pretended to determine nothing, but ſubmitted the whole matter to the Judgment of the *Church*: However as to *Thomas Aquinas* and the other *Schoolmen* he had no implicit Belief for ſuch Authorities; neither cou'd he go into their Sentiment any farther than they agreed with the holy *Scriptures* and Fathers of the *Church*.

Tecel *writes againſt* Luther.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* return'd no Anſwer: But not long after *John Tecel* a *Dominican* of *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, publiſh'd ſeveral *Theſes* in direct Oppoſition to *Luther*. In theſe Diſcourſes, he ſet forth the Pope's Authority and the Benefit of *Indulgences* with a great deal of Elocution: And was ſo hardy as to compare *Leo* the Tenth with the Apoſtle St. *Peter*. This Performance being much cry'd up, *Luther* reply'd in a Letter to his own Biſhop *Jerom*: And afterwards ſent a Copy to *John Stupitz*, deſiring him it might be convey'd to the Pope. Soon after he wrote to *Leo* himſelf. In this Letter, “ he gives his *Holyneſs* to underſtand, what dangerous Doctrine was advanc'd by his *Collectors*, and how much they abus'd his Authority to ſerve their Avarice; adding that he did not queſtion but great Complaints had been prefer'd againſt him, but he was altogether wrong'd. 'Tis true he had publiſh'd ſomething to check the Extravagancies delivered by the *Collectors* in their *Sermons*, but that was only by way of Information. He therefore deſires his *Holyneſs* not to give Credit to any Clamours againſt him. That provided the Reports of his Adverſaries had been true, the Elector of *Saxony* that prudent and pious Prince wou'd never have ſuffer'd him to live in his Dominions; neither ſhou'd he have receiv'd any better Countenance at the *Univerſity* of *Wittenburgh*. In fine, he lays his *Writings* and his Life at the Pope's Feet; telling him, that whatever Deciſion ſhall come from his *Holyneſs*, he ſhall look upon it as an Oracle from Heaven, and as if it had been pronounc'd by our Saviour himſelf: Neither would he refuſe to die if his *Holyneſs* ſhou'd think he deſerv'd it.

An. Dom. 1518, June.

He writes a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope.

Eccius & Prierias *publiſh Books againſt* Luther.

Beſides others, one *John Eccius* a Divine, publiſh'd an Anſwer to theſe laſt Diſcourſes of *Luther*. To this *Luther*, in his Reply, endeavour'd to prove that this *Eccius* had not fortify'd his Aſſertions with any Authorities from the *Holy Scriptures* and Fathers; but only advanc'd his own Fancy, countenanc'd with the Opinions of the *Schoolmen*. *Sylveſter Prierias* a *Dominican*, and Maſter of the *Sacred Palace*, ſeconded *Eccius* in the Diſpute. He dedicated his Book to the Pope, ſet forward with a great deal of Spirit, and ſeem'd confident of Succeſs. But to proceed with greater caution, he laid down as a kind of a *Poſtulatum*, that the Pope was Head of the whole *Church*, and that in Matters relating to Faith and Religion, the *See* of *Rome* was infallible; that a Council, where the Pope aſſiſted, had the ſame Privilege; that the *Canon* of *Scripture* was receiv'd upon the Authority of the Church, in conjunction with the Pope: That whoever refus'd to receive the Doctrine taught by the Church of *Rome*, or conteſted the Juriſdiction of that *See*, was undoubtedly an Heretick. After he had intrench'd himſelf under this Shelter, he ventur'd upon the Controverſie.

He replys.

To this *Luther* in his Anſwer, acquaints *Sylveſter*, “ That he admir'd his *Manner* more than he underſtood it. But then he thought fit to follow his Method ſo far as to lay down ſome Grounds for his Defence. And here he made the *Holy Scriptures* his *Preliminary*; from which he argu'd, that we are not to take every Body's Doctrine upon truſt, but to *prove all things*, and make the Word of God the Standard of our Belief; and that thoſe humane Writings, which keep cloſe to the *Scriptures*, were only to be admitted without Reſerve: As to the reſt, we were left at our Liberty. From hence he proceeds to *Indulgences*, and affirms, that the *Collectors* ought not to advance any new Doctrine or Methods, but be govern'd intirely by the Directions of the *Canon Law*. He proceeds to object againſt *Prierias*, that he does not bring any Text of Scripture in maintenance of his Poſition; that he reſts too much upon the Teſtimony of *Tho. Aquinas*; and that this Doctor us'd to follow his own Sentiment too far, without having recourſe to the *inſpired Writings*: That upon this account, he cou'd not admit the Reaſonings either of St. *Thomas* or *Prierias*: That he had both St. *Paul* and St. *Auſtin* for his warrant. He deſir'd him likewiſe to conſider, that it was cuſtomary among thoſe of the *Long-Robe*, to make good their pleading from the *Text* of the *Law*: And that in Matters of Religion, it was ſtill more neceſſary the Point ſhou'd be rul'd by the *Holy Scriptures* (p).

(p) Id. p. 2, & 3.

The Opinions concerning the Indulgences.

By the way, the Doctrine of *Indulgences* had not been thorowly examin'd in former Ages: Some look'd upon 'em only as Relaxations of Diſcipline, and Relief from Canonical Penance: And this was the moſt defenſible Opinion: Others went farther, and ſeem'd to believe, they diſcharged from Guilt, and were a Satisfaction to the Divine Juſtice. But how this cou'd be done without ſomething by way of Compenſation, was not ſo intelligible. To furniſh for this purpoſe, they had recourſe to the *Treaſure* of the Church: That is, the Merits of ſupererogating Saints, together with thoſe of our Saviour, they conceiv'd might ſupply the Defects, and atone for the Miſperformances of other People. Now the diſpoſing of this Treaſure is ſuppos'd to be lodg'd with the Head of the Church: And upon this Foot ſtands the Strength of the Pope's Indulgences (q).

(q) F. Paul *Hiſt. Counc. of* Trent.

Luther *is cited to* Rome.

His Cauſe referr'd to Cardinal Cajetan.

To proceed, The Controverſy grew warm upon motion; and *Luther* always advanc'd to ſome new Propoſition, as occaſion offer'd. The Difference being thus widen'd, Pope *Leo* cited him to *Rome*, and deſir'd the Duke of *Saxony* in a Brief not to protect him: But being afterwards ſollicited that the Cauſe might be try'd in *Germany*, he yielded to refer it to his Legate *Cajetan*. This Cardinal had Inſtructions, that in caſe he found *Luther* diſpos'd to a Submiſſion, he ſhou'd offer him a Pardon, and encourage him with Promiſes of Preferment: And here the *Legate* had a diſcretionary Commiſſion, and was left to his own Conduct.

This Latitude prov'd unfortunate to the Court of *Rome*. For *Luther* being a Man of no great Ceremony, and managing the Conference with unexpected Freedom, the *Cardinal* took check, menac'd him, and bid him be gone. Upon this *Luther* went from *Ausburg*, where the Conference was held, without farther Reply. But not long after, recollecting his Behaviour, he wrote to the Cardinal. And here he confeſs'd he had manag'd himſelf with too much Vehemence, and promiſ'd to be more reſerv'd for the future. He was willing, he ſaid, to ſatisfy the Pope, and diſpute no further about *Indulgences*, provided his Adverſaries might be held to the ſame Terms. But notwithſtanding this Offer, it ſeems both Parties continu'd to write, and inflame the Difference (*r*).

(*r*) Id. p. 8.

Cardinal Cajetan *blam'd for his rough Treatment of* Luther.

The Court of *Rome* was much diſpleas'd with the Cardinal's Management: They blam'd him for treating *Luther* ſo ruggedly. Whereas on the contrary, he ſhou'd have endeavour'd to have won him with gentle Uſage, with Promiſes of Wealth and Honour. He ought, they ſaid, to have brib'd him high to his Duty, and tempted him with a Mitre or a Cardinal's *Hat*.

Nov. 9. 1518. *The Pope publiſhes a Bull in defence of his Authority and the Indulgences.*

This falſe Step in *Cajetan*, put the Pope upon another unſerviceable Expedient. This Prelate being apprehenſive the Authority of his *See* might ſuffer in *Germany* by the preſent *Controverſie*, publiſh'd a *Bull*, by way of Prevention. In this *Inſtrument* he ſets forth the Vertue of *Indulgences*, and that himſelf, as Vicar of Chriſt, had Power to grant them both for the Living and Dead: That this was the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, of the Mother and Miſtreſs of all Chriſtians; and that her Reſolutions of Faith ought not to be diſputed. This *Bull* was ſent to Cardinal *Cajetan*, who publiſh'd it at *Lynts* in *Auſtria* (*s*).

(*s*) Id. p. 8.

Luther *appeals from the Pope to a Council.*

By this *Bull*, *Luther* perceiv'd himſelf loſt at the *Court* of *Rome*. This Proſpect made him ſally into further Freedoms, throw off all Ceremony and Reſerve, and treat the Pope in a manner upon the level. Thus much the *Reader* may underſtand from his Appeal. 'Tis true, he premiſes, that when the Pope taught the Truth, he wou'd not oppoſe his Authority: But then he takes the Liberty to add, that Sin and Error are Incidents to Mankind, and that his *Holineſs* was not exempt from thoſe common Infirmities: That St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors cou'd not pretend a Privilege above St. *Peter* himſelf: That this great Apoſtle fail'd once in his Conduct, and was ſharply reprimanded by St. *Paul*: But for his part, he was no Match for the Pope: For 'twas eaſie for ſo wealthy and powerful a Prelate to cruſh any private Perſon who happen'd to differ from him. That in this Caſe, there was no other Remedy but to retreat to a *Council*. That here he reſolv'd to lodge his Cauſe, as being the laſt Reſort of *Juſtice*, and the higheſt Authority in the Church.

Id.

An. Dom. 1519.

He advances to new Articles.

Id.

This Appeal made a great Noiſe, and was not without its effect. *Luther* perceiving his Doctrine gain'd ground, and his Party increaſe, advanc'd to new Articles in his Oppoſition, argu'd for the Reſtitution of the *Cup*, decry'd *Auricular Confeſſion*, and touch'd upon the Abuſes in the *Monaſtick* Order.

The Pope condemns forty two of Luther's *Tenets.*

The Pope's Authority and the receiv'd Doctrine being thus directly ſtruck at, it was thought fit to apply to ſtronger Remedies. To this purpoſe *Leo* publiſhed a *Bull*, condemns Forty Two Articles in *Luther*'s Doctrine, prohibits the Reading of his *Books*, and orders 'em to be burnt. The Points condemn'd, relate to Original Sin, Penance, and the holy Euchariſt; to Indulgences, the Power of the Pope, and the Authority of Councils; to good Works, the Freedom of the Will, Purgatory and Poverty. All which Tenets are call'd pernicious, ſcandalous, and offenſive to the Ears of good Chriſtians, *&c.*

1520.

This *Bull* amongſt other things, was blam'd for fixing ſo general a Cenſure, and condemning without diſtinction. For the Pope had not ſtated the quality of the Propoſitions condemn'd, nor told the World which of 'em were only falſe, and which of 'em heretical.

Luther *burns both the Pope's Bull and the Canon Law.*

On the other ſide, *Luther* kindled in his Reſentments, and was reſolv'd to make Repriſals upon his *Holineſs*. Thus when he underſtood his Books had been burnt by the *Univerſities* of *Louvain* and *Cologn*, he ventur'd upon a Revenge of the ſame kind: To this purpoſe he drew the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* together, had a Fire made in a publick Square, and threw the Pope's *Bull* and the *Decretals* into it. This was an unuſual Piece of Courage at that time of Day: And therefore he thought himſelf oblig'd to publiſh a *Maniſeſto* in defence of his Proceedings.

Id. p. 12, & 13.

I have been the longer in the Recital of this matter, becauſe theſe Advances of *Luther* gave a Shock to the papal Authority, made the former Submiſſions to the Court of *Rome* queſtionable, and was ſomewhat a leading Caſe to the *Engliſh Reformation*. For the weight of the Controverſie, the publick Management, and ſeveral great Princes in *Germany*, declaring on *Luther*'s ſide, made his Writings ſpread throw the *Weſtern* Church, and many People inclin'd to look into them. That they were brought *hither*, is plain, by the Orders we meet with to ſeize and prohibit them.

And having laid this matter thus briefly together, I ſhall return to *England*, and go back a little.

The Pope deny'd a Contribution by the Engliſh *Clergy.*

The Pope being upon the proſpect of a War againſt the *Turk*, requires a Contribution from the *Engliſh* Clergy, deſiring the King at the ſame time to countenance the Affair. The Clergy in *Convocation*, drew up a Remonſtrance againſt this Demand: They acquainted his *Holineſs*, they were already exhauſted by contributing to the War with *France*, and that this Burden was laid upon them at the Inſtance of *Julius* the Second. They add further, that by a Decree of the *Council* of *Conſtance*, the Pope can levy no Tax upon the *Church*, but in caſe of Neceſſity, and under the Authority of a General *Council* (*t*).

An. Dom. 1519, Nov. 25.

(*t*) Herbert, *p.* 57.

By the Tenor of this Refuſal, it appears, the *Engliſh Clergy* were not altogether paſſive under the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*: That they had Reſolution enough to make a ſtand upon the Pope, and keep their Privilege and their Money, when occaſion requir'd.

1517. *Sweating Sickneſs.*

Two Years forward, the *Sweating Sickneſs* return'd upon the *Engliſh*. It was call'd *Sudor Anglicus*, becauſe very few, excepting the *Engliſh* Nation, were troubled with it. The Malignity of this Diſtemper was ſuch, that it kill'd within three Hours after the Invaſion. The Infection ſpread very wide, carried off ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Faſhion: As for the Common-People, they were ſwept away to that degree, that ſome Towns loſt half, and others two thirds of their Numbers.

Id.

Campegio *ſent into England to demand a Tenth of the Clergy.*

The next Year the Pope ſent his *Legate* Cardinal *Campegio* into *England*: His Buſineſs was to procure a general Alliance amongſt Chriſtian Princes for a War againſt the *Turk*. This Cardinal was likewiſe furniſh'd with Inſtructions to demand a Tenth of the Clergy: He had alſo Powers to viſit the *Engliſh* Monaſteries. In this Commiſſion, *Wolſey* now Cardinal and Lord Chancellor, was join'd with him. *Campegio* was obligingly treated by *Wolſey*, who promiſ'd him his Intereſt for the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, when it happen'd to be void. *Campegio* not ſucceeding in his Demand of a *Tenth*, acquaints the Pope with the Incompliance of the *Clergy*, and prepares for a Viſitation of the Monaſteries. *Wolſey*, who thought a joint Commiſſion unneceſſary, and that himſelf was ſufficiently qualified for this Buſineſs, diſpatches Dr. *Clerk* a Civilian, to the Pope, to ſolicit for the ſole Management. *Clerk* being reinforc'd by the King's Inſtructions, ſucceeded in the

He is refus'd.

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

Cardinal Wolſey *made Legate* à Latere.

Affair. Thus the Cardinal's Buſineſs was effectually done: And a *Bull* was procur'd to make him Legate *à Latere*. By this Character, he was qualify'd not only to viſit the Monaſteries, but the whole *Clergy* of *England*: He had likewiſe an Authority to diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church for a Year, which Term was to commence from the date of the *Bull*. The Exerciſe of this Authority was a Check upon the Biſhop's Juriſdiction, and prov'd very invidious to the Cardinal. Beſides, 'twas thought he was over-rigorous in the Management of this Function: And that in the Account of his *Viſitation* tranſmitted to the Pope, he had laid too heavy Imputations upon the Monks and *Clergy*. He is now complain'd of likewiſe, for over-ſtraining his Figure, and being too ſecular and magnificent in his Family: He is alſo cenſur'd for erecting a *Legate*'s Court, and for making too narrow an Enquiry into Conduct and Manners; inſomuch that ſcarce any Miſcarriage cou'd eſcape without Diſcipline, unleſs the Parties gave a Bribe for Connivance: And thus as Conſcience extends further than Law in many Caſes, he was let into People's Minds, and made Maſter of their Secrets. To proceed, under this Pretence he had an Opportunity of giving Executors trouble about performing the Will of the Dead. By the Strength of his *Legantine* Commiſſion, he ſummon'd all ſort of *religious* Perſons before him. Theſe People are ſaid to have been brought to the loweſt Submiſſions, and menac'd with Expulſion, to force them to compound. Farther, as *Polydore Virgil* (who was none of his Friend) continues, all Church Preferment in a manner was beſtow'd on his Favourites. *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* thinking *Wolſey* was too bold with his Commiſſion, and puſh'd his Character too far, acquaints the King with it. The King ſurpriz'd at the Information, ſends the Archbiſhop to *Wolſey*, with an Order to rectify whatever might be amiſs. The Archbiſhop is ſaid to admoniſh the Cardinal to act with more Caution and Reſerve, letting him know that he concern'd himſelf too far in teſtamentary Matters, and aſſum'd a Power not claim'd even by the Pope himſelf: And that in diſpoſing ſome Benefices in the Gift of the Nobility, and other lay Patrons, he preſs'd his Commiſſion too hard upon them. This friendly Advice, it ſeems, was not well receiv'd by the Cardinal: He thought the Archbiſhop had gone too far in his Suggeſtions, and ſhew'd himſelf too much a plain Dealer. About this time, ſome Abuſes in Sanctuaries were taken away by the King's Order. This Reformation was made by vertue of a *Bull* granted for that purpoſe in the late Reign.

He is blam'd by Polydore Virgil *for overſtraining his Character.*

1518.
Id.

Id.

This Year the Cardinal attended the Queen to *Oxford*. And here, upon his coming into the *Convocation*, he declar'd his Inclination to the Univerſity, and that He deſign'd to ſet up and endow ſome *Lectures* there. After this, he deſir'd he might have the Liberty of making a Reform in ſome of their *Statutes*: That he hop'd this Requeſt wou'd be no Surprize, ſince they had lately written to *Fitz James* Bp. of *London*, and other Prelates, to correct the Inconſiſtencies in thoſe Regulations. The *Univerſity* before they came to any Reſolution, conſulted their *Chancellor*, who at firſt refus'd, but afterwards gave way to their Requeſt. And thus the *Convocation* made a ſolemn Decree to put their *Statutes* into the Cardinal's Hands, and left the Form of 'em intirely to his Judgment. The next Year the Cardinal's *Greek Lecture* was open'd at *Oxford*. It was the firſt of its kind; for what had formerly been done by *Grocin* this way, had no Salary or publick Encouragement: However, it ſeems 'twas by no means reliſhed by the majority of the Scholars. One Reaſon of their Diſguſt was, the new Pronunciation and Method of Teaching introduc'd by this *Grocin* and *Eraſmus*; but Ignorance and Idleneſs ſeems to have made their main Exception: They foreſaw this *Lecture* wou'd bring new Fatigues, and incroach upon their Diverſion. They went ſo far as to form a ſort of Confederacy againſt the *Greek* part of the *Univerſity*. And to make their Animoſity againſt this Language the more remarkable, they call'd themſelves *Trojans*, and aſſum'd the Names of ſome of the moſt celebrated Heroes of that City: And under this Diſtinction, they rais'd a Body againſt the *Grecians*; inſomuch that no Perſon that was known to underſtand *Greek*, cou'd walk the Streets without being pointed at and abus'd. This Account Sir *Thomas More* gives of the Matter in one of his Letters. But it was not long before this Faction was brought off from their ignorant Sallies, by the interpoſing of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and Sir *Thomas More*. The flouriſhing of the *Greek* Language in *Oxford*, rais'd an Emulation in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, who being ſollicited by their Chancellor and by their Orator *Croke*, both good *Grecians*, began to make ſome Progreſs this way (*u*).

The Statutes of the Univerſity of Oxford *put into the Cardinal's Hands.*

Hen. VIII. K.

1519.
He founds a Greek *Lecture at* Oxford.

A Faction in the Univerſity againſt this Language.

This Year as our learned Hiſtorian (*w*) relates, *Six Men and a Woman were burnt at* Coventry, *for teaching their Children the Lord's-Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, in the vulgar Tongue*: For this, as he continues, was Crime enough to bring them to the Stake. This is a very ſevere Charge upon the then Church of *England*, and therefore I hope the Reverend Author was miſinform'd. For firſt, it looks ſtrangely improbable, that People ſhould fall under the Imputation and Puniſhment of Hereſy, for teaching their Children the *Lord's-Prayer*, the *Creed*, &c. in *Engliſh*: I ſay, this looks ſtrangely improbable, if we conſider the *Conſtitutions* of the *Engliſh* Church: For at a *Provincial Synod* held at *Lambeth* under Archbiſhop *Peckham*, there were ſeveral Regulations made for the Inſtruction of the People. For Inſtance, all Parochial Prieſts were oblig'd to explain the principal Articles and Duties of Religion four times a Year, and oftner if Occaſion ſhou'd require. The Heads they were to expound upon, were theſe; the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Two evangelical Precepts of Love, *&c.* This Inſtruction was to be given in plain intelligible Language, without making uſe of the Niceties and Diſtinctions of the *Schoolmen*. And for fear ſome of the Curates might not be fully qualify'd for this Performance, they have both the Matter and Form chalk'd out by the *Canon*; where the *Reader* may meet with a ſhort and ſignificant Expoſition upon every Head and *Article* (*x*). From a View of theſe *Conſtitutions* the *Reader* may eaſily diſcover, that the Biſhops were not ſo forgetful of their Peoples Intereſt, as they are ſometimes repreſented. To which we may add, the *Conſtitutions* of *John de Thoresby* Archbiſhop of *York*, made about the Year 1360. Amongſt theſe, we meet with an Order to all the parochial Clergy to preach frequently to their Pariſhioners, and explain the Articles of Faith in the *Engliſh* Tongue. To which we may add a remarkable Exhortation to the Laity, *To hear Goddy's Service every* Sonday *with Reverence and Devotioun, and ſay devoutly thy* Pater Noſter, *&c. and hear Goddy's Law taught in thy Modyr Tongue: For that is bettyr than to hear many Maſſys* (y). And thus we ſee there was a Proviſion for the Inſtruction of the People, in both the *Provinces* of *Canterbury* and *York*.

A ſevere Charge upon the Clergy diſprov'd.

An. Dom. 1281.

(*u*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 245. & deinc.

(*w*) *Bp.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Reform.* Pt. 1. p. 31.

(*x*) Spelm. Conc. Vol. 2. Lyndwood lib. 1. tit. 7. & 11.

(*y*) Harmer p. 57.

Now that the Church ſhou'd take ſuch Care to teach the People, and yet make it Capital to learn what was taught, is extremely incomprehenſible. Were they to inſtruct their Cures in the Lord's-Prayer, the *Creed*, the Ten Commandments, &c. only to draw them into a Snare, bring them under the *Cenſures* of the Church, and lay them open to the Charge of Hereſy? Without doubt, what the Prieſts were bound to teach, the People were obliged to hear? And if ſo, what Fault cou'd it be to teach their Children what themſelves had learned from their Paſtors? Thus much as to the reaſoning part. Then as to matter of Fact, there ſeems to be a Miſtake. The learn'd *Hiſtorian* cites *Fox* for his Authority. But this looks like a lame Story: For *Fox* cites no other Authority than one Mother *Hall*. He likewiſe tells us, that the Biſhop and his Officers declar'd theſe Perſons did not ſuffer for having the *Lord's-Prayer* and the *Ten Commandments* in *Engliſh*, but upon other Articles. 'Tis true, ſeveral abjur'd before Biſhop *Longland* in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*: And Six of 'em ſuffer'd after a Relapſe. But,

Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 22. 5, 6.

A. D. 1521.

1*ſt*, We are to obſerve, that theſe Men were delated for reading the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*; and why was this ſo great a Crime? becauſe 'twas of *Wicklif*'s Tranſlation, and condemn'd by the Church. By the way, the *Engliſh* Clergy did not believe this *Tranſlator* had reach'd the Original, and rightly expreſs'd the Mind of the Holy Ghoſt. To this purpoſe at a Synod held under Archbiſhop *Arundel*, all unauthorized Perſons were forbidden to tranſlate any part of the *Holy Scripture* into *Engliſh*, or any other Language: And all Perſons were forbidden to read any ſuch *Verſion* made either in *Wicklif*'s Time, or ſince, under the Penalty of the greater Excommunication: This Prohibition was to continue till ſuch *Tranſlations* ſhou'd be approv'd by a *Provincial Council*, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs (z).

(z) Spelm. *Concil. Vol.* 2. *p.* 662.

2*dly*, Theſe Perſons that were abjur'd were charg'd with denying the Corporal Preſence in the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*, ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages, and the Worſhip of Saints (a). Theſe, eſpecially the firſt, were trying Points in thoſe Times: Beſides, ſome of theſe *Confeſſors* in *Fox* held erroneous Opinions, and miſbehav'd themſelves very much in Language. One of 'em affirm'd, *that God never made Prieſts, for in Chriſt's Time there were no Prieſts*. Others of 'em are very intemperate, not to ſay prophane, in their Expreſſions. For inſtance, *ſome of 'em call'd the Crucifix in the Rood-loſt Block Almighty. They call'd a Chapel an old fair Milk-houſe, and that a Church Bell was good to hang about a Cow's Neck. Another of 'em ſaid he threſh'd God Almighty out of the Straw.* Theſe are ſtrange Sallies, and very different from the Modeſty and Diſcretion of the antient Chriſtians.

Some of thoſe proſecuted in Fox *miſbehave 'em ſelves.*

(a) Fox *Vol.* 2. *p* 33, 54. *edit.* 1641.

Id. *p.* 41.

Id. *p.* 53.

That the *Engliſh* Clergy were careful to prevent the ſpreading of *Lollardiſm* we need not wonder: For the *Lollards* ſtruck at the Fundamentals of the Church, and had very dangerous Opinions both with reſpect to *Faith* and *Property*. They had likewiſe been abetted by a conſiderable Faction, and the Government both in Church and State had been almoſt overturn'd by them (b). But then proſecuting People to Fire and Faggot for Matters of pure Belief, is going much too far in the other Extremity. But having declar'd my Reaſons againſt this Rigour already, I ſhall not repeat them (c).

(b) *See* 1ſt Part *of my* Ch. Hiſtory *for the Reign of* K. Hen. V.

(c) *See my* Ch. Hiſtory *Part* 1. *p.* 635. & alib

Dr. Collet*'s Death and Benefactions.*

This Year Dr. *Collet*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, departed this Life. To what I have mention'd of him already in my *1ſt Part*, I ſhall add his founding *Paul*'s School, upon which he beſtow'd 4500 *l.* 'Twas deſign'd for 153 poor Children to be taught *gratis*. The Management and Direction of this Matter was intruſted with the *Mercers* Company. *Lilly*, the famous *Grammarian*, was the firſt Maſter. This Dr. *Collet* was Son to Sir *John Collet*, who had been twice Lord Mayor of *London*. The Dean dy'd of the *Sweating Sickneſs* in the 53d Year of his Age. There are extant two Speeches of his made to the *Convocation*, ſome *Eſſays upon Grammar*, *Prayers for daily Uſe*, *and an Exhortation to a Holy Life*. *Polydor Virgil* gives him a great Character for his Learning, his Talent in preaching; for his Exemplary Life, and engaging Temper; and tells us that his Founding *Paul's School* not only improv'd the *Londoners*, but awaken'd an Inclination for *Letters*, and poliſh'd the whole Country (d). *Collet* was ſucceeded in the Deanry of St. *Paul*'s by *Richard Pace*. To throw in a word or two concerning the manner of the Election: Before the *Submiſſion* of the *Clergy* to the Supremacy of King *Henry* the Eighth, the Election proceeded in this Form: The Choice of the Dean was made by the *Chapter*, confirm'd by the Biſhop's Vicar General: Then the Dean took an Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Biſhop, after which the Biſhop iſſu'd out his Mandate to the *Chapter* and his Vicar General for the Inſtallment (e). In all which Proceedings there's not the leaſt Mention of the King's Nomination or Authority. But after the Submiſſion of the *Clergy*, the Election is charg'd with a new Circumſtance. For when Dr. *Carew* was made Dean of St. *Paul*'s, it is ſaid he was choſen by the unanimous Votes of the Preſident and *Chapter*. But then in the Inſtrument certifying the Election, we are told this was done *Regia Majeſtatis licentia, conſenſu & aſſenſu*. However in the Biſhop's *Mandate* to the Apparitor, ſomething of the old Privilege appears. For here 'tis ſaid the Preſident and *Chapter* apply'd to the Biſhop to confirm the Election. The Apparitor is likewiſe order'd to notify that if any Perſons have any thing to object, they may come in. And laſtly there's a day prefix'd, when the Biſhop or his *Vicar General* will proceed either to confirm, or null the Election as they ſhall ſee Cauſe (f).

(d) Whart. de Decan. Londinenſ. Fuller Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 167. Polyd. Virgil *Hiſt.* Angl. *p.* 600.

The ancient Form of electing a Dean.

(e) *Regiſt.* Fitz James *fol.* 148.

(f) *Regiſt.* King *fol.* 179. *the Little Book.*

About two Years forward the King enter'd the Liſts againſt *Luther*, and publiſh'd a Book in Defence of the ſeven *Sacraments*. Now becauſe a Royal Divine, a King in Controverſie, is very unuſual, I ſhall entertain the *Reader* with part of the Performance: It is dedicated to Pope *Leo* the Tenth.

The King writes againſt Luther.

A. D. 1521.

“In this Addreſs, your *Holyneſs* may be ſurpriz'd (ſays the King) to find a Perſon bred to War and Buſineſs of *State*, engage in a Controverſy of this Nature, eſpecially with a Man that has ſpent his whole time in the Improvements of Learning.” But notwithſtanding his Majeſty owns himſelf ſomewhat unequally match'd, yet the Danger the Church was in by the ſpreading of Hereſy and Schiſm, allarm'd his Zeal, and puſh'd him forward. That ſince the Enemy appear'd in the *Field*, and over-run the Country with ſo much Ravage and Deſolation, 'twas time to draw out againſt him. He was clearly of Opinion, that no ſincere Chriſtian ought barely to look on, and ſtand Neuter in the Quarrel: And therefore tho' his Abilities were but moderate, he cou'd not forbear ingaging upon ſuch Motives. Beſides, conſidering the Circumſtances of the Caſe, he was willing to give the World a Proof of his Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, and his Regards to the *holy See*. And tho' his Learning was but ſmall,

His Dedication to the Pope.

ſmall, he hop'd God wou'd govern his Pen and ſupply that Defect. However his Majeſty is pleas'd to ſay, he was not altogether unprepar'd for the Conteſt. For being fully perſuaded, that Religion is the greateſt Support to the *Crown*, and the beſt Guide in *Civil* Adminiſtration, he had ſpent ſome time in that Study. And that no part of Learning entertain'd him better: And tho' the Length of his Progreſs had not been great, yet he hop'd himſelf ſufficiently furniſh'd to inform the Generality, and expoſe the Fallacies in *Luther*'s Reaſoning. 'Twas in confidence of this Iſſue that he had undertaken this Diſpute: That he had *Dedicated* to his *Holyneſs* to make the Performance more publick and ſerviceable. And that as his *Holyneſs* had exerted his Character, and diſabled the Hereſy by the Cenſures of the Church; ſo if either the Proſpect of Intereſt, or the Colours of Argument, had ſtill left an Impreſſion upon any Perſons, they might be convinc'd by Counter-proof, and reaſon'd out of their Miſtake. That he choſe to pitch upon this Method, conſidering the Nature of Men was ſuch that they had rather be *led*, than drag'd. As to his Succeſs in the Attempt, he ſhou'd determine nothing, but refers that matter to his *Holyneſs*; to whoſe Cenſure and Correction he likewiſe ſubmits what he had written.

To proceed to the Book: And here by the way, I don't pretend to give the *Reader* either a full Tranſlation, or ſo much as an Abſtract of all the Arguments. To go this Length wou'd be ſomewhat foreign to the Buſineſs in hand. I ſhall therefore only tranſlate ſome of the moſt remarkable Paſſages.

Luther's *Aſſertion of no Sacrifice in the holy Euchariſt.*

(g) Lib. Regis Henrici adverſus Luther *p.* 34.

This the King endeavours to diſprove.

The King begins with the holy *Euchariſt*, or *Sacrament of the Altar:* And here *Luther* pretends, that the affirming the *Maſs* to be a Sacrifice was a great Error. This Heterodoxy he offers to diſprove from the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution. Chriſt, ſays he, in his laſt Supper, when he inſtituted this Sacrament and made his Will, did not offer himſelf to God the Father, or intended an Action of Merit for the World; but ſitting at Table, he open'd his Will, as 'twere, to his Diſciples, and exhibited a Figure of it. This is *Luther*'s Inſtance, ſays the King, and from hence he endeavours to evince, that there's nothing of Sacrifice or Oblation in the *Maſs* (g). To this the King replies, that the Figure does not deſtroy the Eſſence of a Sacrifice: That a great many Sacrifices under the *Moſaick* Law were Types of future Benefits, and included the force of a Promiſe. For they promis'd thoſe things for which they were perform'd. For beſides their Emblematical and Prefigurating Quality, they were Expiations and Pardons for the People that offer'd them: And for this Reaſon, they were ſolemnly repeated every Year. As to *Luther*'s Inference, that ſince Chriſt did not offer himſelf to God the Father at his laſt Supper, therefore there can be no ſuch thing as a Sacrifice in the *Maſs*. To this the King anſwers by Parts; *1ſt*, He tells *Luther* that if we muſt be brought to a ſtrict Imitation of our Saviour's Example, and ty'd down to every Circumſtance, from hence 'twill follow, that thoſe who *Conſecrate* muſt not *Receive*, for we don't read that our Saviour receiv'd the Sacrament himſelf. It is true the Fathers, and the *preſent Church* believe our Saviour did receive this Sacrament; but this Conceſſion will do *Luther* no Service: Becauſe the Teſtimony of the *Antients* and the Authority of the whole Church is of no weight with this modern Divine: He'll yield to nothing but an expreſs Text. Now it is no where declar'd in the *holy Scriptures*, that our Saviour receiv'd his own Body in the laſt Supper. If he endeavours to diſingage himſelf by affirming the Prieſts ought to *Receive*, becauſe the Apoſtles did, and were commanded ſo to do, and that all ſucceeding Prieſts are bound in the Apoſtles. From hence another Difficulty will follow, for by this way of arguing, the Prieſts will have no Authority to Conſecrate; for the laſt Supper was not conſecrated by the Apoſtles, but by our Saviour himſelf. It is plain therefore, that Chriſtian Prieſts do not only repreſent what our Saviour did at his laſt Supper, but likewiſe what was done upon the Croſs. There are alſo ſome Circumſtances uſed in this Sacrament, of which we have no Precedent in our Saviour; or at leaſt we don't read of any; and of this kind are ſome Geſtures and other Particularities practis'd in the *Conſecration*. Some of which the King believes were traditionally handed down from the Apoſtles. Beſides, there are ſome Words in the *Canon* of the *Maſs* ſuppos'd to be ſpoken by our bleſſed Saviour which we don't read in the *holy Scriptures*. For our Saviour both ſpoke and did a great many things unmention'd by the *holy Evangeliſts*; ſome of which have been preſerv'd by uninterrupted Tradition. Even *Luther* himſelf does not queſtion theſe following Words being ſpoken by our Saviour; *Hæc quotieſcunque feceritis, in Mei memoriam facietis, As oft as you do this, do it in Remembrance of Me.* Now *Luther* is ſo fully perſuaded of theſe being our Saviour's Words, that he forms an Argument upon them. For from hence he pretends, that the *holy Euchariſt* ſhou'd be left to every Perſon's Liberty: That no Body ſhould be forc'd to Communicate: The Obligation reaching no farther than that whenever they participate in this Solemnity, they ſhou'd do it *in remembrance* of our Saviour. Now where does he read this Command? Not in the Words of the Inſtitution: It is recorded in none of the Goſpels: For there we find no more than *Do This in Remembrance of Me*; I deſire therefore to know where he reads this Sentence, *Whenſoever ye do this or theſe things.* Is it not in the Maſs? There, without doubt, and no where elſe. Since therefore he allows the Divine Authority of theſe Words and Reaſons upon them, becauſe they occur in the *Canon* of the *Maſs*, why ſhou'd he not be govern'd by the ſame *Canon* in other Paſſages? Why ſhou'd he not ſubmit to the ſame Authority, where it calls the *Maſs* a Sacrifice and an Oblation? Since therefore by his own Confeſſion the Prieſts do their Duty in receiving what they conſecrate, notwithſtanding we have no *Scripture Proof*, that our Saviour began this Cuſtom: I mention *Scripture Proof*, becauſe *Luther* refuſes being concluded by any other Evidence. Since therefore our Saviour is not ſaid to have *Received* Himſelf in any part of the *New Teſtament*, why ſhou'd *Luther* be ſurpriz'd at the Prieſts Offering Chriſt to God the Father by way of Repreſentation, ſince this was actually done by our Saviour upon the Croſs: And for this we have full Evidence from ſeveral Places in *holy Scripture*. For even by *Luther*'s way of arguing, what was done upon the *Croſs*, has a plain Reference to our Saviour's *laſt Will* and *Teſtament* in the *holy Supper*. For *Luther* makes no Difficulty to confeſs, that a Teſtament implies the Death of the Teſtator, and has its force only from that time. Beſides, the mixing Water with Wine in this Sacrament ſeems to have its Original from hence; that is, from the *Blood* and *Water* iſſuing from our Saviour's Side upon the Croſs: For of this we meet with no Reſemblance at the laſt Supper. Let *Luther* therefore forbear his trifling Objections: Let him not pretend that the Prieſt makes no Oblation in the *Maſs*, becauſe Chriſt did not offer himſelf at the laſt Supper: For in this Sacrament, the Prieſt not only repreſents what was done by our Saviour at the laſt Supper, but what was tranſacted upon the Croſs: I ſay upon the Croſs, where our Saviour compleated what was only begun in the former Solemnity.

Luther's laſt Argument againſt the Sacrifice in the *Maſs* ſtands thus: How can the Prieſts, ſays he, offer that to God, which he receives himſelf? For how can we offer that which we keep to our ſelves? This, replies the King, is a mere Sophiſm: To be ſhort, did not the Prieſts under the *Moſaick Diſpenſation* partake of the Sacrifices, and eat ſome Portions of what was offer'd? Beſides, if Chriſt was both Prieſt and Sacrifice, what Repugnancy is there, that the Prieſt who repreſents our Saviour's Sacrifice ſhou'd both *Offer* and *Receive* at the ſame time? Why might not theſe Circumſtances be enjoin'd in the Inſtitution?

From hence the King proceeds to produce the Teſtimonies of St. *Auſtin*, St. *Ambroſe*, and *Gregory* the Great, to prove the holy Euchariſt a Sacrifice, to which he might have added St. *Cyprian*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and ſeveral others.

The King complains of *Luther*, becauſe he wou'd have the People at liberty to *Receive* when they pleaſe, and not be ty'd to any Solemnity of time, or Revolution of the Grand *Feſtivals*: Now what can be the Conſequence of this Latitude? ſays his Majeſty. Does not this plainly tend to withdraw the People from the Frequency of Communicating, and the Benefit of the Inſtitution? And here the King takes notice, that the Fervor of primitive Devotion was much abated: That at firſt, the People communicated every Day: This afterwards declin'd to once a Week, and from thence to longer Intervals, inſomuch that the Biſhops being afraid this *Sacrament* ſhou'd be wholly omitted, declar'd in their *Canons*, that thoſe who did not Communicate thrice a Year, ought not to be reckon'd for Chriſtians.

The King goes on to charge *Luther* with miſtaking the Notion of *Faith*, and laying too much weight upon that Virtue: He makes us ſo rich in *Belief*, ſays his Majeſty, that we are perfect Beggars in *Manners*. And yet St. *James* tells us, *that Faith without Works is dead*. But *Luther* argues, as if a Man that believed cou'd not poſſibly miſcarry, and that nothing but Incredulity can prove one's Ruin. Here the King makes a tragical Exclamation; Will nothing but Unbelief deſtroy a Man for ever? What won't Adultery and Murder, won't Perjury and Paricide damn him?

Jam. 2.

But *Luther* over-flouriſhes ſo much upon the Significancy of *Faith*, that he ſeems, in a manner, to hint as if this Virtue had no need of the *Sacrament*. For does he not aſſert, that the Sacrament affords no Benefit, and is neither Sign nor Conveyance of Grace; and that as to the Efficacy, the Sacraments of the Evangelical Covenant are much the ſame with thoſe under the *Law*? However in my Opinion, ſays the King, ſince *Chriſtians* have that in Reality, which the *Jews* had only in Figure, it ſeems to follow, that the Sacraments of the *Church* exceed thoſe of the *Synagogue* as much as the New Law exceeds the Old one; as much as the Subſtance is better than the Shadow.

Of PENANCE.

THE next *Sacrament*, as it is called, is that of *Penance*: And here *Luther* declaims againſt the Clergy for not inſtructing the People in the Doctrine of *Faith*: They don't ſufficiently inculcate, ſays he, a Relyance upon the divine Promiſe, or put their Charge in mind, that God has engaged to forgive a repenting Sinner (*h*). To this the King anſwers, does the Church then preſs *Judas*'s Repentance, and drive People upon Sorrow and Deſperation? Did *Luther* ever hear any *Curate* exhort the People to addreſs for Pardon without giving them hopes of being the better for their Application? What Subject is more frequently preach'd on than the infinite Mercy of God; and that whenever a Sinner repents, he ſhall be receiv'd? Is the Inſtance of *David*'s Pardon for Adultery and Murder known to no body but *Luther*? Was not Paradiſe ſet open to the Thief upon the Croſs, when he had no time to retrieve his ill Life, or ſhew his Sincerity in Reformation? And is this Hiſtory unpreach'd and kept as a Secret from the People? If the Clergy miſtake in this Matter, I'm afraid it is ſometimes by going too far in the other Extreme. I wiſh the Terror of God's Juſtice is not ſometimes forgotten, and his Mercy magnify'd too much.

The King argues againſt Luther's *Notion of Contrition.*

From hence the King proceeds to the Parts of *Penance*, and begins with *Contrition*. In the 1ſt Place, he ſets down *Luther*'s Opinion. This Fryer affirms Contrition a Circumſtance of great Value and not eaſily attain'd. And here his Advice is, that every Body ſhou'd reſt entirely upon God's Promiſe, and firmly believe their Sins pardon'd, and that God has acquitted them in Heaven, when they are pronounc'd *Looſ'd* upon Earth. Now here he either falls in with the Sentiment he condemns, or elſe runs himſelf upon an open Abſurdity. For God has either promiſ'd to forgive Sin to thoſe who are contrite, in proportion to the Bulk of the Crime, or to thoſe who fall ſhort of that proportion, or, laſtly, to thoſe who have no Contrition at all. If God has promiſ'd Remiſſion to none but the firſt ſort, then *Luther* can never be ſure of his being diſcharg'd; And if ſo what makes him preſs this Confidence as a neceſſary Condition? That he can't be ſure of his Diſcharge upon his own Doctrine, I prove thus: He can't be aſſur'd of having a right to God's Promiſe, unleſs he cou'd ſtate the juſt proportion of Contrition, and define how much is ſufficient for every Sin. But no Body, I conceive, knows what degree of Compunction is requir'd for every Mortal Sin. 2dly, If God has promiſ'd Pardon to thoſe who are under-Contrite, and come ſhort of the degree of the Crime, then he has promiſ'd Forgiveneſs to thoſe who have nothing but *Attrition*. And if ſo, *Luther* muſt agree with thoſe he is willing to fall out with. Laſtly, If God has promiſ'd to extend his Pardon to thoſe who are not at all ſorry for what they have done, then *à fortiori* to thoſe who can plead *Attrition*, that is, to thoſe who have ſomething of Regret, tho' not the beſt for kind or degree. In ſhort, he muſt come to this Conceſſion at laſt, that Confeſſion and Abſolution ſupplies the Defects of the Sinner's Repentance; and thus Attrition may be ſaid to be advanc'd to the Benefit of Contrition.

From hence the King proceeds to *Confeſſion*.

Upon this Subject he finds fault with *Luther*'s Management. His Majeſty thinks it unreaſonable, that *Luther* ſhou'd inſiſt upon a publick Acknowledgement of notorious Miſcarriages, and yet ſeem dubious about the Neceſſity of *Auricular Confeſſion*. And ſince *Luther* affirms private Confeſſion cannot be prov'd from *Scripture*, the King endeavours to make out the contrary. His firſt Text is out of *Numbers*; *And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes*

Numb. 5. v. 6.

(*h*) Lib. Regis Henrici adv. Luth *p.* 49.

He endeavours to prove auricular Confeſſion from Scripture.

Moſes ſaying, ſpeak unto the Children of Iſrael, when a Man or a Woman ſhall commit any Sin to do a Treſpaſs againſt the Lord, and that Perſon be guilty; then they ſhall confeſs their Sin which they have done. To this we may add the Command given to Lepers of ſhewing themſelves to the Prieſt (*i*). Now we have St. *Paul*'s Warrant for reaſoning, from Figures and ceremonial Uſages in the *Law*, to practice in the *Goſpel* (*k*); and therefore why may not Leproſy under the *Law*, be interpreted *Sin* under the *Goſpel?* And ſince the outward *Blemiſh* was to be diſcover'd to the Prieſts in one caſe, why not the *inward* Defects in another? Farther, are we not exhorted by St. *James* to *confeſs our Faults one to another* (*l*)? To theſe Texts, the King adds ſome Authorities from the Fathers. St. *Ambroſe* affirms, that without Confeſon, there is no Remiſſion of Sin. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks to the ſame Senſe; That God's Favour is not to be recover'd without a previous Confeſſion. St. *Auſtin* is ſtill more clear; let your Repentance, ſays this Father, be directed by the Form practiſ'd in the Church: Let no Man pretend that he performs this Duty privately, and makes God Almighty his *Confeſſor*; for we may be aſſur'd, that the *Keys* are no chimerical Authority, and that this Sentence of our Saviour, *Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon Earth*, was never ſpoken to no purpoſe. To this the King ſubjoins, that if we had no Authority either from *Scripture*, or the Writings of the *Fathers* to ſupport this Practice, yet conſidering the Univerſality of the Cuſtom both for Place and Time, together with the great Benefit ariſing from thence; theſe Circumſtances alone, continues the King, are plain Evidences to me, that 'tis no humane Invention, but ſtands upon the foot of a divine Warrant. For what humane Authority cou'd ever perſuade People to diſcover their moſt ſecret Thoughts, bring their hidden Crimes into view, and throw open the Retirements of their Minds? Nothing leſs than a divine Command cou'd put People upon ſuch Penance and Confuſion, and make 'em lodge ſuch dangerous Secrets with a foreign Diſcretion. On the other ſide, ſince there are bad Prieſts as well as good ones, ſince in many caſes they have not the Gifts of Secreſie, is it not a Wonder they are ſo juſt to *Confeſſions?* And have we not Reaſon to conclude from hence, that God, who inſtituted the *Sacrament*, guards the Adminiſtration, and ſecures it from Scandal and Inconvenience?

(*i*) Levit. 14. v. 2.

(*k*) 1 Cor. 9. v. 9.

(*l*) Jam 5. v. 16.

And from the Uneaſineſs and Benefit of the Practice.

Luther *allows Women to receive Confeſſions.*

In handling this Argument, it ſeems *Luther* has been ſomewhat ſingular in his Aſſertions, and given Women an Authority to be Mens Confeſſors. Women, ſays the King, whom the Apoſtle does not give the Liberty of Teaching, or ſo much as ſpeaking in the Church (*m*). From hence his Majeſty proceeds to ſhew from the *Antients*, that Confeſſion (unleſs in caſe of Neceſſity) is only to be made to a Prieſt. Let him come, ſays St. *Auſtin*, to the Biſhops and Prieſts with whom the *Power of the Keys* is intruſted. And elſewhere, let the Penitent, ſays this Father, declare his Sorrow by his Tears; let him diſcover his Failings to the Prieſt, and prevent the terrible Sentence of the laſt Day, by voluntary Confeſſion. And thus much we may infer from our Saviour's commanding the Leper's to ſhew themſelves to the Prieſts (*n*). His next Teſtimony is that of *Leo* the Great, who tells us, that our Saviour gave the Paſtors of the Church an Authority to ſtate the Meaſures, and convey the Benefits of Repentance to thoſe who confeſs to them. Beſides, what ſignifies Confeſſion without the Advantage of Abſolution? But the Conveyance of this Bleſſing, is lodg'd only with the Prieſts: And therefore St. *Auſtin* affirms, that whoever enters upon a Courſe of Penance, without the Direction of the Prieſt, incroaches upon the Privilege of the *Keys*.

(*m*) 1 Cor. 14. v. 34, 35.

Giving Abſolution and receiving Confeſſions, the Privilege of the Prieſthood.

(*n*) Luke 17. v. 14.

Of SATISFACTION.

The Church miſrepreſented by Luther *in the Doctrine of Satisfaction.*

THE King comes now to the laſt Branch of *Penance*; that is, *Satisfaction*. And here his Majeſty charges *Luther* with Miſrepreſenting the Church: *Luther* for inſtance, had affirm'd, the People were not inſtructed in the Neceſſity of reforming their Manners. This, ſays the King, is a notorious Calumny: For what Prieſt was ever ſo ignorant as to injoin Penance for former Miſcarriage, and at the ſame time give an Indulgence for Repetition? What Prieſt, when he gives Abſolution, does not ſuggeſt thoſe Words of our bleſſed Saviour, *Go and ſin no more?* Who does not put his Penitent in Mind of St. *Paul*'s Exhortation: As ye *have yielded your Members Servants unto Uncleanneſs, and to Iniquity unto Iniquity, even ſo now yield your Members Servants unto Righteouſneſs and Holineſs.* What *Confeſſor* is unacquainted with St. *Gregory*'s Deſcription of Repentance? To repent, ſays this Father, is to lament our Faults, and not repeat 'em; for he that returns to the Commiſſion of what he is ſorry for, either knows nothing of Repentance, or elſe diſſembles in his Compunction. Upon this *Head Luther* makes a tragical Invective upon the Court of *Rome*, charges that *See* with depraving the Doctrine of Penance; that their *Canons* and *Decrees* were pernicious and fatal to Chriſtendom: For, ſays he, they have made the World believe, the Juſtice of God may be ſatisfy'd by *good Works*, whereas the *Faith* of a contrite Heart is ſufficient for this purpoſe. To this the King replys, that this Doctrine, theſe *Regulations* of Penance, are moſt of 'em the Reſolutions of the ancient Fathers: They are the Decrees of *provincial* and general *Councils*: And therefore in caſe they were any ways exceptionable, the Court of *Rome* was not altogether anſwerable for them. 2*dly*, Whereas he affirms, that *good Works* contribute nothing towards the reconciling God to a Sinner: If he means, that *good Works*, without *Faith*, are inſignificant to this purpoſe, he diſputes without an Adverſary: For who was ever ſo weak as to ſay, that *good Works* without Faith, are not imperfect Qualifications? Who does not know, that St. *Paul* has declar'd, *that whatever is not of Faith is Sin.* But on the other ſide, if he believes Works ſuperfluous, and that *Faith* alone is ſufficient for *Juſtification*, then I grant he diſagrees with the Church of *Rome*, and with the Apoſtle St. *James* too, who aſſures us, that *Faith without Works is dead*. The King proceeds and charges *Luther* directly with this Aſſertion: God, ſays this *German* Divine, neither wants our *good Works* *, nor regards them. To this the King anſwers, I believe God does both regard our Faith and our Works too, tho' he wants the firſt no more than he does the latter. But becauſe *Luther*'s Diſcourſe ſeems only to drive at the neceſſity of Reformation; and that there's no neceſſity of practiſing by a Prieſt's Direction, and ſubmitting to Penance for what's paſt: This being the Scope of *Luther*'s reaſoning, let us hear what St. *Auſtin* preſcribes. It is not enough, ſays this Father, to manage well for the future, and break off an ill Practice, unleſs we do ſomething with reſpect to what's paſt: And which way are we to wipe out an old Stain, and

Rom. 6.

Rom. 14.

Jam. 2.

---

* *But then* Luther *adds*, indiget autem ut verax in ſuis promiſſis à nobis habeatur.

and relieve the Conſcience againſt former Miſcarriage? This is to be done by hearty Sorrow, by deep Contrition, by Faſting and Alms. And elſewhere this Father informs us, that the Prieſts are ſaid to *bind*, when they injoin Penance, and to *looſe* when they relax in the Diſcipline. The King concludes this *Article* with a friendly Sentence to *Luther*, and wiſhes he may practiſe all the Parts of Repentance; that he may be *contrite* for his Malice and Misbehaviour, publickly *confeſs* his Errors, and ſubmit himſelf to what *Penance* the *Church* ſhall think proper to injoin him.

Of CONFIRMATION.

THE King proceeds to the Article of *Confirmation*. And here *Luther* maintains, that *Confirmation* conveys no ſpiritual Advantage: It has no Promiſe of our Saviour to raiſe it to the Dignity of a *Sacrament*: This, ſays the King, is all naked Affirmation without any manner of Proof. *Luther* founds his Argument upon the Silence of *Scripture* in this matter: As if, ſays the King, every thing that was promiſ'd, ſpoken, or done by our Saviour, was related by the *Evangeliſts!* By this Reaſoning, if only St. *John*'s Goſpel was extant, he might deny the Inſtitution of the *Holy Euchariſt*; becauſe this Evangeliſt writes nothing concerning it: But then in the laſt *Chapter* of his *Goſpel*, we are told that Jeſus did many other things which were not written, and that had every thing been written, the *Records* wou'd have been voluminous. Some of theſe things, continues the King, were related to the Faithful by the Apoſtles, and deliver'd down from Age to Age; and why ſhou'd not *Luther* give Credit to the Church in theſe Points of Tradition, ſince St. *Auſtin* affirms, that without the Authority of the Church, we cou'd not have known the Writings of the *Evangeliſts*, nor diſtinguiſh'd the *Canon* from humane Compoſition. Farther, if *Luther* will reſign to nothing but a plain *Text*, how does he believe the perpetual Virginity of our Saviour's Mother? Thus *Helvidius* cou'd find nothing deciſive for this Article in the *Scripture*, and therefore was ſo hardy as to deny it: Now the way of ſilencing this Heretick, was by alledging the Faith of the Catholick Church againſt him. This is the Bottom upon which we ſtand in the preſent Argument. What if we read nothing in the *New Teſtament* concerning *Confirmation?* Might not our Saviour deliver this Inſtitution to the Apoſtles? Or might it not be one of thoſe ſupplemental Informations ſuggeſted afterwards by the Holy Ghoſt? concerning whoſe farther Inſtruction our Saviour declar'd, *when the Comforter comes, who is the Spirit of Truth, he ſhall lead you into all Truth.*

The Benefit of Confirmation prov'd from Scripture.

John 16.

But that we are not without the Authority of *Scripture*, the King endeavours to prove from the Teſtimony of St. *Jerom* (o): If you aſk, ſays this Father, why a Perſon baptiz'd is brought to the Biſhop for Confirmation, why the farther Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt is principally receiv'd by this Conveyance? If this is your Queſtion, I anſwer, the Church has divine Authority for her Practice: For after our Lord's Aſcenſion, the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles, and 'twas from their Precedent the Cuſtom began. The King fortifies St. *Jerom* by a plain Inſtance in the Acts of the Apoſtles. Here we are told, the People that were baptiz'd in *Samaria*, had *Peter* and *John* ſent to them for farther Aſſiſtance; and theſe Converts, after the Apoſtles Hands laid on them, receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt.

(o Hierom. adv. Luciferanos.

And the Teſtimony of the Fathers.

Acts 8.

Of MATRIMONY.

THIS the King Endeavours to prove a *Sacrament*, from its Inſtitution in Paradiſe, and particularly from the Words of our Saviour, *What therefore God hath join'd together, let not Man put aſunder.* From hence the King argues, that God wou'd maintain his Inſtitution, and fortify it with ſupernatural Aſſiſtance. But I ſhall tranſlate his Majeſty no farther upon this Article.

Mat. 19.

Of HOLY ORDERS.

IN treating the Subject of *Orders*, the King takes notice, that *Luther* made it his Buſineſs to leſſen the Dignity of the Prieſthood, that by maiming the Character of thoſe who officiate, the *Holy Myſteries* might ſink in proportion. To what purpoſe elſe does he tell us, there's no difference between *Laity* and *Clergy*, and that all Chriſtians are Prieſts alike? and that Prieſts have no Authority to adminiſter the Sacraments, but by the Conſent and Deputation from the *Laity*. That the Sacrament of *Orders* is nothing but a certain Ceremony of chuſing a Preacher. That whoever does not preach, is no more a Prieſt than the Picture of a Man is a Man: That a Prieſt may become a *Layman* without *Degradation*; and that the pretended *Character* ſignifies nothing, and that *Orders* without preaching, are a mere Jeſt; a Whimſey of People that underſtand nothing of the Nature of Prieſthood, or the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments.

Luther's *unſound Opinions concerning Orders.*

To prove *Orders* a *Sacrament*, the King argues firſt from the *Old Teſtament*, and then reinforces his Reaſoning by inferring the Preference of the *Evangelical* to the *Moſaick* Diſpenſation. 1*ſt*, He obſerves, that Grace was conferr'd with the Character of Prieſthood under the *Old Law:* The Text is this, *And thou ſhall anoint Aaron and his Sons and conſecrate them, and ſanctify 'em, that they miniſter to me in the Prieſts Office.* Now to what purpoſe was all this Ceremony, this outward Sanctification, unleſs God had infuſ'd his Spirit, and ſanctify'd 'em within? To proceed to the *New Teſtament:* In the *Acts* of the Apoſtles *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when order'd to be ſeparated for the Work aſſign'd by the Holy Ghoſt, were not diſmiſs'd till the Hands of the Apoſtles were laid upon 'em. Now I deſire to know, continues the King, to what purpoſe they received this Impoſition of Hands? Was it an idle Ceremony without Force or Signification? Was there no Conveyance of Grace, or Communication of divine Aſſiſtance? Farther, how can *Luther* affirm this *Sacrament* unknown to the Church of Chriſt, ſince there's no Diviſion of Chriſtendom, where it is not receiv'd? How can that be call'd *new* which was inſtituted by Chriſt, and practiſ'd by the Apoſtles? But *Luther* objects, that none of the Ancients, excepting *Dionyſius*, call *Orders* a *Sacrament*. The King anſwers, ſuppoſing this were true, *Luther* cou'd not find his Account in the Allegation. For ſince the Fathers allowed the Thing, the Omiſſion of the *Term* ſignifies nothing. The King endeavours to prove *Orders* a *Sacrament*, by the Church's condemning Re-ordination. *Gregory* the Great, ſpeaks firſt, As a Perſon baptiz'd, ſays he, ought not to be re-baptiz'd, ſo neither ought he that is conſecrated be re-ordain'd. Thus you ſee, continues the King, than Orders ought no more to be repeated that Baptiſm: From whence we may infer the ſacramental Nature of this firſt Diſtinction. His Majeſty's next Teſtimony is St.

The King argues from the Moſaick *Diſpenſation.*

Exod. 28.41.

Acts 13.

And from ſeveral places in the New Teſtament.

The Fathers alledg'd for this purpoſe.

Auſtin,

Farther Proof from the New Teſtament.
1 Tim. 5. *v.* 17.
Heb. 5.

Auſtin, whom he quotes in theſe Words: "Both "*Baptiſm* and *Orders* are *Sacraments* and conveyed "by holy Ceremonies; and therefore neither of "'em are to be given more than once. And therefore when Schiſmaticks were admitted to the Church's Communion, their Orders no leſs than their Baptiſm, was reckon'd valid. The King continues to diſprove *Luther*'s Aſſertion from the *New Teſtament*. St. *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to *Timothy* has theſe Words, *Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double Honour, eſpecially they who labour in the Word and Doctrine.* From hence the King argues, that notwithſtanding thoſe *Elders* who labour in the Word and Doctrine deſerve a Preference of Regard, yet thoſe who don't do this, are allow'd by the Apoſtle, not only to be Prieſts, but likewiſe capable of *ruling well*, and have a juſt Claim to *double Honour*. For by ſaying, *eſpecially thoſe who labour in the Word and Doctrine*, he ſuppoſes, that others who fell ſhort in that Branch of their Function had ſtill a Title to Regard. And whence cou'd this be, but upon the ſcore of their Character? To *Luther*'s Aſſertion, that preaching was of the Eſſence of Prieſthood, the King anſwers in a Text to the *Hebrews*, *Every High Prieſt taken from among Men is ordain'd in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both Gifts and Sacrifices for Sin.* Is not this, continues his Majeſty, an evident Declaration, that ſacrificing is a Branch of Prieſthood? Now ſince the Apoſtle wrote to the Converted *Hebrews*, whoſe Continuance in *Judaiſm*, he by no means allows: Is it not plain, I ſay, from this Remark, that the Apoſtle comprehends the *Evangelical* no leſs than the *Moſaick* Prieſthood? From hence we have a double Inference againſt *Luther: 1ſt*, That the *Maſs*, or *holy Euchariſt*, implies a Sacrifice for the People. And *2dly*, That the Offering this Sacrifice, is a principal Branch of the Sacerdotal Office.

1 Tim. 4. 14.
2 Tim. 1. 6.
1 Tim. 5. 25.

The King argues farther from St. *Paul*'s Exhortation to St. *Timothy*, *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.* And in his ſecond Epiſtle to St. *Timothy*, the Words are theſe: *Stir up the Gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my Hands.* And elſewhere in the former Epiſtle, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Men's Sins.* And the ſame Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, writes thus, *For this Cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhou'd ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.*

Theſe few Texts, ſays the King, are ſufficient to overthrow *Luther*'s Aſſertions: For thoſe he pretends were made Prieſts by the People's Conſent, received their Character from a Biſhop left in *Crete* for that purpoſe. And leſt the Conveyance of ſupernatural Aſſiſtance might be made a Queſtion, we ſee this Bleſſing is confer'd by Impoſition of Hands: *Stir up*, ſays the Apoſtle, *the Gift* or Grace *of God* (τὸ χάρισμα τȣ͂ Θεȣ͂) *which is in thee by the putting on of my Hands.* I wonder therefore *Luther* has the Aſſurance to throw out the *Sacrament* of *Orders*, ſince St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles are ſo expreſs for the point: For here we are plainly told, that Biſhops and Prieſts muſt be made by a Biſhop: Here likewiſe we meet with the Ceremony of *Conſecration:* Here we have both the outward Sign and the inward *Spiritual Grace:* And this latter in ſuch a meaſure too, that the conſecrated Perſon not only receives the Holy Ghoſt himſelf, but has likewiſe a Power of Communicating it to others.

Of EXTREME UNCTION.

St. James 5. v. 14, 15.
The King endeavours to prove Extreme Unction a Sacrament from a Text in St. James.
1 Cor. 11. 23.
Luther *excepts againſt the Canonicalneſs of this Epiſtle, and pretends it unworthy the Apoſtolical Spirit.*
**Epiſtle to the* Hebrews.
The King proves the Epiſtle St. James'*s by the Teſtimony of St.* Jerom.

LAſtly, the King proceeds to defend *Extreme Unction*. To prove this Application no *Sacrament*, *Luther* endeavours to ſhew the Text in St. *James* not ſufficient for this purpoſe: The Words are theſe, *Is any ſick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with Oil in the Name of the Lord. And the Prayer of Faith ſhall ſave the Sick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up, and if he have committed Sins they ſhall be forgiven him.* Theſe Words, have both external Ceremony and a Promiſe of Grace; and yet *Luther* is ſo hardy as to reject the Proof: He ſays there is nothing of Sacramental Force in them. But if *Luther* ever argued upon the Verge of Diſtraction, he does ſo with a witneſs in this place; however let's hear him. Firſt, ſays he, 'tis the Opinion of a great many Perſons that this Epiſtle is not St. *James*'s, nor becoming an Apoſtolical Spirit: However, I confeſs, whoever wrote it, it has gain'd Authority by Cuſtom. But, as *Luther* continues, if it were written by the Apoſtle St. *James*, I ſhou'd make no Difficulty to affirm, that it is above the Commiſſion of an Apoſtle to inſtitute a *Sacrament*. To do this is the ſole Prerogative of our Bleſſed Saviour. Thus, with reference to the *holy Euchariſt*, St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians*, *I have received of the Lord that which I alſo deliver'd unto you.* Theſe, are *Luther*'s main Objections. To the firſt of 'em, That a great many Perſons thought this *Epiſtle* none of St. *James*'s, and that it had not the Marks of an Apoſtolical Production: Here, ſays the King, he pretends the Countenance of a great many Writers, but alledges not ſo much as a ſingle Teſtimony. But I ſhall give him an Authority ſufficient to determine the Queſtion, and that is St. *Jerom*. This Father is well known to be a great *Critick* in this part of Learning: And none of the Ancients diſtinguiſh'd the *Canon* from the *Apocrypha* with better Judgment. And tho' he queſtion'd the Authority of one of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles * for ſome time, that is, when the Church had not every where received it: Notwithſtanding this Uncertainty for ſome time, he never queſtion'd the Epiſtle of St. *James*. This he ranges in the *Canon* without the leaſt Scruple. Now if *Luther*, when he deny'd St. *James* being the Author of this Epiſtle, had reckon'd it to ſome other Apoſtolical Perſon, his Objection had been more tolerable. But to reject it becauſe it is written below an Apoſtolical Spirit, is ſtrangely unaccountable. But *Luther* is by no means happy in being conſiſtent, and therefore for once I ſhall make him confute himſelf.

This farther prov'd by an Inference from Luther'*s Principles.*

Now *Luther* in the *Sacrament* of *Orders* lays it down for a Truth that the Church has a diſcerning Faculty given from above, by virtue of which ſhe is enabl'd to diſtinguiſh the Word of God, from humane Writings. How then can he pretend this *Epiſtle* unbecoming an Apoſtolical Spirit, when the Church, whom he allows infallible in this matter, has determined the contrary: He has therefore plainly intangled himſelf in his own Principles; and muſt either confeſs the *Epiſtle* written by St. *James*, or elſe deny the Infallibility of the Church in ſetling the *Canon*.

His Majeſty goes on to *Luther*'s ſecond Objection, and that is, ſuppoſing the *Epiſtle* was St. *James*'s, yet it exceeds the Commiſſion of an Apoſtle to inſtitute a Sacrament. Here, ſays the King, *Luther* is ſo hardy as plainly to outrage the Apoſtle: He

The Inſtitution of the Sacrament above the Commiſſion of an Apoſtle.

The King's Reply to this Objection.

He does in effect charge him with Uſurpation upon his Maſter, as if he had an Ambition to incroach upon his Authority, and affect an Equality with him: As if he reſembled the *Apoſtate Angel* in his Preſumption, who ſaid, *I will aſcend above the Heighths of the Clouds*, *I will be like the moſt High*. What can be more contumelious upon the Apoſtle, than ſuch an Aſſertion as this? As to the matter in hand I ſhan't diſpute whether the Inſtitution of a *Sacrament* was within the Apoſtle's ordinary Commiſſion: It is enough for my purpoſe to prove that St. *James* has deliver'd it as ſuch. From hence we may ſafely conclude the Apoſtle was not ſo preſumptuous as to publiſh that to the Church for a *Sacrament*, which was really no ſuch thing: And therefore if the Inſtitution of a *Sacrament* exceeded his Authority, we may conclude he deliver'd no more than our Saviour's Inſtructions: Our Saviour, I ſay, who ſince he has been pleas'd to reveal ſome things to us by St. *Matthew*, others by St. *Luke*, and given us ſtill farther Diſcoveries by St. *John* and St. *Paul*. Since the caſe ſtands thus, why may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, he has likewiſe inſtructed us in ſomething *new*, by the Apoſtle St. *James?*

Luther, continues the King, after this bold Attack upon the Apoſtle, proceeds to rally the *Church*. He pretends the Text of St. *James* is miſapply'd in *Extreme Unction*. His Reaſon is, becauſe 'tis only given to dying Perſons. The King replies by denying the matter of fact: He grants this *Anointing* is not uſed in a ſlight Diſtemper. But then he proves from the *Office*, the Patient is not ſuppos'd to be given over. For if they deſpair'd of Life, why ſhou'd they put up ſo many Prayers for the reſtoring of Health? And therefore, tho' it is call'd *Extreme Unction*, we are not to ſtrain upon the *Letter*. For it is plain the Church acts upon the Hope of the Patient's Recovery. But if Providence has otherwiſe diſpos'd of the ſick Perſon, the Force of the *Sacrament* is not diſprov'd by this Event: For the Efficacy of the *Sacrament* reaches farther, and has its principal Effect upon the Soul. And therefore *Luther* affirms too much by ſaying that unleſs *Extreme Unction* is an infallible Cure, the external Sign ſignifies nothing, and by conſequence 'tis no *Sacrament*. Now what is this but to aſſert, that it can be no *Sacrament*, unleſs it makes a Man Immortal? And yet this privilege as ſtrange as it is, *Luther* pretends may be gain'd by the Strength of Prayer, provided there's nothing of Doubt or Diſtruſt in the Application.

A Conjecture upon Luther's *excepting againſt the Canonicalneſs of* St James's *Epiſtle.*

St. James 1.

Now, ſays the King, I have ſometimes wonder'd, what made *Luther* diſreliſh St. *James's Epiſtle:* But upon reading this Portion of holy *Scripture*, I find the Reaſon of his Diſlike plain enough. For the Apoſtle ſeems to write with a Prophetick Spirit, as if he foreſaw the Character and Conditions of *Luther*. *Luther* is a great Contemner of *Good Works* in compariſon of *Faith:* Now St. *James* diſputes ſtrongly againſt this Heterodoxy: The Apoſtle proves both from Reaſon and *Scripture*, that *Faith without Works is dead:* He likewiſe checks the Intemperance of *Luther*'s Language very remarkably in theſe Words, *If any Man amongſt you ſeems to be religious and bridles not his Tongue, but deceives his own Heart, this Man's Religion is vain.* And elſewhere, *the Tongue is an unruly Evil, full of deadly Poiſon.* The King cites other *Texts* in this *Chapter* againſt Turbulency of Temper, and a Spirit of Diviſion, which he conceives bear hard upon *Luther*.

And now we are at an end of the Argument, the Cloſe and Haranguing part of the Book I ſhall paſs over. As to the Performance, the King ſeems to have the better of the Controverſy: And generally ſpeaking, to be much the ſounder Divine. Generally ſpeaking, I ſay, his Principles are more Catholick, and his Proofs more cogent. He ſeems ſuperior to his Adverſary in the Vigor and Propriety of his Style, in the Force of his Reaſoning, and the Learning of his Citations. But then with due Regard to his *Memory*, it muſt be ſaid his *Manner* is not altogether unexceptionable: He leans too much upon his Character, argues in his *Garter Robes*, and writes as 'twere with his *Scepter*. He gives rough Language ſometimes, treats *Luther* with Contempt, and drives his Invective pretty ſtrong upon him. But *Luther* was too warm to take this Uſage from the greateſt Mortal. He thought the Cauſe wou'd bear him out in any Liberty. Inſtead therefore of returning a modeſt Defence, and paying a Regard to a Crown'd Head; inſtead of this, he flies out into the laſt Exceſſes of Railing, and is extravagantly coarſe and indecent. And that I may not ſeem to report him to diſadvantage, I ſhall tranſcribe ſome Paſſages of his *Reply*.

See Collect. N. 3.

The King's Book was preſented in full Conſiſtory to the Pope by Dr. *John Clerk*, Dean of *Windſor*, the King's Ambaſſador. It was received with all imaginable Ceremony and Reſpect. The Pope promis'd to ſatisfy the King's Deſire in recommending it to all Chriſtian Princes; and that it ſhou'd be publiſh'd with as honourable a Teſtimony from the *Holy See*, as ever was given to the Works of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom*. His *Holyneſs* likewiſe aſſur'd the Ambaſſador, that at the next *Conſiſtory* he wou'd preſent the King with a publick Title. There were ſeveral *Additions* propos'd by the *Cardinals*, as thoſe of *Protector*, or *Defenſor Romanæ Eccleſiæ*, or *Sedis Apoſtolicæ*, *Rex Apoſtolicus*, or *Orthodoxus:* At laſt they agreed on *Defenſor Fidei*. This Title was drawn up in a *Bull*, in which there's a large Commendation of the King's Performance: I ſhall inſert it for the *Reader* among the Records.

Lord Herbert *p.* 104.
See Records N. 4.

The latter end of this Year this Pope dy'd, not without Suſpicion of being taken off by Poyſon.

Dr. Powell *writes againſt* Luther.

To proceed, one Dr. *Powell* of *Oxford* was a Second to the King in this Controverſy. His Performance was much applauded by the Univerſity. The Heads gave it a great Character in their Letter to the King. The *Tract* was divided into two Books: The firſt was entit'led, *De Summo Pontifice & Euchariſtiæ Sacramento*; The other, *De Sex Sacramentis*. The King was extremely pleas'd with *Powel*'s Management, inſomuch that moſt People thought he wou'd quickly have been promoted to the higheſt Stations in the Church. But, to conclude with him, he loſt the King's Favour by appearing ſtrongly againſt the Divorce, and the New *Supremacy*. By thus croſſing the Court Meaſures, he drew a Storm upon himſelf, and was firſt impriſon'd, and afterwards executed in *Smithfield* (*p*).

But is afterwards executed for denying the King's Spiritual Supremacy.

(*p*) Wood. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 247.

A. D. 1522. May 2.

The next Year there was a *Writ* iſſu'd from the King to Archbiſhop *Warham* to call a *Convocation*. 'Twas ſummon'd to meet at St. *Paul*'s the 20th of *April* (*q*): But the Cardinal prevail'd ſo far with the King, as to diſſolve that *Convocation* by his Legantine Authority. Upon this, he directed his *Mandate* to *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, to bring the Clergy of *Canterbury* to St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*. The *Mandate* ſets forth, They were to meet for Reforming ſome Abuſes in the Church. What was done upon this *Head* is not known, the *Records* being loſt: But Reformation was not their only Buſineſs; a Supply for the King was propos'd: And here the Proportion was ſome-

(*q*) Regiſt. Tonſtall, *fol.* 33, 34.

Cardinal Wolſey *ſummons a Convocation.*

what heavy: They were preſs'd to give half the full Value of their Livings for one Year. All the Relief was, they had five Years for the Payment. To diſpoſe them for ſo large a *Subſidy*, the Cardinal inlarg'd upon the King's Merit to the Church: How he had ſuppreſs'd the Schiſm, which had like to have prov'd troubleſome in Pope *Julius*'s Time: How he had protected the *See* of *Rome* from the Incroachments of the *French*: But moſt of his Rhetorick was laid out in Commendation of the King's *Book* againſt *Luther*. He added, that ſince the *French* King was making War upon him; ſince he had ſent the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to work a Diſturbance on that ſide, it was highly reaſonable the Clergy ſhou'd exert themſelves at ſuch a Juncture, and aſſiſt his Majeſty in proportion to his Occaſions. And that as the King had deſerv'd more from the Church than all his Predeceſſors, they ought to ſhew themſelves ſenſible of their Happineſs, to riſe in their Gratitude, and pay their Acknowledgments accordingly.

A large Subſidy granted by the Clergy.

This Motion of the Cardinal's, was oppos'd by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter*. They objected, 'twas an uncuſtomary Tax, and ſo extremely oppreſſive, that the Clergy cou'd not live under it: And beſides, 'twou'd be drawn into Precedent for Aftertimes: And thus the Burden upon the Church wou'd be almoſt intolerable. But the *Cardinal* who deſign'd the *Convocation* ſhou'd be exemplary in their *Subſidy*, and lead the way to the *Parliament*, was indefatigable in the Buſineſs. And thus by getting ſome to be abſent, and bringing over others, he prevail'd at laſt. And to prevent ſo large a Demand for the future, a Clauſe was thrown in, *That it ſhou'd be no Precedent*. In ſhort, 'twas granted with a *Preamble*, particularly reſpectful and acknowledging to the King. By this Grant all Foreigners beneſic'd in *England*, were double charg'd: That is, they were to pay the full of their Annual Revenue in five Years time. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Landaff*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*, *Silveſter Darius*, and *Peter Vannes* had the Benefit of an Exception, and were oblig'd to pay no higher than the Natives (*z*).

Regiſt. Tonſtal, *fol.* 40.

(*z*) *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Refor.* p. 21.

Cardinal Wolſey *makes for the Papacy.*

The *Papal Chair* being vacant, Cardinal *Wolſey* imploys his Intereſt to ſtep into it. To this purpoſe, he diſpatches Dr. *Richard Pace* Dean of St. *Paul*'s to *Rome*. He likewiſe writes to the Emperor *Charles* to aſſiſt him in the Election.

And endeavours to engage the Emperor.

“ Firſt he gently reminds the Emperor of his Promiſe: In the next place, he ſuggeſts to his Imperial Majeſty, how ſingularly it wou'd appear for him to concern himſelf openly in the Choice of a Pope. This wou'd look like a Hardſhip upon the uſual Freedoms; and as if the *Conclave* was over-rul'd in their Choice: And thus the univerſal Church would ſuffer in the Blemiſh of the *Election*. He likewiſe acquainted the Emperor, that his Majeſty had more important Buſineſs to be carry'd in the *Conclave*. Beſides, if the Cardinal ſucceeded, the Emperor might depend upon his Intereſt, and find him as ſerviceable as formerly: For by giving the King his Maſter a greater Weight in the Balance of Chriſtendom, the Emperor wou'd have the Advantage of a more ſignificant Friendſhip. For the Cardinal, as he continues, wou'd always be ready to diſpoſe the King to a good Correſpondence with his Imperial Majeſty. Neither was there any ground to ſuſpect the Promotion to the Popedom wou'd alter his Thoughts or his Meaſures: His Intereſt no leſs than his Inclination, wou'd oblige him to Conſtancy in this Matter. For 'twas evident enough, that the preſerving the Authority of the Emperor in *Italy*, was the only Expedient to ſecure the Peace of that Country: The preſerving of which, the King of *England* deſir'd no leſs than himſelf.

Pace had Inſtructions to ſcatter ſome of theſe Suggeſtions amongſt the Cardinals at *Rome*: And to put them in Mind what Advantage the *Lutherans* wou'd make if a falſe Step were taken in the *Election*; and what heavy Imputations wou'd be laid on the *Court* of *Rome*: Beſides, if an improper Choice ſhou'd be made, the Diviſions of Chriſtendom wou'd be perpetuated: For inſtance, if any Subject or Favourite to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected, the Animoſities between theſe two Crowns wou'd run higher, and the Breach never be clos'd. He was farther to ſuggeſt, that if the Papacy fell to the Share of an *Italian*, or any other unſupported Perſon, he wou'd not have Force ſufficient to guard his Station, and maintain his Authority. That the only way to prevent theſe Inconveniences, was to pitch upon a Perſon who had a powerful and well-affected Prince to ſtand by him. And to make the moſt of every thing, the Cardinal took Care to apply under-hand to the *French* King, to whom he promiſ'd a Neutrality at leaſt, which was more, it ſeems, than this Prince cou'd expect from another Pope (*s*).

(*s*) *Ld.* Herb. p. 120.

Adrian *Sixth choſen Pope.*

But theſe Inſtructions came to nothing: For before *Pace* arriv'd at *Rome*, the Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, formerly Tutor to the Emperor *Charles*, was choſen Pope, by the Name of *Adrian* the Sixth.

May 26.

This Year the Emperor receiv'd the *Order* of St. *George* at *Nuremberg*, and ſoon after came into *England*: The Cardinal was ſent to *Dover* to wait on Him at his Arrival: Two Days after the King followed and brought Him to *Greenwich*, from hence He made a magnificent Entry into *London*, and was there receiv'd with the Solemnity of a Coronation. The Cardinal officiated at St. *Paul*'s, where, it ſeems, ſome of the principal Nobility gave him the Baſon to waſh at *High Maſs*. *Wolſey* is charg'd with intolerable Pride, for ſuffering Perſons of the firſt Quality, to do this Office: And in all likelihood, to prevent Miſconſtruction, it had better been omitted. However, the Matter is capable of a fairer Conſtruction than is generally put upon't. For the holding the Baſon at *High Maſs* may rather be ſuppos'd a Miniſtration in Religion, and an Honour to God Almighty, than any Reſpect to the Cardinal: And if the Ceremony was thus pay'd, why might it not be receiv'd under the ſame Conſideration?

June 19.

From *London*, the Court convey'd the Emperor to *Windſor*, where a Treaty was concluded between the Two Princes. By one of the Articles, the Emperor was to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, the only ſurviving Iſſue by the Queen.

The War between *England* and *France*, gave Occaſion to the Grant of a Tax in Parliament. And here the Univerſity of *Oxford* being demanded their Proportion, they alledg'd an Exemption, and apply'd to the Cardinal to maintain their Privilege. The Cardinal acquainted the King with this Plea, and ſucceeded in the Repreſentation (*t*).

(*t*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. univerſ. Oxon. p. 248. lib. 1.

The Death of Pope Adrian.

Adrian, who was a Prelate of great Vertue and Sincerity, and projected a *Reformation*, held the *See* but a little while, and dy'd about the middle of the next Year (*u*).

(*u*) F. Paul. *Hiſt. Counc. of* Trent.

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

Cardinal Wolſey *renews his Attempt to gain the Popedom, but miſcarries.*

Cardinal *Wolſey* being advertis'd of the Vacancy of the *See*, acquainted the King with it, letting his Majeſty know, that his not being at *Rome*, was the only Obſtruction that cou'd diſappoint him in his Pretentions upon that Dignity. He therefore begg'd the King, that ſince he had formerly thought him not unworthy of the Papal Chair, he wou'd now aſſiſt him. Notwithſtanding the King's Concurrence, *Julio de Medici* was choſen Pope, by the Name of *Clement* VII. And now to make the beſt of the Caſe, 'twas thought adviſeable to ſend Inſtructions to the King's Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, to congratulate his Holineſs's Election. Thoſe who had a publick Character at that Court, were *Clerk* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Annibal* Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the *Rolls*. Theſe Agents were order'd to requeſt the Pope, not only to continue his former Diſaffection to the *French*, but to exert himſelf proportionably to his Station, and give publick Proof of his former Sentiment. The Cardinal likewiſe by a particular Diſpatch, deſir'd an Inlargement of his Legantine Commiſſion. The Pope condeſcended to the Requeſt: And whereas before he was only Legate from Five Years to Five Years, this Juriſdiction was now given him for Term of Life. The Cardinal is charg'd (*w*) with Inſincerity in this Congratulation of Pope *Clement*. 'Tis true, the Compliment runs high: "He proteſt-
"ed his Election gave great Satisfaction both
"to the King and himſelf; that they never
"had been pleas'd better with any ſort of Suc-
"ceſs, and that he was the very Perſon whom
"they wiſh'd to that Greatneſs. But notwithſtanding the Ceremony of the Expreſſions, there was not ſo much Diſſimulation in the Addreſs, as has been ſuppos'd: For it appears by the Inſtructions ſent by the Cardinal to the King's Ambaſſadors, That they were to ſollicit the Intereſt of the Cardinal *de Medicis*, and that both the King and the Cardinal of *York* deſir'd his Promotion to the Papacy above any others: I ſay, above all others, excepting *Wolſey* himſelf. Our Cardinal likewiſe in his Letter gives the Ambaſſadors to underſtand how much he lov'd, truſted, and eſteem'd this Cardinal *de Medicis:* They had Orders likewiſe to recommend that Cardinal to the whole *College*, and not to appear for *Wolſey* till the other had either declin'd, or was likely to fail in the Competition (*x*).

The Cardinal congratulates Clement *the Seventh.*

(*w*) *Bp.* Burnet. Hiſt. Reform. *pt.* 1. *p.* 4.

(x) *Bp.* Burnet's *Records*, Pt. 2d. Book 1. Numb. 48.

A. D. 1524. Sep.

The Emperor neglecting the Performance of the Article relating to his marrying the Princeſs *Mary*, ſome Overtures were made to *Scotland* upon this Head. But this coming to nothing, the King offer'd his Daughter to *Francis* the *French* King. This Propoſal was well receiv'd, and a Match treated. In ſhort, 'twas agreed the Lady *Mary* ſhou'd be given in Marriage, either to *Francis* himſelf, or to his Second Son the Duke of *Orleans*. The Alternative was to be determin'd by the Two Kings, who were ſhortly to have an Interview at *Calais:* There were alſo Forfeitures on both ſides, in caſe the Match did not go on: But of this more afterwards.

A. D. 1527. Apr. 30.

Id. pt. 1. p. 37. *Ld.* Herbert.

Wolſey *diſſolves ſome leſſer Monaſteries, for the Endowment of the Colleges founded by him.*

A. D. 1525.

Cardinal *Wolſey*, who thought the Revenues of the leſſer Monaſteries might be transfer'd to a more ſerviceable Uſe, procur'd the Pope's Bull to diſſolve Forty of 'em. The Reaſon of taking this large Step was this: He had projected the Founding a College at *Ipſwich*, and another at *Oxford*, and wanted an Indowment proportionable to the Greatneſs of the Deſign. The Pope granted him two *Bulls* for the Diſſolution. The *firſt* bears date, *April* 1524; and the *ſecond* in *March* the Year following. Theſe *Inſtruments* however were charg'd with a Proviſo, that the King, and other Founders of ſuch Monaſteries, wou'd give their Conſent. The King accordingly grants his *Letters Patents* for diſſolving the *Houſes* mention'd in the Pope's *Bull*. The Suppreſſion of theſe Monaſteries gives our learned Church Hiſtorian an Occaſion of running a great length of Satyr upon the Inſignificancy and Miſbehaviour of the *Religious:* "The Monks, ſays he, being
"ſettl'd, gave themſelves up to Idleneſs and
"Pleaſure, having in their Hands the chief
"Encouragements of Learning, and yet doing
"nothing towards it; but on the contrary,
"decrying It and diſparaging It all they cou'd. This, as a learned Remarker obſerves, is a very hard Cenſure upon a whole *Order* of Men, who were once honourable, and always ſerviceable in the Church (*y*).

Conventiones Acta publica, &c. *Tom.* 14. *p.* 23, 32.

Id. pt. 1. p. 22.

(*y*) Harmer *Specimen*, &c. p. 12.

The Memory of the Monks defended againſt ſome Imputations laid upon 'em.

As to Matter of Fact: When the Monks were thus ſettl'd in the Reign of King *Edgar*, to which our Hiſtorian refers, they promoted a general Improvement: They were very induſtrious in reſtoring Learning, and retrieving the Country from the remarkable Ignorance of thoſe Times. Their Labours were anſwer'd with Succeſs: Inſomuch, that whereas before ſcarce any *ſecular* Prieſt cou'd write or read a *Latin* Epiſtle (z); the Face of things was ſo chang'd by the Endeavours of *Dunſtan* and his Maſter *Ethelwald*, that in a ſhort time Learning was generally reſtor'd, and began to flouriſh. From this *Period*, the *Monaſteries* were the Schools and Seminaries of almoſt the whole Clergy, both *ſecular* and *regular*. For the *Univerſities* (if we had more than one) were then very ſlender *Societies*, and the *Muſes* were confin'd as 'twere to the *Cloiſter*. As the *Univerſities* grew up, the *Monaſteries* declin'd: However, they did not ſink to any ſcandalous Degree of Ignorance, but ſtill continu'd to maintain a Character in Learning. 'Tis true, about the middle of the thirteenth *Century*, the *mendicant Friars* by their Induſtry and myſterious Management, gain'd the *Aſcendant:* Thus both the old *religious Orders*, and the *ſecular* Clergy, loſt ground. But within two hundred Years theſe *Mendicants* growing contemptible, the *Monks* and the *Seculars* began to recover their Credit. And thus riſing in their Figure, they made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Reſtoration of Learning: They bred their *Novices* to *Letters:* And to this purpoſe, every great Monaſtery had a peculiar College in each of the *Univerſities*. And even to the Time of their *Diſſolution*, they maintain'd great Numbers of Children at School for the Service of the *Church*. And a little before the *Reformation*, many of the great Monaſteries were *Nurſeries* of Learning: Their *Superiors* were Men of Diſtinction this way, and great Promoters of their own Sufficiency in others. Of this rank we may reckon *Kederminſter* Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, *Goldwell* Prior of *Canterbury*, *Voche* Abbot of St. *Auſtins*, *Wells* Prior of *Ely*, *Holbeach* Prior of *Worceſter*, *Iſlip* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *Webbe* Prior of *Coventry*, and many others. From hence it appears the Monks deſerved a fairer Character than is ſometimes given them. And that in the darkeſt and moſt exceptionable *Ages*, they were far from being Enemies to Learning.

(z) Elfrick præf. ad Grammat. Saxon.

Id. p. 13, 14.

The Cardinal complain'd of by the Religious.

To proceed, the Cardinal is ſaid to have ſtrained his *Legantine* Commiſſion in the *Viſitation* of *religious Houſes*, in the making of Abbots, the granting of Faculties, *&c.* Whether himſelf or his Officers, or both, were to blame, is ſomewhat uncertain: However, his Chaplain *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, is complain'd on, for travelling with a numerous Retinue from one Monaſtery to another, and obliging the Monks to unuſual Hardſhips and Expence. This Management at laſt grew up to a publick Grievance: And coming to the King's Ear, the Cardinal receiv'd a Reprimand: Who finding the King much diſpleas'd, made his Submiſſion, promis'd new Conduct, acquainting the King at the ſame time, that he had made his *Will*, and left the Bulk to his Highneſs. The King being ſatisfy'd with the Cardinal's Submiſſion, ſent him a Letter all written with his own Hand; which being ſomewhat of a Curioſity, I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Reader.

The King's Letter to the Cardinal.

“As touching the Matter of *Wilton*, ſeeing it is in no other Strain than you write of; and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your Servants) afraid and troubl'd, I marvel not that it overſlip'd you as it did. But 'tis no great Matter, ſtanding the Caſe as it doth; for 'tis yet in my Hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your Default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election * was but conditional. Wherefore, My Lord, ſeeing the Humbleneſs of your Submiſſion, and tho' the Caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that according to mine Intent, my Monitions and Warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf; promiſing you that the very Affection I bear you, caus'd me thus to do. As touching the Help of *Religious Houſes* towards the building of your College, I wou'd 'twere more, ſo it be lawfully. For my Intent is none, but that it ſhou'd ſo appear to all the World, and the Occaſion of all their Mumbling might be ſecluded and put away: For ſurely, there's great Murmuring of it throughout all the Realm, both Good and Bad. They ſay not, that all that is ill-gotten is beſtow'd upon the *College*, but that the *College* is the Cloak for covering all Miſchiefs. This grieves me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken of him whom I ſo entirely love. Wherefore, methought I cou'd do no leſs than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little, methinketh, toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that you have receiv'd Money of the *Exempts* for having their old *Viſitors*. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhou'd you take Money? And if they were ill, 'twere a ſinful Act. Howbeit, your *Legacy* herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines*, be a Cloak, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore you, thus moniſh'd by him who ſo intirely loves you, I doubt not will deſiſt, not only from this, (if Conſcience will not bear it) but from all other things which ſhou'd Tangle the ſame; and in ſo doing, we will ſing *Te laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te laudat omnis ſpiritus*. And thus an End I make of this, tho' rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it; for I inſure you (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remains at this Hour no Spark of Diſpleaſure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplex'd. Written with the Hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend (*a*).

HENRT R.

This Election is ſuppos'd to be the chuſing of an Abbot at Wilton.

And ſince the King's Letter takes notice the Cardinal was cenſur'd for diſſolving the *Religious Houſes*; and *Stow* * ſeems to charge him with Sacrilege, and that the founding a College was a ſlender Defence, I ſhall give the *Reader* a Line or two, to take off ſomewhat of this Imputation. Firſt, we are to conſider, that the Cardinal was govern'd by the Principles of the Age, and did nothing but what was juſtifiable by the *received Doctrines*. He own'd the Supremacy of the *Papal See*, and maintain'd the Privileges claim'd by the Court of *Rome*. Now under this Perſwaſion, he muſt believe the Pope had an Authority of transferring the Lands and Revenues of the Church, to what Uſes he thought fit; and eſpecially of turning *religious Houſes* into *Societies* for *ſecular* Prieſts, and for the Advancement of Learning. That the Popes had formerly given Inſtances of their Authority in this kind. Farther, ſince Popes have ſometimes given Monks leave to throw off their *Habits*, and return to the *World*, what ſhou'd hinder them from altering a Settlement, and making a ſmall Revolution in Lands and Tenements? Why ſhou'd the Conſecration of *Eſtates* go deeper, and be more irrevocable than that of *Perſons*?

* Stow's *Annal. p.* 522.

The Cardinal defended from the Charge of Sacrilege.

Beſides, if we conſider the new Application, there will be no reaſon to charge the Cardinal with Sacrilege. For he did not alienate the Revenues from *religious* Service, but only made a Change in the Diſpoſal; He only turn'd the Monaſteries into Colleges: Now every Body knows theſe *Societies* are expreſly dedicated to the Honour of God Almighty.

Farther, whereas 'tis objected, the Cardinal's Precedent led the way to After-Liberties, and prov'd Fatal to the reſt of the Monaſteries: To this it may be anſwer'd, by asking a Queſtion: Did ever any Body lay the Imputation of Sacrilege upon *Wainfleet* or *Chichely*? Not to mention other Founders of Colleges. Did ever any Body charge theſe Prelates with ſacrilegious Invaſion, for building their *Colleges* upon the Ruines of the *Prior's Aliens*, for receiving the Revenues of thoſe forfeited Eſtates, to endow their Foundations? Laſtly, were not the *Templars* ſuppreſs'd, and their Lands every where ſeiz'd in the fourteenth *Century*? And was not the Diſſolution of their *Houſes* countenanc'd by the Pope himſelf (*b*)?

A. D. 1525.

The Cardinal's noble Foundation of the College of Chriſt-Church *in* Oxford.

To proceed: The Cardinal having procur'd the King's *Letters Patents*, went vigorouſly on with the Building of his College in *Oxford*. The *Patent* gives great Commendation of the Cardinal's Adminiſtration, and that the Weight of the Government had reſted upon him for ſeveral Years. By this *Patent* the College was to be built upon the Site of St. *Freideſwed*'s Priory (lately diſſolv'd for that purpoſe) and to be call'd *CARDINAL-COLLEGE*. This *Inſtrument* likewiſe gave an Authority of ſettling two thouſand Pounds a Year in clear Revenue upon the Foundation. The Cardinal's Plan in this Benefaction, was large and noble, as appears by a Draught of the *Statutes* ſent to the *Society* under his Hand and Seal: For the purpoſe, By this Scheme, there was to be a Dean and Sub-Dean, Threeſcore Canons of the firſt Rank, and Forty of the Second, Thirteen Chaplains, Twelve Clerks, and Sixteen Choriſters. To which we muſt add Lecturers, or Profeſſors in Divinity, Canon-Law, Civil-Law, Phyſick, Philoſophy, Logick, and Humanity. There were likewiſe Four *Cenſors* of *Manners*, and Examiners of the Proficiency of the Students. There was alſo Three Treaſurers, Four Stewards, and Twenty inferior Servants: In all, an Hundred and Eighty Six. And laſtly, there was a Revenue ſettl'd for

---

(*a*) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 174.

(*b*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon, Lib. 2. p. 247.

for the Entertainment of Strangers, the Relief of the Poor, and the keeping of Horſes for College-Buſineſs. As to the Building, 'twas magnificent in the Model, curious in the Workmanſhip, and rich in the Materials: And if the Cardinal had liv'd to execute the Deſign, few Princes Palaces wou'd have exceeded it. Neither wou'd the Library have been ſhort of the Nobleneſs of the Structure: For the Cardinal intended to have furniſh'd it with the Learning and Curioſities of the *Vatican*, and tranſcrib'd the Pope's Manuſcripts for that purpoſe. But this noble Id. p. 249. Foundation had but four Years Continuance; for in the Year 1529, when the Cardinal was caſt in a *Præmunire*, the Deſign dropt, the Buildings were left unfiniſh'd, and all the Eſtate of the Foundation both *Real* and *Perſonal* was forfeited to the King. And thus it continu'd in his Majeſty's Hands, till the Year 1532: In which time ſeveral Mannors and other Branches of the Revenue were ſnatch'd by the *Courtiers*. In the Year laſt mention'd, the King founded the College anew, with a Settlement of Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. In this Foundation, there was a Dean and twelve Secular Canons. But this Settlement laſted not much longer than the firſt; for in the May 10. Year 1545, this *Corporation* was diſſolv'd by Commiſſion, and reſign'd by the Dean and Canons into the King's Hands. About two Months after, it was reviv'd by his Majeſty's *Letters Patents*. And the next Year, by an Inſtrument of the ſame kind, the King tranſlated the Epiſcopal *See* from *Oſney* to this College. Thus the Church of this *Society* was made the Cathedral, and the College call'd *Chriſt-Church*. In this laſt Foundation, there's a Proviſion for a Dean, eight Canons, three publick Profeſſors of Divinity, of *Hebrew* and *Greek*, ſixty Students, eight Chaplains, eight Singing-Men, an Organiſt, a School-Maſter, an Id. p. 251, 252. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Uſher, fourty Boys, and twenty four Alms-Men.

Luther had now recollected himſelf, and was Londini ex Ædibus Pynſonianis A.D. 1526. cum Privilegio Regis. grown ſenſible of his Miſbehaviour towards the King of *England*: And therefore this Year he ſends the King a Letter, and acknowledges his Fault. In this Letter he acquaints the King, that in his late Anſwer to his Majeſty, he was provok'd to the *Manner* of his Writing by Perſons that were none of the King's Friends: And that by giving way to Reſentment, he was puſh'd beyond his Temper, and carry'd out into ſuch offenſive Expreſſions. He owns this was done with great Precipitancy and want of Diſcretion. He begs the King's Pardon, makes a low Submiſſion, and promiſes to write a publick Recantation, if the King ſhall pleaſe to appoint him that Satisfaction. He proceeds to tell the King, he heard his Majeſty had taken ſome ſteps towards a *Reformation*, and wiſhes him a farther Progreſs. From hence he goes on to offer ſomething in Defenſe of his *Doctrine*, and complains of his being condemn'd before Hearing. But he does not ſhew himſelf a Perſon of Addreſs, nor keep his Temper through the whole Application. For he falls foul upon the Cardinal of *York*; calls this Favourite and prime Miniſter, a Monſter, a Perſon publickly hated by God and Man, and the Plague of the Kingdom. Beſides, he touches the King in a very ſenſible Part, tells him he was credibly inform'd, that the Book, *de Septem Sacramentis* was none of the King's; but that ſome People, who had more Cunning than Conſcience, had borrow'd his Majeſty's Name; never conſidering the danger they run themſelves upon, by throwing ſuch a Scandal upon their Sovereign. He's very coarſe in this *Letter* upon the *Court* of *Rome*: And as for the Emperor and thoſe other Princes of *Germany*, who diſcountenanc'd his Doctrine, he tells the King there was no Reaſon to be ſurpris'd at this: That 'twas rather a Wonder there was one ſingle Prince in the Intereſt of the *Goſpel*. To make good this Complement upon Kings, he quotes part of the ſecond *Pſalm*, *The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed.* At the cloſe, he begs a favourable Anſwer of the King, and ſubſcribes with Decency enough. He dates from *Wittenberg*, *Sept.* 1. 1525. See Records N. 5.

It ſeems this *Letter* ſtuck in the Conveyance, and did not come to the King's Hands till a great while after the Date. The King gratify'd *Luther* ſo far as to return him an Anſwer, which being moſtly ſpent upon the former Controverſy, I ſhall only take notice of ſome few Paſſages. Firſt, the King ſolemnly declares the Book, *De Septem Sacramentis* to be his own. As to Cardinal *Wolſey*, of whom *Luther* had given ſo hard a Character, the King commends him very highly, and attributes the Succeſſes of his Reign to that Prelate's Adminiſtration. Amongſt other Exceptions to *Luther*'s Doctrine, the King cites him for this Aſſertion, that *'twas downright Sacrilege and Wickedneſs to endeavour to pleaſe God by good Works, and not by Faith alone. Sacrilegium eſt & Impietas velle placere Deo per Opera, & non per ſolam Fidem.* In libro adverſus Regem. His Majeſty likewiſe cites a reſembling Sentence out of *Luther*'s Book, *de Captivitate Babylonica. Ita vides quam Dives ſit Homo Chriſtianus ſive Baptizatus, qui etiam volens non poteſt perdere ſalutem ſuam quantiſcunque peccatis, niſi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata poſſunt eum damnare, niſi ſola Incredulitas.* The King expreſſes ſome Indignation, as he had reaſon, at theſe Heterodoxies, and confutes him ſubſtantially from the *New Teſtament*. Some of his *Texts* are theſe; St. *Paul* tells us, *that Faith, which is acceptable to God, works by Love.* Gal. 5. 6. To this Senſe agrees the Exhortation of the ſame Apoſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Examine your ſelves whether you* 2 Cor. 13. 5. *be in the Faith; prove your own ſelves.* Now, ſays the King, which way can this Proof be made out excepting by the Teſt of good Works? Thus St. *Peter* tells us, *that whoever works Righteouſneſs* Acts 10. *is accepted of God.* To the ſame purpoſe St. *John* cautions his Converts againſt the Impoſtures of the *Gnoſticks*, *Little Children, let no Man deceive* 1 St. John 3. 7. *you, he that doth Righteouſneſs is Righteous.* The King proceeds and charges *Luther* with diſabling the Faculties of the Mind, and maiming the Liberty of the Will, to that degree, as to make the doing any thing that's good an impracticable Attempt. This Doctrine he is ſaid to carry to ſuch an Exceſs, as to make a Man a mere Machine in Piety and Virtue; that with reſpect to Chriſtian Attainments the *Will* is purely paſſive, and has no Power even to co-operate with the Grace of God. This Aſſertion, as the King goes on, is one of the moſt peſtilent Hereſies that ever was. Thus the Juſtice of God is blaſphemed: Thus the Wickedneſs of Men is by conſequence excus'd, thrown upon the Neceſſity of Fate, and the force of irrevocable Decrees. Now if Men are thus abſolutely impotent and over-rul'd, to what purpoſe did St. *John* the *Baptiſt exhort the* St. Matth. 3. *Jews to Repentance?* And why did our Saviour bid the Adultereſs *go, and ſin no more?* St. John 8.

The King proceeds to charge the Commotions and Revolts in *Germany* upon *Luther*'s Doctrine; and that he had been the occaſion of a great deal of Rapine and Diſorder in the World. To conclude, as to *Luther*'s begging his Pardon, the King tells him, he was willing to give it him, upon gentler Conditions than he deſir'd: But then he expects Repentance and Retractation of Error on *Luther*'s part. To this purpoſe he exhorts him to retire from the World, to quit his Engagements with the Nun he had marry'd, and ſpend the Remainder of his Life in Diſcipline and Penance.

Having obſerv'd *Luther* was charg'd with giving occaſion to the Civil Diſturbances in *Germany*, it may not be improper to take notice, that the *Boors* had made ſeveral Inſurrections in the *Empire*. The laſt Year there was a Riſing of the Peaſants in *Swabia*; they had form'd themſelves into a Confederacy, and engag'd with the Solemnity of Oaths. Their Pretence was to maintain the *Goſpel* and their Civil Liberties. Thus they appear'd in great Numbers in the *Field*, and drew out againſt the *Magiſtracy*. Some indiſcreet Fanatick Preachers were the Incendiaries of this Rebellion, amongſt whom one *Thomas Munſer* was Chief. This *Munſer* not only oppos'd the Doctrine of the Court of *Rome*, but refin'd upon *Luther* himſelf. He complain'd the Pope had encroach'd upon the Liberties of Chriſtendom, and unreaſonably hamper'd them in the *Canon Law*. That *Luther* had broke theſe Chains, 'tis true; but then he had gone too great a length towards the other Extreme. He had careſs'd the *Senſes*, and indulg'd the *Animal Life* too far. *Munſer* therefore took up the Reins, and drew in the Compaſs of *Luther*'s Liberty. He preach'd up Diſcipline and Self-denial, and oblig'd his Converts to Gravity of Countenance, ſeldom ſpeaking, and long Beards. He had one *Fiſer*, who aſſiſted him in his Scheme, and was privy to his Deſigns. This Man ſet up for Prophetical Dreams, and holding Intelligence with Spirits. He told the *Boors*, he had Orders from Heaven to bring them into the *Field*; and that 'twas part of their Commiſſion to deſtroy the Nobility. The *Peaſants*, animated by theſe Impoſtors, ventur'd a Battle, were defeated by Count *Mansfield*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and ſoon after *Munſer* and *Fiſer* were taken and executed.

Sleidan Comment. lib. 4. & 5.

Francis the Firſt, the *French* King, being made Priſoner at the Battle of *Pavia*, was oblig'd to hard Conditions for the Recovery of his Liberty. Among other Securities for Performance of Articles, the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, made him ſwear the Capitulation at *Madrid*. But the Pope being apprehenſive of the Emperor's Greatneſs ſent *Francis* a Relaxation of this Oath, and founded the Diſpenſation upon the *Dureſs* the King was under. Upon this, the Pope, this King, and ſeveral *Italian* Princes enter'd into an Allyance, and form'd the *Clementine League*. The States of *Italy* engag'd, were the *Venetians*, *Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Government of *Florence*. The Emperor had the Liberty of coming in if he pleas'd, and they offer'd the King of *England* the Honour of being Guarantee of the Treaty. But by the Advice of the *Council*, the King declin'd the Overture; for 'twas thought the Liberty of his Motions might be check'd by concerning himſelf thus far.

A. D. 1526.

This Year *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, ſent out a Monition to bring in *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*.

He complains ſome of the *Lutheran* Sect had unfaithfully tranſlated the inſpired Writings, corrupted the Purity of the holy Text, and interpolated it with ſome of their own dangerous Novelties, *&c.*

See Records N. 12.

Fox tells an odd Story upon this Occaſion: He reports that Biſhop *Tunſtal*, by the Advice of one *Auſtin Packington* a Merchant, paid a conſiderable Sum of Money to this *Packington*, for buying up all the Copies of *Tyndall's Tranſlation*. The Merchant, who was a private Friend of *Tyndall*'s, remits all the Biſhop's Money to him: And now *Tyndall*, who liv'd baniſh'd in *Holland*, was ſupplyed with a Maintenance, and furniſh'd for a ſecond *Edition*. And thus, as our Martyrologiſt affirms, *Packington* cheated Biſhop *Tunſtall* of his Money, and *Tyndall* receiv'd it.

Fox Hiſt. Martyr. edit. Baſil. *p.* 138.

I have already obſerv'd, a Match was treated between the Lady *Mary* and the *Houſe* of *France*: While this matter was in Agitation, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the *French* Ambaſſador, threw in ſome Scruples about the Legitimacy of the Princeſs. He objected the King's Marriage with his Brother's Wife: That this *Engagement* being a Breach of a divine Precept, no humane Authority could diſpenſe with it. Whether the ſtarting theſe Objections were pre-concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambaſſador, is not known. 'Tis by ſome conjectur'd, that the King or the Cardinal put the *French* upon making this Exception: For thus the King might have a colourable Pretence to juſtiſie his proſecuting the Divorce. For if the *French* receiv'd ſo advantageous a Propoſal, as a Match with the Heir of the *Crown*, with Coolneſs and Scruples, 'twas reaſonable to fear, that after the King's Death, other Pretenders wou'd ſet up a Claim, and diſpute her Title in another manner (*c*).

The French *Ambaſſador excepts againſt the Legitimacy of the Princeſs* Mary.

(*c*) *Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. part 1. *p.* 37.

This Spring *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Imperial Army in *Italy*, ſent to the Pope, to paſs his Troops throw his Holyneſs's Territories, into the Kingdom of *Naples*: He likewiſe deſir'd Proviſion for his Army upon paying for't. The Pope refuſing theſe Demands, *Bourbon* marches to *Rome*, and attacks the Town with an Army of 30000 Men. This General, attempting to ſcale the Walls, was kill'd with a Muſquet Shot: But the Soldiers, enrag'd at the loſs of their General, or, it may be, animated with the proſpect of Plunder, took the Town by Storm, liv'd there at diſcretion ſix or ſeven Days, and kill'd about 5000 Men.

May 6. A. D. 1527.

Guicardine l. 18.

Bellay.

After this Succeſs, they laid Siege to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and forc'd the Pope and thirteen Cardinals to a Capitulation. By the Articles 400000 Ducats were to be paid in two Months to the Army, and the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, and ſome other Places put into the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*. And for the Security of the Performance, the Pope and Cardinals were to remain in St. *Angelo*, till part of the Money was paid, and Hoſtages given for the reſt. The Capitulation being thus far made good, his Holyneſs was nevertheleſs to continue a Priſoner: He was to be remov'd to *Gaeta*, or ſome other Place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and there expect the Emperor's Pleaſure.

Guicardine l. 18.

I have mention'd this Revolution of the Pope's Fortune in *Italy*, becauſe it ſeems to have given a great Turn to the State of the *Engliſh* Church.

Our King perceiving the Balance of *Europe* was like to be broken, and that the weight was falling into the Emperor's Scale, reſolv'd to make a cloſer Engagement with the *French* King. To this purpoſe Cardinal *Wolſey* was diſpatch'd into *France* with a ſplendid Equipage, having near a Thouſand Horſe in his Train. He had Inſtructions to form the Treaty upon theſe Three Points.

Lord Herbert.

1ſt, To require the Reſolution of *Francis* upon the Alternative of the Marriage formerly mention'd.

2dly, To agree upon Meaſures for making a Peace with the Emperor: And here the Enlargement of *Francis*'s Children, now Hoſtages in *Spain*, was to be comprehended.

The 3d Article was, To conſult upon Methods for procuring the Pope's Liberty.

To the 1ſt, the *French* King anſwer'd, That the Duke of *Orleans*'s Age being nearer that of the Princeſs *Mary*, the Match ſhou'd go on between theſe two.

To the 2d 'twas anſwer'd, That *Francis*, for the Enlargement of his Children, beſides other Conceſſions, wou'd renounce his Claim in *Milan*.

To the 3d, little more was ſaid than that the Pope ſhou'd be enlarg'd either by Mediation or Force, with all Expedition.

After this *Francis* brought the Cardinal to *Compeigne*, from whence *Wolſey* gave King *Henry* an Account of the Treaty. The King being much ſatisfy'd with the Cardinal's Negotiation, ſent him a Letter under his own Hand. And here he acknowledges the great Service the Cardinal had done his Highneſs and the Kingdom, and particularly by the Treaty concluded with the *French* *Auguſt* 18. By theſe Articles the Treaty made at *London April* 30 this Year, was to remain in full Force.

A. D. 1527.

It was likewiſe agreed between the Kings of *France* and *England*, that no General *Council* ſummon'd either by the Pope during his Reſtraint, or by the Emperor, ſhou'd be receiv'd. To this purpoſe they ſhou'd prevail with the Clergy of their reſpective Dominions ſolemnly to proteſt againſt ſuch an Aſſembly of the Prelates. That all Orders, Sentences, Bulls, Letters, or Briefs iſſu'd and directed from the Pope, during his Confinement, and tending to the Damage of the ſaid Kings or their Subjects, and eſpecially to the Prejudice of the Legantine Commiſſion of the Cardinal of *York*, ſhou'd not be obey'd, but declar'd void; and thoſe puniſh'd upon whom they were found. That, during the Pope's Impriſonment, whatever Decrees and Regulations, made in Convocation by the Cardinal of *York* and the *Engliſh* Prelates, relating to the Church of *England*, ſhou'd be obſerv'd: With this *Proviſo*, that they had the King's Conſent for this purpoſe. 'Twas likewiſe agreed, that *Francis* and the *Gallican* Clergy ſhou'd have a Power of the ſame Extent in the *French* King's Dominions, till the Pope had his Liberty.

Ld. Herbert.

A. D. 1527.

And here the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, the King's Fancy began of being *Head* of the Clergy. And that the firſt Impreſſions of this kind were receiv'd from the Cardinal. Of whom likewiſe this noble Hiſtorian reports, the King took the hint for the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries.

The King's Scruples about his Marriage began now to appear. 'Tis ſaid the Cardinal was the firſt, who perplex'd his Majeſty's Conſcience: And that he perſuaded *Longland* the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the King's Confeſſor, to ſuggeſt theſe Scruples to the King (*d*). 'Tis likewiſe ſaid the Cardinal injected theſe Thoughts as a Revenge upon the Emperor, for breaking his Promiſe with *Wolſey* and not aſſiſting him in gaining the Popedom. It muſt be confeſs'd the ſtarting this Divorce was a likely way to imbroil the King and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and bring the firſt into the *French* Intereſt.

But *Cavendiſh* (*e*), a Gentleman of the Cardinal's *Family*, and who ſeems to have been much in his Secrets, gives another Account of this Matter. He reports, theſe Scruples began upon the King's Affection to Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*: That the King diſcovered his Inclination to *Wolſey*; and that the Cardinal, often on his Knees, endeavour'd to remove the King's Thought, and break his Fancy, but to no purpoſe. But whatever the King might declare to the Cardinal, he threw his Diſlike of cohabiting with the Queen upon Motives of Conſcience. For four Years after this, in a Letter to *Simon Gryneus*, he owns he had been govern'd by theſe Scruples for ſeven Years paſt. The Reaſons upon which he went, were theſe: He found by the *Law* of *Moſes*, *that if a Man took his Brother's Wife, they ſhou'd die childleſs*. Now the King had ſeveral Children by the Queen, but none of 'em were living, but the Princeſs *Mary*. This Misfortune might probably make him think the Marriage unbleſs'd. Whatever his Thoughts were, he ſet himſelf to ſtudy the Point. *Thomas Aquinas*, of whoſe Judgment he had a great Opinion, decided the Caſe againſt him. In ſhort, the King, by his own Enquiry, concluded the prohibited Degrees of Marriage in *Leviticus* to be of a moral and unalterable Nature. From whence it follows, that Chriſtians, no leſs than the *Jews*, are oblig'd by them. That tho' the Pope cou'd diſpenſe with the Canons of the *Church*, he had no Privilege to relax upon the divine Laws; for no Law can be diſpens'd with by any Authority leſs than that which made it. From hence his Inference was, that the preſent Caſe was not within the Pope's Commiſſion: That notwithſtanding his Holyneſs cou'd diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church, yet the Laws of God were above his Controul, becauſe his Authority muſt be confeſs'd to be of a lower kind. The King is likewiſe ſaid to have requir'd the Opinions of the *Engliſh* Biſhops: And that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was order'd to report their Judgment. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid, that all the Biſhops, excepting *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, declar'd under their Hands and Seals againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage (*f*). But *Cavendiſh*, whom we may ſuppoſe receiv'd his *Memoirs* from *Wolſey*, and was living when this Affair was tranſacted, is ſomewhat different in his Relation. He tells us that the Cardinal, being preſs'd by the King to declare his Opinion of the Marriage, did not think it ſafe to venture his own Judgement in ſo weighty a Buſineſs. He therefore deſir'd leave to conſult the Men of Learning and Character in the Church.

Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 38.

Levit. 20. 21.

This Requeſt being granted, he made uſe of his Legantine Authority, and iſſu'd out his *Mandate* for a Meeting of the Clergy at *Weſtminſter*. And here not only the *Prelates*, but moſt of the eminent Perſons of both *Univerſities*, not to mention others, were drawn together. At this *Convention* or *Synod*, the King's Caſe was examin'd and argu'd for ſeveral Days. But the matter was ſo intricate and involv'd, that they broke up without coming to any Reſolution.

And thus the main Point remain'd undecided. However, they ſuggeſted this Expedient; that the King ſhou'd ſend his *Agents* to all *Univerſities*, both at Home and beyond Sea: That the Caſe ſhould be throughly debated by thoſe learned *Societies*; and that their Deciſion might be brought to his Majeſty under the Seal of every *Univerſity* (*g*).

As to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he was clearly againſt the Divorce as has been obſerv'd. This *Prelate* in a Letter to the Cardinal, ſeems to found his Opinion upon the twenty fifth of *Deuteronomy*, where when *a Man dy'd without Children*, *his Brother was to marry the Widow*. He lets *Wolſey* know he had conſulted a great many Caſuiſts upon the Queſtion: That they were divided in their Opinions: And that thoſe who allow'd

Verſ. 37.

the

(*d*) Sanderus de Schiſm. Angl.

(*e*) Cavend. *Memoirs of Card.* Wolſey *p.* 97.

(*f*) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 38.

(*g*) Cavend. *p.* 98.

the marrying a Brother's *Relict* in ſome caſes, ſeem'd beſt ſupported. He argues farther, that ſuppoſing the Reaſons *Pro* and *Con* hung in an equal Balance, the Authority of the Pope's Diſpenſation ſhou'd caſt the Scale. The Reader may ſee his Opinion more at large in the *Collection* of *Records (b)*.

(b) See Records, N. 6.

When the Biſhops met to debate this Queſtion, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refus'd to put his Hand and Seal to the Inſtrument ſign'd by the reſt. By this Writing, 'tis reported, all the other Biſhops declar'd the Marriage unlawful *(i)*. But *Cavendiſh*, who was with the Cardinal, as has been obſerv'd, and diſcours'd ſome of the moſt eminent Prelates upon that Point, ſays poſitively, they came to no Reſolution, and tells us that the Inſtrument ſign'd by the Prelates, was only to teſtify their Conſent to debate the Queſtion, to which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, it ſeems, wou'd not agree. This is *Cavendiſh*'s Account of that Matter. And that the Biſhops Subſcription did not proceed ſo far as to declare the Marriage unlawful, ſeems farther probable from *Wolſey*'s ſhare in the Affair. For this Cardinal and *Campegio*, were commiſſion'd by the Pope to hear the Queſtion diſcuſs'd, and pronounce upon the Caſe. Now if *Wolſey* had already declar'd himſelf of one ſide, had he not been unfit to have been pitch'd on for a Judge? But if all the Biſhops, excepting *Rocheſter*, had thus publickly affirm'd the Marriage unlawful, the Cardinal being an *Engliſh* Biſhop, muſt have been one of that Number. 'Tis true the King, in the Lord *Herbert*'s Hiſtory, declares he had conſulted all the Clerks of his Kingdom, and that all, excepting two, reſolv'd the Marriage unlawful *(k)*. And in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Letter to Sir *Gregory Caſſeley* at *Rome*, 'tis ſaid, the King apply'd to the moſt learn'd Prelates, Divines, and Canon Lawyers, both in his own Kingdom and elſewhere, about the Force of the Pope's Diſpenſation, with reference to the Marriage: And that in the Concluſion of the Debate, many of theſe Doctors affirm'd, that the Pope cou'd not diſpenſe in the firſt Degree of Affinity: Such a Relaxation being morally evil, and prohibited by the Law of God. And provided the Pope cou'd relax and give any Relief in this Caſe, they unanimouſly agreed, ſuch a Liberty was not to be indulg'd, but upon the greateſt and moſt urgent Motives, which cou'd not be pleaded in the King's behalf *(l)*.

Whether the Inſtrument the Biſhops ſubſcrib'd, was a Declaration of the Unlawfulneſs of the Marriage, or only their Conſent to debate the Queſtion.

(i) Bp. Burnet, *Part* 1. *pag.* 38.

(k) Ld. Herbert's *Hiſt. p.* 217.

(l) Cotton, lib. Vitel. *B.* 9.

From the *Date* of this Letter, *December* the fifth 1527, it appears the *Engliſh* Biſhops were conven'd about the Queſtion this Year, and that ſome, tho' not all of 'em, had pronounc'd the Marriage unlawful. I ſay not all of 'em, for had the King been furniſh'd with ſo unanimous a Reſolution of the *Engliſh* Prelates, we may imagine the Cardinal, who wrote upon the King's Inſtructions, wou'd have made the moſt of this Advantage in his Letter to *Caſſeley*. Before I diſmiſs this Inqiury, I muſt obſerve, that *Cavendiſh* reports *Wolſey* conven'd the Biſhops a ſecond time: That this laſt Meeting was, after the Opinions of the Univerſities at home and abroad had been try'd, and found favourable to the King's Cauſe: And that now 'twas agreed on to ſend the Determination of the Prelates of *England* to the Pope: Which as *Cavendiſh* reports, was drawn up in an Inſtrument ſoon after.

But then *Cavendiſh* is miſtaken in ſaying the Reſolutions of the Univerſities were tranſmitted *hither*, under their reſpective Seals, before *Campegio* came over. For this *Legate* arriv'd in *Enland October* 1528, but the Decree of *Orleance*, which bears the earlieſt Date, was ſign'd no ſooner than *April* 1529, and the reſt are dated the Year after.

Cavendiſh, *p.* 100, 101.

However, the King and Cardinal's *Agents*, might have felt the Pulſe of the foreign Univerſities, before this ſecond Meeting of the Biſhops. Thus *Wolſey* might report the Advices he had receiv'd from abroad. And this Repreſentation might draw the Biſhops to declare their Senſe. But of their being unanimous in the Point, *Cavendiſh* ſays nothing upon this Occaſion. And thus having cited the Authorities, I ſhall reſt the matter with the *Reader*. The King, who, as the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, was reſolv'd to proceed in this Affair, adviſ'd farther with the Cardinal, who told him, that if the Cauſe was try'd in *England*, the Queen wou'd appeal from the Sentence: That this Buſineſs cou'd not be decided in *England*, unleſs the Pope wou'd furniſh him with a diſcretionary Commiſſion, and give him abſolute Authority *in omnibus caſibus*. He adviſ'd the King farther, that the Queen ſhou'd be perſuaded to retire from the World, and turn *Religious*. And if neither of theſe two Expedients cou'd be brought to bear, then they might proceed to a farther Thought, and conſider *quid poſſit clam fieri quoad forum conſcientiæ*.

Bp. Burnet's *Records, pt.* 1. *p.* 89.

To proceed, the Cardinal told the King, he wou'd do well to diſcover his Mind to *Clark* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, then Ambaſſador in *France*. This Prelate being recall'd, the King opening the Caſe, told him the Bull was either of Force, or good for nothing: If it is naught, ſays the King, let it be ſo declar'd: But if it is good, I'll never break through it. The Biſhop reply'd, that the Pope's being a Priſoner, put a ſtop to the Courſe of Juſtice in that *Court*. Beſides, ſuppoſing the Paſſage open, the Motion of the Proceſs wou'd be ſo ſlow, that Seven Years time wou'd ſcarcely put an End to it. He added, that there muſt be three diſtinct Sentences given in the Cauſe, by three different Judges: And farther, that after all this, the Judgment might be revers'd; *quia ſententia contra Matrimonium nunquam tranſit in rem Judicatam*. And laſtly, he ſuggeſted his Majeſty might expect the Queen wou'd have Recourſe to an Appeal. To this the King anſwer'd, that in caſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *London*, gave Sentence againſt her, he believ'd ſhe wou'd not appeal. As to the Tediouſneſs of the Suit, ſince his Patience had already held out for Eighteen Years, he was willing to wait Four or Five more to bring the Matter to a Period. His Majeſty added, that ſince the Marriage ſtood upon the Strength of a Diſpenſation, the ſame Authority might work the other way: for he knew the Key that lock'd the Door, cou'd unlock it. Upon the whole, he thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend his *Agents* to *Rome*: That the Pope muſt be ſollicited to unty the Knot, and give him leave to marry another *(m)*.

The King reſolves to ſend his Agents to Rome *to diſengage him from his Marriage.*

(m) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 217.

Upon this, Cardinal *Wolſey* writes a Letter to Sir *Gregory Caſſeley*, then at *Rome*: The Purport of this Letter, was to perſuade the Pope to ſet the King at Liberty. The Arguments made uſe of to this purpoſe, are,

Cardinal Wolſey's *Letter to Sir* Gregory Caſſeley, *concerning the Divorce.*

1*ſt*, The Opinions of ſeveral Prelates and Divines abovementioned, who pronounc'd the Marriage unlawful.

2*dly*, It was repreſented, that the nulling of the preſent Marriage, was the only Expedient to ſecure the Quiet of the Kingdom. That unleſs the Legitimacy of the King's Iſſue was put beyond Diſpute, there wou'd be Conteſts about the

Reaſons for the Pope's granting a Diſpenſation.

the Title to the *Crown*: That when Matters were leſs perplex'd in this reſpect than they are now, Competitions had been ſet up, the Nation embroil'd, and almoſt brought to Ruine by a Civil War: That there was a late Inſtance of this Misfortune, and that the Kingdom had thus deeply ſuffer'd in the Diſputes between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

A third Reaſon to diſpoſe his *Holyneſs* to a Diſpenſation, was, the divided Condition of Chriſtendom: That ſeveral Princes had ſeiz'd the *Keys*, and encroach'd upon the Juriſdiction of the *Church*: That to prevent the ſpreading of this Miſchief, and a farther Revolt from the *See* of *Rome*, 'twas neceſſary to apply to the ſafeſt Remedy: That in caſe the King of *England* was gratify'd in this Matter, the Pope might depend on his Friendſhip, and expect a Protection from him. And to ſhew this Requeſt was not without a Precedent, 'tis farther alledg'd, that the Emperor had been lately diſpens'd with in a reſembling Caſe; that this Prince had ſworn to marry the Princeſs *Mary*: That notwithſtanding the Solemnity of this Engagement, the Pope had given him a Releaſe without the King's Conſent (n).

Dec. 5. 1527.

(n) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 9.

Now that the King's Application might be leſs ſhocking at the Court of *Rome*, they pitch'd upon the ſmootheſt Methods, and mov'd in a *Manner* they thought wou'd be moſt agreeable. To have inſiſted upon the Nullity of Pope *Julius*'s Bull, becauſe the Matter of it was unlawful, and exceeded the Pope's Power: To have inſiſted upon this, I ſay, they knew wou'd have been diſ-reliſhed: For to ſet Barriers to the Pope's Juriſdiction, and limit the *Plenitude* of his Power, was not the way to gain an Intereſt. To condemn the *Bull* of a former Pope, was a dangerous Precedent, eſpecially at this time of Day, when the Papal Authority was rejected by ſeveral Princes in *Germany*. The Cardinal therefore in the Letter abovemention'd, goes another way to work: He makes ſuch Exceptions in *Julius*'s Diſpenſation, as might ſerve to invalidate the *Bull*, without any Prejudice to the Papal Power. When this point was gain'd, the Marriage muſt be voided of Courſe, and ſink with the *Diſpenſation*.

Bulls gain'd by Surprize, not binding.

To this purpoſe 'twas alledg'd, that the *Diſpenſation* was granted upon falſe Suggeſtions. For the purpoſe, that the King deſir'd to engage in this Marriage, for the Continuance of a good Correſpondence between *Henry* the Seventh, and *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* of *Spain*; whereas in truth, there was no Miſunderſtanding, or likelihood of any Rupture between theſe two Princes, neither was the King at that time, grown up to an Age for ſuch Conſiderations. Beſides, he neither gave his Conſent, nor was acquainted with the procuring of the *Bull*: He neither deſir'd the Marriage, or knew any thing concerning it, till the *Bull* was granted. The caſe ſtanding thus, the Letter urges that all the Doctors and Prelates formerly mention'd, had declar'd the *Diſpenſation* not to have Force ſufficient to juſtify the Marriage. The King's *Proteſtation* is likewiſe alledg'd, but this has been related already.

Cotton. Libr. Ibid.

A. D. 1527. Bilney's *Abjuration.*

This Year *Thomas Bilney* Batchelor of Law, abjur'd before *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and ſome other Biſhops, Commiſſaries to Cardinal *Wolſey*. The Form of the Abjuration runs thus.

Tunſtal's *Regiſt.* Fol. 135.

"IN the Name of God. *Amen.* I *Thomas Bilney* Prieſt, before you Right Reverend Father "in God Lord *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London*, my "Ordinary and Dioceſan, and Commiſſary to "the moſt Reverend Father in God, Lord "*Thomas*, of the Title of St. *Cecil*, Prieſt, Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *York*, Primate of *England*, "Chancellor of the ſame, of the *See* Apoſtolick, Legate *de Latere*; together with you "Reverend Fathers, *Henry* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, "*John* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John* Biſhop of "*Bath*, likewiſe Commiſſaries lawfully deputed: "Confeſſing and knowledging the True Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith of holy Church, intend by the Grace of God hereafter, ever to "perſevere and abide in the true Doctrine of "holy Church, and do deteſt and abjure all manner of Hereſies and Articles following, whereupon I am now defamed, noted, vehemently "ſuſpected and convicted; that is to ſay, that "Men ſhou'd pray only to God, and to no "Saints. *Item*, That Chriſtian Men ought to "worſhip God and no Saints. *Item*, That Chriſtian Men ought to ſet up no Lights before "Images of Saints. *Item*, That Men do not well "to go on Pilgrimages. *Item*, That Man in no wiſe "can merit by his own Deeds. *Item*, That Miracles daily ſhew'd, be wrought by the Devil by "the Sufferance of God. *Item*, That no Pope "has ſuch Power and Authority as *Peter* had, "except he be of like Purity of Life and Perfection as *Peter* was. And in theſe Articles, "and all other, I here expreſly conſent unto "our Mother the holy Church of *Rome*, and Apoſtolick Doctrine of the ſame, and both in "Mouth and Heart make Knowledge, that whoſoever hereafter doth preach, teach, or affirm, "any of theſe Articles, or any other Hereſies, "contrary to the Determination of the holy "Church, is worthy to be excluded from the "Communion of the ſame. And in caſe hereafter I do teach, preach, hold, or affirm any "of theſe foreſaid Hereſies, or any other, contrary to the Determination of holy Church, "which by the Grace of God I intend never "to do, then I ſhall ſubmit my ſelf to the Correction of my *Ordinary*, according to the holy "Canons: And for theſe my Treſpaſſes and Offences, I deſire of you Penance, which I promiſe by theſe holy Evangeliſts and Contents "of this Book by me bodily touch'd, truly "to do, obſerve, and fulfil. In Witneſs whereof, to this my preſent Abjuration, I have "ſubſcrib'd my Name with my Hand, and ſet "to the Sign of the Croſs.

This *Bilney* afterwards return'd to his former Opinions, and was burn'd at *Norwich*, as appears by a marginal Note of the ſame Regiſter: The Words are theſe; *Iſte* Thomas Bilney *poſtea die Sabbati* 31 *Auguſt.* 1531, *combuſtus fuit Norvici propter Hereſim & relapſum in eandem.*

About the ſame time, *Thomas Arthere* Batchelor of Divinity, of the Dioceſs of *London*, was convented before the Biſhops abovemention'd, and prevail'd with to abjure. His Abjuration differing in ſome Points from that of *Bilney*, I ſhall mention part of it. He confeſſeth, "That he "had erroneouſly and damnably, contrary to "the Determination of holy Church, openly "preach'd and maintain'd, that a Batchelor of "Divinity admitted in the Univerſity, or any "other Perſon having or knowing the Goſpel "of God, may go forth and preach the Goſpel "in every Place, and *let* for no Man. And if "any Biſhop did accuſe them for ſo doing, the "Curſing ſhall turn to the Harm of themſelves. "And that there is neither Biſhop nor *Ordinary*, nor yet the Pope, that may make a Law

" to let any Man to preach the Goſpel. Alſo " that if a Man be put to Death as an Heretick, " for preaching the Goſpel, he is not therefore " a Heretick, but rather a Martyr.

About the ſame time, and before the ſame Commiſſaries, one *Jeoffrey Long* abjur'd. The Main of his Charge was, publiſhing and tranſlating *Luther*'s Works, and maintaining his Doctrine. And amongſt other things, affirming that Faith only without good Works, is ſufficient to bring a Man to Heaven.

Alſo one *Thomas Gerrard* Prieſt, and Maſter of Arts, abjur'd before the ſame Commiſſaries. His Abjuration goes in the ſame Strain, and retracts the ſame Opinions with the laſt mention'd.

Patrick Hamilton *ſuffers upon the Score of Religion in* Scotland.

This Year *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Fern*, ſuffer'd at the *Stake* in *Scotland*. He was a Perſon nobly deſcended, Nephew to the Earl of *Arran* by his Father, and to the Duke of *Albany* by his Mother's ſide. This Gentleman travelling into *Germany*, had made an Acquaintance with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and ſome other Men of Learning of their Perſuaſion. And being proſelyted to their Doctrine, he reſolv'd to propagate it in his own Country. Thus upon his Return, he declar'd againſt the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and pointed at the Errors intermix'd with the *ancient Belief*. And being a Perſon of Learning and Addreſs, a great many People hearken'd to his Diſcourſes. This Conduct diſpleas'd the Clergy, who upon Pretence of a Conference, brought him to St. *Andrews*. They appointed *Alexander Campbel* a Fryer, to keep him Company, and endeavour to bring him off from his Opinions. This *Campbel* and *Hamilton* had ſeveral Diſputes upon the Controverſie; and the Fryer granting that the Church wanted a Reformation in ſeveral Points, *Hamilton* was farther confirm'd in his Perſuaſion. But having ſtay'd ſome few Days in Town, he was ſeiz'd in the Night, and carry'd to the Caſtle. The next Day he was brought before the Biſhop, and charg'd with maintaining the Articles following, which I ſhall give the *Reader* in Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s Words.

The Articles with which he is charg'd.

1. That the Corruption of Sin remains in Children after their Baptiſm.
2. That no Man, by the Power of his Free-will, can do any good.
3. That no Man is without Sin, ſo long as he lives.
4. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the State of Grace.
5. That a Man is not juſtify'd by Works, but by Faith only.
6. That good Works make not a good Man, but that a good Man does good Works: And that an evil Man does evil Works, yet the ſame evil Works, truly repented, make not an ill Man.
7. That Faith, Hope, and Charity are ſo linked together, that he who has one of 'em, has all, and that he that lacks one of 'em, lacks all.
8. That God is the Cauſe of Sin in this Senſe, that he withdraws his Grace from Man, and that Grace withdrawn, he cannot but ſin.
9. That 'tis a deviliſh Doctrine, to teach that by any actual Penance, Remiſſion of Sin is purchas'd.
10. That Auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to Salvation.
11. That there's no Purgatory.
12. That the holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion.
13. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt has as much Power as the Pope.

This Gentleman, who was little more than Three and Twenty Years of Age, was a very young Divine to determine upon theſe Points. And thus we ſee, either the Heat of his Temper, or his Friends in *Germany*, led him into *Heterodoxy*: For ſeveral of theſe Articles are plainly no better. Being requir'd to declare his Opinion, his Anſwer was, that he held the firſt Seven to be unqueſtionably true. The reſt were diſputable Points, however, he cou'd not retract them till he was better inform'd. After ſome Conference with him upon each Article, the Caſe was referr'd to the Divines and Canoniſts. Twelve of the moſt eminent in theſe *Faculties*, met together, and after two Days Debate, condemn'd all the Articles as Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. This Cenſure being ſubſcrib'd and deliver'd to the Biſhops, the young Gentleman was pronounc'd a Heretick, and put into the Hands of the ſecular Magiſtrate.

At this *Meeting Gavin*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Dunkell*, *Brechin*, and *Dumblane* aſſiſted, together with Six Abbots and Priors, the Dean and Sub-Dean of *Glaſgow*, thoſe of Character in the *Univerſity*, not to mention ſome others. The ſame Day being condemn'd by the ſecular Judge, he was carry'd to the Place of Execution. Before the Fire was kindl'd, the Fryers preſs'd him to renounce his Errors, and pray to the *bleſſed* Virgin. Fryer *Campbel*, it ſeems, was particularly buſie: *Hamilton* thought him a very improper Perſon, and deſir'd him to deſiſt: But *Campbel* continuing to ſollicite him, *Hamilton* call'd him a wicked Man, told him, he had privately own'd the Articles, for which he now ſuffer'd, made his Appeal to our Saviour's Tribunal, and ſummon'd *Campbel* thither to anſwer his Behaviour. In ſhort, *Hamilton* ſuffer'd with great Conſtancy and Reſolution; and *Campbel* dying in a Frenzy within leſs than a Year, gave a Reputation to the *Memory* of the other (*o*).

This ſanguinary Rigour made a Noiſe all over the Kingdom, put People upon Inquiry into the Charge laid againſt *Hamilton*, and ſhook their Belief in ſome meaſure. For inſtance, his *Tenets* had made a conſiderable Impreſſion upon the *Univerſity*: Inſomuch that ſeveral *Fryers* began to preach againſt the Errors and Miſmanagement of the Clergy.

Fryer Seaton *ſuſpected for Hereſy.*

Alexander Seaton a *Dominican*, a Perſon of a competent Share of Learning, and Confeſſor to King *James* the Fifth, preach'd commonly at St. *Andrews*, the next *Lent*. In his Diſcourſes, he inſiſted much on theſe Points:

Some Singularities in his Doctrine.

" That the Law of God is the only Rule of " Righteouſneſs: That if God's Law be not vio" lated, there is no Sin committed: That it is " not in Man's Power to ſatisfy for Sin: And " that the Forgiveneſs of Sin is no otherways " purchas'd than by unfeign'd Repentance, and " true Faith, apprehending the Mercy of God " in Chriſt. Thus the Points are expreſs'd by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*.

Here's Truth and Error blended together: The Two firſt Propoſitions are crude and indefenſible: They ſeem to releaſe the Conſcience from the Obligation of Humane Laws, and make the Authority of Church and State inſignificant.

To proceed, this *Seaton* deliver'd nothing upon the Subjects of Purgatory and Pilgrimage, nothing to recommend the *Invocation* of Saints: There was no Rhetorick ſpent upon Merits and Miracles. And thus declining to inlarge upon

the

(*o*) Spotſwood's *Hiſtory of the Church of* Scotland, *p.* 62. & deinc.

the uſual matter of Sermons, he was ſuſpected to warp towards Hereſy. At the end of *Lent*, he went to *Dundee*, and was there acquainted, that one of his *Order* was appointed to confute his Doctrine in the *Pulpit*. Upon this, he return'd to St. *Andrew*'s, preach'd upon the ſame Points, own'd his former Tenets, and ventur'd to add ſomething concerning the Qualifications requir'd in a Biſhop.

He is convented before the Biſhop.

For ſome unuſual Freedoms in this *Sermon*, he was brought before the Archbiſhop, and charg'd with affirming, that preaching was a neceſſary Requiſite in a Biſhop, that a Biſhop, who did not preach, was a dumb Dog; that ſuch a one did not feed the Flock, but his own Belly. To this the *Fryer* made an overlively and evaſive Anſwer: I ſhall give it in the Words of Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*. " He owns he had ſaid indeed, That St. *Paul* required a Biſhop to be a *Teacher*, and that *Eſay* called them *Dumb Dogs* who did not preach, but that he himſelf had affirm'd nothing. I declar'd, ſaid he, what the Spirit of God ſaid, with whom if Men offend not, they cannot juſtly offend with me: And thoſe that have reported my Speeches, muſt have been unlearned Aſſes, who cannot put a Difference betwixt that which St. *Paul* and *Eſay* ſpeaks, and that which of my ſelf I ſpeak. I never ſaid, that you, my Lord, and the other Biſhops who preach not are *dumb Dogs*, I only told what the Prophet, and the Apoſtle ſaid in that Caſe *(p)*.

*(p)*Spotſwood *p.* 64.

The Archbiſhop had no great reaſon to be pleas'd with this Anſwer; however, knowing *Seaton* to be a Man of Stomach and Reſolution, he ſmother'd his Reſentment, in hopes to bring him into Diſfavour with the King. This was done without much Difficulty, becauſe the King had formerly taken check at the Fryer's Reproofs, who it ſeems had taken notice of the King's Licentiouſneſs with his uſual Liberty. But now perceiving the King's Countenance cool and gloomy, and apprehending ſome farther Marks of Diſpleaſure, he retir'd to *Berwick*. From hence he inform'd the King in a Letter of the Reaſon of his quitting the Court: That he was afraid of being delated for Hereſy, ſeiz'd by the Order of the Biſhops, and not permitted to make his Defence. However he offer'd to return, and juſtify his Conduct, provided he might have leave to plead for himſelf. From hence he runs out into an Invective againſt the Prelates, charges them with encroaching upon the Prince's Juriſdiction, and drawing Cauſes before them, which were foreign to their Courts: In the cloſe, he entreats his Highneſs not to be ſway'd any longer, by the Informations of the Biſhops, but to exert his Character, and maintain the Authority given him by God Almighty. And as for himſelf, he was ready to anſwer to any Charge, provided he had the Promiſe from his Highneſs of a ſafe Conduct.

Seaton *goes off to* Berwick, *and from thence to* London. *He writes to the King of* Scotland.

Seaton, receiving no Anſwer to this Letter, went forward to *London*, was Chaplain to *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who entertain'd him as long as he liv'd. Soon after this, one *Henry Forreſt* was delated for ſaying Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* dy'd a Martyr. But the Proof being not clear, Fryer *Lainge* was order'd to confeſs him. *Lainge* ask'd him what his Opinion was of *Patrick Hamilton:* The Man, being apprehenſive of no danger in the Queſtion, told him, *he took him for a good Man, and that the Articles, for which he ſuffer'd, might eaſily be defended.* This Confeſſion, diſcover'd by the Fryer, paſſed for ſufficient Evidence, and the poor Man was condemn'd to the *Stake*. As they were leading him to Execution, he cry'd out againſt the Treachery of his *Confeſſor*. He was of the Order of the *Bennet* and *Collet*, as they call'd it; and when they went about to degrade him, he bid them *not only take their Orders from him, but their Baptiſm too.* Notwithſtanding the Exceptionableneſs of this Expreſſion, he ſuffer'd with great Fortitude. While they were conſulting on the Manner of his Execution, one *John Lindſey*, who attended the Archbiſhop, adviſ'd to burn him in ſome Cellar. *For the Smoak*, ſays he, *of Maſter* Patrick Hamilton *had infected all thoſe on whom it blew.*

Henry Forreſt *ſuffers for defending* Patrick Hamilton.

Id. *p.* 65. *Several others are proſecuted for Hereſy in* Scotland.

The Proſecution ſtill going on, ſeveral were cited to appear before *James Hay* at *Holyroodhouſe:* This *Hay* was Biſhop of *Roſs*, and ſat as Commiſſary to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. *James Hamilton* of *Levingſton*, Brother to Maſter *Patrick*, and *Catharine* his Siſter were ſummon'd with the reſt. The Gentleman, being privately adviſ'd by the King not to appear was condemn'd for Contumacy. His Siſter appear'd, and being queſtion'd upon the Point of *Juſtification by Works*, anſwer'd directly, that ſhe believ'd no Perſon cou'd he ſav'd by their Works. Maſter *John Spence* a Lawyer, who was one of the Committee upon *Hamilton*, held a long Diſcourſe with her upon that Subject. He inſiſted on the Diſtinctions of the *Schoolmen*, and dilated upon Works of Congruity and Works of Condignity. The Gentlewoman, being diſturb'd with the Length and Nicety of the Argument, broke out into this Expreſſion; *Work here, Work there, what kind of Working is all this? I know perfectly, that no Works can ſave me, but the Works of Chriſt my Saviour.* The King, who was preſent, laugh'd heartily at the Anſwer: And taking the Lady aſide, prevail'd with her to recant her Opinions. Her Example, it ſeems, had an Influence upon ſeveral others, who abjur'd at the ſame time.

Miſtreſs Catharine Hamilton *her Anſwer.*

Ibid. *p.* 66.

To return to *England:* The King reſolving to preſs the Divorce, and drive it to a Point, ſent Doctor *Knight*, *Secretary of State*, to *Rome*, with ſome Inſtructions to prepare the Pope, to pitch upon the beſt Method, and employ the propereſt Perſons to work by. At that time three Brothers of the Family of *Caſſaley* were entertain'd as the King's *Agents* in *Italy*, both in *Rome*, in *Venice*, and in other Places. Sir *Gregory Caſſaley* was then his Ordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*. To this Gentleman the firſt Diſpatch was directed by Cardinal *Wolſey:* 'Tis dated *December* the 5th 1527. Some part of this Letter I have mention'd already: And to come to the remaining part, " Sir *Gregory Caſſaley* was to apply immediately to the Pope, and deſire his *Holyneſs*, that without communicating the matter to any Perſon, he wou'd ſign a Commiſſion for the Hearing the *Cauſe* in *England*. By this *Inſtrument*, the Cardinal was empower'd to name what Aſſiſtants he thought fit to join in the Commiſſion; and to proceed in the matter purſuant to ſome Inſtructions, which were ſent for the Pope to ſign. A *Diſpenſation* was alſo ſent in due form. And if theſe two Inſtruments were paſs'd and executed, Sir *Gregory* might aſſure the Pope, that as the King had remitted a vaſt Sum to the *French* King for paying his Army in *Italy*; ſo he wou'd ſpare no Pains nor Treaſure, to oblige the *Court* of *Rome*, but make War upon the Emperor in *Flanders* with the force of his Kingdom, till he brought him to the Terms of enlarging the Pope, and reſtoring the Church to its former Power and Dignity. And in caſe the Pope was already ſet at Liberty, and had made an

Cardinal Wolſey *ſends Inſtructions to the King's Agents at* Rome *concerning the Divorce.*

“Agreement with the Emperor, he was then to ſuggeſt what little Reaſon he had to truſt that Prince: That Prince, who had broke his Faith ſo often, and made it his Buſineſs to depreſs the Intereſt of the Church. And if the Pope ſhou'd make an Objection againſt *Wolſey*: If he ſhou'd mention his being the King's Subject, and Prime *Miniſter*: That upon theſe Conſiderations there lay Preſumptions againſt his Indifferency: And that 'twas not prudential to grant a Commiſſion to this Cardinal to try his Maſter's *Cauſe*. If this Exception was made, *Caſſaley* was by all means to get over it, and aſſure the Pope, that *Wolſey* wou'd proceed in the Cauſe with all the Fairneſs and Sincerity imaginable. But after all, if the Pope was not to be remov'd, nor prevail'd with to ſign the Commiſſion for *Wolſey*, *Caſſaley*'s next ſtep was to propoſe *Staphileus*, *Dean* of the *Rota*, who was then in *England*: And if his *Holyneſs* happen'd to mention any other Foreigners, *Caſſaley* was order'd to refuſe the Propoſal. He was alſo to acquaint the Pope, that the King wou'd interpret a Delay to a Denial: And if his *Holyneſs* inclin'd to conſult any of the Cardinals upon the Point, he was to diſſuade him as much as might be: But if the Pope wou'd needs take Advice, then *Caſſaley* was to addreſs theſe Cardinals, to inform them of the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, and tye them to his Intereſt, by the Promiſe of an Acknowledgment.

“With this Diſpatch, Letters were ſent to Cardinal *Pucci*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other Cardinals, to be made uſe of, as occaſion requir'd. And becauſe Money was thought very welcome to Perſons under Dureſs, 10000 Ducats were ſent to *Venice*, to be diſtributed as Sir *Gregory* thought fit. He was likewiſe commiſſion'd to make farther Promiſes, if he thought it neceſſary. And particular Inſtructions were given to engage the Cardinal *Datary* (q).

(q) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 9.

Dec. 9. 1527.

Secretary Knight had the ſame Inſtructions with Sir *Gregory Caſſaley*: They were order'd to proceed by Concert, and each of 'em to do their utmoſt. The Pope had now made his Eſcape out the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and was got to *Orvietto*. Here about the end of *December*, the *Secretary* and the Ambaſſador *Caſſaley* waited upon his *Holyneſs*, and congratulated his Liberty in the Name of the King and Cardinal. And here inſiſting upon the Buſineſs they had in charge, the Pope ſeem'd diſpos'd to give the King Satisfaction. And when they deſir'd an Authority to try the *Cauſe* in *England*, he did not refuſe the Expedient: But told 'em withal, that being not practis'd in the Form of drawing up Commiſſions, he wou'd conſult the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and quickly acquaint them with his Reſolution.

Upon this, the King's *Agents*, perceiving how much the Pope depended upon the Cardinal *Sanctorum*'s Advice, went immediatly to him, deliver'd the King's Letters, requeſted his Favour, and gave him an Expectation of being gratify'd.

Cardinal Pucci *procures a Commiſſion to try the Cauſe, and a Diſpenſation from the Pope.*

After this preparatory Diſcourſe, they produc'd the Commiſſion. He excepted againſt ſeveral Clauſes in this *Inſtrument*, and pretended it could not paſs in that Form, without great Reflection upon the King, the Pope, and the Cardinal of *York*. Upon this, they deſir'd him to draw the *Minutes* of a new Form, which he did accordingly. This Inſtrument being engroſs'd, the Pope told them, that when he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, the General of the *Obſervants* in *Spain* requir'd him from the Emperor, not to paſs any Act that might be preparative to a Divorce between the King and Queen, or any ways relate to that Buſineſs. This *Religious* likewiſe deſir'd an *Inhibition*, that the *Cauſe* ſhou'd not be try'd before any Judge in the King's Dominions. The Pope added, that tho' he moved with more freedom than formerly, yet he cou'd not look upon himſelf as perfectly enlarg'd, as long as the *Allemains* and the *Spaniards* were ſo powerful in *Italy*. And he was perfectly of Opinion, that by granting this Commiſſion, he muſt come to an open Rupture with the Emperor, without any hopes of cloſing the Breach. However, he wou'd rather run the utmoſt Risk, and venture upon apparent Ruin, than that the King or the Cardinal, ſhou'd have any Colour to charge him with Ingratitude. Upon this, he puts the Commiſſion and the *Diſpenſation* ſign'd into *Secretary Knight*'s Hands: Deſiring them both at the ſame time to beg the King to have a little Patience, to continue his former Friendſhip, and not precipitate him beyond Recovery: Which wou'd certainly follow, if his Majeſty ſhou'd act upon the Inſtruments, and begin the Proceſs upon receiving the Commiſſion.

The Pope deſires the King not to make uſe of theſe Authorities for ſome time.

His *Holyneſs* deſired a little time, to prevent Miſconſtruction, and preſerve the Character of a Man of Integrity. He told them, *Lautretch* the *French General* wou'd quickly march up to him: That at the Arrival of the *French* Forces, he ſhou'd have an Opportunity of ſaving Appearances, and ſatisfying the King; for then he deſign'd to acquaint Mr. *de Lautretch*, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had preſs'd for the Commiſſion abovemention'd: And that he refus'd to grant it, in regard of his Promiſe to the Emperor's Agent: That upon this, Monſieur *de Lautretch* oblig'd him to yield; repreſenting that ſuch a Commiſſion was nothing more than bare Juſtice. By this Compulſion, as 'twere, he hop'd to ſcreen himſelf from Cenſure; for under theſe Circumſtances, it wou'd not appear he diſoblig'd the Emperor out of Inclination; but that being preſs'd upon the point of Juſtice, and by ſuch powerful Sollicitors, he cou'd do no leſs than give way. And at laſt, he promiſes to diſpatch another Commiſſion to the King of *England*, bearing Date after the time he had been over-aw'd by *Lautretch*'s Army. To conclude, he intreats the King wou'd let the matter reſt, till this *Inſtrument* came to him, which he ſuppos'd wou'd ſhortly happen. However, Secretary *Knight*, perceiving the Pope's Fineſs, and not willing to truſt to Uncertainties, made haſte for *England*, and brought the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation along with him (r).

His Reaſons for this Requeſt.

(r) *Doctor* Knight's *Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey. *See* Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10. Jan. 1. 1528. *The Year at* Rome *began the firſt of* January.

To proceed: Tho' the Form of the Commiſſion was ſomewhat alter'd by the Cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*, yet the *Diſpenſation* was ingroſs'd, and ſign'd upon the Minutes drawn up in *England*. And provided there happen'd to be any Omiſſion, the Pope was willing to alter it in an Inſtrument of the ſame Date. The Purport of it was to give the King the Liberty of marrying again, after the Divorce. Thus Secretary *Knight* repreſents the matter to the King, in a Letter of the ſame Date with that of the Cardinal abovemention'd. And here he acquaints the King how powerful the *Imperialiſts* were in *Italy*; that they took Towns and Caſtles almoſt every Day, and committed great Ravage in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*: That the *French* General lay ſtill at *Bononia*, and that his Expedition had not ſo promiſing a face, as ſome pretended. In ſhort, that the Pope was in a manner block'd up, and in

The Purport of the Diſpenſation.

Cotton. Libr. ibid.

The Difficulty of the Pope's Circumſtances.

in great Perplexity: And that if his Majeſty ſhou'd act upon the Commiſſion in this Juncture, his *Holyneſs* wou'd be utterly undone: And that at preſent he was endeavouring to perſuade the *French* General to march towards *Rome*.

Ibid.

The Commiſſion brought over by Gambara.

Secretary *Knight* falling under ill Health, and not being in a Condition to travel, ſent the Protonotary *Gambara* with the *Commiſſion* and *Diſpenſation* to *England*, and follow'd in eaſy Journeys. The Perſons delegated to try the Cauſe by a *Commiſſion*, were the Cardinals *Campegio* and *Wolſey*. And as to the *Powers*, it may not be improper to examine them in a word or two. The Cardinals abovemention'd are ſtyl'd the Pope's Legates *de Latere* (ſ); and have a full Authority granted them, to hear and determine the Cauſe in a ſummary way, without going through all the Lengths and Forms of Law: And theſe Powers are given them, with a *non obſtante* to all General Councils, Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and Decrees whatſoever to the contrary. And to give farther Strength to this *Inſtrument*, the Pope ſign'd a *Pollicitation*, about a Month after, to confirm the Sentence of the Legates, provided they purſu'd the Tenour of their Commiſſion: To which he added a Proteſtation, never to retract what was done, upon any Colour, Motive, or Compulſion whatever (t).

(ſ) *See Records N.* 7.

The Pope not abſolutely ty'd by the Sentence of the Delegates.

'Tis ſaid the Pope reſign'd himſelf entirely to the *Delegates* Diſcretion; and that, let them proceed as they thought fit in *England*, *He ſhou'd confirm their Sentence* (u). But notwithſtanding the Categorical Strain of the Commiſſion, which was no more than a cuſtomary Form, 'tis pretty evident from *John Caſſaley*'s Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that the Pope did not deliver up his Authority to the Cardinal *Delegates* without Reſervation, nor put himſelf abſolutely in their Power (w). For, in his Diſcourſe with *John Caſſaley*, he tells him, that if the King and *Wolſey* had a mind to diſmiſs *Campegio*, upon pretence that they deſign'd to proceed no farther in the *Hearing*: In this caſe, ſays he, let them bring it to what Iſſue they pleaſe, ſuppoſing they do not make uſe of my Authority to *do any thing unjuſt*. And after ſome other Diſcourſe, he declares himſelf ready to confirm the *Legates* Sentence, provided the Allegations were prov'd in Court. And whereas 'tis affirm'd, the Pope confeſs'd a *Treaty* on foot between the Emperor and himſelf, but deny'd, that he had bound himſelf by it as to the King's Buſineſs: This *Letter* on the contrary makes him ſay, that he knew nothing of the matter, or had any concern in it (x).

The Pope privately ſuggeſts an Expedient to the King.

The Pope, notwithſtanding the Authorities conſign'd into the King's Hands, was willing, as has been obſerv'd, to lie under Covert. To this purpoſe, he orders Sir *Gregory Caſſaley* to ſend Directions to the *Engliſh* Court, touching the Management of the matter. By this *Letter* we are inform'd, that the Pope was willing to comply with the King's Deſire: And that the Proceedings might be more unexceptionable, his *Holyneſs* had conſulted the Cardinals *Quatuor Sanctorum* and *Simonetta*; that in their Opinion, the ſafeſt Method wou'd be, to keep the Powers, tranſmitted from *Rome* to *England*, ſecret: That the King's beſt way wou'd be, to refer the Deciſion to the Cardinal of *York*, who might juſtify his Proceedings, either upon the ſcore of the Commiſſion, ſent by Secretary *Knight*, or elſe by virtue of his Legantine Character. And here the King, being moſt acquainted with the Condition of his own Conſcience, muſt be the beſt Caſuiſt in that reſpect. If therefore his Highneſs is ſatisfy'd in the Matter, let him order the Cardinal of *York* to proceed to Sentence: Let him marry another Wife; and then apply to the *Conclave* to diſpatch a *Legate*, to confirm the matter. For, as the Letter goes on, it was clearly the Opinion of the Cardinals *Sanctorum* and *Simonetta*, that if the Queen was ſummon'd into the Court, ſhe wou'd only proteſt againſt the Indifferency of the Place and Judges: Upon which, the Emperor wou'd preſs the Pope for an *Inhibition* to ſtop the *Cauſe*. By virtue of which *Inſtrument*, the King wou'd be diſabled from marrying elſewhere: And in caſe he ſhou'd break through the Order, the Iſſue wou'd be illegitimate: At leaſt, till Judgment was given on his Highneſs's ſide. And farther, the *Imperialiſts* wou'd inſiſt upon a Commiſſion to try the Cauſe at *Rome*. Now, if the Pope was preſs'd upon theſe Points, he cou'd neither deny the one *Inſtrument*, nor the other, unleſs undue Methods, and meer Violence was made uſe of in the Demand. On the other hand, if the King proceeds quickly to a ſecond Marriage, the Emperor can't reaſonably inſiſt upon the *Inſtruments* abovemention'd: And, if he does, the Pope can fairly deny him. And in caſe the Emperor objects againſt *Wolſey* and the other Cardinal, and moves for an Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*: Then, if there's no way to put by this Demand, the Pope will be very expeditious in the Hearing, make a Deciſion to the King's Satisfaction, and proceed in ſuch a manner, that neither *Spaniard*, nor *German* ſhall except againſt it.

This Expedient the Pope propos'd, as the moſt practicable and ſecure; deſires the King to manage by it, but not to diſcover the Author of the Intimation (y).

Now to ſet this whole Matter in a fuller light, I ſhall acquaint the *Reader* with the Inſtructions written with the King's own Hand, upon which Sir *Francis Bryan* and Mr. *Vannes* were to take their Meaſures, and purſue their Negotiation. The *Reader* ſhall have them in *Harpsfield*'s Words, who extracted them from original Letters of the King and Cardinal.

Inſtructions given to Sir Francis Bryan *and Mr.* Vannes, *the King's Agents at* Rome, *touching the Power and Diſpoſition of that Court.*

“ Theſe *Agents*, ſays he, were required perfectly and ſubſtantially to inſtruct themſelves, againſt the coming of Secretary *Knight*, of certain Queſtions, by the Learning, Experience, and Knowledge of the beſt Advocates they cou'd get in the Court of *Rome*, to be retain'd of the King's Council, and to be of his Grace's Part made ſure, by ſecret Rewards, Pact, and Convention, that afterwards they ſhou'd not be allured and drawn to the adverſe Part. The Queſtions were propos'd in form following, whereof I ſhall ſhift no part of the King's own Words; *viz.*

Whether if the Queen, ſays the King, for the great and manifold Effects that may enſue thereof, can be mov'd and induc'd to take Vow of Chaſtity, and enter into Religion; The Pope's Holyneſs may; ex plenitudine poteſtatis, *diſpenſe with the King's Highneſs, to proceed thereupon* ad duas nuptias, *and the Children to be procreat in the ſame, to be Legitime. And if it be a thing that the Pope per caſe may not do, (ſtanding ſuch Laws as be already written, both Divine and Humane, and uſing his ordinary Power) yet whether his Holyneſs may do it of his mere and abſolute Power, as a thing, that the ſame may diſpenſe in above the Law; muſt ſecretly and perfectly be underſtood and known, and what Precedent has been ſeen of like matter, or how the Court of* Rome *ſhall define and determine, or what it doth uſe or may do therein; ſo that it may perfectly and aſſuredly appear, that no Exception, no Scruple, Queſtion, or Doubt can or may be found, or alledg'd hereafter in any thing, that may or ſhall be affirm'd*

(t) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 221.

(u) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 59.

(w) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

(x) Ibid. & *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 59. *and Collections Book* 2. *p.* 43, 44, 45.

(y) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

“Agreement with the Emperor, he was then to ſuggeſt what little Reaſon he had to truſt that Prince: That Prince, who had broke his Faith ſo often, and made it his Buſineſs to depreſs the Intereſt of the Church. And if the Pope ſhou'd make an Objection againſt *Wolſey*: If he ſhou'd mention his being the King's Subject, and Prime *Miniſter*: That upon theſe Conſiderations there lay Preſumptions againſt his Indifferency: And that 'twas not prudential to grant a Commiſſion to this Cardinal to try his Maſter's *Cauſe*. If this Exception was made, *Caſſaley* was by all means to get over it, and aſſure the Pope, that *Wolſey* wou'd proceed in the Cauſe with all the Fairneſs and Sincerity imaginable. But after all, if the Pope was not to be remov'd, nor prevail'd with to ſign the Commiſſion for *Wolſey*, *Caſſaley*'s next ſtep was to propoſe *Staphileus*, *Dean* of the *Rota*, who was then in *England*: And if his *Holyneſs* happen'd to mention any other Foreigners, *Caſſaley* was order'd to refuſe the Propoſal. He was alſo to acquaint the Pope, that the King wou'd interpret a Delay to a Denial: And if his *Holyneſs* inclin'd to conſult any of the Cardinals upon the Point, he was to diſſuade him as much as might be: But if the Pope wou'd needs take Advice, then *Caſſaley* was to addreſs theſe Cardinals, to inform them of the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, and tye them to his Intereſt, by the Promiſe of an Acknowledgment.

“With this Diſpatch, Letters were ſent to Cardinal *Pucci*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other Cardinals, to be made uſe of, as occaſion requir'd. And becauſe Money was thought very welcome to Perſons under Dureſs, 10000 Ducats were ſent to *Venice*, to be diſtributed as Sir *Gregory* thought fit. He was likewiſe commiſſion'd to make farther Promiſes, if he thought it neceſſary. And particular Inſtructions were given to engage the Cardinal *Datary* (*q*).

(*q*) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 9.

Dec. 9. 1527.

Secretary Knight had the ſame Inſtructions with Sir *Gregory Caſſaley*: They were order'd to proceed by Concert, and each of 'em to do their utmoſt. The Pope had now made his Eſcape out the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and was got to *Orvietto*. Here about the end of *December*, the *Secretary* and the Ambaſſador *Caſſaley* waited upon his *Holyneſs*, and congratulated his Liberty in the Name of the King and Cardinal. And here inſiſting upon the Buſineſs they had in charge, the Pope ſeem'd diſpos'd to give the King Satisfaction. And when they deſir'd an Authority to try the *Cauſe* in *England*, he did not refuſe the Expedient: But told 'em withal, that being not practis'd in the Form of drawing up Commiſſions, he wou'd conſult the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and quickly acquaint them with his Reſolution.

Upon this, the King's *Agents*, perceiving how much the Pope depended upon the Cardinal *Sanctorum*'s Advice, went immediatly to him, deliver'd the King's Letters, requeſted his Favour, and gave him an Expectation of being gratify'd.

Cardinal Pucci *procures a Commiſſion to try the Cauſe, and a Diſpenſation from the Pope.*

After this preparatory Diſcourſe, they produc'd the Commiſſion. He excepted againſt ſeveral Clauſes in this *Inſtrument*, and pretended it could not paſs in that Form, without great Reflection upon the King, the Pope, and the Cardinal of *York*. Upon this, they deſir'd him to draw the *Minutes* of a new Form, which he did accordingly. This Inſtrument being engroſs'd, the Pope told them, that when he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, the General of the *Obſervants* in *Spain* requir'd him from the Emperor, not to paſs any Act that might be preparative to a Divorce between the King and Queen, or any ways relate to that Buſineſs. This *Religious* likewiſe deſir'd an *Inhibition*, that the *Cauſe* ſhou'd not be try'd before any Judge in the King's Dominions. The Pope added, that tho' he moved with more freedom than formerly, yet he cou'd not look upon himſelf as perfectly enlarg'd, as long as the *Allemains* and the *Spaniards* were ſo powerful in *Italy*. And he was perfectly of Opinion, that by granting this Commiſſion, he muſt come to an open Rupture with the Emperor, without any hopes of cloſing the Breach. However, he wou'd rather run the utmoſt Risk, and venture upon apparent Ruin, than that the King or the Cardinal, ſhou'd have any Colour to charge him with Ingratitude. Upon this, he puts the Commiſſion and the *Diſpenſation* ſign'd into *Secretary Knight*'s Hands: Deſiring them both at the ſame time to beg the King to have a little Patience, to continue his former Friendſhip, and not precipitate him beyond Recovery: Which wou'd certainly follow, if his Majeſty ſhou'd act upon the Inſtruments, and begin the Proceſs upon receiving the Commiſſion.

The Pope deſires the King not to make uſe of theſe Authorities for ſome time.

His *Holyneſs* deſired a little time, to prevent Miſconſtruction, and preſerve the Character of a Man of Integrity. He told them, *Lautretch* the *French General* wou'd quickly march up to him: That at the Arrival of the *French* Forces, he ſhou'd have an Opportunity of ſaving Appearances, and ſatisfying the King; for then he deſign'd to acquaint Mr. *de Lautretch*, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had preſs'd for the Commiſſion abovemention'd: And that he refus'd to grant it, in regard of his Promiſe to the Emperor's Agent: That upon this, Monſieur *de Lautretch* oblig'd him to yield; repreſenting that ſuch a Commiſſion was nothing more than bare Juſtice. By this Compulſion, as 'twere, he hop'd to ſcreen himſelf from Cenſure; for under theſe Circumſtances, it wou'd not appear he diſoblig'd the Emperor out of Inclination; but that being preſs'd upon the point of Juſtice, and by ſuch powerful Sollicitors, he cou'd do no leſs than give way. And at laſt, he promiſes to diſpatch another Commiſſion to the King of *England*, bearing Date after the time he had been over-aw'd by *Lautretch*'s Army. To conclude, he intreats the King wou'd let the matter reſt, till this *Inſtrument* came to him, which he ſuppos'd wou'd ſhortly happen. However, Secretary *Knight*, perceiving the Pope's Fineſs, and not willing to truſt to Uncertainties, made haſte for *England*, and brought the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation along with him (*r*).

His Reaſons for this Requeſt.

(*r*) *Doctor* Knight's *Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey. *See* Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

Jan. 1. 1528. *The Year at* Rome *began the firſt of* January.

To proceed: Tho' the Form of the Commiſſion was ſomewhat alter'd by the Cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*, yet the *Diſpenſation* was ingroſs'd, and ſign'd upon the Minutes drawn up in *England*. And provided there happen'd to be any Omiſſion, the Pope was willing to alter it in an Inſtrument of the ſame Date. The Purport of it was to give the King the Liberty of marrying again, after the Divorce. Thus Secretary *Knight* repreſents the matter to the King, in a Letter of the ſame Date with that of the Cardinal abovemention'd. And here he acquaints the King how powerful the *Imperialiſts* were in *Italy*; that they took Towns and Caſtles almoſt every Day, and committed great Ravage in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*: That the *French* General lay ſtill at *Bononia*, and that his Expedition had not ſo promiſing a face, as ſome pretended. In ſhort, that the Pope was in a manner block'd up, and in

The Purport of the Diſpenſation.

Cotton. Libr. ibid.

The Difficulty of the Pope's Circumſtances.

in great Perplexity: And that if his Majeſty ſhou'd act upon the Commiſſion in this Juncture, his *Holyneſs* wou'd be utterly undone: And that at preſent he was endeavouring to perſuade the *French* General to march towards *Rome*.

Ibid.

The Commiſſion brought over by Gambara.

Secretary *Knight* falling under ill Health, and not being in a Condition to travel, ſent the Prothonotary *Gambara* with the *Commiſſion* and *Diſpenſation* to *England*, and follow'd in eaſy Journeys. The Perſons delegated to try the Cauſe by a *Commiſſion*, were the Cardinals *Campegio* and *Wolſey*. And as to the *Powers*, it may not be improper to examine them in a word or two. The Cardinals abovemention'd are ſtyl'd the Pope's Legates *de Latere* (*ſ*); and have a full Authority granted them, to hear and determine the Cauſe in a ſummary way, without going through all the Lengths and Forms of Law: And theſe Powers are given them, with a *non obſtante* to all General Councils, Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and Decrees whatſoever to the contrary. And to give farther Strength to this *Inſtrument*, the Pope ſign'd a *Pollicitation*, about a Month after, to confirm the Sentence of the Legates, provided they purſu'd the Tenour of their Commiſſion: To which he added a Proteſtation, never to retract what was done, upon any Colour, Motive, or Compulſion whatever (*t*).

(*ſ*) *See Records N.* 7.

(*t*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 221.

The Pope not abſolutely ty'd by the Sentence of the Delegates.

'Tis ſaid the Pope reſign'd himſelf entirely to the *Delegates* Diſcretion; and that, let them proceed as they thought fit in *England*, *He ſhou'd confirm their Sentence* (*u*). But notwithſtanding the Categorical Strain of the Commiſſion, which was no more than a cuſtomary Form, 'tis pretty evident from *John Caſſaley*'s Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that the Pope did not deliver up his Authority to the Cardinal *Delegates* without Reſervation, nor put himſelf abſolutely in their Power (*w*). For, in his Diſcourſe with *John Caſſaley*, he tells him, that if the King and *Wolſey* had a mind to diſmiſs *Campegio*, upon pretence that they deſign'd to proceed no farther in the *Hearing*: In this caſe, ſays he, let them bring it to what Iſſue they pleaſe, ſuppoſing they do not make uſe of my Authority to *do any thing unjuſt*. And after ſome other Diſcourſe, he declares himſelf ready to confirm the *Legates* Sentence, provided the Allegations were prov'd in Court. And whereas 'tis affirm'd, the Pope confeſs'd a *Treaty* on foot between the Emperor and himſelf, but deny'd, that he had bound himſelf by it as to the King's Buſineſs: This *Letter* on the contrary makes him ſay, that he knew nothing of the matter, or had any concern in it (*x*).

(*u*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 59.

(*w*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

(*x*) Ibid. & *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 59. *and Collections Book* 2. *p.* 43, 44, 45.

The Pope privately ſuggeſts an Expedient to the King.

The Pope, notwithſtanding the Authorities conſign'd into the King's Hands, was willing, as has been obſerv'd, to lie under Covert. To this purpoſe, he orders Sir *Gregory Caſſaley* to ſend Directions to the *Engliſh* Court, touching the Management of the matter. By this *Letter* we are inform'd, that the Pope was willing to comply with the King's Deſire: And that the Proceedings might be more unexceptionable, his *Holyneſs* had conſulted the Cardinals *Quatuor Sanctorum* and *Simonetta*; that in their Opinion, the ſafeſt Method wou'd be, to keep the Powers, tranſmitted from *Rome* to *England*, ſecret: That the King's beſt way wou'd be, to refer the Deciſion to the Cardinal of *York*, who might juſtify his Proceedings, either upon the ſcore of the Commiſſion, ſent by Secretary *Knight*, or elſe by virtue of his Legantine Character. And here the King, being moſt acquainted with the Condition of his own Conſcience, muſt be the beſt Caſuiſt in that reſpect. If therefore his Highneſs is ſatisfy'd in the Matter, let him order the Cardinal of *York* to proceed to Sentence: Let him marry another Wife; and then apply to the *Conclave* to diſpatch a *Legate*, to confirm the matter. For, as the Letter goes on, it was clearly the Opinion of the Cardinals *Sanctorum* and *Simonetta*, that if the Queen was ſummon'd into the Court, ſhe wou'd only proteſt againſt the Indifferency of the Place and Judges: Upon which, the Emperor wou'd preſs the Pope for an *Inhibition* to ſtop the *Cauſe*. By virtue of which *Inſtrument*, the King wou'd be diſabled from marrying elſewhere: And in caſe he ſhou'd break through the Order, the Iſſue wou'd be illegitimate: At leaſt, till Judgment was given on his Highneſs's ſide. And farther, the *Imperialiſts* wou'd inſiſt upon a Commiſſion to try the Cauſe at *Rome*. Now, if the Pope was preſs'd upon theſe Points, he cou'd neither deny the one *Inſtrument*, nor the other, unleſs undue Methods, and mere Violence was made uſe of in the Demand. On the other hand, if the King proceeds quickly to a ſecond Marriage, the Emperor can't reaſonably inſiſt upon the *Inſtruments* abovemention'd: And, if he does, the Pope can fairly deny him. And in caſe the Emperor objects againſt *Wolſey* and the other Cardinal, and moves for an Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*: Then, if there's no way to put by this Demand, the Pope will be very expeditious in the Hearing, make a Deciſion to the King's Satisfaction, and proceed in ſuch a manner, that neither *Spaniard*, nor *German* ſhall except againſt it.

This Expedient the Pope propos'd, as the moſt practicable and ſecure; deſires the King to manage by it, but not to diſcover the Author of the Intimation (*y*).

(*y*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

Now to ſet this whole Matter in a fuller light, I ſhall acquaint the *Reader* with the Inſtructions written with the King's own Hand, upon which Sir *Francis Bryan* and Mr. *Vannes* were to take their Meaſures, and purſue their Negotiation. The *Reader* ſhall have them in *Harpsfield*'s Words, who extracted them from original Letters of the King and Cardinal.

Inſtructions given to Sir Francis Bryan *and Mr.* Vannes, *the King's Agents at* Rome, *touching the Power and Diſpoſition of that Court.*

“ Theſe *Agents*, ſays he, were required per-
“ fectly and ſubſtantially to inſtruct themſelves,
“ againſt the coming of Secretary *Knight*, of cer-
“ tain Queſtions, by the Learning, Experience,
“ and Knowledge of the beſt Advocates they
“ cou'd get in the Court of *Rome*, to be retain'd
“ of the King's Council, and to be of his Grace's
“ Part made ſure, by ſecret Rewards, Pact, and
“ Convention, that afterwards they ſhou'd not
“ be allured and drawn to the adverſe Part.
“ The Queſtions were propos'd in form follow-
“ ing, whereof I ſhall ſhift no part of the King's
“ own Words; *viz.*

Whether if the Queen, ſays the King, for the great and manifold Effects that may enſue thereof, can be mov'd and induc'd to take Vow of Chaſtity, and enter into Religion; The Pope's Holyneſs may; ex plenitudine poteſtatis, *diſpenſe with the King's Highneſs, to proceed thereupon* ad duas nuptias, *and the Children to be procreat in the ſame, to be Legitime. And if it be a thing that the Pope per caſe may not do, (ſtanding ſuch Laws as be already written, both Divine and Humane, and uſing his ordinary Power) yet whether his Holyneſs may do it of his mere and abſolute Power, as a thing, that the ſame may diſpenſe in above the Law; muſt ſecretly and perfectly be underſtood and known, and what Precedent has been ſeen of like matter, or how the Court of* Rome *ſhall define and determine, or what it doth uſe or may do therein; ſo that it may perfectly and aſſuredly appear, that no Exception, no Scruple, Queſtion, or Doubt can or may be found, or alledg'd hereafter in any thing, that may or ſhall be af-*

firm'd to be the Pope's Power touching that Matter. Semblably, foraſmuch that 'tis like that the Queen ſhall make marvellous Difficulty to enter into Religion, or take Vow of Chaſtity: But that to induce her thereunto, there muſt be Ways and Means of high Policy us'd, and all things poſſibly devis'd to encourage her to the ſame: Wherein per caſe, ſhe ſhall reſolve, that in no ways ſhe will condeſcend ſo to do, unleſs the King's Highneſs alſo do the like for his Part. The King's ſaid Orators ſhall therefore in like ways, inſtruct themſelves by their ſecret, learn'd Council in the Court of Rome, *if for ſo great a Benefit to enſue to the King's Succeſſion, Realm, and Subjects, with the Quiet of his Conſcience, his Grace ſhou'd promiſe to enter Religion, or make Vow of Chaſtity for his part, only thereby to induce the Queen thereto: Whether in that caſe the Pope's Holyneſs may diſpenſe with the King's Highneſs's Promiſe, Oath, or Vow, diſcharging his Grace clearly of the ſame, and thereupon to proceed* ad ſecunda Vota cum legitimatione prolis, *as is aforeſaid. Farthermore, to provide ſurely for all Events, as well* propter conceptum Odium, *as for the Danger that may enſue to the King's Perſon, by Continuance of his Grace in the Queen's Company, (from whoſe Bed he is utterly reſolv'd to abſtain) if it ſhall be found and appear aſſuredly, that the Pope may no ways diſpenſe with the King to proceed* ad ſecunda Vota, *the Queen being alive in Religion, but that ſhe being in Religion, or without, ſhall ſtill be reputed his Wiſe. Then ſhall the King's ſaid Orators perfectly enquire and inſearch, whether the Pope's Holyneſs may diſpenſe with his Grace upon the great Conſiderations that reſt herein, to have* Duas Uxores, *and that the Children of the ſaid ſecond Matrimony, ſhall be as well legitimate, as thoſe of the Firſt: Wherein ſome great Reaſons and Precedents, eſpecially of the Old Teſtament appear.* Thus far the King's Words; *Harpsfield* follows.

“ And they are will'd to adviſe the King's “ Highneſs upon the great Conſiderations that “ reſt herein, and the Cardinal of *York*, by Poſt “ and in Cyphers, what they might know and “ underſtand in all and ſingular the Premiſſes; “ foreſeeing always principally and above all “ things, that in making any privy Search, “ conducting of Advocates or learn'd Council, “ offering of Rewards, or Entertainment or otherwiſe, they ſhou'd uſe ſuch high Circumſpection, as the King's Cauſe were not thereby “ publiſh'd or known, to the Hindrance, Slander, or Impeachment of his Grace's Intent, “ uſing and proponing always the King's Caſe, “ as it were another Man's *(a)*.

(*a*) Nicholas Harpsfield's *MS. in* New College *Library in* Oxford.

Thus we ſee the Matter the *Agents* were to go upon, the Perſons they were to conſult, and the Secreſie of the Inquiry. By theſe Inſtructions they were only to conſult the moſt learn'd Advocates, to put the Caſe under a Diſguiſe, and not as if the King was concern'd in it. And thus, as far as it appears, they were underhand to feel the Pope's Pulſe, and inform themſelves of the Extent of his Power, without going openly to work, or propoſing the Queſtions to him *(b)*.

(*b*) *See Biſhop* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 60.

Jan. 1528.

But it ſeems by the Sequel, and what has been already obſerv'd, they found the *Conclave* diſpos'd to Compliance, for which the King gives them Thanks in a *Letter* to the College of Cardinals *(c)*.

(*c*) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10. Jan. 1528.

Cardinal Wolſey's *Letter to the King's Agents at* Rome, *to get the Marriage null.*

However, *Wolſey* was anxious about the Event, as appears by his Letter to *John Caſſaley*, “ in which, beſides preſſing the Affair upon ſome “ Reaſons already mention'd, he inſiſts ſtrongly upon the Benefit of the King's Friendſhip “ to the See of *Rome:* That provided the Pope “ gives his Highneſs Satisfaction in this Matter, “ he may depend not only on his ſingle Aſſiſtance, but that the King will make it his Endeavour to draw all his Allies into the ſame “ Intereſt. On the other hand, if his Majeſty “ ſhou'd diſ-engage from his *Holyneſs*, Things “ wou'd have a contrary Iſſue; and ſeveral “ Princes of *Europe* wou'd be carry'd off with “ him. And to ſpeak clearly, ſays the Cardinal, “ I can't ſee any State or Country in which his “ *Holyneſs* may better confide, than in his Majeſty; nor any Sovereign who is more likely “ to recover the Apoſtolical See to its ancient “ Dignity: Whereas, without his Aſſiſtance, nothing next to a Miracle, can ſupport its Authority. And after ſome farther Reaſoning upon this Head, “ He deſires the Pope wou'd “ not look on him as a Perſon pre-engag'd by “ Intereſt or Inclination, to ſollicite the King's “ Cauſe, but that he is wholly govern'd by the “ Motives of Juſtice, and ſhou'd recommend the “ Affair with the ſame Earneſtneſs, tho' he had “ never ſeen *England*, nor had any Engagements “ there *(d)*.

(*d*) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.

Feb. 10. 1528.

He writes to the Pope upon the ſame Buſineſs.

Not long after, he wrote to the Pope himſelf upon the ſame Subject: And here he ſeems to lay out all his Arguments and Elocution, to make an Impreſſion. “ He acquaints his *Holyneſs*, how much he was perplex'd about the “ Affair of the Divorce: That he purſu'd the “ procuring it, with all the Earneſtneſs imaginable: That if the Safety of the King and “ Kingdom, the Repoſe of *Europe*, the Apoſtolical Authority, and his own Life and Soul lay “ all at Stake, he cou'd not ſollicite with more “ Application. He throws himſelf at the Pope's “ Feet, begs him, if he has any favourable “ Thoughts of him, if he thinks him a good “ Cardinal or an honeſt Man; if he believes him “ to have any Regard to Juſtice or Conſcience, “ to have any thing of good Faith or Reality in “ his Profeſſions of Duty to the Apoſtolick See; “ In ſhort, if he believes him to have any Regard for his own Salvation, he intreats him “ to conſider his Application, and anſwer the “ King's Requeſts with all Expedition; which “ were they not founded upon Reaſon and Religion, he declares, he wou'd rather ſuffer all “ Extremities of Torture, than recommend “ them: But he was ſo well ſatisfy'd, that he “ was ready to pawn his Life and Soul upon the “ Equity of what was deſir'd. Upon this, he proceeds to alarm the Pope, in caſe of Incomplyance: He tells him, “ That in caſe the King “ found himſelf neglected by the Apoſtolick See, “ when his Claim was ſo well ſupported by “ the Laws of God and Man; if he deſpair'd “ of Friendſhip and Conſideration from Chriſt's “ Vicar; if the Emperor had ſo plainly gain'd “ the Aſcendant, tho' 'twas not in that Prince's “ Power to break the King's Meaſures: if the “ Proſpect look'd thus gloomy and unfavourable 'twas to be fear'd, his Highneſs wou'd “ apply to other Expedients: And that ſuch “ Remedies might be thought on as wou'd not “ only ſink his Holyneſs's Authority, and draw “ off the *Engliſh* from their Obedience to the *See* “ of *Rome*, but likewiſe prove a dangerous Precedent to other Chriſtian Princes to do the “ ſame. That at preſent 'twas in his *Holyneſs*'s “ Power to prevent ſo fatal a Miſchief. He goes on to acquaint the Pope; “ That he ſpoke “ this upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, and as a “ Perſon devoted to the Apoſtolick *See*. And “ that no Byaſs of Affection, no Partiality to his “ Prince, no ſervile Obnoxiouſneſs, had drawn “ this Expoſtulation from him, but that he was “ perfectly ſway'd by the Juſtice of the Cauſe.

“ That by gratifying the King in this Point, he wou'd not only effectually engage his Highneſs, but that all his Subjects wou'd be ready to offer their Lives and Fortunes for his Holyneſs's Service. Laſtly, he lets the Pope know he had ſent *Stephen Gardner* his principal Secretary, to wait on him, a Perſon for whom he had a great Value; that his Holyneſs might truſt him intirely, and give Credit to whatever he ſhou'd report. *Edward Fox* the King's *Almoner*, was likewiſe join'd with *Gardner*, in this Buſineſs, and is mention'd in a Character of Reſpect (e).

(e) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10. Feb. 6. 1528.

Cardinal Wolſey *renews his Attempt to gain the Popedom.*

In the Beginning of this Year, the Pope fell dangerouſly ill; upon which the Cardinal made another Effort for St. *Peter's Chair*. For this purpoſe he wrote to Sir *Gregory Caſſaly* to make him an Intereſt, and ſollicit at the *Election*. He lets him know, how deeply the King's Honour and Satisfaction was concern'd in the Choice of another Pope. That therefore he was deſir'd to exert himſelf, that no Perſon diſ-inclin'd to his Highneſs, might ſucceed. As to the Meaſures he was to take for recommending the Cardinal, he refers him to larger Inſtructions *. But Pope *Clement* recover'd, and ſo this Buſineſs came to nothing.

*Cotton. Lib. Vitel. B. 10.

Bulls for the ſuppreſſing ſeveral Monaſteries.

This Year the Pope, at the King's Inſtance, grants a *Bull* for diſſolving as many Monaſteries as amounted to the yearly Revenue of Eight Thouſand Ducats, provided the Number of the Religious in each *Houſe*, did not exceed Six. The Lands of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries were to be ſettled upon the College at *Windſor*, and upon *King's-College* in *Cambridge*.

Conventiones Acta publica, &c. *Tom.* 14. *p.* 270.

About the ſame time, at his Majeſty's Deſire, another *Bull* was directed to the Cardinals *Wolſey* and *Laurentio*, for ſuppreſſing Monaſteries of both Sexes, where the Number fell ſhort of Twelve: Theſe *Religious* were to be remov'd, and their Eſtates annex'd to greater Monaſteries.

Id. *pag.* 272.

And in a Letter of the ſame Date, his *Holyneſs* acquaints the Cardinals laſt mention'd, with the King's Requeſt, that ſeveral of the larger and beſt endow'd Monaſteries in great Towns, might be turn'd into Biſhop's *Sees*. He appears willing to gratify his Majeſty, orders the *Legates* to enquire into the Practicableneſs of the Scheme: And the next Year ſends them a Commiſſion to erect as many Biſhopricks as they thought convenient.

Id. *pag.* 274.

Id. *pag.* 291.

A Decretal Bull for the Legates to proceed on, tranſmitted from hence to Rome.

To ſecure the King the better from Diſappointment in the *Divorce*, and prevent a Decree of the *Legates* from being revers'd, a *Decretal Bull*, for the Pope to ſign, was drawn up here the laſt Year, and tranſmitted to *Rome*. This Bull was penn'd with great Exactneſs: The Form is very comprehenſive, and guards with great Precaution againſt all manner of Art and Evaſion. The *Legates* have as large a Juriſdiction as cou'd be deſir'd, and the Pope promiſes to ratify their Sentence without Reſerve. To lay the moſt conſiderable Part of it before the *Reader*. By vertue of this Bull, the Cardinals *Wolſey* and *Campegio*, or one of 'em, in caſe the other ſhou'd be hinder'd, or refuſe to act, are authoriz'd to examine the *Diſpenſation* of *Julius* the Second, and in caſe they found any of the formerly mention'd Defects in it, they are impower'd to pronounce the Marriage null, and that both the Parties are at Liberty to engage in a new Relation of that kind, at their Pleaſure, without allowing either of 'em to except againſt the Judgment, or appeal to the Pope's Perſon. Farther, the Pope lodges the Plenitude of his Power with theſe Cardinals, either to diſſolve the preſent Marriage, or for the engaging in a new one, as they ſhou'd find it expedient. They are likewiſe authoriz'd to diſpenſe with all *Canons*, which may be thought to lie croſs to their Proceedings, and check the Liberty of their Motion. And being furniſh'd with the full Privilege and Juriſdiction of the Pope's Authority, they are enabl'd to ſupply all Defects ariſing from what Cauſe ſoever: And thus by the Strength of an Apoſtolical Diſpenſation, they may, if they find it expedient, pronounce the Iſſue by the firſt Marriage legitimate, in regard of the Innocence and good Conſcience of the Parents, no leſs than the Iſſue by the Second: And that they may legitimate the Children of both *Venters*, by all manner of Cenſures and Penalties Eccleſiaſtical, by the moſt effectual Ways and Means, that the Law can deviſe. And laſtly, the Pope binds himſelf to ratify and confirm whatever ſhou'd be executed, done, or decreed by them, with a Promiſe never to revoke it. And to make all ſure, this Commiſſion to the Cardinals was to continue in force, till the Divorce was thoroughly diſcuſs'd, and the Matter brought to a final Deciſion (f), and all future *Inſtruments* of Revocation declar'd void.

(f) *See Records, N.* 8.

By this Bull, it appears the King was willing the Princeſs *Mary* ſhou'd be declar'd legitimate, notwithſtanding his Divorce from the Queen her Mother.

A Bull of a leſs comprehenſive Form, ſign'd by the Pope.

As to the Succeſs of this Diſpatch, the Pope comply'd ſo far as to ſign a *Decretal Bull*; but the Form of it was different: For firſt, there's no Reference to any *Sentence* to be pronounc'd by the Legates: It ſuppoſes the Pope fully inform'd about the Unlawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, and diſpenſes with him to marry any other Perſon, provided ſhe was not his Brother's Relict, or had not conſummated her Marriage with another Perſon now living. And ſecondly, Thoſe extenſive corroborating Clauſes in the *Inſtrument*, drawn up in *England*, were wanting in This (g). It is dated at *Orvietto* the 27th of *January*, in the Year 1527. This *Bull* is ſuppos'd to be the ſame with that which *Campegio* brought afterwards with him into *England*. However, the *Engliſh Court* did not deſpair of ſucceeding upon their own Draught: To this purpoſe Cardinal *Wolſey* wrote to Sir *Gregory Caſſaly*, to uſe all his Intereſt to get the Form abovemention'd paſs'd, and ſign'd privately by the Pope, and convey'd *hither* with all the Secreſy imaginable; aſſuring the Pope at the ſame time, with the higheſt Solemnity of Expreſſion, that no Man living beſides himſelf, ſhou'd ſee it: That he did not deſign to begin any Proceſs upon't: That the only uſe he intended to make on't, was, to have it in his Poſſeſſion as a Mark of his Holyneſs's kind Intentions to the King: That by this means his own Intereſt wou'd riſe, and he ſhou'd be in a better Condition to ſerve his *Holyneſs* with the King (h).

(g) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 251.

(b) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10. May 7. 1528.

Afterwards the Cardinal was acquainted, the Pope had granted a *Bull*, but not of the *Engliſh* Form: For the Cardinal does not call it a *Decretal Commiſſion*, which was the Expreſſion he us'd for that laſt mention'd. However, he ſeems contented with what cou'd be gain'd; and only deſires that this *Decretal Bull*, which the Legate *Campegio* was now bringing over, might be privately ſhewn to ſome of the *Council*; not that 'twas deſign'd to bring it into the *Court*, or make uſe of it for trying the *Cauſe*, but only as a Teſtimony of *Wolſey*'s Diligence, and that his *Holyneſs* was willing to grant any reaſonable Requeſt for the King's Satiſfaction, and the Settlement of the Government and Succeſſion (i).

Oct. 9. 1528. *Cardinal* Campegio *arrives in* England.

Towards the latter End of this Year, Cardinal *Campegio* arriv'd at *London*. The King propos'd his being receiv'd by the City, with all the publick Marks of Reſpect: But this Legate being troubl'd with the Gout, declin'd the Ceremony, and made a private Entry. After a Repoſe of ſome few Days, he had an *Audience* of the King, where in a *Latin* Speech made by his Secretary, he acquainted his Highneſs with the Barbarities committed by the Imperial Forces in *Italy*: How they ſtorm'd and plunder'd *Rome*: That the King's interpoſing for the Apoſtolick *See*, in this Diſtreſs, was receiv'd with a very grateful Senſe by the Pope and Cardinals. To this Speech *Edward Fox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, making a Reply in the ſame Language, told him, the King had been very much afflicted at the Pope's Miſfortune: That common Compaſſion carry'd him thus far. But over and above this natural Sympathy, his Majeſty had taken Care to perform the Part of a Friend, and proceed to thoſe good Offices which the Vicar of Chriſt might expect from a Chriſtian Prince. And ſince his Majeſty had ſhewn himſelf thus remarkably dutiful to the *Holy See*, he hop'd his Services wou'd be remember'd when Occaſion requir'd (k). Afterwards the King and the *Legates* diſcours'd the Matter privately. And here *Campegio* gave the King all the Aſſurance imaginable of the Pope's Reality and Favour. It ſeems this *Legate* believ'd nothing leſs: For the Pope was not willing to diſcover his whole Mind, nor lodge ſo great a Secret with this Cardinal.

1528.

Campegio *taxes the Queen with Miſconduct, and perſuades her to retire to a Monaſtery.*

Soon after this, *Campegio* at an Audience with the Queen, took occaſion to acquaint her with the Danger of the preſent Diſpute, and endeavour'd to perſuade her to retire to a Monaſtery. He ſeem'd to charge her with ſomething of unſeaſonable Freedom and Miſ-conduct in her Behaviour. For ſince the granting of the Legate's Commiſſion, ſhe was obſerv'd to allow Dancing and Court Diverſions, more than before. 'Twas likewiſe taken notice of, that ſhe appear'd publickly with an unuſual Air of Chearfulneſs and Spirit. Whereas the Condition of her Circumſtances ought to have made her more grave and recollected. That the Perplexity of the King's Conſcience, not to mention other gloomy Appearances, were no Motives for Satiſfaction. The Queen, by no means pleas'd with this Diſcourſe, reply'd poſitively, that ſhe was reſolv'd to ſtand by the Marriage, ſo ſolemnly allow'd by the Apoſtolick *See*: And in caſe the Matter ſhou'd be drawn into Queſtion, ſhe wou'd by no means refer the Cauſe to ſuch partial Judges as this *Legate* and *Wolſey*. *Campegio*, finding her thus averſe, inform'd the Pope of her Reſolution.

His Diſcourſe unſucceſsful.

Lord Herbert. *p.* 225.

Biſhop Fox's *Death and Character.*

This Year *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* departed this Life. I have already obſerv'd *, how much this Biſhop was conſider'd in the Court of *Henry* the Seventh, and what Share he had in publick Negotiations. That Prince, amongſt other Marks of his Favour, did him the Honour of making him Godfather to the preſent King. He was firſt preferr'd to the *See* of *Exeter*, from thence tranſlated to *Bath* and *Wells*, from thence to *Durham*, where after having ſate Six Years, he was remov'd to *Wincheſter*. Some Years before his Death, he was blind, which ſeem'd the only Miſfortune of his Life. Being reſolv'd upon ſome publick Benefaction, his firſt Thoughts were the founding a Monaſtery: But *Oldham* Biſhop of *Exeter*, diverted him from this Deſign: He told him his Bounty wou'd be in danger of being loſt this way; for, in his Opinion, the Monks had more Endowments already than they wou'd be able to keep. Upon this *Fox* chang'd his Scheme, and founded *Corpus Chriſti* in *Oxford* †; where, beſides the Charge of the Buildings, he made a Settlement for a Preſident, Twenty Fellows, Twenty Scholars, *&c.* to the Number of Threeſcore and Ten, and endow'd the Houſe with Four Hundred and One Pounds *per Annum* ‡. He likewiſe founded Two Free-Schools, one at *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, and the other at *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*. He likewiſe expended great Sums of Money in repairing and ornamenting his Cathedral at *Wincheſter*. He ſate Twenty Seven Years in this See, and govern'd to great Commendation.

Godwin, Ib.

To proceed; *Campegio* and *Wolſey* were now employ'd in pitching upon the Form of the Trial, and preparing for it. Half a Year was ſpent in adjuſting this Matter. In this Interval, little remarkable occurr'd, excepting a publick Declaration made by the King, with reference to his Marriage. He found the moving for a Divorce, made him ſuffer in his Reputation: That the Women eſpecially charg'd him with Inconſtancy; and that there was more Paſſion than Conſcience in ſolliciting this Matter. To remove this Conſtruction, his Majeſty made a Speech to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; the Judges and other Perſons of Condition, being preſent.

Nov. 8.

The King's Speech to the Lords, &c. to ſilence the Clamours about the Divorce.

His Majeſty told them, "That ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, which was about Twenty Years, his Reign, by the Bleſſing of God, had been ſo proſperous, that neither his Subjects had Reaſon to complain, nor his Enemies to boaſt of any Advantage. That he had never yet been attack'd, without Damage to the Aggreſſor: And as for the Wars begun by himſelf, they always terminated in Victory. Inſomuch, that whether the Wealth, conſequent upon Peace, or the Glory of military Exploits were conſider'd, he might modeſtly ſay, his Reign might ſtand a Compariſon with the moſt ſucceſsful of his Predeceſſors. But when he conſider'd, his own Mortality, he ſaid, he cou'd not but be apprehenſive the ſucceeding Reigns might prove very unfortunate: That they wou'd bear no Reſemblance to the preſent Happineſs. And that his Subjects ſhou'd be brought to the Condition of the *Romans* upon *Auguſtus*'s Death: And either wiſh that he had never been born, or had always liv'd amongſt them.

Then his Majeſty touches briefly upon the Miſeries the Kingdom had lately felt in the Competitions between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*: But this has been mention'd already. "His Majeſty goes on to apply this Remark, and tells them, the Princeſs *Mary* being his only Child, had a more than ordinary Share in his Affection. That he had lately treated a Match for her, with the Houſe of *France*: and that one of the *French* King's Privy-Council had queſtion'd her Legitimacy: That, God knows, the Report of this Matter, touch'd his Highneſs very ſenſibly. That the *French* had ſupported their Scruples with ſuch Authorities from *Scripture*, that he thought himſelf bound, at the Peril of his Soul, to endeavour the diſentangling the Queſtion. That to this purpoſe, he had firſt conſulted his Friends, and afterwards the moſt eminent in the *Civil* and *Canon* Law. But here the Contrariety of Opinions making him more unreſolv'd than before, he concluded there was no remaining Expedient, but to apply to the Apoſtolick See, in whoſe Judgment both himſelf and all other Chriſtians, ought to acquieſce. To this end,

---

(i) Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.

(k) Godwin. Annal. *p.* 36.

*Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt. 1.

† A. D. 1516.

‡ Godwin. de præſul. Angl. Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*.

“he calls God to witneſs. He had procur'd the Arrival of the Venerable *Legate*. For the Murmuring of Malecontents, and the Diſcourſes of idle Women apart, I ſhall freely declare, ſays the King, my Thoughts of my dear Conſort, the Queen. A Perſon, tho' Royally deſcended, yet more Illuſtrious in her Virtue than in her Family: A Princeſs ſo valuable, that, as God ſhall help me, if I were now to marry, I ſhou'd make choice of her as ſoon as of any Lady living, provided it cou'd lawfully be done. For, as to Piety, Conjugal Affection, Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, Prudence, and all other Branches of Unexceptionable Conduct, I am fully ſatisfied, there's no meeting with one equal to her. But ſince we are not born only for our ſelves, and to pleaſe our own Fancy, I thought it much better to have the matter judicially examin'd, than to ſeem regardleſs of my Duty to God, to neglect the Intereſt of my Subjects, which every honeſt Man ought to prefer to all private Conſiderations. I hope, after you have heard me declare my Mind after this manner, neither the little Stories of the Vulgar, nor the Calumnies of the Seditious, will make any Impreſſion upon you.

A particular Correſpondence between the King and Anne Boleyn.

Notwithſtanding this Declaration of Affection to the Queen, and the Agreeableneſs of her Perſon, 'tis pretty evident, the King's Fancy had been ſome time engag'd to Mrs. *Anne Boleyn*. For Proof of this, we have two original Letters of her's to the Cardinal; which not only diſcover a particular Correſpondence between his Highneſs and this Lady, but that the Cardinal was acquainted with it. There's no Date upon them, but by the Contents, we may conclude them written after the end of *May*, when the Sweating Sickneſs began, and about the time the Legate *Campegio* was expected. I ſhall tranſcribe them as they ſtand in Biſhop *Burnet*.

Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 55, 56.

Two Letters of Anne Boleyn's *to* Wolſey.

My Lord,

In my moſt humbleſt wiſe that my Heart can think, I deſire you to pardon me that I am ſo bold to trouble you with my ſimple and rude Writing; eſteeming it to proceed from her, that does much deſire to know that your Grace does well, as, I perceive, by this Bearer that you do: The which I pray God long to continue, as I am moſt bound to pray; for I do know the great Pains and Troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompenc'd on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all Creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily Proofs of my Deeds ſhall manifeſtly declare and affirm my Writing to be true. And I do truſt you do think the ſame.

My Lord, *I do aſſure you, I do long to hear from you the News of the* Legate: *For I do hope, and they come from you, they ſhall be very good: And I am ſure you deſire it as much as I, and more, and 'twere poſſible, as, I know, 'tis not. And thus, remaining in a ſtedfaſt Hope, I make an end of my Letter. Written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be*

The King's Poſtſcript to him.

The Writer of this Letter wou'd not ceaſe till ſhe had caus'd Me likewiſe to ſet to my Hand. Deſiring you, tho' it be ſhort, to take it in good part. I inſure you there's neither of us, but that greatly deſires to ſee you, and much more joyous to hear that you have ſcap'd this Plague ſo well, truſting the Fury thereof to be paſs'd, ſpecially with them that keep a good Diet, as I truſt you do. The not hearing of the Legate's Arrival in France *cauſes Us ſomewhat to muſe: Notwithſtanding We truſt by your Diligence and Vigilancy (with the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God) ſhortly to be eas'd out of that Trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God ſend you as good Health and Proſperity as the Writer wou'd*

By your

Loving Sovereign and Friend

Henry K.

Your Humble Servant

Anne Boleyn.

My Lord,

In my moſt humble wiſe that my poor Heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Preſent, the which I ſhall never be able to deſerve without your Help: Of the which I have hitherto had ſo great Plenty, that all the days of my Life I am moſt bound of all Creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and ſerve your Grace: Of the which, I beſeech you, never to doubt, that I ſhall vary from this Thought, as long as any Breath is in my Body. And as touching your Grace's Trouble with the Sweat, *I thank our Lord that them that I deſir'd and pray'd for, are ſcap'd, and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preſerv'd you both for great Cauſes, known alonely of his high Wiſdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I deſire that much: And if it be God's Pleaſure, I pray him to ſend this matter ſhortly to a good end: And then I truſt,* My Lord, *to recompenſe part of your great Pains. In the which I muſt require you in the mean time to accept my Good Will inſtead of the Power; the which muſt proceed partly from you, as our Lord knows; to whom I beſeech to ſend you long Life, with Continuance in Honour. Written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be*

Your Humble and

Obedient Servant

Anne Boleyn.

To return: His Majeſty's *Speech* was differently reliſh'd: Some pity'd the King, but the Queen's Caſe had much more Compaſſion. Some ambitious People, who, 'tis likely, had the proſpect of mending their Fortunes, were pleas'd to ſee the Waters diſturb'd. Theſe mercenary and inſidious Spirits, applauded the King's Proceedings, and pretended his Highneſs's Reſolution very pious, and ſerviceable to the publick. (*l*).

Not long after this, Cardinal *Wolſey* receiv'd a Letter from *John Caſſaley*: 'Tis dated *December* the 17th 1528. In this Letter *Caſſaley* informs him, that he had deſir'd the Pope to think upon an Expedient to ſhew the *Bull* to ſome of the King's *Privy Council*. The Pope reply'd in a poſitive Denial: Adding, had it not been utterly impracticable, it ſhou'd have been done at firſt, without giving the King and Cardinal ſo much Trouble; and in ſhort, bid him not inſiſt any farther upon't. However, *Campegio* gave the King a ſight of the *Decretal Bull*; but cou'd not be prevail'd with to leave it for a Minute, either with his Highneſs or *Wolſey* (*m*).

The Pope refuſes to let the Bull be ſhew'd to the Privy Council.

The Reaſon of the Pope's Reſervedneſs and Incomplyance in this point, ſeems to have been the Deſign of maintaining himſelf in a Liberty of treating with the Emperor, and breaking with the King. His *Holyneſs* took notice, that the Mediations of *England* and *France* had not prevail'd with the *Venetians*, to reſtore him *Cervia* and

The Reaſons of this Incomplyance.

F

(*l*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 36, 37.

(*m*) *Biſhop* Burnet *p.* 58.

and *Ravenna:* Now he thought that *Republick* wou'd not have been ſo hardy in their Refuſal, if theſe Kings were in earneſt: For it had been promis'd, theſe Towns ſhou'd be reſtored, as ſoon as his *Legate* was ſent to *England.* The Cardinals preſſing therefore to have the *Bull* ſeen by ſome of the *Privy Council,* did but make the Pope more Averſe to the Requeſt: For, he cou'd not imagine the Application was made out of mere Curioſity, or for direction of the *Privy Council*; ſince the King and the Cardinal cou'd inform them fully in whatever was material in this *Inſtrument.* The Importunity for ſeeing it therefore, he concluded was only, that they might have ſo many Witneſſes to prove 'twas once granted: But by taking this ſtep, the Pope knew he ſhou'd put himſelf in the King's Power, and make an Agreement with the Emperor utterly impracticable.

Id. *p.* 59. Dec. 1528.

However to provide againſt all Events, and keep fair with the *Engliſh* Court, he diſpatches *Francis Campana* to *England,* to give an Expectation of favour, and feed the King with freſh Hopes (*n*).

But 'tis plain *Campana*'s Coming, and ſmooth Meſſage gave little Satisfaction. For, in the beginning of the next Spring, *Wolſey* writes a long Diſpatch to the King's *Agents* at *Rome.* In this Letter, he takes notice of the Pope's alledging his falling ſick, as an Excuſe for not expediting the King's Buſineſs.

Apr. 6. 1529. *Cardinal* Wolſey's *Complaint of the Pope's unfair Dealing.*

This the Cardinal looks upon as mere trifling. That the Pope had ſufficient Opportunities of being fully inform'd of the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe. That Delays in this Caſe are no better than Art and Shifting. That by ſtopping the Cauſe upon a pretence of Ill-health, his *Holyneſs* muſt inevitably run himſelf upon one of theſe Inconveniences; either he muſt leave the Buſineſs undecided, and by conſequence perplex the Title to the Crown, and embroil the Kingdom; or elſe, he muſt pronounce the *Bull* or *Brief,* or both of 'em, to be valid and unexceptionable; which, conſidering the violent Preſumptions to the contrary, the Cardinal believes, that neither his *Holyneſs,* nor any honeſt Man, can fairly do. If therefore the Pope continues to throw in Delays, and clog the Affair, he can by no means underſtand ſuch myſterious Conduct. And therefore he plainly tells the *Agents,* that unleſs the utmoſt ſpeed was given to the Buſineſs in hand, he thought his *Holyneſs* cou'd not die with a good Conſcience (*o*).

He deſires an Enlargement of the Commiſſion for trying the Cauſe.

By theſe Inſtructions it appears, the King and *Wolſey* were not altogether ſatisfied: And that, either *Campegio*'s keeping the *Bull* ſo cloſe, or elſe the form of it, did not pleaſe them. For by theſe Inſtructions, the *Agents* were to move for *Decretals.* And, if this cou'd not be granted, they were then to preſs for an Inlargement of the *Legate*'s Commiſſion. The Amendments requeſted were, that *Wolſey* and *Campegio* might be ſufficiently authoriz'd to proceed, both upon the Body, and all the Incidents and Dependences of the Cauſe, with the ſame Extent of Juriſdiction, as his *Holyneſs* (to uſe the Cardinal's Words) may do of his ordinary and abſolute Power; with ſufficient and ample Clauſes *ad decernendum & interpretandum Jura Legis & Reſcripta quæcumque hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus & ſingulis Dubiis in eadem Cauſa emergentibus.* That there ſhou'd likewiſe be a ſupplemental Proviſion in this *Commiſſion,* to make out *Compulſories* to any Princes or Perſons, of what Dignity or State ſoever, *etiamſi Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacumque Dignitate præfulgeant, ſub quibuſcunque pœnis.* By virtue of this Order, all Perſons of what Quality ſoever were to furniſh any manner of Witneſs or Records, which were to appear, and be laid before the *Legates,* as they ſhou'd think fit to require.

And in caſe the Pope ſhou'd happen to die before the King had receiv'd Satisfaction, they were to enquire into the Extent of the Juriſdiction belonging to the Cardinals *Sede Vacante:* And in caſe they found them authoriz'd to decree any thing in the King's Cauſe, they ſhou'd immediately apply to them for Juſtice and Diſpatch (*p*).

In another *Packet,* ſent ſoon after to *Rome,* the King, in the Cardinal's Letter, complains of the ſtrict Union between the Pope and Emperor. That by this cloſe Correſpondence, 'twas plain the Pope was govern'd by a Byaſs, and that no Juſtice cou'd be expected from him. However, his Highneſs was willing to wait a little longer, and go on with his Application. The *Agents* therefore are order'd to ſollicit the Enlargement of the *Legates* Commiſſion abovemention'd. They are likewiſe acquainted, that the Pope's *Pollicitation,* to ratify the Sentence of the *Legates,* was defectively drawn up: And that his *Holyneſs* might recede and diſengage himſelf at his Pleaſure. They were to tell the Pope, that the *Pollicitation* ſent to *England* was ſo wetted and ſpoil'd in the Paſſage, that they durſt not ſhew it the King: They therefore entreated his *Holyneſs* wou'd grant them a new one. And thus when they had gain'd this point, *Gardner* was ordered to take Care that ſuch ſupplementary Clauſes, as were neceſſary, might be inſerted.

A cloſe Union between the Pope and Emperor.

In this *Letter,* the Cardinal takes notice, the Emperor refus'd the ſending Pope *Julius* the Second's *Brief* into *England.* He pretended himſelf notwithſtanding willing enough to ſend it to *Rome:* For that Court, he alledg'd, was the proper place for the Tryal of the King's Cauſe. But this, ſays the Cardinal, is but a Feint: For, by the Advices the King receiv'd from his Ambaſſadors in *Spain,* there lay ſtrong Preſumption of Forgery againſt the *Brief:* And that the Marks of Impoſture were ſuch, as wou'd not well bear the light.

Exceptions againſt the Brief of Julius *the Second*

And here the Cardinal makes a Chronological Exception. That the Court of *Rome* obſerves a different Computation of the Year in *Bulls* and *Briefs:* That in the firſt, the Year begins at the *Annunciation* of the *bleſſed Virgin,* and the latter at the *Nativity* of our Saviour. That he who forg'd the *Brief* in *Spain,* not knowing this different Reck'ning, laid himſelf open to Diſcovery. Under this Ignorance he dates the *Brief* upon the 26th of *December, Anno Domini* 1503, which was before *Julius* was advanc'd to the Papacy. But after all, the Cardinal was not aſſur'd of the force of this Objection: And therefore he adviſes the Ambaſſadors to examine farther into the matter (*q*).

There are ſeveral other Objections againſt the Authentickneſs of the *Brief,* of which I ſhall only mention two, and tranſcribe it for the *Latin* Reader (*r*).

Firſt, 'Twas argu'd, that the *Brief* was not enter'd upon the Regiſter at *Rome*; neither was there any *Docket* or *Memorandum* of any ſuch Inſtrument.

And 2dly, 'Twas not to be met with in the King's Paper Office, where publick Records, of that nature are preſerv'd (*ſ*).

However, that the *Brief* was no Forgery, or at leaſt, that the *Engliſh* Court ſuſpected the contrary, is pretty plain from the Inſtructions ſent to the King's *Agents* to diſſuade the *Pope* from ſending to *Spain* for the *Original* (*t*). It may poſſibly

---

(*n*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

(*o*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Cotton. Libr. ibid.

(*r*) *See Records, N.* 9.

(*ſ*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 241, 242.

(*t*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

poſſibly be thought theſe Inſtructions might be given to hinder the Avocation of the *Cauſe*: But this Conjecture is not ſo likely; for if the *Brief* cou'd have been prov'd a Forgery, the King muſt have carry'd his point, and by conſequence wou'd not have been ſo averſe againſt a *Hearing* at *Rome*.

Apr. 5. 1529. *The Emperor ſollicits an Avocation of the Cauſe to* Rome.

About this time the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Doctor *Lee*, the King's Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, open'd the Divorce to the Emperor: Upon which his Imperial Majeſty return'd the King this Anſwer: That he was ſorry, his Majeſty had any Thoughts of parting with the Queen; and conjur'd him by the Sacrament of Marriage to proceed no farther. But in caſe he was reſolv'd to go on, his Imperial Majeſty inſiſted, that the Cauſe ſhou'd not be try'd in *England*, but either referr'd to the Pope, or brought before a *General Council*: Adding withal, that he was ſatisfy'd, the Right lay on the Queen's Side, and was reſolv'd to abet her Intereſt (*u*).

The two Legates Letter to the Pope.

They ſuggeſt the Danger of not ſatisfying the King.

And deliver themſelves with great Freedom.

The *Legates* perceiving the Queen incompliant, and that the Emperor wou'd embarraſs the Affair, joyn'd in a Letter to the Pope for a *Decretal Bull*: Which, by the way, muſt be of a more comprehenſive Form, than that which *Campegio* brought with him: For otherways, what Occaſion had there been for requeſting another? And if the draught of this Inſtrument cou'd not quickly be ſettl'd, the Pope was to uſe his Intereſt with the Queen in the mean time. They deſire him to endeavour to remove her from her Reſolution by all means poſſible: To try, if he cou'd bring her Inclination to the *Cloyſter*: To ſuggeſt to her, that this was the only Expedient to make her eaſy, and ſecure her Intereſt. And here they preſs the Diſpatch of the Divorce, and the Danger of loſing the King by Delays. That both the *Nobility* and *Commons* were much diſturb'd at the ſpinning out the Cauſe: That they declar'd their minds with great Liberty, and ſeem'd almoſt ready to renounce his *Holyneſs*. That amongſt other Inſtances of Satyr, they called thoſe People moſt ſtupidly ridiculous, that pretended the Popes cou'd diſpenſe with divine Laws, and yet had no Power to cancel the Writings, or melt a little *Wax* or *Lead* of their *Predeceſſors*. That they found it very difficult to keep on the King's Patience, and prevent things from running to Extremity. In this *Letter*, they acquaint the Pope, they were concerting Meaſures for the *Trial*, and that the Queen had exhibited a *Copy* of the *Brief* (*w*). From whence we may infer 'twas written ſome time before the *Cauſe* came on at *Black-Fryers*. This *Letter* was follow'd by another from *Wolſey* to the King's *Agents*; in which he lets them know the Emperor's Ambaſſadors were buſy in ſolliciting a Revocation of his Commiſſion and *Campegio*'s: That if his Imperial Majeſty ſhou'd gain this Point, the King wou'd be wholly diſappointed. They were therefore to do their utmoſt to prevent the paſſing of any ſuch thing. They were to remonſtrate to the Pope and Cardinals upon this Head: They were to acquaint them, that a Compliance with the Emperor, in this particular, wou'd be a Flaming Injury to the King and Kingdom. That by yielding in a point, ſo contumelious to his Legates; that by ſuch an open Breach of good Faith, his *Holyneſs* wou'd certainly give the higheſt Provocation imaginable to the King and Nobility. That upon ſuch a notorious Violation of his Promiſe, they wou'd undoubtedly renounce their Obedience, and deſert the *Apoſtolick See*: And that when other Countries found, there was neither Juſtice, nor Truth to be met with *there*, they wou'd, in all likelyhood, follow the Example of the *Engliſh*. This Diſpatch is dated *May* the twenty firſt this Year (*x*).

The Pope's Excuſe to Wolſey.

The Pope, who had taken new Meaſures, and was patching up with the Emperor, wrote an excuſing Letter to *Wolſey*. “He pretends himſelf very ſorry that he cou'd not make a Return to the King and Cardinal for their good Offices to his *See*. That he deſir'd nothing more, than to ſhew his Inclination this way; but that at preſent, the Regards of Juſtice check'd his Motion, and put him to a ſtand: That he had a great many weighty Reaſons, which hinder'd him from giving Satisfaction in this Point; And that he had endeavour'd to convince the King's Ambaſſadors of the Cogency of 'em. And for the particulars, he refers *Wolſey* to *Campegio* (*y*).

A Hearing concerning the Divorce at Black-Fryers.

The King and Queen appear in Court.

The Meaſures being now adjuſted for the hearing of the Cauſe, the Legate's Court was prepar'd at *Black-Fryers*. And the King having, by a Warrant under the *Great Seal*, given them leave to execute their Commiſſion, they ſat on the laſt of *May*. The Commiſſion exhibited by *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was read in Court. And now the Clerks of the Court took the uſual Oaths: And the King and Queen were cited by the Legates to appear on the eighteenth of *June*, which was all the Buſineſs of that Day. The King's Proxies were Doctor *Sampſon*, Doctor *Hall*, Doctor *Petre*, and Doctor *Tregonnell*. The Queen's *Council* were *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and Doctor *Ridley*. Upon the eighteenth of *June* the Court ſate again: The King ſent his *Proxies*; but the Queen, appearing in Perſon, proteſted againſt the *Legates*, as incompetent Judges: She alledg'd the Pope had order'd the Cauſe ſhou'd be try'd at *Rome*, and deſir'd time might be allow'd to prove the Allegation. The *Legates* gave her Highneſs three Days, and adjourn'd the Court (*z*).

On the twenty firſt of *June* there was another Seſſion: And now the King and the Queen being preſent, *Campegio* open'd the Buſineſs in a long Speech: And both this *Legate* and *Wolſey* made ſolemn Proteſtations of their Impartiality; and that they intended to proceed without any Byaſs of Favour or Affection.

The Queen's Speech.

When the King was call'd, he anſwer'd *here*: But the Queen, being call'd, made no Anſwer; but riſing from her Chair, came up to the King, and kneeling to him, made a moving and ſignificant Speech. She told him, “what Diſadvantages ſhe lay under, in being a Woman, and of a Foreign Nation: That her *Council* were the King's Subjects; and that ſhe had little Expectation either of Friendſhip or Equity: ſhe deſir'd to know, how ſhe had diſoblig'd his Highneſs, and why this Uſage was put upon her? She ſolemnly proteſts, ſhe had always made it her Buſineſs to live agreably to to his Majeſty, and comply with his Humour: And that her Favour and Fancy to other People was always govern'd by his Choice and Direction. She ſuggeſted, ſhe had been his Wife twenty Years; and had ſeveral Children by him: And that the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and herſelf, was unconſummated, ſhe appeal'd to God and the King's Conſcience. And if his Highneſs cou'd charge her with any Breach of Faith or Blemiſh in her Honour, ſhe was willing to be diſmiſs'd with Infamy: But if nothing of this cou'd be prov'd, ſhe deſir'd to have Juſtice at his Hands. The King's Father and hers, ſhe ſaid, had the Character of very wiſe Princes; and without queſtion, con-

---

(*u*) *Ld.* Herb. *p.* 225.

(*w*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

(*x*) Ibid. May 31. 1529.

(*y*) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

(*z*) Cavend. *p.* 106. Godwin Annal. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 235. Burnet, *p.* 72.

“ ſulted Perſons well qualify'd for Advice, when “ they ſettled this Marriage. In ſhort, ſhe “ durſt not truſt her Cauſe with this Court: For, “ her *Council* being his Highneſs's Subjects, and “ aſſign'd by him, ſhe was afraid, wou'd either “ be prepoſſeſs'd or over-aw'd. She therefore “ humbly entreats the King to let the matter “ reſt till ſhe cou'd hear from her Friends in “ *Spain*. Upon this, ſhe roſe up, made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the *Court*. The King order'd the *Cryer* to call her in again, but ſhe refus'd to return. When ſhe was gone, the King began a Diſcourſe in her Commendation, much to the ſame effect with his *Speech* to the Lords already mention'd: Adding withal, that he had formerly mention'd his Scruples to *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in Confeſſion. And here, Cardinal *Wolſey* deſiring the King to declare to the Court, whether he had been the Perſon, who firſt ſuggeſted the debating this matter. His Highneſs clear'd the Cardinal from this Imputation, and declar'd he had never injected any ſuch Thoughts, but rather adviſ'd the contrary.

The King clears Wolſey *from firſt ſuggeſting the Divorce.*
June 25.

The Court adjourn'd to the twenty fifth, ordering Letters Monitory to be iſſu'd for citing the Queen to appear; but ſhe refuſing, was declar'd *contumax*.

Three Days after, ſhe was cited a ſecond time, and, for not appearing, pronounc'd again *contumax* (a).

The King's Letter to his Ambaſſadors at Rome, June 28. 1529. Cotton. Libr. Vitell B. 11.

Notwithſtanding the Queen's Abſence, the diſpenſing Bull and Brief were call'd for, and Witneſſes examin'd to prove the Marriage conſummated between Prince *Arthur* and the preſent Queen.

The Queen's Council argue againſt the Divorce.

On the other ſide, the Queen's Council urg'd, that ſuppoſing the Marriage conſummated, which was more than was prov'd, yet the forbidding the marrying the Brother's *Relict* was no Moral Law: That 'twas only a judicial Regulation of the Moſaick Inſtitution: That none but the *Jews* were bound by it; and that after the coming of our Saviour 'twas abrogated of Courſe: 'Tis true, the Chriſtian Church was govern'd by this Reſtraint: But then as it ſtood only on Eccleſiaſtical Authority, the ſame Power might diſpenſe with it (b).

The Queen ſollicits the Emperor to inſiſt upon an Avocation.

The Queen was not negligent in preventing the *Legates* Sentence: She ſent the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the Low Contries, a Detail of the whole Proceſs: From hence the Account was tranſmitted to the Emperor *Charles* and his Brother *Ferdinand*, with Entreaties to aſſiſt their Aunt. Theſe Princes immediately diſpatch'd their Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to ſollicit the matter. Theſe *Agents* were the Queen's Proxies at Rome; and had a Commiſſion to give his *Holyneſs* a Copy of the *Bull* and *Brief* of *Julius* the Second; together with her Declaration, that the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and her ſelf was not conſummated.

A Proteſtation againſt the Proceedings of the Legates.
July.

The King, ſuſpecting the Matter wou'd be work'd this Way, and that the Emperor wou'd do his utmoſt, had lately ſent Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors to prevent the *Avocation* of the *Cauſe*; and to remind the Pope, that by conſenting to ſuch an Expedient, his *Holyneſs* wou'd put a great Diſgrace upon his *Legates*, contradict his late *Bull* and *Commiſſion*, break through his *Pollicitation*, and diſoblige the King and Kingdom in a very remarkable manner. But all this Remonſtrance ſignify'd nothing: The Poſture of Affairs in *Italy* was chang'd, and the Pope fall'n into new Meaſures. In fine, the Ambaſſadors of the Houſe of *Auſtria* made a Proteſtation in the Queen's Name, againſt the Proceedings of the *Legates* in *England*: Every Page of this Inſtrument was ſubſcrib'd by the Queen's Hand. The Purport of it was, to entreat the Pope to null the Proceedings in *England*, to admoniſh the King to ſtop the Proceſs, or conſent to a Tryal of the Cauſe at *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors added, that in caſe they were refus'd in theſe Particulars, their Maſters wou'd apply to other Remedies.

The Pope grants an Avocation.
July 3.
And concludes a Treaty with the Emperor.

By the way, the preſſing for an *Avocation* was agreable to the Courſe of Law, founded in general upon Motives of Equity: And if the Pope had not bound himſelf up by his *Pollicitation* and *Decretal Bull*, cou'd ſcarce fairly have been deny'd. However, theſe Conſiderations were all overweigh'd; for a *Treaty* was lately concluded between the Emperor and him at *Barcelona*. By virtue of this Treaty the Pope's Nephew, *Alexander di Medici*, was to be reſtor'd to the Government of *Florence*: The Emperor was likewiſe to hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of his Holyneſs, to aſſiſt him, in the Recovery of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, of *Modena* and *Reggio*, taken from him by the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Pope had ſome other Articles of Advantage, which I ſhall forbear to mention (c). In ſhort, the Power of the Emperor, and intereſt of the Pope's Family, prevail'd in all Appearance, with him ſo far as to forget his former Promiſes, and venture the breaking with the King. Thus he ſign'd an *Avocation* of the Cauſe, and forbid all farther Proceedings in *England* under great Penalties (d).

July 15.

He was ſenſible, how deeply this Uſage wou'd be reſented by the King: And therefore to ſhew he was dragg'd into this Expedient, he writes an excuſing Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*: In which, he tells him, “ how much he was afflicted at the “ Neceſſity of the Juncture; that nothing was “ more averſe to his Inclination than the *Avoca-* “ *tion* of the Cauſe. That he was ſo ſenſible of “ the King's Merit and kind Offices, that no- “ thing but mere Juſtice cou'd have forc'd him to “ have done any thing againſt his Highneſs's In- “ clination. He deſires the Cardinal to repre- “ ſent his Regret to the King upon this Occaſion, “ to put the beſt Complexion upon the matter, “ and to uſe his Intereſt to continue him in his “ cuſtomary Friendſhip and Eſteem to the Apo- “ ſtolick See; acquainting his Highneſs, that “ he had the ſame Regards for him as for- “ merly (e).

Card. Campegio *adjourns the Court to October.*

Before the *Avocation* was ſign'd at *Rome*, the Pope had inſtructed *Campegio* to draw out the matter in length: The Cardinal manag'd this Buſineſs with dexterity enough. He told the King, that over-driving the Cauſe and precipitating a Sentence, wou'd not be for the King's Honour; and that the Queen's Party wou'd take an Advantage by ſuch Expedition. The Court therefore adjourn'd from day to day, handled the matter ſlowly, and kept off an Expectation of Judgment till *July* the twenty third. On this day, there was a great Appearance; and the *Sentence* was generally expected: But the *Audience* were ſtrangely diſappointed; for, inſtead of coming to a Deciſion, *Campegio* adjourn'd the *Court* to the firſt of *October*. To give this ſurprizing turn a Colour, he pretended, they ſat there as part of the *Conſiſtory* at *Rome*; and therefore muſt be govern'd by the Rules of that Court: Now at *Rome*, he ſolemnly declar'd, there was a *Vacation* from that time to *October*; during which Interval, no Cauſes were heard (f). And here we may obſerve, that the Pope had concluded a Treaty with the Emperor, three Weeks before this laſt Adjournment. From whence 'tis not unreaſonable to infer, that the latter Formalities and Proceedings of *Campegio*, in the Divorce, were only an Amuſement (*e*).

(a) Ld. Herbert.

(b) Godwin Annal.

(c) F. Paul. *Hiſt. Coun. of* Trent.

(d) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 254.

(e) Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

(f) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 76, 77.

(*e*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 254.

And thus the Pope, by ſtraining his Credit, and being govern'd too much by ſecular Views, loſt *England*, and ſacrific'd the Intereſt of his *See* to the Grandeur of his Family: But of this afterwards.

The King much diſſatisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Legates.

When *Campegio* adjourn'd the Court to *October*, the King was in ſome hopes of preventing the Avocation: And for this Reaſon 'tis likely he was diſpleas'd with the Cardinals for proceeding no faſter. And upon this laſt Adjournment, the Duke of *Suffolk*, by the King's Order, complained of the Uſage: And being a Perſon of a warm Temper, deliver'd himſelf in rugged Language. *Wolſey* told him, he had no reaſon to be angry, nor to charge him with Misbehaviour, that he had given the Duke no Provocation; that he ow'd his Life to him; and therefore ſhou'd have treated him with more regard; that he acted under the Pope's Authority; and that 'twas not in his Power to proceed to Sentence, without knowing his Holyneſs's Pleaſure (*h*).

(*h*) Cavendiſh *p.* 126.

The Pope ſends the King a Brief to exempt him from the Cenſures of the Inhibition.

While the Matter reſted, the King went a Progreſs, to ſhake off his Spleen, and relieve him under his Diſappointment. For as yet, he did not wholly deſpair of ſeeing the Cauſe decided by the Legates: But when the Avocation was declar'd, theſe Hopes vaniſh'd. To clench the Matter, the Pope ſent an Inhibition to ſtop the Proceedings of the Legates, which was deliver'd in the Beginning of *September*, and privately executed upon the Legates. By this Inſtrument, thoſe who abetted the carrying on the Proceſs were liable to the Cenſures of the Church. The Pope therefore, to prevent the King's Reſentment, ſent him a Brief to exempt him from the Penalties of the Inhibition (*i*). Soon after this, Cardinal *Campegio* was recall'd; took his leave of the King, and left *England*. 'Twas ſaid, Cardinal *Wolſey* had lodg'd a vaſt Sum of Money with him, to be carry'd off. Upon this, the King order'd *Campegio*'s Equipage to be ſearch'd at *Calais*; where nothing was found upon him, excepting the Preſent he had receiv'd from the King (*k*).

(*i*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 255.

(*k*) Cavendiſh.

To go back a little: Before the laſt Adjournment of the Legates Court, the King was diſpleas'd with *Wolſey*; poſſibly it might be, becauſe he thought him too dilatory and paſſive in the Exerciſe of his Commiſſion: That he reſign'd too far to *Campegio*, and did not puſh for a Sentence with the Vigour expected. 'Tis certain, the King was uneaſie with the Delays, ſent for *Wolſey* to *Bridewell*, and gave him a warm Reprimand, as the Cardinal confeſs'd to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*. The ſame Day the Cardinal was order'd to wait upon the Queen with *Campegio*. Their Buſineſs was, to try if they cou'd prevail with her to drop the Conteſt, and give way to the Divorce. The Queen told them, ſhe was not prepar'd to anſwer a Queſtion of that Importance, and ſo that Meſſage miſcarried.

Id. *p.* 119.

The two Cardinals wait upon the Queen, but to no effect.

Anne Boleyn the Cardinal's Enemy.

Conjectures upon the Cauſe.

To proceed: The Cauſe being drawn to *Rome*, and the King's Expectation baulk'd, he throws his Diſappointment upon the Cardinal, and ſeems from this Moment to have taken ſevere Reſolutions againſt him. Tho' from the Account of the whole Matter, it appears the Cardinal was very ſincere in the King's Buſineſs; and proſecuted the Divorce with all the Heartineſs and Application imaginable. But the King's Inclination was ſtrongly ſettl'd upon Miſtreſs *Boleyn*. This Fancy made him reſent the Pope's Colluſion to the higheſt degree, and diſcharge his Revenge upon this Miniſter. Beſides the Cardinal had great Enemies at Court; and amongſt the reſt, Miſtreſs *Boleyn* help'd to draw down the Storm upon him. 'Tis hard to tell the Reaſon of this Lady's Diſguſt: *Cavendiſh* and the Lord *Herbert* are of Opinion, ſhe ow'd him a Grudge for his breaking the Contract between her and my Lord *Percie*. Upon which ſhe was diſmiſs'd the Court. But not to mention the Cardinal's doing nothing in this Affair without the King's Order, this Conjecture will not hold upon another Account. For, by the two Letters of *Anne Boleyn*'s to the Cardinal, already related, it appears ſhe took this Miniſter for her Friend, and was very ſenſible of the kind Offices he had done her: That ſhe had now an Expectation of marrying the King, and depended on the Cardinal's Favour for this Advancement. 'Tis plain therefore, that breaking of the Contract with the Lord *Percie*, was no preſent Mortification. She cou'd not therefore bear the Cardinal any Ill-will upon this Score. Thus we are at a loſs for her Diſſaffection to the Cardinal, if her two Letters are genuine, as by the manner they appear to be, tho' the Hiſtorian does not tell us where he had them (*l*). But tho' the Cauſe is hard to diſcover, that ſhe was his Enemy is certain, as may be ſeen both from *Cavendiſh* in Print, and more fully from his Manuſcript Copy. Here the Cardinal takes notice of the Aſcendant ſhe had with the King, of the ill Offices ſhe was diſpos'd to do him; and for that reaſon, he thought it beſt to drop his Defence, as will be afterwards related.

Id. *p.* 40.
Id. *p.* 37.

(*l*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 55.

The Cardinal order'd to deliver up the Broad Seal, and convey away York-Place.

The King's Diſpleaſure began now to break out againſt the Cardinal; of which, the firſt conſiderable Inſtance was, his ſending for the Broad Seal, and ordering *Wolſey* to quit *York Place*, and retire to *Aſhur*, a Houſe near *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the See of *Wincheſter*.

The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, being ſent to demand the Seal, the Cardinal told them, 'twas given him by the King himſelf, and the Office ſettl'd by Letters Patents for Term of Life; and therefore refus'd to part with it. But the next Day, when theſe Noblemen return'd to him with the King's Letter, he acquieſc'd, and put it in their Hands (*m*.) According to Sir *Edward Cook*, the Law wou'd not have ſupported him in the Conteſt. *For the Grant by Patent for Term of Life, was holden void, becauſe an antient Office muſt be granted as it has been accuſtomed* (*n*).

(*m*) Cavendiſh. *p.* 141.

(*n*) Cook's *Inſtitut. pt.* 4. *fol.* 87.

His Compliance in both Inſtances.

The Cardinal finding how Matters went, endeavour'd to put a Stop to his Misfortune. He did not know but that the King might either diſlike his Greatneſs, or have a Fancy for ſome of his Wealth. He therefore reſolves to try the Expedient of a rich Preſent. He orders Sir *William Gaſcoyn* his Treaſurer, to bring out all his beſt Furniture; amongſt which were Hangings of Gold and Silver Tiſſue, Copes of great Value, and two large Tables full of Gold and Silver Plate. All this Treaſure the Cardinal order'd to be deliver'd to the King: But it miſs'd the Succeſs which *Jacob*'s Preſent had upon *Eſau*; the King's good Humour was not to be recover'd. For, at the Meeting of the Parliament, as *Cavendiſh* reports, a Bill of High Treaſon was brought into the Houſe againſt *Wolſey*. But *Thomas Cromwel*, the Cardinal's Secretary, who was now a Member of the Houſe of *Commons*, ſpoke to the Charge and defended his Maſter ſo well, that the Bill was thrown out of the Houſe. His Enemies being diſappointed in

He makes the King a large Preſent.

Cavendiſh.

Id. *p.* 150.

this Attempt, got him indicted in a *Premunire.* Thus *Cavendiſh* reports the Matter: But the Lord *Herbert* ſuppoſes the Indictment *prior* to the Bill of Attainder: At preſent I ſhall follow the Order of this noble Hiſtorian. To begin; the Cardinal was proſecuted by *Hales* the Attorney General, and indicted upon the Statute enacted againſt the purchaſing or purſuing Bulls, Inſtruments, Proceſſes, *&c.* in the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere againſt the King, his Crown, and Dignity *. He was allow'd to appear by his Attorney.

He is indicted in a Premunire.

* 16 R. 2. *cap.* 5.

And here the Indictment ſet forth, "That *Thomas Legatus de Latere*, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *York*, being not ignorant of the Premiſes, had obtain'd certain Bulls from *Clement* the Seventh, by vertue of which, he exercis'd Juriſdiction and Authority *Legantine*, to the Deprivation of the King's Power eſtabliſh'd in his Courts of Juſtice: Which ſaid Bulls he caus'd to be publickly read in *Weſtminſter*, aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of *Legatus de Latere*: Which he has exercis'd to this Day, to the Prejudice of both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. And that by Colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stow-Gilford* in the County of *Surrey*, &c. All which was to the Contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the foreſaid Statute of 16 *Richard* the Second. Moreover, that by Colour of the ſaid Authority, he had caus'd the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of many (out of his Dioceſs) to be exhibited and prov'd in his Court, and their Goods and Chattels to be adminiſter'd by ſuch as he appointed. Alſo, that under Colour of his ſaid Authority, he had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſs, and drawn Penſions from Abbeys, to the Contempt of the King and his Laws (*n*).

1523. 28. Auguſt, 15. H. 8.

(*n*) Lord Herbert, *p.* 262. & deinc.

The Cardinal being not in Court, before the Trial came to Conviction, ſome of the Judges were ſent down to *Aſhur* to receive his Anſwer. 'Tis ſaid, the Cardinal pleaded Ignorance of the Statute (*o*). But this is very improbable: For, 1ſt, 'tis very unlikely the Cardinal who had been ſo long Lord Chancellor, ſhou'd be thus unacquainted with the Laws, and know nothing of a Statute, in which the Penalties were ſo heavy, and the Clergy principally concern'd. 2*dly*, The Cardinal juſtify'd the Exerciſe of his *Legantine* Character, to the Judges who were ſent to examine him. He told them he had the King's Licenſe under his Hand and Broad Seal to indemnify him: But that he cou'd not produce the Inſtrument, becauſe his Trunks and Coffers were ſeiz'd: And that he did not miſ-report the Matter, I ſhall afterwards prove to a Demonſtration. Now, to what purpoſe ſhou'd he have taken the King's Letters Patents to cover him in the Functions of a Legate, had he not been apprehenſive of Danger without them, at leaſt if he had not been conſcious of ſome Stretches in the Exerciſe of that Character? However, not thinking it adviſeable to maintain his Conduct, he confeſs'd the Indictment, ſent his Submiſſion, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Honour (*p*).

He pleads the King's Letters Patents.

(*o*) Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 80.

But declines the Conteſting it any farther.

(*p*) Cavendiſh, *p.* 151.

His Diſcourſe with Judge Shelly.

Before this Indictment took effect, Judge *Shelly* was ſent to the Cardinal to perſuade him to convey *York-Place* (now *White-Hall*) to the Crown. The Reaſon of this Meſſage, I ſuppoſe was, becauſe the Forfeiture in the *Premunire* wou'd only veſt that Houſe in the King during the Cardinal's Life, or at moſt no longer, than while the See of *York* was vacant. *Shelly* told the Cardinal, 'twas the King's Pleaſure, he ſhou'd convey *York-Place* to his Highneſs; that this muſt be done by way of Recognizance. The Cardinal reply'd, he knew the King to be of a noble and equitable Temper; and that he did not deſire to ſtretch his Prerogative to the Oppreſſion of the Subject. He therefore deſir'd Judge *Shelly* and the reſt of the Bench not to miſlead his Highneſs, and put him upon Strains of Conſcience and Law. And as to the Matter in hand, whether he might honeſtly convey *York Place* to the King, which was Parcel of the Archbiſhoprick, in which the Cardinal was a Truſtee for the Church, and had no Right any longer than his Life; which was by no means clear. Shou'd every Biſhop manage by this Direction, the Patrimony of the Church wou'd be in a low Condition: At this rate, 'tis likely nothing might be left for the Benefit of their Succeſſors. And which way then cou'd they ſupport their Character, and anſwer the Expectations of their Poſt? Judge *Shelly* did not ſtick to tell him, there was no great Conſcience in ſuch Compliance: But he added, 'twas in the King's Power to make the Church of *York* more than Amends ſome other way; and that in Confidence of the King's Juſtice, that Scruple might be the better diſcharg'd. The Cardinal told him, the King had made no Promiſe of Returning a Recompence. However, he ſign'd the Recognizance, and was willing to try how far an abſolute Obedience might work upon the King.

But nothing cou'd ſtop the Motion of his Misfortune: For, not long after, ſeveral Lords and others of the Privy-Council, exhibited Articles to the King againſt him. This Charge was tranſcrib'd from the Original, and afterwards compar'd by Sir *Edward Cook*. 'Tis taken Word for Word from the original Record, without the leaſt Omiſſion. This Matter having been imperfectly and unfairly repreſented in the *Engliſh* Chronicles, I ſhall give it the Reader as it ſtands in the Inſtitutes of this learn'd Gentleman. It begins thus (*a*).

Dec. 1. 21. H. 1.

Articles exhibited againſt the Cardinal by the Privy-Council.

(*a*) Cook's *Inſtitutes*, *pt.* 4. *fol.* 89. & deinc. Cotton. Libr. Julius I. *fol.* 24.

> "Conſtrain'd by Neceſſity of our Fidelity and Conſcience, complain and ſue to your moſt Royal Majeſty, We your Grace's humble, true, faithful and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Grace's Chancellor, preſuming to take upon him the Authority of the Pope's Legate *de Latere*, hath by divers and many ſundry Ways and Faſhions, committed high and notable grievous Offences, miſ-uſing, altering, and ſubverting the Order of your Grace's Laws, and other ways contrary to your High Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Eſtate, and Dignity Regal, to the ineſtimable great Hinderance, Diminution, and Decay of this your Grace's Realm. As 'tis touch'd ſummarily and particularly in certain Articles here following, which be but a few in compariſon of all his Enormities, Exceſſes, and Tranſgreſſions againſt your Grace's Laws.

That is to ſay:

1 Where your Grace and Noble Progenitors within this Realm of England being Kings of England, have been ſo free, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediately ſubject to Almighty God in all things touching the Regality of your Crown of England, and the ſame Pre-eminence, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, lawful and peaceable Poſſeſſion,

Your Grace and noble Progenitors have had, us'd and injoy'd without Interruption of Buſineſs, therefore by the ſpace of two hundred Years and more; whereby your Grace may preſcribe againſt the Pope's Holyneſs, that he ſhou'd not, nor ought not to ſend or make any Legate, to execute any Authority Legantine, contrary to your Grace's Prerogative within this your Realm: Now the Lord Cardinal of York, being your Subject, and natural Liege born, hath of his high Orgullows, and inſatiable Mind, for his own ſingular Advancement and Profit, in Derogation, and to the great Emblemmiſhment and Hurt of your ſaid Royal Juriſdiction and Prerogative, and the long Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of the ſame, obtain'd Authority Legantine: By reaſon whereof, he has not only hurt your ſaid Preſcription, but alſo by the ſaid Authority Legantine, hath ſpoil'd and taken away from many Houſes of Religion, within this your Realm, much Subſtance of their Goods, and alſo hath uſurped upon all your Ordinaries, within this your Realm, much part of their Juriſdiction, in Derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great Hurt of your ſaid Ordinaries, Prelates, and Religious.

2. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſador in France, made a Treaty with the French King for the Pope, your Majeſty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the ſame; and binding the ſaid French King to abide his Order and Award, if any Controverſie or Doubt ſhou'd ariſe upon the ſame, betwixt the ſaid Pope and the French King.

3. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſador in France, ſent a Commiſſion to Sir Gregory de Caſſalis, under your Great Seal, in your Grace's Name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of Ferrara, without any Commandment or Warrant of your Highneſs, nor your ſaid Highneſs advertis'd or made Privy to the ſame.

4. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his preſumptuous Mind, in divers and many of his Letters and Inſtructions, ſent out of this Realm to outward Parts, had join'd himſelf with your Grace, as in ſaying and writing, The King and I wou'd ye ſhou'd do thus: The King and I do give unto you our hearty Thanks: Whereby it is apparent that he us'd himſelf more like a Fellow to your Highneſs than like a Subject.

5. Alſo where it hath ever been accuſtomed within this Realm, that when Noblemen do ſwear their Houſhold Servants, the firſt part of their Oath hath been, that they ſhould be true Liege Men to the King and his Heirs Kings of England: The ſame Lord Cardinal cauſed his Servants to be only ſworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereign above him.

6. And alſo whereas your Grace is our Sovereign Lord and Head, in whom ſtandeth all the Surety and Wealth of this Realm; the ſame Lord Cardinal knowing himſelf to have the foul and contagious Diſeaſe of the Great Pox broken out upon him in divers Places of his Body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your Ears, and blowing upon your moſt noble Grace, with his perilous and infective Breath, to the marvellous Danger of your Highneſs, if God of his infinite Goodneſs had not better provided for your Highneſs. And when he was once healed of them; he made your Grace to believe, that his Diſeaſe was an Impoſthum in his Head, and none other thing.

7. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legantine, hath given by Prevention, the Benefices of divers Perſons, as well Spiritual and Temporal, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Laws and Statutes therefore provided: By reaſon whereof, he is in danger to your Grace of Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods, and his Body at your Pleaſure.

8. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, taking upon him otherwiſe than a true Counſellor ought to do, hath uſed to have all Ambaſſadors come firſt to him alone, and ſo hearing their Charges and Intents, 'tis to be thought he hath inſtructed them after his Pleaſure and Purpoſe, before that they came to your Preſence, contrary to your high Commandment by your Grace's Mouth to him given, and alſo to other Perſons ſent to him by your Grace.

9. And alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath practiſed ſo, that all manner of Letters ſent from beyond the Sea to your Highneſs, hath come firſt to his Hands, contrary to your high Commandment by your own Mouth; and alſo by others ſent to him by your Grace: By reaſon whereof your Highneſs nor any of your Council, had Knowledge of no Matters but of ſuch as it pleaſed him to ſhew them: Whereby your Highneſs and Council have been compelled of very Force, to follow his Devices, which oftentimes were ſet forth by him under ſuch crafty and covert Meanings, that your Highneſs and your Council hath oftentimes been abuſed, inſomuch that when your Council have found and put divers Doubts and Things, which afterwards have enſued; he, to abuſe them, uſed theſe Words, [I will lay my Head that no ſuch thing ſhall happen.]

10. And the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath practiſed, that no manner of Perſons having charge to make Eſpial of things done beyond the Sea, ſhould at their Return, come firſt to your Grace, nor to any other of your Council, but only to himſelf: And in caſe they did the contrary, he puniſhed them there for ſo doing.

11. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted Licenſes under your great Seal, for carrying out of Grain and other Victuals, after the Reſtraint hath been made thereof, for his own Lucre and ſingular Advantage of him and his Servants, for to ſend thither; as he bare ſecret Favour, without your Grace's Warrant or Knowledge thereof.

12. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal uſed many Years together, not only to write unto all your Ambaſſadors reſident with other Princes in his own Name, all Advertiſements concerning your Grace's Affairs, being in their Charge: And in the ſame his Letters wrote many Things of his own Mind, without your Grace's Pleaſure known, concealing divers things which had been neceſſary for them to know; but alſo caus'd them to write their Advertiſements unto him; and of the ſame Letters he uſed to conceal, for the compaſſing of his Purpoſe,

many things both from all your other Counſellours, and from your ſelf alſo.

13. And where good Hoſpitality hath been uſed to be kept in Houſes and Places of Religion of this Realm, and many poor People thereby reliev'd, the ſaid Hoſpitality and Relief is now decay'd and not us'd; And it is commonly reported that the Occaſion thereof is, becauſe the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath taken ſuch Impoſitions of the Rulers of the ſaid Houſes, as well for his Favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Viſitation by his Authority Legantine; And yet nevertheleſs taketh yearly of ſuch religious Houſes ſuch yearly and continual Charges, as they be not able to keep Hoſpitality as they were us'd to do; which is a great Cauſe that there be ſo many Vagabonds, Beggars, and Thieves.

14. And where the ſame ſaid Lord Cardinal ſaid before the Suppreſſion of ſuch Houſes as he hath ſuppreſs'd, that the Poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſett to Ferme among your Lay Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly Rent as they ſhould well thereupon live and keep good Hoſpitality: Now the Demeſne Poſſeſſion of the ſame Houſes ſince the Suppreſſion of them hath been ſurvey'd, mete, and meaſur'd by the Acre, and be now ſet above the Value of the old Rent; And alſo ſuch as were Farmers by Covent Seal and Copieholders be put out and amoved of their Farms, or elſe compell'd to pay new Fine, contrary to all Equity and Conſcience.

15. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, ſitting among the Lords and others of your moſt honourable Privy Council, uſed himſelf, that if any Man would ſhew his Mind, according to his Duty, contrary to the Opinion of the ſaid Cardinal, he would ſo take him up with his accuſtomable Words, that they were better to hold their Peace than to ſpeak, ſo that he would hear no Man ſpeak but one or two great Perſonages, ſo that he would have all the Words himſelf, and conſum'd much time with a fair Tale.

16. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal by his Ambition and Pride hath hinder'd and undone many of your poor Subjects for want of Diſpatchment of matters, for he would no Man ſhould meddle but himſelf; Inſomuch that it hath been affirm'd by many wiſe Men, that ten of the moſt wiſe and moſt expert Men in England were not ſufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to himſelf; And many times he deferr'd the ending of matters, becauſe that Suiters ſhould attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no ſmall Pleaſure, that his Houſe might be repleniſh'd with Suiters.

17. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legantine, hath us'd, if any ſpiritual Man having any Riches or Subſtance, deceas'd, he hath taken their Goods as his own, by reaſon whereof their Wills be not perform'd; And one mean he had to put them in fear that were made Executors to refuſe to meddle.

18. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal conſtrain'd all Ordinaries in England yearly to compound with him, or elſe he will uſurp half or the whole of their Juriſdiction by Prevention, not for good Order of the Dioceſs, but to extort Treaſure; for there is never a poor Archdeacon in England, but that he paid yearly to him a Portion of his Living.

19. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath not only by his untrue Suggeſtion to the Pope, ſhamefully ſlander'd many good religious Houſes, and good vertuous Men dwelling in them, but alſo ſuppreſs'd, by reaſon thereof, above thirty Houſes of Religion. And where by Authority of his Bull, he ſhould not ſuppreſs any Houſe that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of ſix or ſeven, he hath ſuppreſs'd divers Houſes that had above the number; And thereupon hath caus'd divers Offices to be found by verdict untruly, that the religious Perſons ſo ſuppreſs'd had voluntarily forſaken their ſaid Houſes, which was untrue, and ſo hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high Diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

20. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath examin'd diverſe and many matters in the Chancery, after Judgement thereof given at the Common Law, in Subverſion of your Laws, and made ſome Perſons reſtore again to the other Party condemn'd that they had in Execution by virtue of the Judgment of the Common Law.

21. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted many Injunctions by Writte, and the Parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them; And by reaſon thereof divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawful Poſſeſſion of their Lands and Tenements. And by ſuch means he hath brought the more Party of the Suiters of this your Realm before himſelf; whereby he and divers of his Servants hath gotten much Riches, and your Subjects ſuffer'd great Wrongs.

22. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, to augment his great Riches, hath caus'd divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be ſuſpended, which could not be reviv'd till that the ſaid Lord Cardinal were rewarded, and alſo had a yearly Penſion of the ſaid Pardon.

23. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, not regarding your Laws nor Juſtice, of his extort Power hath put out diverſe and many Farmers of his Lands, and alſo Patentees of the Archbiſhoprick of York, and of the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and of the Abbey of St. Albans, which had good and ſufficient Grant thereof by your Laws.

24. Alſo the ſame Lord Cardinal at many times when any Houſes of Religion hath been void, hath ſent his Officers thither, and with crafty Perſuaſions hath induc'd them to compromit their Election in him; And before he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he and his Servants receiv'd ſo much great Goods of them, that in a manner it hath been to the undoing of the Houſe.

25. Alſo by his Authority Legantine, the ſame Lord Cardinal hath viſited the moſt part of the religious Houſes and Colleges of this your Realm, and hath taken from them the twenty fifth part of their Livelyhood, to the great Extortion of your Subjects, and Derogation of your Laws and Prerogative, and no Law hath been to bear him ſo to doe.

26. Alſo when matters have been near a Judgment by Proceſs of your Common Law, the ſame Lord Cardinal hath not only given

and ſent Injunctions to the Parties, but alſo ſent for your Judges, and expreſsly by Threats commanded them to defer the Judgement, to the evident Subverſion of your Laws, if the Judges would ſo have ceas'd.

27. And whereas neither the Biſhop of York, nor Wincheſter, nor the Abbey of St. Albans, nor the Profit of his Legation, nor the Benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Penſion out of France, nor his Wards and other inordinate taking could ſuffice him, he hath made his Son Winter to ſpend ſeven and twenty hundred Pounds by the Year, which he taketh to his own Uſe, and giveth him not paſt two hundred Pounds yearly to live upon.

In this Impeachment 'tis confeſs'd the Cardinal had the King's Licenſe to exerciſe his Legantine Commiſſion.

28. Alſo whereas the ſaid Lord Cardinal did firſt ſue unto your Grace to have your Aſſent to be Legate de Latere, promiſing and ſolemnly proteſting before your Majeſty, and before the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, that he would nothing do nor attempt by the virtue of his Legacie that ſhould be contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the Dammage or Prejudice of the Juriſdiction of any Ordinary, and that by his Legacie no Man ſhould be hurted nor offended: And upon that condition, and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm: This Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this Promiſe, he was buſſy in his Suit at Rome to viſit all the Clergy of England both exempt and not exempt.

29. Alſo upon the Suit of the ſaid Lord Cardinal at Rome to have his Authority Legantine, he made untrue Surmiſe to the Pope's Holyneſs againſt the Clergy of your Realm; which was, that the regular Perſons of the ſaid Clergy had given themſelves in reprobum Senſum; which Words St. Paul, writing to the Romans, apply'd to abominable Sin; which Slander to your Church of England ſhall for ever remain in the Regiſter at Rome againſt the Clergy of this your Realm.

30. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal had the more part of the Goods of Doctor Smith, late Biſhop of Lincoln, Biſhop Savage of York, Maſter Dalbye Archdeacon of Richmond, Maſter Tonyers, Doctor Rothall late Biſhop of Durham, and of Doctor Foxe late Biſhop of Wincheſter, contrary to their Wills, and your Laws and Juſtice.

31. Alſo at the Oyer and Terminer of York, Proclamation was made that every Man ſhould put in their Bills for Extortion of Ordinaries; And when divers Bills were put in againſt the Officers of the ſaid Lord Cardinal of Extortion, for taking twelve Pence of the Pound for Probation of Teſtaments, whereof diverſe Bills were found before Juſtice Fitz Herbert and other Commiſſioners, the ſaid Lord Cardinal remov'd the ſaid Inditements into the Chancery by Certiorari, and rebuked the ſaid Fitz Herbert for the ſame Cauſe.

32. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath buſſy'd himſelf, and endeavoured by crafty and untrue Tales to make Diſſenſion and Debate amongſt your Nobles of your Realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

33. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal's Officers hath diverſe times compell'd your Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for Carriage, and alſo his Servants hath taken both Corn and Cattel, Fiſh, and all other Victual, at your Grace's Price, or under, as tho' it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to your Laws.

34. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath miſus'd himſelf in your moſt honourable Court, in keeping of as great Eſtate there in your abſence, as your Grace would have done if you had been there preſent in your own Perſon.

35. Alſo his Servants, by vertue of your Commiſſion under your Broad Seal by him to them given, hath taken Cattel and all other Victual at as low a Price as your Purveyors hath done for your Grace by your Prerogative, againſt the Laws of your Realm.

36. Alſo where it hath been accuſtomed, that your Purveyors for your honourable Houſhold have had yearly out of your Town and Liberty of St. Albans three or four hundred Quartars of Wheat; truth it is, that ſince the Lord Cardinal had the room of the Abbot, your ſaid Purveyors cou'd not be ſuffer'd by him and his Officers to take any Wheat within the ſaid Town or Liberty.

37. Alſo he hath diverſe times given Injunctions to your Servants that have been for Cauſes before him in the Star Chamber, that they, nor other for them, ſhould make or labour by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your Grace's Favour or Pardon which was a preſumptuous Intent for any Subject.

38. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanly Knight, which had taken a Farm by Covent Seal of the Abbot and Covent of Cheſter, and afterwards by his Power and Might, contrary to right, committed the ſaid Sir John Stanley to the Priſon of Fleet by the ſpace of a Year, unto ſuch time as he compell'd the ſaid Sir John to releaſe his Covent Seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which marry'd one Lark's Daughter, which Woman the ſaid Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her two Children. Whereupon the ſaid Sir John Stanly upon Diſpleaſure taken in his Heart made himſelf Monk in Weſtminſter, and there dy'd.

39. Alſo on a time your Grace being at St. Alban's, according to the ancient Cuſtom us'd within your Verge, your Clerk of the Mercat doing his Office, did preſent unto your Officers of your moſt honourable Houſhold the Prices of all manner of Victuals within the Precinct of the Verge. And 'twas commanded by your ſaid Officers to ſet up the ſaid Prices both on the Gates of your honourable Houſhold, and alſo within the Market Place within the Town of St. Alban's, as of antient Cuſtom hath been uſed. And the Lord Cardinal hearing the ſame, preſumptuouſly, not like a Subject, caus'd the aforeſaid Prices, which were ſeal'd with your Grace's Seal, accuſtomably uſed for the ſame, to be taken off and pull'd down in the ſaid Market Place where they were ſet up, and in the ſame Places ſet up his own Prices ſeal'd with his Seal, and would, if it had not been letted, in ſemblable manner have uſed your Seal ſtanding upon your Gates: And alſo would of his

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

ſumptuous Mind have openly ſet in the Stocks within your ſaid Town your Clerk of your Market. By wihch Preſumption and Uſurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himſelf to be equal with your Royal Majeſty.

40. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his farther pompous and preſumptuous Mind, hath enterpriz'd to join and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under your Arms in your Coyn of Groats made at your City of York, which like Deed hath not been ſeen to be done by any Subject within your Realm before this time.

41. Alſo where one Sir Enward Jones Clerk, Parſon of Orewley in the County of Bucks, in the eighteenth Year of your moſt noble Reign let his ſaid Parſonage with all Tithes and other Profits of the ſame to one William Johnſon by Indenture for certain Years, within which Years the Dean of the ſaid Cardinal's College in Oxford pretended Title to a certain Portion of Tithes within the ſaid Parſonage, ſuppoſing the ſaid Portion to belong to the Parſonage of Chichelly, which was appointed to the Priory of Tykeford lately ſuppreſs'd, where (of truth) the Parſons of Orewly have been peaceably poſſeſs'd of the ſaid Portion out of the time of mind; Hereupon a Subpœna was directed to the ſaid Johnſon to appear afore the Lord Cardinal at Hampton Court, out of any term with an Injunction to ſuffer the ſaid Dean to occupy the ſaid Portion. Whereupon the ſaid Johnſon appeared before the ſaid Lord Cardinal at Hampton Court, where, without any Bill, the ſaid Lord Cardinal committed him to the Fleet, where he remain'd by the ſpace of twelve Weeks, becauſe he would not depart with the ſaid Portion. And at the laſt upon a Recognizance made that he ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal whenſoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the Fleet; Howbeit as yet the ſaid Portion is ſo kept from him that he dare not deal with it.

42. Alſo where one Martin Docowra had a Leaſe of the Mannor of Balſall, in the County of Warwick, for Term of certain Years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery by Writ upon pain of a Thouſand Pounds, that he ſhould avoid the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Mannor, and ſuffer Sir George Throckmorton Knight to take the Profits of the ſame Mannor to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of St. John's and the ſaid Docowra was diſcuſs'd. And yet the ſaid Docowra never made anſwer in the Chancery, nor ever was call'd into the Chancery for that Matter; And now of late he hath received a like Injunction upon pain of Two Thouſand Pounds, contrary to the Courſe of the Common Law.

43 Alſo whereas in the Parliament Chamber, and in open Parliament, Communication and Deviſes were had and moved, wherein an incident Mention was made of Matters touching Hereſies and erroneous Sects: It was ſpoken and reported by one Biſhop there being preſent, and confirmed by a good Number of the ſame Biſhops, in preſence of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then aſſembled, That Two of the ſaid Biſhops were minded and deſired to repair unto the Univerſity of Cambridge for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of ſuch Errors as then ſeemed and were reported to reign among the Students and Scholars of the ſame, as well touching the Lutheran Sect and Opinions, as otherwiſe: The Lord Cardinal informed of the good Minds and Intents of the ſaid two Biſhops in that behalf, expreſly inhibited and commanded them in no wiſe ſo to do. By means whereof, the ſame Errors, as they affirmed, crept more abroad, and took greater place; ſaying furthermore, that 'twas not in their Defaults that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but in the ſaid Lord Cardinal, and that 'twas no reaſon any Blame or Lack ſhould be arrected to them for his Offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the ſaid Lord Cardinal, beſides all other his heinous Offences, hath been the Impeacher and Diſturber of due and direct Correction of Hereſies, being highly to the Danger and Peril of the whole Body, and good Chriſtian People of this your Realm.

Hen. VIII. K.

44. Finally, Foraſmuch as by the foreſaid Articles, is evidently declared to your moſt Royal Majeſty, that the Lord Cardinal by his outragious Pride, hath greatly ſhadowed a long Seaſon, your Grace's Honour, which is moſt highly to be regarded, and by his inſatiable Avarice, and ravenous Appetite, to have Riches and Treaſure without meaſure, hath ſo grievouſly oppreſſed your poor Subjects with ſo manifold Crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Commonwealth of this your Grace's Realm, is thereby greatly decayed and impoveriſhed: And alſo by his Cruelty, Iniquity, Affection, and Partiality, hath ſubverted the due Courſe and Order of your Grace's Laws to the undoing of a great Number of your loving People.

Pleaſe it your moſt Royal Majeſty therefore, of your excellent Goodneſs towards the Weal of this your Realm and Subjects of the ſame, to ſet ſuch Order and Direction upon the ſaid Lord Cardinal, as may be to the terrible Example of others to beware ſo to offend your Grace and your Laws hereafter; and that he be ſo provided for, that he never have any Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority hereafter, to trouble, ver, and impoveriſh the Commonwealth of this your Realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great Hurt and Damage of every Man almoſt high and low, which for your Grace ſo doing, will daily pray, as their Duty is, to Almighty God for the proſperous Eſtate of your moſt Royal Majeſty, long to endure in Honour and good Health, to the Pleaſure of God, and your Heart's moſt Deſire.

Subſcribed the firſt Day of December the 21ſt Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth.

T. More.
T. Norfolk.
Charl. Suff.
Tho. Dorſet.
H. Exon.
John Oxinford.
H. Northumberland.
G. Shrewsbury.
R. Fitzwater.

T. Rocheford.
T. Darcy.
W. Mountjoy.
W. Sandys.
W. Fitzwilliam.
Henry Guldeford.
Anthony Fitzherbert.
John Fitzjames.

Remarks upon ſome of the Articles.

To remark a Word or two upon ſome of theſe Articles. The Seventh Article informs us, that the Cardinal, by *giving by Prevention, the Benefices of ſeveral Perſons, was in danger of the Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods, and that his Body was at the King's Pleaſure*. From whence 'tis plain, the Cardinal was not convicted of incurring a *Premunire*, when theſe *Articles* were exhibited: And that *Cavendiſh* has rightly obſerv'd the Order of Time in reporting this Matter. For if the Cardinal had been caſt in a *Premunire*, the Impeachment wou'd not have ſet forth, that he was in danger of *forfeiting his Lands and Goods*: For the Penalty of 16 *Rich*. 2. had been executed upon him already. Neither had he his Pardon, nor any thing granted him to loſe, till the 12th of *February*.

The 19th Article ſets forth, that the Pope had not given him leave to ſuppreſs any Abbeys, which had more than 6 or 7 *Religious*. This Allegation ſeems to go againſt Matter of Fact: For the Pope had given *Wolſey* leave to ſuppreſs the *Priory* of *Canwell* in the Dioceſs of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. He was likewiſe furniſh'd with the King's *Letters Patents* for this purpoſe. In Obedience to this Authority, the Prior and Convent ſurrender'd their Houſe and Eſtate to the Cardinal: And as the *Record* has it, *Sponte & ſpontanea, voluntate & aſſenſu reſignaverunt, remiſerunt, & relaxaverunt, ſurſum reddiderunt, & quietè clamaverunt prædictum Prioratum, ac Officium Prioratûs ejuſdem, in manus Cardinalis, una cum omnibus Manerijs, Poſſeſſionibus, & Hereditamentis eidem pertinentibus ſive ſpectantibus* (k).

Now that this Houſe had more than ſeven Monks, appears by the Recital of the Eſtate: For 1*ſt*, There are ſeveral *Mannors* mention'd in the Surrender to the Cardinal: Which ſeems more than a Preſumption, the *Houſe* exceeded that Number.

2*dly*, When this *Priory* was forfeited to the *Crown*, upon *Wolſey*'s being caſt in a *Premunire*, the King granted it by Act of Parliament to the Heirs of one *Bradborn* (l). This Conveyance was made in conſideration of a Releaſe of a Penſion of Five hundred Marks *per Annum*, granted to an Anceſtor of *Bradborn* and his Heirs, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third. Now a perpetual Penſion of Five hundred Marks *per Annum*, in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, was a very great Eſtate. From whence we may conclude, that an Equivalent in Land to ſuch a Penſion, was much too large a Proviſion for ſeven Monks*.

The Cardinal miſreported by Fox. *He is not charged in the Articles with ſaying*, I and the King.

The Fourth Article charges him with the Preſumption of ſpeaking in this manner; *The King and I wou'd you ſhou'd do thus*. From hence 'tis plain, that *Fox* has miſreported the Charge, to the Cardinal's Diſadvantage: For in *Fox*, the Cardinal is impeach'd of a higher Preſumption, made to ſet himſelf before the King, and to ſpeak in the Language of *Ego & Rex meus* (m).

The Twenty eighth Article declares expreſly, he had the King's Licenſe to exerciſe his Legantine Authority. And ſince the Cardinal had the King's Leave, and *was admitted by his Highneſs*, as the Article ſpeaks, *to be a Legate within this Realm*; Was it not a great Hardſhip, he ſhou'd be indicted upon the *Statute* of *Premunire*? For, as it appears by the Proceſs, he was not proſecuted ſo much for the Abuſe, as for the bare uſing his *Legantine* Commiſſion (n). *'Twas for cauſing the Pope's Bull to be publickly read in* Weſtminſter, *and aſſuming to himſelf the Dignity and Juriſdiction of Legatus de Latere*. Thus the King made the Privilege of his *Letters Patents* a Crime, ſued againſt his own *Licenſe*, and brought the Cardinal under a ſevere Forfeiture, for making uſe of the Royal Authority.

And whereas 'tis ſaid, the Cardinal promis'd to do nothing to the Prejudice of the Juriſdiction of any *Ordinary*; 'tis poſſible he might engage thus far: But then the alledging, he broke his Promiſe in viſiting the *Religious Houſes*, won't hold. For, according to the Doctrine of thoſe Times, the viſiting the *Religious* and *Clergy*, was a Branch of the *Legantine* Commiſſion; and therefore St. *Bernard* (o), who declaims with great Vehemence againſt the Avarice and Miſbehaviour of ſome of the Legates, makes their *Viſitation* of Monaſteries, and correcting what was amiſs in the Clergy, a commendable Diſcharge of their Commiſſion, *Redeant fatigati quidem, ſed non ſuffarcinati, ſimul & gloriantes, non quod curioſa ſeu pretioſa quæq; terrarum attulerint, ſed quod reliquerint pacem Regnis, legem barbaris, quietem Monaſterijs, Eccleſijs ordinem, Clericis Diſciplinam, &c.* And within this Compaſs of Juriſdiction, the famous *De Marca* agrees with him (p). Beſides, as the *Article* obſerves, ſeveral of the Monaſteries were exempted, immediately under the Pope, and viſitable by none but his *Legates*.

In the Forty Third Article, he is charg'd for hindering the *Correction* of *Hereſies*, and ſtopping two Biſhops from going to *Cambridge* to enquire into the *Belief* of the *Students*, and puniſh them for *Lutheraniſm*. Here the Cardinal is impeach'd for the Gentleneſs of his Government, and the Charity of his Temper. Is a Prelate bound then to be of a rigid and proſecuting Humour? Is it part of his Office to rack People to the *Dimenſions* of his own Faith? One wou'd think the Abſence of this Quality had more of Commendation than Crime in it.

The Twentieth Article againſt the Cardinal looks ſomewhat frivolous: He is charg'd with reverſing Judgements at Common Law, when Lord Chancellor. What harm was in this, provided the *Decree* was equitable? Is not this frequently done, without Cenſure? And is it not part of the Buſineſs of the *Chancery* to moderate the Rigour of the Common Law, and relieve the Subject againſt Inferior Courts? But no more of this.

As to the whole Body of the Articles, the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, that nothing of this Nature was objected to the Cardinal, till he fell under the King's Diſpleaſure, which is a ſign that 'twas the Envy and the Ambition of his Enemies, that form'd the Impeachment: They malign'd his Greatneſs, coveted his Poſt, and it may be, hop'd ſome part of his Wealth might fall to their Share. That the *Articles* wou'd not ſtand the Teſt, is plain, by their being thrown out of the Houſe of Commons; where *Cromwell*, by the Cardinal's Inſtructions, diſprov'd and broke the Force of 'em as faſt as they were urg'd (q).

From hence, I ſay, 'tis pretty plain, there was more Clamour than Proof in the Allegations: For when *Cromwell* came to ſpeak to them, they fell flat, and the *Bill* was diſmiſs'd.

To proceed: The Cardinal being ſtript of his vaſt Fortune by a *Premunire*, remain'd in a very unfurniſh'd Condition for ſome time. And now the hard Uſage he lay under, and the Proſpect continuing dark, made an Impreſſion upon his Spirits, and threw him into a Sickneſs. At the hearing of this, the King began to relent, ſent him a Ruby and a kind Meſſage by his Phyſician Doctor *Butts*, and prevail'd with Miſtreſs *Anne Boleyn* to make him a Preſent at the ſame time. What Effect this Glimpſe of Favour had upon the Cardinal's Health, is uncertain; but he recover'd ſoon after. And the King, to aſſure him farther, paſs'd his Pardon on the Twelfth

A. D. 1529.

(k) More's *Reports, fol.* 282.

22 H. 8.
(l) Id. ibid.

* *See above, p.* 31.

(m) Fox, *p.* 255. *vol.* 2.

(n) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 263.

(o) Epiſt. ad Eugen. III.

(p) De Concord. ſacerdot. & Imper. Tom. 2. lib. 5. cap. 48.

(q) Cavendiſh, *p.* 150. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 274. Id.

See Records, Numb. 10.

of *February*. This Pardon was drawn very full, and takes in the higheſt *Articles* which had been charg'd upon him. That it was penn'd with the utmoſt Advantage and Strength of Law, may be farther prov'd from Sir *Edward Coke*'s Authority. I ſhall cite this learned Gentleman in his own Words.

"The moſt large and beneficial Pardons, ſays he, which we have *read* and do remember, were that to *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (for good Men will never refuſe God and the King's Pardon, becauſe every Man does often offend both of them) and that other to *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal, which are learnedly and largely penn'd.

Coke's *Inſtit. pt.* 3. *cap.* 105. *of Pardons, fol.* 235.

The Cardinal pardon'd and reſtor'd to the Archbiſhoprick of York.

And now the King gave him farther Marks of his Friendſhip, reſtor'd him the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and ſent him Money, Plate, and rich Furniture for his Houſe and Chapel. Inſomuch, that 'tis thought, the Cardinal had ſome Hopes of recovering his Intereſt at Court. He petition'd the King for leave to remove from *Aſhur* to *Richmond*, and had ſome Expectation of ſucceeding in his Requeſt. But his Enemies ſuſpecting this Nearneſs to the *Court* might make way to his former Aſcendant, prevail'd with the King to ſend him to his Dioceſs of *York*. The Cardinal being commanded to the North, had no Excuſe for Delays, but want of Money; with which he acquainted the King. Upon which Complaint, being furniſh'd with a Thouſand Pound, he ſet forwards, was remarkably charitable and devout in his Journey, and had the Reſpect of great Numbers of People, who came to him all along upon the Road. And thus by ſlow Removes, he came to *Cawood* Caſtle near *York**, about the End of *September*. And here Proviſion was made for a cuſtomary and ſolemn Inſtalment about a Month after. But whether the King thought the Pomp of this Ceremony unſeaſonable, and too much for a Man in Diſgrace, or whether the Cardinal had thrown out ſome Expreſſions of Diſcontent, is but meer Conjecture: However 'tis certain, his Fate was determin'd. Indeed the true Reaſon why the King reſolv'd his Ruine, ſeems to have been his Incompliance in the Divorce. When the Cardinal was at *Cawood*, the King endeavoured ſtrongly to work him to his Purpoſe. Here he was ply'd with Menacing and Carreſſes (*r*). Now to what purpoſe cou'd all this Viciſſitude of Favour and Frowns ſerve? Why, I ſay, was this Expedient made uſe of, unleſs 'twas to prevail upon the Cardinal's Paſſion, and bring him to the King's Bent? But *Wolſey* continued inflexible; and the King was diſappointed. But what Criminal Inobſequiouſneſs was there in all this? By the Principles of that *Age*, the Cardinal was bound to Incompliance. His Commiſſion was revok'd, and the *Cauſe* call'd over to *Rome*. 'Twas therefore not in his Power to diſſolve the Marriage, without renouncing the Pope; which was more than had yet been done by the King himſelf.

A. D. 1530.

* *A Seat belonging to the Archbiſhoprick.*

Cavendiſh *and Lord* Herbert.

A Conjecture upon the Cardinal's Ruine.

(*r*) Godwin. Annal.

Fox miſrepreſents the Cardinal.

Fox pretends, *Wolſey* and *Campegio doubl'd with the King, and deluded him* in the Buſineſs of the Divorce (*s*). But to ſay nothing concerning *Campegio*, 'tis plain this *Martyrologiſt* miſreports *Wolſey*: For by what has been cited already, 'tis ſufficiently evident, that our Cardinal was both ſincere and very active in procuring the King Satisfaction, and a learned Prelate (*t*) who is no Friend to the Cardinal's Memory, acquits him of all Blame in this Particular.

(*s*) Fox, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 253.

(*t*) *Bp.* Burnet, *p.* 53. *pt.* 1.

He is arreſted for High-Treaſon.

But now the Ceremony of the Inſtalment approaching, the Cardinal was arreſted for High-Treaſon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Sir *Walter Walſh*. The Cardinal, at the Earl's coming, receiv'd him very friendly, and prepar'd for his Entertainment. But when he underſtood his Buſineſs, and was deny'd a Sight of the Earl's Commiſſion, he refus'd to obey the Arreſt. 'Tis probable, he might have ſome Reaſon of Diſguſt againſt this Nobleman. But when *Walſh*, a Gentleman of the *Privy-Chamber*, appear'd, he ſurrender'd himſelf (*u*) to him. *Cavendiſh* reports, this Charge of High-Treaſon againſt the Cardinal, was a Plot of his Enemies at Court. Indeed there's little Probability of the Cardinal's being guilty, if we conſider his Appeal to the King for his Innocence in his laſt Sickneſs, and his dying Words to the ſame purpoſe. And farther, a Crime of this Nature is very unlikely, in reſpect of the Time. For in *February* laſt the Cardinal was pardon'd for all High-Treaſons: Since which time, his Intereſt was broken, he had been confin'd, and acted in no Buſineſs. After the Arreſt, he ſet forward for *London*; fell ſick by the Way, and dy'd at the Abbey of *Leiceſter*. *Fox* charges the Cardinal with poiſoning himſelf (*w*). But *Cavendiſh*, who attended him, gives no Hint of any ſuch Suſpicion. By this Gentleman's Report he dy'd of a Dyſentery. Indeed, the Manner of his Carriage is an Argument, he did not ſend himſelf into the other World. For, when he was attach'd for High-Treaſon, he behav'd himſelf with Spirit and Preſence of Mind. He refus'd to obey the Arreſt, and ſurrender to the Earl of *Northumberland*. He maintain'd his Innocence with the higheſt Solemnities, preſs'd for a Trial, and deſir'd nothing more than to be brought Face to Face before his Enemies. Theſe, one wou'd think, are no great Signs of Dejection or Deſpair (*x*). By the way, this Remark may ſerve to clear him in ſome meaſure from the Imputation of Cowardice, which a *learned Hiſtorian* has lately thrown upon him (*y*). But to do him Juſtice againſt *Fox*: If there was any foul Play, 'tis moſt likely 'twas receiv'd from thoſe who had him in Cuſtody. For once at Dinner, he complain'd of being taken with an extraordinary Coldneſs at his Stomach: Upon which, he fell into that Sickneſs, which carry'd him off (*z*).

But refuſes to ſurrender himſelf to the Earl of Northumberland.

(*u*) Cavendiſh *and Ld.* Herbert.

A. D. 1530. Nov. 26.

(*w*) Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 258.

He falls ſick, and dies at Leiceſter.

(*x*) Cavendiſh, *p.* 178, 180, 186.

(*y*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 81.

(*z*) Cavendiſh, *p.* 185.

His Character and Benefactions.

To ſay ſomething farther of him, by way of Character. He was not altogether without his Failings. He ſeems to have affected Pomp and ſecular Grandeur too much. He held the Office of Lord Chancellor, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, the rich Abbey of St. *Albans*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, all at one time. This, without doubt, was being too great a Pluraliſt. He appears likewiſe to have been too reſign'd a Courtier, and over obſequious to the King's Pleaſure. And this Exceſs of Compliance he regretted at his laſt Hour. And to this ſort of Miſconduct, a High Station lies not a little expos'd. But then to ballance theſe Infirmities, he had the Mixture of many good Qualities. He was, as the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, a Perſon of great Parts and Induſtry (*a*). Had deſervedly the Reputation of an Able *Miniſter*, and was courted by the Greateſt Princes. His Learning is ſaid to have lain moſt in *School* Divinity and Canon Law. But notwithſtanding this Character of Abatement, we don't find he was ever tax'd with being underqualify'd for the *Chancery Bench*. He is much blam'd, by ſome Hiſtorians, for Haughtineſs and ſtiff Behaviour. But if this had been his Fault, it ſeems he left it off before his laſt Miſfortune. For *Cavendiſh* relates, that in his laſt Journey to the North, he gain'd very much upon all ſorts of People: And that he was remarkable, not only for his Bounty and exemplary Life, but likewiſe for his Condeſcenſion

(*a*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 314.

and obliging manner(b). He ſeems to have been a good natur'd Maſter, by the Tenderneſs and Regret between him and his Family at parting, and his declaring, that no Circumſtance in his Misfortune, troubl'd him ſo much, as his being diſabl'd from making a Proviſion for his Servants. His Schemes for the Benefit of Learning, were noble and well laid: As appears by his College at *Oxford*. He likewiſe founded a College at *Ipſwich*, for the Service of Religion and the Poor. He likewiſe deſign'd the Founding a *Society* in *London*, for the Civil and Canon Law. For this purpoſe, he projected the building a fine Stone-College. The famous Antiquary, Sir *Robert Cotton*, ſaw the Model of this Structure. He built the greateſt part of *Whitehall*, and *Hampton Court* intirely. The Monument of Braſs, which he left imperfect, was a Work of extraordinary Curioſity and Expence. 'Tis not certain whether he deſign'd this *Mauſoleum* for himſelf or the King. He came into the World with no Advantage of Family, his Father being but a poor Man in *Ipſwich*. But *Cavendiſh* ſays nothing of his being a Butcher. While the Cardinal ſate at the Helm, the Kingdom held on in a Courſe of Proſperity, and the publick Motions were ſteady and ſtrong. But not long after, the Government grew perplex'd and unacceptable: And the Face of things was much alter'd both at *Home* and *Abroad* (c). And to ſpeak ſoftly, it muſt be ſaid, the King cruſh'd this *Miniſter* with a very indifferent Grace. Indeed the King had ſhewn himſelf ſomewhat Arbitrary with the Cardinal, before the *Premunire*. He had oblig'd *Wolſey* to reſign his Benefices in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, to the Diſpoſal of the Crown. There was a Commiſſion made out for this purpoſe. Which being an unprecedented Command, I ſhall tranſcribe it into the *Records* for the Reader.

An uncharitable Inference in Fox.

Fox, after he has laſh'd the Cardinal's *Memory*, and overloaded him with Cenſure, draws a Remark of Diſadvantage upon the Clergy, from this one Inſtance. He makes the Cardinal a ſort of *Pattern*, by which we are to judge of the reſt of the *Hierarchy* (d). Now, ſuppoſing the worſt of the Cardinal's Character had been true, Which way are all the *Spirituality* concern'd in the Imputation? Can any thing be more injudicious, and lean-temper'd, than to throw the Blemiſhes of a ſingle Perſon, upon a whole Order of Men? An Author, who gives ſuch broad Signs of Diſaffection, and cenſures at this looſe rate, ſhou'd be read with great Caution.

A. D. 1529.

To go back a little: Laſt Summer the Treaty of *Cambray* was concluded between the Emperor and the *French* King. By an Article in this *Peace*, King *Francis*'s Two Sons were diſcharg'd, who had been given as Hoſtages for the performing the Capitulation at *Madrid*. The *French* King being obliged to the King of *England*, for the Inlargement of his Children, held on his Correſpondence, and acquainted the King with what paſs'd at *Cambray* (e).

A Parliament call'd. Lutheraniſm *gains ground in* England.

In the Beginning of *November*, this Year, the King call'd a *Parliament*. The Lord *Herbert* obſerves, the *Lutheran* Tenents had gain'd Ground in ſeveral Places of *England*; and that the Common People began to queſtion ſome of the receiv'd Doctrines, and fall off from implicite Belief. On the other hand, the *leading Church-Men* thought all Innovation dangerous, and that the Fundamentals of Religion might ſuffer this way. This Concluſion, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, was a fatal Miſtake. For in the Beginning of theſe Debates, a little Mitigation of Rigor, a Voluntary Relaxation of ſome of the late Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and a favourable Conſtruction in the reſt, might have prov'd an admirable Expedient. By this means Extremities might have been prevented, and the Peace of Chriſtendom preſerv'd. For want of ſuch moderate Compliance, the Rupture follow'd.

Incompliance and Rigour a wrong Expedient.

Now Separations commonly raiſe ill Blood, and make the Spirits turn eager. Diviſions occaſion Diſaffection: And when Prejudice and Partialities run high, Men loſe their Way in the Controverſie, and Truth ſuffers in the Conteſt. And when Books are ignominiouſly ſuppreſs'd, and Perſons ruggedly treated for their Diſſent, as ſome were in *England*, the Averſion is ſtill more inflam'd. Theſe Severities made the *Lollards* and *Lutherans* fall foul upon the *Clergy*, and print Invectives againſt the whole *Order*. Theſe Remonſtrances coming to the King's Ear, made him enquire into Matter of Fact, and refer the Grievances to the *Parliament*.

Complaints of the Exactions and Miſconduct of the Clergy.

In the Houſe of *Commons* ſeveral *Bills* were brought in for Relief, againſt the Exactions of the *Clergy*: One was to moderate their Demands for probate of *Wills*: And another for the regulating of *Mortuaries*: They likewiſe complain'd of the Plurality of Benefices, of Non-reſidence, and Church-Mens being Farmers of Lands. This Buſineſs did not paſs without Satyrical Remarks upon the Miſmanagement of the *Clergy*.

When theſe *Bills* were ſent into the Houſe of Lords, *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, deliver'd himſelf with ſome Vehemence againſt the *Commons*. He told the Lords all Heat and Cenſure of this kind proceeded from want of *Faith*; letting 'em know the Danger the Kingdom was in, by the Fate of *Bohemia*. The *Lower Houſe* complain'd to the King of the Biſhop's Speech, and mov'd for Reparation. *Fiſher*, to avoid the Shock, explain'd himſelf to an inoffenſive Senſe, and ſaid, by thoſe who wanted *Faith*, he meant only the People of *Bohemia*. This Conſtruction the King order'd Sir *William Fitz Williams* to report to the *Lower Houſe*. And thus by his Majeſty's Interpoſing, the matter was paſt over. However, the Affront, as 'twas counted, occaſion'd one of the Members to make an odd Speech upon the Subject of Religion. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had complain'd, that the Charge of Abuſes upon the *Hierarchy* proceeded from Diſaffection: And that nothing wou'd content the *Commons* but *Pulling down the Church*. From the Biſhop's calling the *Clergy*, the *Church*, this Gentleman takes the riſe of his Speech.

A Speech in the Houſe of Commons, concerning Religion.

" Did the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſays he, and his " Party talk only in this manner, I ſhou'd be the " leſs concern'd at the Language. But ſince there " are ſo many Diverſities of Sects, ſo many Di- " ſtinctions in Religion, ſo many who encloſe " the true Church, and appropriate the Privi- " lege of Catholick Communion to themſelves: " Since upon this Claim, they both invite and " menace to Conformity, and preſs a Reſigna- " tion of our Belief without Heſitancy or Scru- " ple. Theſe things conſider'd, I ſhall crave " leave to propoſe, how 'tis proper for us of " the Laity to manage our ſelves: Not that I " pretend to be infallible in my Expedient, or " would ſettle my Opinion for a Rule of Pra- " ctice: But I conceive an Affair of this nature " is of the laſt Importance, and therefore ſhou'd " be thoroughly debated.

" I grant in all Reſolutions of Moment, 'tis " difficult to manage with Temper, to ſtop at " the right Point, and keep off from running in-

---

(b) Cavendiſh p. 173. Id. p. 148, 183.

Buck *of the third Univerſity*, &c. *at the End of* Stow, *pag.* 1078.

(c) Godwin. Annal.

See Records N. 11.

(d) Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 258.

(e) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 229. Id. 292.

“to Extremes. The Danger of a falſe Step is ſtill greater in religious Matters: For here the Path is narrow, the Ground often ſlippery, and the Precipices deep on either ſide. And becauſe the chief Buſineſs of Man's Life, is to enquire into the means of being happy for ever, 'tis fit he ſhou'd not reſign himſelf to chance, but carefully compute upon the Qualities and Conduct of his ſpiritual Guides. For thoſe, who take this Charge upon 'em, differ not only in Ceremonies and Circumſtantials, but the main Doctrines are ſometimes oppoſite and inconſiſtent with each other. What then is to be done? Are we to deliver our ſelves up to the firſt Pretender, and take the Religion of our Country upon *Content?* How can a Man ſatisfy his Conſcience by being thus implicit? Let him but look abroad, and he'll ſee the heavieſt Denunciations imaginable againſt his own *Belief*. And yet amongſt thoſe, who cenſure thus deeply, he'll find Perſons of equal Abilities with his own Inſtructors. Now is it reaſonable for him to believe, that God has confin'd Truth and Happineſs to his ſingle Religion, and abandon'd the reſt of Mankind? Eſpecially, ſince all the World are deſcended from the ſame common Anceſtors, and equally related to God Almighty: Is every Man therefore bound to believe the Prieſts of his Communion, without Tryal or Reſerve? On the other hand, if he muſt argue for his *Faith*, and diſpute every Inch of Ground, what length of time is ſufficient for the Inquiry? What Fatigue and Expence muſt be gone through for Satisfaction? How many Languages muſt be learn'd, and Authors turn'd over? How far muſt he run up into Antiquity? How many Syſtems and Schemes of *Belief* muſt he examine? How many Expoſitions of Doctrine muſt be compar'd? How many ſeeming Contradictions reconcil'd? What diſtant Countries muſt be travelled, and what Hazards undergone upon this ſcore? At this rate, a Man muſt be always rambling, and in motion, to find out the right way into the other World. How then is he to manage himſelf? Is every thing, or nothing to be believ'd? To be indifferent to all *Sects*, and cloſe with all Communions, is ſenſeleſs and unaccountable. On the other ſide, to throw off all Religion, is ſingular, wicked, and unſafe. To turn *Sceptick* to this degree, is little ſhort of Diſtraction: For the moſt barbarous People are not without the Worſhip of a ſupreme Being. The Medium therefore between theſe two Extremes, is to ſearch upon the Main, and diſtinguiſh: Not that we can reach the Extent of each Diviſion, or go the whole Length of the Compariſon. But notwithſtanding the Impracticableneſs of ſuch an Enquiry, yet every Man may collect the more eſſential and demonſtrative Parts of his own Religion, and lay them by themſelves. Neither ought he to be over-ruled in this Freedom by the Diſcountenance of any other *Perſuaſion*. Having thus exerted his Reaſon, and implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the ſupreme Being, his next Buſineſs will be to find out what inward Means *Providence* has furniſh'd for a Teſt of Truth and Falſhood: And not only ſo, but which way the Approaches towards theſe Qualities may be diſcover'd: And by what Marks we may pronounce upon the Degrees of Probability.

“Neither will this Method deliver him up to the Guidance of private Reaſon, which may miſlead him to Hereſy: For by throwing aſide all doubtful and controverted Points, nothing but common and univerſal Truths will remain. And thus the generally acknowledg'd Doctrines will be a ſort of Touchſtone to try the reſpective Articles of *Belief* propos'd to him. The keeping this *High Road* is the beſt Direction not to go wrong in his Journey. By holding to this Rule he'll find how far the Impreſſions of God's Wiſdom and Goodneſs are viſible upon all Mankind: How far he has gone in the General Inſtruction: And to what Degrees his Univerſal Providence extends. And thus by aſcending towards God by the ſame ſteps he deſcends to us, the Enquirer cannot miſs the meeting with the divine Majeſty. What if theſe Truths are perplex'd with Difficulties, and confine upon Error? He ought not to deſpond upon this ſcore. His Intereſt will be to keep to unconteſted Points, and range them in a Method. Neither will this latter Task give much Trouble, ſince theſe Catholick Verities are few, and naturally diſpos'd to connection. And thus thoſe who are our Teachers, ſhou'd imitate our Conduct, and manage by theſe Maxims for Enquiry. To proceed otherwiſe is in effect to bid us not make uſe of the Benefit and Brightneſs of the Day, but only ſtudy by their Candle. Upon the whole, 'tis certainly worth the while to examine how far theſe univerſal Notions will carry us, before we reſign our ſelves to Myſteries and ſupernatural Diſcovery. Not but this way of Information may juſtly challenge our Belief, when the Teſtimony is good, and the Conveyance warrantable.

“And to bring our Principles to Inſtance and Application, if we look into the ſeveral Ages and Quarters of the World, we ſhall find a *Supreme Being*, diſtinguiſh'd from other queſtionable and *miniſterial* Deities, and worſhipped with a proportionable Regard.

“Amongſt Diverſities of Rites and Ceremonies, deliver'd as parts of divine Worſhip, we ſhall perceive Virtue under a diſtinguiſh'd Preference: And that the reſt are but Circumſtantials, and attendant upon it. Inſomuch that there is no *Sacrament* without a View upthis Quality. For the Purpoſe, Benevolence, and regular Practice, Faith, and the Love of God, are ſuch Eſſentials of Religion, that all Exerciſes of Diſcipline, all the Train of *Externals*, all holy Applications, are perform'd in order to theſe, and ſubſervient to them.

“Amongſt the ſeveral Expiations for ſin preſcrib'd in the World, we ſhall find nothing to the purpoſe without inward Regret for our Miſcarriages, and Submiſſion to the God we have offended.

“And laſtly, notwithſtanding the different Opinions of former Ages with reſpect to Rewards and Puniſhments, we ſhall find the Juſtice and Mercy of God not limited to this Life: No; Theſe Attributes are at Liberty to exert after Death, and to cheriſh, or correct for ever.

“Theſe clear univerſal Truths, continues he, ſhould be firſt entertain'd. Theſe will ſecure us from Impiety and Atheiſm, lay a Foundation for divine Service, and raiſe us to the Hopes of a better Life. Thus Men will be brought off from Controverſy and Jangling, and ſettled upon the Practice of Virtue. And when they fail in their Duty they'll ſeriouſly apply to Repentance and Reformation; without making Pardon ſo cheap and mercenary, “as it ſometimes happens. Beſides, this Method will diſpoſe us to Union and good Correſpondence. For when we are agreed about theſe primary Truths, theſe neceſſary means of Salvation, why ſhould we fall out about the reſt. Theſe Principles exclude nothing of Faith or Tradition; they allow the Benefit of Miracles: They only deny us the Liberty of Ill-nature; and bind us up from breaking into Parties and Animoſities about leſſer matters. Let us therefore furniſh our ſelves with theſe Catholick Notions: They'll never check the Progreſs of our Faith, nor weaken the Authority of the Church: ſo that whether the *Eaſtern* or *Weſtern* Chriſtians, whether my Lord of *Rocheſter* or *Luther*, whether *Eccius* or *Zuinglius*, *Eraſmus* or *Melancton* are in the right, we of the *Laity* ſhall ſuffer nothing by the Diſagreement. Theſe univerſal Verities, theſe infallible Grounds of Religion, already ſuggeſted, will be eaſily reconciled with particular Opinions. For, to conclude, theſe Foundations are ſtrong enough to bear whatever Superſtructures of *Faith* are rais'd upon them (*f*).

(*f*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 293.

This odd *Speech* is not mention'd either by *Hollingſhead*, *Goodwin*, or *Stow*: Neither does Lord *Herbert* tell us the Perſon's Name. All that I ſhall obſerve upon this *Free-thinker* is, that he gives too much Liberty to private Reaſon: His Maxims are dangerous, and his Scheme ill ſuited to the general Capacity: The *Bills* concerning *Probate* of *Wills*, *&c.* abovemention'd, paſs'd in this Parliament.

I have already obſerved ſome Regulations were made in this Seſſion concerning *Mortuaries*; 'tis ſaid the Lords ſpiritual oppoſed the Paſſing this Bill with a great deal of Vehemence and Satyr (*g*). But *Fox* reports the Biſhops much more to Advantage (*h*). This Hiſtorian expreſly aſſures us that the firſt *Bills* ſent up from the *Commons* to the Lords were warmly conteſted; and after a great length of Debate came to nothing. Upon this Diſappointment two new ones were drawn by the King's Order, which appeared ſo reaſonable that the Spiritual Lords made no Difficulty to paſs them.

(*g*) *Bp* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 83.
(*h*) Fox, *p.* 995, *Edit.* 2.

The Lords Spiritual paſs'd the laſt Bill concerning Mortuaries without Oppoſition.

In the Act againſt *Pluralities*, *Chaplains* to Noblemen, both Spiritual and Temporal, are allowed the Privilege of a Diſpenſation, for two Benefices. But then they are mentioned with Diſadvantage in another reſpect. Their Character is ſomewhat maim'd, and incumbered by the Language of the *Statute*. But whether the Commiſſion of Prieſts can be ſunk, or their Relation to the *Laity* inverted, I have elſewhere conſidered at large.

Moral Eſſays, *pt.* 1. *Office of a Chaplain.*

To proceed: In this *Act* there is a remarkable Clauſe with reference to the See of Rome. The Words are theſe.

(*i*) 21 H. 8. cap. 13. *Suing to the Court of* Rome *for Diſpenſations prohibited.*

(*i*) **And if any Perſon or Perſons at any time after the firſt Day of** April, **in the Year of our Lord God one thouſand, five hundred, and thirty, contrary to this preſent Act, procure and obtain at the Court of** Rome **or elſewhere, any Licence or Licences, Union, Toleration, or Diſpenſation, to receive and take any more Benefices with Cure than is above limited ſhall for every ſuch Default incur the Danger, Pain, and Penalty of ſeventy Pounds Sterling. And alſo looſe the whole Profits of every ſuch Benefice or Benefices as he receives or takes by force of any ſuch Licence or Licences, Union, Toleration, or Diſpenſation.**

And if any Perſon or Perſons procure or obtain at the Court of Rome, **or elſewhere, any manner of Licence or Diſpenſation to be non-reſident at the ſaid Dignity, Prebend, or Benefices contrary to this Act, that then any ſuch Perſon or Perſons putting in Execution ſuch Diſpenſation or Licence for himſelf from the ſaid firſt Day of** April, **in the Year of our Lord God one thouſand, five hundred, and thirty, ſhall run and incur the Penalty, Damage, and Pain of twenty Pounds Sterling, for every time ſo doing, to be forfeited and recovered,** &c. **And ſuch Licence or Diſpenſation ſo procured or to be put in Execution, to be void and of none effect.**

The firſt Check upon the Pope's Supremacy.

This Clauſe gave the firſt Blow to the Pope's Supremacy in *England*; and upon this View we find theſe two Paragraphs of this *Act*, repealed the firſt and ſecond of *Philip* and *Mary*. From hence it appears the forbidding the Payment of *Annates*, was not the firſt ſtep towards a Breach with the Court of *Rome* (*k*). 'Tis true the Spiritual Lords oppoſed the Paſſing this *Bill* (*l*). The unuſual Check given to the Pope's Authority was plainly the Biſhops Reaſon for diſſenting to this *Bill*: For we are to obſerve the Court of *Rome*, having exerciſed a ſort of unlimited Sway over the *Engliſh* Church for ſeveral Ages, 'tis no wonder the Biſhops ſhould be ſurprized at theſe Clauſes of the *Act*, and not diſentangle themſelves on the ſudden. But then our learned Hiſtorian's remark that they oppoſed *this and all other Motions for Reformation* (*m*), is over ſevere, as will appear upon the Courſe of this Work.

(*k*) *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 136.
(*l*) Fox, *p.* 995.
(*m*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 83.

There's another Clauſe in this *Act*, *which forbids all Spiritual Perſons the having or occupying by himſelf or any other to his uſe any Parſonage or Vicaridge in Farm, of the Leaſe or Grant of any Perſon or Perſons, or to take any Profit or Rent out of any ſuch Farm, upon Pain to forfeit Fourty Shillings for every Week, and to looſe ten times the Value of ſuch Profit or Rent as he ſhall take out of any ſuch Farm. All Spiritual Perſons both ſecular and regular benefic'd with Cure, are forbidden under the ſame Forfeiture to take any Stipend or Sallery to ſing for any Soul.*

The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* thought their Privileges ſomewhat embarraſs'd by this *Act*, and particularly by the Clauſe laſt mention'd. Upon this View, they addreſs the King for Protection in their Rights and Immunities ſettled by the Conſtitution; and that they may be in a better Condition to avoid giving Offence to his Highneſs; they deſire the *Statutes* of *Premunire* may be farther explain'd in Parliament, and the Caſes where the Penalty is incurr'd, expreſly declar'd: And that it may not be lawful for the Temporal Courts to award a Writ of *Premunire* againſt Eccleſiaſtical Judges unleſs in the Caſes named in the *Statute*, and after the Grant of a *Prohibition*. And they complain in their Petition that this preſent *Parliament* has preſs'd hard upon the Liberties of the Church. That by enacting ſome things of this nature, they have plainly hazarded their Salvation, and made themſelves liable to the *Cenſures* of the Church. They remonſtrate farther, that they neither by themſelves, nor their *Proxies* conſented to the Paſſing this *Act*, neither were they conſulted in the matter. And laſtly they take the Freedom to ſay, that there was ſomething of Injuſtice in the Law, that the Penalties were exceſſive, and that by diſabling poor Vicars from farming their Rectories, they muſt be thrown out of all Capacity of living hoſpitably *.

* *See Records, N.* 28.

Supplication of Beggars anſwered by Sir Tho. More.

This Year Sir *Tho. More* privy Councellor, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, wrote a Book, entitul'd, *The Supplication of Souls*, ſuppos'd in Purgatory. 'Tis written in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, call'd, *The Supplication of Beggars. This Beggars Supplication* is a feigned Addreſs to the King. In this Application, they acquaint his Highneſs their Numbers are much encreaſed, and that they were ſtarved for want of ſufficient Relief. That this Calamity was brought upon them by the Clergy's ingroſſing the Wealth of the Kingdom. This Pamphlet computes the Number of the Clergy with reſpect to the *Laity*, and then concludes, they ought only to have the two hundredth part of their Income left them. (*n*) Sir *Thomas More*, in giving a Character of this Performance, tells us, *whoſoever ſhall read this Book ſhall ſoon perceive, Flouriſhing without Fruit, Subtilty without Subſtance, Rhetorick without Reaſon, bold Babbling without Learning, and Wileneſs without Wit.*

Some of the Singularities of this Book.

(*n*) More's *Works. p.* 290.

Id. *p.* 291.

Id. *p.* 295.

To go on: *The Beggars Supplication* condemns the Vows of *Chaſtity*, and rails horribly againſt the Clergy and *Religious*. He miſreports the Clergy as if they fomented Rebellion, and were in a *Practice* againſt the *State*. And yet has the Reſolution to menace the Government. For he makes no Scruple to ſay, that unleſs there is Liberty granted to declaim againſt the *Church*, the King would be in Danger of loſing his *Crown*.

Ibid.

Id. *p.* 301.

The *Supplicator* advances in his Singularities, and declares againſt Founding of Hoſpitals for the Support of the Poor. Inſtead of this common Method of Charity, he pretends to lay down a more ſerviceable Project. The moſt effectual Relief for the Beggars, is, to put the *Church* under Contribution, and ſtrip the Clergy of all their Eſtates. And to make this Expedient go down the better, he tells the King, the Clergy are bound to Manual Labour, *and to maintain themſelves by the Sweat of their Faces.* This declaiming againſt the Revenues of the Clergy, is exactly the Doctrine of the *Lollards*, and has been already conſider'd (*o*).

Id. *p.* 302.

Id. *p.* 303.

(*o*) *See my Church Hiſtory, pt.* 1. *p.* 661.

The *Supplicator* complains, no Proviſion of the State can be Proof againſt the Covetouſneſs of the Clergy: He means the *Statute of* Mortmain, and pretends the Eccleſiaſticks broke through it. To ſhew the Unreaſonableneſs of this Clamour, Sir *Thomas More* replys, that the *Statute of* Mortmain was not made for the ſole Advantage of the *Temporalty*: That the *Church* had likewiſe a Share in the Benefit of this *Act*. For if the Tenants of a Biſhop or Abbot, alienate their Lands, theſe ſpiritual Perſons have a Remedy by this Law, no leſs than an Earl or a Duke (*p*).

(*p*) More, *pag.* 333.

A Proclamation to ſuppreſs the Lollards *Books.*

'Tis probable, the publiſhing this *Pamphlet*, with ſome others of a reſembling kind, occaſioned the putting out a *Proclamation* againſt the *Lollards*; in which, the Teaching, Preaching, or Abetting the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, *Luther*, or others of that Perſuaſion, are forbidden. This *Proclamation* likewiſe forbids the Importing, or Printing any Books contrary to the receiv'd Doctrine of the *Church*. And for the more effectual Execution of this *Order*, the Judges and Juſtices of Peace, are commanded to enquire after ſuch Offenders, to apprehend and deliver them to the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries, in order to their Trial (*q*).

(*q*) *Regiſt.* Tunſtal, *fol.* 145.

Dr. Crome's *Recantation.* A. D. 1530.

The Beginning of the next Year, *Edward Crome*, Doctor in Divinity, and Rector of St. *Antholin*'s *London*, being delated for Preaching erroneous Doctrine, and convented before the Biſhop of *London*, and others of the ſame Character at *York-Place*, purg'd himſelf upon the *Articles* following.

1. He declares his Belief, That departed Souls ſuffer, and are detain'd in Purgatory.
2. That the Holy Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſors deceas'd, ought to be honour'd and pray'd to.
3. That the Saints in Heaven are our Mediators, and pray for us.
4. That Pilgrimages, and Oblations to the Sepulchres, and Relicks of the Saints, are conſiſtent with Piety, and to good Purpoſe.
5. That the Lent-Faſt, and other Times of Abſtinence, preſcrib'd by the Canons, and cuſtomarily practiſed amongſt Chriſtians, are to be obſerv'd, unleſs in Caſes of Neceſſity.
6. That it is of Neceſſity to Salvation, to believe God confers Grace upon the Uſe of the Seven Sacraments, provided the Perſons receiving, are rightly qualified.
7. That it is a laudable and profitable Practice, to ſet up Images in Churches, in Memory of our Saviour, and his Saints.
8. That the Prayers of the Living are ſerviceable to thoſe in Purgatory.
9. That Faſting, and other Works of Piety, are beneficial, or meritorious.
10. That thoſe, who, upon the Score of erroneous Doctrines, are ſilenc'd by their *Ordinary*, ought neither to preach nor teach, till they have purg'd themſelves before their Superiors, from ſuch Imputation.
11. That Kings, and other chief Magiſtrates, are not neceſſarily bound to give the People the *Holy Scriptures* in the Vulgar Tongue, as long as they may be inſtructed in all Points neceſſary to Salvation, by other Methods.
12. That with reſpect to the Exigence of the Juncture, 'tis lawful for Kings, when they are convinc'd of the Reaſonableneſs of ſuch Management, to forbid the putting the *Scriptures* into the Peoples Hands in the Vulgar Tongue.
13. That the cuſtomary Conſecrations, Sanctifications, and Benedictions, receiv'd in the Church, are commendable Uſages.
14. That he always believ'd the abovemention'd Opinions true, and that in his Judgment, the contrary cannot be maintain'd without Error (*r*).

(*r*) *Regiſt.* Tunſtal, *fol.* 135.

About two Months forward, Archbiſhop *Warham* had a Meeting of ſeveral Perſons of Learning and Character, at *Lambeth*: The Buſineſs was to examine the Books of the *Wickliffiſts*: To this purpoſe, there was an Inſtrument drawn up and ſign'd, in which we have a Recital of the *Lollards* Tenents; I ſhall give the Reader an Extract of this Matter. The Inſtrument begins thus,

(*s*) *Regiſt.* Warham, *fol.* 188.

An Extract of the Opinions of the Wickliffiſts.

May 24. A. D. 1530.

In the Name of God: Amen (*s*). "Be it known "to all, and ſingular true, and faithful Chriſtian People, to whom theſe preſent Letters "Teſtimonials, or theſe preſent publick and "authentick Inſtruments ſhall come, and whom "here underwritten ſhall or may appertain in "any manner or wiſe in Time to come: *William*, "by the Sufferance of Almighty God, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. ſends greeting in our "Lord God everlaſting. We ſignifie unto you "All, and let you well weet, and know by "theſe Preſents, That where the King our Sovereign Lord hearing many Books in the *Engliſh* Tongue containing many deteſtable Errors and damnable Opinions, printed in Countries beyond the Sea, to be brought into divers Towns and ſundry Parts of this his Realm of *England*, and ſown abroad in the ſame, to the great Decay of our Faith, and the perilous Corruption of his People, unleſs ſpeedy Remedy were briefly provided: His Highneſs willing evermore to employ all his Study and Mind in the high Degree to which Almighty God has call'd him unto, to the Wealth of his Subjects, that they might live, not only in Tranquillity and Peace, but alſo to keep pure and clean of all Contagion of wrong Opinions in Chriſt's Religion: Conſidering alſo that he being Defender of the *Faith*, wou'd be full loath to ſuffer ſuch evil Seeds ſown amongſt his People, and ſo to take Root, that it might over-grow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine, before ſprung in the Souls of his Subjects: For the repelling of ſuch *Books*, calling unto him, of his great Goodneſs and gracious Diſpoſition, not only certain of the chief Prelates and Clerks of his Realm, but alſo of each Univerſity, a certain Number of the chief learn'd Men of them, purpoſed ſuch of thoſe Books as his Grace had read, therefore unto them to be read: Requiring to hear in that behalf, their Advice and Judgments of them; who both by great Diligence and mature Deliberation, peruſing the ſaid Books, found in them many Hereſies both deteſtable and damnable, being of ſuch a ſort that they were like, briefly, to corrupt a great Part of his People, if they might be ſuffered to remain in their Hands any ſpace; gathering alſo out of them, many great Errors and peſtilent Hereſies, and noting in Writing, to the Intent to ſhew for what Cauſe they reputed the ſaid Books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each Book gather'd, many do enſue: Albeit many more there be in thoſe Books, which Books totally do ſwarm full of Hereſies and deteſtable Opinions. *Hereafter* follows the Hereſies and Errors in the Book call'd the *Wicked Mammon* *, (*viz.*) *Faith* only does juſtify us. (2) The Law does make us to hate God, becauſe we are born under the Power of the Devil. 'Tis impoſſible for us to conſent to the Will of God. The Law requires impoſſible Things of us. The Spirit of God turns us and our Nature, that we do Good as naturally as a Tree does bring forth good Fruit. (8) *Works* do not only declare to thee, that thou art juſtified. (9) Chriſt in all his Deeds, did not deſerve Heaven. *Labouring* in good Works to come to Heaven, thou doſt ſhame Chriſt's Blood. (17) Saints in Heaven, cannot help us thither. To build a Church in Honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain: They cannot help thee, they be not thy Friends. (18) All Fleſh is in Bondage of Sin, and cannot avoid to ſin continually. (27) The Commandments be given us not to do them, but to know our Damnation, and call for Mercy to God. (28) *Faſting* is only to avoid Surfeit, and to tame the Body, all other Purpoſes are naught. (36) To bid the poor Man pray for me, is only to remember him to Duty, not that I have any Truſt in his Prayer. (38) Tho' thou give me a thouſand Pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before. (40) A good Deed done, and not of fervent Charity, as Chriſt's was, is Sin. The worſt *Turk* living, has as much Right to my Goods at his Need, as my own Houſhold, or I my ſelf. (42) *Alms* deſerve no Meed. There is no Work better than another to pleaſe God. To waſh Diſhes and to preach, is all one as touching the Deed to pleaſe God. (44) *Ceremonies* of the Church have brought the World from God. (45) *Beware of good Intents*, they are damn'd of God. (46) See thou do nothing but that God bids thee. *Churches* are for Preaching, and not as they be uſed now. (47) *To worſhip God* otherwiſe than to believe that he is juſt and true in his Promiſe, is to make God an Idol. *Pharaoh* had no Power to let the People depart at God's Pleaſure. (61) *Our Prelates* in Sin, ſay they have Power. *We* be ſo in Captivity of the Devil, and he holds our Will in his Power, that we cannot conſent to God's Law, and his Will is impoſſible for us. Every Man is Lord of another Man's Good. I am bound to love the *Turk* with the very Bottom of my Heart.

Errors, Blaſphemies, and Hereſies, noted in the Book of the *Revelation of Antichriſt*, and in the *Epiſtle* going before. “To bind a Man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt, an Error. (*Fol.* 19. *pt.* 2.) To ſay that Conſtitutions of Religion are good, becauſe holy Men did ordain them, as *Auguſtin*, *Benedict*, *Barnard*, *Francis*, *Dominico*, and ſuch other: This is to leave the Faith, and to follow the Examples of Fathers in ſome Things, *hoc eſt in iſtis rebus*, erring. (*Fol.* 19. *pt.* 1.) *Whoſoever* firſt ordain'd Univerſities, be he *Alexander D'Hales*, St. *Thomas*, or any other, he was a Star that fell from Heaven to Earth: There are brought in moral Virtues for Faith, and Opinions for Truth. (*Fol.* 32, 33, *pt.* 2.) The Univerſities are the confuſed Cloud and open Gate of *Hell*, and this Cloak of all other, is moſt noiſom, and does moſt Hurt and Damage. (*Fol.* 31. *pt.* 1.) All moral Divines have a wicked Conſcience full of Scrupicity. (*Fol.* 34. *pt.* 1.) Not only the Popiſh Wicked, but the Popedom it ſelf, and the Office is Iniquity, and is ſuch a Power, that it ſuppreſſes the Faith and Goſpel, and cannot be adminiſter'd by a good Prince, but by the Adverſary of Chriſt. (*Fol.* 52. *pt.* 2.) In the whole new Law is no urgent Precept not grievous, but only Exhortations to obſerve things neceſſary for Soul Health. (*Fol.* 63. *pt.* 2.) Moral Virtues, as Juſtice, Temperance, *Strength*, and Chaſtity, deſcribed by natural Reaſon, makes a *Synagogue*, and corrupts Chriſt's Faith. (*Fol.* 64. *pt.* 2.) Chriſt took away all Laws, and makes us Free and at Liberty, and moſt of all he ſuppreſſes all *Ceremonies*, &c. (*Fol.* 63. *pt.* 2.) If the Pope wou'd make all the Obſervation of Ceremonies, as Lent, Faſting, Holidays, Confeſſion, Matrimony, Maſs, Matins, and Relicks, *&c.* free and indifferent, he ſhou'd not be Antichriſt: But now becauſe he commands it in the Name of Chriſt, he does utterly corrupt the Church, ſuppreſs the Faith, and advance Sin. (*Fol.* 67. *pt.* 2.) To believe in Chriſt, makes ſure Inheritance with Jeſu Chriſt. (*Fol.* 1. *pt.* 1.) If a Man ſay, then ſhall we no good Work do? I anſwer as Chriſt did, *this is the Work of God, to believe in him that God ſent.* (*Part* 1. *&* 2.) Numbering of Sins makes a Man a more Sinner, yea, a Blaſphemer of the Name of God. (*Fol.* 3. *pt.* 1.) Sin cannot condemn us, for our Satisfaction is made in Chriſt, who died for us. (*Fol.* 4. *pt.* 1.) I will ſhew you

* *This Book was written by* Tyndal.

“ an evident Argument and Reaſon that thou mayſt know without doubt, who is Antichriſt, all they that *do perſue* are Antichriſts; the Popes, Biſhops, Cardinals, and their Adherents, *do perſue* [*perſequuntur* I ſuppoſe] therefore they are Antichriſt: I ween our Sylogiſms be well made. (*Fol.* 9. *pt.* 2.) I think verily that ſo long as the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyr'd, they were good Chriſtian Men, and no longer. (*Fol.* 10. *pt.* 1.)

There are a great many more odd Propoſitions drawn out of this Book, which I omit. To proceed to the Arch-Biſhop's Inſtrument.

Errors and Hereſies contain'd in the Book call'd, *The Sum of Scripture*, (viz.) “ The Water of the *Font* has no more Virtue in it, than the Water of the River: The Baptiſm lies not in hallowed Water, or in any other outward thing, but in the Faith only. (*Fol.* 6. *pt.* 1.) The Water of Baptiſm is nothing but a Sign that we muſt be under the Standard of the Croſs. (*Fol.* 12. *pt.* 2.) We have as great Right, and as much to Heaven, as Chriſt. (*Fol.* 19. *pt.* 1.) We need not to labour to be Chriſt's Heirs and Sons of God, and to have Heaven, for we have all theſe Things already. (*Fol.* 27. *pt.* 1.) All that thinketh that their good Works help any thing, or profit any thing to get the Gift of Salvation, they blaſpheme againſt God, and rob God of his Honour. (*Fol.* 28. *pt.* 2.) To ſerve God in Tediouſneſs, or for fear of Hell, or for the Joys of Heaven, is but Shadows of good Works, and ſuch Service does not pleaſe God. (*Fol.* 41. *pt.* 1.) *Jews* kept the Commandments and the Law of God, yet they could not come to Heaven. (*Fol.* 43. *pt.* 2.) If Works might have ſaved, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and *David* had been ſaved before the Nativity of Chriſt. (*Fol.* 44. *pt.* 1.) Chriſtian Men among themſelves, have nought to do with the Sword, nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needful nor Profit. (*Fol.* 109. *pt.* 2.) The Goſpel makes all true Chriſtian Men Servants to all the World. (*Fol.* 110. *pt.* 1. Chriſt ſays, *that no Chriſtian ſhall reſiſt Evil*, nor ſue any Man at the Law. (*Fol.* 110. *pt.* 2.) A true Chriſtian Man never plaineth to the Judge of the Injury that's done unto him. (*Fol.* 114. *pt.* 1.) The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man to Temporal Power, is as Chriſt was obedient to temporal Puiſſance, and paid Tribute Money, not becauſe that he ought it, but becauſe he would not offend; ſo muſt a Chriſtian Man do: But when that Lords ask nought, thou oughteſt them nought before God, &c. (*Fol.* 116. *pt.* 2.) Men of War are not allow'd by the Goſpel, the Goſpel knows Peace, and not War. (*Fol.* 113. *pt.* 1.) Some Texts of Canon Law ſuffer War, but the Teaching of Chriſt forbids Wars. (*Fol.* 118. *pt.* 1.) Nevertheleſs, when a City is beſieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his Life in Jeopardy for his Subjects. (*Ibid.*) God took *Enoch* away, that is to-ſay, he departed out of this World like other Men. (*Fol.* 44.) *David*'s good Intent, and *Nathan*'s in Building the Temple, were naught.

There are likewiſe ſeveral Tenents drawn out of a Book, call'd *The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man*, ſome of which are inoffenſive, but moſt of them erroneous: There are likewiſe ſome exceptionable Propoſitions extracted from a Book, entitled, *An Expoſition upon the ſeventh Chapter to the Corinthians*; tho' many of them may paſs: I ſhall therefore proceed to the Biſhop's Inſtrument, *viz.*

“ All which great Errors and peſtilent Hereſies, being contagious and damnable, with all the Books containing the ſame, with the *Tranſlation* alſo of Scripture corrupted by *William Tyndal*, as well in the Old Teſtament as in the New, and all other Books in *Engliſh*, containing ſuch Errors; the King's Highneſs in Perſon, by one whole Advice and Aſſent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Univerſities, as all other aſſembl'd together, determin'd utterly to be expelled, rejected, and put away out of the Hands of his People, and not to be ſuffer'd to get abroad among his Subjects: And his Highneſs willing farther that this his Pleaſure and Determination ſhou'd be notify'd by Preachers abroad unto the People, as well for putting away all ſuch Books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, deliver'd unto certain Preachers the Form of a Writing to be publiſh'd in effect, unto the People in their Sermons; whereof the Form here follows, willing them in all his Realm to publiſh the ſame.

Here follows the Bill *in* Engliſh *to be publiſhed by the* Preachers.

The Warning the Preachers were obliged to give the People againſt reading the cenſured Books.

“ *It is the Office and Duty* of every Preacher and Teacher of the Word of God, not only to ſhew and declare unto his *Audience*, that which might be profitable and wholeſome for the Wealth of their Souls to be followed and taken, but alſo to note and ſignifie unto them ſuch Things as be dangerous and contagious, to the Intent they might be avoided and eſchewed; and alſo as near as they can, judge who be the Teachers and Authors of the ſame: This Example we have of our Saviour Chriſt, who ſaith, *Beware of falſe Prophets*; St. Paul likewiſe many Times gives warning to ſuch as he wrote unto, that they ſhou'd beware of the falſe Apoſtles, that in his Abſence went about to corrupt the true Doctrine that he had taught: Wherefore, conſidering that it hath pleas'd the King's Highneſs like a noble and virtuous Prince, tendering not only the preſent bodily Wealth and Tranquillity of all his Subjects, for his and the worldly Commodity and Benefit, but moſt chiefly regarding the Wealth of their Souls, and their due Order towards God, thereby to deſerve and attain immortal Glory, to aſſemble and call together the chief Perſonages of his Prelates, and a great Number of learned Men of both Univerſities, charging and commanding them for the Diſcharging and Exoneration of his Conſcience, to find, read, and examine, and diſcuſs the Contents of ſuch Books as be now ſpread abroad within his Grace's Realm in the *Engliſh* Tongue, concerning the Points and Articles of our Faith; and after their Learning and Conſcience, to make Relation unto his Highneſs, whether the ſaid Books were expedient and profitable for his People, for the Direction and ordering of their Conſcience and Souls, or elſe contagious and peſtiferous for the ſame: And whether the Opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's Word and Doctrine or no: *Foraſmuch* as in the ſaid Congregation and Aſſembly, free Liberty and Licenſe, granted unto

“ every Man, to ſay as his Conſcience and Learning ſerved him; without any Reproach or Blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to be ſpoken there; whoſe Perſon ſoever it touched; or any Neceſſity to agree to the more part; but only to ſay as his own Learning and Conſcience would maintain and juſtify: After mature Deliberation and Conſultation had, it was there by a whole Conſent, no Man repugning or gain-ſaying, determined and agreed that the Books publiſhed now in the *Engliſh* Tongue, contain falſe Traditions and corrupt Doctrine, far diſcrepant from the true Senſe of the Goſpel and Catholick Underſtanding of the *Scripture*; only perſuading pernicious Hereſies to the Deſtruction of the Souls of good Chriſtian Men: And that the Certainty hereof I can report unto you of mine own Knowledge, being one of the ſaid Aſſembly, and hearing, and ſeeing the ſaid Opinions read, and declared, and examined, and by the true Senſe and Meaning of God's Learning reproved and rejected: I think therefore my Duty is taking upon me the Office of a Preacher, following the Example of our Maſter Chriſt, and St. *Paul*, as is aforeſaid, to warn and moniſh you by the Words of Chriſt, as I ſpake before, *Take heed of Falſe Prophets*, &c. and take heed of your ſelf that you be not infected by the Contagion and Infection of ſuch *Pſeudo*-Apoſtles, as have in our *Engliſh* Tongue ſet forth Books to ſeduce you from the true Knowledge of God's Laws, and bring you by their falſe Interpretation of *Scripture* into deteſtable and abominable Hereſies, to the Deſtruction of your Souls; wherefore you that have the Books called, *The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man: The Sum of Scripture, The Revelation of Anti-Chriſt, The Supplication of Beggars, Mammon: The Matrimony of* Tyndal, *the new Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, of the Tranſlation that is now printed, and ſuch other Books in *Engliſh*; the Authors whereof, either dare not, ne do not put to their Name; be unknown unto you, or elſe be ſuch as have ſet forth theſe pernicious Books, deteſt them, abhor them, keep them not in your Hands, deliver them to the *Superiours*, ſuch as call for them: And if by reading of them heretofore, any thing that remains in your Breaſt of that Teaching; either forget it, or by Information of the Truth expel it, and purge it, to the intent that ye ſo purified and cleanſed of that contagious Doctrine, and peſtiferous Traditions, may be fit and apt to receive, and retain the true Doctrine, and underſtanding of Chriſt's Laws, to the Comfort and Edification of your Souls: *Thus* I move and exhort you in God to do: This is your Duty to do, this you ought to do: And being obſtinate and denying or refuſing this to do, the Prelates of the Church having the Cure and Charge of your Souls, ought to compel ye; and your Prince to puniſh and correct you, not doing of the ſame. Unto whom, as St. *Paul* ſaith, the Sword is given by God's Ordinance for that purpoſe. Ye ſhall alſo farther underſtand, that the King's Highneſs, for as much as it was reported unto him, that there is engendered an Opinion in divers of his Subjects, that it is his Duty to cauſe the *Scripture* of God to be tranſlated into the *Engliſh Tongue*, to be communicate unto the People: And that the Prelates and alſo his Highneſs do wrong in letting or denying of the ſame. His Highneſs therefore willed every Man there preſent in that Aſſembly, freely and frankly, to ſhew and open unto him, what might be approved and confirmed by *Scripture* and holy Doctrine in that Behalf: To the Intent that his Highneſs, as he then openly proteſted, might conform himſelf thereunto: minding to do his Duty towards his People, as he would they ſhould do their Duties towards him; in which Matter after *Scriptures* declared, holy Doctors, and Authors alledged, and read; and all things ſaid might be on both Sides, and for both Parties ſpoken, deduced, and brought forth; finally it appeared, that the having of the whole *Scripture* in *Engliſh* is not neceſſary to Chriſtian Men; but that without having any ſuch *Scripture*, endeavouring themſelves to do well, and to apply their Minds to take and follow ſuch *Leſſons* as the Preacher teacheth them, and ſo learn by his Mouth, may as well edify ſpiritually in their Souls, as if they had the ſame *Scripture* in *Engliſh*. And like as the having of *Scripture* in the vulgar Tongues, and in the Common Peoples Hands, hath been by the holy Fathers of the Church heretofore, in ſome times thought meet and convenient; ſo at another time it hath been thought to holy Fathers, not expedient to be communicate amongſt them. *Wherein* for as much as the King's Highneſs by the Advice and Deliberation of his *Council*, and the Agreement of great learned Men, thinketh in his Conſcience that the divulging of this *Scripture* at this time in the *Engliſh Tongue* to be committed to the People, conſidering ſuch peſtilent Books and ſo evil Opinions as be now ſpread among them, ſhould rather be to the farther Confuſion and Deſtruction, than the Edification of their Souls. And that, as holy Doctors teſtify, upon ſuch like Conſiderations, the ſemblable has been done in times paſt, it was thought there in that *Aſſembly*, to all and ſingular in that Congregation, that the King's Highneſs, and the Prelates in ſo doing, not ſuffering the *Scripture* to be divulged and communicate to the People in the *Engliſh Tongue* at this time, doth well: And I alſo think and judge the ſame; exhorting and moving you that in Conſideration his Highneſs did there openly ſay and proteſt, that he would cauſe the New Teſtament to be by learned Men faithfully and purely tranſlated into the *Engliſh Tongue*: To the intent he might have it in his Hands ready to be given to his People, as he might ſee their Mannors and Behaviour meet, apt and convenient to receive the ſame; that you will ſo deteſt theſe pernicious Books, ſo abhor theſe Hereſies and new Opinions, ſo decline from Arrogancy of Knowlege, and underſtanding of *Scripture* after your Phantaſies; and ſhew your ſelves in communing and reaſoning, ſo ſober, quiet, meek, temperate, as all Fear of miſuſing the Gift of *Scripture*, taken away, ye may appear ſuch in your Prince's Eyes, and the Eyes of your Prelates, as they ſhall have no juſt Cauſe to fear any ſuch Danger: Perſuading unto your ſelf in the mean time without grudging or murmuring, the very Truth which is this; That you cannot require or demand *Scripture* to be divulged in the *Engliſh Tongue*, otherwiſe than upon the Diſcretions of the *Superiors*; ſo as whenſoever they think in their Conſcience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you. And whenſoever it ſhall ſeem otherwiſe unto them they do amiſs in ſuffering you to have it.

“Of and upon the which Decree, Order, and Determination above recited, his Grace's Highneſs being in Perſon in the Chapel called the Old Chapel, which ſome time was called St. *Edward*'s Chamber, ſet on the Eaſt Side of the Parliament Chamber within his Grace's Pallace at *Weſtminſter* upon the 24th Day of *May*, the Year of our Lord God Jeſu Chriſt 1530; and in the twenty ſecond Year of his Reign. The third Indiction, and the ſeventh Year of the Pontificacy of our Holy Father *Clement*, of that Name the Seventh, Pope; called before his Grace the Notaries here under written. And then and there in the Preſence of all the Perſonages there aſſembled and gathered together, will'd and required the ſame three *Notaries* to make *Publiques* and *Authentiques* Inſtruments, and to ſet thereunto our Seal accordingly; In and for Witneſs and perpetual Memory, of this his Grace's Decree, Order, and Determination, and of all and ſingular the Premiſes; and all the Perſonages then and there being preſent to teſtify the ſame, and bear Record and Teſtimony thereupon.

The Perſons atteſting the Inſtrument.

“*In witneſs* of all and ſingular the Premiſes, we *William* Archbiſhop, Primate, and Legate aforeſaid, have commanded and obtained theſe preſent Letters Teſtimonials, or preſent publique and authentique Inſtrument containing therein the Order, Decree, and Determination aboveſaid, to be made and to be ſubſcribed, and conſigned by the Hands of the *Notaries* hereafter named, and to be ſealed with our own Seal: *All which* Premiſes hath been done in Manner and Form above ſpecified: The Year, Indiction, Pontificate, Month, Day, and Place above ſpecified: Then, and there being preſent the noble Perſonages Sir *Thomas Moore* Knight, great Chancellor of *England*; our Reverend Brother in Chriſt *Cuthbert*, by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of *Durham*; and worſhipful Perſonages Mr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Secretary; Mr. *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of the Chapter, Doctor of Law; Mr. *Woolman*, Maſter of the Requeſts; Mr. *John Bell*, Councellor, Doctors of *Holy Decrees*; Mr. *Nicholas Wilſon*, the King's Confeſſor; Mr. *Richard Dooke*, Archdeacon of *Wilts*, Doctors of Divinity; Mr. *John Oliver*, Mr. *Edward Steward*, Doctors of Law, Chaplains to our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King's Grace; Mr. *Richard Mandelly*, Mr. *William Mortimer*, Mr. *Edward Crome*, Mr. *Edward Wiggen*, Doctors alſo of Divinity; Mr. *Robert Carter*, Mr. *Edward Leighton*, Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, Mr. *John Thixtite*, Batchelors of Divinity; Mr. *William Latimer*, and Mr. *Roger Tibſon*, Maſters of Art in both the Univerſities abovеſaid; with many more learned Men of the ſaid Univerſities, in a great number aſſembled, then and there together Witneſs to the Premiſes required and adhibited.

“The three Publique Notaries who atteſted this Inſtrument are *Thomas Aſhley*, *Richard Watkyns*, and *Matthew Greſton*.

Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 14. *Edit.* 1641.

Fox fixes this Cenſure to the Year 1531; but 'tis plain from the Date of the Inſtrument that he is a Year too forward in his Chronology. But Miſtakes of this kind are not uncommon with this Martyrologiſt. For inſtance, He ſays the Parliament the twenty firſt of *Henry* the Eighth was held in the Year 1530; whereas, this Parliament met in the Year 1529. He ſets Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Journey to *York* a Year too forward: And ſo he does the King's Speech at *Black Fryers*, which he refers to *November* the eighth 1529.

Fox, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 254, 256, 327.

To return to the Buſineſs of the *Divorce*: The King notwithſtanding his former Diſappointments in this Affair, was willing to make a farther Tryal. To this purpoſe Sir *Thomas Bolen*, now Earl of *Wiltſhire*, *John Stokeſly*, Elect of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, Doctor of Divinity, the King's Agents at *Rome*, had a joint Commiſſion for an Embaſſy to the Emperor. They waited upon this Prince at *Bolonia*, who told 'em, he was obliged in honour not to deſert his Aunt's Cauſe. Upon this, they addreſs'd the Pope, and preſſed for a favourable Iſſue of the King's Buſineſs. The Pope's Anſwer was, that notwithſtanding he had been urged by the Queen's Sollicitor to proceed to the Cenſure, was reſolved upon a gentler Expedient. And therefore had given order the matter ſhould ſleep, provided the King would engage to ſtop the Courſe of the Proceſs in *England*. The King being inform'd of the Pope's Propoſal, replied, that his *Holyneſs* had hitherto entertained him only with good Words. And that by lately denying his Ambaſſadors *Audience* to juſtifie his Cauſe, he plainly perceived there was nothing real or friendly at the Bottom.

The King conſults the Univerſities about the Divorce.

The King therefore finding his *Holyneſs* ſomewhat myſterious, reſolved to conſult the Opinions of the *Univerſities*. 'Tis ſaid, Doctor *Cranmer* put the King upon this Expedient (*t*). *Fox* pretends, this Thought was ſuggeſted by *Cranmer* at his Meeting with *Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox*, the King's Secretary, at *Waltham*. But here the time ſpoils the Story: For this Conference at *Waltham* between *Cranmer*, *Gardiner*, and Secretary *Fox*, was in *Auguſt* 1529. From whence it evidently follows, that *Cranmer* could not be the firſt Mover of the Expedient of conſulting the *Univerſities* both at home and abroad. Becauſe the Determination of the *Univerſity* of *Orleans*, relating to the King's Marriage, bears Date *April* the 5th 1529 (*u*) Now this Date is more than three Months before the Conference above-mentioned at *Waltham*.

This Expedient not ſuggeſted by Cranmer.

2dly, The King in his Speech before the *Legates* at *Bridewel*, already related, declares he had applied to the greateſt Clerks in Chriſtendom, for their Reſolution about his Marriage: Now this Speech was made in *November* 1528.

And that *Fox* was miſtaken, in giving *Cranmer* the Credit of this Suggeſtion, appears plainly from *Cavendiſh*, an Author of unexceptionable Authority. This Gentleman, who was one of *Wolſey*'s Family, tells us 'twas the Cardinal that was the firſt in this Motion. And that in a Meeting of the Biſhops, and other learned Men, 'twas thought adviſable the King ſhould ſend his *Agents* to all the Univerſities both in *England* and elſewhere; that the Caſe ſhould be argued at length, by thoſe learned *Societies*: And that their reſpective *Decrees* under the Seal of each *Univerſity* ſhould be tranſmitted to his Highneſs (*w*).

Having now ſettled the Author of the *Advice*, I ſhall proceed to relate the Succeſs. To begin at home with the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was order'd to *Oxford* with the King's Letters, requiring 'em, to ſend him their Determination, whether marrying the Brother's Relict, was defenſible, or not? A *Convocation* being called, the Majority of the Doctors declared for the *Negative*. But the Maſters of Art being on the other ſide of the Queſtion, the Meeting broke up without effect. The King being informed of this Incomplyance, was much diſpleas'd, and without loſing any Time, ſends a Letter under

(*t*) Fox, *p.* 1860. *Edit.* 2. *Antiquit. Brit. p.* 322. *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 79.

(*u*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Collection of Records*, *Book* 2. *p.* 90.

(*w*) Cavendiſh. *p.* 97, & deinc.

der his own hand directed to the Vice-Chancellor, to the Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, without taking any notice of the *Regents.* In this Letter he acquaints 'em, “how deeply he reſented the Stubbornneſs and Miſbehaviour of the Maſters of Art; that they ſeem'd to him, not to have lived long enough to qualify 'em with Capacity and Diſcretion for this Buſineſs: That therefore they ought to reſign to the Judgment of wiſer Men, and be governed by the Precedent of the Doctors: That provided they held on in their Obſtinacy and gave their Sovereign any farther Trouble, they ſhould quickly be made ſenſible of the ill Conſequence, and underſtand 'twas not their beſt way to *provoke a Hornet's Neſt* (x).

The Divorce oppos'd by the Maſters of Art in Oxford.

(x) Wood. Hiſt.& Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. l.1.p.255.

Soon after this, Doctor *Bell*, and *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, were diſpatched to *Oxford*. Their Commiſſion was to inform the Maſters farther upon the Caſe, and prevail with them to give Satisfaction. But this Attempt failing of Succeſs, the *Chancellor* wrote down, to refer the Deciſion to a *Committee:* But this Expedient was at firſt refuſed. Afterwards Secretary *Fox* was ſent thither, to try his Intereſt. But all being to no purpoſe, the *Maſters* being not to be brought off, and ready to grow mutinous, the Chancellor ſent the *Heads* a very extraordinary and unprecedented Order. He required 'em to exclude the *Maſters* from the *Convocation*, and proceed to a Reſolution without 'em. And thus by a *Committee* of the Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, the Queſtion was drawn up in Form, determined in the negative, and the Seal of the Univerſity ſet to the Inſtrument. This Determination was ſoon after brought to the King by the Vice-Chancellor, who was well received, for making ſo acceptable a Preſent.

The Maſters excluded the Convocation. Ibid.

Ibid.

The Queſtion determined by a Committee of Doctors,&c.

The Hiſtorian *Wood* complains of this Management, and takes the Freedom to ſay, the Privileges of the Univerſity were plainly over-ruled, and that the excluding the *Maſters* from their Right in voting, made the Decree of no force. That ſeveral Members of the *Univerſity* not thinking themſelves bound by this Deciſion, preach'd openly againſt the *Divorce*.

Id. *p.* 256.

This Relation of *Wood* is cenſured by a learned Church-Hiſtorian (y). This Author charges the *Oxford Antiquary*, with giving Credit to a lying Story ſet down by *Saunders:* That he had either not ſeen, or not conſidered another Inſtrument, to which the *Univerſity* ſet their Seal: That this Inſtrument was paſſed in a *Convocation* of all the Doctors and Maſters, Regents and Non-Regents: That by virtue of a Vote paſſed in this *Convocation* they all reſigned themſelves to the Determination of a *Committee*; and that this Committee was only to conſiſt of Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity. And for this the Lord *Herbert* is vouch'd, who peruſ'd the *Original*, which I ſhall tranſcribe into the *Records* (z).

(y) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 86.

(z) *See Records, N.* 13.

Notwithſtanding *Wood* is charged with relying upon the Teſtimony of *Saunders*, 'tis plain, he makes no uſe of his Authority, but cites the *Records* of the *Univerſity* for the main of his Narrative. As to the *Inſtrument* mentioned by my Lord *Herbert*, tho' he calls it an *Original* in one Place, yet after the Recital, he makes no more of it than a blurr'd Copy: And, without telling us where he had it, does not ſcruple to confeſs, that 'tis not probable, it ſhould be intended for the King in that manner: All which plainly proves, that in Lord *Herbert*'s Opinion, it could be no *Original*. And therefore, for ought we know, it might only be a rough Draught. And that when the Doctors found the *Maſters* would not paſs it, they laid it aſide without engroſſing. However, they might think fit to preſerve it, to ſhew their Zeal for the King's Service.

The Oxford *Antiquary defended.*

And for a farther Defence of the *Oxford Antiquary*, it may not be improper, to give the *Reader* a remarkable Paſſage from the Lord *Herbert*'s *Collections* concerning this Matter (a). The Words run thus,

(a) *Ld.* Herbert's *MS. Collections in* Jeſus College *Library in* Oxford.

“The King, ſays this noble Hiſtorian, ſent his Confeſſor *Longland* to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to procure their Confirmation of his Divorce from *Catharine*. The King joyn'd Intreaties and Threats, the Chancellor *Warham* adviſed 'em to follow the Truth. Here *Seniores facilè aſſenſerunt Regi*, but the younger ſort (Regent Maſters) flatly denied. The King ſent 'em more threats, but moves them not: So that at laſt the Artiſts or Regent Maſters (although by the Statutes nothing can be done without them) are excluded, and the Matter committed only to Divines, who determin'd for the King, who puniſh'd the Regents.

Thus much for *Oxford*. How the Matter paſs'd at *Cambridge* will appear from an *Original* Letter, written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King.

Febr. 1530.

(b) Biblioth. Cotton. Vitell. B. 13.

The Univerſity of Cambridge *divided about the Divorce.*

(c) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 86.

(d) Wharton de Epiſc. Londinenſ. *p* 193.

In this Letter (b) they acquaint the King, that the Vice Chancellor, one Dr. *Edmonds*, and ſeveral others were willing to ſatisfy his Highneſs. And here, by the way, this Dr. *Edmonds* was not *Edmond Bonner*, afterwards Biſhop of *London*, as our learned Church-Hiſtorian affirms (c); but *John Edmonds*, Maſter of *Peter houſe* (d). To proceed, they informed the King, there was a ſtrong Party in the oppoſite Sentiment, who endeavoured to perplex the Matter, and hinder the paſſing of any Decree. However in a *Congregation* of about two hundred, the King's Letters were read. After which the Vice-Chancellor called the Doctors aſide, and asked their Opinions: They were divided in their Anſwer, and the Iſſue ſeem'd doubtful. At laſt they were contented the Queſtion ſhou'd be referred to indifferent Men. But when they came to debate upon the Perſons for the Committee, they excepted againſt the Abbot of St. *Bennet's*, againſt Dr. *Repps*, and Dr. *Crome*, and others of that Complexion. The Reaſon of their Diſlike of theſe Perſons, was their Approbation of *Cranmer*'s Book lately written in favour of the Divorce: For by their Commendation of this Performance, they were look'd on as Perſons prepoſſeſſed.

After a great deal of time ſpent in debating this Affair, the Vice-Chancellor propoſed a *Committee*, but this Motion was rejected.

The *Convocation* being adjourned 'till the next Day, the Vice-Chancellor offered an *Order* to refer the Queſtion to a Committee of twenty nine: This Committee was to conſiſt of himſelf, ten Doctors, ſixteen Batchellors of Divinity, and the two Proctors. And here what two thirds agreed to, was to be taken for the Senſe of the whole; and the Seal of the Univerſity ſet to the Deciſion. And for the more honourable Proceeding, the Queſtion was firſt to be publickly diſputed. This Motion was oppoſed at firſt: The ſecond time the Queſtion was put, the Votes were equal: The third time, by prevailing with ſome of the contrary Opinion to quit the *Houſe*, the Order for a Committee paſs'd. *Gardiner* and *Fox* having gain'd this Point, gave the King an Account, and ſent up the Names of the Committee, acquainting the King with the good Condition of the Affair; and that they hoped in a ſhort time to procure a Majority, which happened accordingly.

But at laſt they decree for him.

And thus, with a great deal of Difficulty, the King gain'd his Point; and the *Marriage* was declared *unlawful*.

I ſhall now proceed to relate how this Affair ſucceeded Abroad. The *French* King having now received his two Sons, who had been detain'd Hoſtages at *Madrid*, was in a Condition to declare himſelf more freely in the Queſtion concerning the Divorce. The Juncture therefore being ſomewhat more favourable than formerly, King *Henry* requeſted that Prince's Aſſiſtance to procure a Reſolution of the Univerſities in *France*. *Francis* having promis'd his Friendſhip, Sir *Francis Bryan*, *Fox* afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, and Mr. *William Paget* were diſpatch'd to *Orleans* and *Tholouſe*: *Reginal Pole* of the Blood-Royal, and ſome of thoſe above-mention'd, receiving Orders to ſollicit this Matter at *Paris*. The King's Agents in *Italy* for this purpoſe, were Dr. *Richard Croke* at *Padua*; *Hierom de Genucci* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gregory Caſſalis* at *Rome*; Dr. *Stokeſly* at *Venice*; Dr. *Cranmer*, *Andrew* and *John Caſſalis*, and *Previdellus* were likewiſe employ'd by the King in *Italy*.

A. D. 1530.

June 13.

Stokeſly wrote to the King that he had gained the Opinions of the Univerſity of *Bononia*, and that he cou'd have ſucceeded in other Places, had the Pope been wholly neuter in the Affair.

June 22.

Croke wrote to the *Engliſh* Court that the Pope and Emperor menac'd thoſe who determin'd on the King's Side.

July 4.

That the Emperor's Ambaſſador at *Padua* expoſtulated with one Fryer *Thomas*, for abetting the King's Cauſe; letting him know, that if the Queſtion ſhou'd be decided for the Divorce, there wou'd be a Blemiſh thrown upon the Birth of ſeveral of the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom: That their Right to their reſpective Crowns would be extinguiſh'd upon this Reſolution: And that the Emperor and the King of *Portugal* would be particularly affected in the Caſe. Notwithſtanding this Diſcouragement he had procured eighty Subſcriptions from Men of Character. And in another Letter he informs the King, that the Emperor practiſed with the State of *Venice* againſt his Highneſs. He likewiſe complains, that *Andrew Caſſali* and *Previdellus* diſcover'd the King's Secrets to the *Imperialiſts*. He acquaints the King farther, that the Emperour had procured ſome Subſcriptions in *Mantua* for Money; But theſe it ſeems were Perſons of no great Figure. Whereas nine and twenty Doctors in that Town had given their Opinion *Gratis*, againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

Aug. 31. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 301.

To take off theſe Reſtraints, and give a juſt Freedom, *Croke* ſuggeſted the Expedient of procuring a Brief from the Pope to this Purpoſe. It was to run towards this Form.

“ That Divines or Canoniſts might declare
“ their Conſciences without Fear or Hazard, re-
“ quiring them under the Penalty of Excommu-
“ nication, that they ſhou'd not be govern'd in
“ the Debate by Partialities or Reward, but pro-
“ nounce upon the Caſe, according to the beſt
“ of their Underſtandings without being biaſs'd
“ by any indirect Motives, as they wou'd anſwer
“ their Conduct to God at the great Day of Judg-
“ ment (*c*).

The King approv'd this Suggeſtion of a Brief, and wrote to the Biſhop of *Verona* to aſſiſt his Agents at *Rome* in procuring it. In ſhort, the Inſtrument was gain'd at laſt, tho' not without Difficulty, becauſe of the Oppoſition from the Emperor's Ambaſſadors.

From *Padua Croke* advertizes the King, that the Caſe having been thoroughly debated by the Doctors for five Days together, the Common Seal of the Univerſity was ſet to their Deciſion in favour of his Highneſs Cauſe (*d*).

To mention ſome Particulars. They declare, they had conſider'd all the Arguments on the other ſide of the Queſtion, and found 'em defective, and that they may not fall under the Charge of any Omiſſion, they mention, their having examin'd that remarkable Text in *Deteronomy*; and after having given a due Weight to all Objections, they poſitively determine, the marrying a Brother's Relict to be unlawful, void and deteſtable, and that nothing can be a clearer Contradiction to the Law of Nature, and divine Inſtitution.

Deut. 25. 5.

July 1. 1530.

The Univerſity of *Bononia* declared their Senſe upon the Queſtion to the ſame effect.

June 10 1530. *The Univerſities of* Padua *and* Bononia *declare for the Divorce.*

After having premis'd how carefully they had qualified themſelves with Time and Application, how nicely they had ballanc'd the Arguments urged by both Parties; and particularly the Expoſition of Cardinal *Cajetan* upon the Diſpenſation in *Deuteronomy* for marrying the Brother's Wife: After this Preliminary Proteſtation, they come to the deciſive Part, and pronounce ſuch a Marriage execrable and unlawful to the laſt degree. And that his *Holyneſs*, notwithſtanding he can do almoſt every thing, in virtue of his Commiſſion from our Saviour, yet his Privilege of *Diſpenſing* is wholly barr'd in this Matter.

Biſhop Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *Collection of Records, Book* 2. *p.* 92. Croke's *Negotiation in* Italy *about the Divorce.*

How this Matter was carried in the Univerſities of *France*, will appear from their publick Cenſures (*e*). The Univerſity of *Orleans*, the *Faculty* of the Canon Law at *Paris*, declar'd the Pope had no Power to diſpenſe in that Caſe. The famous *Faculty* of *Sorbonne*, proceeded to the Enquiry, with the higheſt Solemnity. They met firſt at the Church of St. *Mathurin*, where, after a Maſs and Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, they took an Oath to examine the Queſtion thoroughly, and to follow their Conſcience in the Reſolution. The Time they took in preparing for the Deciſion, was from the eighth of *June* to the ſecond of *July*. During which Interval, they declar'd they had conſulted the *Holy Scriptures* with the beſt Expoſitors, and perus'd the *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* of General and Provincial *Councils*. After all this Solemnity and Deliberation, 'twas agreed by the Majority, *That the marrying of the Relict of a Brother dying without Iſſue, was ſo clearly prohibited by natural and revealed Religion, that it was not within the Pope's Authority to diſpenſe with ſuch a Relation*. The Univerſity of *Angiers*, of *Bourge*, and of *Tholouſe*, determin'd to the ſame effect. The *Seals* of each reſpective Univerſity, was likewiſe put to their Deciſion *.

The Judgments of the Univerſities in France.

But here we are to obſerve, the *Sorbonne* and the *Faculty* of the *Canon Law* at *Paris*, the Univerſities of *Angiers* and *Bourges*, expreſly ſuppoſe the Marriage conſummated between *Arthur* and *Catherine*, which, as has been already related, the Queen poſitively deny'd: This ſhe did before the King and Court at *Black-Friers*, and appeal'd to his Highneſs for the Truth of it. Upon the whole therefore, we cannot rightly reckon theſe three Univerſities of the King's ſide, becauſe the Matter of Fact upon which they founded their Reſolution, was deny'd by the Queen.

Farther, 'tis probable the other *Univerſities* in *France* and *Italy* went upon the Suppoſal of the Marriage being conſummated between *Arthur* and *Catherine*: 'Tis not improbable, I ſay, they went upon this Suppoſition, both by the ſtrong Expreſſion in their *Cenſure*; and becauſe the Reaſon

(*c*) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 89.

(*d*) Biblioth. Cotton. Vitell. 13.

(*e*) *Printed at* London 1532.

* Conventiones, Acta Publica, Tom. 14. p. 397.

ſon of the *Levitical* Prohibition, cou'd not otherwiſe ſo much affected this Marriage.

Levit. 20. 21.

In *Germany, Spain*, and *Flanders*, the Emperor's Authority is ſaid to have been ſo great, that much cou'd not be expected from the *Lutherans*, tho' *Cranmer* endeavour'd to make an Intereſt with them, and particularly with *Oſiander*, whoſe Niece *Cranmer* married during his Stay in *Germany*. This *Oſiander* publiſh'd a Book *concerning inceſtuous Marriages*, but it was call'd in at *Ausburg*, becauſe it determin'd in favour of the Divorce (*f*).

(*f*) Biblioth. Cotton. Otho. C. 10.

Croke *complains of the* Lutherans.

As to the *Lutherans, Croke* in his Letter to the King, complains that all of that Perſuaſion at *Venice, Padua*, and *Ferrara*, where there were no ſmall Numbers of 'em, oppoſed the King's Cauſe with great Activity and Vehemence (*g*). The famous *Eraſmus* thought the Queſtion much perplex'd, and refuſ'd to give his Judgment either way.

(*g*) Biblioth. Cotton. Vitel. B. 13.

Oecolampadius, as appears by three of his Letters, was clearly of Opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus*, was binding upon all Mankind; and affirms, that the Permiſſion for a Brother's marrying his Siſter in Law, was a Diſpenſation deſigned only for the *Jews*; and therefore he conceiv'd the King might part with the Queen without any Scruple (*h*). But *Bucer* was of a different Sentiment: He thought the Law in *Leviticus* cou'd not be moral, becauſe God had diſpenſed with it in one Caſe, for the Preſervation of Families. But then he was of Opinion, that neither the Law, nor the Diſpenſation in *Deuteronomy*, continued under the *New Teſtament*, nor reach'd over to the Chriſtian Inſtitution. In ſhort, he neither thought the Law in *Leviticus*, or the Exception in *Deuteronomy*, any more than judicial Precepts, and calculated only for the Country and Government of *Judea*. So that by his Caſuiſtry, Chriſtians were at Liberty to follow their Inclination in this Matter.

Levit. 20. 21.

Deut. 25. 5.

The Opinion of Oecolampadius.

(*h*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 92.

Of Bucer.

Bp. Burnet, ibid.

Phrygion.

Paulus Phrygion another Proteſtant, was of Opinion, that the Laws in *Leviticus* were deſign'd for a Standard of Practice in all Ages and Countries: His Reaſon was, *That the* Canaanites *were puniſhed for a contrary Behaviour: That ſuch Severity was not conſiſtent with the Juſtice of God, unleſs thoſe Prohibitions had been Branches of the Law of Nature.*

Id. *pag.* 93.

Zuinglius. *and* Grineus.

Zuinglius is pretty full for the King's Purpoſe. Firſt, he diſproves the Pope's Power of diſpenſing with the Law of God: Then he lays it down for a Maxim, that the Apoſtles had made no Alterations concerning matrimonial Engagements: That the Marrying within near Degrees, was the Averſion of the *Greeks* and other Heathen Nations. And whereas *Grineus* (a Proteſtant of Reputation) ſeem'd to be of Opinion, that tho' the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be diſſolv'd; So that this Divine adviſed the King to marry another, and live with the Queen ſtill. *Zuinglius* combats this Opinion, determines for nulling an unlawful Marriage, and rejects the Expedient of Polygamy. But then he concludes, that the Queen ſhou'd be honourably diſmiſs'd, and treated up to her Character. This Divine has ſome farther Reſerves of Civility and good Nature. He throws in a Salvo for the Legitimacy of the Iſſue, and ſince the Marriage had continued ſo long without Scruple or Remonſtrance, he thought it unreaſonable there ſhould be any Blemiſh, or Mark of Diſadvantage laid upon the Children.

A pretended Letter of Calvin's.

There is a Letter of *Calvin*'s upon this Subject, but without either Date or Perſon to whom it was directed: In this Letter, the Marriage is declar'd null, and that the King ought to part with the Queen upon the Law of *Leviticus*. And whereas it was objected, the Law was only meant of marrying *the Brother's Wife living the Brother*: He argues, this Interpretation was foreign to the *Text*. For ſince all the prohibited Degrees are forbidden in the ſame Stile, they ought to be underſtood in the ſame Senſe. Since therefore the marrying the Father's, Son's, Uncle's, or Nephew's Wives after the Death of their Husbands, is unconteſtedly unlawful, by parity of Reaſon it muſt be likewiſe a Sin to marry the Brother's Relict. And as for the Law in *Deuteronomy*, of *marring the Brother's Wife*, &c. he conceives that by *Brother*, we are to underſtand a near Kinſman, of which we have ſome Inſtances in *Holy Writ*. By this Expedient, he reconciles the two Laws of *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*, and fortifies his Expoſition by the Caſe of *Boaz* and *Ruth*.

The Reaſoning in this Letter not concluſive.

But here we are to obſerve, that this Letter having neither Date nor Perſon, ſeems not to belong to the Matter in queſtion. Beſides, *Calvin* was born in the Year 1509: Now this Letter is ſuppoſ'd to be written in the Year 1530, when *Calvin* was but Twenty One Years of Age. 'Tis very improbable therefore, a Controverſie of this Importance ſhou'd be referr'd to ſo young a Divine. Farther, his Expoſition of the *Text* in *Deuteronomy*, ſeems forc'd and new. For firſt, this Interpretation does not agree with the Language of the *New Teſtament*, where Kinsfolk are expreſs'd by Συγγενεῖς, and not by ἀδελφοὶ in the Original. Secondly, *Calvin*'s Expoſition deſtroys *Affricanus*'s Scheme of reconciling the ſeeming Differences in our Saviour's Genealogy mention'd by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*. Now the learn'd *Valeſius* allows *Affricanus*'s Expedient, and ſuppoſes the marrying the Brother's Wife, common among the *Jews* (*i*). But notwithſtanding this Letter ſeems embaraſs'd in the Expoſition of the Text, yet it muſt be ſaid, the Author made a Puſh at the main Difficulty.

Luke 2. 44.

(*i*) Annot. in lib. 1. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 7.

Melancthon *a Favourer of Polygamy.*

Our learned *Church Hiſtorian* obſerves that *Melancthon adviſ'd the King's taking another Wife, and offer'd to juſtifie Polygamy from the Old Teſtament. But this he can't believe. However, he grants the Lawfulneſs of Polygamy was much controverted at this time. And as in all Controverſies newly ſtarted, many crude things are ſaid; ſo ſome of the* Helvetian *and* German *Divines ſeem not ſo fierce againſt it. But of* Melancthon's *being of that Mind, great Evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a Letter of* Oſiander's *to him, giving him many Reaſons to perſuade him to approve of the King's putting away the Queen, and marrying another.* The *Letter* alſo ſhews he was of Opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus* was diſpenſable (*k*).

(*k*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 93.

But with due Deference to this *Hiſtorian*'s Judgment, his Reaſoning looks ſhort of Proof. Indeed he ſeems to overthrow his Remark, by what he obſerves afterwards. For he tells us, that *Melancthon, and others, had no Mind to enter much into the Diſpute about the King's Divorce, both for fear of the Emperor, and becauſe they judged the King was led in it by diſhoneſt Affections*: And thus this learned *Author* has anſwer'd himſelf: For the Reaſon, as he obſerves, why *Melancthon* wou'd not approve of the *ſecond Marriage*, might be becauſe he was afraid of the Emperor, or thought the King was led into it by *diſhoneſt Affections*, and not upon the Score of his believing Polygamy unlawful.

Ibid.

But that *Melancthon*, and other *German* Divines, were not very Orthodox in this, and ſome other

Matters, appears from *Cranmer*'s Letter to *Oſiander*. In this Letter, “he complains of the looſe Caſuiſtry and miſtaken Opinions of the *German* Divines, and what Scandal they gave to the *Reformation*. For the purpoſe, he tells us, they allow'd the younger Sons of Noblemen to entertain Strumpets, to prevent the parcelling out their Eſtates, and leſſening the Figure of the elder Family. That *Divines* who allow'd this Liberty, were altogether unqualify'd to make Invectives againſt any Indulgence in the Church of *Rome*. Farther, I deſire, ſays he, to know, what Excuſe can be made for your Permiſſion of a ſecond Marriage after Divorce, while both the Parties were living; and which is ſtill worſe, you allow a Man a Plurality of Wives without the Ceremony of a Divorce. That this is Matter of fact, you acquainted me, as I remember, in ſome of your Letters, adding withal that *Melancthon* himſelf was preſent at one of theſe *Second Weddings*, and gave Countenance to it.

Some German Divines charged with abetting this Liberty by Cranmer.

“But this Practice diſagrees both with the Nature of Marriage, *which does not make Two but One Fleſh*, and is likewiſe a clear Contradiction to the *Holy Scriptures*. And here the Archbiſhop (for that was his Diſtinction when he wrote this Letter) cites ſeveral Texts in the *New Teſtament*. From theſe Places he continues, 'tis plain from the Inſtitution of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, that Matrimony ought to be a ſingle Relation. And that this Engagement muſt not be repeated, till the Death of one of the Parties. If you reply, the Caſe of *Fornication* muſt be excepted: If this is your Anſwer, I deſire to know, whether the Loſs of the Wives *Honour* was the Reaſon of *Melancthon*'s indulging the Husband in Polygamy? If he went upon this ground, then we have the receiv'd Doctrine of the Church, from the firſt Ages to our own Times, againſt this Expoſition. Now we ought to interpret the *Scriptures* in Conformity to the Senſe of the *Antients*. What St. *Auſtin*'s Opinion, or rather what the Opinion of the Church was, to the *Century* in which this Father liv'd, he gives us to underſtand in his Diſcourſe to *Pollentius* (l). I wou'd gladly know, continues the Archbiſhop, how they diſengag'd themſelves from this Charge? Whether they maintain'd the Lawfulneſs of Polygamy, and endeavour'd to reconcile it with the *New Teſtament*? Or whether they believe ſomething of Condeſcenſion or Connivance, neceſſary to the preſent Juncture? And that unleſs they ſhould relax a little upon this Point, ſome greater Miſchief might happen. If they go upon the firſt Grounds (which I fancy they don't) they have more of the *Turk* than the *Chriſtian* in them. And if they rely upon the latter Scheme, they will find themſelves extremely incumber'd: For which way can they indulge that Liberty which Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and the whole Church, has directly forbidden. He proceeds to anſwer ſome other of their Objections, from the *Old Teſtament*, and expoſes the Indulgence with ſufficient Force and Smartneſs: But what I have already tranſlated, may ſerve to ſhew the *German* Divines, and particularly *Melancthon*, were no good *Caſuiſts* in this Matter (m).

Mat. 19.
Mark 10.
Luke 16.
Rom. 7.
1 Cor. 7.

(l) Lib. de Adulterinis conjugiis.

(m) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. Fol. 111.

The Reſolution of the Lutheran *Divines in the Caſe of the Divorce.*

To go on: As to the *Body* of the *Lutheran* Divines, conſulted by the King, their Reſolution is better guarded. They declare now at laſt, “That the Law in *Leviticus* againſt marrying the Brother's Wife, whether dead or living, was of a moral Nature, and by conſequence unalterable. That therefore 'twas their Opinion, the Practice of all Chriſtians ought to be govern'd by it; that they ſhou'd never give an Allowance for a Marriage within ſuch a *Relation*. But then as to the *Divorce*, they were not inform'd far enough to deliver their Opinion. That is, they were not furniſh'd with ſufficient Reaſons, whether the King might be divorc'd after the Solemnization of the Marriage. And therefore, they deſire his Highneſs not to take it amiſs, that they ſuſpended their Judgment as to this Part of the Queſtion (n).

(n) Ex MSS. R. S. Lond. *See Bp.* Burnet's *Collections, pt.* 1. *book* 11. *p.* 94
Id. *pt.* 1. *p.*94.

The learned Church Hiſtorian abovementioned, takes notice, *That the Proteſtants expreſs'd great Sincerity in this Matter*; *ſuch as became Men of Conſcience, who were acted by true Principles, and not by Maxims of Policy*. I hope they did ſo, but am ſorry to find this Commendation no better prov'd. For in the Paragraph immediately foregoing, he tells us, theſe *German* Divines had no mind to engage in the Diſpute, for fear of the Emperor: Now if they were over-aw'd by this Paſſion, they were in ſome meaſure govern'd by their Intereſt: And how then does it appear, that they ſtood clear of *Politick Maxims*?

However, as the learned Hiſtorian goes on, *none of 'em went ſo far as the Pope did, who plainly offered to grant the King a Licence to have two Wives*. And for this we have the Authority of *Caſſali*'s Letter to the King (o).

Now notwithſtanding the Colour in this Letter, I rather think 'twill appear the Pope did not indulge this Liberty. For firſt, as to *Caſſali*'s Authority the Lord *Herbert*, who cites the Letter (p), tells us this *Caſſali* was a Man of no Integrity: That notwithſtanding his being employ'd as the King's Agent, he held a private Correſpondence with the *Imperialiſts*: And he farther tells us, it does not appear, whether any Credit was given to this Letter at the *Engliſh* Court.

(o) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.*1.*p.*93. *See Records, Numb.* 16.

Whether the Pope allow'd Polygamy.

(p) *Page* 302.

And that the Pope was either miſreported, or *Caſſali* miſunderſtood, ſeems farther probable, from what is delivered by our learned Church Hiſtorian (q): Who informs us, that Sir *Francis Bryan* and *Peter Vannes*, the King's Agents at *Rome*, had Inſtructions to propoſe, whether in Caſe other Expedients were rejected, the Pope wou'd not diſpenſe with the King's having two Wives?

(q) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 60. *compared with p.* 93.

And elſewhere he acquaints us, that this *Motion was conſented to, and promoted by the* Imperialiſts *. That is, the Emperor was willing to gratify the King, and come up to his Fancy. Now ſince the Pope and the Emperor were thus flexible to the King's Inclination, and agreed to his Terms, how comes it about his Highneſs did not take theſe Princes by the Hand, and cloſe with them upon his own Propoſal? 'Twas never pretended the King mov'd for more than two Wives at once; Why then did he not acquieſce, when thus fairly offer'd? What made him come to the laſt Extremities, break wholly with the Pope, and make the Emperor his Enemy, when they conſented to oblige him, by ſo unuſual a Favour, and comply'd to the length of his Demands? I own theſe Queſtions are too hard for me, and therefore I muſt leave 'em.

* Id. *p.* 93.

Having already mention'd the *Univerſities*, and other Divines, who declared for the Divorce, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething of the Authorities on the other ſide. Amongſt theſe, we have *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *John Holiman* Biſhop

An Abſtract of the Arguments of thoſe who wrote againſt the Divorce.

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

Biſhop of *Briſtol*, *Clark* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely*, to which we may add, *Thomas Abel*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Featherſtone*, and one Dr. *Ridley*, all *Engliſh* Canoniſts. And for Foreigners, *Franciſco Royas*, *Alphonſo de Verves*, *Alphonſo de Caſtro*, and *Sepulveda*, Spaniards: The famous Cardinal *Cajetan*, and *Ludovico Nugarrola*, Italians: *Alvarus Gomeſius* a Portugueeze: *Johannes Cocleus*, an High-German: *Equinarus*, *Duarenus*, *Convanus*, French Men: And *Ludovicus à Schota*, a Low Country Man (*s*). But after all, whether theſe *Engliſh* Men abovemention'd, were all concern'd as Authors in the Controverſy, is farther than I ſhall determine.

Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic. *p.* 79.

(*s*) Fuller's *ChurchHiſtory*, *Book* 5. *pag.* 182.

The Subſtance of what theſe Advocates for the Queen alledged, is this.

"Cardinal *Cajetan* endeavour'd to prove the Prohibitions in *Leviticus*, were no Branches of the moral Law. They were not obſerv'd, as he reaſons, before the *Law*, no not by the *Holy Seed*. For did not *Abraham* marry his Siſter, and *Jacob* two Siſters? Thus *Judah* made no Scruple to give his two Sons to *Thamar*, and after their Deceaſe, promis'd her the Third. To advance to the *Moſaick Inſtitution:* The Prohibition in *Leviticus* is relax'd in *Deuteronomy*, which proves the Law was not moral. For whatſoever is moral, muſt by conſequence be immutable. Then as to the Places cited for the *Divorce*, from the *New Teſtament*, they wou'd not bear in the Argument. For inſtance, St. *John Baptiſt*'s Reproof of *Herod* is foreign to the Point: For both *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* inform us, that his Brother *Philip* was alive, when *Herod* liv'd with his Wife, and by conſequence this Prince's Crime, was Adultery, and not Inceſt. And thus we have reaſon to believe, the inceſtuous *Corinthian* cohabited with his Father's Wife, when his Father was living. For had he been dead, St. *Paul* cou'd not have call'd it a *Fornication not named among the Gentiles*; for we find the Marriage of Step-Mothers, not only allow'd among the *Perſians*, and other heathen Nations, but even among the *Jews*. For did not *Adonijah* requeſt the marrying of *Abiſhag*, who had been his Father's Concubine?

From all which, thoſe who wrote againſt the *Divorce*, concluded, "That the Laws touching the Degrees of Marriage, were binding only to the *Jews:* And that *Chriſtians* were bound to obey 'em no farther than they were incorporated with the Laws of the Church: And that it was in the Pope's Power to diſpence with the Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom and Conſtitutions.

"They urg'd farther, that the Pope had granted this *Diſpenſation* upon weighty Conſiderations, to keep a good Correſpodence between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. That after the Marriage had continued above twenty Years, 'twould be highly ſcandalous to bring it under Debate. Beſides, the proceeding to a *Divorce*, might be a dangerous Precedent, and perplex the Titles of ſeveral Princes.

And laſtly, they concluded, "That whatever Nullities or Defects of Form were charg'd upon the *Bulls* or *Briefs*, the Pope was the only Judge of that Matter: And that it was a Preſumption in inferior Prelates, to determine upon the Point *.

* *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 103.

The Reply of thoſe who wrote on the King's *ſide.*

To theſe Arguments, thoſe who wrote for the King's Cauſe, reply'd "That they were ſurpriz'd to find Men who declar'd againſt heretical Novelties, to argue in ſo un-orthodox a manner! For what is the Inlet into all Hereſie in the Opinion of Catholick Doctors? Is it not the ſetting up new Interpretations of *Scripture?* Is it not the preference of private Reaſoning, to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church? We have fully made out, continue theſe *Advocates*, that the *Fathers* have unanimouſly maintain'd the *Levitical* Prohibitions of Marriage, to be of a moral and unalterable Nature: And that *Cajetan* was the firſt that was ſo hardy as to ſet up his own Expoſition againſt the Senſe of *Antiquity*. 'Tis true, before the *Moſaick Law*, theſe prohibited Degrees were not obſerved: But this proves only, that the Immorality of ſuch a Correſpondence, does not ſtrike full upon the Underſtandings of all Men. And therefore, ſince the Thing has not the cleareſt Evidence, nor can be eaſily diſcover'd by the Light of Nature; conſidering this, we need not wonder to find a Law in *Leviticus* for the better Direction of Practice. And as for the Inſtance of *Judah* and *Tamar*, there is ſo much Irregularity in all the Circumſtances, that it does not ſeem ſafe to bring it into Precedent. And as to the Permiſſion, of marrying the Brother's Wife, we can only infer from hence, that the Reaſon of the Law, is not altogether unalterable. From whence it follows, that it may be diſpens'd with by the Authority that made it. But though *Moſes* relax'd by *divine Revelation*, it does not follow, the Pope can give this Liberty by the Privilege of his Character.

As to the Inſtance of *Herod*, they aſſert, "'tis not clear from *Joſephus*, that *Philip* was alive when *Herod* marry'd his Wife: For *Joſephus* ſays no more, than that ſhe elop'd from her Huſband, and then divorc'd herſelf from him. And as to the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, tho' ſome few Precedents of a King of *Syria*, and ſome others, may be brought of Sons marrying their Step-Mothers, yet theſe Liberties had generally an ill Complexion, and were look'd on as the Exceſſes of arbitrary and licentious Princes *.

* Id. *pag.* 104, 105.

A Remark upon the Argument.

And now, whether thoſe who argued for the *Divorce*, diſentangl'd the *Texts* of *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* †, may be ſomewhat a Queſtion. For granting as they affirm, the *Prohibition* in *Leviticus* was binding upon all Nations: Granting this, Why ſhou'd not the *Diſpenſation* in *Deuteronomy* be interpreted to the ſame Extent? Why ſhou'd the *Relaxation* not be as general as the *Reſtraint?* 'Tis a receiv'd Maxim, that Laws are to be expounded in Favour of Liberty. Indeed, were there any Limitation in the *Text* to bar this Privilege, the Caſe wou'd be alter'd. But ſince this can't be pretended, why may not Chriſtians have the Benefit of the *Deuteronomy* Exception, as well as the *Jews?* Since the *Goſpel* allows greater Liberties in other Matters, why muſt it go leſs in this? Has not God as great a Regard for the publick Intereſt, and the Repoſe of Kingdoms, under the Chriſtian, as under the *Jewiſh* Church? And if ſo, How can the *Proviſion* allow'd the one, be deny'd the other?

† Levit. 20. 21. Deut. 25. 5.

However, though the King's Cauſe might be ſomewhat preſs'd in this Particular, he is ſaid to have had the Advantage in another reſpect. For the *Univerſities* and *Divines*, declar'd frankly for him. There was no Biaſs of Preſents, no Proſpect of Preferment to prepoſſeſs them againſt Truth (*t*). And for this fair Proceeding, Dr. *Croke* is produc'd as an Evidence. But there's a Letter wrote to the King by this Gentleman,

(*t*) *Bp.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 89, 90. Octob. 23. 1529.

which ſeems to ſpeak to another Senſe (*u*). I ſhall tranſcribe ſome Part of it.

Whether the Univerſities, &c. deliver'd their Opinions gratis.

He acquaints the King, "he had paid three and twenty Crowns to Frier *Thomas*, who, notwithſtanding he had given Hopes of his declaring for the *Divorce*, yet he had now deſerted the King's Side, and argued for the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage. He mentions one *Raphael* who had printed againſt the *Divorce* in *Italy*. In this Book, the Author proteſts that what he had formerly written for the King's Satisfaction, was only by way of Exerciſe, but that now he had declar'd his Mind without Reſerve. He lets the King know farther, that one *Ambroſe* had twenty Crowns of him for determining at *Padua*, in Favour of the Divorce: And that two other Friers had ſeventy ſeven Crowns.

Cornelius Agrippa ſtands recommended as a *Man very famous* for great and curious Learning, and ſo ſatisfied in the King's Cauſe, that he gave it out, that the Thing was clear and indiſputable, for which he was afterwards hardly us'd by the Emperor, and died in Priſon (*w*). If *Agrippa*'s Fancy then was not exactly ballanc'd, the Overweight lay in the King's Scale. However, in one of his Books he breaks out into this Expoſtulation (*x*). Who would have imagin'd, that Divines in Matters of Faith and Conſcience, ſhou'd have been govern'd by Partialities or Averſion? Who wou'd have thought they cou'd have been bribed by Treats and Preſents, unleſs they had given Proof of this mercenary Temper, in declaring againſt the King of *England*'s firſt Marriage? *Cavendiſh*, Cardinal *Woolſey*'s Gentleman-Uſher, is another Authority, that the King was at a conſiderable Expence for the gaining the foreign Univerſities. He tells us, that thoſe who govern'd thoſe *Societies*, or had the keeping of the common *Seals*, *were fed by the Commiſſioners with great Sums of Money* (*y*); and gain'd by the Prevalence of Bribery. One of our own Parliaments concurs with *Cavendiſh* in his Reflection *.

The *Act* ſets forth, *That the Seals as well of certain Univerſities in* Italy *and* France, *were gotten (as it were for a Teſtimony) by the Corruption of Money, with a few light Perſons, Scholars of the ſame Univerſities: As alſo the Seals of the Univerſities of this Realm, were obtain'd by great Travel, ſiniſter Working, ſecret Threatnings and Entreatings of ſome Men of Authority, ſpecially ſent at that time thither for the ſame Purpoſes.*

Lib. 9 p. 140. Farther, *Sleiden* believes that the foreign Univerſities, and particularly that of *Paris*, were brib'd for the King. Laſtly, in the Year 1532, there was a Book publiſh'd at *Lunenburgh*, entitul'd, *a Confutation of the Cenſures of the Univerſities*, printed with the King's Licenſe in *England*. This Book now in the *Bodlean* Library, informs us, that the Univerſity of *Paris* were at the loweſt at an even Diviſion, as many being againſt, as for the Divorce. And that ſome Members of that Body, publiſh'd Diſcourſes againſt the other Party, who gave their Opinions for the King. This Author wrote on the Queen's ſide, and dedicated his Book to *Euſtathius Chapnytius*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador in *England*.

On the other ſide, it may be ſaid, People won't always ſtudy an intricate Queſtion, and take Pains in a fair Cauſe, without a Conſideration.

An Addreſs to the Pope from the Nobility, &c.

The King being thus fortified with the Cenſures of the Univerſities, and other learned Men, reſolv'd to publiſh their Concluſions. And to make the moſt of the Advantage, he procures an Addreſs, or rather a Remonſtrance to be ſent from ſeveral of the Nobility and Commons to the Pope (*z*). "In this Letter, they complain how long they have been diſappointed in this Buſineſs; that they wou'd not have given his *Holyneſs* any Trouble, had not the King, the Soul of the Government, been ſo deeply concern'd; but when the Head ſuffers ſo much, the Body muſt of courſe be uneaſie. That they humbly conceiv'd, the Juſtice of the Cauſe, approv'd by the Determination of ſo many famous Univerſities in *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, might have ſuperceded the Trouble of any farther Importunity: And that there had been no need of ſolliciting his Holyneſs to confirm the Opinions of ſo many learn'd Men: Eſpecially ſince the Deciſion of the Cauſe relates to a King and Kingdom, which have ſo well deſerv'd of the *Apoſtolick See*. But neither the Reaſonableneſs of the Requeſt, the Memory of Obligations receiv'd, nor the repeated Entreaties of an excellent Prince, can prevail with your Holyneſs, and diſpoſe you to a juſt Regard. And ſince all theſe Motives are without Effect, 'tis no Wonder if our Grievances have made us break Silence, and forc'd us upon the Freedom of a Remonſtrance. For is it not a very unfortunate thing, that the Declaration of ſo many famous Univerſities, and other Perſons of Learning, ſhou'd not be able to do the King their intended Service: That theſe celebrated *Societies* can't prevail with the *Apoſtolick See* to exert the Functions of its Character? And that a Prince who has engag'd for St. *Peter*'s *Chair*, againſt ſo many potent Enemies, and defended the *Popedom*, both with his Sword and Pen, ſhou'd be deny'd in a Caſe of common Right; ſhould be refus'd the Benefit of that ſpiritual Authority, which had it not been for his *Highneſs*, wou'd have been in no Condition to have oblig'd any Part of the Church. Theſe myſterious Proceedings put us perfectly to a Stand: And in conſequence of this Uſage, we are threatned as it were, with a Deluge of Misfortune: For indeed, what Inundation can be more calamitous, than the perplexing the Royal Title, and reviving the Controverſy of the *Succeſſion*, which has lately coſt the Nation ſo much Treaſure and Blood?

"God be thanked, we have an admirable Prince, whoſe Right to the Crown is unqueſtionable, and were he bleſs'd with any Iſſue Male, wou'd ſettle Peace and Tranquillity upon the Kingdom: But the Hopes of this Happineſs depends wholly upon an unconteſted Marriage. Now for the procuring this Bleſſing, there is nothing wanting, but that your *Holyneſs* ſhou'd interpoſe your Authority in pronouncing againſt the former Marriage, and corroborate the Sentence of ſo many learned Men.

"But if this Aſſiſtance is refus'd: If a Father will deſert his *Relation*, throw up his Children, and put them in the Condition of Orphans: If this is the Caſe, we muſt conclude, we are left to take care of our ſelves, and ſhall be oblig'd to think of ſome other Remedy. To prevent theſe Extremities, we beſeech your *Holyneſs* to comply with our Sovereign in his very reaſonable Requeſts, and to give us this Relief with all Expedition. And ſince we move for no more than what your Paſtoral Office may fairly ſuggeſt, we hope your *Holyneſs* will ſhew ſome Tenderneſs and Affection to ſuch dutiful and obedient Sons. We are all concern'd to the laſt

(*u*) MS. ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

(*w*) Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 95.

(*x*) Apolog. adverſ. theologos Lovanienſes, cap. 2. Harmar. *p.* 18.

(*y*) Cavendiſh's *Memoirs*, &c. *p.* 99.

*1 Mar. Seſſ. 2. c. 1.

(*z*) *See Records, N.* 14.

Warham W. Abp. of Cant.

“degree in the King's Cauſe. Whatever Miſfortune happens to the Head, muſt of conſequence affect the whole Body: And thus we muſt all ſuffer in his Majeſty. And ſince 'tis in your *Holineſs*'s *Power* to give an eaſy Redreſs to this Grievance, we can't help ſaying, with Submiſſion, that it ought to be in your *Will* too. But if your *Holyneſs* ſhall think fit to do nothing, or proves dilatory in your Proceedings, our Condition will be ſo much the more unfortunate, becauſe we have waited and labour'd a great while to no purpoſe: However, we ſhall not altogether deſpair of diſintangling our ſelves. Some Remedies indeed are rough in the Operation, but the Patient muſt cure himſelf as well as he can: There's ſomething of Comfort in the Change of a Miſfortune; for tho' a Man may fail of having all he wiſh'd for, yet the Burthen may be ſomewhat lighten'd, and grow eaſy upon Cuſtom and Time. We once again entreat your *Holyneſs* wou'd pleaſe to conſider theſe things, and ſhew your ſelf the Vicar of Chriſt, no leſs in your Actions than in your Title: And that the Truth which has been brought to light by the Labour and Study of ſo many learned Perſons, may receive a more illuſtrious Evidence by your *Holyneſs*'s Concurrence. In the mean time, we ſhan't ceaſe to beg God Almighty to direct your *Holyneſs* to a juſt Reſolution, that by this means we may be freed from the Trouble of any other Expedient.

By this Letter, the Pope might pretty well foreſee the Conſequence of his Incomplyance: And that, unleſs he gave the King Satisfaction, he was in danger of loſing *England*. But notwithſtanding the Niceneſs of the Affair, he was reſolv'd not to ſtoop his Authority, but holds up his Pretenſion, at the Cuſtomary Pitch (*a*).

(*a*) *See Records*, N. 15.

The Pope's Anſwer.

In his Anſwer, he lets them know, “that their *Letter* wou'd have been more unacceptable to him, had he not been ſenſible of their being tranſported into ſome Freedoms by their Affection to their Sovereign. He ſhall therefore make 'em a return without any thing of Paſſion, and only give them to underſtand, that no Regards of Duty or Inclination to their Prince ought to have carried them ſo far, as to charge him with Ingratitude, and denying of Juſtice. We own, ſays he, your King has deſerv'd a great deal more than you mention; and that his Favours will never be forgotten by the *Apoſtolick See*. We confeſs our ſelves extremely obliged to his Highneſs, both in our private and publick Capacity, and that we are never likely to make him a Requital. But as to the Diſpute of the Marriage between his Highneſs and Queen *Catharine*, we are ſo far from diſappointing the King, by ſtopping the Courſe of Juſtice, that on the other hand, we are charged with carrying our ſelves ſomewhat uneven, and inclining to a Partiality to his Highneſs.

A. D. 1530.

To juſtify his Conduct, he reminds them, how at the King's Inſtance, he at firſt referr'd the Deciſion to the Cardinals *Wolſey* and *Campegio*, and ordered the Cauſe to be tryed, as it were, in the King's Palace: But when the Queen complaining of the Diſadvantage of the Place, and the Diſaffection of the Legates, made her Appeal to the *Apoſtolick See*, tho' he cou'd not refuſe her in this Application, yet even then, he was not wanting in giving Proof of his Friendſhip to the King. To this Purpoſe he threw in all poſſible Delays, in hopes that the Difference might have been adjuſted in an amicable way. But ſince it happen'd otherwiſe, and the whole *Conclave* have unanimouſly reſolv'd, his *Holyneſs* cou'd not deny the Proceſs upon the Appeal; there was no Evaſion but that the Cauſe muſt go on in the Forms of Law, and be referr'd to the *Conſiſtory*.

“Now as we ought to proceed always, continues the Pope, with due Care; ſo we are particularly oblig'd to the utmoſt Circumſpection, in a Cauſe where Kings and Princes are concern'd, and where the Eyes of Chriſtendom are all upon us. Now the King having conſtituted no legal Proxy to make out his Pretenſions, and plead for him, what wonder is it, if this Failure has occaſion'd the hanging of the Controverſy? For we are oblig'd to give Sentence upon Reaſons and *Records*; and not out of Fancy and Inclination. You have no Reaſon therefore to blame us for the Length and Tediouſneſs of the Diſpute: Indeed, we are much ſurpriz'd you ſhou'd complain upon this Head, ſince the King's Ambaſſadors ſolicited us for Time and Reſpite, both at *Bononia* and elſewhere; and to this Motion we then agreed, tho' the Queen's Proxies appear'd ſtrongly againſt it. Since therefore we have put no manner of Stop to the Buſineſs, we can't imagine why you ſhou'd remonſtrate upon this ſcore; unleſs you are of Opinion that the *Apoſtolick See*, is ſo deeply indebted to the King, that we ought to reſign to his Pleaſure, and gratify him at any rate: Indeed this ſeems to be plainly your Meaning, when you tell us, we ought to have ſubſcribed the *Cenſure* of the *Univerſities*, without any Application: Notwithſtanding the loudeſt Oppoſition and Counter-claim on the other ſide. Now in this matter, we can't help ſaying, you have fail'd a little in point of Modeſty and Diſcretion. For 'tis unintelligible to us, why we ſhou'd be deſired to give Sentence unrequeſted in a Cauſe of the laſt Importance; why we ſhou'd be thus preſs'd when the contrary Party urges the Scandal of *Chriſtendom*, the long Continuance of the Marriage, made upon a Diſpenſation from the *Apoſtolick See*, at the Inſtance of two illuſtrious Monarchs of *England* and *Spain*: When they plead a Daughter ſtill living, and ſeveral other Children born of the Queen: When they counterballance your learned Authorities with numerous Teſtimonies of no leſs Weight: And when they offer to fortifie their Cauſe, from *Scripture* Evidence, and *Hebrew* Learning: Notwithſtanding all this Counter-proof, we have held our Situation, and kept cloſe to an exact Neutrality.

“As for thoſe *Univerſities* and other Men of Letters, who as you alledge have declared in your Favour, very little of this kind has been ſeen by us, and that which has appear'd has not been deliver'd by the King's Ambaſſadors, nor come before us in a legal Manner. And beſides, they are only naked unſupported Reſolutions, without any Reaſons, drawn either from *Scripture* and the Canons upon which they ſtand.

“Now to require us to determine in favour of the King, without Thought or Conſideration, is neither fair in itſelf, nor does it become Perſons of your Senſe to ask it. For notwithſtanding we are extremely oblig'd to his Highneſs, yet in giving Judgment we muſt have a greater Regard to him, *by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Juſtice*. And, indeed, it is a Father's Buſineſs to take care his Affe-

“ ctions don't gain the Aſcendant, and make him over-indulgent to his Children. Beſides, by a raſh and precipitate *Sentence*, we ſhou'd only perplex our own, and his Highneſs's Conſcience, and publiſh a dangerous Precedent to the Chriſtian Church.

“ And whereas in the Cloſe of your Letter, you acquaint us, that unleſs we ſatisfy your Requeſt, you ſhall look upon your ſelves as left to your own Diſcretion, and think upon other Meaſures: This Reſolve we conceive is ſhort both in Prudence and Conſcience; and therefore in Charity we can't but adviſe you to deſiſt from any ſuch Courſe. And be pleas'd to take notice, there wou'd be no reaſon to blame the Phyſician, if the ſick Perſon, growing impatient under the Cure, ſhould fly out of *Regimen*, and deſtroy his Health. As for us, we are always willing to allow of warrantable Remedies: *For who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not**? *Our Mouth is open unto you*, dear Sons, and out of Tenderneſs of Affection, we ſuggeſt this Warning. To ſpeak clearly, I am of Opinion, the King for whom you ſollicit, wou'd not have approved the manner of your Application: For we are ſo well aſſur'd of his Highneſs's Integrity, that we cant help ſaying, that he wou'd have refus'd an unjuſt Deciſion, tho' made in favour of himſelf. And notwithſtanding we have a great Regard for the Interceſſion of ſo many Perſons of Quality, yet our Affection to his Highneſs, will not give us leave to be wholly govern'd by the ſtrength of Intreaty: Tho' on the other ſide, we can't recollect our refuſing his Majeſty any thing which was conſiſtent with the Honour of our See: And we ſhall always continue in the ſame friendly Inclination. As to the Cauſe, when 'tis fully opened and pleaded home on both ſides, it ſhall be diſpatch'd with all imaginable Expedition: For no Body living can be more deſirous than we are to ſet the King and Queen at their eaſe, and put a ſpeedy Iſſue to ſo very troubleſome an Affair. In the mean time, we entreat the King, and your Lordſhips not to preſs his Highneſs's Favours too hard upon us, nor demand that which we can't grant without offending God Almighty: Now with this Reſerve, you may expect a Complyance in every thing from us, which lies within the Compaſs of Juſtice, and the Character we bear.

*2 Cor. 11. 29.
2 Cor. 6. 11.

“ Dated at *Rome*, &c. the 27th Day of *September* 1530, and the 7th Year of our Pontificate.

Sept 19. 1530.

Some little time before this, the King being apprehenſive of the Queen's or *Wolſey*'s procuring *Bulls* againſt him, ſet forth the following Proclamation (*b*).

(*b*) Hall.

A Proclamation againſt acting upon the Pope's Bulls.

“ The King's Highneſs ſtraightly charges and commands, that no manner of Perſon of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he, or they be of, do purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, nor uſe and put in Execution, divulge or publiſh any thing heretofore within this Year paſt, purchas'd or to be purchas'd hereafter, containing Matter prejudicial to the high Authority, Juriſdiction, and Prerogative Royal of this his ſaid Realm, or to the Let, Hinderance or Impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous intended Purpoſes in the Premiſes; upon pain of incurring his Highneſs's Indignation and Impriſonment, and farther Puniſhment of their Bodies for their ſo doing, at his Grace's Pleaſure, to the dreadful Example of all others.

This *Proclamation* as appears by the *Date* was publiſh'd ſomewhat more than a Month after the Expoſtulating Letter ſent to the Pope: And 'tis probable the King might be encourag'd to exert himſelf thus far, by ſeeing the Principal of his Subjects ſo forward in his Intereſt.

The Pope and *Conclave*, we may imagine, were ſomewhat alarm'd at the *Proclamation* and *Remonſtrance*. Theſe, they perceived, were unuſual Freedoms, and look'd like Steps to a farther Remove. To prevent worſe Conſequences, the Pope was willing to ſalve up the matter, and recover the King's Friendſhip. To this his *Holyneſs* was the more diſpos'd by a late Diſappointment from the Emperor. The Caſe was this: His Imperial Majeſty was deſir'd to refer the Determination of the Differences between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*, to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit. *Modena* and *Rhegio* were the matter in Diſpute. Now the Emperor happen'd to pitch upon ſuch Judges, as awarded theſe Towns to the Duke. This Sentence ſo far diſguſted the Pope, as to diſpoſe him to break with the Emperor. The Juncture ſtanding thus, 'tis probable the King might have clos'd with him, and been gratified in the Divorce, had not his Parliament diſcovered their Inclination to extend the *Regale*.

The Pope inclin'd to give the King Satisfaction.

The *Parliament* being now ſitting, 'twas thought fit to acquaint the *Houſes*, with the Reſolutions of the learned relating to the Marriage. To this Purpoſe, the Lord Chancellor, *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, and ſeveral other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, went to the *Houſe of Commons*, and told 'em, they cou'd not be unacquainted how the King's Mind was diſturb'd for having married his Brother's Wife. That to diſintangle his Conſcience, he had applied to the moſt celebrated *Univerſities*; not but that *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were well qualified for the Debate: But his Majeſty was willing to give himſelf and the World all imaginable Satisfaction. Upon this, Mr. *Bryan Tuke* was ordered to read the Determinations of the *Univerſities* in *France* and *Italy*, which were only ſix; to which may be added the two *Engliſh* Univerſities.

The Cenſures of the Univerſities read in Parliament.

And to ſtrengthen the Authority of theſe Deciſions, the Matter had been referr'd to the *Convocation*. The Caſe was propoſed under theſe two Queſtions; *Whether the marrying the Relict of a Brother deceaſing after the Conſummation of the Marriage, was prohibited by the Law of God, and above the Pope's Diſpenſation?* This Queſtion being debated by the *Prelates* and lower *Houſe* for ſeveral Days together, 253 of the Members determin'd for the Affirmative, the Negative being maintain'd by no more than 19.

Apr. 5. 1530.
Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 106.
Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 14. p. 454.

The Convocation determined for the Divorce.

The ſecond Queſtion, which lay within the Profeſſion of the *Canoniſts* and *Civilians*, was put thus, *Whether the Conſummation of the Marriage between Prince* Arthur, *and the Princeſs* Catherine *now Queen, was ſufficiently proved?* For the debating this Queſtion, there were 47 Profeſſors of the Canon and Civil Law, of which 3 were Proxies. Of theſe, 41 decided the Queſtion in the Affirmative. And here it may not be improper to obſerve that *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *George* Biſhop of *Landaff*, were on the negative ſide in the *firſt* Queſtion, and ſo was *John* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* in the *ſecond* (*c*). From whence it ap-

But three of the Biſhops, &c. were againſt it.

(*c*) Harmer, *p.* 193, 296.

Warham W. *Abp. of* Cant.

pears our learned *Church-Hiſtorian* was miſtaken in affirming, *that all the Biſhops excepting* Fiſher *declared under their Hands and Seals that they judged the Marriage unlawful* (*d*).

(*d*) *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 38. *Reflections on* Varillas, *p.* 22, 28, 35.

May 31. 1531. *Two Meſſages ſent to the Queen upon this Buſineſs.*

The King being thus fortified with the Deciſions of the *Learned*, ſent ſome Lords of the *Council* to acquaint the Queen with it: They had likewiſe in Charge the propoſing of an Expedient to put an end to the Debate: And that her Highneſs wou'd refer the matter to four Spiritual and four Temporal Lords of this Kingdom. But the Queen would not be prevail'd with to depart from her Appeal. Her Anſwer therefore was, that ſhe could not quit the Relation of being the King's Wife, 'till the Court of *Rome* ſhou'd determine the contrary (*e*).

(*e*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 326.

But to no effect.

The King who was reſolved to omit nothing to bring her to an Acquieſcence, ſent another Meſſage. The Inſtructions were ſomewhat more rugged and menacing than the former: In the cloſe, ſhe was told, that the Scruples of the King's Conſcience ran ſo high, that of late his Highneſs had forborn to hold any Correſpondence with her by Viſits, or receiving of Tokens: And that now her Grace had the Liberty of retiring to *Oaking*, *Eaſt-Hamſtead*, or the Monaſtry of *Biſham*, as ſhe lik'd beſt. To which the good Queen replied little more than this: That no Diſtance cou'd diſcharge the *Relation*, or remove her from being the King's Wife. And from this time 'tis ſaid the King never ſaw her more.

July 14.

Ibid.

There's one remarkable Paſſage, which I ſhou'd have mention'd the latter end of the laſt Year; and that is the whole Clergy's falling under a *Premunire* for acknowledging Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Legantine Authority. And thus an *Indictment* was brought againſt the Body of this Order into the *King's Bench* (*f*). And here, as 'tis ſaid, *'twas in vain to plead the King had not only connived at the Cardinal's Proceedings, but made him all that while his chief Miniſter. That therefore they were excuſable in ſubmitting to an Authority ſo much encouraged by the King; eſpecially ſince if they had done otherwiſe, they muſt have been unavoidably ruin'd. For to all this, 'twas anſwer'd that the Laws were ſtill in Force: That they ought to take notice of the Conſtitution at their Peril, and that their Ignorance could not excuſe them. However, tho' by the Courts proceeding to a Sentence, they were all out of the King's Protection, and liable to the Forfeitures in the Statutes; his Highneſs notwithſtanding was willing upon a reaſonable Compoſition, and a full Submiſſion, to pardon 'em.*

(*f*) *Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ. p.* 325. *Biſhop* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 106.

The Clergy brought under a Præmunire *for owning* Cardinal Wolſey's *Legantine Authority.*

Id. *p.* 112.

They compound with the King.

The Clergy finding themſelves thus diſtreſs'd were glad to compound for their Acquittal: But as for any Submiſſion with reſpect to their Power of not making Canons without the King's Licence, there was none ſuch made till two Years forward, as will appear hereafter. To return to their *Compoſition*, which was ſomewhat ſevere; for the *Province* of *Canterbury* parted with an hundred thouſand Pounds; and the *Province* of *York* with eighteen thouſand, eight hundred and Forty. This was a prodigious *Fine* at that time of day; and 'tis probable, was more than twenty times the Value of the ſame Sum, at preſent.

But after all, 'tis probable the Proceſs was not carried thro', nor Judgment given againſt the Clergy in the *King's Bench*. For *Hollingſhead* ſays they compounded before the Day of their Appearance *. And Lord *Herbert* only ſays they were brought to the *King's Bench*, which it may be, means no more than a Summons. For had their Tryal paſs'd thro' the Forms, and the Court proceeded to Judgment, we ſhould in all likelihood have had a particular Account of the Judges that ſat, of the Prelates who came thither, and the Council that pleaded the Cauſe. Such a famous Caſe as this, we may imagine wou'd never have been omitted in our Lawyer's *Reports*.

* Hollingſhead, *p.* 923.

Hen. VIII. K.

Their Caſe conſider'd.

Now whether the *Clergy* were hardly us'd or not, will appear in ſome meaſure from a few Remarks upon this Subject.

Firſt, If the Clergy were *indicted* upon the *Statutes* of *Proviſo's* or *Præmunire* (*g*), the Queſtion will be, whether their Caſe falls under the Penalties of theſe *Acts?* And here I ſhall only offer ſomething in a Problematical way, without pretending to determine upon the Point.

(*g*) 27 Ed. 3. cap. 1. 16. Ric. 2. cap. 5.

Now it may be alleg'd, the *Clergy* did not fall under the Forfeitures of the *Statutes* above-mention'd by owning *Wolſey*'s Legantine Character: For do theſe *Statutes* either make a Grievance of the Functions of a *Legate*, or ſo much as mention that Character? The Purview of theſe *Acts* ſeems plainly ſet forth in the *Preamble*. And what is that? 'Tis to ſecure Patronages from *Papal Proviſions*; 'tis to prevent the *Impeachment of Judgments* given in the *King's Courts*; 'tis to guard the Prerogative from the Encroachment, of the *Conclave*. Now which way does it appear that a moderate Exerciſe of the *Legantine* Commiſſion was inconſiſtent with the Rights of the Subject, or the Juriſdiction of the *Crown* above mention'd? Might not *Wolſey* make uſe of his Legantine Authority in convening *National Synods*, Voting for the paſſing or nulling of *Canons*, and doing other things of a Spiritual Nature, without encroaching upon any Branch of Property or Prerogative? One would think there were many Powers within the Verge of his Authority inoffenſively practicable.

Farther, 'Tis obſerved that ſeveral *Engliſh* Archbiſhops, ſince the making of theſe Statutes, have acted as Popes Legates without any Proſecution from the *State* (*h*). And which is more, it appears pretty plainly that thoſe Lords and other Perſons of Figure who exhibited the *Articles* abovementioned againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, were not of Opinion that the Legantine Authority was neceſſarily ſubverſive of the King's Prerogative, or inconſiſtent with the Laws of the Land: This I ſay, ſeems to appear clearly enough from the twenty eighth Article, which runs thus:

(*h*) Godwyn de Præſul. in Chicheley. *Biſhop* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 112.

> *That the ſaid Lord Cardinal did firſt ſue unto your Grace to have your Aſſent to be Legate* a Latere, *promiſing and ſolemnly proteſting before your Majeſty, and before the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, that he would nothing do nor attempt by the Virtue of his Legacy, that ſhould be contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the Damage or Prejudice of the Juriſdiction of any Ordinary, and that by his Legacy no Man ſhou'd be hurted nor offended; and upon that Condition, and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm* (*i*).

(*i*) Coke Inſtit. *pt.* 4. *fol.* 92.

Now is it not pretty plain by the Tenor of this *Article*, that the Functions of a *Legate* were not ſo irreconcilable with the Laws as has been affirm'd (*k*)? One would imagine the Lords who exhibited the Charge, ſhould underſtand the Conſtitution in this Matter; eſpecially ſince they had three eminent Lawyers, Sir *Thomas Moor* Lord Chancellor, *Fitz-James* Chief Juſtice of *England*, and the famous *Fitz-Herbert* another Judge, to direct 'em: for theſe three ſubſcrib'd the Impeachment with the other Lords (*l*).

(*k*) Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ. p. 325. *Bp* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 112.

(*l*) Coke, ibid. *fol.* 95.

Secondly, Suppoſing theſe *Statutes* ſhou'd affect the *Legantine* Authority, and thoſe who own'd it, 'twas within the King's Prerogative to have diſpenſed with the Penalty. That the King might have skreen'd the *Clergy* from Puniſhment, appears by the Reſolution of all the Judges of *England*; where they unanimouſly deliver it as their Opinion, that notwithſtanding the King cannot grant the Benefit of a Penal Statute to a Subject under the *Broad Seal*, yet they agree that his Majeſty (upon any Conſideration moving him with reſpect to Time, Place, or Perſon, *&c.*) may grant a *non-obſtante* to diſpenſe with any particular Perſon, to prevent his incurring the Penalty of the *Statute*: And to affirm this, ſay they, we are warranted by our *Books (m)*. And in *Calvin*'s Caſe the King's Prerogative to diſpenſe with an *Act* of *Parliament*, is maintain'd by all the Judges in a very remarkable Inſtance.

Thirdly, Since it was in the King's Power to have granted a *Noli proſequi*, to remit the Penalty, or at leaſt, to have returned their Money: The Queſtion is, whether he was not bound in Juſtice to do it? The Reaſon of this Queſtion is, becauſe the Cardinal, as has been prov'd already, had a Warrant under the *Broad Seal* to indemnify him in the Exerciſe of a *Legate*'s Office. And is it not ſomewhat rigorous the King ſhou'd proſecute his own Act and Deed: That he ſhou'd lay ſo heavy a Burthen upon the Clergy, and draw ſo vaſt a Sum from 'em, for owning an Authority under ſo publick a Countenance? Wou'd not this Uſage have been complain'd of as intolerable Oppreſſion had it been put upon any other Perſons? Beſides, the *Clergy* were paſſive more than any thing elſe: And rather ſuffered under, than abetted *Wolſey*'s Legantine Authority. That this was their unfortunate Caſe, appears by the *Articles* againſt the Cardinal already mention'd.

The Clergy acknowledge the King ſupreme Head of the Church but not without a Reſerve.

But this was not all: There was more than Money requir'd of the Clergy. The King perceiving the Proceſs of the *Divorce* move ſlowly at *Rome*, and the Iſſue look unpromiſing, projected a Relief another way. To this purpoſe he ſeems to have form'd a Deſign of transferring ſome Part of the Pope's Pretenſions upon the *Crown*, and ſetting up an *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy*. And now having gotten the Clergy entangled in a *Præmunire*, he reſolv'd to ſeize the Juncture, and puſh the Advantage. Thus the *Regale* was requir'd to be acknowledg'd in uncuſtomary Language; and a new *Submiſſion* of this kind put to the *Convocation*. The Author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* informs us, “ That the King refus'd to pardon the *Præmunire*, unleſs the Clergy ſubmitted to own him their *ſole and ſupreme Head next and immediately after Chriſt*: *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* were ſuſpected to have ſuggeſted this Thought to the King. The Demand of this new Title ſurpriz'd the Clergy extremely, they were ſomewhat at a ſtand about the Meaning; and were apprehenſive dangerous Conſequences might be drawn from it. The Matter was debated a great while; and the Archbiſhop obliged the Houſes to Secrecy under the higheſt Cenſures. To over-aw them into a Complyance, the Lord *Rochford*, *Cromwell* Maſter of the *Rolls*, and ſome of the Judges were ſent to the *Convocation*: They told them that the King was reſolv'd not to diſcharge the Penalties incurr'd, unleſs they would acknowledge the Title abovemention'd. At laſt the Archbiſhop demanding the Senſe of the Houſes, moſt of 'em ſaid nothing: Upon which he told 'em, Silence implied Conſent. To this they replied, then we are all ſilent. But ſuch a dark imperfect Way of declaring themſelves being look'd on as unſuitable to a *Synod*; and might be conſtrued an evaſive Anſwer, 'twas thought fit to come to a more explicit Reſolution: And thus at laſt they agreed to acknowledge the King Supreme Lord and Protector, and alſo, *as far as was conſiſtent with the Laws of the Goſpel, Supreme Head.*

“ The King was not pleas'd to find their *Submiſſion* thus ſoften'd with Ambiguities and Exceptions: *Cromwell* therefore was ſent to the *Convocation*, and ordered to tell 'em, that unleſs they ſpoke plain, and threw out the Reſtriction, the *Præmunire* wou'd not be diſcharg'd. Upon this they unanimouſly voted the King chief Head of the Church of *England* without Reſerve *(n)*.

Thus far this Author, who is follow'd in this Account by *Maſon de Miniſterio Anglicano* (o). But after all, the Matter is miſreported: For the *Clergy* did not make ſo abſolute a Submiſſion, nor throw out this *Clauſe*, as theſe Writers pretend. To give a ſhort Account of this remarkable Buſineſs.

Several Forms propoſed.

The new Acknowledgment was firſt propoſed in this Form, *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani cujus Protector & Supremum Caput is ſolus eſt*, id eſt, *The King is ſole Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of* England. But this wou'd not paſs; the Reaſon aſſign'd for their Refuſal was, the Article being couch'd in ſuch general Terms, they were afraid it might be miſunderſtood in future Ages, and interpreted to an ungodly Senſe *. After three Days the King finding 'em conſtant to their Reſolve, relax'd a little, and ſtoop'd to ſomething of a Mitigation: He was prevail'd with, that the Addition *after God*, ſhou'd follow the Words *Head of the Church*, &c. But neither did this Qualification ſatisfy the *Clergy*, who choſe rather to run the utmoſt Hazards than comply. This Fortitude prov'd very ſerviceable: For ſoon after the Archbiſhop brought in a more inoffenſive Form, letting 'em know, the King was willing to accept the *Acknowledgment* with the Limitation of *quantum per Legem Chriſti licet*, *Supremum Caput*, *&c.* And with this *Proviſo*, the *Supremacy* was paſs'd, tho' not without ſomething of a Struggle.

Their Submiſſion not drawn in a Petition, but acknowledged in a Grant.

But then this *Submiſſion* was not made by way of *Petition* to the King, as a Reverend Prelate ſuppoſes (p). The *Clergy* pitch'd upon a leſs obnoxious manner; and tack'd their Acknowledgment to the Grant of a hundred thouſand Pounds, which they gave to the King by way of Compoſition (q). I ſhall tranſcribe ſome part of the *Inſtrument (r)*. And here in the penning of this Grant, the Clergy ſeem very cautious to remove the Imputation of a *Forfeiture*, as much as may be: For the Money granted runs in the Form of a Benevolence or Gratuity. They give the King this Sum by way of Gratitude; particularly for Writing the Book againſt *Luther*: For ſuppreſſing the Heterodoxies, and checking the Inſults upon the Clergy, from that Party. As for their *Submiſſion*, 'tis not only penn'd with a *Salvo*, but thrown into a Parentheſis, as if it came in only by the by. And where they move for a Diſcharge from any Forfeitures incurr'd by the *Statutes* of *Proviſo*'s and *Præmunire*, they likewiſe addreſs for a Pardon of the Breach of other *Pœnal Laws*: And thus, by moving for a Security againſt other *Acts* of *Parliament*, they ſeem to fence againſt the *Proſecution*, and keep their Fault from being particularly pointed upon the *Act* of *Præmunire*. And this ſeems the Reaſon why they are not more

(m) Coke's *Rep. pt.* 7. *fol.* 36, 37.
Ibid. *fol.* 14.

(n) Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ. p. 325, 326.

(o) Lib. 3. c. 4. p. 281.

* Ne Termini, &c. in ſenſum improbum traherentur.
Journal of Convocation.

(p) *Bp* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 112.

(q) *Journal of the Convocation Book.*
Regiſt. Warham & Stokeſly.

(r) *See Records, N.* 17.

preciſe and determinate in owning the Cauſe of their Indictment. This ſeems to be the Reaſon, I ſay, why they are not more particular in addreſſing for their Pardon, nor take any notice of their owning the *Legantine* Authority.

Journal of Convocation. (s) *Dr* Atterbury's *Rights* &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, &c. *pag.* 84.

Thoſe who agreed to the Form of *Submiſſion* in the Upper-Houſe, were Nine Biſhops, Sixty Two Abbots and Priors: In the Lower-Houſe, Thirty Six voted for it in Perſon: And theſe being *Proxies* for Forty Eight more, came up to a Majority (*s*).

Reginald Pool *not preſent in this Convocation.* (t) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 112, 113.

Our learned *Church Hiſtorian* is of Opinion, that *Reginald Pool* ſate in the *Houſe* when this *Submiſſion* paſs'd (*t*). But that noble Perſon in his Book *de Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, diſproves this Conjecture. Where ſpeaking to King *Henry* the Eighth, your Highneſs, ſays he, *is very deſirous of being call'd the Supreme Head of the Church: And you declare this additional Title was given you by the Conſent of All the States of the Realm.* But as for me, I was not upon the Spot when theſe Things paſt (*u*). The Reverend Prelate above-mentioned, fortifies his Conjecture, by obſerving, that the King continu'd *Pool*'s Penſions and Preferments after this Time: But by the way, this is no Proof that *Pool* ſubſcrib'd for the King's new Title: For notwithſtanding he had diſobliged the King, in a higher manner than this comes to, his Preferments were not taken from him: And of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in his Book abovementioned. " Now this Book was publiſh'd in " Year 1536, and written expreſly againſt the " King's Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy* (*w*); yet even " there *Pool* owns himſelf extremely oblig'd to " the King for his Bounty. And that tho' his " Highneſs puniſh'd his Opinion in others, yet " he was pleas'd to encourage his Studies, and " continue his Favours to him (*x*).

(u) De Union. *p.* 58. *Bp.* Burnet, Ibid.

(w) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *pag.* 221.

(x) De Union. Eccleſ. *p.* 58. *p.* 1. & *p.* 84.

The Clergy pardon'd by Act of Parliament.

The King receiving Satisfaction in this Matter, ſign'd a *Bill* to pardon the Clergy. This *Bill* paſs'd with the Lords, but ſtuck in the *Lower Houſe*: The Reaſon why the *Commons* demurr'd, was their not being included themſelves. The King being diſpleas'd with their Refuſal, let 'em know, they were not to ſtand upon Terms, nor capitulate for an *Act* of *Grace*. The *Commons* perceiving they had taken a wrong Step, reſign'd themſelves to the King's Clemency, and gain'd their Deſire (*y*).

Hollingſhead, *p.* 923.

(y) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 321.

(z) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 114.

The *Clergy* of the *Province* of *Canterbury*, being thus pardon'd, proceeded to tax their *Body* in *Convocation* (*z*). And here all the City Clergy are ſaid to refuſe contributing their Proportion towards the Payment of the Hundred Thouſand Pound. Thus our learned Church Hiſtorian reports the Matter from *Hall*. But *Hall*, this Reverend Prelate elſewhere obſerves, was but a ſuperficial Writer: And here eſpecially he ſeems to deſerve that Character. For why ſhou'd the inferior Clergy claim an Exemption from being aſſeſs'd? For the Lord *Herbert* informs us, that the King's learned *Council*, had declar'd after a long Debate, that the whole *Clergy* were fallen under a *Premunire* (*a*). Secondly, What Reaſon had the City Clergy to refuſe paying their Share of the *Compoſition*, when they muſt needs know the Lower Houſe had conſented to the *Grant* no leſs than the *Prelates?* That this was matter of Fact, appears plainly from the *Grant* already mention'd.

Id. in Pref.

(a) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 320.

(b) *Dr.* Atterbury's *Rights*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, *pag.* 85.

May 4. A. D. 1531.

The Convocation at York *more dilatory in paſſing the Acknowledgements.*

The *Convocation* at *York* ſtuck longer upon the *New Title*, and came not to a Reſolution till *May* following (*b*). The *See* of *York* was then void; and *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, proteſted againſt the Proceedings. Which being remarkable both for Perſon and Matter, I ſhall tranſlate Part of it. " And here he ſcruples the ſubſcribing this *Clauſe*, *Cujus ſingularem Protectorem*, " *Unicum & Supremum Dominum*, *& quantum per* " *Chriſti legem licet etiam Supremum Caput*, *ipſius* " *Majeſtatem recognoſcimus*. This Clauſe, ſays the " Biſhop, ſeem'd to have an inoffenſive Appear- " ance at the firſt View: But conſidering that " ſome Perſons lately proſecuted upon Suſpi- " cion of Hereſy, have interpreted theſe Words " to an ill Senſe, queſtion'd the Juriſdiction of " their *Ordinaries*, and endeavour'd to ſhelter " themſelves from the *Cenſures* of the Church: " for this Reaſon, I conceive, this Recognition " ought to be couch'd in Terms more preciſe " and diſtinguiſhing. For if the Words hold " forth no more than this Meaning, that the " King is under Chriſt, ſupreme Head in his " Dominions, and particularly of the *Engliſh* " Clergy, in temporal Matters: This as it is " nothing more than we are all willing to ac- " knowledge, ſo to prevent all Miſconſtructions " from Hereticks, the Clauſe ſhou'd be put in " clear and deciſive Language. But on the o- " ther ſide, if we are to underſtand, that the " King is *Supreme Head* of the Church both in " *Spirituals* and *Temporals*, and that this *Supre-* " *macy* is conferr'd upon him by the *Laws* of " the *Goſpel*: For thus ſome heterodox and ma- " levolent Perſons conſtrue the *Proviſo*, *quantum* " *per Chriſti legem licet*. Then this Conſtruction " being repugnant, as I conceive, to the Do- " ctrine of the Catholick Church, I muſt diſ- " ſent from it. And notwithſtanding the Clauſe " of *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, may be taken " by way of Limitation and Reſtriction, yet be- " cauſe the Propoſition is ſtill ſomewhat invol- " ved, I think it ought to be farther diſcharged " from Ambiguity. For *ſupreme Head of the* " *Church* carrys a complicated and myſterious " Meaning: For this Title may either relate " to *Spirituals* or *Temporals*, or *both*. Now " when a Propoſition is thus comprehenſive and " big with ſeveral Meanings, there is no re- " turning a ſingle and categorical Anſwer. And " therefore, that *we mayn't give Scandal to weak* " *Brethren*, I conceive this Acknowlegement of " the King's ſupreme Headſhip, ſhou'd be ſo " carefully expreſs'd as to point wholly upon " *Civil* and *Secular* Juriſdiction. And with this " Explanation, the *Engliſh* Clergy, and particu- " larly my ſelf, are willing to go the utmoſt " Length in the Recognition. But ſince the " *Clauſe is not at preſent thus guarded and explain-* " *ed*, I muſt declare my Diſſent; and deſire my " *Proteſtation* may be entered upon the Journal " of the *Convocation* (*c*).

Bp. Tunſtal's *Remonſtrance againſt the King's Title of Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy.*

(c) Id. Appendix, *p.* 519.

The King not being pleas'd with theſe Scruples, returns an Anſwer to this *Proteſt*, or at leaſt to ſome other Paper of a like Tendency. However, by the Terms of Salutation, we may certainly conclude the Anſwer was directed to a Biſhop (*d*). In the Entrance upon the Diſpute, the King complains " The Biſhop had ſtrain'd " the *Clauſe* of *Recognition*, and perplexed the " Meaning. That if Words were always thus " rack'd, and ſet upon the Tenters, Letters " and Learning wou'd ſignifie little.

(d) Cabala, *pag.* 227.

" The King takes notice, the Biſhop had " prov'd our Saviour the Head of the Church; " that he lodg'd the Branches of his *Spiritual* " and *Temporal* Juriſdiction, in different Sub- " jects; that he made a Grant of the latter to " Princes, and that Biſhops were commiſſion'd " for the other. But then the *Text* cited to " prove Obedience due to Princes, comprehends " all Perſons, both Clergy and Laity, and no

The King's Anſwer to the Objections upon this Argument.

Order of the Hierarchy is exempted. 'Tis true, you reſtrain this Submiſſion to Temporal Matters, but the Scripture Expreſſions are General and without Reſerve. For you don't ſtick to confeſs, That whatever Power is neceſſary for the Peace of *Civil* Society, is included in the chief Magiſtrate's Commiſſion. From hence we infer, that the Prince is authoriz'd to animadvert upon thoſe who outrage Religion, and are guilty of the Breach of the divine Precepts. For certainly we are not bound to give our own Laws a Preference to thoſe of God Almighty, nor puniſh the Violation of the one, and connive at the other. All *ſpiritual* Things therefore in which Liberty or Property are concern'd, are neceſſarily included in the Prince's Power. And this may be made good by the Scriptures, Fathers, and other Authorities of the Learned, cited in your Letter. Your next Buſineſs is to prove that Preaching and Adminiſtering the Sacraments, belongs to the Sacerdotal Function; and that our Saviour gave the Hierarchy a Commiſſion for this purpoſe. We know no Body denies you this: But then *Spirituals* are commonly taken in too extenſive a Senſe, and the Prieſt's Authority ſtrain'd beyond the Warrant of the *Text*. Our Saviour himſelf had a ſacerdotal Character, and yet ſubmitted to *Pilate*'s Juriſdiction. And St. *Paul*, tho' a Prieſt of Apoſtolical Diſtinction, makes no Scruple to ſay, *I ſtand at* Cæſar's *Judgment Seat, where I ought to be judged*. The King proceeds to reaſon upon Parallel Caſes. “A Phyſician can cure a Diſeaſe much better than a Prince, and yet neither his Power nor his Quality reaches up to a Royal Diſtinction. Thus when Biſhop's aſſiſt in the Conſecration of Archbiſhops, don't they beſtow a higher Dignity than they have themſelves? 'Tis true, Kings and Emperors obey Biſhops and Prieſts as Chriſt's Ambaſſadors: But when their Embaſſay is over, they leſſen to a private Condition; their publick Character ſleeps, and they acknowledge the Civil Magiſtrate for their Sovereign.

“Farther, to prove the Supremacy of Princes, he refers to the Laws of *Juſtinian*. For as his Majeſty continues, with what Conſcience cou'd that Emperor have made Laws touching the Regulation of the Church, if he had not believ'd that *Spiritual Society* had been part of his Charge? 'Tis true, Princes are Sons of the Church in your definition of that *Body*: But this does not hinder 'em from being ſupreme Heads of Chriſtian Men. The King advances in the Diſpute, and argues for his Title from the *Convocations* meeting by *Writ*; from the Biſhops Homage and Oaths of Allegiance; from the Royal Licenſe and Aſſent in the Election of Abbots. And as concerning the Goods and Eſtates of the Clergy, 'tis plain, ſays he, they are under the Settlement and Direction of our Laws.

“Then as to the Government of the Clergy, with reſpect to their Manners and Behaviour, ſome criminal Cauſes are reſerv'd to our *Courts*, and ſome by our Permiſſion remitted to the *Ordinaries*. Murder, Felony, and Treaſon we reſerve to our Correction: As for other Inſtances of Miſbehaviour we leave the Clergy to be puniſhed by their reſpective Biſhops. Not becauſe we have no Authority to interpoſe in Caſes of this Nature; for you know very well, 'tis within our Commiſſion to puniſh Prieſts for Adultery, if we thought fit. We grant the Sacraments, thoſe Conveyances of Grace are to be adminiſter'd by Perſons of a holy Character: But then, if they miſbehave themſelves in their Function, to a Degree of Scandal, the *Civil* Magiſtrate may try the Cauſe, and puniſh the Crime. And then as to the *ſpiritual* Character, ſince the Prince's Authority or Permiſſion is previous to the Execution of their Office, why ſhou'd they ſcruple to call him Head, with reſpect to that Power which is deriv'd from him? However to avoid Calumny, there is added a Reſtriction of *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, that is, as far as is conſiſtent with the Goſpel Diſpenſation, — *&c.*

The King's Anſwer goes ſomewhat farther. But thus much may be ſufficient to diſcover the Manner. Whether his Majeſty's Precedents were unexceptionable, his Grounds firm, and his Inferences well drawn, I muſt leave to the Collection of the *Reader*.

By ſeveral Paſſages referr'd to in this *Letter*, 'tis plain 'twas not an Anſwer to Biſhop *Tunſtal*'s *Proteſtation*: For in that *Inſtrument* there are none of thoſe Paſſages. However, 'tis poſſible, it might be a Reply to ſome other *Diſcourſe* of that Prelate upon this Subject. As to the Clauſe of *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, we have the Authority of this *Letter* for its being inſerted: To which, beſides the Proof already given, we may add the Teſtimony of the Lord *Herbert* (*e*), and of *Fuller* too, who ſaw the *Acts* of the *Convocation*. And here I ſhall only obſerve, that the King's Letter in the *Cabala* is miſdated and ſet two Years forward. But this might be only the Negligence of the Tranſcriber.

Aug 19. A. D. 1531. Bylney *ſuffers for his Tenents at* Norwich.

This Year *Bylney* was delated for relapſing into Hereſie, and burnt at *Norwich*. Sir *Thomas More* is poſitive, that before he ſuffer'd, he recanted in Form, and received Abſolution and the Sacrament from the Biſhop's Clergy (*f*). *Fox* denies this Recantation, and endeavours to diſprove *More*: But then he writes out of his Talent, and rallies ſomewhat untowardly. He charges this Gentleman, then Lord Chancellor, with Inſincerity; but gives up the main Cauſe. He ſuppoſes *Bylney*'s receiving Abſolution, and confeſſing his Sins to one of the Biſhop's Prieſts, does not imply the retracting his former Opinions. But here it muſt be granted, *Fox* fails in his Reaſoning: For when a Perſon is charg'd with Hereſy, and proſecuted to Proof, 'twas never the Cuſtom of any Church to abſolve him without a previous Recantation.

Fox *denies his Recantation.*

Fox goes farther in his Conceſſions: He ſuppoſes *Bylney* might hear Maſs, and receive the Sacrament in the Church of *Rome*, without recanting his Tenents. Nay, he believes he did receive the Sacrament (*g*). This Acknowledgement makes all *Fox*'s Conjectures inſignificant, and deſtroys the Force of his counter Evidence. For we may be aſſur'd, he wou'd never have been admitted to the Holy Eucharift, had he not been reconciled to their Communion. But he has one Remark upon Sir *Thomas More*'s Narrative, which has more Weight in it: And here he puts ſomewhat of a hard Queſtion. Why did they burn him after his Recantation? By going this Length, he was no Heretick; Why then ſhou'd he ſuffer the Penalties of Hereſie? But then *Fox*'s ſaying this was only an Eccleſiaſtical Law, is a Miſtake. For by *Act* of *Parliament*, thoſe who relaps'd into Hereſy were to be burnt *in terrorem* (*h*). Thus it may be the Church cou'd not help it; and therefore the Rigour of the Execution muſt be thrown upon the

---

(*e*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 320. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. p.* 84.

(*f*) More, *p.* 349.

(*g*) Fox, *p.* 273. *Edit.* 1641.

Id. *p.* 274.

(*h*) 25 H. 8. *cap.* 14. 20 H. 5. *cap.* 7.

the *State*. 'Tis true, ſome Caſuiſts affirm, that 'tis in the Power of the Spiritual Court to wink at the Proof of a Perſon thus proſecuted, and not pronounce him relaps'd. And here the Canon Lawyers are almoſt at a loſs: Some affirm, that the Eccleſiaſtical Judge is under no Neceſſity of putting a Heretick relaps'd into the Hands of the ſecular Magiſtrate, and that he may mitigate the Rigor of this Puniſhment, and commute it to perpetual Confinement in the Biſhop's Priſon. But then there muſt be ſome Colour of Defect in the Evidence, to make way for this Favour: For when the Proof is clear and demonſtrative againſt the Criminal, 'tis not in the Church's Power to preſerve him. Not long after, *Bayfield* a Prieſt was burnt upon the Charge of Hereſie. But the Buſineſs of this Work being no Martyrology, I ſhall not be particular in every thing of this kind.

Lynwood lib. 5. de Hæreticis. Tit. item quia turpis, &c.

Jan. 15. A. D. 153$\frac{1}{2}$.

The Grievances of the Commons with reſpect to the Clergy redreſſed in ſeveral Statutes.

The latter End of this Year, the *Parliament* ſate again after a *Prorogation*. This *Seſſions* the *Commons* addreſs'd the King againſt the *Clergy*. The *Articles* were digeſted in a Book call'd the *Supplication*. The King's Anſwer was, he wou'd be farther adviſ'd, and hear the Defence of the Parties accus'd: And then after a Repreſentation on both ſides, he ſhou'd proceed as the Caſe requir'd. This Complaint occaſioned the making ſeveral *Statutes* this *Parliament*. For inſtance, “ None under a Subdeacon who had been convicted of Petty-Treaſon, Murder, or Felony, ſhou'd have the Benefit of the Clergy, and be delivered to their *Ordinary*. 'Twas likewiſe enacted, *that none within the Orders of Subdeacon, or above*, who were found guilty of the Crimes aforementioned, ſhou'd be admitted to make their *Purgation*, without being bound with ſufficient Sureties for their good *Abearing*. Neither was this Favour of *Purgation* allow'd thoſe, who after Confeſſion or Judgment, were admitted to their *Clergy*, and deliver'd to the *Ordinary*. 'Twas likewiſe provided, that *Ordinaries* having ſuch Perſons in their Cuſtody, might degrade them, and ſend 'em to the *King's-Bench* (i).

“ Farther, Feoffments of Land to the uſe of a Church, as little differing from *Mortmain*, were made void (k). And whereas divers having the Privilege of their Clergy, and being afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, brake Priſon, ſuch an Eſcape was now made Felony.

23 H. 8. *c.* 11.

Payment of Annates extinguiſhed under ſome Proviſo's.

This Year there paſs'd a remarkable *Act* concerning *Annates*, or the *Firſt Fruits* of Biſhopricks, paid uſually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, *&c.* The Preamble ſets forth the Reaſons and Conſiderations upon which the *Statute* was grounded.

“ As firſt, becauſe great Sums of Money had been already drawn out of the Kingdom upon this Score. The Sum is mention'd, and amounts to no leſs than a Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pound Sterling, ſince the ſecond Year of King *Henry* the Seventh.

“ Secondly, This Grievance was likely to export more Treaſure ſhortly, becauſe many of the Biſhops were very far advanced in Life.

“ Thirdly, 'Tis obſerv'd, theſe *Annates* were firſt granted for maintaining Forces againſt the *Infidels*: 'Tis therefore enacted, that this Burthen ſhou'd be taken off, and no more Payments made to the Pope, unleſs under the Qualifications and Reſtrictions afterwards mention'd. To mention one of the Limitations, *viz.* That the Court of *Rome* may not think themſelves unrewarded for their Trouble, in drawing up *Bulls*, ſealing them in Lead, *&c.* 'Twas enacted, that Five Pounds in the Hundred, according to the Rate of the Annual Value of the Biſhopricks, all Charges deducted, might be allow'd upon this Conſideration. To proceed.

“ And if any Perſon elected to a Biſhoprick, and preſented by the King to the Pope, ſhall be either deny'd or delay'd in his *Bulls*, the King's Highneſs may then preſent him to the Archbiſhop of the *Province* for his Conſecration: And in Caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall delay the Proceeding to this Solemnity, for lack of *Palls*, *Bulls*, or other pretended Requiſites, the Perſon ſo named, ſhall be conſecrated and inveſted by any two Biſhops of the Realm, appointed by the King for the Time being, for this Purpoſe. And that every ſuch Archbiſhop and Biſhop ſo named, preſented, and conſecrated, ſhall be taken and reputed as perfect and complete in every Part of their Character.

By the way, there is an expreſs Clauſe to impower the King to void, or confirm this *Statute*, or any Branch of it, within two Years next following. Having obſerv'd this, I ſhall proceed to the Remainder. For the Purpoſe; 'tis declared in this *Act*.

The Pope's Cenſures over-rul'd, in caſe be refus'd a Compoſition.

“ That the King and the *Eſtates*, have no Intention of coming to Extremity, unleſs gentler Methods prove ineffectual. If therefore the King ſhall pleaſe to propoſe an amicable Compoſition, and his *Holyneſs* ſhall think fit either to relinquiſh his Claim to theſe *Annates*, or moderate his Demands, that in this Caſe, ſuch Agreement and Compoſition between his Highneſs and the Court of *Rome*, ſhould ſtand firm in Law, and be punctually obſerv'd. But if the Pope ſhou'd refuſe to take off part of the Preſſure, continue his former Exactions, and perſue his Claim by Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs and Cenſures upon the King and his Subjects, 'tis then enacted, *That the King's Highneſs, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, Kings of* England, *and all his Spiritual and Lay Subjects of the ſame, without any Scruples of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the Honour of Almighty God, the Increaſe and Continuance of Virtue, and good Example within this Realm, the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of 'em notwithſtanding, miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſter'd throughout this ſaid Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other Thing or Things, neceſſary for the Health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any Time or Times, have been virtuouſly uſed, or accuſtomed to do within the ſame; and that no manner ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs or Compulſories, ſhall by any of the Prelates, or other ſpiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Miniſters, or Subſtitutes, be at any Time or Times hereafter publiſhed, executed, or divulged, nor ſuffer to be publiſhed, executed, or divulg'd, in any manner of ways* (l).

This *Act* gave a remarkable Check to the Pope's Supremacy, ſtruck off his former Claim, and oblig'd him to a reaſonable Compoſition: And in Caſe he cou'd not be drawn to an Abatement of Pretenſion, his *Cenſures* and Proceſs are made inſignificant, and the Biſhops and Clergy were to go on in their Functions, notwithſtanding any Excommunications or Interdictions

(*i*) 23 H. 8. *cap.* 1.

(*k*) 23 H. 8. *cap.* 10.

(*l*) *Ld.* Herbert, p. 330. *Bp.* Burnet, *Records*, *Book* 2. *Numb.* 41.

to the contrary. This *Act* was afterwards confirm'd by the King's *Letters Patents* within the time limited (*m*).

(*m*) *See Records*, N. 18.

Now when this Payment was firſt claim'd, how warmly the Matter has been conteſted, and how the Court of *Rome* carried their Point at laſt, has been already related *. Here therefore I ſhall only mention the Rates with which the *Engliſh* Sees were charg'd. And here the Reader may pleaſe to take Notice that F. ſtands for Florens, D. for Ducats, and Cr. for Crowns.

* *Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt.* 1. *p.* 503.

Biſhoprick	Paid
Canterbury	10000 F.
Beſides for his Pall	5000 F.
London	3000 F.
Wincheſter	12000 D.
Ely	7000 D.
Lincoln	. . . . ..
Coventry and *Lichfield*	1733 D.
Saliſbury	4500 Cr.
Bath and *Wells*	430 D.
Exeter	6000 D.
Norwich	5000 D.
Worceſter	2000 F.
Hereford	18000 F.
Chicheſter	333 F.
Rocheſter	. . . . ..
St. *Davids*	1500 F.
Landaff	700 F.
Bangor	126 F.
St. *Aſaph*	126 F.
York	10000 D.
Beſides for his Pall	5000 D.
Durham	9000 F.
Carliſle	1000 F.

Lincoln's not being valued, ſeems to be a caſual Omiſſion: And the See of *Rocheſter* being within the Patronage of *Canterbury*, 'tis probable it may be rated in that Archbiſhoprick *.

* Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 5. *p.* 196.

To proceed: Notwithſtanding the *Preamble* of the *York* Subſidy, the Body of the Grant was not perfected till *November* the twentieth: For this Reaſon the Act of Pardon for this *Province* did not paſs 'till this *Seſſion* of Parliament: And now the Clergy were call'd upon to explain themſelves farther, and to make a more diſtinct Recital of the Powers implied in their *new Acknowledgment*.

An Addreſs of the Commons againſt the Clergy.

The *Commons* in their *Supplication* abovemention'd, had complain'd of the Clergy's Claiming a Privilege of making Canons by their ſole Authority. This was the principal Grievance in their Addreſs. The Subſtance of the Reaſons on which the Complaint is formed, is contain'd in the Clergy's *Reply*.

I ſhall give the Reader an Account of this matter from authentick Records, and particularly from two Inſtruments which I tranſcrib'd from the *Cotton* Library.

The Clergies Anſwers to this Remonſtrance are drawn by way of Addreſs: The firſt begins thus:

The Convocation's firſt Anſwer to the Supplication *of the Commons.* Apr. 12. 1532.

“ After our moſt humble wiſe, with our moſt bounden Duty of Honour and Reverence to your moſt excellent Majeſty, endued of God, with moſt incomparable Wiſdom and Goodneſs; pleaſeth it the ſame to underſtand that we your Orators and daily bounden Bedeſmen the *Ordinaries*, have read and peruſed a certain *Supplication*, which the *Commons* of your Grace's moſt Honourable Parliament now aſſembl'd have offered unto your Highneſs, and by your Command deliver'd to us, to make thereunto Anſwer: And as the time has ſerved and permitted we have according to your Highneſs's Commandment made thereunto this Anſwer following, beſeeching your Grace's indifferent Benignity graciouſly to hear the ſame.

And here, after a general Complaint againſt ſeditious Books imported from foreign Parts, and the Miſmanagement of the Spiritual Courts, the *Supplication* proceeds to Particulars. “ And here the Clergy are charg'd with falling foul upon the Conſtitution, and making Canons in contradiction to the Laws of the Realm: That theſe Eccleſiaſtical Regulations were publiſh'd in a foreign Language, and paſs'd without the Aſſent of either the Lay-Subjects or the Crown. That ſeveral of theſe *Proviſions* of the Church preſs'd upon the Prerogative Royal, and were Oppreſſions upon Liberty and Property, that they reach'd to the Interdiction upon Lands and Eſtates: And that the Breach of the Canons being menac'd with Excommunication: The Terror of this Cenſure put ſome of the Lay-Subjects to a ſtand, made 'em timerous and unreſolv'd in their Obedience to the King and Conſtitution.

To this Article the Clergy replied, “ That they preſum'd their Authority in making Laws is founded upon the holy Scriptures, and the Reſolutions of holy Church: That theſe Grounds and Principles being thus unqueſtionable, are by Conſequence a proper Teſt to try the reaſonableneſs of all other Laws both Spiritual and Temporal: And upon a juſt Inquiry, they hoped there will be no Inconſiſtency found between the Laws of the Church and State. That if any of their Canons are found to diſagree with the Rule abovemention'd, they are willing to reform what's amiſs, and bring every thing up to the proper Standard: and on the other ſide they hope that if any Laws of the State ſhou'd deviate from the inſpir'd Writings and claſh with the Privileges of the Church, his Highneſs, with the Conſent of his Parliament will condeſcend to a Temper in ſuch Caſes: And thus there will be a perfect Harmony between both Societies. In the mean time they humbly entreat his Majeſty not to be prepoſſeſs'd againſt his Subjects of the Spirituality, as if they intended any manner of Encroachments upon Prerogative and Law *.

* *Dr.* Atterbury's *Rights of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, &c. *Appen. p.* 521.

Gardiner's Letter of Excuſe to the King.

The King was neither pleas'd with this *Anſwer*, nor with *Gardiner* for drawing it. This Divine therefore, now Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, thought it neceſſary to write a Letter of Excuſe. “ In this Apology, amongſt other things, he ſeems ſomewhat ſupriz'd the King ſhou'd be diſpleas'd with the Clergy's aſſerting a Legiſlative Authority in Spiritual Matters: He takes the Freedom to ſuggeſt, that he humbly conceiv'd his Highneſs's Book againſt *Luther* amounted to a Conceſſion of this Point, and that the ſame Doctrine ſeems plainly declared by the Council of *Conſtance* in their Cenſure of *Wickliff*'s Opinions: And if he ſhou'd happen to miſtake by not being acquainted with the Strength of thoſe Proofs his Majeſty cou'd produce, he hopes his not knowing this Evidence in reſerve, may plead his Excuſe. On the other ſide he obſerves that if the Biſhops have their Authority by divine Right or God's Law, then, tho' they ſhou'd miſmanage “in the Exerciſe, or fail in the Diſcharge of their Commiſſion, yet 'twould not be in their Power to reſign it to the *Secular Magiſtrate*: And in caſe they ſhou'd go thus far; ſuch a Surrender wou'd be no leſs dangerous to the Receiver than to the Giver *.

But neither wou'd this Letter diſpoſe the King to acquieſce: He was ſtill reſolv'd to preſs the Point. And therefore the *Convocation* was order'd to conſider farther. This Buſineſs was debated without Effect for ſeveral Days. The Defects and Reſervations in the *Anſwer* were laid moſtly to the Charge of the Biſhops and Abbots: The Prelates therefore perceiving themſelves unſucceſsful referr'd the drawing a ſecond Reply to the Lower Houſe. Upon this a Committee was appointed, a new Anſwer pen'd and laid before the Prelates, who agreed to it †.

And now the Biſhops of *London* and *Lincoln*, the Abbots of *Weſtminſter* and *Burton*, *Sampſon* Dean of the Chapel, and *Fox* the Almoner were deſired to preſent it to the King, which was done accordingly. The Form runs thus:

The Clergy's ſecond Anſwer to the Supplication.

“Foraſmuch as the Anſwer lately made by your Clergy to your honourable Commons, for your Satiſfaction in the Bill of Complaint put up unto your Highneſs, does not pleaſe nor ſatiſfy your Highneſs in ſome Points concerning your own particular Intereſt; ſpecially in that Point that concerns Laws either *New*, to be by us made, or elſe *Old* to be by us reform'd. For your Highneſs's better Contentation in that Behalf, we your ſaid moſt humble Chaplains, do now more ſpecially anſwer to thoſe Points, as follows.

“*Firſt*, as touching *New Laws* to be by us hereafter made, we ſay that the Laws and Determinations of Chriſt's holy Church thro' all Chriſtian Realms receiv'd and us'd, be clear and manifeſt, that the Prelates of the ſame Church have a ſpiritual Juriſdiction and judicial Power, to rule and govern in Faith and good Manners neceſſary to the Soul's Health, their Flocks unto their Cure committed. And that they have Authority to make and ordain Rules and Laws tending to that purpoſe: Which Rules and Laws hath and doth take their Effect, in binding all Chriſtian People, as of themſelves: So that, before God, there needs not of neceſſity any temporal Power or Conſent to concur with the ſame by way of Authority.

“*Item*, They ſay that this Power and Authority in making Laws in Matters concerning the Faith and good Manners, neceſſary to the Soul's Health, all Chriſtian Princes have hitherto recognized themſelves bound to ſuffer the Prelates to uſe within their Realms: And have not claim'd of the ſaid Prelates, that they ſhou'd from time to time require their Conſent or Licence, by the way of Authority, more in making of ſuch Laws, then they do claim that the ſaid Prelates ſhou'd from time to time require their Conſents authoriſable in giving of *Holy Orders* to any of their Subjects, or in the exerciſing of any other Spiritual Act depending upon their Spiritual Juriſdiction; (the Authority whereof proceeds immediately from God, and from no Power or Conſent authoriſable of any *Secular* Prince) except it be that Conſent that is taken of the Prince's own Submiſſion to the Faith Catholick, made not only by your noble Progenitors, when they firſt admitted Chriſt's Faith, and the Laws of the holy Church within their Realms; but alſo by themſelves firſt generally at their Baptiſm, and after more ſpecially and moſt commonly, by their corporal Oaths at their *Coronation*.

“We ſay alſo, that this Power of making Laws aforeſaid is right well founded in many Places of *holy Scripture*, now ſo much the leſs neceſſary here to be rehears'd, foraſmuch as that Matter is at large ſet out in a *Book*, now by us put up unto your Highneſs; and your Highneſs your ſelf in your own Book moſt excellently written againſt *Martin Luther*, for the Defence of the Catholick Faith, and Chriſt's Church, does not only knowledge and confeſs, but alſo with moſt vehement and inexpugnable Reaſons and Authorities doesdefend the ſame: Which your Highneſs's Book, we reckon that of your Honour you cannot, and of your Goodneſs you will not revoke.

“Yet theſe Conſiderations notwithſtanding, we your moſt humble Chaplains, and Bedeſmen, conſidering your high Wiſdom, great Learning, and infinite Goodneſs towards us and the Church, and having ſpecial Truſt in the ſame, and not minding to fall into Contention or Diſputations with your Highneſs in any manner of Matter, which we may do; we be contented to make Promiſe to your Highneſs, that in all ſuch Acts, Laws and Ordinances, as upon your Lay-Subjects, we by the Reaſon of our ſpiritual Juriſdiction and judicial Power, ſhall hereafter make, we ſhall not publiſh, nor put them forth, except firſt we require your Highneſs to give your Conſent and Authority unto them: And ſo ſhall from time to time ſuſpend all ſuch our Acts, Ordinances and Laws, hereafter to be made, until ſuch time as your Highneſs by your Conſent and Authority ſhall have authoriz'd the ſame. Except they be ſuch as ſhall concern the Maintenance of the Faith and good Manners in Chriſt's Church, and ſuch as ſhall be for the Reformation and Correction of Sin, after the Commandments of Almighty God, according unto ſuch Laws of the Church, and laudable Cuſtoms as have been heretofore made, and hitherto receiv'd and uſed within your Realm.

“In which Point our Truſt is, and in our moſt humble manner we deſire your Grace, that it may ſo be, that upon the Refuſal of your Conſent, which we reckon that we need not to fear, but yet if any ſuch thing ſhou'd fall, your Highneſs will be then contented that we may exerciſe our Juriſdiction, as far as it ſhall be thought neceſſary unto us, for the Maintenance of Chriſt's Faith, and for the Reformation of Sin, according to our Offices, and the Vocation that God has called us unto.

“As for the ſecond Point, concerning Laws which in time paſt have been made by us, or by our Predeceſſors, contrary to the Laws of this your Realm, and to your Prerogative as is pretended. To this Point, we, your Highneſs's moſt humble Chaplains, anſwer, and ſay, that ſuch our Laws, by our Predeceſſors within this Realm made, as contain any matter contrary to your Laws or Prerogative, and be not now in uſe, and do not concern the Faith nor Reformation of Sin; when we ſhall be advertiz'd of 'em, we ſhall right gladly in that Part revoke 'em, and declare 'em to be void and of none effect: So that your ſaid Honourable Commons ſhall now dare execute your Laws

---

* Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E 5. fol. 200.

† *Journal of the Convocation.*

“ without any Fear, Dread or Danger of our ſaid Laws if any ſuch there be *.

* Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. 6. fol. 101.

May 10. 1532.

The King thought this Anſwer too artificially drawn; and that there was too much of Ambiguity and Subterfuge in it. He therefore order'd a Form to be deliver'd to the Almoner, which the Convocation were requir'd to ſign, and from which his Highneſs was reſolv'd not to depart. 'Twas couch'd in theſe Terms.

Articles ſent by the King to the Convocation.

“ *Firſt*, That no Conſtitution, or Ordinance ſhall be hereafter by the Clergy *Enacted*, *Promulg'd, or put in Execution*, unleſs the King's Highneſs do approve the ſame by his Authority and Royal Aſſent: And his Advice, Aid, and Favour be alſo interpon'd for the Execution of every ſuch Conſtitution to be made in time coming among his Highneſs's Subjects.

“ *Secondly*, That whereas divers of the Conſtitutions Provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be thought not only much prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, but alſo much onerous to his Highneſs's Subjects, it be committed to the Examination and Judgment of thirty two Perſons; whereof ſixteen to be of the upper and the nether Houſe of the Temporality, and other ſixteen of the Clergy; all to be appointed by the King's Highneſs: So that finally which ſoever of the ſaid Conſtitutions ſhall be thought and determin'd by the moſt part of the ſaid thirty two Perſons worthy to be abrogated and annull'd, the ſame to be afterwards taken away and to be of no Force and Strength.

“ *Thirdly*, That all other of the ſaid Conſtitutions which ſtand with God's Laws, and the King's, do ſtand in full Strength and Power, the King's Highneſs Royal Aſſent given to the ſame.

The Convocation were much perplex'd at their receiving this Meſſage from the King: And after ſome time ſpent in Conſultation, 'twas reſolved to ſend four of the Upper, and ſix of the Lower Houſe to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, by whoſe Advice they ſeem'd diſpos'd to govern themſelves: And to wait for this Prelate's Reſolution they adjourn'd three Days. Now *Fiſher*'s Principles were not likely to put the Clergy upon any Meaſures acceptable to the Court. The King therefore, being inform'd to whom the Matter was referr'd, ſends for the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons, complains the Clergy were but half his Subjects. To juſtify this Imputation, ſuggeſts an Inconſiſtency between the Oaths taken by the Biſhops and Abbots to the Pope, and that of Allegiance. Theſe two Oaths being read by the King's Order in Parliament, not only over-aw'd the Clergy to a cloſer Submiſſion, but alſo led the way to a full Renunciation of the Pope's Authority.

'Till Monday May 13.

The King complains of an Inconſiſtency of Oaths taken by the Clergy.

Lord Herbert, *p.* 335.

And that the Reader may judge how far this Complaint was reaſonable, I ſhall lay them before him.

Their Oath to the Pope.

The Biſhops Oath to the Pope.

* *Biſhop* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 123, 124.

“ I *John* Biſhop or Abbot of *A.* from this Hour foreward ſhall be faithful and obedient to St. *Peter*, and to the holy Church of *Rome* *, and to my Lord the Pope and his Succeſſors canonically entering. I ſhall not be of Counſel nor Conſent that they ſhall loſe neither Life or Member, or ſhall be taken or ſuffer Violence or any Wrong by any means. Their Counſel truſted as a Secret to me, their Meſſengers or Letters I ſhall not willingly diſcover to any Perſon. The Papacy of *Rome*, the Rules of the holy Fathers, and the *Regalia* of St. *Peter*, I ſhall ſupport, maintain and defend againſt all Men. The Legate of the See Apoſtolick going and coming I ſhall honourably treat. The Rights, Honours, Privileges and Authorities of the Church of *Rome*, I ſhall endeavour to preſerve, defend, augment and promote. I ſhall not be in Council, Treaty or in any Act, in the which any thing ſhall be contrived againſt the Church of *Rome*, their Rights, Sees, Honours or Powers. And if I know any ſuch to be mov'd or compaſs'd, I ſhall reſiſt it to my Power, and as ſoon as I can, I ſhall advertize him or ſuch as may acquaint him with it. The Rules of the holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, Sentences, Diſpoſitions, Reſervations, Proviſions and Commandments Apoſtolick, to my Power I ſhall keep, and cauſe to be kept by others. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks and Rebels to our holy Father, and his Succeſſors, I ſhall *reſiſt* and *proſecute* * to my Power. I ſhall come to the Synod when I am call'd, unleſs hinder'd by a Canonical Impediment. The Threſholds of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſit yearly in Perſon, or by my Deputy. I ſhall not alienate or ſell my Poſſeſſions without the Pope's Advice. So help me God and the holy Evangeliſts.

* *Bp.* Burnet *tranſlates* proſequar & impugnabo *in the Original by* reſiſt *and* perſecute.

Their Oath to the King.

Their Oath to the King.

“ I *John* Biſhop of *A.* utterly renounce, and clearly forſake, all ſuch Clauſes, Words, Sentences and Grants which I have, or ſhall have hereafter of the Pope's Holyneſs, of and for the Biſhoprick of *A.* that in any ways has been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highneſs, your Heirs, Succeſſors, Dignity, Privilege or Eſtate Royal. And alſo I do ſwear, that I will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your Heirs, Kings of the ſaid Realm, of Life and Limb, and earthly Worſhip, above all Creatures, for to live and die with you and yours, againſt all People. And diligently I ſhall be attendant on all your Affairs and Buſineſs according to my Skill and Power; and your Counſel I ſhall keep, acknowledging my ſelf to hold my Biſhoprick of you only, beſeeching you for the Reſtitution of the Temporalities of the ſame, promiſing as before that I ſhall be a faithful, true and obedient Subject to your Highneſs, your Heirs and Succeſſors, during Life: And the Services due to your Highneſs for the Reſtitution of the Temporalities of the ſaid Biſhoprick, I ſhall truly and obediently perform. So help me God, and the holy Evangeliſts *.

* *In Bp.* Burnet's *Tranſlation it is* So help me God, and all Saints. *But* all Saints *are not in the Original.*

Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 54.

Whether any dangerous Inconſiſtency between theſe Oaths.

I have tranſcrib'd Biſhop *Burnet*'s Tranſlation as to the main: This learned Hiſtorian ſuppoſes *the Contradiction between theſe two Oaths was ſo viſible that it had ſoon produced a ſevere Cenſure from the Houſe, if the Plague had not hinder'd, and brought on a Prorogation*. But then he is not pleas'd to give us the Proof of this Conjecture. And poſſibly after all, the Inconſiſtency between theſe Oaths may not be ſo clear as has ſometimes been pretended. The moſt exceptionable Clauſe in the Biſhops *Engagement* to the Pope, is their ſwearing to maintain the *Regalia* or Royalties of St. *Pe-*

Warham W. Abp. of Cant.

St. *Peter*. Now why mayn't theſe Words be reſtrain'd to a Spiritual Supremacy? Theſe the Biſhops promis'd to maintain againſt all Men; that is, within the Compaſs of their Duty and Character. And in caſe the *Court* of *Rome* ſhou'd wreſt the Oath, and enlarge their Claim to Temporal Homage; to give the King Security againſt their Conſent to any ſuch Incroachment, the Biſhops in their Oath of Allegiance renounce all Clauſes, which may be dragg'd to ſuch an Abuſe, or conſtrued to the Prejudice of the Crown.

The Clergy reputed Loyal in preceding Reigns.

That the Clergy did not believe the Pope Monarch of *Chriſtendom*, or that they were the King's Subjects only during his *Holyneſs*'s Pleaſure, appears plainly enough by the Form of their late *Submiſſion*. For in the firſt Draught of this kind, tho' they maintain their Legiſlative Authority in *Spiritual* Matters, yet as to *Temporal* Caſes and Concerns, they make no ſcruple to profeſs themſelves the King's Subjects, and own him their Supreme Head in the moſt reſpectful and comprehenſive Terms imaginable *. And that this was the Senſe of the *Engliſh* Church in former Reigns, appears by the Inſtance of Archbiſhop *Courtney*; who ſolemnly declared, that in caſe any Prelates were tranſlated to Sees in foreign Dominions, or the ſage Lieges of the *King's Council* were forc'd out of the Kingdom againſt their Will, that by this means the Wealth and Treaſure of the Nation ſhould be exported: In this Caſe the Archbiſhop declares ſuch *Tranſlations* wou'd be prejudicial to the Crown: For which Reaſon he reſolves to adhere to the King, and endeavour as bound by his Allegiance to ſupport his Highneſs in this and all other Inſtances in which the Rights of his *Crown* are concern'd, and laſtly he deſir'd this *Schedule* might be enterr'd upon the Parliament *Roll*, which was done accordingly †.

* *See the Clergy's firſt Addreſs, and Bp.* Tonſtal's *Proteſtation.*

† Cotton's *Abridgment, p.* 348. 16. R. 2.

From this *Declaration* of the Archbiſhop, 'tis plain he did not aſſert the Pope's Supremacy, ſo far, as to weaken his Allegiance and make him an ill Subject.

Farther, this Schedule of the Archbiſhop ſeems to have led the Way to the *Statute* of *Præmunire*, paſs'd in this Parliament. For the Preamble is but a Copy as it were of this Declaration. The *Bill* was brought in by the *Commons*, who pray'd the King to examine the Opinions of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal upon the Contents. The Queſtion being put, the Lords Temporal promis'd to ſtand by the King againſt the Pope's Encroachments; neither were the Engagements of the Lords Spiritual leſs loyal and Satisfactory: For they concurr'd wholly with the *Commons Petition*, and renounced the Pope in all his Attempts upon the *Crown* *.

*16 R. 2. c. 5.

Thus we ſee the then Church of *England* was no Vaſſal to the Court of *Rome*: Neither do we find the Pope exerted any Cenſure upon the Prelates, or charg'd them with the Breach of their Oaths, for this ſolemn Adherence to the Civil Magiſtrate. And that the Practice of the Clergy was ſuitable to this *Declaration* we have the Teſtimony of Sir *Edward Coke*, whoſe Cuſtom is not to flatter that *Order*. This celebrated Lawyer having obſerv'd that both before, and after the Reign of King *Henry* the Third, many of the Judges, and great Officers of the Realm were of the *Clergy*: Having obſerv'd this, he gives 'em the Commendation of a general Integrity: That they were not overborn by any Partialities to the *Court* of *Rome*: That they were true to their Office and the *Conſtitution*: That *they conſtantly maintain'd the Laws of* England, *ſo as no Encroachment or Breach was made upon 'em by any Foreign Power* *.

Hen. VIII. K.

*Coke's *Inſtitutes, pt.* 2. *fol.* 96. & dehinc. in Weſtm. Primer cap. 51. fol. 265.

Farther, the King upon the peruſing theſe Oaths, complains the *Prelates* were but half his Subjects. His Majeſty then grants they were half what he deſired: Now does it not appear by things then upon the Anvil, that the King was puſhing his *Regale* to an unuſual Extent, and govern'd by ſome People malintention'd to the Church? In ſhort, it ſeems not improbable the King was now deſigning to enlarge his Prerogative upon the *Clergy*, and annex the Papal Pretenſions to the *Crown*. Now theſe things conſider'd, the Biſhops Engagements to the Pope ought to be candidly interpreted. For to ſtrain the Oaths to a Contradiction without Neceſſity, and make the Prelates ſo conſtantly forſworn, is neither Juſtice to their Memories, nor ſerviceable to Religion.

The King's Complaint draws the Clergy towards Complyance.

However, *This Complaint* made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the *Clergy*, and brought 'em to a Compliance with the King's Terms, upon the firſt Article. "And thus they promis'd not to enact, promulge, or put in Execution, any Conſtitution made for the future, unleſs they had the Royal Aſſent for that purpoſe. This was likewiſe aſſented to by the *Lower Houſe*, on condition the Promiſe might bind 'em for the King's Life only. But upon the *Second Article*, neither of the *Houſes* cou'd be driven any farther, than to refer all the old Canons to the King's Inſpection and Judgment; promiſing withal to qualify or annul ſuch as ſhou'd be diſlik'd by his Highneſs: But then this Promiſe was incumber'd with a general *Saving*: This *Proviſo* made the Clergy Judges of the *Canons*, and Maſters of any doubtful Conſtruction: So that it was thought the *Old Canons* were ſtill at their Diſpoſal, to be kept or given up, as they ſhould think fit *.

**Dr.* Atterbury, *Rights*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation, Append. p.* 534. Cotton. Libr. Cleop. 6. F. fol. 96.

This Anſwer not coming up to the King's Expectation, he reſolv'd to come cloſer in his next Demands: And to prevent an evaſive Reſolution, he took care to preſs 'em hardeſt where they endeavour'd to be moſt at Liberty. Thus a new Form was ſent to 'em: And here they are expreſly requir'd, neither to *attempt*, *alledge*, *claim or put in ure* any of the *Old Canons* without Leave from the *Crown*, nor yet to *enact*, *promulge or execute* any *new ones*. And all this without any Limitation to the King's Life, or any other favourable *Salvo* whatſoever †.

† *See Records, N.* 19.

This Form was look'd on as ſomewhat rigorous, ſeem'd to diſable the *Convocation*, and lay the Authority of the Church aſleep. For thus, as has been obſerv'd by a learned Remarker *, not only the Legiſlative Power of the *Hierarchy*, but alſo the Juriſdiction of the *Prelates*, had been extinguiſh'd, or which is much the ſame thing, made precarious, and wholly dependent on a *Foreign Society*.

* *Dr.* Atterbury, ibid.

But they refuſe to go the length of the King's Demands.

The *Prelates* therefore who had hitherto been obſequious and reſigning, refus'd poſitively to comply to this length. The King perceiving the Matter ſtick, ſent ſix Noblemen to 'em *, to try to over-bear their Conſtancy. But it ſeems their Courage did not deſert 'em upon this Occaſion. For after an Hours Conference with theſe Lords, they return'd this final Anſwer, That they cou'd not ſubmit to the Clauſe preſcrib'd, *not to attempt, claim or put in ure, any of the old Canons, without Leave from the Crown.*

* *Duke of* Norfolk, *Marquis of* Exeter, *Earl of* Oxford, *Ld.* Sands, Bullen *and* Rochford. *Journal of the Convocation.*

The Apprehenſion of a Storm from the *Court* was more prevalent upon the *Lower Houſe* who paſs'd the *Submiſſion* in the Terms preſcrib'd. When this *Paper* was brought up to the *Prelates*, the Archbiſhop acquainted them, how the Matter had paſs'd at their Conference with the Temporal Lords; That they expected a Return of their Meſſage to the King, and hop'd his Highneſs wou'd condeſcend to an Abatement. About Noon, the Lords abovemention'd came back with the King's Conſent to what the Clergy had offer'd: And that his Highneſs was willing to be contented, that they ſhou'd be oblig'd to no more than not to *enact, promulge, or put in ure new Canons* *. And thus a new Draught of the *Submiſſion* was ingroſs'd, and agreed to by all the *Upper-Houſe*, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* only excepted †. But when it was brought to the *Lower Clergy*, they thought their Conſent unneceſſary. Their Reaſon was, becauſe having already paſs'd a more comprehenſive Form, this was by conſequence included in't: And thus without putting the Matter to the Vote, they were prorogued to the Fifth of *November*. And by the way we are to obſerve, that the larger Form of the *Lower-Houſe*, was never deliver'd to the King, nor made authentick ‡.

By their laſt Submiſſion, they are only barr'd the enacting new Canons without leave from the Crown.

* *Journal of the Convocation.*

† *Three other Biſhops,* London, Lincoln, *and* St. Aſaph, *admitted it conditionally.*

‡ *Journal of the Convocation.*

And thus the *laſt Inſtrument* of *Submiſſion*, preſented the next Day to the King by the Archbiſhop, ran only in the Name of the *Upper-Houſe*.

See Records, Numb. 20.

May 19. 1532.

Thus the Matter reſted till Two Years afterwards, when the *Submiſſion* of the Clergy paſs'd into an Act of Parliament, with a Penalty annexed.

In the Year 1532, the Body of *William Tracy* of *Toddington* in *Worceſterſhire*, Eſq; was taken up by the Chancellor of *Worceſter*, and burn'd. But in burning the Corps, this bigotted Officer exceeded his Commiſſion, for which he was ſued by *Tracy*'s Heirs, turn'd out of his Chancellorſhip, and fin'd Four Hundred Pounds. The Reaſon of this Proceſs, was occaſion'd by an Omiſſion (as it was then accounted) in *Tracy*'s *Will*. It ſeems he had left out the uſual Form of recommending his Soul to the Interceſſion of the *Saints*. This being obſerv'd at the *Probate*, Archbiſhop *Warham* ſent a Copy of it to the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*, where being examin'd in *Convocation*, *Tracy* was pronounc'd a Heretick. Upon this Cenſure, the Order abovemention'd for taking up the Corps, was directed to the Chancellor *.

* Wood. hiſt. & Antiq. Univer. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 256. *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 166.

The King writes to the Conclave to make the Bp. of Worceſter *a Cardinal.*

About this time, the King wrote to the *Conclave*, for a Cardinal's Cap for *Jerom* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, an *Italian*; letting them know how acceptable ſuch a Promotion wou'd be to his Highneſs. And that the *Reader* may perceive upon what Terms of Friendſhip, or of Ceremony at leaſt, the King continued ſtill with the Court of *Rome*, I ſhall tranſcribe the Letter (*n*). By the way, this Biſhop *Hierom Ghinucci* was the King's Agent for the Divorce, and manag'd to Satisfaction. It appears by this Letter, the King had formerly ſolicited for the ſame Favour: But why the Court of *Rome* was ſo impolitick as to refuſe him, is hard to diſcover.

(*n*) *See Records, Numb.* 21.

The Buſineſs of the Divorce farther purſued.

In the Beginning of this Year, the King had procur'd ſeveral learned Men from all Parts of *Italy*, to offer the Pope a Diſputation in Favour of the *Divorce*: But this Motion was refus'd. However, the Pope to ſhew his Willingneſs to end the Controverſie, order'd a Citation for the King to appear in Perſon, or by Proxy, at *Rome*: This Summons was ſent his Highneſs to anſwer the Queen's Appeal (*o*). Upon this the King diſpatch'd Sir *Edward Karne* to *Rome*, to excuſe his Non-appearance, and to inſiſt that there was no Law to oblige him to ſuch an Attendance. The King to fortifie his Intereſt, ſends Inſtructions to Sir *Francis Bryan*, to preſs the *French* King to do him what good Offices he cou'd with the Pope. *Francis* complys with this Application, owns the Juſtice of the King of *England*'s Requeſt, and tells the Pope, that Prince ought to be ſatisfied. That in Caſe of a Refuſal, himſelf and his Brother of *England*, ſhall be forc'd upon ſuch Meaſures as may not prove agreeable to his *Holyneſs*.

(*o*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 335, 336.

This Year one Mr. *James Bainham*, a Lawyer of the *Middle-Temple* ſuffer'd upon the Charge of Hereſy. He was brought in *December* laſt before *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, and interrogated upon ſeveral Articles. He deny'd Purgatory, the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, Extreme Unction, and Invocation of Saints. *Fox* reports, that Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellor, order'd *Bainham* to be whip'd in his Garden at *Chelſea*, and afterwards ſent him to the *Tower*, and ſaw him tortur'd upon the Rack; and that all this Cruelty was us'd only becauſe he refus'd to inform againſt ſome of the Students of the *Temple*; and cou'd not be brought to diſcover where ſome prohibited Books lay, which he was ſuppos'd to make uſe of. Theſe were illegal Barbarities, and argue Sir *Thomas More* of a different Temper from what he is commonly repreſented. If his Bigottry carry'd him to theſe Rigors, he can never deſerve the Character Biſhop *Burnet* is pleas'd to give him: *That for true Generoſity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he liv'd* *. The Fact therefore ought to be well atteſted before we give Credit to the Relation. But here *Fox* vouches no Records for this Part of the Narrative, neither is it mention'd by other Hiſtorians.

* *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 356.

To proceed: *Bainham* was afterwards brought to a Submiſſion, abjur'd his Tenents, and underwent the Penance injoin'd. Soon after his Diſcharge, he recanted his Recantation at St. *Auſtin*'s, *London*. Upon which, he was apprehended, committed to the *Tower*, and pronounc'd a Heretick relaps'd.

He had ſome odd Opinions: He was miſtaken about the Authority of the Hierarchy, and affirm'd, That he that preached the Word of God purely, whatſoever he was, and liv'd conformably to his Doctrine, had the Key that binds and looſes both in Heaven and Earth. As to the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſeems to believe at leaſt as far as *Conſubſtantiation*. He affirm'd, Archbiſhop *Becket* was a Murderer, and if he did not repent his Murder, he was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven. His Notion of Baptiſm, as *Fox* repreſents it, was unſound and wretched. His Words are theſe, *If a* Turk, *a* Jew, *or a* Sarazen *do truſt in God and keep his Law, he is a good Chriſtian Man*. Thus we ſee upon the whole, he was right in ſome Things, and wrong in others. However, he ſuffer'd at the Stake with great Conſtancy and Reſolution *.

* Fox, 297. *to p.* 302.

June, 1532. *A Prieſt impriſon'd for maintaining the Pope's Authority.*

This Summer very unacceptable News came from *England* to *Rome*. A Prieſt was committed for maintaining the Papal Authority. And another Prieſt being impriſon'd for *Lutheraniſm* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, appeal'd to the King as *Supreme Head*. This was an Application ſomewhat unuſual; however, the Juncture made it ſucceed: For he was taken out of the Archbiſhop's Hands, brought before the *Temporal* Court, and diſcharg'd there.

Ibid.

To return to the Buſineſs of the *Divorce*, the Pope writes again to the King, intreats him to conſtitute a *Proxy*, acquainting likewiſe the *Engliſh* Agents, that he was willing the whole Proceſs ſhou'd be manag'd in *England*, only the final Deciſion he muſt reſerve to himſelf. Thus

the

Warham W. *Abp.* of Cant.

Ibid. *Bp.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 122.

Id. *p.* 125.

the Lord *Herbert*. But Biſhop *Burnet* from other *Records*, gives ſomewhat a different Repreſentation of the Matter. He reports, the Pope offer'd the King to ſend a *Legate*, and two Auditors of the *Rota*, for the purpoſes abovemention'd: But then it was with this Condition, that the King was to name ſome indifferent Place out of his own Kingdom.

The Death of Archbiſhop Warham.

To proceed: In the *Convocations* held under *Warham*, there were ſeveral *Canons* paſs'd againſt the *Lutherans*: And at laſt, the Pope's Supremacy began to be warmly diſputed, but they came to no Reſolution at preſent. *Warham* departed this Life in *Auguſt*, and was buried privately at *Canterbury*. He held that See Eight and Twenty Years. I have given part of his Character in the late Reign, and ſhall only add the Commendation given him by the Reverend *Church Hiſtorian*: "That he was a great Canoniſt, an "able Stateſman, a dextrous Courtier, and a "Favourer of learned Men. He was not ſo "fancifully fond of the Learning of the Schools "as ſome others, but encourag'd a more gene-"rous way of Knowledge. But then by way "of Abatement, he muſt be ſaid to have pro-"ſecuted ſome of the *Lollards* with too much "Rigour (*p*).

Id. *pag.* 127.

(*p*) Godwyn. de præſul. Angliæ.

Regiſt. Warham, *fol.* 252.

Battle-Abby viſited by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Before I take leave of this Archbiſhop, I ſhall mention one remarkable Paſſage which happen'd towards the latter End of his Time. This Prelate in the Vacancy of the *See* of *Chicheſter*, gave a Commiſſion to his Chancellor Dr. *John Young*, to viſit *Battle-Abby* in *Suſſex*. And by *Young*'s Commiſſion, it appears, that this was a cuſtomary Branch of the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction during the *Vacancy*: And by conſequence it muſt belong to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs when the *See* was full. From whence it follows that the *Charter* of *Exemption* granted to that Abby, by *William* the Conqueror, was either revok'd, or which is much more probable, that *Exemption* did not extend to any Diſcharge from ſpiritual Authority.

To this I ſhall ſubjoin a Letter of the Archbiſhop's to the King, in which he complains his Juriſdiction was check'd by the Temporal Courts, and ſeems apprehenſive of farther Encroachments. The Year is not mention'd, but the Letter runs thus *.

* Cotton. Libr. Cleop. VI. F. II. *fol.* 173.

"Pleaſe it your good Grace to underſtand "I am informed, your Grace intends to inter-"rupt me in the uſe of the Prerogative in the "which my Predeceſſors and I, in the Right "of my Church of *Canterbury*, have been poſ-"ſeſs'd by Privilege, Cuſtom, and Preſcription, "Time out of mind. And for the Interrupti-"on of the ſame, your Grace is minded, as I "am informed, to depute Dr. *Allen*. Which if "your Grace ſhou'd ſo do, (conſidering that "not only all mine Officers of mine Courts, the "*Arches* and the *Audience*, but alſo the Comiſ-"ſary of my Dioceſs of *Kent*, and I my ſelf, "not only in Matters of Suit of Inſtance of "Parties, but alſo in Cauſes of Correction de-"pending before me and them, be continually "inhibited by your Officers) I ſhou'd have no-"thing left for me and my Officers to do, but "ſhou'd be as a Shadow and Image of an Arch-"Biſhop and Legate, void of Authority and "Juriſdiction, which ſhould be to my perpetu-"al Reproach, and to my Church a perpetual "Prejudice. Wherefore inaſmuch as I truſt ve-"rily in your great Goodneſs, that your Grace "will not be ſo extreme againſt me and the "Right of my Church before-nam'd, I beſeech "your Grace, the Premiſſes conſider'd, to de-"fer and reſpite this Matter, till I may have "Communication in this behalf with your Grace "when it ſhall pleaſe you at your Leiſure: And "your Pleaſure known, I will be ready to give "Attendance on your Grace; beſeeching you "alſo to give Credance to my Chaplain Mr. "*Wells* this Bearer, in ſuch Matters as He ſhall "ſhew your Grace on my Behalf.

Dated at Croyden, March 17. At Your Grace's Command,

W. Cantuar.

Octob. 1532. *An Interview between the Kings of* England *and* France *at* Calais.

About this time, the King's of *England* and *France* had an Interview at *Calais*, where Mrs. *Anne Boleyn*, now Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, appeared. Theſe Two Princes had lately enter'd into a cloſe Treaty. By Virtue of this Alliance, they were to raiſe a great Army againſt the *Turk*. And upon the King of *England*'s Complaint of ill Uſage from the Court of *Rome*; The *French* King ſeem'd to cloſe with his Reſentment: And here it was agreed, they ſhou'd both inſiſt upon Reparation. And that unleſs this Grievance was redreſs'd, and the Exactions of *Annates* upon both Kingdoms drop'd, they wou'd apply to a farther Remedy, and either ſummon the Pope to a *Council*, or refer the Debates to Provincial Synods within their reſpective Dominions. A Remonſtrance of this kind was ſpeedily to be made by their Ambaſſadors at *Rome*. Theſe *Agents* were to put the Pope in Mind of an Interview propos'd between his *Holineſs* and the *French* King, at *Avignion*, or *Nizza*. And that the King of *England* was inclin'd to take a Journey of that length, provided the Motion was well receiv'd by his *Holineſs*. The *French* Ambaſſador was likewiſe to acquaint the Pope, that the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Granmont* wou'd be preſent at the Interview between the Pope and the Emperor at *Bononia*: That their Buſineſs wou'd be, to ſolicite his *Holyneſs* that King *Henry* might have a *Legate* and other Commiſſioners, ſent into his own Kingdom to determine the Buſineſs touching the *Divorce*.

And when King *Henry* diſcovered his Intentions of marrying the Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, the *French* King encourag'd him to proceed. And to ſhew he was in earneſt, promis'd him the utmoſt Aſſiſtance, if Occaſion requir'd. Thus having concerted a firm Union, and treated each other with great Compliment and Magnificence, they took their Leaves, and the King return'd for *England*.

Nov. 14. 1532. *The King privately marry'd to Mrs.* Boleyn.

Soon after his Arrival, he was privately married to *Anne Boleyn*, *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, officiating in the Marriage. At this Solemnity there were none preſent, excepting the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, Mother, Brother and Dr. *Cranmer* (*q*). This may ſeem an unuſual Step, becauſe the Divorce was ſtill undecided. But the King broke thro' this Difficulty: He concluded there had Proof been made of the former Marriage's being null. The Caſe ſtanding thus, there was no need of a declarative Sentence, after ſo many Univerſities and Doctors had given their Judgments againſt it (*r*). This ſecond Marriage being not publiſhed till *Eaſter* following, the King in the mean time endeavour'd to diſengage handſomly from the *Firſt*. To this purpoſe, he ſent Inſtructions to his *Agent* Dr. *Bennet*, to make ſeveral Propoſals to the Pope: But then theſe Overtures were to be delivered, as ſuggeſted only by himſelf

(*q*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 340, 341.

(*r*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 126.

Dr. Bennet*'s Propoſals to the Pope, for deciding the Buſineſs touching the Divorce.*

ſelf. Firſt, *Bennet* propos'd, that the Matter might be decided in *England*, and that his *Holyneſs* wou'd be contented the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with the Aſſiſtance of Two other Prelates, or the Clergy of that Province, might have the Caſe referr'd to 'em. The Reaſonableneſs of this Motion, was recommended by the Opinions of Lawyers, and by the Authority of the *Council* of *Nice*: To this it was farther urg'd, that ſince the Succeſſion of the *Crown* was concern'd in the Cauſe, the *Engliſh* Conſtitution wou'd not allow of its being decided in Foreign Parts. This Overture being diſliked, *Bennet* propos'd another Scheme. By this, the Deciſion was to be referred, either to Sir *Thomas More*, or the Biſhop of *London*, nominated by the King; the Queen, or Emperor, were likewiſe to have the Privilege of naming another: The *French* King was to aſſign a Third, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was to be the Fourth. But this being likewiſe refus'd by the Pope, *Bennet* was driven to the laſt Reſerve in his Inſtructions: He moved therefore that the Cauſe might be heard in *England*, and in caſe the Queen declin'd to acquieſce in the Sentence, ſhe ſhou'd have the Liberty of appealing to Three Judges jointly commiſſion'd: One of which were to be ſent from *England*, another from *France*, and a Third from the Pope, with Powers to ſettle the Matter in ſome indifferent Place (*s*). To this the Pope reply'd, That ſince the King ſtood ſo cloſe to his Prerogative, he ſhou'd govern himſelf by the ſame Meaſures, and not take the Proceſs out of the common Courſe.

(*s*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 342.

June 4.
A. D. 1532.

The Religious Houſes of St. James*'s and* Chriſt-Church, London, *ſuppreſſed.*

This Summer the King enlarg'd and ornamented *Whitehall*, lately forfeited to the Crown by the *Premunire* driven upon Cardinal *Wolſey*. And to make his Reſidence in Town more commodious, he procur'd a Conveyance of the Mannor of St. *James*'s, and built that Palace. This *Houſe* was then an Hoſpital: But the King compounded with the *Siſters* for a Penſion during Life. Not long after, he ſuppreſs'd the Priory of *Chriſt Church*, *London*. Theſe *Religious* being *Franciſcans*, were diſpos'd of in other Houſes of that *Order*. The Lands and Church Plate were beſtow'd on Sir *Thomas Audley*, now Lord Chancellor. For here we are to obſerve, that Sir *Tho. More* had lately given up the *Broad Seal*: He had ſeveral times ſollicited the King for a Diſcharge, and at laſt gain'd it. His Fortune was but ſlenderly eſtabliſh'd, and therefore his true Reaſon for reſigning an Office of ſuch Honour and Profit, is not eaſily to be diſcover'd. Whether a ſtrong Inclination to Retirement and *Letters*, a Diſguſt, or claſhing with ſome great Perſon, or the new Meaſures taken by the *Court*, put him upon this ſingular Reſolve, is ſomewhat uncertain. And though he acquainted Archbiſhop *Warham* and *Eraſmus*, with ſomething of the Secret, yet he publickly own'd no other Motive, but want of Health.

Some of Tyndal*'s Opinions.*

Some time this Year, before the parting with his Office, he publiſh'd a *Tract* againſt *Tyndal*: This Performance is divided into three *Books*: The firſt is, a Reply to *Tyndal*'s *Anſwer* to his *Dialogues*. His Second anſwers *Tyndal*'s Defence of his *Tranſlation* of the *New Teſtament*. His Third Book argues againſt two Chapters of *Tyndal*'s Anſwer. And here the Diſpute is, whether the *Scriptures* were before the *Church*? And whether the Apoſtles left any thing unwritten, neceſſary to Salvation? Sir *Thomas More* maintains the Affirmative (*t*). And now it may not be improper to mention ſome of *Tyndal*'s Aſſertions, as he is repreſented by *More*. To begin: *Tyndal* in the *Preface* to his *Anſwer* to *More*'s *Dialogues*, miſ-interprets a Text in the *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*; and ſeems to apply the Character of the *Natural Man* to the *Clergy*. Now the Miſ-interpretation of this Text, is of dangerous conſequence: It makes Men think themſelves in a manner inſpired, reſt upon their private Judgment, deſpiſe the Authority of the *Antients*, and believe Honeſty ſufficient to qualifie 'em for Judges in Controverſie. *Tyndal* in his Deſcription of his *Spiritual Man*, has ſeveral crude, irreverent Expreſſions. He will not allow any Ceremonies, unleſs the Signification of 'em is underſtood: And yet as Sir *Thomas More* obſerves, the Reaſons of all the Jewiſh Obſervances are not explain'd in the *Old Teſtament*. Upon the Courſe of this Diſpute, he grows more indefenſible: He ſpeaks ſcandalouſly of Auricular Confeſſion, and calls it *a Work of Satan*. And in mentioning *Confirmation*, he is downright prophane. His Words are: *They think that if the Biſhop butter the Child in the Forehead, that then 'tis ſafe.* To proceed, he miſreports the Church in matter of *Satisfaction*, and affirms Baptiſm inſignificant, becauſe the Children are chriſtned in *Latin*. He ſlanders the then Church about the *Opus operatum*, and maintains the *Sacraments* are of no Benefit, but as they preach the Promiſes of God, as a Preacher muſt do. He makes all Chriſtians Prieſts, and denies the Neceſſity of any diſtinct *Order*. He ſays, a *Turk* believes in God, better than thoſe of the Roman Communion. And to conclude with him, he jeſts prophanely upon the Biſhop's Bleſſing.

Fox *affirms* Tyndal *miſreported, vol.* 2. *p.* 351.

(*t*) More*'s Works, p.* 354.

1 Cor. 2. 14, 15.

More, *p.* 360.

Id. *p.* 374.

Id. *p.* 380.

Id. *p.* 381.

Id. *p.* 382.

Id. *p.* 383.

Id. *p.* 391.

Id. *p.* 396.

Theſe were *Tyndal*'s Opinions, as they ſtand in Sir *Thomas More*'s Works. Now if he is not miſreported (which is ſomewhat unlikely) he has fail'd both in Truth and Decency in ſeveral material Points. And in ſhort, his Heterodoxies are too viſible to reckon him amongſt the Reformed of the *Engliſh* Church.

Id. *p* 398.

In *July*, this Year, *John Fyrth* was burn'd in *Smithfield* for a Heretick. In *June* laſt, he was convented before *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, (the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* being his Aſſeſſors.) He was interrogated concerning his Belief, touching the Sacrament of the Altar and Purgatory. As to the firſt Article, he anſwer'd, that the Natural Body of Chriſt was only in one Place at once, and that the Corporeal Preſence was not neceſſary to be believ'd. As to the Second, he ſaid he did not believe there was any Purgatory for the Soul after this Life*.

* Stokeſly *Regiſt. p.* 71.

He had formerly diſputed at length, the firſt Article, argued ſolidly as to the Main againſt Tranſubſtantiation and worſhipping the Hoſt. Sir *Thomas More* and *Fryth* had a Conteſt upon this Argument in Writing. As *Fox* reports the Matter, he was very moderate in his Diſſent, and ſeems to have affirm'd little more than that Tranſubſtantiation and Purgatory were no neceſſary Points of the Chriſtian Belief. But this Modeſty and Reſervedneſs gave no Satisfaction to the Bigottry of the Court; who not prevailing with him to retract to the length preſcrib'd, deliver'd him to the ſecular Magiſtrate. Being brought to the Stake, he endured the Fire with great Fortitude, and ſeem'd inſenſible of Pain. This *Fryth* was a lively Genius. He was bred at *Cambridge*, where he made a conſiderable Proficiency in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages. His Parts and Improvement made him taken notice of by Cardinal *Wolſey*, who deſign'd him with ſome other Perſons of Eminence, for his new Foundation of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*. And

See my Ecclefiaſt. Hiſt. *pt.* 1. *p.* 262.

to conclude with him, he was no leſs remarkable for the Regularity of his Life.

Feb. 4. A. D. 153$^{2}_{3}$. *Appeals in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Matrimonial, &c. prohibited under* Præmunire.

In the latter end of this Year, there was another *Seſſion* of Parliament. Amongſt other *Acts*, we have one againſt *Appeals* to *Rome*. The *Preamble* ſets forth, "That the Kingdom of *England* "is an Empire provided with Perſons, both "Spiritual and Temporal, well qualified to de"termine all Controverſies ariſing in it, without "Application to any foreign Princes or Poten"tates. And more particularly, that Part of "the ſaid Body Politick call'd the *Spiritualty*, or "the *Engliſh* Church, have always been eſteem'd "and found upon Trial, ſufficiently furniſh'd "with Skill and Integrity to determine all ſuch "Doubts, and to adminiſter all ſuch Offices and "Duties, *as to their Room's Spiritual does appertain*. From hence the *Preamble* proceeds to complain, "that ſeveral Appeals have been made "to the See of *Rome* in Cauſes Teſtamentary, "and Matrimonial, in Divorces, Rights of "Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the "Delay of Juſtice, and the great Vexation and "Charge of the King's Highneſs and his Sub"jects. And foraſmuch as the Diſtance from "*Rome* is ſuch, that Proof and Evidence re"lating to a Cauſe, cannot be brought thither "without great Inconvenience; for which Rea"ſon many Perſons are forc'd to ſuffer in their "Rights, and ſit down without Remedy. 'Tis "therefore Enacted, that all Cauſes, Teſtamen"tary and Matrimonial, all Diſputes concern"ing Divorces, Tythes, Oblations and Obven"tions, either commenc'd and now depending, "or which hereafter ſhall commence in any of the "King's Dominions, ſhall be heard, diſcuſs'd, and "finally adjudg'd and determin'd within the "King's Juriſdiction and Authority, in ſuch "Courts Spiritual and Temporal of the ſame, as "the Nature and Quality of the Caſes ſhall re"quire, without regard to any Cuſtom pre"judicial to the ſame; any foreign Inhibitions, "Appeals, Interdictions, Excommunications, or "any other Proceſs from the See of *Rome*, or "any other foreign Courts to the contrary not"withſtanding. And here thoſe who make any "ſuch Appeals, or procure any ſuch Cenſures "in purſuit of 'em, fall under the Penalty of "*Præmunire*. And thoſe who refuſe to give the "Sacraments to ſuch as are interdicted or ex"communicated by the Pope, are to ſuffer one "Year's Impriſonment, and make Fine and "Ranſom at the King's Pleaſure.

The Order of the Proceſs ſettled by this Statute is, this, "If the Suit was commenc'd "before the Arch-Deacon, or his Officials, the "Party grieved had the Liberty of Appealing "to the Dioceſan, and from thence within "Fifteen Days after Judgment, to the Arch"biſhop of the Province. And in caſe this "Suit was commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon "of any Biſhop, or his Commiſſaries, then the "Appeal might be made within Fifteen Days "after Sentence to the Court of Arches, and "from the Court of Arches within the ſame In"terval, to the Archbiſhop of the Province, "there to be finally determined. In all which "Caſes, there is a *Saving* for the Prerogative of "the Archbiſhop, and Church of *Canterbury*. And "laſtly, in all Cauſes where the King was con"cern'd, the laſt Appeal was to be made to the "Upper Houſe of *Convocation* (u).

This *Statute* againſt *Appeals*, ſeems to point particularly at the *Divorce* now depending, and to preclude the Queen from any Applications to the *Court* of *Rome*.

The King expoſtulates with the Pope, and propoſes his retiring to Avignon.

Amongſt other Things, at the late Interview at *Bononia*, 'twas concerted, that the Pope ſhou'd write to the King of *England*, to ſend Forces againſt the *Turk*, who threatn'd Chriſtendom with another Invaſion. The King anſwer'd, That if any ſuch Misfortune happen'd, it muſt be thrown upon the Emperor's Ambition, and the uncautious Temerity of the Pope. It ſeems, his *Holyneſs* at the Emperor's Inſtance, had lately excommunicated *John Sepuſe Vayvode* of *Tranſylvania*, and elected King of *Hungary*. That this Prince had apply'd for Succour to the *Port*, and drawn the Infidels upon Chriſtendom. Upon this Occaſion the King puts his *Holyneſs* in Mind, how neceſſary Precaution is in ſuch Caſes. But to offer ſomewhat towards Satisfaction; If his *Holyneſs* was apprehenſive of having any ſhare in this Calamity, he adviſes him to retire to *Avignon*: And that then himſelf and the *French* King wou'd engage for his Protection. As to the Emperor, there was little to be expected; for 'twas plain, that Prince was reſolv'd to gratifie the *German* Princes, and yield to ſome Innovations in Religion, on Purpoſe to reduce his *Holineſs*, and leſſen his Power (w).

A Treaty between the Pope and the French *King.*

How this Motion was reliſh'd by the Pope, is ſomewhat uncertain. However, he does not ſeem to be in a Condition to diſcover his Mind. Such Freedom might have prov'd dangerous, while the Emperor's Army was quarter'd in *Italy*. But after thoſe Forces were withdrawn, he concluded a private Treaty with the *French* King. This Prince having concerted new Meaſures with the Pope, began to grow leſs hearty in his Correſpondence with King *Henry*. At this Treaty, the Marriage between *Catherine de Medices*, his *Holyneſs*'s Niece, and *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Son of *Francis*, was concluded, and ſolemnized at *Marſeilles* in *October* following. The Pope had likewiſe promis'd the *French* King an Aſſiſtance for recovering his Claims in *Italy*, and hop'd that Monarch wou'd favour him in his Deſigns upon *Modena* and *Rheggio*.

The French *King goes off from King* Henry's *Intereſt.*

The King of *England* perceiving the *Courts* of *France* and *Rome* thus cloſely united, and that the *French* King ſeem'd to forget ſome of his Engagements at the Interview at *Calais*; particularly that he had executed ſome Perſons in *France*, for oppoſing the Papal Authority, and recall'd one *Bede* from Baniſhment, who had vigorouſly oppos'd the King of *England*'s Divorce. For theſe Reaſons the King reſolved to end this Controverſy at Home, and to ſtand to the Deciſion of the *Engliſh* Clergy.

Cranmer *promoted to the See of* Canterbury.

To ſucceed the better in this Affair, a proper Perſon was to be pitch'd on for the *See* of *Canterbury*: A Perſon of Character and Reſolution, and not over-obſequious to the *See* of *Rome*. Theſe Qualities ſeem'd to concur in Dr. *Cranmer*, who had lately been employ'd by the King in *Italy*, and was now in *Germany* negotiating for the *Divorce*. The King who had reſolv'd his Promotion, acquainted him with it, with Orders for a ſpeedy Return. *Cranmer* endeavoured to decline the Station, and mov'd ſlowly in his Journey, in hopes, as 'tis ſaid, the *See* might be fill'd before his Arrival. But all this Backwardneſs and Excuſe ſerv'd only to raiſe the King's Opinion of his Merit: So that at laſt, he found himſelf oblig'd to *reſign*, and undertake the Charge.

Papal Bulls for Biſhops not yet prohibited.

Our Learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, that *the King ſent to the Pope for the Bulls for* Cranmer'*s Promotion; and though the Statutes were paſs'd againſt procuring more Bulls from* Rome, *yet the King reſolv'd not to begin the Breach till he was* forc'd

---

(u) 24 H. 8. *cap.* 12.

(w) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 346.

forc'd to it by the Pope (*x*). But here I muſt take notice of a Miſtake; for tho' there were *Statutes* paſs'd againſt the Payment of *Annates* and *Appeals*, yet there was no *Acts* againſt procuring of *Bulls* for the Conſecrating of Biſhops, till the twenty fifth of this Reign (*y*).

(*x*) *Bp.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 128.
(*y*) 25 H. 8. cap. 20.

To proceed: The Pope on the other ſide had no mind to come to a Rupture with *England*: 'Tis true *Cranmer* had taken ſeveral unacceptable Steps: He had publiſh'd a Diſcourſe for the Divorce, diſputed againſt the Pope's Power in diſpenſing, and held a Correſpondence with *Oſiander*, and other *Lutherans* in *Germany*. Theſe were ill Recommendations at *Rome*; however the Pope went through, and diſpatch'd eleven *Bulls* to complete his *Character*. By one *Bull* he is upon the King's Nomination promoted to the *See* of *Canterbury*: This *Inſtrument* is directed to the King. By a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is made Archbiſhop. A third abſolves him from all *Cenſures*. A fourth is ſent to the *Suffragans*. A fifth to the *Dean* and *Chapter*. A ſixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A ſeventh to all the *Laity* in his Dioceſe. An eighth to all who held Lands of the *See*, requiring 'em to acknowledge him as Archbiſhop. All theſe bear date the twenty firſt of *February* 1533. But then we are to obſerve, that this Computation of the Church of *Rome*, begins the Year with *January*. For in *England* the Year 1532 was not expired. By a ninth *Bull* dated the twenty ſecond of *February*, he was to be conſecrated upon taking the Oath in the *Pontifical*. By a tenth *Bull* dated tne third of *March*, the *Pall* was ſent him. And by the eleventh the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *London* were ordered to put it on (*z*).

(*z*) Regiſt. Cranmer. March 30. 1533.

Upon the Arrival of theſe *Bulls Cranmer* was conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter* and St. *Aſaph*.

Cranmer *ſcruples the taking an Oath to the Pope, but complies upon the Expedient of a Proteſtation.*

It has been obſerved that by one of theſe *Bulls Cranmer* was obliged to take a cuſtomary Oath to the Pope. This Circumſtance he cou'd not get over at firſt; and 'tis ſuppos'd by ſome *Writers*, that it was this Condition which made him ſo backward in accepting that Dignity. He thought ſeveral *Papal Conſtitutions* wanted Reformation; and that his taking this Oath wou'd embarraſs his Motion, and make his Duty impracticable. But the *Canoniſts* found out a Temper, and releiv'd him under this Scruple. They propos'd the making a *Proteſtation* before he took the Oath. By this Expedient he was to ſave his Liberty, and renounce every Clauſe in the Oath, which barr'd him doing his Duty to God, the King, and his Country (*a*).

(*a*) *Se Records, N.* 22.

This Expedient not wholly defenſible.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, *this Temper agreed better with the Maxims of the Canoniſts and Caſuiſts, than* Cranmer'*s Sincerity* (*b*). This Gentleman means there were ſome Strains of Art, and myſterious Practice in't; and I am altogether of his mind. For this *Proteſt* was not made at *Rome* to the Pope: *Cranmer's Proxies* had no ſuch Inſtructions, as appears by the *Inſtrument*. Had this Reſerve been inſiſted on in the *Conclave*, we have Reaſon to believe the *Bulls* wou'd never have been granted. We can't conceive the Pope wou'd have ever agreed to this Latitude: So that it is pretty plain, the Oath was not taken in the Senſe of the *Impoſer*. However the Reverend *Prelate* abovemention'd infers, *that if* Cranmer *did not wholly ſave his Integrity, yet he intended to act fairly and above board*. But to act *above board* is not always defenſible: 'Tis ſometimes an Aggravation of a Fault. Beſides, how a Man can act fairly, and yet not ſave his Integrity is farther than I can diſcover. And therefore with due Regard to *Cranmer*'s Memory, it muſt be ſaid there was ſomething of human Infirmity in this Management.

(*b*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 129.

Ibid.

The Queſtion about the Divorce debated this Year in Convocation.

When *Cranmer*'s Conſecration was over, he is ſaid to come into the *Convocation*: And that the *Houſes* were warmly debating the Buſineſs of the *Divorce*. That is, whether it was lawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, upon the Suppoſition the Marriage had been conſummated? And ſecondly, whether this Suppoſition was matter of Fact between Prince *Arthur* and Queen *Catharine*? But this Account, as to the time, looks ſomewhat improbable. For theſe two Queſtions about the Divorce, had been already ſettled under Archbiſhop *Warham*: They had been ſettled, I ſay, as our Hiſtorian reports, to the King's Satisfaction three Years ſince. Why then ſhou'd this Diſpute come upon the Board again, when it had been thus acceptably determin'd in *Convocation* ſo long ago? But after all, 'tis poſſible the two Queſtions might not be formally debated in the Convocation till this Year: For upon peruſing the *Journal* of the Upper *Houſe* I find nothing of this kind upon the Board till *March* the twenty ſixth 1533. And now within ten Days the Point was ſettled, as before related, and a publick Inſtrument drawn up for the King's Satisfaction.

Ibid.

See above, Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 106.

Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation, fol. 55, 56, 57.

Theſe two *Queſtions* were determin'd the ſame way on the King's ſide, by the *Convocation* at *York*, two only diſſenting to each Point propos'd.

Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 14. p. 454. May 13. Ibid. p. 474.

Before I part with this Account, I am oblig'd to make another Remark. Our learned Church-Hiſtorian relates, *that the Opinions of Nineteen Univerſities were read for the Divorce in the Convocation*. But this Number *exceeds* by more than half as has been prov'd already. This Gentleman ſeems to be led into this Miſtake, by a haſty Tranſlation of *Joſceline* whom he quotes upon this Occaſion. To put this matter beyond doubt, I ſhall cite the Author in his own Language. (*c*) *In ſuperiori autem Patrum Conventu, in quo Bononienſis, Patavinenſis, Pariſienſis, aliarumque Univerſitatum, de eâ Queſtione Judicia recitata ſunt, Controverſia inter Stokeſleyum Londinenſem, & Fiſherum Roffenſem Epiſcopos aliquandiu mota, ab omnibus Patribus, qui ducenti ſexdecim perſonaliter, vel per Procuratores interfuerunt, præterquam a* 19, *Univerſitatum prædictarum Sententiis aſſenſum eſt.* The *Engliſh* of which is this. *In the Upper Houſe of Convocation, the Cenſures upon the Queſtion of the Divorce paſs'd at* Bononia, Padua, Paris *and ſome other Univerſities, were reported. Now* Stokeſly *Biſhop of* London, *and* Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *happening to claſh in the Debate, this Houſe conſiſting of two hundred and ſixteen, including Proxies, all of 'em excepting nineteen, agreed to the Deciſion of the Univerſities abovemention'd.*

Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 129.

(*c*) Antiquit. Brit. p. 327, 328. Edit. Han.

A Miſtake concerning 19 *Univerſities rectified.*

Our learned Church-Hiſtorian upon this Occaſion attempts ſomewhat of a Hiſtory of the *Convocation*: And offers a Conjecture into what Members the *Houſes* were diſtinguiſhed. *He believes none ſat in the Lower-Houſe, but thoſe who were deputed by the inferior Clergy: And that Biſhops, Abbots, mitred and not mitred, and Priors, Deans, and Archdeacons ſat then in the Upper Houſe of Convocation.* But firſt, this Conjecture diſagrees with what he has already affirm'd: For he has told us, that *Reginal Pool* as Dean of *Exeter*, was a Member of the Lower Houſe of *Convocation*. But farther, the Truth of the Caſe is fully diſcovered from the Subſcriptions of the *Convocation* publiſh'd by this Reverend *Prelate* (*d*). In this Liſt all the Members of the *Upper Houſe* ſubſcribe apart, which Method was follow'd by thoſe of the

Pag. 113.

(*d*) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. Addend. p. 315.

Lower: The Inſtrument is an Original, and may ſafely be truſted.

Here 'tis evident that the Biſhops, Abbots and Priors conſtituted the Upper Houſe: And that all Deans, Archdeacons, Proctors of the Clergy, and Chapters of Cathedrals, ſat in the Lower Houſe of *Convocation*.

And that this Reign did not introduce any thing new as to this Point, may be prov'd from Precedents more than one Century prior to the *Reformation*. For inſtance, in the *Convocation* held in the Year 1462, the *Lower Houſe* wanting a ſmall Sum of ready Money, agreed to raiſe it by ſetting a Fine upon the abſent Members. To this purpoſe a Liſt of the *Abſentees* of the *Lower Houſe* was brought in. Amongſt which were theſe, the Deans of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *Windſor*, *Wells*, and *Chicheſter*: The Archdeacons of *Colcheſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Surrey*, *Taunton*, *Dorſet*, &c. (e).

What Members ſat in each Houſe of Convocation.

(e) Harmer, *p.* 31, 32.

How the Diſtinction of the two Houſes was thus ſettled, may not be improper to relate.

Some time after the preſent Conſtitution of Parliaments was introduced in the Reign of *Henry* the Third; ſome time after this, great Numbers of Abbots and Priors were ſummon'd to Parliament by *Writs* directed to each of 'em. Now all the *Religious* thus ſummon'd by particular *Writs* ſat amongſt the *Peers*. Theſe Abbots and Priors had a double Capacity, and were rang'd under two Diſtinctions: As Eccleſiaſtical Prelates they were part of the *Firſt*; and as holding their Baronies of the King, part of the *Second Eſtate* repreſented in Parliament. For we are to obſerve, that ſuch Abbots and Priors as held in chief of the King were uſually ſummon'd to Parliament.

In the Reign of *Edward* the Third, the Number of Abbots and Priors ſummon'd by particular *Writs* was conſiderably leſſen'd: And this Cuſtom held on to the *Reformation*. For after the Reign laſt mention'd, only ſome of the greater Abbots receiv'd Summons. And here the Number, tho' not unalterably fix'd, was always between twenty and thirty. They had ſometimes a Warrant from the King to diſpenſe with their Attendance: Of which we have an Inſtance in the Reign before us (f).

(f) *See Records, N.* 23.

To return: When the Kings forbore ſending particular Summons to the leſſer Abbots and Priors, they loſt the Privilege of being Members of the *Second Eſtate*. However, they ſtill continued to be ſummon'd to *Convocations* by the Archbiſhop's Mandate. Now thoſe *Religious* who held immediately of the King; and whoſe Predeceſſors had been ſummon'd as Part of the *Baronage*, continued their Claim in the *Convocation*, and were admitted to ſit with the Biſhops as formerly (g).

(g) Harmer, *p.* 32. & de- inc.

A. D. 1532.
Latimer *preaches againſt Purgatory*, &c.

About this time *Hugh Latimer*'s Caſe was brought before the Upper Houſe of *Convocation*. This *Latimer* had been delated in the *Synod* laſt Year for maintaining erroneous Doctrine in ſome Letters written to one *Greenwood* of *Cambridge*: And being requir'd to take an Oath to make a true Anſwer to Interrogatories, he declin'd the Juriſdiction of the *Houſe*, and appeal'd to the King: But the King refuſing the Application, return'd him to the Convocation, upon which he acknowledg'd himſelf miſtaken, and was pardon'd upon his Submiſſion *. But now he relaps'd, as they call'd it, to his former Opinions. The Articles he was charg'd with, were his denying Purgatory, worſhipping of Saints, and going in Pilgrimage to their Images. He had ſubſcrib'd a Recantation upon theſe Heads, and promis'd not to preach Offenſively upon them for the future. Notwithſtanding this Engagement his Conſcience wou'd not give him leave to keep his Word: For in the Pulpit at *Briſtol* he declaim'd againſt the receiv'd Doctrines: And therefore to diſable him in his Credit, the *Houſe*, at the Motion of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, order'd a Copy of his Submiſſion ſhould be ſent down into thoſe Parts.

His Submiſſion.

* *Convocation Journal, fol.* 46, 47.

March 26. 1533.

Id. *fol.* 53, 54.

The King attempts to prevail with Queen Catharine *to relinquiſh her Marriage, but without Succeſs.*

To proceed: The King tried once more to prevail with the Queen to acquieſce in the *Divorce*. And to make the Propoſal go down the better, ſhe was told the King wou'd ſettle her firſt Joynture, and that ſhe ſhou'd be treated with the Honour of Princeſs of *Wales*. But this Offer was refus'd; ſhe ſtill continued to juſtify her Marriage, and held to her *Appeal*. But the King's Marriage with *Anne Boleyn* cou'd be conceal'd no longer; and therefore on *Eaſter-Eve* ſhe was declared Queen, and pompouſly crown'd in *June* following. But before this laſt Solemnity, 'twas thought fit to proceed to a Judicial Diſſolution of the former Marriage. The Proceſs was form'd in this Manner. Firſt, *Cranmer* acquainted the King in a Letter, that his Marriage with Queen *Catharine* had been much cenſur'd both at home and abroad: That his Subjects were particularly apprehenſive the Title to the Crown might be entangled, and the Peace of the Kingdom endanger'd by this Means. That therefore he deſired an Authority of his Majeſty to put an end to this Matter. Upon this Requeſt, the King ſends him an Order to call a Court, and proceed to Judgment (h).

(h) *See Records, N.* 24.

The Sentence of the Divorce pronounc'd by Cranmer. May 23.

Cranmer being thus furniſh'd, the King and the Queen were cited to appear before him at *Dunſtable*. This Place was pitch'd on becauſe the Queen lay near it at *Ampthill*: For this reaſon ſhe cou'd not pretend being unacquainted with what was doing. And thus there being no need of many Days in the Citation, the Proceſs might be ended the ſooner. The Court was held upon the tenth of *May*; the King appear'd by Proxy, but the Queen neither in Perſon nor otherwiſe. For this Reaſon, after a third Citation, ſhe was declared *Contumax*. And here the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes relating to the Conſummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* were read. The *Cenſures* of the Univerſities, the Determinations of the *Provinces* of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Opinions of Canoniſts and Divines in favour of the Divorce, were likewiſe recited in *Court*. And laſtly, on the twenty third of *May* the Archbiſhop, by the Advice of Canoniſts and Divines, conſulted upon this Occaſion, proceeds to give Judgment, and pronounces the Marriage between the King and Queen *Catharine* to have been only an Engagement *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, and by conſequence, to have been null, and of no Force from the Beginning. And thus King *Henry* and the Lady *Catharine* * (for ſhe is not call'd Queen) are pronounc'd ſeparated, and divorc'd from each other, and at Liberty to engage elſewhere (i).

* Domina Catharina.

(i) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *Collect. of Records, Book* 2. *N.* 47. *from an* inſpeximus Rot. Pat. 25 H. 8.

Doctor *Heylin* mentions a Letter of *Cranmer*'s to *Cromwell* upon this Occaſion. The Letter, tranſcrib'd from the *Cotton* Library, imports a Reſolution of the Archbiſhop's coming to a final Sentence on the eighteenth of *May*. And here *Cranmer* conjures *Cromwell* and the King not to divulge ſo great a Secret: For he was afraid ſuch a Diſcovery might bring the Princeſs Dowager to *Dunſtable*. And that her appearing in *Court* either at, or before the time of *Sentence*, might perplex the Affair, and put them all to a ſtand *; but by her not appearing this Danger was over,

*Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. under Q.* Mary, *p.* 7.

over, and the Matter went as the King would have it.

The Proceedings cenſur'd.

And thus the Cauſe which had been ſix Years depending was determin'd at laſt. However, the King's Proceedings did not paſs without Cenſure. Some of thoſe who believ'd him well founded as to the main, were not ſatisfied in every Circumſtance. They were altogether of Opinion the Divorce ought to have been pronounc'd before the King's Engagements with *Anne Boleyn*: And that the firſt Marriage ought to have been diſſolv'd, before the ſecond was made. For to break a Marriage without any publick Sentence was, as they conceived, an unprecedented Singularity. And ſince one of the principal Reaſons of State urg'd in this Affair, was to ſettle the Succeſſion, they thought this End wou'd not be anſwer'd, that the Title to the *Crown* wou'd be more entangled: For was there not a ſtrong pretence to queſtion the ſecond Marriage, upon the ſcore of its being made before the firſt was diſcharg'd? In ſhort, it was generally concluded that Judgment in form had been better omitted, than come ſo late. Some excepted to the Archbiſhop's being Judge. He had written a Book for the Divorce, and declared himſelf on the King's ſide of the Queſtion. To this it was anſwer'd, that when a Man acts in a new Poſt, his former Sentiment is no diſabling Circumſtance. For don't Judges ſometimes try Cauſes in which they formerly gave Counſel, and pleaded at the Bar? And to come ſomewhat nearer; Popes are not ſuppos'd tied to the Opinions they held in a lower Station. And laſtly, 'twas replied, that the Archbiſhop proceeded only upon what had been already concluded by the Univerſities, Convocations, *&c.* and did no more than put their Deciſions into a Form of Law (*k*).

Upon the twenty eighth of *May* the Archbiſhop held another Court at *Lambeth*, where without aſſigning the Reaſons in the Judgment, he confirm'd the King's Marriage with the new Queen *Anne*.

The King endeavours to juſtify himſelf to foreign Princes.

The King diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to moſt of the Courts of *Europe*, to juſtiſie his Marriage upon the Grounds already mention'd. He was particularly ſolicitous to give the Emperor Satisfaction, and prevent a Rupture with that Prince. To this purpoſe he acquaints his Imperial Majeſty, that he deſign'd to juſtify his Practice at the Court of *Rome* and treat farther with the Pope. That he hop'd his Imperial Majeſty wou'd put a friendly Conſtruction upon his Proceedings, and continue his Correſpondence as formerly. The Emperor told Sir *Thomas Wyat*, the Ambaſſador, that he was well inform'd how that Affair had been manag'd; and that he ſhou'd adviſe with his Council upon farther Meaſures. By this Anſwer, it might eaſily be perceived, he intended to break with the King (*l*).

The Emperor not ſatisfied.

The Court of Rome *highly diſguſted.*

The News of Archbiſhop *Cranmer's Sentence*, and the King's Marriage with Mrs. *Boleyn* was very ill receiv'd at *Rome*. That Court thought the *Papal* Authority much diſregarded: For the King to commiſſionate one of his Subjects to judge finally in the Cauſe while the *Appeal* was depending, was new, and unprecedented: And that by ſuch Freedoms the Supremacy of the *See* of *Rome* was plainly ſtruck at. Thus the College of Cardinals were much diſguſted; and thoſe in the Emperor's Intereſt, addreſs'd the Pope to exert his Character, and proceed to *Cenſures* againſt the King.

June.

The Pope tho' not willing to come to Extremities, gratified 'em in ſome meaſure. He gave Sentence againſt the *Attentates* as they call 'em; that is, he declared Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Judgment of no Force. For ſince the Queen by her *Appeal*, had remitted the Cauſe to the Court of *Rome*, 'twas not in the Power of any other Prelates or Prince, to intermeddle with it. And ſince the King had countenanc'd *Cranmer* in this late Proceſs, he is declared liable to Excommunication, unleſs he diſowned *Cranmer*'s Sentence, and reſtored the Cauſe to its former Condition. And to do this, he had time given him 'till the end of *September* (*m*).

The King's Agents at the Interview at Marſeilles.

The Pope and the *French* King had concerted an Interview at *Marſeilles*: And now the time drawing near, the King of *England* endeavour'd to diſengage *Francis* from meeting his *Holyneſs*. To this Purpoſe the Duke of *Norfolk* was diſpatch'd to the *French* Court. His Inſtructions were to deſire the King of *France* to make a Hault at leaſt, till the Pope had given his Maſter Satisfaction: He had likewiſe in Charge to offer the *French* King an Aſſiſtance for a War in *Piedmont*: But then this Propoſal was made upon Condition, that King *Francis* ſhou'd ſtop the exporting of Treaſure out of his Dominions to *Rome*: And likewiſe erect a *Patriarchate* in purſuance of the late Treaty at *Calais*.

The *French* King's Anſwer was ſmooth and friendly: And tho' his Word had gone too far to break off the Interview, yet he promis'd the King his beſt Offices at *Marſeilles*: And that if any ill Treatment was put upon his Highneſs, he ſhou'd reſent it as done to himſelf.

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſent the King Advice of his Negotiation with the *French* King, and of what had paſs'd at *Rome*. Upon this the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Richmond* were recall'd from the *French* Court. However, at the Inſtance of King *Francis*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and Sir *John Wallop* were diſpatch'd in their Place, with Orders to attend at the *Interview*.

Queen Catharine *refuſes to acquieſce.*

To return to *England*: After the *Sentence* pronounc'd at *Dunſtable* the Lord *Mountjoy* was ſent to Queen *Catharine* to acquaint her with the Proceedings: And that now ſhe muſt drop the State of a Queen, and ſink her Title to *Princeſs Dowager*: He was order'd to work upon her Paſſions different ways, and to promiſe or threaten as he found Occaſion. Amongſt other things, he was to give an Aſſurance of the Lady *Mary*'s being put next Queen *Anne*'s Iſſue in the Succeſſion: But Queen *Catharine* refus'd to comply upon any Conditions. She wou'd not, ſhe ſaid, injure her Honour, and deſtroy her Soul upon any Conſiderations whatſoever: She was his Wife, and while the Cauſe was depending at *Rome* wou'd never ſubmit to any other Diſtinction. And when this Lord had written a Relation of what paſs'd between them, and ſhew'd it to her Highneſs; ſhe ſtruck out all thoſe Places where ſhe was call'd Princeſs Dowager, and wou'd be ſerved by no body but thoſe who call'd her Queen (*n*).

The King made uſe of ſome rough Expedients to bring her to his Purpoſe, but all without Effect. 'Twas thought his Rigours in this kind, were ſomewhat remote from noble Temper: And that ſince he had taken away the ſubſtantial Part of her Grandure, 'twas ſomewhat hard to grudge her the Ceremony of a *Title*.

Upon the ſeventh of *September*, *Sunday*, Queen *Anne* was delivered of a Daughter. This Lady was baptized the *Wedneſday* following, and named *Elizabeth*. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was her Godfather; and the two Dowagers of *Norfolk* and *Dorſet*, the firſt a Dutcheſs, the other a Marchioneſs, were Godmothers.

To

(*k*) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 101, 102.

(*l*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 350, 351.

(*m*) Id. *p.* 357, 358. Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic. *p.* 111.

(*n*) Biblioth. Cotton. Otho c. 10.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

To go on: At the *Interview* at *Marſeilles*, the *French* King ſollicited the Pope to deal gently with the King of *England*, and prolong the time for the *Cenſures*. The Pope anſwer'd, that notwithſtanding the Term was paſs'd, he was willing the Matter ſhou'd reſt till he came to *Rome*. The *Engliſh Agents* not ſatisfied with this Reſpite, laid open their Inſtructions: And here Dr. *Bonner*, after ſome introductive Ceremony, that the King intended no Diſregard to the *Apoſtolick See*, acquainted the Pope with his Maſter's *Appeal* to the next General Council lawfully aſſembled. This being an unexpected Step, diſpleas'd the Pope very much, who told him it ſhou'd be referr'd to the *Conſiſtory*. The Cardinals meeting under this Form three Days after, he let *Bonner* know, he was oblig'd to reject the King's *Appeal*, as being an unlawful Expedient, and contrary to a Conſtitution of his Predeceſſor Pope *Pius*. And as to a *Council*, he ſhou'd convene it. But that this Matter was a Privilege belonging to his Authority, and not King *Henry*'s. Upon this *Bonner* deſired the *Inſtruments* of the *Appeal* might be return'd him; but this was likewiſe deny'd by the Pope.

Nov. 7. 1533. *The King and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *appeal from the Pope to a general Council.*

About this time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſuſpecting the Pope might proceed againſt him, put in his *Appeal* likewiſe to a General *Council* (o).

(o) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 361.

The *French* King ſent *John de Bellay* Biſhop of *Paris* to King *Henry*, to acquaint him with what had paſs'd at *Marſeilles*, and to perſuade him to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to gain more time with his *Holyneſs*, and prevent the Fulmination of the *Cenſures*. But the King who ſeems to have form'd a Project of extending the *Regale*, replied he wou'd adviſe with his Council. And now the King being at the *Board*, the Matter was debated on both ſides.

The *Speech* for keeping on the uſual Correſpondence with the Court of *Rome* was to this Effect.

SIR,

Id. *p.* 362. *A Speech at the Council Board in Defence of the Papal Supremacy.*

"Your Highneſs is upon a Debate of the laſt Importance, ſuch as in the Conſequence will affect your Kingdom and Poſterity. A Reſolution therefore of this nature, ought to be made with the utmoſt Caution. The Queſtion is, whether in this Affair of your Divorce, and in other Eccleſiaſtical Concerns, you intend to proceed on your own, or the Papal Authority? As for my Part, 'tis natural for me, who am born your Subject, to wiſh your Highneſs the utmoſt Extent of Power: But when I recollect the ancient Practice of this Kingdom, I can't but think Innovations dangerous. For if the Regards of Order and Government infer a Neceſſity of Supreme Authority in the *State*, it ſeems ſtill more neceſſary, that ſuch a Subordination of Power, ſuch a laſt Reſort ſhou'd be kept in a *Religious Society*. For is not ſuch a *Spiritual Body* more capable of a *Head* ſo diſtinguiſh'd? And beſides, is not ſuch a Character more wanted, becauſe ſo many ſtand in need of its Direction? In my humble Opinion therefore, we are chiefly oblig'd to ſupport ſuch a Principle of Unity. For by this *Cement*, not only the *Body Spiritual*, but likewiſe *Civil Society* is preſerv'd from flying aſunder. Now, how can we conſult the Dignity of any Government, when the moſt eminent Part of it is laid aſide? And how oddly muſt that Body look which is made ſhorter by the Head?

"Without doubt, *Sir*, an Authority which has ſo much Antiquity to plead, ought not be raſhly ſet aſide. Is not the Pope a common Father to *Chriſtendom*? And are not the Differences among Princes and Prelates referr'd to his Deciſion? Is not the Majeſty of Religion ſupported by the Prerogative of his *See*? Is not Diſcipline maintain'd by the Extent of his Juriſdiction? Does not his Commiſſion from God keep *Chriſtendom* in Awe? And are not Men reſtrain'd from Liberty and Diſorder, by conſidering the force of his Character? Shall we then part with the Terrors of the other World, with theſe powerful Motives to Duty and Obedience, and truſt only to the *Civil Sword*, to Jayls and Executions? Beſides, who ſhall provide for unforeſeen Caſes, diſpenſe againſt the *Letter*, and ſoften the Rigour of Law, if the Pope is once gone? How ſhall Sacraments, Pardons, and Indulgences, and other holy Performances be maintain'd in the uſual Significancy? Who ſhall be Guarrantee for the Leagues of Princes, hold 'em to their Oaths and Articles, and thunder againſt Perjury and Injuſtice? As Affairs now ſtand, I can't conceive how a general Peace can go on among Princes, nor how Order and Equity can well ſubſiſt without Recourſe to his *Holyneſs*. For as his Court is a ſort of *Chancery* to all *Chriſtendom*, ſo if you take it away, that Equity and Conſcience which ought to over-rule and explain all Laws and Conſtitutions whatſoever, muſt fall with it.

"To conclude; As your Highneſs is my Sovereign, I wiſh you all imaginable Advantage of real Greatneſs, but as to Eccleſiaſtical Government, I humbly conceive, 'tis beſt not to bring it to a Review; not to ſuffer either the *Seat* of the Power, or the Extent of the Obligation to be expoſed to Queſtion, or examin'd by your Subjects. An Experiment of this nature may occaſion an unfortunate Diviſion; and endanger both the *Spiritual* and *Civil* Authority. And beſides, ſuch a Liberty wou'd be ill receiv'd *Abroad*; make our Proceedings be cenſur'd by foreign Princes, and diſpoſe 'em upon every Occaſion, to enter into an Alliance againſt us.

This Speech was anſwer'd by a Perſon of a different Sentiment.

SIR,

An Anſwer on the other ſide.

"Had the Queſtion now ſpoken to, been reſolv'd to Satisfaction, I ſhould not have troubled your Majeſty with a Reply. But tho' his Principles are true, in my Opinion, he fails in his Inferences: I ſhall therefore crave leave to examine his Arguments, from common Topicks and Rules of Reaſoning. For here 'tis not my Intention to produce any Proof from *Revelation*, or enter upon Points of Divinity. That there is a Neceſſity of ſome Supreme Power in *Spiritual*, as well as *Temporal* Concerns, is evident enough. But the Queſtion is, whether 'tis more beneficial for theſe Offices to be lodg'd in one Perſon, or Two? I confeſs I am clearly for Incorporating the *Character*, provided the Claims of each reſpective Branch are of the ſame Extent: And the Perſon pretends to be Supreme in one Caſe, no farther than he is in the other. To advance towards farther Proof, Can we ſuppoſe Government without Religion, or Religion without Government? Will moral Precepts, and the bare Force of Doctrine, keep People to their Duty without the Countenance

nance of the *Civil* Authority? Or on the other hand, Is Severity and the Terror of Executions, ſufficient Inſtruction to inform the Underſtanding, to regulate the Practice, and make us happy in the other World? Beſides, how can the Repoſe of a Kingdom be ſecur'd, if the *Secular* Magiſtrate commands one thing, and the *Spiritual* another? Such Inconſiſtency of Orders, ſerves only to diſtract the Mind of the Subject, and make Duty impracticable. Inſomuch, that ſometimes a Man muſt be under a Neceſſity of being counted, at leaſt, either a Schiſmatick, or a Rebel. Theſe Inconveniencies as they are poſſible in the Scheme, ſo they may be prov'd from Practice. For what Claſhings has there been between Princes and Popes? What Deſolations and publick Ruin? What Scandal to common Chriſtianity, both in this Kingdom and elſewhere, have happen'd upon this Score? I ſhall take it for granted then, that the Union of the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Supremacy, are extremely ſerviceable. We are now to enquire in the next place, for the moſt proper Perſon, for the Exerciſe of this double Juriſdiction: I mean only at preſent with reſpect to this Kingdom. And here it is evident, the Popes are not qualified for this Function. For as to the *Temporal* Part, they have no Claim either from *Blood* or *Election*, to found their Title upon. So neither on the other hand, are they in any good Condition to manage the *Spiritual*. The *See* of *Rome* is too remote to exert their Character: This Diſtance makes Information and Redreſs come oftentimes too late. 'Tis true, they endeavour to fence againſt this Inconvenience, by admitting *Appeals*. But this Expedient is but a weak Remedy. For thoſe who apply to this Relief, are oftentimes tir'd and worn out with a dilatory Proceſs. And thus the Remedy being held too high, and neither agreeing with the Health or Pocket of the Parties, they chuſe rather to throw up the Cauſe, and ſet down under Oppreſſion. This was one of the *centum gravamina* complain'd of by the *Germans*, neither cou'd the Court of *Rome* contrive 'em a Satisfaction upon this Head. And thus we ſee the Pope is barr'd the Exerciſe of either Juriſdiction in *England*, for the Reaſons already mentioned. With whom therefore muſt this Authority be lodged? Without Queſtion, with the *Crown*. For have not Princes part of the Sacerdotal, as well as the Regal Power, annex'd to their Office? Beſides, they claim this Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy no farther than their Dominions reach, and their Swords can ſupport their Title. Neither are they ſuppos'd to have any Intereſt diſtinct from their Subjects; for this Reaſon they will be diſpos'd to preſerve a Harmony in Religion. And beſides, the Union of the *Sacred* and *Civil* Authority, will double the Force of each, and be a ſtronger Reſtraint upon the Paſſions of the People. And thus they will be the better ſecur'd from breaking out into *Singularities* and Schiſm. If any Perſon thinks this Notion Chimærical, he may be convinc'd of the Practicableneſs of it, by the Popes themſelves. For are not the Biſhops of *Rome*, Princes and High Prieſts in the *Patrimony of the Church*? And don't we perceive a better publick Correſpondence, and a firmer Union in thoſe Places, than elſewhere? Since therefore it appears both by Reaſon and Precedent, that both Juriſdictions may ſubſiſt in one Subject, and be executed by the ſame Perſon, I conceive it will eaſily be granted, that theſe Functions ſuit better with a *Temporal* than a *Spiritual* Monarch. For is not the Proviſion of Laws, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, much more ſerviceable than Controverſial Diſputes? (I mean where the Fundamentals are ſettled) And is it not more for the Benefit of Mankind to defend the Publick againſt foreign Invaſion, than to harrangue againſt Vice, and complain of the Non-payment of Church Duties? And may we not conclude from hence, that there is no more Neceſſity of a Pope, in the modern Extent of that Character, than there is of a univerſal Emperor? For Government as well as other Bodies, muſt be reſtrain'd to a certain Proportion. 'Tis ſwell'd into a Monſter, if you carry it beyond its due Bulk.

“In the next place, let us conſider whether the Pope is not diſabled for his Pretenſion upon another Account. For is not his *Holyneſs* obnoxious to other Princes? 'Tis plain, his Motions are frequently embarraſs'd by the *French* and *Spaniard*. His *See* lies as it were in the middle between theſe contending *Crowns*. By this Situation, he muſt either be oblig'd to comply with the prevailing Party, or elſe expoſe himſelf to Inſult and Outrage, as has lately happen'd. And ſince the *State* has ſometimes an Intereſt in religious Diſputes, it muſt be dangerous for *England*, to make his *Holyneſs* the laſt Judge in theſe Matters. For let us ſuppoſe him never ſo impartial between Princes at a diſtance, where he is free and unmenac'd, this Advantage of Circumſtance, will often be none of our Caſe. For what can we expect where the Intereſt of his *See*, and the Neighbourhood of potent Princes, hang in his view? I grant he may ſpare us a good Wiſh, or beſtow his Benediction, But what of that? where his Perſon, or his Power are concerned, his Conduct may not be ſo acceptable. In ſuch Caſes, I conceive, it might not be ſafe for him to do us Juſtice; nay, I think it wou'd ſcarcely be Manners to aſk it.

“But may we not continue our Regards to his *Holyneſs* in ſome Meaſure? May he not be apply'd to in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and the Differences of Chriſtendom be referr'd to him? With all my Heart, provided he keeps within the Functions of a *Common Father*. But if he exerts his *Cenſures* without Juſtice and Meaſure; if he interdicts and exterminates without due Provocation; Is not this in effect to throw up his Character, and renounce his *Relation*? If inſtead of ſettling the Conſciences of thoſe within his Charge, and providing for the Repoſe of Chriſtendom, he makes uſe of Extremities, and embroils the World: If he endeavours to ſupport his Authority by Arms and Invaſion, he plainly deſerts his Office, and forfeits his Claim to Regard. Things ſtanding thus, unleſs Eccleſiaſtical Affairs are put into the Hands of Princes, there's little Proſpect of a Settlement.

“But 'tis objected, that if the Pope's Authority is ſuppreſs'd, Religion muſt ſuffer with it. To this I anſwer, That if Religion ſtood on no firmer Ground, 'twou'd be worſe founded than any other *Science*. For are not the Rules of Life ſtamp'd naturally upon the Mind? And had we any other Religion to bring us to Heaven but what Nature furniſh'd us with? Had we any other Aſſiſtance for the firſt two thouſand Years? And what was afterwards the meaning of the *Decalogue*? Was it not to explain and refreſh thoſe innate Inſtructions? Beſides, have we not a Creed to inform us farther, and furniſh us with *Fundamentals?* This *Syſtem* has been all along look'd on as an unalterable Standard by the *Church*; Why therefore muſt our *Faith* be ſtretch'd beyond the *Canon* of the *Old* and *New Teſtament?* To explain or illuſtrate ſome Points, may be a ſerviceable Undertaking: But to throw in ſupplimental Principles, and enlarge the Foundation, is by no means to be allow'd. Neither in Prudence can the Church of *Rome* attempt any thing of this Nature. For the Force and Majeſty of Religion is beſt preſerv'd by Uniformity of Belief, and by keeping cloſe to the Doctrine of the Firſt Ages: But if the Court of *Rome* declines theſe Methods of Charity and Temper; if they miſ-mark the Characters of Things; if they confound the *certain* with the *uncertain*, and tye People to an equal Belief, where the Motives of Credibility are unequal, ought not Princes to interpoſe with a Remedy? Ought they not to ſuppreſs Uſurpations in Religion, and clear it from Error and Neglect?

“Farther, neither ought we to be afraid our Princes ſhou'd grow too abſolute by ſuch an Acceſſion of Privilege: For the beſt Means to unite the Minds of the People, and provide for all Emergencies, ought not to be rejected for improbable Fancies. If 'tis ſaid, this Authority may happen to be abus'd and fall into the Hands of arbitrary Princes, this is no Argument. For are we not in Danger of having ill Popes as well as ill Princes?

“And thus, Sir, all Innovation may be prevented, and all Defects ſupply'd by your Highneſs in your Dominions, without running into any Extreme. Thus the ancient Doctrines of Chriſtianity may be taught without any Mixtures of novel Fancies, or falſe Reaſoning. And within the Compaſs of this Scheme, the *Hierarchy* of your Kingdom may be maintain'd in their ancient Dignity and Privilege. And ſince your Highneſs does not pretend to make any new Articles of *Faith*, What ſhou'd hinder the *Clergy* from expounding the Old Ones? They may go on in their Function, without Diſturbance, diſentangle the Difficulties in *Scripture*, read Divine Service, adminiſter the *Sacraments*, and form their Charge to all the Parts of Piety, and good Conduct.

“Now if the Pope ſhall pleaſe to countenance theſe Proceedings, to leſſen his Pretenſions, and not preſs upon your Highneſs's Prerogative, it might not be amiſs to make him ſome Acknowledgement, and return a reciprocal Regard. Under ſuch moderate Claims, ſome Caſes not ſo eaſily manageable by your Clergy, might be reſerved to his Cogniſance. His Dignity might likewiſe be ſo far conſidered as to allow him a Primacy or patriarchal Right. But then this Privilege muſt paſs with a Limitation, not to interfere with your Highneſs's being Supreme Head of the Church of *England*.

“To come now to the Queſtion before us, relating to the Divorce. And here I can't imagine why the Pope ſhou'd be diſguſted: For has the Archbiſhop done any thing more than what not only the moſt famous Univerſities, but even his *Holyneſs* himſelf has own'd to be lawful? Since therefore after the Cauſe has been ſo long depending, we have decided the Point juſt as the Pope has declared he wou'd have done it himſelf; Since I ſay, he has confeſs'd he wou'd have given Judgment of the ſame ſide, had it not been for fear of the Emperor, Why ſhou'd he be angry with us for pronouncing by his own Sentiment? Does he complain that he is not in a Condition to do us Juſtice? And is he diſturb'd at the ſame time, to ſee it done by our ſelves? Shall the executing of what he thought reaſonable, be eſteem'd a Fault, when in all Conſtruction of Equity, the Omiſſion muſt have been unpardonable? Let us therefore ſend to him, and requeſt his Conſent. It has been hinted to us already, that 'twou'd be more adviſeable to move for a Pardon afterwards, than ſollicite for a Licenſe beforehand. If this Intimation comes from good Hands, we have Reaſon to hope he will confirm the Archbiſhop's Sentence. And thus the Differences between the *Crown* and the Court of *Rome*, being compromiz'd in ſome meaſure, we need not be apprehenſive of any foreign Invaſion; eſpecially ſince we have the general Concurrence of the Kingdom to ſupport our Proceedings (p).

Decemb. 2. 1533. *Reſolutions at the Council-Board.*

The King inclin'd to govern himſelf by this laſt *Speech*. The Pope it ſeems, had given him a new Provocation, by publiſhing the *Cenſures* abovemention'd at *Dunkirk*. And to prevent farther Inconveniencies, theſe Meaſures were reſolv'd at the *Council Board*. Firſt, 'twas thought adviſeable to acquaint the Nation with his Highneſs's Appeal to a *General Council*, and the Reaſonableneſs of ſuch an Application. Secondly, The Unlawfulneſs of the *Dowager*'s (as they call'd her) Appeal to *Rome*, was to be publiſh'd. And to make this Expedient of hers more unjuſtiſiable, the late *Statute* againſt *Appeals* to the Pope, was to be fix'd to the Church Door of every Pariſh. Thirdly, the Pariſh-prieſts were order'd to ſet forth in their Sermons, that a *General Council* is above the Pope; and that his *Holyneſs* has no more Authority in *England*, by the Laws of God, than any other foreign Biſhop. Laſtly, 'twas reſolv'd to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to ſeveral Princes Courts; and to endeavour the Forming a Confederacy with the Kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, with the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, with the *Hanſtowns* of *Lubeck*, *Norenberg*, *Dantzick*, &c. Id. p. 368.

But this Matter being more fully related in the *Cotton* Library, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the *Record*. *See Records N. 35.*

The King endeavours to prevent a Rupture with the Pope.

Notwithſtanding the projecting theſe Meaſures, the King was not unwilling to accommodate Matters with the Court of *Rome*. To this Purpoſe he deſired the Biſhop of *Paris* to acquaint the *French* King, that if the Pope wou'd ſuſpend his *Cenſures*, aſſign him fair Judges, and exclude the *Imperial* Party, he wou'd likewiſe recal his own Reſolutions of diſowning the Authority of that *See*. The Biſhop thought this Propoſal ſomewhat ſhort, and deſir'd a Character of his Highneſs to negotiate this Affair at *Rome*. The King approv'd the Suggeſtion and promis'd to make the Offer good; but refus'd to ſend any Submiſſions under his hand, till he knew how the Motion was receiv'd.

Decemb. 26. *The Biſhop of* Paris *employed at* Rome *in this Affair.*

The Biſhop of *Paris* apprehending this Affair wou'd not admit of Delay, poſted to *Rome*, thro' the Rigor of the Seaſon. Upon his Arrival, he had a publick Audience in the *Conſiſtory*, where he reported the King's Overture, and with a great deal of Elocution, ſet forth how ſerviceable it wou'd be to the whole Church to accept the Terms. The Majority of the Cardinals were

---

(p) *Lord* Herbert, *p* 363.

ſatisfy'd with this Declaration, and ſet a Day for the King to tranſmit his Promiſe in Form. Thus an *Expreſs* was diſpatch'd to the *Engliſh* Court for a farther Reſolution. But no Anſwer being return'd within the Time prefix'd, the Pope reſolv'd to proceed to a definitive Sentence. Upon which *Bellay* did his utmoſt to ſtop the *Fulmination*. He ſuggeſted, 'twas probable the Expedition of the *Expreſs* might be check'd by contrary Winds, or other Accidents: He deſir'd, ſince their Patience had held out Six Years in the *Cauſe*, they wou'd only prolong it to Six Days Reſpite. This Motion being put to the Queſtion, 'twas carry'd by a Majority againſt the King. It ſeems the *Conſiſtory* were put out of Humour, and hurried to this Reſolution by ſome News they had receiv'd from *England*. They heard the King had publiſh'd a Book againſt the Pope's Authority. Tho' by the way, they were miſ-inform'd as to the Printing, which was not done till afterwards. 'Tis true, there was a Book written upon this Subject, which it ſeems was not altogether a Secret, for a Copy of it was now come to the Pope's Hands. Beſides, they were inform'd a Comedy had been repreſented at the *Engliſh* Court to the Diſhonour of the *Conclave:* And that the Pope and moſt of the Cardinals had been pointed at, and particularly expos'd. This Treatment enrag'd the Court of *Rome*, made 'em proceed with Precipitation, and over-look the cuſtomary Methods: So that the Buſineſs which cou'd not regularly have paſſed under Three *Conſiſtories*, was diſpatch'd in One (*q*). And thus by their laſt Deciſion, the Marriage with Queen *Catharine* was pronounc'd valid, and the King commanded to live with her; and in Caſe of Refuſal, an Excommunication was decreed againſt him (*r*). About Two Days after this remarkable Management, the *Expreſs* arriv'd with an Aſſurance in Form, that the King was ready to ratifie whatever had been offer'd by the Biſhop of *Paris*; That is, the King was willing to appear by *Proxy* at the Court of *Rome*, and ſtand to the Award of the *Conſiſtory*, upon the Conditions already mention'd; with this Proviſo, that ſome indifferent Perſons ſhou'd be ſent to *Cambray* for a true Information in the Cauſe.

(*q*) *Father* Paul's *Hiſt. Council of* Trent, *lib.* 1.

(*r*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 368, 369.

March 24, 1533.

The Conſiſtory diſpleas'd with ſome proceedings in England *give Sentence againſt the King.*

The moderate Part of the Cardinals being extremely deſirous to cloſe with this Offer, addreſſed the Pope to depart from the *Cenſure*, and revive the Cauſe. But tho' the Motion was well receiv'd, and the Pope not unwilling to diſentangle himſelf, yet upon a farther Debate of the Matter, the Emperor's Party prevail'd. They pretended the Submiſſion came too late, and that the recalling the *Sentence* was wholly impracticable. Thus the Sentence was *affirm'd*, and the executing of it put upon the Emperor.

The Biſhop of *Paris* in his Return to *France*, met Sir *Edward Karne*, who was ſent to *Rome* from the King to negotiate this Affair. But when he underſtood how the Matter had been carry'd, he thought it to no purpoſe to travel farther. When the King was inform'd of the Iſſue and Circumſtances of this Buſineſs, he reſolv'd to diſengage with the Pope without making any farther Application.

Ibid.

There had been already ſome Steps taken to lead the way to ſo great an Alteration. Of this kind we may reckon the conditional extinguiſhing the Payment of *Annates*, and prohibiting *Appeals* to *Rome* by *Act* of *Parliament*. Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, there had been many publick Debates about this Matter; that ſeveral *Tracts* had been already written upon this Subject: But this learned Prelate is miſtaken in the Time; for none of the Books mentioned by him, were publiſhed till after this Year. For the Purpoſe: *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, was printed in 1537, *Gardiner*'s Book *de vera obedientia*, with *Bonner*'s Preface, in 1536; Sir *Richard Moriſin*'s *Apomaxis*, in 1537; *the Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*, in 1543; and the Book *de differentia Regiæ & Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis*, no ſooner than the Year 1535.

Some Arguments for the Regale *conſider'd.*

The learned Hiſtoriau makes a brief Report of what was urg'd upon this Occaſion. The Arguments againſt the *Papal Supremacy*, are countenanc'd by *Antiquity*, drawn from good Authorities, and carry up to the Point. But on the other hand, the Reaſons alledg'd for the Extent of the *Regale*, ſeem either to go upon a wrong Suppoſition, or fail in the Proof. They are moſt of 'em fetch'd from miſtaken Paſſages in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, from Miſcitations of *Engliſh* Hiſtory, from wrong Inferences of Law, and Miſapplications of the Power of the *Roman* Emperors. For the Purpoſe: To prove the King's Supremacy in *Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes* "they reaſon "from the Authority of the *Moſaick Inſtitution:* "But then the Inſtances are foreign to the "Caſe. For Example, *Aaron*, is ſaid to have "ſubmitted to *Moſes*. To this it may be an"ſwered, that *Moſes* acted by immediate Di"rection from Heaven, conſecrated *Aaron*, and "was a Prophet no leſs than a *Civil* Magiſtrate. "Farther, 'tis ſaid, *Samuel, though he had been* "*Judge, yet acknowledged* Saul'*s Authority* (*s*). But "to this it may be eaſily return'd, that *Samuel* "was no High Prieſt; and if he had been veſted "with that Character, he ought to have been "at the Prince's Command in all Temporal Con"cerns. 'Tis likewiſe urg'd, *that* Solomon *turn'd* "*out* Abiather, and that this High-Prieſt ac"quieſc'd under the Sentence. This Inſtance, "ſeeming to carry ſome Force, I ſhall conſider "it a little. Firſt therefore, it may be obſerv'd, "that *Solomon* had an extraordinary Commiſſion "from God: He wrote inſpired Books, and "conſecrated the Temple, and therefore the "ordinary Juriſdiction of the Jewiſh Kings can"not be meaſured by his Practice. Beſides, *Abia*"*ther* was not depriv'd by *Solomon*, properly "ſpeaking, as appears by the Sentence. *And* "*unto* Abiather *the Prieſt, ſaid the King, get thee* "*to* Anathoth *unto thine own Fields, for thou art* "*worthy of Death: But I will not at this time put* "*thee to Death, becauſe thou beareſt the Ark of the* "*Lord God before* David *my Father, and becauſe* "*thou haſt been afflicted in all wherein my Father* "*was afflicted.* Here we ſee *Solomon* was giving "Judgment upon ſeveral Traitors, who had "been in a Plot againſt him; and thus the Sen"tence appears altogether *Civil*, and not an "Eccleſiaſtical Penalty. 'Twas Baniſhment from "*Jeruſalem* to *Anathoth:* 'Twas a Reprieve as "to his Life, which he had forfeited, but not "a full Pardon: *I will not, ſays he, at this Time* "*put thee to Death*; ſo that it ſeems he kept him "upon his good Behaviour.

(*s*) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 140.

The Caſe of Abiather *not ſerviceable to the* Regale.

1 Kings 2.26.

"However, it may be urg'd on the other ſide, "this *Sentence* affected his Sacerdotal Character, "and amounted to a Deprivation: For in the "27th Verſe of the Chapter abovemention'd, 'tis "ſaid, *That* Solomon *thruſt out* Abiather *from* "*being Prieſt unto the Lord.* To this 'tis reply'd, "that the Incapacity of officiating, was the ne"ceſſary Conſequence of his Baniſhment: That "the Functions of the Prieſthood were confin'd "to the Temple of *Jeruſalem:* From whence it "appears, that *Abiather*'s Baniſhment from that

“City, muſt ſtop the Execution of his Office. But in caſe the King had thought fit to remit the Sentence of Baniſhment, the Powers of the High-Prieſthood had revived, and *Abiathar* been no leſs qualified for his Function than before. Thus we ſee, notwithſtanding the *Sentence*, he was ſtill reckon'd a Prieſt.

“It may be urg'd farther, that *Solomon* did not only thruſt out *Abiathar*, but ſubſtituted another in his place. For the *Text* tells us expreſly, *Zadock the Prieſt did the King put in the room of* Abiathar. To this 'tis anſwered, That *Abiathar* was Chief, or High Prieſt of the ſecond Sacerdotal *Order*: And under this Diſtinction the Eight Families of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, Second Son to *Aaron*, were rang'd. Now *Abiathar* was deſcended from this Branch. On the other hand, *Zadoc* of the Line of *Eleazar*, was chief, or ſupreme Metropolitan over the Sixteen Families within this Diviſion. The Diſtribution of the Courſes is mentioned in the *Chronicles*. For this Reaſon *Zadoc* is all along, even in *David*'s Time, ſet before *Abiathar*, wherever they are named together: And the Succeſſion of the High-Prieſthood properly ſo call'd, was reckon'd only in the Sons of *Eleazar*, as we may learn from the *Chronicles* and *Ezra*: In which places none of the Family of *Ithamar* are mention'd. To this we may add, that where the Chiefs of the Twelve Tribes are ſet down in *David*'s Reign, *Zadoc*, and not *Abiathar*, is reckon'd *Prince* or *Ruler* of the *Aaronites*. And *Zadoc* only, and not *Abiathar* was anointed with *Solomon*, when King *David* was living. He was anointed; I ſay, *to be Prieſt*; that is, chief or ſupreme High-Prieſt, or as *Joſephus* expreſſes it, *High-Prieſt of all the People* (t). Thus when *Abiathar* was baniſh'd, and diſabled from the Execution of his Office, the Eight Families of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, were all put under the Juriſdiction of *Zadoc*. And thus the putting *Zadoc* in the room of *Abiathar*, was not giving him any new Superiority over *Abiathar*, for he was always above him: 'Twas no more therefore than enlarging the Extent of his Juriſdiction, and giving him, as it were, a new *Province* during the Baniſhment of *Abiathar*. From whence it follows, that *Abiathar* ſuffer'd no farther than a Civil Incapacity: There was no Deſtruction of his Character: For he is ſtill reckon'd Second High-Prieſt after *Zadoc*, in the Liſt of *Solomon*'s Court, notwithſtanding the Sentence of Baniſhment paſs'd againſt him.

1 Kings, 4. 4.
1 Kings, 2. 35.
1 Chron. 24.
1 Chron. 6, *to* ver. 15. *and* ver. 50. *to* 54.
Ezra 7, *to* ver. 6
1 Chr. 27. 17.
1 Chron. 29. 22.
1 Kings 4. 4.

“Farther, after the new Eſtabliſhment of the Temple Service, the Succeſſion of the High-Prieſthood was reckon'd from *Zadoc*, as formerly it was from *Aaron*: And inſtead of the Sons of *Aaron*, the Prieſts were afterwards call'd the Sons of *Zadoc*: And inſtead of the *Houſe* of *Aaron*, the Stile ran, the *Houſe* of *Zadoc*.

Ezek. 43, 19.
—44. 15.
—48. 11.
2 Chron. 31. 10.

“'Tis likewiſe obſervable, the Temple Oeconomy was wholly Divine, expreſly order'd by God himſelf, and not left to the Diſcretion of any humane Authority. From whence it follows, that tho' the Sentence of *Solomon* againſt *Abiathar* had been of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature; tho' it had amounted not only to Deprivation, but Degradation, it cou'd not however have been urg'd as a Precedent for the Prerogative of ſucceeding Princes. For this ought to be look'd on as an exempt and privileg'd Caſe: It ought to have been reckon'd a principal Part of the new Regulation of the Courſes of the Prieſts; which Diſtribution was particularly commanded by God to *David*: And accordingly the Scripture informs us that *Solomon* put this Order in Execution. The Words run thus: *And he appointed according to the Order of* David *his Father, the Courſes of the Prieſts to their Service: For ſo had* David *the* Man of God commanded.

“Laſtly, If *Abiathar*, or *Eli* before him, of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, had uſurp'd the ſupreme High-Prieſthood from *Zadoc*, and his Predeceſſors, of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, as *Joſephus* ſeems to ſuppoſe (u). If the Caſe ſtood thus, *Solomon*'s removing *Abiathar*, and putting *Zadoc* in his Place, was no more than reſtoring the right Line. Now this being only a *civil* Controverſie, the Caſe was to be determin'd by examining Records, and inſpecting Genealogies: All which belongs to a *Court of Juſtice*, and lies within the ordinary Juriſdiction of Princes.

2 Chr. 8. 14.

The Authorities from the New Teſtament and the Fathers ſeem inconcluſive.

“To proceed, there are ſeveral *Texts* in the *New Teſtament* alledg'd in proof of the *Regale*. For inſtance, Chriſt himſelf was obedient to Civil Government, paid Taxes, declar'd he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, charg'd the People to *render to* Cæſar *the Things that were* Cæſar's, and forbad his Diſciples the affecting Temporal Dominion. Thus the Apoſtles wrote to the Churches to obey Magiſtrates: And tho' the Government was then *Pagan*, they call the King *Supreme*, pronounce him God's *Miniſter*, and *charge every Soul to be ſubject to the Higher Powers*. And to this purpoſe ſeveral of the *Fathers* are cited.

But theſe *Texts* and *Authorities* prove no farther than the King's *Supremacy* over *all Perſons*; now this, as has been already obſerved the *Engliſh* Clergy did not deny. Beſides, thoſe who argue in this manner, ſeem to conſider the *Church* only as a *Sect*, and not as a *Society*. They ſuppoſe it a Member of the *State*, and as it were abſorb'd in it. Whereas by divine Appointment, the *Church* and *State* are Two Bodies perfectly diſtinct. They are rais'd upon different *Charters*: They have Powers independent of each other: The Government is convey'd thro' different Channels, and the Views in the Inſtitution are not the ſame (w).

King *Henry* ſeems to be apprehenſive of the Hierarchy's being independent in Matters *purely ſpiritual*. He was ſomewhat ſenſible the twentieth of the *Acts*, and the thirteenth to the *Hebrews*, lay heavy upon the *Regale*; and therefore he deſired if it were poſſible, to be diſentangl'd from thoſe *Texts*. But what Satisfaction he met with, I cou'd not diſcover *.

As to the Precedents taken from the *Roman* Emperors, and particularly from the *Juſtinian Code*, I ſhall ſpeak to that Point afterwards (x). To conclude, the *Articles* of *Clarendon*, the Conteſts between King *Henry* the Second, and Archbiſhop *Becket*; the Royal Exemptions of Abbeys from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and the Laws of the *Saxon* Princes, fall ſhort of the purpoſe for which they are brought (y).

(t) Antiquit. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(u) Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 1.

(w) Mat. 16. 19. Joh. 20. 22, 23. Acts 20. 28. Heb. 13. 7. 17.

* Libr. Cotton.

(x) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 141.

(y) *See my* Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt *pt.* 1.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK II.

THE diſcharging the *Papal Supremacy* carried a new face, and was ſomething of an Eccleſiaſtical *Revolution*. However, many of the Biſhops, who had conſulted the *Records*, and examined the Practice of the *earlieſt Ages*, were not diſinclin'd to this Change. *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſeem'd the moſt averſe to theſe Meaſures. Now this Prelate being a Perſon of Character both for Learning and Regularity, 'twas thought adviſable to omit nothing towards his Satisfaction. To bring this about, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a Propoſal: The Terms were theſe: The Biſhop of *London*, *Stokeſly*, was to chuſe five Doctors, and *Fiſher* as many: Theſe Twelve were to meet; and at this Conference the Queſtion was to be diſcuſs'd, and the Authorities examin'd: That by this means they might be brought to an Uniformity of Opinion, and prevent the Scandal which might be taken at their Diſagreement. *Fiſher* accepting this Expedient, *Stokeſly* wrote to him that he was ready; deſired Him to name Time and Place: And in caſe they ſhou'd not be ſucceſsful enough to ſettle the Matter, he propos'd the referring it to two learned Men choſen by themſelves. How far this Offer went is not certain; 'tis poſſible *Fiſher*'s Sickneſs might make it miſcarry (*z*).

Endeavours us'd to ſatisfy Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter.

Jan. 6. 1533.

(z) Biblioth. Cotton. Otho C. 10.

On the ſifteenth of *January* the Parliament ſat: And here of the Lords *Spiritual* none but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaff*, *Carliſle*, and twelve mitred Abbots, were preſent (*a*). How the reſt excuſed their Abſence is ſomewhat uncertain. 'Tis poſſible they thought their being paſſive under the Buſineſs in hand was Complyance enough. During this *Seſſion* a Biſhop preach'd every *Sunday* at *Paul's-Croſs* againſt the Pope's *Supremacy*. This was done to open the Underſtandings of the People, and prepare 'em to acquieſce in the Proceedings of the Parliament. And now the *Pulpits* began to claſh in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom. For the Purpoſe: At *Briſtol*, *Latimer* afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, preach'd to the Doctrine of *Paul's-Croſs*, and was contradicted by one *Hobberton* and Dr. *Powel*. Theſe Conteſts amongſt the Clergy broke the *Laity* into Parties (*b*).

(a) *Journal Procer.*

Biſhops preach againſt the Pope's Supremacy at St. Paul's-Croſs.

(b) Stow *Annal*, p. 571.

I ſhall now proceed to a brief Recital of the *Statutes* relating to the *Church*. In the firſt Place, This Parliament ſent up a Complaint preferr'd by one *Thomas Philips* againſt the Biſhop of *London*: The Complainant ſet forth, he had been impriſon'd, and treated with Rigour upon ſuſpicion of *Hereſy*. This Application being overlook'd, as not material, by the Lords, the Commons

March 1. 153$^{3}_{4}$.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

The Biſhops Peerage own'd by the Houſe of Lords.

mons ſent ſome of their Members to the Biſhop, requiring his Anſwer to the Complaint: The Biſhop acquainting the Houſe of Lords with it the next Day, they unanimouſly reſolv'd, that it was not fit for any of the *Peers* to appear or anſwer at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons *.

* *Journal Procer.*

A Repeal of 2H.4. cap.15. *concerning Hereſy.*

The *Commons* conceiving the Biſhops Courts were too far empower'd by the *Conſtitution* for the puniſhing of Hereticks, drew a *Bill* for the Repeal of 2 *H.* 4. *cap.* 15. which paſs'd both *Houſes.* The Preamble ſets forth, that by Authority of Parliament holden in the Year and Reign above mention'd, it was Enacted, *That it ſhould be lawful for every Ordinary to convent, arreſt, and impriſon any Perſon or Perſons whom they thought defam'd or ſuſpect of Hereſy, and them to keep in their Priſons till they were purg'd thereof or abjur'd, or committed to Lay-Power to be burnt, after the Determination of the holy Church and Canonical Sanctions.* ——— *But foraſmuch as the ſaid Act does not in any Part of it declare any certain Caſes of Hereſy contrary to the Determination of holy Scripture, or the Canonical Sanctions therein expreſs'd, whereby your moſt loving and obedient Subjects might be learned to eſchew the Dangers and Pains in the ſaid Act compriz'd, and to abhor and deteſt that foul and deteſtable Crime of Hereſy. And alſo becauſe thoſe Words* Canonical Sanctions, *and ſuch other contain'd in the ſaid Act, are ſo general that unneth the moſt expert and beſt learned Man of this your Realm, diligently lying in wait upon himſelf, can eſchew and avoid the Penalty of the ſame Act and Canonical Sanctions; if he ſhou'd be examin'd upon ſuch captious Interrogatories as is, and hath been accuſtomed to be miniſter'd by the Ordinaries of this Realm, in Caſes where they will ſuſpect any Perſon or Perſons of Hereſy. And over this foraſmuch as it ſtandeth not with the right Order of Juſtice and good Equity, that any Perſon ſhou'd be convict, or put to the Loſs of his good Name, or Goods unleſs it were by due Accuſation and Witneſs, or by Preſentment, Verdict, Confeſſion or Proceſs of Outlawry: And alſo by the Laws of your Realm for Treaſons committted to the Peril of your moſt Royal Majeſty, upon whoſe Surety depends the whole of this Realm, no Perſon can, ne may be put to death but by Preſentment, Verdict, Confeſſion or Proceſs of Outlawry as is aforeſaid. Wherefore 'tis not reaſonable that any Ordinary by any Suſpicion conceiv'd of his own Fantaſie without due Accuſation or Preſentment ſhou'd put any Subject of this Realm in the Infamy and Slander of Hereſy, to the Peril of Life, Loſs of Name and Goods. And that alſo there be many Hereſies and Pains and Puniſhments for Hereſies declared and ordained in and by the Canonical Sanctions, and by the Laws and Ordinances made by the Popes or Biſhops of* Rome, *or by their Authorities for holding, doing, ſpeaking or preaching of things contrary to the ſaid Canonical Sanctions, Laws and Ordinances which be but human, being repugnant and contrarious to the Prerogative of your Imperial Crown, Regal Juriſdiction, Laws, Statutes, Ordinances of this your Realm.*

Upon theſe Conſiderations 2 *H.* 4. *cap.* 15. is repeal'd. But notwithſtanding the Subject is thus reliev'd, People are not left at Liberty to deſert the then *Church*, and publiſh what Doctrines they pleaſe. For the *Statute* continues the old capital Puniſhment; only there's ſome Benefit allow'd in the Form of the Tryal, and the Writ *de Heretico Comburendo* is made neceſſary to the Execution. I ſhall tranſcribe two Paragraphs by which the Meaning and Advantage of the *Act* may ſufficiently appear.

And be it farther Enacted, &c. *that every Perſon or Perſons being preſented or indicted of any Hereſy, or duly accuſed or detected thereof by two lawful Witneſſes at the leaſt to any Ordinaries of this Realm having Power to examine Hereſies, ſhall and may after ſuch Accuſation or Preſentment and none otherwiſe, nor by any other means be cited, convented, arreſted or apprehended by any of the ſaid Ordinaries or any other the King's Miniſters and Subjects whoſoever. And after they ſhall be ſo taken and apprehended ſhall be committed to the Ordinaries to anſwer in open Court, and in an open Place to their ſuch Accuſation and Preſentments. And if they happen to be lawfully convicted, and then abjur'd, their Penance was remitted to the Diſcretion of their Ordinaries: But if they refuſed to abjure or relaps'd after the Abjuration, they were then to be burn'd* in Terrorem.

The next Paragraph runs thus:

And where the great Number of the King's Subjects having little or no Learning, or Knowledge of Letters, have been put in Opinion that by divers Laws, Decrees, Ordinances, and Conſtitutions, heretofore made by the Biſhop of Rome, *call'd the Pope, and his Predeceſſors, or by their Authorities for the Advancement of their worldly Glory and Ambition, every Man that in any thing doeth or ſpeaketh againſt the ſaid pretenſed Power or Authority of the ſaid Biſhop of* Rome, *or any the ſaid Laws, Decrees, Ordinances and Conſtitutions ſtands in danger, and is impeachable of Hereſy, which Effect or Matter, nor any ſuch Laws, Decrees, Ordinances and Conſtitutions, not approved and confirmed by holy Scripture, was never commonly accepted nor confirm'd to be any Law of God or Man within this Realm. Wherefore be it Enacted and Ordained by Authority of this preſent Parliament, that no manner ſpeaking, doing, communication or holding againſt the ſaid Biſhop of* Rome, *or his pretenſed Power or Authority made or given by human Laws or Policies, and not by holy Scripture: Nor any ſpeaking, doing, communication or holding againſt any Laws call'd Spiritual Laws made by Authority of the See of* Rome *by the Policy of Men, which be repugnant or contrarious to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, or the King's Prerogative Royal ſhall be deem'd, reputed, accepted or taken to be Hereſy. Nor any Subject or Reſiant of this Realm ſhall be impeach'd or troubled for the ſame.*

By this *Act* 5 *R.* 2. *cap.* 5. and 2 *H.* 5. *cap.* 7. are expreſly continued *.

* 25 H. 8. cap. 14. *Statutes at large. See my Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt.* 1. *p.* 614, 615.

To proceed: the next *Act* of this kind ties up the Clergy from making any *Conſtitutions* againſt the Royal Aſſent (*d*). The Preamble runs thus:

(*d*) 25 H. 8. cap. 19.

Where the King's humble and obedient Subjects the Clergy of this Realm, have not only knowledg'd according to the Truth, that the Convocations of the ſame Clergy is, always has been, and ought to be aſſembled only by the King's Writ, but alſo ſubmitting to the King's Majeſty, have promis'd in Verbo Sacerdotii *that they will never from henceforth preſume, to attempt, alledge, claim or put in ure, enact, promulge or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinance Provincial, or other; or by whatſoever other Name they ſhall be call'd in the Convocation, unleſs the King's moſt Royal Aſſent and Licenſe may to them be had, to make, promulge and execute the ſame: And that his Majeſty do give his moſt Royal Aſſent in that Behalf.* This *Submiſſion* is paſs'd into an *Act*.

A Remark upon this Preamble.

Before I go farther, 'twill not be improper to take notice of one Paſſage in this Preamble, where 'tis ſaid, *The Clergy of this Realm of* England *have*

have knowledged according to the Truth, that the Convocations always have been, and ought to be aſſembled only by the King's Writ. And here it may be ſaid the Penner of this *Act* did not conſult the ancient Practice. For nothing is more certain, than that the *Convocation* met frequently by the ſole Authority of the Archbiſhop: And that the Clergy inſiſted upon this Method of Summons, as one Branch of the Liberties of *holy Church*: And that they were thus ſummon'd we have two Inſtances in this Reign. They were once conven'd without the King's Writ under Archbiſhop *Warham*; and afterwards they met by Virtue of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s *Legantine* Authority (*e*).

(*e*) A. D. 1509, 1523. *Bp.* Wake, *State of the Church*, &c. *p.* 9, 10. *See my Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt.* 1. *Biſhop* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 20.

'Tis certain the Clergy in *Convocation* had acknowledg'd what the *Preamble* ſets forth: But then that this Acknowledgment was according *to the Truth*, is more than what appears. Now with all due Submiſſion to the Legiſlative Authority, I hope 'tis no Diſregard to ſay, that thoſe who draw a *Bill* may be ſomewhat unacquainted with Hiſtory, and miſtaken in matter of Fact. Neither need we wonder a Miſ-recital of this kind ſhou'd paſs the *Two Houſes*. I ſay, we need not wonder at this, ſince the Clergy had led 'em into this Error in their *Submiſſion* to the *Crown*. For who cou'd have imagin'd the *Clergy* ſhou'd have fallen into ſuch an Over-ſight, wanted Skill or Courage to maintain their Privilege, and contradicted undoubted *Records* to their own Diſadvantage.

The Clergy not to meet in Convocation, nor to make any Canons without the King's Licenſe.

To go on with the *Act*: “ Several of the old Canons and Conſtitutions being complain'd of as prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal, burthenſome to the People, and contrary to the *Statutes* of the Realm, 'tis therefore enacted, that the King ſhall have Power and Authority to aſſign two and thirty Perſons, ſixteen of the *Clergy*, and ſixteen of the *Laity*, to examine, abrogate or confirm the Canons as they thought fit. 'Till ſuch a Review was made, all thoſe *Canons* which were not contrary to the Laws or Prerogative were to remain in Force. By the way, the executing this Commiſſion was limited to no Time, neither was it ever put in Practice.

Farther, “ All *Appeals* to *Rome* of what kind ſoever were prohibited. And that the Methods of Juſtice might not be defective, the Parties griev'd had the Liberty to appeal to the King in *Chancery*. In which Caſes a *Commiſſion* was to be directed under the *Great Seal* to ſuch Perſons as the King ſhou'd nominate, who were empower'd to determine and give final Judgment, as in Caſes of Appeal from the Admiral's Court. And here all Applications for Redreſs at the *Court* of *Rome* are forbidden under *Præmunire*.

The Monaſteries put under the Juriſdiction of the Crown.

“ And as for Abbots, Priors, and all Places exempt, and formerly under the immediate Juriſdiction of the Pope, theſe *Religious Fraternities* were to make their *Appeal* immediately to the Court of *Chancery*; neither were any Archbiſhops or Biſhops to diſturb their *Applications* to the King, or intermeddle with ſuch Matters.

By this laſt *Clauſe*, all the *Religious* inſtead of being return'd to the Juriſdiction of their Dioceſans, and Metropolitan, were put under the *Regale*, and the King is enacted their *Ordinary*. This *Proviſion*, we may imagine, was contriv'd to bring on the Diſſolution of the Abbies. For now the King was impower'd to viſit the Monaſteries, to inſpect their Behaviour, and proportion the Correction at his Pleaſure.

Payment of Annates wholly extinguiſh'd.

(*f*) 25 H. 8. cap. 20.

The next *Act*, (*f*) “ Advances to farther Diſengagements from the Pope; and extinguiſhes the Payment of *Annates* without any Reſerve. 'Tis likewiſe enacted, that from henceforth no Perſons ſhall be preſented, nominated or commended to the Pope or *See* of *Rome*, for any Archbiſhoprick, or Biſhoprick within this Realm. Neither ſhall any Perſon procure any *Bulls*, *Briefs* or *Palls* from the *See* of *Rome*, or pay any *Annates* or Sums of Money there.

From hence the *Statute* proceeds to ſettle the Elections of Biſhops.

“ The King upon the *Vacancy* of the *See*, was to ſend his *Conge d'eſlire* to the Dean and Chapter, or Prior or Convent, and in caſe they delay'd their Election above twelve Days, the *Crown* was impowered to nominate the Perſon by *Letters Patents*.

The Election of Biſhops ſettled.

“ And after the Biſhop or Archbiſhop thus elected and nominated had taken an Oath of Fealty to the King, his Majeſty by his *Letters Patents* under the Broad Seal ſignified the Election to the Archbiſhop, with Orders to confirm it, and conſecrate the *Elect*.

“ And laſtly, If the Perſons aſſign'd to elect and conſecrate, defer the performing their reſpective Offices for twenty Days, they were to fall under the Penalty of a *Præmunire*.

25 H. 8. cap. 21.

The *Statute* immediately following, takes notice what great Sums of Money had been carried out of the Kingdom, and how much the Subjects had been impoveriſh'd by the Exactions of the Biſhop of *Rome*. In the *Recital of the Particulars there is mention made of Penſions, Cenſes, Peter-Pence, Procurations, Fruits, Suits for Proviſions, Expeditions of Bulls for Archbiſhopricks, and Biſhopricks, and for Delegacies and Reſcripts in Cauſes of Contentions and Appeals, Juriſdictions Legantine, and alſo for Diſpenſations, Licenſes, Faculties, Grants, Relaxations, Writs call'd* perinde valere, *Rehabilitations, Abolitions, and other infinite ſorts of Bulls, Briefs, and Inſtruments of ſundry Natures*, &c.

All Payments for Faculties, &c. *formerly made to the See of* Rome *prohibited.*

The Parliament claims an Authority to abrogate all Humane Laws.

In this *Preamble*, the Parliament is ſaid to have an Authority to abrogate, null, amplify, diminiſh or diſpenſe with all humane Laws of this Realm. Under this Compaſs of Expreſſion, all *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* and *Conſtitutions*, as well as others, ſeem to be comprehended.

In the Body of the *Statute*, 'tis Enacted, “ That neither the King, his Succeſſors, nor his Subjects, ſhall for the future apply to the *See* of *Rome*, for any Diſpenſation, Faculty, Delegacy, *&c.* And becauſe it may be ſometimes neceſſary, that ſome ſuch Powers and Relaxations, *&c.* ſhou'd be lodg'd elſewhere, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is impower'd to grant the King and his Subjects ſuch Faculties, *&c.* as had been formerly procured from the *See* of *Rome*. And here all Licenſes, *&c.* which were rated at Four Pounds and upwards, were not to be executed till confirm'd under the *Broad Seal*, and inroll'd in *Chancery*. And for all Faculties under this Sum, the Archbiſhop's Seal was ſufficient, unleſs the Parties deſir'd an Inrollment in *Chancery*.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *impower'd to grant Diſpenſations*, &c.

The King impowered to commiſſionate Two Biſhops for this purpoſe, in caſe of the Archbiſhop's Refuſal.

“ In the *Vacancy* of the Arehbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, the *Guardian* of the *Spiritualties*, is au-

" thoriz'd to grant ſuch Diſpenſations, *&c.* And " in caſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the " Guardian of the Spiritualties for the time be- " ing, ſhou'd refuſe the granting ſuch Faculties, " *&c.* the King is impower'd to direct a Com- " miſſion to Two ſuch Prelates as he thought fit, " to perform this Buſineſs, and anſwer the In- " tention of the *Act*.

And to prevent Miſconſtruction, 'tis provided that nothing in this *Act ſhall be interpreted, as if the King and his Subjects intended to decline, or vary from the Congregation of Chriſt's Church in any things concerning the very Articles of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or any in other things declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God, neceſſary for their Salvation.*

" Tis *provided*, That neither the Arch-Biſhop " of *Canterbury*, or any other Perſon, ſhall have " any Power to viſit *Religious Houſes:* But that " all Redreſs, Viſitation, and Confirmation, " with Reference to ſuch Places, ſhall come from " the *Crown* by way of *Commiſſion* under the *Broad* " *Seal.*

The Subjects prohibited the going to General Councils.

" And under this *Proviſo* the Subjects are for- " bidden going out of the Realm to any *Councils* " whatever. And that all Religious Aſſemblies " ſhould be held within the King's Dominions. " The Penalty for ſuing to the *See* of *Rome* for " any Licenſe, Diſpenſation, *&c.* is *Præmunire.*

" And laſtly, the King by the Advice of his " *Privy-Council*, is impowered to alter the Con- " dition of Papal *Indulgences*, and to reform ſuch " Abuſes in 'em, as ſhou'd be diſcover'd; and " that all Perſons were bound to abide by his " Majeſty's Regulation, under the Forfeitures " above mentioned.

I muſt not omit the *Saving* in this *Act*, by which it is *provided* " That nothing in it ſhall be " prejudicial to the Archbiſhop of *York*, or to any " other Biſhop or Prelate of this Realm: But " that they may lawfully diſpenſe in all Caſes " in which they were wont to diſpenſe by the " Common Law or Cuſtom of this Realm.

25 H. 8. c. 22.

I ſhall juſt mention the *Act* of *Succeſſion*, becauſe the Clergy are concern'd in it.

" By this *Act*, the King's Marriage with the " Lady *Catharine*, who is now to be ſtil'd only " Princeſs *Dowager*, is declared void. The Mar- " riage with Queen *Anne* affirm'd, and her Iſſue " made inheritable to the *Crown*.

An Act for ſwearing the Subjects to the Succeſſion of the Iſſue of the Queen.

" And for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Succeſſion* " thus ſettled, all Perſons of full Age, as well " Spiritual as Temporal, are bound to ſwear " to maintain the *Act*. And the refuſing this " Oath is made Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

There are ſeveral Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity prohibited to marry by this *Act:* Upon which Occaſion, there is this remarkable Paſſage, which I ſhall cite in the Words of the *Statute*.

The Laws of God not diſpenſable by the Pope.

Which Marriages albeit they be plainly prohibited and deteſted by the Laws of God, yet nevertheleſs at ſome Times they have proceeded under Colours of Diſpenſations, by Man's Power, which is but uſurped, and of right ought not to be granted ne allow'd. For no Man of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he be, hath Power to diſpenſe with God's Laws, as all the Clergy of this Realm in Convocation, and the moſt part of all the famous Univerſities of Chriſtendom, and we alſo do affirm and think.

This Parliament there paſs'd a private *Act*, for depriving the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter:* They were Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Hieromi de Ghinucci*, both *Italians*. The former had diſoblig'd the King in the Management of the *Divorce*; but the latter was the King's *Agent* in *Italy*, and ſeems to have acquitted himſelf to Satisfaction, as may be collected from the King's Letter in which he ſolicits for a Cardinal's Hat for this Prelate.

The Preamble of the *Act* ſets forth that Perſons promoted to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, ought to reſide in the Kingdom, for the keeping Hoſpitality, providing for their Charge, and anſwering their Character in every reſpect. That the Biſhops of *Sarum* and *Worceſter*, living at the Court of *Rome*, exporting the Revenues of their *Sees*, amounting to Three Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to the impoveriſhing the Kingdom, and failing in the Requiſites abovemention'd: For theſe Reaſons their *Sees* are declar'd deſtitute of any Incumbent, and void in Law *.

This depriving of Biſhops by an *Act* of *State*, was unprecedented in this Kingdom. And this is the firſt Inſtance. *William* the *Conqueror*, who went fartheſt in the Exerciſe of the *Regale*, diſplac'd no Biſhops without Synodical Deprivation †.

Upon the riſing of the *Parliament*, Commiſſioners were appointed to require the Oath of Succeſſion in their reſpective Counties. They met with a General Compliance: But when it was tender'd to Biſhop *Fiſher*, and Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor, they refus'd to go the whole Length of what was demanded. They were ready to ſwear to the *Succeſſion*, but not to the whole *Act*. The offenſive Paſſages in this *Statute*, ſeem to be theſe: *viz.* The *Parliaments* pronouncing againſt the Diſpenſation, with the firſt Marriage. Secondly, Their declaring for the Legality of *Cranmer*'s Proceedings in the Divorce. And Thirdly, There were ſome pretty broad ſatyrical Expreſſions againſt the Pope's *Supremacy*. But which of theſe Particulars, or whether all of 'em, ſhock'd *Fiſher* and *More*, they wou'd not diſcover.

Fiſher *Bp. of* Rocheſter *and Sir* Thomas More, *refuſe ſwearing to the whole Act.*

Cranmer adviſ'd the admitting them to ſwear upon their own Terms, as appears by his Letter to *Cromwell* (g). Where he puts him in Mind, " That the Biſhop " of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More*, were willing " to ſwear to the *Act*, but ſcrupled the *Pre-* " *amble*. As for himſelf, he was at a Loſs about " the Grounds of their Exception. However, " he thought it would be ſerviceable to the King " and Kingdom, to receive the Oath upon thoſe " Terms. For by ſwearing to the Body of the " *Act*, they wou'd give a fair Occaſion to ſatiſ- " fie the Princeſs *Dowager* and the Lady *Mary*, " that they are not bound to inſiſt upon their " Titles and Pretenſions: That the Character " of theſe two Men, wou'd go a great way in " the ſilencing the Emperor, and other Foreign " Princes, and quiet the Conſcience of many " unſatisfied Perſons at home.

Apr. 17, 1534.

This was prudent and good-natured Advice. But the *Court* being not diſpos'd to make any Abatements, they were both committed to the *Tower*, where they continued till their Trial and Execution.

Frier Peto *and* Elſtow *preach againſt the King's Second Marriage.*

Some of the *Religious* went farther in their Oppoſition to the *Second Marriage*. For the purpoſe: One Frier *Peto* an *Obſervant* made a ſtrong

---

* 25 H. 8. c. 5. *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Records*, *p.* 121.

† *See my Ecclef. Hiſt.* pt. 1.

(g) Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

Invective before the King upon this Subject. It was in the Chapel Royal at *Greenwich*. His Text was, the Prophet *Elijah*'s Reproof of *Ahab*, where the Fate of that Prince is denounc'd in theſe Words, "*In the Place where Dogs lick'd the Blood of* Naboth, *ſhall Dogs lick thy Blood, even thine.* *Peto* quickly diſcover'd his meaning in taking this *Text*, and drove the Application ſtrong upon the King. He told him, "notwithſtanding the Countenance and Opinions of learned Men, his ſecond Marriage was altogether unlawful. As for himſelf, he was reſolv'd, like *Micajah*, to deliver ſome unacceptable Truths, tho' he was ſenſible he ſhou'd ſuffer for his plain dealing. He expected the *Bread of Affliction*, *and the Water of Affliction*, but pretended a Divine Commiſſion for his Freedom. Upon the Preſumption of this Warrant, he told the King, his Highneſs was furniſh'd with a great many Preachers to juſtifie his Marriage with Mrs. *Boleyn*: But that theſe were Men of no Sincerity: That they courted the King's Fancy, and apply'd to his Inclinations, for Wealth, and Promotion in the Church: That theſe were the Four Hundred Prophets poſſeſs'd by the Spirit of Lying: That their Buſineſs was to Deceive and make their Intereſt out of his Highneſs's Misfortunes. But he conjur'd the King not to be ſway'd by their Encouragement; letting him know withal, that lying expos'd to Flattery was the greateſt Unhappineſs in a Prince's Station.

1 King's 21, 19.

Theſe were extraordinary Sallies; however, the King bore the Reprimand with great Temper, and ſuffer'd *Peto* to go off without Trouble. But to prevent an ill Impreſſion upon the *Audience*; he ordered one Dr. *Curwyn* to Preach off the Malignity of *Peto*'s Sermon. He came up in the ſame Place the next *Sunday*, and executed his Commiſſion with Vehemence enough; "He call'd *Peto* Dog, and ſeveral other Coarſe Names. And after having harangued in Commendation of the King's late Marriage; he call'd out for *Peto*, and challeng'd him to defend his intemperate Diſcourſe; and not being anſwer'd, he charg'd him with Cowardice, and Conſciouſneſs of Miſbehaviour. But *Peto* was not within hearing; he was gone to *Canterbury* to a *Council*. However, one *Elſtow* a *Fryer* of the ſame Order, excus'd his Abſence and appeared for him. This *Elſtow* undertook *Curwyn*'s Sermon; proceeded upon the ſame Topicks with *Peto*, and rather exceeded in his Boldneſs and Reſolution. Neither was there any ſtopping him, 'till the King commanded him to hold his Peace; the next Day this *Fryer* and *Peto* were brought before the *Privy-Council*, and reprimanded there: Particularly, the Earl of *Eſſex* told 'em, they deſerv'd to be put in a Sack, and thrown into the *Thames*. At this *Elſtow* ſmiling, replyed; my Lord, ſays he, be pleas'd to frighten your Court-Epicures with ſuch Sentences as theſe: Men that have loſt their Courage in their Palate, and ſoften'd their Minds with Pomp and Pleaſure. Such People who are tied by their *Senſes* thus cloſe to the World; are more likely to yield to any thing. As for us, ſuch Menacing makes no Impreſſion; we count it an Honour to ſuffer for our Duty, and bleſs God for keeping us firm under Tryal. And as for your *Thames*, the Road to Heaven lies as near by Water, as by Land; and therefore 'tis indifferent to us which way we go thither.

Elſtow's *Reſolution.* Stow. *Annal.* p. 6. 562.

Theſe bold Remonſtrances were made the laſt Year, ſome little time before the Marriage with Queen *Anne* was publickly own'd: 'Tis probable therefore the *Fryers* might think their Diſcourſes were not too late, and that the King was not paſt retrieving.

Ibid.

A Meſſage to Queen Catharine *to relinquiſh her Claim, but without Succeſs.*

To come forward; After the Succeſſion *Act* was paſs'd, the King ſent another Meſſage to Queen *Catharine* then at *Bugden*; 'twas carried by *Edward Lee*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Cuthbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*. They acquainted her Highneſs, that the holding up her Title of Queen, and inſiſting upon her Marriage, was ill taken by the King. Theſe Biſhops preſs'd the Objections home; and did their utmoſt to perſuade her to relinquiſh her Claim, but without Effect; as appears by their Letter to the King upon this Occaſion (*h*).

(*h*) *See Records, N.* 25.

The Impoſture of the Maid of Kent.

The King reſented the Queen's refuſal no farther than to retrench her Family; and remove thoſe Servants which appear'd moſt reſolved in maintaining her Pretenſions. However ſome others who were tampering with the People; counterfeited Revelations, and preſag'd Misfortune to the King, were ſeverely puniſh'd. One *Elizabeth Barton*, call'd the holy Maid of *Kent*, carried on an Impoſture for this Purpoſe. This Woman had for ſome time been troubled with Fits, which diſtorted her Limbs; and threw her Body into ſuch unuſual Agitations, that ſeveral People thought there was ſomething more than mere Diſeaſe in the Paroxyſm. This Diſtemper having held her for ſome time, put her in a Condition to practice the Poſtures. Perceiving herſelf thus qualified to ſurprize People, ſhe reſolv'd to make uſe of her Talent. She acquainted the Pariſh Prieſt with this Secret; who advis'd her to pretend to Prophecy and ſupernatural Impulſe. Thus when ſhe had brought the Fit upon her, ſhe wou'd lie as it were in a Trance, then break out into devout Ejaculations; declaim againſt the Wickedneſs of the Times, particularly againſt *Hereſy* and *Innovation*: Denounce Judgments with Glances and Innuendo's; pretend that when ſhe was in a Trance, ſhe was honoured by *God Almighty* with ſtrange Viſions. This Impoſture being artificially manag'd, made the common People look upon her as a Perſon inſpir'd: Nay, 'tis ſaid, the Underſtandings of ſome Perſons of great Character were ſurpriz'd by her: And that ſhe gain'd ſomewhat upon the Belief of two learned Biſhops, *Warham* and *Fiſher*. And now being grown bolder by Succeſs, ſhe gave out that ſuch a Day ſhe ſhould be perfectly recover'd, provided ſhe went in Pilgrimage to ſuch an Image of the *Bleſſed Virgin*. She was carried thither accordingly, and attended with abundance of People to ſee the Event. Upon ſaying her Devotions at the Image, the Paroxyſm went off, and ſhe appear'd perfectly cur'd. And now ſhe told the Company, ſhe was order'd by *God Almighty* to turn *Nun*, and to make one Dr. *Bocking* then preſent her Confeſſor. This *Bocking* a Monk of *Canterbury* undertook the Charge, and made her frequent Viſits. This *Bocking* and ſome others being apprehenſive the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne* might prove unſerviceable to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, perſuaded this *Nun* to menace the King with Death, or the loſs of his Crown: She was hardy enough to be governed by this Advice, and made no Scruple to declare publickly; that in Caſe the King married another Wife living Queen *Catharine*, his Reign wou'd be at an end within a Month.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

She and her Accomplices confeſs the cheat, and are executed.

(*i*) 25. H. 8. cap. 12.

When the King was inform'd of theſe Treaſonable Prognoſtications; he order'd this pretended Propheteſs and her Accomplices to be Impriſon'd. Thus the Plot being laid before the Parliament, they were Attainted of *High Treaſon*. (*i*) The reſt of the Criminals beſides *Elizabeth Barton*, viz. *Maſters*, a Pariſh Prieſt, *Bocking* above mention'd, *Deering* and *Riſby*, Monks, and *Gold* Prieſt; and ſome others, as *Addiſon* Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Ably*, Prieſt, *Laurence*, Regiſter to the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas Gold* Gentleman, were found guilty of Miſpriſion of *Treaſon*; for concealing the Impoſture, and not diſcovering it to the *Government* (*k*). *Barton* with thoſe concern'd in the Impoſture were ſome time before brought into the *Star-Chamber*, where they confeſs'd the Cheat: They were order'd to ſtand the next *Sunday* at *Paul's-Croſs*; and each of 'em to deliver a Paper of their Confeſſion to the Preacher, which was accordingly put into the Biſhop of *Bangor*'s Hand, who Preach'd there that Day; and gave an Account of their Treaſonable Practice to the *Audience*. From hence they were committed to the *Tower*, and attainted in Parliament, as has been already obſerv'd.

(*k*) Godwyn *Annal. p.* 53.

November 1533.

1534. *Her Speech at the Place of Execution.*

On the Twentieth of *April*, This *Elizabeth Barton*, with the reſt attainted of *High Treaſon*, were executed at *Tyburn*, and their Heads ſet on the Gates of the City. “The *Nun* own'd her Crime at the Place of execution, and told the Company, ſhe ſuffer'd juſtly; and lamented her being the occaſion of bringing others to the ſame Misfortune. However, as to this particular, ſhe endeavour'd to extenuate her Crime, upon the Score of her Ignorance. She ſaid thoſe Learned Men that ſuffered with her, might eaſily have look'd thro' the Deluſion; and diſcover'd her a Counterfeit: But becauſe I gave out acceptable Predictions, and humour'd their Intereſt, they cryed me up for a Propheteſs; and made me believe, I ſpoke by ſupernatural Direction. And thus being intoxicated with their Commendation, I fancied my Character wou'd bare me out in any Lengths of foul Practice. After this Confeſſion, ſhe beg'd God, and the King's Pardon, and deſir'd the Company to pray for her, and the other Criminals (*l*).

Hall. (*l*) Hollingſhead. *p.* 937.

Sanders makes a Martyr of this Maid of *Kent*, and the reſt that were executed with her. This is ſtrange, when they confeſs'd the Impoſture; but to fail both in Truth and Temper is too Common with this Hiſtorian (*m*).

(*m*) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic *p.* 117.

It ſeems Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas Moor* had held ſome Correſpondence with this Maid of *Kent*; but there appearing no Malignity in this Commerce, the King accepted their Submiſſions, and prevented the paſſing the *Bills* againſt 'em. Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Letter to the King upon this Occaſion, is to this Effect.

Sir Thomas Moor's *Letter to the King.*

(*n*) Biblioth Cotton. Cleop. E 6. fol. 181.

“He clears himſelf of having any Communication with the Maid of *Kent* to the King's diſſervice (*n*). And for this he refers his Majeſty to his Letter lately written to Secretary *Cromwell*: He takes the Freedom to tell the King, that if he ſhou'd miſcarry, and fall under the Forfeiture of the Law; either by *Bill* of *Attainder*, or otherwiſe; he ſhou'd have the Satisfaction, after his own ſhort Life, and the King's long one, (as he wiſhes it) was over: After this he ſaid, he ſhou'd have the Satisfaction to meet his Highneſs once again, and be merry with him in Heaven; where amongſt other Pleaſures this wou'd be one, that his Majeſty wou'd clearly ſee there, what ever his Opinion might be now; that he had always been his faithful Subject. In the cloſe of the Letter he deſires the King, that no *Bill* of *Attainder* may paſs againſt him; becauſe it muſt be drawn upon untrue Suggeſtions, miſreport him to the World, and ſtick a Blemiſh upon his Memory.

To this I ſhall ſubjoin Biſhop *Fiſher's* Letter to the *Houſe* of Lords. 'Tis an Original, and I ſhall lay it before the Reader in his own Words (*o*).

(*o*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166.

My LORDS!

“After my moſt humble Commendations unto all your good Lordſhips, that ſit in this moſt high Court of Parliament; I beſeech in like manner to hear and to tender this my Suit which by Neceſſity I am now driven to make unto all your Lordſhips in Writing, becauſe I may not by reaſon of Diſeaſe and Weakneſs at this time be preſent my ſelf before you; without Peril of Deſtruction of my Body, as heretofore I have written to Mr. *Cromwell*; which gave me no Comfort to obtain of the King's Grace, Reſpite for my Abſence till I be recover'd. If I might have been preſent my ſelf, I doubt not but the great Weakneſs of my Body, with other manifold Infirmities, wou'd have mov'd you much rather to have Pity of my Cauſe and Matter; whereby I am put under this grievous Trouble.

“So it is my good Lords, That I am inform'd of a certain *Bill* that is put into this high Court againſt me and others concerning the matter of the *Nun* of *Canterbury*; which thing is to me no little Heavineſs, and moſt ſpecially in this piteous Condition that I am in.

“Neverthelefs, I truſt in your Honour's Wiſdoms and Conſciences, that you will not in this high Court, ſuffer any Act or Condemnation to paſs againſt me; till my Cauſe may be well and duly heard. And therefore in my moſt humble wiſe, I beſeech all you my Lords in the way of Charity, and for the Love of *Chriſt*; and for the mean ſeaſon, it may pleaſe you to conſider that I ſought not for this Woman's coming unto me; nor thought in her any manner of Deceit. She was the Perſon that by many probable and likely Conjectures, I then reputed to be right honeſt, religious, and very good and vertuous. I verily ſuppos'd, that ſuch Feigning and Craft, compaſſing of any Guile or Fraud had been far from her: And what Default was this in me, ſo to think, when I had ſo many probable Teſtimonies of her Virtue?

“Firſt, The Bruit of the Country which generally call'd her the *Holy Maid*.

“Secondly, Her Entrance into Religion upon certain Viſions which was commonly ſaid that ſhe had.

“Thirdly, For the good Religion and Learning that was thought to be in her ghoſtly Father, and in other virtuous and well learned Prieſts that then teſtified of her Holineſs, as it was commonly reported.

“Finally, My Lord of *Canterbury*, that then was both her *Ordinary* and a Man reputed of high Wiſdom and Learning, told me that ſhe had many great Viſions. And of him I learn'd greater things than ever I heard of the Nun herſelf.

“Your Wiſdoms, I doubt not, here ſee plainly that in me there was no default to believe this Woman to be honeſt, religious, and of good Credence.

“For ſith then I am bounden by the Law of God, to believe the beſt of every Perſon, until the contrary be prov'd; much rather I ought ſo to believe of this Woman, that had then ſo many probable Teſtimonies of her Goodneſs and Virtue.

“But here 'twill be ſaid, that ſhe told me ſuch Words as was to the Peril of the Prince, and of the Realm. Surely I am right ſorry to make any Rehearſal of her Words, but only that Neceſſity ſo compels me now to do.

“The Words that ſhe told me concerning the Peril of the King's Highneſs were theſe: She ſaid that ſhe had her Revelation from God, that if the King went forth with the Purpoſe that he intended, he ſhou'd not be King of *England* ſeven Months after; and ſhe told me alſo, that ſhe had been with the King and ſhew'd unto his Grace the ſame *Revelation*.

“Tho' this was forg'd by her or any other, what Default is mine, that knew nothing of that Forgery? If I had given her any Counſel to the Forging this *Revelation*, or had any Knowledge that it was feigned, I had been worthy great Blame and Puniſhment. But whereas I never gave her any Counſel to this Matter, nor knew of any forging or feighning thereof, I truſt in your great Wiſdoms that you will not think any Default in me touching this Point.

“And as I will anſwer before the Throne of Chriſt, I knew not of any Malice or Evil that was intended by her, or by any other earthly Creature unto the King's Highneſs: Neither her Words did ſo ſound that by any temporal or worldly Power, ſuch thing was intended, but only by the Power of God, of whom, as ſhe then ſaid, ſhe had this *Revelation* to ſhew unto the King.

“But here it will be ſaid, that I ſhou'd have ſhew'd the Words unto the King's Highneſs. Verily if I had not undoubtedly thought that ſhe had ſhew'd the ſame Words unto his Grace, my Duty had been ſo to have done. But when ſhe her ſelf, which pretended to have had this *Revelation* from God, had ſhew'd the ſame; I ſaw no Neceſſity why that I ſhou'd renew it again to his Grace. For her eſteemed Honeſty, qualified, as I ſaid before, with ſo many probable Teſtimonies, affirming unto me that ſhe had told the ſame unto the King, made me right aſſuredly to think, that ſhe had ſhew'd the ſame Words to his Grace.

“And not only her own Saying thus perſuaded me, but her *Prioreſs*'s Words confirm'd the ſame, and their Servants alſo reported to my Servants that ſhe had been with the King. And yet beſides all this, I knew it, not long after by ſome others that ſo it was indeed. I thought therefore that it was not for me to rehearſe the Nun's Words to the King again, when his Grace knew them already, and ſhe her ſelf had told him before. And ſurely divers other Cauſes diſſuaded me ſo to do, which are not here openly to be rehears'd. Nevertheleſs when they ſhall be heard, I doubt not but they will altogether clearly excuſe me as concerning this Matter.

“My Suit therefore unto all you, my honourable Lords, at this time is, that no *Act* of Condemnation concerning this Matter be ſuffer'd to paſs againſt me in this high Court before that I be heard, or elſe ſome other for me; how that I can declare my ſelf to be guiltleſs herein.

“And this I moſt humbly beſeech you all, on your charitable Goodneſſes, and alſo if that peradventure in the mean time there ſhall be thought any Negligence in me for not revealing this Matter unto the King's Highneſs, you for the Puniſhment thereof which is now paſt, ordain no new Law; but let me ſtand unto the Laws which have been heretofore made, unto the which I muſt and will obey.

“Beſeeching always the King's moſt noble Grace, that the ſame his Laws may be miniſter'd unto me with Favour and Equity, and not with the ſtrickeſt Rigour. I need not here to adviſe your moſt high Wiſdoms to look up to God, and upon your own Souls in ordaining ſuch Laws for the Puniſhment of Negligences, or of other Deeds which are already paſt, nor yet to look upon your own Perils which may happen to you in like Caſes. For there ſits not one Lord here but the ſame, or other like may chance unto himſelf that now is imputed unto me.

“And therefore eftſoons I beſeech all your benign Charities to tender this my moſt humble Suit as you wou'd be tender'd if you were in the ſame Danger your ſelves: And this to do for the Reverence of Chriſt, for the Diſcharge of your own Souls, and for the Honour of this moſt high Court: And finally for your own Sureties, and others that hereafter ſhall ſucceed you. For I verily truſt in Almighty God that by the Succour of his Grace, and your charitable Supportations, I ſhall ſo declare my ſelf, that every Nobleman that ſits here, ſhall have good Reaſon to be therewith ſatisfied. Thus our Lord have you all, this moſt honourable Court, in his Protection. *Amen*.

The Death of Pope Clement *the Seventh.*

This Year, in *September*, *Clement* the Seventh departed this Life. *Father Paul* gives him a mix'd Character: He commends him for his Gravity and Reſervedneſs, but loads him with the Imputation of Covetouſneſs and Cruelty. He was ſucceeded by Cardinal *Farneſe*, who took the Name of *Paul* the Third (*p*).

About this time the King reſolving to feel the People's Pulſe touching the Diſſolution of *Religious Houſes*, made a gentle Attempt that way. Now the *Obſervant* Fryers having been the moſt clamarous againſt the Court Meaſures, he ſupprefs'd thoſe *Fraternities* at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmond* and elſewhere; and fill'd their Places with the *Auguſtinians* (*q*).

In *November* following the *Parliament* ſat after Prorogation. The firſt *Act* in this *Seſſion* relating to Church Matters, and being very remarkable, I ſhall lay it before the *Reader*. It gives a farther Eſtabliſhment to the King's Supremacy in theſe Words.

The King empower'd to viſit and reform all Hereſies, &c.

Albeit the King's Majeſty juſtly and rightfully is, and ought to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, *and is ſo recogniz'd by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheleſs for Corroboration and Confirmation thereof, and for Increaſe of Virtue in Chriſt's Religion within this Realm of* England, *and to repreſs and extirp all Errors, Hereſies, and other Enormities and Abuſes heretofore us'd in the ſame: Be it enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, ſhall be taken, accepted and reputed, the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *call'd* Anglicana Eccleſia, *and ſhall have and enjoy annex'd and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Immu-*

(*p*) *Father* Paul, *Hiſt. of Council of* Trent, *p.* 71.

(*q*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 379.

Cranmer Th. Abp. of Cant.

Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the ſaid Dignity of Supreme Head of the ſaid Church belonging and appertaining. And that our ſaid Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, ſhall have full Power and Authority from time to time, to viſit, repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, and amend all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Abuſes, Contempts, and Enormities whatſoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Juriſdiction, ought or may lawfully be reform'd, repreſs'd, order'd, redreſs'd, corrected, reſtrain'd, or amended, moſt to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, the Increaſe of Virtue in Chriſt's Religion, and for the Conſervation of the Peace, Unity and Tranquillity of this Realm, any Uſuage, Cuſtom Foreign Laws, Foreign Authority, Preſcription, or any Thing or Things to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding (*r*).

This *Act* grants the King *full Power and Authority to viſit, order, and reform all Hereſies, Abuſes,* &c. *which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Juriſdiction may lawfully be order'd or reform'd.* This *Clauſe* declares the King ſupreme *Ordinary*, makes his Majeſty, and by conſequence thoſe commiſſion'd by him, Judges of Hereſy, and puts the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline in their hands: And yet by the twentieth *Article* of our *Reformation*, *the Church is ſaid to have a Power to Decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith* (*s*). This *Article* pronounces the *Church* the Judge in Matters of Faith, and ſeems to contradict the *Statute* before us. But notwithſtanding this inconſiſtency, the *Thirty nine Articles* are not only confirm'd by the *Ratification* of two Kings; but likewiſe by an *Act* of Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* (*t*).

James I. Charles I.

Remarks upon the Statute.

Farther, It may be objected that *Decius* and *Diocleſian* were as *abſolute* in the Roman Empire, as the King and Parliament are in *England*; and that the *Grand Seignior* has now the ſame extent of Authority in *Turky*. The queſtion therefore is, whether by the grounds of this *Act*, (as it is ſometimes interpreted) theſe Princes might not be Judges in Matters of Faith, and manage the Government of the Church at Pleaſure? The next Queſtion is, whether upon this Scheme the Being of the Chriſtian Religion, does not lie at the Mercy of the *Civil* Government? And then the laſt Interrogatory will be, whether the Biſhops are not bound in ſome Caſes, to make a ſtand upon the *Regale*; to break thro' an *Act* of this nature in defence of their *Creed*; to run the laſt Hazards rather than throw up their *Commiſſion*, and deſert the Intereſt of Chriſtianity? If I had maintain'd the Affirmative of this laſt Queſtion, I ſhou'd have been ſupported by the Authority of the learned Biſhop *Wake* (*u*).

Now tho' I pretend to offer nothing deciſive upon this grand Queſtion, yet I hope it may not be an unacceptable Digreſſion, to enlarge a little upon the *Subject*, and give the *Reader* a ſhort View of both ſides of the *Argument*.

And here I ſhall begin with a Diſcourſe which I tranſcrib'd in the *Paper Office*. 'Tis drawn up with Advantage by a learned Hand: And argues for the utmoſt Extent of the *Regale*. 'Twas written, 'tis moſt probable, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and is Entituled,

A Diſcourſe concerning his Majeſty's Supreme Power Eccleſiaſtical, eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of this Kingdom, at this preſent Time in their full Force and Vigour.

A Diſcourſe concerning the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy.

Hen. VIII. K. A. 25. Regni ſui.

“ WHereas in the Title of a Petition of the Clergy, for the Releaſe of the *Præmunire*, King *Henry* the Eighth was ſtiled the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of *England*, *quantum per Legem Chriſti licet*, as far as it was lawful by the Law of Chriſt, that doubtful Mitigation being offenſive to the King, the Clergy in their Synod unanimouſly, and without Ambiguity, declared him Supreme Head of the *Engliſh* Church. *Omnium Sententiis ſine ulla Ambiguitate Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Supremum Caput declaratus eſt.* See Archbiſhop *Parker's Antiquitates Britan. p.* 326.

“ Shortly after upon a Paper ſent them from the King that no Conſtitution in their Synods, or Convocations ſhould be made, enacted, promulged, or exerciſed unleſs the King firſt give his Aſſent to their Deliberation and making; and afterwards approve the ſame under his Broad Seal, the Clergy made their abſolute Submiſſion. See the Act of Parliament, and King *James* his Declaration before the Conſtitutions, 1603; and King *Charles* the Firſt before the Canons, 1640.

25 H. 8. c. 19.

25 H. 8. c. 19.

“ In the aforeſaid Act, a Power is given the King, with the Advice of the major Part of thirty two Perſons whereof ſixteen to be Laymen, to reform all the old Canons and Decrees of the Church; which thirty two Perſons are to be choſen, and appointed by his Majeſty to annul ſuch Laws as ſhall be thought by the more part of them, worthy to be annulled; and to appoint and confirm ſuch others as ſhall be judged by them to ſtand with the Laws of God. See the Statutes whence this Power is given him during his Life, and the ſame was given to King *Edward* the Sixth. It is true that theſe *Statutes* were but temporary: Yet the Effect of them is now in Force, which is the Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, compiled by them, Entituled, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, printed ſeveral Times, with the Declarations of King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth before them: And one of thoſe Laws, very remarkable and particularly belonging to his Majeſty's Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, is this: *Rex tàm in Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Clericos, & alios Miniſtros, quàm in Laicos, infra ſua Regna & Dominia, pleniſſimam Juriſdictionem tàm Civilem, quàm Eccleſiaſticam habet & exercere poteſt; cùm omnis Juriſdictio, & Eccleſiaſtica & Secularis ab eo tanquam ex uno & eodem fonte derivatur.* All Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Secular, is derived from him, as from the ſame and only Fountain of both.

27 H. 8. c. 15. & 35. H. 8. c. 16.

A. 3. & 4. E. 6. c. 11.

A. 1571, 1940, 1661.

“ And this great and fundamental Maxim for Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Church of *England*, is founded upon the expreſs Words of ſeveral Statutes, giving all manner of Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Authority to the King, and taking it away from the Biſhops, except it be by Dependence and Delegacy from him, explained, and more particularly ſet down, in 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. Where it is enacted, that *ſuch Juriſdictions, Privileges, and Preheminencies Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical, as by any Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Power, hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, exercis'd or us'd for the Viſitation of Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate and Perſons, and for Reformation of all manner of Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Crimes, Vices,* &c. *be for ever united to the Imperial Crown of the Realm.* And 37 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 17. Whereas the Royal Majeſty *is juſtly Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and hath full Authority to correct and puniſh all manner of Hereſies, Schiſms, Errors, Vices, and to exerciſe all other manner of Juriſdictions, commonly called Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.* It is added, *That the*

26 H. 8. c. 1.

(r) 26 H. 8. cap. 1.

(s) Sparrow's *Collection*, &c.

(t) 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

(u) *The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over Eccleſiaſtical Synods.*

Archbiſhop and Biſhops have no manner of Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, but by, under, and from the Royal Majeſty.---- See alſo 1 *Edw. 6. cap.* 2. All Authority of Juriſdiction, Spiritual and Temporal, is *derived* and *deducted from the King's Majeſty as Supreme Head of theſe Churches* and Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſo juſtly acknowledged by the Clergy of the ſaid Realms, and that all Courts Eccleſiaſtical within the ſaid two Realms, be kept by no other Power or Authority, either foreign or within the Realm, but by the Authority of his moſt excellent Majeſty.

" Amongſt theſe Juriſdictions, it is evident, that Excommunications, Suſpenſions, and Deprivations, *ab Officio*, and all manner of Diſpenſations belonging to the Church, are to be underſtood annex'd to the King: Not that it is affirm'd, that the King did ever exerciſe himſelf the Power of the *Keys*, but that this Right was annex'd to the Imperial Crown, That no Clergyman being a Member of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, ſhou'd exerciſe it in his Dominions in any Cauſe, or any Perſon, without the Leave and Appointment of him the Supream Head of the Church, nor any forbear to exerciſe where he the Head commanded it. As before the Reformation, the inferior Clergy might not exerciſe any Church Cenſure, contrary to the Commands of their lawful Superiors, which Juriſdictions of their former ſpiritual Superiors, was now enſtated on the King: Not as one ſubordinate to any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction herein, but as one by God primarily inveſted with the Diſpoſal thereof, from whom the Eccleſiaſtical Governours within his Dominions derive their Authority, as it is in the Preface of the forecited *Statutes*, and conſequently we find the King and Parliament authorizing Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* by vertue of their Act, to take Informations concerning the not uſing of the Form of *Common-Prayer*, and to puniſh the ſame by Excommunication. And in *Statute* 5 and 6 of *Edw. 6. cap.* 1. concerning the *New Common-Prayer Book*, it is enacted, that by vertue of that *Act*, the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops ſhould puniſh by Cenſures of the Church, all Perſons who ſhall offend; which Clauſe, by vertue of that Act, implies that the Biſhops might not excommunicate and uſe the Church Cenſures for that Matter, without the King and Parliament's Licenſe, and ought to excommunicate in all Matters wherein the King and Parliament commands it: Whereby it is more clearly to be underſtood, that the Juriſdiction Spiritual aſcribed to the King or Queen, in the *Acts* aforementioned, involves the Juriſdiction of Excommunication, as well as others, if not exercis'd by himſelf and his Vicegerents, and other Commiſſioners, Lay-Perſons; (which Practice, notwithſtanding in King *Henry* the Eighth's Days, ſeems to be recorded and farther confirmed, by allowing them to be married Perſons in the Act 37 *H.* 8. *cap.* 17. See the *Statute*) yet ſo eſtabliſhed in the King, as to appoint when, and for what Matters the Clergy within his Realms ſhall execute, or not execute it; and indeed this is but ſuitable to the *Act* of *Submiſſion:* For if the Clergy may not make nor enjoin any new or old Spiritual Laws; if they may not correct what they judge Hereſies (as appears by the *Statutes* repealing the ancient Ways of Judging and Puniſhing of Hereticks) without the King's Conſent had thereto, it is but reaſonable they ſhould not excommunicate his Subjects, without his Conſent, for not obeying ſuch Laws, or for being thought guilty of ſuch Crimes.

2 E. 6. c. 1.

26 H. 8. c. 1. & 1 Eliz. c. 1.

Concerning the determining what are Hereſies. See 25 H. 8. c. 14. 34 & 35 H. 8. c. 1. 32 H. 8. c. 26. *See* 1 E. 6. c. 12. & 1 Eliz. c. 1. *repealing the ancient Laws of* H. 4. & 5. *concerning Hereticks.*

" As the Power of all Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſures* is enſtated in the King, ſo is that alſo of giving all manner of Licenſes, Diſpenſations, Faculties, Grants, *&c.* For all Laws and Conſtitutions merely Eccleſiaſtical, and in all Cauſes not being contrary to the *Scriptures*, and the Laws of God, it is not only taken from the Pope, but from the Clergy of this Church, and is committed to the King after the manner enacted, 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 21. where the Archbiſhop is conſtituted the King's Inſtrument in giving the ſaid Licenſes, *&c.* But if he ſhall refuſe or deny to grant them, that then upon Examination had in the Court of *Chancery*, that ſuch Licenſes, Faculties, Diſpenſations, *&c.* as may be granted without offending againſt the *Scriptures*, the King ſhall command the Archbiſhop to grant them by a new Injunction, under a Penalty; and if he refuſe ſtill to do it, the King may appoint by his Commiſſion two ſuch ſpiritual Prelates, or Perſons, as will grant them.

" And for Appeals in Cauſes Spiritual, it is enacted, 25 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 19. Firſt, That no manner of Appeals ſhall be made out of the Kingdom. Secondly, That for lack of Juſtice in the Court of the Archbiſhops, Commiſſioners appointed by the King, ſhall have full Power and Authority to hear, and definitively to determine every ſuch Appeal, with the Cauſes and all Circumſtances concerning the ſame; and no farther Appeals to be made.

" Now for the Exerciſe of this Supreme Juriſdiction, it was enacted both in *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s, *Anno* 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. & *Anno* 8 *Eliz. cap.* 1. That the King ſhall have full Power and Authority, to name and authorize by Commiſſion under his Broad Seal, ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as his Majeſty ſhall think meet, ſo they be born Subjects of *England*, (Note, that King *Henry* was limitted to chuſe half of them Clergymen, which the preſent King is not) to execute and exerciſe under his Majeſty, all manner of Juriſdictions, *&c.* to viſit, reform, and amend all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, *&c.* which by any manner of Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power, may lawfully be reform'd, *&c.* See the *Statutes* with the Proviſo, concerning the Judgment of Hereſie, according to the *Canonical Scriptures*, the Four firſt General *Councils*, or any other General Councils wherein the ſame is declared Hereſie, by the expreſs and plain Words of the ſaid *Canonical Scriptures*, the Judgment whereof belongs to the ſaid King's Vicegerent and Commiſſioners, or ultimately to the King himſelf, or ſuch as ſhall hereafter be judged and determined to be Hereſie by the High-Court of Parliament, with the Aſſent of the Clergy in their *Convocation*. In the ſame Statute of Queen *Elizabeth* it is added, that the Branches, Sentences, and Words of the ſeveral *Acts* made in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, touching Supremacy, and every one of them ſhall be deemed and taken to extend to her Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſors, as fully and largely as ever the ſaid Acts did extend to the late King *Henry* the Eighth. Whereby it appears, that tho' the Title *Head* was left off, yet the Supream Authority Eccleſiaſtical was united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of *England* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, as fully “and largely as ever King *Henry* enjoy'd it, in ſome reſpect more advantageouſly.

“By Virtue of this *Supremacy Eccleſiaſtical*, *Henry* the Eighth commited the former *Canons* and Laws of the Church, to the Arbitrement of thirty two Perſons nominated by him, to be abrogated, corrected, reformed, as they with his Confirmation ſhould think meet; and ſo may his Majeſty now reigning do the like in regard of any Canons, Conſtitutions or Articles, ſo they be not ratified by *Act* of Parliament, with this Advantage above *Henry the Eighth*, that his Majeſty is not limited to any number of Perſons, nor obliged to nominate half of them *Clergymen*, but any Perſon or Perſons being natural born Subjects to his Majeſty, 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. And by Virtue of this *Supremacy*, King *Henry* the *Eighth* did conſtitute the Lord *Cromwell* his Vicar-General in Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, to viſit, reform, and cenſure all manner of Perſons; and together with him and under him, were ſeveral other Officers and Judges, authoriſed with the King's Commiſſion (Lay-Perſons) to exerciſe and execute his Majeſty's Eccleſiaſtical Authority; and ſo may his Majeſty now reigning by force of the two forementioned *Acts* of the 1. and 8. of *Elizabeth*; which Vicegerent or Vicar-General is in Parliament to take Place of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 31 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* and in the *Synods*, or *Convocations* of the Clergy, ſubſcribes his Name before the ſaid Archbiſhop, and according to the Commiſſion his Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to give him, ſends out his Injunctions in the King's Name, viſits, reforms, corrects all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, uſing and exerciſing the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures as he ſhall judge meet; and all this, tho' the ſaid Vicar-General be a Lay and Married Perſon. By virtue of this Supremacy Eccleſiaſtical, the King's Majeſty is made the ultimate Judge of Hereſie, and the Determinor of what is agreeable or repugnant to God's Law. And all his Subjects are obliged to receive, obſerve, and ſubmit unto the godly Inſtructions and Determinations ſet forth by his Majeſty. And if any Spiritual Perſon or Perſons ſhall preach or teach contrary to the Determinations which are or ſhall be ſet forth by his Majeſty, that then every ſuch Offender offending the third Time, ſhall be deemed and judged an Heretick, and ſhall ſuffer Pains of Death by burning. See the Statute, 34 & 35 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 1. which tho' it be not in force in regard of the particular Matters therein contain'd, *viz. Tyndal*'s Tranſlation of the *Scripture*, and the Confirmation of the Six *Articles*, yet the Ground-Work of the Statute, the King's Supremacy to all Intents and Purpoſes of the Determination of what is true or falſe, what is godly or ungodly, and what is conformable or repugnant to the Word of God, is ſtill in force, revived in Queen *Elizabeth*, and annexed to the Crown for ever. And his Majeſty may exerciſe this Power of determining what ought to be held and believ'd, by ſetting forth Books, and by his Proclamations as is expreſs'd in that Statute, by his Judgments in his Court of *Chancery*, and by his Determinations upon Appeals from the Sentence in the Archbiſhop's Court.

8 Eliz. c. 1.

37 H. 8. c. 17.

The Title of that Statute is, An Act for the Advancement of the true Religion, and for the Aboliſhment of the contrary.

25 H. 8. c. 21.

25 H. 8. c. 19.

“Since ſome Cauſes and Controverſies may happily come before him not determin'd by former *Councils*; How can Appeals be admitted to him from the Judgment of his Clergy, if he be to follow the Judgment of the Clergy in the things appealed in? It is true, that in the forementioned *Act*, the Printers are obliged to put the Superſcription and Subſcription, *By the King and his Clergy*: But the Meaning was not that the Clergy in Convocation had aſſented to it; but either that the King had communicated his Writing to ſome of his Clergy, as he did his famous Book call'd, *A neceſſary Doctrine for all ſorts of People*, which Book occaſioned this very Statute, as Dr. *Heylin* relates *; or that it was the Reſult of the major Part of the Thirty Two Perſons whereof Sixteen were Lay-Men †; or of Eight Perſons in King *Edward* the Sixth's Reign; or of Six Clergy, and Six Lay Men in the ſame King *Edward*'s Time; according to whoſe Determinations, the *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, (See the Preface) and the *Ordinals* for Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons come to be publiſhed by the Regal Juriſdiction in Spiritual Affairs. This great Prerogative of his Majeſty's Supremacy may be farther manifeſted by King *Henry* the Eighth's laſt Speech made in Parliament not long before his Death. And thoſe Words in *Cromwell*'s Speech, (when he preſided as the King's Vicar-General over the Clergy aſſembled to ſtate ſomething in the Controverſies of Faith). That his Majeſty wou'd not ſuffer the *Scripture* to be wreſted and defaced by any Gloſſes or any Authority of Doctors or Councils.

3 & 4 Ed. 6. c. 11.

See Ld: Herbert's *Hiſt.* *p.* 506

Fox *Acts and Monuments*, *p.* 1078.

“By virtue of this Supremacy, King *Henry* the Eighth put forth certain *Injunctions* concerning Matters of Faith and Diſcipline, intitled, *Articles deviſed by the King's Highneſs to ſtable Chriſtian Quietneſs and Unity amongſt the People*. In like manner, other Injunctions, Two Years after by his Vicegerent *Cromwell*, and others in the Year One Thouſand Five Hundred Thirty Nine; amongſt which it was ordered that *Engliſh* Bibles ſhould be provided and put in every Church, *&c.* And this laſt thing he did without any Conſent of his Clergy. King *Edward* the Sixth alſo by his Council, ſet forth his *Injunctions*; (nothing being defer'd herein becauſe of his Nonage, tho' this was much ſued for by ſome Biſhops) and in the Beginning of his ſecond Year by Proclamation, inhibited any to preach that had not the Licenſe either of his Unkle the Protector, or Archbiſhop *Cranmer*: And about the ſame time reſtrain'd the Biſhops themſelves (thought too actively buſie in divers places of their Dioceſſes) not to preach but in their own Cathedrals. At laſt by a Proclamation put forth *September* 23, he inhibited the whole Clergy throughout the Kingdom to preach in open Audience, in the Pulpit or otherwiſe, becauſe that his Majeſty minded to ſettle very ſhortly one uniform Order throughout this his Realm, and to put an End to all Controverſies in Religion; for which Cauſe at that Time, certain Biſhops and notable learned Men by his Highneſs's Command were congregated. Queen *Elizabeth* likewiſe ſent forth her Injunctions, *A. D.* 1559. before ſhe had any Clergy to ſit in *Convocation*, as ſhe did afterward *Articles* under Title of the *Queen's Articles of Viſitation*, and her *Admonition*: All which are lately printed in one Volume, with the *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, and other things which concern'd the *Reformation*: By *R. Norton*. 1661. All which makes it evident, that his Majeſty by his Regal Juriſdiction, may deviſe, publiſh and conſtrain to be obſerved, ſuch *Injunctions* as may ſtable Chriſtian Quietneſs and

A. D. 1536.

Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.* & Fox, *p.* 388.

---

* *Hiſt. Ref. pag.* 23.

† 32 H. 8. c. 26.

“Unity amongſt his People, and rectifie their Judgments in things that they ought to Believe and Practice, according to the Examples of his Royal Predeceſſors the Supreme Heads and Governours of this Church.

25 H. 8. cap. 20.

“By Virtue of this Supremacy, the Clergy are bound to admit and conſecrate, what Perſon ſoever the King ſhall preſent to any Biſhoprick, upon Penalty of incurring *Præmunire*; and the Conſecration is to be performed by ſuch, and ſo many as the King ſhall appoint; which Perſons are to do this Work not by virtue of any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in them: But as the King's *Delegates*, who by his Letters Patents Commands them to conſecrate the Elect Biſhop; and in them if there be any Canonical Defect or Impediment, the King by his Royal Supreme Spiritual Juriſdiction diſpences with it. Both which things are evident by the *Patent* for the Conſecration of Archbiſhop *Parker* in Queen *Elizabeth*: By the Inſtrument of the ſaid Archbiſhop's Confirmation, and by the Practice ever ſince.

25 H. 8. cap. 19.

“By Virtue of this Supremacy, as the Biſhops and Clergy of the Chruch of *England* and *Ireland*, cannot meet in any *Aſſembly*, *Synod* or *Convocation*, but by his Majeſty's Writ: So being convened, they cannot open their Mouths to deliberate or make any Conſtitutions touching Doctrine or Diſcipline; without the King's Aſſent firſt had under his Signet: And having made any Conſtitution they cannot enact, promulgate, publiſh, or put in uſe the ſame, before it be confirmed under his Majeſty's Broad-Seal.

See the Declaration of King James *before the Canons*, 1603. & *King* Charles I. *before the Canons*, 1640.

“By Virtue of this Supremacy his Majeſty may iſſue out a Commiſſion, to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as he ſhall think fit, to viſit, and enquire after the Management of the Church Revenues, and may correct and reform the Perſons, that do not expend them, according to the pious Uſes, for which they were beſtowed on the Church; and where thoſe Revenues are ill employed, his Majeſty may tranſlate them to pious Uſes; King *Henry* the Eighth, in the thirtyeth Year of his Reign, by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; tranſlated the Prior and Convent of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, into the Dean and Chapter; and diſcharged them of their ſpecial Names which was in theſe Words.

“*Authoritate ſuâ Regiâ, ac authoritate ſua in terra ſupremi Capitis, Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, de gratia ſua ſpeciali &c. Cœnobium de Priore & Conventu Eccleſiæ Cathedralis, Sanctæ Trinitatis Norwici in Decanum & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis Norwici, tranſpoſuit & mutavit; & ulterius conceſſit quod Decanus & Capitulum & Succeſſores ſui omnia & ſingula Dominia & Maneria, Terras &c. quæ ad prædictos nuper Priorem & Conventum &c. ſpectabant, habere, tenere, gaudere, & poſſidere ſibi & Succeſſoribus valeant.* In this Caſe ſays *Cook* the Attorney General, the ſaid Tranſlation was good in Law by reaſon of the King's *Supremacy* as Head of the Church; and by Virtue of the Statute, 25 *Hen.* 8. and others, extinguiſhing the Pope's Juriſdiction; becauſe the Pope having anciently had that Power of the Oeconomy of the Church Revenues; and the ſame Authority that the Pope had, being given to the King by the ſame *Statutes*, ſuch Tranſlation of Church Revenue muſt needs be Legal.

Vid. Dean & Chapter of Norwich, *Caſe*, Cook's *Reports*, *pt.* 3. *fol.*73.

“Many more inſtances might be given of the Exerciſe of this Regal, Supream Eccleſiaſtical Authority and Juriſdiction; conſiſting with the other Laws of this Kingdom: But it may ſuffice to add this only concerning Penalties and *Cenſures* Eccleſiaſtical; That whatſoever the Biſhop of *Rome* cou'd lawfully do in the time preceding the Statute, 25 *H.* 8. either in Relaxation of the Penalty, or ſuſpencion of the inferior Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; All that is now legally inſtated in the King, as is evident from theſe two Maxims univerſally acknowledged by *Lawyers*, and in the *Statutes* ſince that Time. Firſt, That all manner of Spiritual Juriſdiction, formerly lawfully exerciſed in *England* and *Ireland*, does now belong to the King. Secondly, That all Spiritual Juriſdiction exerciſed by any Subject in the ſaid Kingdoms, is held and exerciſed from, by, and under the King.

“And concerning Temporal Penalties, the Reſolution is to be grounded on this Maxim touching his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative: Every Offence or Crime, made Crime by *Act* of Parliament which is not *Malum in ſe*, the King before the Fact committed, may diſpenſe with the *Act* of Parliament, and give Power to commit the Fact; and all manner of Offences whatſoever, whether evil in themſelves, or not, the King after the Offence committed may pardon them.

Whether the Common Lawyers are proper Judges concerning the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy.

As to this Argument, my buſineſs being moſtly to report, I ſhall return nothing. But becauſe in the cloſe of the Diſcourſe, the Author lays the main ſtreſs of the Cauſe upon the Opinion of the *Common Lawyers*; I ſhall endeavour to prove, that the learned of this Profeſſion, are generally unqualified to determine in the Queſtion of the King's *Spiritual* Supremacy: Firſt becauſe they are unfurniſh'd with skill in *Divinity*, and unacquainted with the Sentiments and Practice of the Primitive Church.

Secondly, becauſe they go upon a wrong Ground.

Firſt, That the learned of the *long Robe*, are unfurniſh'd with skill in *Divinity*, and unacquainted with the Hiſtory of the Church, beſides common Experience, we have a famous inſtance in *Croke*'s *Reports* (w). The Caſe was this: Sir *Edward Coke* late Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, after having been diſcharg'd from that Place, was made Sheriff of *Buckinghamſhire*; and had a *Dedimus Poteſtatem*, to take the Sheriffs Oath. Sir *Edward* excepted againſt this Oath upon the ſcore of ſeveral *Additions*; he mentions four which were not in the ancient Oath of the *Regiſter*, afterwards confirm'd by the 18 of *Edw.* 3. Upon this account he conceived theſe Additions illegal, unleſs warranted by Parliament: The firſt Addition which I ſhall only mention was this. That, *He ſhou'd ſeek to ſuppreſs all Errors and Hereſies commonly call'd Lollardies; and ſhou'd be aſſiſtant to the Commiſſaries and Ordinary in Church Matters*: To which he certified, that the *Statutes* (x) upon which thoſe Clauſes againſt the Lollards were grounded, were repeal'd (y). Upon his refuſal of the Oath, the Lord *Keeper* ſent for all the Judges for their Opinion. Upon debating the Caſe, they came to this *Reſolution*: That this Clauſe in the Oath was fit to be omitted for two Reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe the *Statutes* which enjoyn it are repeal'd. Secondly, Becauſe theſe Statutes *were intended againſt the Religion now profeſs'd and eſtabliſh'd; which before was condemn'd for* Hereſy, *and is now held for the true Religion.*

But with due regard to the Memory of theſe Reverend Judges, this *Reſolution* of theirs goes upon a great miſtake. For *Lollardiſm* is widely different from the Doctrine and Conſtitution of

---

(w) *fol.* 18.

(x) 5 R. 2. c. 2. 2 H. 4. c. 15.

(y) 1 Eliz. c. 1.

the Church of *England*: 'Tis true, they declar'd againſt ſome Errors in the Church of *Rome*; but then they maintain'd very dangerous Tenents. And their Caſe was much like that of *Diogenes*, who trampled upon *Plato*'s Pride, with a greater of his own. The *Reader* may ſee ſome of their Heterodoxies in the *firſt Part of my Church Hiſtory*: And in this *ſecond Part*, I have added a farther Collection; 'tis drawn out of their Books by a Committee of both *Univerſities*, and enter'd upon *Warham*'s *Regiſter*. I ſhall only mention two of their Errors of the firſt Magnitude. First, *They maintain taking away any Man's Life either in War or Courts of Juſtice, upon what account ſoever, is expreſly contrary to the New Teſtament* (z). And in their Remonſtrance to the Parliament they pretended a Commiſſion from Heaven to preach this Doctrine.

See above.

Secondly, *They held every Man was a Prieſt; and we need no other Prieſt, to be a mean for us unto God* (a).

Now theſe two aſſertions are not only ſubverſive of all Government Eccleſiaſtical and *Civil*; but likewiſe directly contrary to the 23d, and 37th *Articles* of the Church of *England*. 'Tis evident therefore theſe Reverend Judges were unacquainted with the Lollards Tenents: They ſeem to have been miſled in their *Reſolution* by taking *Fox* upon Content. But this *Martyrologiſt* is plainly partial in his *Report*, abets ſome Errors, and is ſhort in the Lollards Defence (b).

Secondly, The learned of the *Long Robe* generally go upon a wrong ground: They lay the whole ſtreſs of the Argument upon the Opinions of Men of their Profeſſion; upon Precedents in *Temporal* Courts, and Proviſions in *Parliament*: Now granting all theſe Authorities ſhou'd declare in their Favour, this aſſiſtance can never ſettle the Point; this Foundation will never bare the weight they lay upon it. To diſcuſs the matter a little.

That *God* is the Fountain of all Juriſdiction both Eccleſiaſtical and *Civil*, is beyond all Queſtion. This Aſſertion cannot be deny'd without renouncing *Revealed Religion*. The Caſe to be reſolv'd is this: Whether God has given the *Clergy* a Commiſſion independent of the *State*; whether our Saviour has intruſted the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors with the Government of the *Church*; or lodg'd it with the *Laity* and *Civil* Magiſtrate? And ſince the whole matter depends on the Pleaſure of *God Almighty*, which way can his Mind be known but by conſulting his Word? To clear this Doubt, we muſt inſpect the *inſpir'd Writings*, and have recourſe to the Uſage of the *ancient* Church: I ſay the ancient Church, who were neareſt the Divine Inſtitutions; who were ſo remarkable for Diſintereſt and Piety, and who had Miracles to recommend their Authority. Now to overlook the *Scriptures*, and the Primitive Practice which is the beſt Comment, is without doubt an odd way of managing the Controverſy! To reſt the Proof altogether upon *Year Books*, *Reports*, or even upon *Acts* of Parliament, is to argue upon a dangerous Topick. To throw the *Scriptures* out of the Diſpute, and cite the *Statutes* for a ſovereign Deciſion, does by inevitable Conſequence infer one of theſe two Things.

Either First, That the Laws of God may be ſet aſide at the Pleaſure of the *Civil* Power; that the Inſtitutions of our Saviour may be over-ruled by the *State*, and the *New Teſtament* repealed by an *Act* of Parliament! And if this Abſurdity is too rank not to be diſclaim'd: If they will allow God Almighty the Supreme Legiſlator, and own his Juriſdiction paramount to the *Civil* Government; Then from the Lawyers way of arguing in this Argument it follows in the,

Second Place, that the *Creed* means nothing better than Prieſt-Craft, or State Policy: That Chriſtianity is an Impoſture; and the *Old* and *New Teſtament* a Collection of forg'd Records.

For if the Chriſtian *Syſtem* is a *Revelation* from Heaven; If the *Scriptures* are a Body of Divine Laws, and the authentick Declarations of our Bleſſed Saviour; why don't we apply thither for a Reſolution of the Caſe? Why don't we look upon them as deciſive Evidence, and appeal to them as the higheſt Authority? What makes us leave 'em out of the Queſtion, caſt the Cauſe upon a foreign Iſſue; and rely altogether upon Judicial Precedents, and Proviſions of Parliament? Can a Reſolution of the *Bench*, defeat a Goſpel-Settlement, or cancel a *Charter* from our Saviour? Can a human Law vacate a Divine Comiſſion, or recal an Authority from Heaven?

I hope I have a juſt regard for the *Engliſh Conſtitution*; could I have ſet aſide the *Statute-Book*, I might have oblig'd my Intereſt in ſome meaſure, and gone on with an eaſier Motion. Where Property or *Civil* Juriſdiction is concern'd, the *Crown* and the *Three Eſtates* have without Queſtion a Power to extinguiſh Title, and transfer Right; and the Conſcience of the Subject is bound to Acquieſcence. But I humbly conceive, we may ſafely ſay there's no Omnipotency in a Parliament. To affirm *God Almighty*'s Prerogative, is above the reach of the *Conſtitution*; that his Judgments are not to be *revers'd*, nor his *Grants* ſet aſide by his Creatures; to affirm this, can be no diſregard to any Government.

From what has been obſerv'd it evidently follows, That the Independency of the *Church* upon the *State* in matters *purely Spiritual*, is a Queſtion which cannot be decided by the *Municipal* Law.

The next Conſequence is, that *Common Lawyers* in this Caſe, are no better Authority, than Men of any other Employment. 'Tis true if a Lawyer will ſtudy Divinity, examine the *Scripture*, read over the *Fathers* and *Councils*, and other Records of the earlieſt *Centuries*: If he will make himſelf Maſter of this part of Learning, and argue from Authorities of this kind; he ought to be believ'd as far as the intrinſick will bear, and the Proofs carry him; and ſo ought any Body elſe. But a Lawyer *quatenus* Lawyer, can have no Preference: He has no Commiſſion to give Sentence, nor any Privilege to pronounce upon the Matter. The point is quite foreign to his Character; and to caſt the Cauſe upon Authorities within his Profeſſion, is not to argue like a Perſon *Baptiz'd*. And which is ſomewhat harder, to rely upon ſuch Principles is to fall ſhort of the Heathen Religion. For all People on this ſide *Atheiſm*, will readily confeſs the Empire of the Supreme Being, is above Comptroll: And that no Human Law can operate againſt a decree of the Court in Heaven. I wou'd willingly believe Sir *Edward Coke* (c) and thoſe that follow him in defence of the *Regale*, were not aware of the Conſequences of their reaſoning. Men of Eminence eſpecially, ſhou'd keep their Conſcience awake when they treat this *Subject*. For without due Care, Arguments upon this head ſerve only to miſlead the *Government*; to fix the *Church* in a State of Oppreſſion, and draw a Perſecution upon the *Creed*. For in what Countries ſoever the *Church* cannot exerciſe the Powers given her by *Chriſt*, without running great Hazard, without forfeiture or Impriſonment; there it muſt be ſaid, the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity is made *Penal* in ſome Meaſure. The famous *Gamaliel*, tho' a *Jew*, was afraid of checking the Apoſtles in the diſcharge of their Office: He adviſ'd the Sanhedrim *to let 'em alone*, *leſt haply they might be found to fight againſt God* (*d*). But no more of this matter.

(z) Spelman *Council Vol.* 2. *p.* 646. &c.

(a) Fox *Vol* 2. *p.* 593.

(b) Fox, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 692. *to* 707. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 589. *to* 601.

(c) *Reports pt.* 5.

(*d*) Acts 5. 34, 38, 39.

The *Act* concerning the Supremacy abovemention'd having ſomething of a new Face, the King conſulted the *Univerſities*, the Clergy in *Convocation*, and ſeveral *Religious Houſes* before it was paſs'd. The *Book* likewiſe *de vera differentia inter Regiam & Eccleſiaſticam Poteſtatem* was publiſh'd upon this Occaſion. Theſe were thought proper Expedients to make way for the *Regale*, to take off the Charge of Novelty, and reconcile the Subject to the *Act*.

June 1. 1534. *The Convocation of* York, &c. *declare againſt the Pope's Supremacy being* Jure Divino.

To mention ſome of the Reſolutions of the Clergy upon this Point. In *June* laſt, *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York* ſent the King a ſort of an Addreſs from the *Convocation* of his *Province:* Here they renounce the Pope's Authority, and expreſly declare, *that by the Word of God he has no more Juriſdiction in* England *than any other Biſhop* (*e*). The ſame *Proteſtation* was made by the Biſhops of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, St. *David's*, and *Bath* and *Wells*; by the Dean and Chapter of the *See* laſt mention'd, by the Prior and *Chapter* of St. *David's*, by the Dean and *Chapter* of St. *Paul's* St. *Aſaph*, *Lincoln*, and *Landaff*, together with four and thirty Abbots of the moſt conſiderable Monaſteries, with a great many Monks of their reſpective *Houſes*.

(*e*) *See Records, N.* 26.

The ſame done by the Convocation of Canterbury.

The Convocation of the *Province* of *Canterbury* ſeem to have led the way: For on the laſt of *March* this Year the Queſtion being put by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, both Houſes came to a Reſolution againſt the Pope's Supremacy in the Senſe abovemention'd. In the *Lower Houſe* four voted for the Pope's Authority and one demurr'd. At the ſame time an *Inſtrument* or Declaration of the Senſe of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, was drawn, and ſign'd with this Title, *Quod Romanus Epiſcopus non habet majorem Juriſdictionem ſibi a Deo collatam in hoc Regno quam alius quivis externus Epiſcopus* *.

* *Journal of Convoc. fol.* 59.

And in *November* following *Cranmer* order'd an Alteration in the Archiepiſcopal Stile, ſtruck out *Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus*, and put *Metropolitanus* inſtead of it.

Ibid.

By this publick Declaration of the Clergy, of the *Univerſities* and *Religious*, that the Pope had no more Juriſdiction given him in *Scripture* over the Church of *England* than any other foreign Biſhop; by this Declaration, I ſay, they clearly denied all divine Right to a *Supremacy*, and cut off his Claim from St. *Peter*. But then by inſerting this Clauſe in *Scripture*, or by *the Word of God*, they ſeem at preſent to fence againſt renouncing any Privilege he might make out by Authority of *Councils* or Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions.

July 7.

The Dean and Chapter of *Paul's* is ſomewhat more full in the Inſtrument of their Submiſſion: "They make a ſtrong Declaration of their Loyalty to the King, and to his Iſſue by Queen *Anne:* They profeſs they ſhall always acknowledge him for Head of the Church of *England:* And that for the future they'll ſink the Pope's Title in their publick Prayers, and only mention him as Biſhop of *Rome*. They likewiſe renounce every thing in the Canon Law, which ſhall be found contrary to the *holy Scriptures*, or to the Uſages and Cuſtoms of this Realm. And in the cloſe of all, they ſwear themſelves to a Performance of the Premiſes (*f*).

(*f*) Wharton de Epiſc. & Decan. Londin. p. 286. Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 14. p. 493.

The learned Mr. *Wharton* obſerves that the Renunciation of the Pope by the Clergy and *Religious* was general: That the Originals are ſtill remaining in the *Exchequer:* That he had in his Cuſtody no leſs than a hundred ſeventy and five ſuch authentick Inſtruments, tranſcrib'd from thence: That theſe Tranſcripts contain'd the Subſcriptions of all the Biſhops, Chapters, Monaſteries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, &c. of thirteen Dioceſes. That to his certain Knowledge, the Original Subſcriptions of the remaining Dioceſes were lodg'd elſewhere. And here he obſerves from the Dates, that the Church of *Canterbury* did not begin the Subſcriptions *.

* Wharton's *Obſervations on* Strype's *Memorials of Abp.* Cranmer. *p.* 254. vid. Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. Tom. 14. p. 487 *to* p. 537.

Firſt Fruits granted to the King by Act of Parliament.

To return to the Parliament: "*Annates*, or the *Firſt Fruits* of all Benefices, Offices, Dignities, *&c.* Spiritual were granted to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors together with the yearly Revenue of the Tenth Part of all ſuch Livings. The Biſhops of each reſpective Dioceſs are charg'd with the Collection of the *Tenths*, and anſwerable for Non-Payment. Parſonages and Vicaridges not exceeding the yearly Value of eight Marks, are exempted from this Impoſition, unleſs the Incumbent lives three Years after Inſtitution or Collation (*g*).

(*g*) 26 H. 8. c. 3.

What theſe Firſt Fruits were, when, and why demanded by the Popes, has been elſewhere related. And now this Revenue, as the Preamble ſets forth, was granted the King partly in conſequence of his being *Supreme Head* of the Church.

See my Church Hiſt. pt. 1. p. 503.

Before this *Statute* the Biſhop of *Norwich* uſed to receive the Firſt Fruits of Benefices within his Dioceſe: And the Archdeacon of *Richmond* had the ſame Privilege within his Archdeaconry: But now all Payments of this Kind were to be made to the Crown.

Words made Treaſon.

To proceed: There was an Act paſs'd in this *Seſſion*, by which it was made High Treaſon for any Perſon, *maliciouſly to wiſh, will, or deſire by Words or Writing, or by Craft imagine, invent, practiſe or attempt any Harm to be done or committed to the King's moſt Royal Perſon, the Queen, or her Heirs apparent, or deprive them or any of them of their Dignity, Title or Name, of their Royal Eſtates, or ſlanderouſly and maliciouſly publiſh and pronounce by expreſs Writing or Words, that the King our Sovereign Lord ſhou'd be Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, &c.* (*h*).

(*h*) 26 H. 8. c. 13. *Statutes at large.*

I mention this *Act* becauſe Biſhop *Fiſher* apprehended himſelf in ſome Danger by it, as will appear afterwards.

The Election and Authority of Suffragans.

The next *Statute* I ſhall mention, "ſettles the Election and Powers of Suffragans, and appoints the Towns in which they ſhou'd be plac'd (*i*). Every Archbiſhop or Biſhop diſpos'd to have any Suffragan, was to preſent two Perſons to the King, who was to make choice of one of them. Theſe *Suffragans* were to have the Stile of Biſhops; they were to be preſented by the King's Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, to either of the Archbiſhops, in whoſe Province they were to reſide; and by one of theſe Metropolitans to receive Epiſcopal Conſecration, according to the Form and Ceremonial then in uſe. Theſe Suffragans are barr'd from receiving any Profits, or exerciſing any Juriſdiction, any farther than they ſhall be licens'd or commiſſion'd by the Biſhop for that Purpoſe. Their Authority likewiſe was to continue no longer than they were empower'd by their Commiſſion.

(*i*) 26 H. 8. c. 14.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves that Suffragan Biſhops were put down by Degrees from the ninth Century: But this Remark won't hold *. For not to mention that *Petrus Corbarienſis* was Suffragan to the Biſhop of *London* in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, it appears by the Preamble of this *Act*, that the Office of Suffragans was cuſtomary in this Kingdom: And that there was actually ſuch Prelates at the making this *Statute*, is evident by one of the *Proviſo's*, by which the Biſhop is enjoin'd to *provide two Biſhops or Suffragans, who in Conjunction with the Archbiſhop, were to conſecrate his Suffragan for the future.*

* *Biſhop* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 158. *See my Church Hiſt. pt.* 1. *p.* 531.

This Parliament, Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas Moor* were attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon for refuſing to ſwear the *Act* of *Succeſſion*.

Dec. 19. 1534.

Towards the latter end of this Year, the *Convocation* agreed to addreſs the King for an *Engliſh Tranſlation* of the Bible, and that Diſputes concerning Religion might not be allowed the *Laity* *.

* *Journal Convoc. fol.* 60.

January 153 4/5.

The next Month the King for the augmenting his Revenue, and that the Firſt Fruits and Tenths might be paid to their juſt value, order'd Inſtructions to be drawn up to make an exact Inquiry into the Eſtates of all the Clergy both *Secular* and *Regular*. I ſhall lay part of the *Original* before the *Reader* (*k*).

(*k*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. fol. 167. *Inſtructions for the Inquiry into the Eſtates of the Religious and Clergy.*

“ Inſtructions deviſed by the King's Highneſs by the Advice of his Council, for Knowledge to be had of the whole true and juſt yearly Values of all the Poſſeſſions, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Profits, as well Spiritual as Temporal appertaining to any manner of Dignity, Monaſtery, Priory, Church Collegiate, Church Conventual, Parſonage, Vicaridge, Chantery, Free Chapel, or other Dignity, Office or Promotion Spiritual within this Realm, *Wales*, *Calais*, *Berwick*, and Marches of the ſame, as well in Places exempt as not exempt, which his Pleaſure is that ſuch as ſhall have charge by his Commiſſion to ſurvey the ſame, ſhall effectually with all Uprightneſs and Dexterity follow and enſue, as they will anſwer unto his Majeſty at their Peril.

The Contents of the Inſtructions may be underſtood by the laſt Article which runs thus.

“ *Item*, Finally, After the true and juſt yearly Value of all the Dignities, Benefices, Offices, Cures and other Promotions Spiritual afore rehears'd, examin'd and known, then the ſaid Commiſſioners, to whom the Commiſſion ſhall be directed, ſhall cauſe to be made a fair Book after the Auditor's Faſhion, putting firſt in the Head thereof, the Name of the Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick where the Commiſſion is directed, if the *See* be within the Limits of their Commiſſion: And the whole and entire Value thereof, like as is aforemention'd in the Article concerning the ſame; with the Deductions to be reſolute that are mention'd in the ſaid Article and none other. And then next to put the Name of the Cathedral Church or Monaſtery, where the *See* of the Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick is. And the Number and Names of all ſuch Dignities, Prebends, Offices, Cures, Chanteries and Promotions Spiritual which be in Succeſſion in the ſaid Cathedral Church or Monaſtery: And as well the whole and entire yearly Value of the ſaid Cathedral Church or Monaſtery as the particular yearly Profit that belongs to every the ſaid Dignities, Prebends, Offices, &c. with the Deductions to be reſolute out of the ſame, as is mention'd in the Article above ſpecified concerning the ſame: And then next after that to put the Number and Name of every Archdeaconry and Deanry Rural, within the Limits of their Commiſſion, and in whoſe Dioceſs and Juriſdiction they be; and their ſeveral and particular yearly Value and Deductions like as is mention'd in the Article concerning the ſame: And next after that to put every College, Church Collegiate, Hoſpital, Abbey, Monaſtery, Priory, Houſe Religious, Parſonage, Vicaridge, Chantery, Free Chapel and all other Promotions Spiritual, under the Title and Name of the Deanry Rural, where ſuch Colleges, Churches Collegiate, Hoſpitals, Abbey, &c. lyen and byn founded: And their ſeveral and diſtinct yearly Values. —— And the Number and Names of ſuch Prebends, Dignities, Offices, Cures, Chanteries, Free Chapels, &c. and their diſtinct and ſeveral yearly Values, as is before declared in the ſaid Articles: So that always under the Title of every Deanry Rural, there be contain'd all ſuch Dignities, Abbeys, Monaſteries, &c. whereſoever they lyen and byn in the Deanry where they be founded and edified: And if any of them be out of the Limits of all Deanries, then to put 'em by themſelves, rehearſing their Names and the Places where they lyen, and in whoſe Dioceſs and Juriſdiction with their whole Values, &c. added to every of 'em diſtinct by themſelves; foreſeeing always, that in the making of the yearly Values of every manner Dignities, Monaſteries, &c. abovemention'd, there be made a whole and entire Value of every of 'em by themſelves, and nothing to be allow'd or deducted out thereof, for Reparations, Fees, ſerving of Cures, or any other Cauſes or Things whatſoever it be, except only ſuch annual and perpetual Rents, Penſions, Alms, Synods, Proxies and Fees for Offices as be before eſpecially mention'd in the Articles aforewritten. And after the ſaid Book be made, then the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall certify the ſame unto the King's Exchequer under their Seals according as is limited by the Tenor of their Commiſſion, as they will anſwer unto the King's Highneſs at their utmoſt Peril; to the intent that the *Tenth* of the Premiſes may be tax'd, and ſet to be levied to the King's Uſe according to the *Statute* made and provided of the Grant thereof.

Theſe Inſtructions had in all Likelyhood a farther Reach than the ſecuring the full Payment of the *Tenths*: The Deſign ſeems to have been to draw Envy upon the Spirituality from the Greatneſs of the Revenues: 'Twas to give the King an inviting Proſpect upon the Abbies: To awaken his Fancy towards a Diſſolution: And ſollicit him to make Prize of the Church.

There were Commiſſions immediately granted perſuant to theſe Inſtructions; one of which relating to the City and Liberties of *London*, I ſhall tranſcribe for the *Reader* (*l*).

(*l*) *See Records, N.* 29.

About this time, if *Fox*'s Chronology holds, the Biſhops took an Oath to the King, by Virtue of which they acknowledged him Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, promis'd to maintain him and his Succeſſors in this Branch of the Prerogative, renounc'd paying any Obedience to the Pope, or holding any Correſpondence with that *See*. *Fox* ſets down this Oath at length, mentions its being taken by *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, and *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* *. This was a voluntary Engagement, there being no *Act* of Parliament requiring any ſuch Oath. And tho' *Fox* mentions the Forms of Swearing in no other Biſhops than thoſe above recited, yet that this Submiſſion was follow'd by the reſt of that Character appears by an Order of *Council* for regulating the Pulpits, which the *Reader* will meet with in its proper Place. Farther, by this general Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy by the Univerſities, Clergy, and *Religious* already mention'd, it appears they are miſrepreſented by our learned Church Hiſtorian, and wrongfully charg'd with conſtant Oppoſition to the *Reformation*.

Bp. Fiſher's Tryal. A. D. 1535.

The King not enduring any Oppoſition to his *new Title*, reſolv'd to proceed to Extremities againſt *Fiſher* and *Moor*. He began with the Biſhop; who after he had lain in the *Tower* about a Year, was brought to his Tryal. During his Impriſonment he was examin'd upon the Contents of ſome Letters that paſs'd between him and Sir *Thomas Moor*, who was alſo then a Priſoner in the ſame Place. The Purport of the Biſhop's Letters to *Moor* was chiefly concerning a *Bill* by which *Words* againſt the King were made Treaſon (*m*). This *Bill* ſtuck in the Houſe of Commons who inſiſted that the Term *maliciouſly* might be added. The *Act* was paſs'd with this Amendment: Sir *Thomas Moor*, who anſwer'd the Letter while the *Bill* was depending, told the Biſhop, that provided the *Act* was thus qualified he wou'd be in no Danger by anſwering the Queſtion, concerning ſome Words charg'd upon him.

Farther, one *Article* againſt him was, that a Servant of the Lieutenant's, had heard Mrs. *Roper*, his Daughter, ſay, that Biſhop *Fiſher* was made a Cardinal. To which he anſwer'd, the ſaid Servant and one *Wilſon* being preſent, that if the Cardinal's Hat was laid at his Feet, he wou'd not ſtoop to take it up (*n*).

'Tis true Pope *Paul* had lately declar'd him a Cardinal. This unſeaſonable Reſpect precipitated his Death: For the King thought this Promotion might be of ill Conſequence, and encourage his Subjects to contemn his Authority. For *Fiſher* had refus'd to ſwear the Preamble to the *Act* of Succeſſion, and cou'd by no means be prevail'd with to own the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy in the Forms preſcrib'd. The King, as *Saunders* reports, ſent ſome of the Judges to examine him, whether he had made any Application for the Cardinal's Cap (*o*). His Anſwer was, that he never ſolicited either for that, or any other Honour: And that this Time eſpecially, was very unlikely to draw his Fancy: That Old Age, Confinement, and Expectations of Death, were Preſervatives againſt Ambition.

As to the Letters which paſs'd between *Moor* and this Biſhop, the Subject of 'em was moſtly to encourage each other to Fortitude and Reſignation, to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance, and pray for their Enemies: Neither did any thing paſs, as far as I can diſcover, which might be conſtru'd to a harſh, or uncharitable Wiſh to any Perſon living (*p*).

There is a Letter of one *Bedel* which bears ſomewhat hard upon the Biſhop: it mentions a Book of *Fiſher*'s, written in Defence of the King's Marriage with *Catharine* of *Spain*, and againſt his ſecond Marriage with *Anne Boleyn*. Theſe *Books* were deliver'd by this *Bedel* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Bedel* adds, that he was inform'd by the Confeſſor of *Syon*, that the Biſhop aſſur'd the King, he had never ſhew'd certain Letters relating (I ſuppoſe) to the *Divorce*, to any Perſon but his Majeſty, and promis'd to keep 'em private. This Confeſſor, however, as *Bedel* continues, affirm'd that *Fiſher* ſent him and Two other Friers, a Copy of his Letters directed to the King, together with the King's Anſwer (*q*).

The Biſhop was brought to his Trial on the Seventh of *May*, as the Lord *Herbert* relates. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome other Lords, together with the Judges, ſate upon him by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* (*r*). He is indicted by the *Addition* of *Dominus Johannes Fiſher*, *Nuper Roffenſis Epiſcopus*; which it may be might be the Reaſon of his not being try'd by his *Peers*. Why he is ſtyl'd the *late Biſhop of* Rocheſter, is ſomewhat myſterious: For I don't find he had been depriv'd by any Authority either of *Church* or *State*. The Charge of High-Treaſon in the Indictment runs thus:

Quod Anno Viceſſimo Septimo Regis Henrici Octavi apud Turrem London. in Comitatu Middleſex contra Ligeantiæ ſuæ debitum, hæc verba Anglicana ſequentia diverſis dicti Domini Regis veris Subditis, falſè, malitioſè, & proditoriè loquebatur & propalabat: viz. The King our Sovereign Lord, is not Supream Head in Earth of the Church of *England* (*s*). The Biſhop was found guilty. But,

How theſe Words cou'd be mounted to High-Treaſon, is ſomewhat difficult to underſtand. For the late *Acts* of Parliament leading towards the *Supremacy*, in the Twenty Fifth Year of this Reign (*t*), carry the Forfeitures no higher than *Præmunire* and Miſpriſion of Treaſon. And the *Act* of this preſent Year, which brings the *Regale* to the higheſt Pitch, has no Penalty annex'd (*u*). If therefore the Biſhop was found guilty upon any *Statute*, it muſt be upon that which makes it Treaſon, *to maliciouſly wiſh or deſire by Words, or Writing to deprive the King of his Dignity or Title* (*w*). But whether this *Act* was ſtrain'd upon the Biſhop or not, I ſhall leave to the *Reader*.

Fiſher was hardly us'd during his Impriſonment. In a Letter of his to *Cromwell*, he acquaints this *Miniſter* with his wanting Neceſſaries, and that he had neither Cloaths, Fire, nor proper Diet allow'd him (*x*). He likewiſe complain'd of the ill Uſage of ſome Perſons ſent by the King to diſcourſe him in Priſon. Theſe Men, as he expoſtulates, preſs'd him to give 'em his Reaſons againſt the King's *Supremacy*, with an Aſſurance that he ſhould receive no Damage by diſcovering his Mind. Under this Confidence, the Biſhop declared his Opinion, with the Grounds upon which he went. But as appear'd by the Event, he truſted them too far: For theſe Men, (who I ſuppoſe were *Bedel* and *Layton*) two Clerks of the Council, broke thro' the Secret, and turn'd *Evidence* againſt him (*y*).

He was executed upon the 22d of *June*, in the 77th Year of his Age. The Morning before the Execution, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* came to his Chamber, and acquainted him, he was to ſuffer that Forenoon. The Biſhop told him, he had expected that Meſſage a long while, and was not at all ſurpriz'd at it: He humbly thank'd the King for putting an End to his Fatigues, and giving him a Paſſage into the other World.

He ſuffers with great Fortitude.

The Lieutenant told him, the King wou'd have him be ſhort in his *Speech*, not to break out into Reflection, arraign his Government, or give the People an ill Impreſſion. The Biſhop reply'd, he hop'd by God's Aſſiſtance, to be very inoffenſive, and neither give the King nor any other Perſon any Reaſon for Complaint. Upon his Dreſſing himſelf with more Care and Exactneſs than uſual, his Servant aſk'd him, why he took all that Pains about his Habit, not having above two Hours to wear it? That's no matter, ſays the Biſhop, 'tis my Wedding-day, and therefore out of reſpect to the Occaſion, I ought to appear ſomething finer than ordinary. Being very infirm, he was carried in a Chair to the *Tower-Gate*, where they made a Hault till the Sheriff receiv'd him. During this Interval, he open'd the *New Teſtament*, and deſir'd God, ſome place proper to his Circumſtances, might come up. Upon looking into the Book, he found theſe Words, *This is Life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent. I have glorified Thee on the Earth, I have finiſhed the Work which Thou gaveſt me to do.* Upon this he ſhut the Book, and ſaid, *here's Learning enough for me to my Life's End.*

---

* Fox, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 377, 378.

Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 83.

(*m*) 26 H. 8. c. 13.

(*n*) Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. *fol.* 169.

(*o*) De Schiſ. Anglic. *p.* 135.

(*p*) Cotton. Libr. ibid.

(*q*) Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. *fol.* 168.

(*r*) *Bp.* Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 353.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. ibid. *fol.* 178.

(*t*) 25 H. 8. c. 19. & c. 22.

(*u*) 26 H. 8. *cap.* 1.

(*w*) 26 H. 8. cap 13. *Statutes at large.*

(*x*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory, book* 5. *p.* 190. *from* Cotton. Libr.

(*y*) Harmer, *p.* 60.

Joh. 17. 3, 4.

When he came to the Scaffold, they offer'd to help him up; but he deſir'd 'em to let him alone, *and that they ſhould ſee him ſhift well enough for himſelf.* He went up the Stairs with unuſual Livelineſs and Strength: So that thoſe who knew his Age, and the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution, were very much ſurpriz'd.

He obſerv'd the King's Orders ſo far as to be very ſhort in his Speech.

His Speech.

“ He told the People, he came to die for the
“ Faith of Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church: He
“ gave God Thanks for ſupporting him, with Re-
“ ſolution for the Occaſion; and that the Fear
“ of Death had hitherto made no Impreſſion up-
“ on him. He deſir'd their Prayers, that he
“ might continue his Adherence to every Point
“ of the Catholick Faith, and ſtand firm and
“ unſhaken at the laſt Moment. And laſtly, he
“ begg'd Almighty God to preſerve the King
“ and Kingdom, and bleſs his Majeſty with a
“ good Council.

Theſe Words were deliver'd with an Air of Chearfulneſs and Gravity. He gave all imaginable Marks of Unconcernedneſs and Courage: He preſs'd as it were, into the other World, and expired in Conſtancy and Greatneſs (z).

(z) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, *Book* 5. *p.* 203. & deinc.

His Character.

As to his Character: He was a Perſon of Learning and exemplary Life, but ſtuck cloſe to the Papal Pretenſions. As for Covetouſneſs and Luxury, he is much miſreported by *Bale* (a); thoſe Blemiſhes being altogether foreign to his Character. He could never be brought to a Tranſlation to a wealthier *See*: He us'd to ſay, his Church was his Wife, and that he wou'd never part with her, becauſe ſhe was poor (b). He was much eſteem'd by the King, 'till the Buſineſs of the Divorce and the Pope s Supremacy, came to be diſcuſs'd. He wrote againſt *Luther* in Defence of King *Henry* the Eighth. *Oecolampadius* and other *German* Reformers, were undertaken by him.

(a) Godwyn. de Præſul. Anglic. in Fiſher.

(b) *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 1. *p.* 354. Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 353.

His Book, in which he attempts a Confutation of *Luther*'s Defence of the Propoſitions cenſur'd by *Leo* the Tenth's Bull, is his moſt conſiderable Performance. Before he engages in the Controverſy with *Luther*, he endeavours to prove theſe ten Principles, and ſettle them as Grounds or *Poſtulata* for his Diſcourſe.

Firſt, That the greateſt part of thoſe who have relied on the Guidance of their private Spirit, for the Senſe of the *Scriptures*, have fail'd in their Interpretations, and miſcarry'd into Error and Hereſie.

His *Second* Principle is, that ſince the ancient Hereticks were loſt by this Liberty, thoſe who are govern'd by the ſame Directions, have no Reaſon to expect any better Succeſs.

His *Third* is, That in all Controverſies concerning the Meaning of *Holy Scripture*, or any other Point relating to the Catholick Church, there ought to be a Judge to give Sentence, and ſettle the Matter: And that the Pope as Head of the Church, has always had a principal Share in Deciſions of this Nature.

Fourth, That all Controverſies can't always be determin'd by the *Holy Scriptures* excluſively of other Aſſiſtance.

Fifth, That the Holy Ghoſt is promis'd by our Saviour to be always preſent with the Church, to inform her in all neceſſary Truth, and enable her for the Diſcovery of Error.

His *Sixth* is, That the Holy Ghoſt has always made uſe of the *Fathers* for the confuting Hereſies, and teaching true Doctrine. From hence he infers in the

Seventh place, That all thoſe who reject the Doctrine of the *Fathers*, deſpiſe the Inſtruction of the Holy Ghoſt.

Eighth, That if every ſingle Father was the Organ of the Holy Ghoſt, for the Benefit of the Church, we have ſtill more Reaſon to believe his Divine Aſſiſtance is not wanting in *General Councils*.

Ninth, That Apoſtolical *Traditions*, tho' unmention'd in the *inſpired Writings*, ought to be obſerved.

Laſtly, That we ought not only to receive the Doctrines handed down by *Tradition*, but the Cuſtoms likewiſe approv'd by the Univerſal Church.

Having premiſs'd theſe general Principles, and ſuppos'd them well prov'd, he proceeds to the *Articles* condemn'd by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and replies to *Luther*'s Defence Paragraph by Paragraph.

This Biſhop ſate Three and Thirty Years at *Rocheſter*. And how ſerviceable he was in the Founding of St. *John*'s and *Chriſt*'s-*College* in *Cambridge*, has been already related (c).

To deſcribe him a little farther: He was born at *Beverley* in *Yorkſhire*. His Father was a wealthy Merchant: He was educated at *Cambridge*, of which Univerſity he was afterwards Chancellor. He was Confeſſor in the laſt Reign to the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, and prevail'd with her for the founding the two Colleges abovementioned.

(c) *See my Church Hiſt. pt.* 1. *under King* Henry VII. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 5. *p.* 202.

To ſay nothing of *Fiſher*'s Belief, which held up to the Claims of the Court of *Rome*, the moſt exceptionable part of his Management ſeems to have been his hearkening too much to the *Viſions* of the Maid of *Kent*.

He ſeem'd too forward in giving Credit to the Maid of Kent.

Cromwell expoſtulates ſharply with him upon this Head: Tells him, his Defence was ſhort: That he ought not to have reſign'd himſelf ſo implicitely to Report: That he ſhould have examin'd the Circumſtances more narrowly, and brought her pretended Inſpirations to a ſtricter Teſt: And ſince the King was ſo far concern'd in her *Propheſies*, 'twas his Duty to have acquainted his Majeſty with what had paſs'd. He charges the Biſhop with a Partiality for the Princeſs *Dowager* and the Biſhop of *Rome*. And that if this *Nun* had propheſied for the *Divorce*, and approv'd the Marriage of Queen *Anne*, he wou'd not have gone ſo eaſily into the Belief of her *Revelations* (d).

(d) Cleop. E. IV. *See Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Records, p.* 123.

Fox's Charge againſt him diſprov'd.

Fox charges *Fiſher* with the Death of *Fryth*, *Teuxsbury*, and *Bayfield* (e). But this is more than appears: For theſe Men were tried before

(e) Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 351.

Stokeſly Biſhop of *London*, neither was *Fiſher* one of the Aſſeſſors (*f*).

(f) See Stokeſley's *Regiſter, and Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 164. & deinc.

The Extremities againſt *Fiſher*, and the ſetting his Head upon *London Bridge*, drew a Cenſure upon the King, eſpecially from thoſe beyond Sea. The Pope immediately fulminated in a *Bull*: In this *Inſtrument* “ he gives Biſhop *Fiſher* a great Character, and ſtiles him a Cardinal. He admoniſhes the King to relinquiſh his Errors, and repent his Crimes: Summons his Highneſs to appear within Ninety Days at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy, and ſtand to the Judgment of that Court. And in Caſe of Refuſal, he was after the Term prefix'd, to be excommunicated, and the Kingdom put under an Interdict. And upon Non-performance of the Conditions abovementioned, the Subjects are commanded to withdraw their Allegiance; all other Chriſtian Countries are forbidden the Liberties of Intercourſe and Commerce with the *Engliſh*: The Eccleſiaſticks are order'd to depart the Kingdom with all Expedition: The Temporal Nobility and Gentry to form themſelves into an Army, and drive the King out of his Domions. And as for foreign Kings and Princes, they are exhorted in the Lord, as *Sanders* tranſcribes it, to treat *Henry* and his *Abettors*, as Rebels to the Church, and undertake a *Holy War* againſt them, till they have brought them to Recollection and Submiſſion to the *Apoſtolick See*: And to diſentangle their Conſciences, and encourage them the better, all their Alliances, Treaties, and Engagements of what kind ſoever with the King of *England*, are declared null and void.

Pope Paul *the Third's extravagant Bull againſt the King.*

“ And for the more effectual apprehending of thoſe who ſtood firm for the King, his *Holyneſs* grants Letters of Reprizal to Chriſtendom in general: And thus any Body that cou'd ſeize 'em, might make Slaves of their Perſons, and take their Effects for their own Uſe.

“ Farther, there's an Order directed to all the Prelates, to excommunicate the King, and his Abettors publickly in their Churches. And laſtly, all Perſons are laid under the like Cenſure that ſhall hinder this *Bull* from being either publiſh'd or executed. And that the King and his Friends might not pretend themſelves unacquainted with the Pope's Reſolution, this Inſtrument was order'd to be fix'd on the Doors of the Principal Churches of *Tournay*, *Bruges* and *Dunkirk* (*g*).

(*g*) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic. p. 148. & deinc.

There was an Anſwer given to this extraordinary *Bull*, by *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as 'tis ſuppos'd. This Apologiſt juſtified the King's Conduct both as to *Fiſher* and other Matters; and return'd ſome of the Pope's rough Language upon him (*h*). The Pope's menacing the King in this manner, did Sir *Thomas Moor* no Kindneſs. Being thus chaff'd with ill Uſage, he was reſolv'd to purſue his Point, to aſſert his Eccleſiaſtical Authority to the utmoſt, and come to no Abatements with his Subjects. *Sanders* fancies the King thought the Terror of *Fiſher*'s Execution, might have made an Impreſſion upon *Moor*. But the Event proving otherwiſe, there was an Order to examine him farther upon the Point of the *Supremacy*, as now ſettled by *Act* of Parliament. When this Queſtion was put to *Fiſher* and *Moor*, their Reply was much the ſame. They compar'd the *Act* of *Supremacy* to a two edged Sword; and that there was no avoiding on't. For if a Man anſwer'd one way 'twou'd deſtroy his Body, and if t'other way, his Soul. 'Twas *Rich*, the King's Solicitor who was ſent upon this Buſineſs. Sir *Thomas Moor* being aware of the Danger, avoided the giving any direct Anſwers, and fenc'd for his Life as far as his Conſcience wou'd give him leave. *Rich* made him another Viſit, and having firſt proteſted he had no Commiſſion to diſcourſe upon the Subject abovementioned, asked him by way of Converſation, whether if *Richard Rich* was made King by *Act* of Parliament, with a Clauſe that it ſhou'd be Treaſon to deny his Title; If this Suppoſition was matter of Fact, he deſir'd to know, what Crime it would be to diſobey the *Statute?* Sir *Thomas Moor* anſwer'd frankly, that he thought the Subject wou'd be bound by ſuch a *Statute*, and by Conſequence the Breach of it muſt be a Fault. But that this Caſe did not come up to the Matter in hand. To mention therefore a Parallel Inſtance: Suppoſe, ſays Sir *Thomas Moor*, the Parliament ſhou'd enact *that God ſhall not be God*, and fortified the *Act* with the Penalty of Treaſon; Whether it would be a Crime or not to ſtand by the *Act?* The Solicitor *Rich* anſwer'd yes: But added withal, the Caſe was put too high, and therefore he wou'd propoſe another of a Size better proportion'd. The King is conſtituted Supream Head of the Church by *Act* of Parliament, Why therefore can't you own him under that Character, ſince you wou'd acknowledge me King, provided I had a Title for that Dignity by *Statute?* Sir *Thomas Moor* anſwered, the Parliament had Power to make a King, becauſe the whole Nation concurr'd to the *Bill*, either in Perſon or by Repreſentation, for which Reaſon the Subject was bound to acquieſce: But then there was a Diſparity in the Inſtance: For the King had not the Vote of all Chriſtendom to ſettle his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy: For tho' he was receiv'd under this Diſtinction in *England*, yet foreign Nations had not agreed to his Privilege. His ſaying that *Rex per Parliamentum fieri poteſt, & per Parliamentum deprivari*, is ſomewhat crudely expreſs'd, and looks at firſt ſight as if Sir *Thomas* was more a Philoſopher than a Lawyer. For by the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, there can be no Parliament without a King or Queen at the Head on't. For as Sir *Edward Coke* ſpeaks, *Rex eſt Caput Principium & Finis Parliamenti* (*i*). But he complains himſelf miſreported by the *Solicitor*, as we ſhall ſee by and by. Beſides, his Meaning might be no more than that a *Bill* of *Excluſion* might paſs againſt the right Heir, and the lineal Succeſſion be over-rul'd by *Act* of Parliament.

An Apology publiſhed in Latin *for the King.*

(*h*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p* 392.

Sir *Thomas* Moor *farther examin'd about the Supremacy.*

The Diſcourſe between the Solicitor and Sir Thomas Moor.

Id. pag. 393.

(*i*) Coke's *Inſtitutes, pt.* 4. *fol.* 3.

To return, theſe evaſive Anſwers together with his Refuſal of the Oath of Succeſſion, prov'd mortal to him. He was brought to his Trial ſoon after. In the Indictment he was charged with oppoſing the King's Second Marriage, out of Obſtinacy and Humour. To this he confeſs'd, that he had always frankly declar'd his Opinion to the King upon that Matter. But then he humbly conceiv'd, ſuch Freedoms cou'd not be conſtru'd to High-Treaſon: Beſides, he thought if this was a Fault, the Loſs of his Goods, and perpetual Impriſonment was a ſufficient Puniſhment. Another Article in the Indictment was, that he being a Priſoner, and twice examin'd by the Lords of the Council, declin'd anſwering the Queſtion, whether the King was Supream Head of the Church or not *? For all they could draw from him was, that he was not concerned in the Law which gave the King this Title: That he was not bound to declare, either for, or againſt the Juſtice of the *Statute*; becauſe he had no ſpiritual Preferment. However, he proteſted he had never ſaid or done any thing againſt that *Act*, neither cou'd any Evidence be produc'd

July 1. 1535. *His Trial.*

* *Malitioſe ſilebat.*

produc'd to make him guilty. For the future, he ſhou'd only employ his Thoughts upon the Paſſion of his Saviour: That he was not conſcious of breaking any Law; and that neither this *Statute*, nor any Law in the World, can puniſh a Man for holding his Peace. Governours can't look into Peoples Hearts: And therefore human Laws puniſh no farther than *Words* or *Actions*. By another Branch of the Indictment, he was charg'd with Maliciouſly, Traiterouſly, *&c.* Practiſing againſt the *Statute* above mention'd, by writing eight Packets of Letters, whilſt a Priſoner, to Biſhop *Fiſher*. That by theſe Letters, he exhorted the Biſhop to diſconform to this *Statute*, and preſs'd him to the ſame Obſtinacy with himſelf. Sir *Thomas* in his anſwer deſir'd the Letters might be produc'd: But to this 'twas reply'd, the Biſhop had burnt 'em. Upon this Sir *Thomas* confeſs'd the Contents; that ſome of the Letters were only upon the ſubject of Friendſhip and private Affairs. 'Tis true, the Biſhop in one Letter, deſired to know how he had anſwer'd in his Examination, with reſpect to the *Supremacy*. *Moor* wrote him Word, that his Conſcience was ſettled already, and that the Biſhop might ſettle his own as he thought beſt. And here he appeal'd to God, that this was all the anſwer he return'd the Biſhop to that Queſtion. He likewiſe affirm'd, he never ſpoke or wrote a Word againſt this Law to any Man living, tho' the King perhaps might have been told the contrary (*k*). To conclude, he utterly deny'd the Paſſage between the *Solicitor* and himſelf, in the Senſe above related. From whence it appears that the *Solicitor Rich* had reported Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Converſation, and alledg'd it as Evidence againſt him. Thus 'tis plain this great Man was not weary of Living, but endeavour'd to preſerve himſelf with all the caution he could make uſe of: And which way the Jury reach'd him is not eaſie to account for. However, they brought him in guilty of High Treaſon. The Indictment and their Verdict being grounded upon the 26 *H.* 8. *cap.* 13.

(*k*) *Life of Sir* Thomas Moor *by* T. M. Ld. Herbert, *p.* 393.

His Death and Character.

He received the Sentence with an equality of Temper, anſwerable to his Cuſtom. And having prepar'd himſelf for the Scaffold with Seriouſneſs and Devotion, he return'd at laſt to his uſual Pleaſantneſs of Humour. Some think he indulged his Levities too far, and that his Jeſts were ſomewhat unſeaſonable. But on the other ſide it may be ſaid, the Divertingneſs of ſome Expreſſions might reſult from the Fortitude and Serenity of his Mind. That his frequent Contemplation of Death had preſerv'd him from the leaſt Surprize: And that the neareſt Proſpect cou'd not diſconcert his Humour, or make the leaſt alteration upon him.

As to the reſt of his Character, he was a Perſon of Learning, and of a ſtrong Genius: He had a very lively and beautiful manner in his Writing: He was for ſome time much in the King's Favour, and had his Temper been mercenary and ambitious, might have made his Fortune to what Degree he had pleas'd. But he was altogether above the conſideration of Money: His Conſcience was not flexible enough for this Purpoſe. And thus he loſt his Life, and left his Family but ſlenderly provided. When he wrote his *Vtopia*, he ſeems to have had ſome Latitude in his Principles; and that he was willing to give allowance for difference in *Belief*. But this Moderation went off in a great meaſure afterwards: For it muſt be ſaid he was no gentle Adverſary to the *Lutherans* and *Lollards*: He argues againſt *Tindal*, *Fryth*, &c. with Eagerneſs enough; and when he was Lord Chancellor, ſome of that *Perſwaſion* felt the weight of his Character. But then we have reaſon to believe this Treatment did not proceed from ſavage and ſanguinary Humour. 'Twas as 'tis moſt probable the Inſurrection under Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, the Civil Diſtractions in *Bohemia*, and the late Diſorders of the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany*, which gave him an Averſion to Innovations in the *Church*. He ſuffer'd upon *Tower-hill*, on the 6th of *July*, in the Fifty Third Year of his Age.

Having already obſerv'd this Gentleman's Principles had a larger Compaſs when he wrote his *Vtopia*; it may not be improper to give an inſtance of it. In this *Book*, where he ſeems to borrow the Diſguiſe of a Romance only to declare his Mind with greater Freedom; in this *Book* I ſay, he tells us the *Vtopians* allow Liberty of Conſcience, and force their Religion upon no Body. That they hinder none from a ſober enquiry into Truth, nor uſe any Violence upon the ſcore of a different *Belief*.

Fiſher and *Moor* are reported by ſeveral of the Church of *Rome*, to have made the Book which goes under King *Henry*'s Name againſt *Luther*: But the Lord *Herbert* is not of this Opinion. He only thinks they might look it over at the King's Inſtance, and interpoſe their Judgment in ſome Paſſages. (*l*) But that the King after all was govern'd by his own Sentiment; and that *Moor* had no hand in the Compoſition, appears pretty plainly from this Gentleman's Letter to *Cromwell*, dated *March*, 1533 (*m*). He acquaints this Miniſter 'twas formerly his Opinion that the Pope's Primacy ſtood only upon *Councils* and *Preſcription*, and was not *Jure Divino*: That when the King ſhew'd him his Book againſt *Martin Luther*, he deſir'd his Highneſs either to omit the Point of the *Papal* Supremacy, *or touch it more ſlenderly* at leaſt. For the aſſerting the Privilege of the Pope's *See* to that height, might afterwards prove unſerviceable, in Caſe any Diſputes ſhou'd happen between the *Court* of *Rome* and his Highneſs: That the ſtretch of the Pope's Pretenſions had been unfortunate to ſome Princes; and that it was not impoſſible the ſame occaſions might be reviv'd.

(*l*) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 392.

Sir Thomas Moor's *Opinion as to the Pope's Supremacy.*

(*m*) Moor's *Works, p.* 1427.

To this the King anſwer'd, He was reſolv'd not to alter any thing upon that Head, and gave Sir *Thomas* a Reaſon which was altogether new. This *Book* of the King's it ſeems, and his farther Reading upon the Controverſy, made him change his Opinion in ſome Meaſure; and rather conclude the Pope held his Primacy by *Divine Right*: However, as he continues, he ſtill thought the Pope under the Juriſdiction of a general *Council*; and that he might be depos'd, and another ſet up, at the Pleaſure of ſuch an Aſſembly. By this Letter it appears, *Moor* had no ſhare in the Book againſt *Luther*: And that he believ'd the King the Author of that Tract.

The King the Author of the Book againſt Luther.

To proceed, ſome little Time before the Execution of *Fiſher* and *Moor*, ſeveral People of different Perſuaſions ſuffer'd upon the ſcore of Religion. Nineteen *Dutchmen* and Six Women were examin'd at St. *Paul*'s *London*. Their Opinions, as *Stow* reports 'em, were moſt of them very lamentable. For the purpoſe, they deny'd like *Eutiches* the two Natures of *Chriſt*. They affirm'd he aſſum'd neither Fleſh nor Blood of the Bleſſed *Virgin*. Thirdly, That the Children of *Infidels* will be ſav'd. Fourthly, That the *Baptiſm* of Children is wholy inſignificant. Fifthly, That the Sacrament of *Chriſt*'s Body is nothing but Bread. Laſtly, That he that ſins wilfully after *Baptiſm*, ſins mortally, and can't be ſav'd.

May. 25. A. D. 1535.

Several Anabaptiſts *burnt.*

Fourteen of theſe (*n*) were convicted of *Hereſy*, and burnt in *London* and other Towns.

(*n*) Stow's *Annals*, p. 571.
Ibid.
June 18.

About a Month after *Thomas Exmew*, *Humphry Midlemore*, and *Sebaſtian Newdigate*, three Monks of the *Chartreux London*, were hang'd drawn and quarter'd for denying the King's Supremacy. This look'd like Impartial Severity, or it may be Cruelty on both ſides. However, the People being not ſufficiently frightned by theſe Rigours, the King reſolv'd to try the Experiment upon ſome great Perſons, as we have ſeen in *Moor* and *Fiſher*.

The King having had the Concurrence of the Clergy and Univerſities againſt the Supremacy of the *See* of *Rome*, ſent Letters to the Lord Lieutenants, as 'tis moſt probable, to hinder the Preaching up the Pope's Authority (*o*). The Tenor of 'em is as follows.

(*o*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 214. Biblioth. Rob Harley, Armig. June 25. A. D. 1535.
The King's Letter againſt Preaching up the Pope's Supremacy.

HENRY REX.

“ Truſty and right well belov'd, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore as ye know, both upon moſt juſt and vertuous Foundations, grounded upon the Laws of Almighty God and *Holy Scripture*; and alſo by the deliberate Advice, Conſultation, Conſent and Agreement, as well of the Biſhops and Clergy, as by the Nobles and Commons Temporal of this our Realm, aſſembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by Authority of the ſame, the Abuſes of the Biſhop of *Rome*, his Authority and Juriſdiction of long time uſurped againſt us, have been not only utterly extirp'd, aboliſh'd, and ſecluded; But alſo the ſame our Nobles and Commons both of the Clergy and Temporalty, by another ſeveral Act, and upon like Foundations for the Publick Weal of this our Realm, have united, knit, and annex'd to us, and the Crown Imperial of this our Realm, the Title, Dignity, and Style of Supream Head in Earth, immediately under God of the Church of *England*, as undoubtedly evermore we have been; which Things alſo the ſaid Biſhops and Clergy particularly in their *Convocations*, have wholly and intirely conſented, recogniz'd, ratified, confirm'd and approv'd authentickly in Writing, both by their ſpecial Oaths, Profeſſion, and Writing under their Signs and Seals, utterly renouncing all other Oaths, Obedience and Juriſdiction either of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or of any other Potentate.——— In the Remainder of this Letter, the King informs 'em of his having charg'd the Biſhops and Clergy to ſtrike the Pope's Name out of the *Offices* of the Church, and to Preach up the Regal *Supremacy*; and that Orders had been given to the ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace, to enquire whether the Clergy had done their Duty in the Premiſſes. The Perſons to whom this Order is directed, are commanded to ſet forth the *Regale* at the Aſſizes and Seſſions. This Letter likewiſe complains of the Treaſons committed by the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas Moor*: And that theſe Perſons were in a Practice to miſlead the People into dangerous Opinions with reſpect to the *Supremacy*.

About this time the Archbiſhop preach'd againſt the Pope's Supremacy at *Canterbury*. Some of the *Religious* were diſguſted at his Sermon. And not long after, the Prior of the Black *Friers* in that Town, preach'd counter Doctrine. His Diſcourſe was pointed againſt three Things maintain'd by the Archbiſhop. He aſſerted the Church never err'd: That the Biſhop of *Rome* was to be honourably treated; and that the Conſtitutions of the Church were equally binding with the Laws of God Almighty.

This bold Attack upon the Archbiſhop was not to be paſs'd over. The *Prior* being convented, deny'd his Sermon, and juſtified the Archbiſhop: But being diſcharg'd upon this modeſt Behaviour, and encourag'd by a Party of the *Religious*, he retracted his Confeſſion, and run Riot no leſs than formerly. The King being inform'd of his Relapſe, advis'd the Archbiſhop to proceed to Cenſure.

Upon this occaſion the Archbiſhop wrote to the King; ſent him an Abſtract of what had been preach'd both by himſelf and the Prior; declin'd being a Judge in his own Cauſe, and intreated the Matter might either be referr'd to the Lord Vicegerent *Cromwell*, or elſe ſome Perſons aſſign'd by his Majeſty to ſit upon the Bench with himſelf. What end this Buſineſs had is not related; but 'tis likely, this Misbehaviour of the Prior, and his appearing againſt the King's Supremacy, did the reſt of the *Religious* no Service *.

* Strype's *Memorials of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *Book* 1. *p.* 31.

About this Time, and it may be a little before, an Order for regulating the Pulpits with reference to preaching and bidding of Prayers, was ſet forth by the King and Council. It runs thus.

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 232.
Orders for regulating the Pulpit, & bidding of Beads.

“ *Firſt*, Whoſoever ſhall preach in the Preſence of the King's Highneſs, and Queen's Grace; ſhall in the *bidding of the Beads* pray for the Catholick Church of *Chriſt*, as well quick as dead, and eſpecially for the Catholick Church of this Realm. And firſt as we are moſt bounden, for our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, being immediately next unto God the only and ſupreme Head of this our Catholick Church of *England*, and for the moſt Gracious Lady Queen *Anne* his Wife, and for the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir to them both, our Princeſs, and no farther (*p*).

(*p*) Cotton. lib. Cleop. E 5. *N.* 286.

“ *Item*. The Preacher in all other Places of this Realm, except in the Preſence of the King's Highneſs and the Queen's Grace, ſhall in the *bidding* of the *Beads*, pray firſt in Manner and Form, and Word for Word, as is above ordain'd and limitted. Adding in the ſecond Part, for all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and for all the whole Clergy of this Realm; and ſpecially for ſuch, as it ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name of his Devotion. And Thirdly, for all Dukes, Marquiſſes and Earls, and for all the whole Temporalty of this Realm; and ſpecially for ſuch as the Preacher ſhall name of his Devotion. And finally, for the Souls of all them that be dead, and ſpecially of ſuch, as it ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name.

“ *Item*, It is ordain'd that every Preacher ſhall preach once, in his greateſt Audience againſt the uſurp'd Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſo after at his Liberty. And that no Man ſhall be ſuffer'd to defend or maintain the aforeſaid uſurp'd Power.

“ Farthermore, to keep Unity and Quietneſs in this Realm, it is ordain'd no Preacher ſhall contend openly in Pulpit one againſt another, nor uncharitably deprave one another in open Audience; but if any of 'em be griev'd one with another, let 'em complain to the King's Highneſs, or to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe; and there to be remedied, if there be Cauſe why: And if the complaint be not true, the Complainant to be puniſh'd.

“ *Item*, Alſo to forefend that no Preacher for a Year ſhall preach neither for, nor againſt Purgatory, honouring of Saints, that Prieſts

“ may have Wives, that Faith only juſtifies, to go in Pilgrimages, to forge Miracles; conſidering that theſe things have cauſ'd Diſſention among the Subjects of this Realm, which, Thanks be to God! are now well pacified.

“ *Item*, That from henceforth all Preachers ſhall purely, ſincerely and juſtly preach the *Scripture* and Word of Chriſt, and not mix them with Man's Inſtitutions, nor make Men believe that the Force of God's Law and Man's Law is like; or that any Man is able, or hath Power to diſpenſe with God's Law.

“ *Item*, 'Tis alſo ordain'd that the Declaration of the Sentence which has been us'd in the Church four times in the Year, ſhall not from henceforth be publiſh'd, nor eſteem'd in any Point contrary to the Preheminence and Juriſdiction Royal of our King and his Realm, or Laws and Liberties of the ſame; and any ſo doing ſhall be competently puniſh'd by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. And this throughout the Realm and Dominions of our Sovereign.

“ *Item*, 'Tis alſo ordain'd that the Collects for the King and Queen, be commonly and uſually ſaid, in every Religious Houſe and Pariſh Church, in all their High Maſſes throughout all the Realms and Dominions of our King and Sovereign.

“ *Item*, It is farther ordain'd, that whereſoever the King's juſt Cauſe of Matrimony has either been detracted, and the inceſtuous and unjuſt ſet forth, or in Places where it has not been dilated, that in all thoſe Places till the People be fully ſatisfied and juſtly inſtruct, all manner of Preachers whatſoever they be, happening to come into any ſuch part of the Realm, ſhall from henceforth open and declare the mere Verity and Juſtneſs of this latter Matrimony, as nigh as their Learning can ſerve them, and according to the true Determinations of a great Number of the moſt famous and eſteemed Univerſities of *Chriſtendom*, according alſo to the juſt Reſolution and Definition of both the *Convocations* of this Realm, concurring alſo in the ſame Opinion, by the whole Aſſent of Parliament, our Prince, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of this Realm. Wherefore now they muſt declare this Matter neither doubtful nor diſputable, but to be a thing of mere Verity and ſo to be allowed in all Men's Opinions.

“ *Item*, It is farther ordained, that the aforeſaid Preachers ſhall alſo declare the falſe and unjuſt handling of the Biſhop of *Rome* pretending to have Juriſdiction to judge this Cauſe at *Rome*, which, in the firſt hearing thereof, did both declare and confeſs in Word and Writing the Juſtneſs thereof to be upon our Sovereign's Side, inſomuch as by a Decretal deliver'd to the Legate here then ſitting for the ſame Cauſe, he did clearly determine, that if Prince *Arthur* was our Prince's Brother, and then of competent Age allow'd in the Law, when he married the Lady *Catharine*, ſhe being ſo likewiſe, and that as far as Preſumptions can prove, carnal Copulation enſued between them, that theſe prov'd before the ſaid Cardinals and Legates (which indeed were according to the Laws juſtly prov'd) that then the unjuſt Copulation between our Sovereign and the ſaid Lady, that herein was neither lawful, nor longer to be ſuffer'd. And ſo *eo facto* pronounc'd in the foreſaid Decretal, the Nullity, Invalidity and Unlawfulneſs of their pretenſed Matrimony, which was by his Law ſufficient Judgment of the Cauſe; which Decretal, by his Commandment after, and becauſe he wou'd not have the Effect thereof to enſue, was after the ſight thereof embezled by the foreſaid Cardinals, and one, which then was here his Cubicular, contrary to all Juſtneſs and Equity wherein he has done our Sovereign moſt extreme wrong.

“ *Secondly*, Contrary to all Equity and Determinations of General Councils, he hath call'd the Cauſe (which ought to be determined here) to *Rome*, where our Sovereign is neither bound to appear nor ſend Proctors: And yet hath he detain'd wrongfully the Cauſe there theſe three or four Years at the Inſtance of the other Party which ſued to have it there, becauſe they know he durſt not diſpleaſe the Emperor who makes himſelf a Party in it, as by the Sequel it doth evidently appear. And ſo cou'd our Prince get no Juſtice at his Hands, but was wrongfully delay'd to no ſmall Hinderance both to his Succeſſion, and this his Realm's eminent Danger.

“ *Thirdly*, Whereas it is a natural Defence, that the Subject may and ought to defend his natural Sovereign or Maſter both in Word and Deed, and ought thereto to be admitted, this foreſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to this Equity in Nature, hath rejected our Sovereign's Excuſator, contrary both to his own Laws (which he moſt ſetteth by) and alſo God's Law which he ought to prefer. Upon which Cauſe and other great Injuries our Sovereign did appeal to a General Council: Notwithſtanding the which he has, contrary to all Juſtice, proceeded *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a General Council he is damn'd as an Heretick, yet thus injuriouſly from the beginning hitherto he has handled other Prince's Cauſe and Matter there.

“ *Fourthly*, The ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, ſince our Prince's Appeal, hearing of the Laws and Acts of Parliament, which we then went about, and that our King having juſt Ground (the Premiſſes conſider'd) would provide, according to his bounden Duty, both for the Surety of his Succeſſion and the Realm, gave out a Sentence in manner of Excommunication and Interdiction of him and his Realm: In which, when he was ſpoken to for the Iniquity and Unjuſtneſs thereof by our Prince's Agents, he and his Council cou'd, nor did otherwiſe excuſe them (the Fact being ſo contrary to all Laws and Right) but that the Fault was in a new Officer lately come to the Court, who for his lewd doing ſhould grievouſly be puniſh'd, and the Proceſs to ceaſe. This they promis'd our Prince's Agents, which notwithſtanding was ſet up in *Flanders*, to the great Injury of our Prince, and for Partiality to the other Part, as it may well appear by the foreſaid Sentence.

“ *Fifthly*, The ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* ſought all the ways poſſible with fair Words and Promiſes, both by his Ambaſſadors and our Sovereign's own (which by any means cou'd be invented) to have abuſed our Prince and Sovereign, which when he ſaw that by none of his Craft our Prince wou'd be no longer abuſed with them, then ſued he to the *French* King to be a Mediator between our Sovereign and him; declaring to him and his Council that he wou'd gladly do for our Soverign, allowing the Juſtice of his Cauſe, ſo that they wou'd find the Means that our Sovereign wou'd not proceed in his Acts and Laws till that were prov'd. And that he wou'd meet him at *Marſeilles* for

“ the finiſhing thereof, for at *Rome* he durſt not do it for fear of the Emperor. The good *French* King admoniſh'd our Prince hereof, offering him to do all the Pleaſure and Kindneſs that lay in him in this Cauſe, truſting that if the Biſhop of *Rome* came once to *Marſeilles* he ſhou'd give Sentence for our Sovereign in his juſt Cauſe, and therefore pray'd our Prince to be content with that Meeting in which he wou'd labour for it effectuouſly, and ſo he did. To the which our Prince anſwered, that touching the Meeting he was content, but touching the forbearing the making Laws, he pray'd his good Brother to hold him excuſed; for he knew well enough both the Craft and Delays of the Biſhop of *Rome*, by which from henceforth he wou'd never be abuſed, and that likewiſe he fear'd he wou'd abuſe his good Brother, which ſo indeed after follow'd: For after he had gotten the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, he then promiſ'd the *French* King to give Judgment for our Maſter, provided he wou'd ſend a Proxy; which the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* knew well before that he neither wou'd nor was bound to do: Yet, notwithſtanding his ſubtile Imagination, his Promiſe was to the *French* King that our Prince ſending a Proctor ſhou'd there, before his Departure, have Judgment for him in the principal Cauſe: For he openly confeſs'd farther that our Maſter had the Right. But becauſe our Prince and Maſter wou'd not prejudicate Princes Juriſdiction, and uphold his uſurp'd Power by ſending a Proctor, ye may evidently here ſee that this was only the Cauſe, why the Judgment of the Biſhop of *Rome* was not given in his Favour: Whereby it may appear that there lack not any Juſtneſs in our Prince's Cauſe, but that Ambition, Vain-Glory and too much Mundanity were the Letts thereof. Wherefore, good People, I exhort you to ſtick to the Truth and our Prince, according to our bounden Duties, and deſpiſe theſe naughty Doings of this Biſhop of *Rome*, and charitably pray that he and all other Abuſers of Chriſt's Word and Works may have Grace to amend.

By this Order, we may perceive there were ſome Advances made in the *Reformation*, and that the Pulpits had claſh'd upon this Occaſion.

An Overture to cloſe with the Pope.

To go back a little: Upon the Death of *Clement* the Seventh, the King was willing to make another Tryal of the Juſtice of that *See*. To this Purpoſe new Inſtructions were diſpatch'd to Sir *Gregory Caſaley* to ſolicit the Pope for better Treatment: To conſult farther upon the Caſe, and take the Opinion of ſome learned *French* Men. The Pope ſeem'd pleas'd with this Application, and 'tis likely might have clos'd with the Overture. But the King's executing ſeveral Monks, and afterwards *Moor* and *Fiſher*, for denying the Supremacy, diſoblig'd that Court, and brought 'em to Extremities. And thus upon the Arrival of this News, the Pope proceeded to the the Excommunication already mention'd (*q*).

Aug. 30. 1535.
(*q*) *Lord Herbert, p.* 394.

The King endeavours to ſtrengthen himſelf by Foreign Alliances.

The King being advertis'd of this *Sentence*, endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf with foreign Alliances. And here in the firſt Place, he diſpatch'd his *Agents* to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. The Reaſon of ſo forward an Application was becauſe he had been inform'd, the Pope had threaten'd to diſpoſe of his Kingdom to ſome *Roman Catholick* Prince of the *Empire*. His *Holyneſs* it ſeems was unwilling to throw ſo great an Addition upon the *Crowns* of *France* or *Spain*, for fear of breaking the *Balance*. I don't mention this as if the King were apprehenſive of the Succeſs of ſuch an Attempt; for ſtanding upon good Terms with his Subjects he was prepar'd to repel the Attack. However by fortifying his Intereſt in *Germany*, he wou'd be in the better Condition to chaſtize the Preſumption of ſuch an Enterprize.

Id.

And becauſe *Scotland* might confederate with the Enemies of *England*, and ſtrike in with an unlucky Juncture; the King endeavour'd to ſecure that Quarter. To this intent, he ſent his *Agents* to *James* the Fourth to draw him into his own Meaſures, and perſuade the throwing off the Pope's Authority. They deſir'd that Prince to peruſe the Arguments which brought their Maſter to his preſent Reſolution. The King of *Scots* referring the Conſideration of this Matter to the *Clergy*, the Propoſal miſcarried. The King not deſpairing of Succeſs, ſent the Lord *William Howard*, and the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, to re-inforce the Overture, to make a farther Invitation with more tempting Propoſals, and ſolicit that Prince to an Interview. King *James*, who had no fancy to meet his Uncle out of his own Dominions, threw in Excuſes: And as 'tis ſaid, procur'd a *Brief* under-hand from the Pope to forbid his Journey into *England*. But notwithſtanding the King of *Scots* could not be prevail'd with to go King *Henry*'s Lengths, yet it ſeems there was ſo far an Underſtanding between them, that the latter had no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of any unfriendly Practice.

Id. *p.* 395.

The King conſults about the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries.

Our King being now determin'd againſt all Accommodation with the Pope, projected the weakening his Intereſt at Home as well as Abroad. Now 'twas thought the *Monaſteries* might give him moſt Diſturbance in his Deſigns; the Privileges of Exemption made ſeveral of 'em more obnoxious to the *See* of *Rome*. They were look'd on by ſome People as a Body of *Reſerve* for the Pope, and always ready to appear in his Quarrel, and ſupport his Claims. Beſides, there were a great many Men of Figure in theſe Houſes, who might prove troubleſome with their Learning and Parts. Theſe 'tis likely might be ſome of the Motives, which brought the King to a Thought for diſſolving the *Abbies*. This great Point being under Deliberation, there were Speeches made at the *Board* on both ſides of the Queſtion.

Id. *p.* 396.

The Firſt, after ſome introductive Expreſſions of Reſpect, deliver'd himſelf to this Effect:

A Speech againſt the Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes.

SIR,

“ If the founding of Monaſteries was now propos'd, I ſhou'd neither allow the preſent Number, nor poſſibly approve all the Regulations in thoſe *Societies*. But on the other hand, to diſappoint People unfit for the World, from ſo ſerviceable a Retirement, is in my Opinion no commendable Project. For is not this the way to leave the moſt pious unprovided, and cut off the Succours of a comfortable Living from thoſe who are beſt qualified for Devotion? Therefore in my humble Opinion, *Monaſteries* ought to be maintain'd for the Benefit of a retir'd and contemplative Diſpoſition. However, when they exceed their juſt Proportion in a *State*, or ſerve only for a Shelter to Idleneſs and Inſignificancy, ſome Remedy ſhou'd be thought on. But, Sir, who muſt be applied to for this Purpoſe? If the Expedient is referr'd to the Pope, what Reformation can be expected? For tho' his *Holyneſs* does not pay 'em, are they not, as it were, ſo ma-

Cranmer Th. Abp. of Cant.

"ny *Auxiliaries* in his Service? And if your Highneſs, upon the Strength of your Supremacy ſhou'd proceed to a *Diſſolution*, what Scandal wou'd be given to the World? For who, either at Home or Abroad, wou'd underſtand your Highneſs? Who wou'd think, Sir, you purſued your Authority, or manag'd your *New Charge* as was generally expected? And farther, Sir, how wou'd the *Founders* of theſe Houſes be injur'd by ſuch an Expedient: The Founders, who had as much Right to diſpoſe of part of their Eſtates to ſuch Uſes, as their Heirs have to enjoy the reſt? Wou'd not this be conſtrued an Encroachment upon publick Right, and defeating a Title which hath both human and divine Law for its Eſtabliſhment? Be pleas'd therefore, Sir, not to think of ruining, but reforming theſe *Societies*. Or if the Exceſſiveneſs of their Numbers calls for a Suppreſſion of ſome of 'em, be pleas'd to remember the Foundations were dedicated to God Almighty: And let this Conſideration prevail with your Majeſty to transfer the Eſtates to ſome pious Uſe: And that even here the Matter ſhould be managed with Reſervation: And a ſufficient Number of theſe *Religious Houſes* be ſtill maintain'd for both Sexes in every County. And thus, by this Temper, your Highneſs will be ſkreen'd from Cenſure, and ſhew your Regard to Antiquity and Devotion.

To this another Gentleman, who was better acquainted with the King's Mind, return'd the following Anſwer.

Another for it.

SIR,

"If 'tis true, that the reducing all Reaſons of *State* under the Regulation of Moral and Religious Principles, is a ſtraight-lac'd and croſs-humour'd Direction; ſo on the other hand, to exclude Morality and *Faith* from having any Sway in *Politick* Meaſures, is a prophane Latitude. The Publick has Occaſion for all theſe Aſſiſtances: But then where the Body requires a Symetry, nothing muſt exceed Proportion. Thus all Profeſſions, both Sacred and *Civil*, ſhou'd be well balanc'd: And neither the Magiſtracy or Clergy, the Soldiery or Merchants, the Men of Trade or Huſbandry ſhou'd run out into Excreſcence, or grow too numerous for the other Diviſions. To come towards an Application: The Government muſt have People to work and fight, as well as to pray and to preach for it. If there was nothing of this Neceſſity, who wou'd not change the *Temporal* into the *Spiritual Militia*? At this rate our Generals and Captains ſhou'd be made Biſhops and Deans, and our *Men of War* and Forts be turn'd to *Chapels* and *Religious Houſes*. But ſince this Scheme is too viſionary, we are to conſider what Proportion the Clergy hold to the reſt of the Subjects. Now unleſs I am miſinform'd, the Revenues of the fourth Part of the Kingdom are in their Hands. However, Sir, I am not for a general Suppreſſion of *Religious Houſes*: I own the pious Deſign of their Inſtitution, and more than that, I believe the leaving two or three of 'em in a County may be uſeful enough. I am by no means for any unneceſſary Steps this way; and humbly conceive, the Money accruing from thence ſhou'd be employ'd only upon your Highneſs's moſt urgent Occaſions. The ſupernumerary Part of theſe *Houſes* and your Foreſts being in my Opinion of the ſame Serviceableneſs: I look upon 'em as the Jewels of your Kingdom: 'Tis granted they have neither the Metal nor the Impreſſion of current Money, but notwithſtanding that they may be turn'd to Coin, whenever your Majeſty pleaſes. For this Reaſon, if there was no other, I ſhou'd adviſe the preſerving 'em as much as 'tis poſſible. But, Sir, on the other ſide, when I conſider how the Pope, or the Biſhop of *Rome* (as your Highneſs has order'd him to be call'd,) when I conſider how this Prelate has menac'd your Highneſs; how he makes it his Buſineſs to draw all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* upon you; how deep theſe *Monaſteries* are in his Intereſt, and how factiouſly they conteſt your *Supremacy*: When I conſider the Diſaffection of theſe *Seminaries*, and how inſtrumental they may prove in diſturbing the Government, promoting a Revolt, and ſtriking in with a Foreign Invaſion, I can't help wiſhing ſome Method might be taken by way of Prevention. To this Purpoſe, I humbly conceive a *Viſitation* wou'd be a proper Remedy: And that thoſe who *viſit* ſhou'd be authoriz'd to diſcharge thoſe *Religious*, who find their Vows too much for 'em; to open the *Cloiſter*, to ſuit their Tempers better, and give 'em the Freedom of the *World*. That the Immoralities of others who want this Excuſe ſhou'd be put under Diſcipline: And that for the future, thoſe who arraign the Government may be under Correction, and kept upon their Good Behaviour. And thus far your Highneſs may fairly make uſe of your *Supremacy*. But as for the Suppreſſing any *Monaſteries*, I dare not ſuggeſt any ſuch Advice: Nothing but ſome very ſtrong and apparent Neceſſity can juſtify ſuch Meaſures. If your Highneſs can ſtand your Ground, and defend your ſelf againſt foreign Inſults, I ſhall never recommend a *Diſſolution*. And if ſuch a thing ſhou'd be attempted by the Extremity of the Juncture, I humbly conceive your Majeſty ſhou'd go no farther in the Expedient than to proportion the fortunes of the *Spiritualty* and *Temporalty*, and bring your Kingdom to an evener Balance.

The King orders a Viſitation of the Monaſteries. Id. p. 398.

The King having weigh'd the Reaſons of both theſe Privy Counſellors, declar'd he wou'd give Order for a ſtrict *Viſitation*: That there ſhould be no *Commutations* allow'd, but that thoſe who had misbehav'd themſelves to any remarkable degree, ſhou'd be ſeverely puniſh'd, and that Rules ſhou'd be ſet for Reformation; proteſting withal, that none of 'em ſhou'd be ſuppreſs'd without the Conſent of the Parliament. This Proteſtation was, as the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, politickly made: The King foreſaw his Reputation wou'd not be risk'd, nor his Hands tied by ſuch a conditional Promiſe. As things ſtood, he had little Reaſon to queſtion the Concurrence of the Parliament: He was ſenſible the Doctrines of the Court of *Rome* were much diſreliſh'd. And beſides, if the Storm ſhou'd break over 'em, and the Kingdom be forc'd upon a War, the Parliament wou'd ſooner chuſe to lay the whole Charge upon the *Monaſteries*, than take Part of it themſelves.

Cromwell *made Viſitor General.*

And ſince the Reports from the *Viſitation* were likely either to promote or obſtruct the *Diſſolution*, the Succeſs of the Affair depended very much upon proper Inſtruments. Now the King thought no Perſon better qualified than *Secretary Cromwell*: He was look'd on as diſaffected to the *Monaſteries*, and ſomewhat inclin'd to the *Lutheran Perſuaſion*. This *Miniſter* to qualify him for his Function, was made *Vicar General.* In virtue of this Commiſſion, he was conſtituted General Viſitor of all the Monaſteries; not to mention his Superintendency over the Biſhops and ſecular Clergy.

Vicar General and Lord Vice-gerent the ſame Office.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian takes notice of a Miſtake in confounding this *Vicar Generalſhip with his following Dignity of Lord Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; but they were two different Places, and held by two different Commiſſions. By the one he had no Authority over the Biſhops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, ſo it cloath'd him with a compleat Delegation of the King's whole Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* (r). Thus far this learned Prelate. But then he is not pleas'd to give us any Proof of this Diſtinction, or the Enlargement of Power in the latter Office. He owns neither of the Commiſſions were inroll'd, and charges this Defect of Evidence upon a ſuppos'd Raſure of *Records* in the Reign of Queen *Mary.* But as it happens, this Commiſſion of *Cromwell*'s is ſtill extant (s). Now by inſpecting this *Inſtrument*, it appears that *Cromwell* by being made *Vicar General* had an entire Delegation of the King s Supremacy; that he had an Authority to viſit all the Biſhops and Archbiſhops in the Kingdom: And that *Vicar General* and *Vice gerent*, were only two Names for the ſame thing. When this learned Hiſtorian wrote his *Second Part*, he met with *Cromwell*'s Commiſſion for *Vicar General:* But then he was not ſo fortunate as to recollect himſelf, and acquaint the *Reader* with his former Miſtake (t).

Cromwell *authoriz'd to conſtitute Deputies for a general Viſitation.*

To proceed: *Cromwell* being authoriz'd by the King's *Letters Patents* under the Broad Seal, to conſtitute Deputies for a *Viſitation*, made choice of *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Legh*, *William Petre*, Doctors of the Law; Doctor *John London* Dean of *Wallingford*, *&c.* for this Purpoſe.

This *Viſitation* was ſuggeſted by Doctor *Leighton*, or *Layton*, who had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, who knew him to be a Perſon well qualified for ſuch an Employment. This *Layton* in a Letter to *Cromwell* acquaints him, that he had diſcours'd the Dean of the *Arches* upon this Buſineſs: That the Dean thought the Country was not yet prepar'd for a *Viſitation* in the King's Name: That they ought to wait two or three Years, till the *Supremacy* was better underſtood: And that he was afraid ſo early an Exerciſe of Diſcipline might make the Clergy more averſe to the King's Power. But *Layton* was of a different Sentiment: He thought nothing wou'd ſo much reconcile the People to the *Supremacy* as the Proof of its Serviceableneſs, which wou'd eaſily appear upon a ſtrict *Viſitation:* He pretended the *Religious* were now grown remarkable for their Misbehaviour; and that the Reformation of Abuſes wou'd be a Popular Thing (u). He added, there had been no *Viſitation* in the *North* ſince the Cardinal's Time. This *Layton* in another Letter to *Cromwell* requeſted that himſelf and Doctor *Legh* might be appointed *Viſitors* of all the Monaſteries from the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, *Northward.*

Layton *and* Legh *ſolicit to be made Viſitors.*

And here to recommend himſelf to this *Miniſter* he acknowledges that Doctor *Legh*'s and his being preferr'd to the King's Service was wholly owing to *Cromwell:* That this Vicar General had been their Patron all along, and that they reſolv'd to have no other. He proceeds to ſuggeſt, how well qualified Doctor *Legh* and himſelf were for this Buſineſs, upon the ſcore of their own Knowledge, their Acquaintance and Relations in the *Northern* Counties. He intimates the Partiality of former *Viſitors*, and that thoſe *Houſes* wou'd need a very careful and particular Inſpection. In ſhort, both by recommending himſelf and *Legh*, and declaiming againſt the Diſorders of the Monks; he ſeems very forward for this Employment: But this, by the way, is none of the beſt Circumſtances to conclude him a diſintereſted Perſon.

The Archbiſhop takes a Licenſe from the King for his Viſitation.

About this time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made his Metropolitical Viſitation: He did not venture upon this Branch of Juriſdiction without the King's Licenſe; for now the Biſhops cou'd do little without an Authority from the *Crown* (w). And notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop took wary Steps, and made but a few new Demands, yet *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London* conteſted his *Viſitation*; and refus'd to ſubmit till he had enter'd three Proteſtations for preſerving of Privileges (x).

But this was not all, for he made a formal Appeal to the King for Relief againſt the Encroachments of the Archbiſhop.

Cotton. Libr. Cleop. 6. F. 2. *fol.* 124.

Bp. Stokeſly's *Appeal againſt the Archbiſhop's Viſitation.*

This Appeal drawn up in the Name of the Biſhop, Dean, and Chapter, ſets forth, firſt, “ That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in all his Monitions and Writings ſent to the Biſhop, Abbots, *&c.* call'd himſelf *Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus.* That the Biſhop of *London*, with the Chapter, remonſtrated and proteſted in Form againſt this Stile, and that they wou'd not receive him as *Legate*, nor obey his Viſitation under that Character; the claiming ſuch an Authority being contrary to the Prerogative Royal and the Statutes of this Realm.

“ Secondly, That the Archbiſhop in the ſaid Monition to the Biſhop, ſignified his Intention of ſuſpending all the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop, the Dean and Archdeacons, during the whole Time of his *Viſitation*, which he pretended, he had Power to continue as long as he pleas'd: That by ſo great a Stretch of Metropolitical Privilege, the Provincial Biſhops wou'd be leſſen'd to Titulars, and ſignifie nothing: That this wou'd be an intolerable Inconvenience, and ſuch as never was claim'd by any Metropolitan or Legate, when the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*, were at the greateſt Height.

“ Thirdly, 'Tis urg'd in the *Appeal*, that the puſhing the Metropolitical Juriſdiction thus far, is to go counter to the Authority of all the Learned in the Canon Law: That ſuch a Suſpenſion put upon the Biſhops, ſeems to claſh with the *Holy Scriptures*, and to recal the Authority given 'em by God Almighty.

“ That if there were a Precedent of any ſuch Strain of the Archi-Epiſcopal Character upon Record, 'twas ſupported upon a Pretence foreign to their ordinary Authority, and put in ure upon the ſcore either of their being Legates, or Lord Chancellors of *England.* The Appeal is drawn out into a farther length, but this is the Subſtance.

A Regal Inhibition to ſuſpend the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops.

And now the Time for the other Viſitation drawing on, the King iſſued out Letters of *Inhibition* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, charging him and his *Suffragans* not to *viſit* the Clergy or *Religious*, till the Regal Viſitation was over; meaning that which was to be manag'd under the Vicar-General *Cromwell.* And thus all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction was laid aſleep, and almoſt ſtruck dead by the *Regale*, during the King's Pleaſure. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* directed his *Mandate* to the Biſhop of *London*, who was to tranſmit Copies of the *Inhibition* to the reſt of the Provincial Biſhops (y).

(r) Bp. Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref.* pt. 1. p. 181.

(s) *See Records, N.* 30.

(t) Bp. Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref.* pt. 2. p. 341.

(u) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. Id. *fol.* June 4.

(w) Rot. Pat. Regn. 27. pt 1.

(x) Regiſt. Stokeſly, *fol.* 44.

(y) *See Records, N.* 31.

October. *The Extent of* Layton, Legh, &c. *Commiſſion.*

The next Month *Layton*, *Legh*, *London*, *Souwell*, *Price*, *Gage*, *Bellaſis*, *&c.* began their *General Viſitation* under *Cromwell*: They were furniſh'd, at leaſt ſome of thoſe firſt named, with a Plenitude of Power to viſit all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the inferior Clergy, and to correct and reform, and exerciſe all manner of Diſcipline which belong'd to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; they had likewiſe an Authority to confirm or null the Elections of Prelates, to order Inſtalments, to give Inſtitutions and Inductions, to ſequeſter the Fruits of Livings, to deprive or ſuſpend Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* to convene Synods and preſide in 'em, and to make ſuch Reformations and Orders as they ſhou'd think expedient. They had likewiſe an Authority for trying all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and exerting the Cenſures of the Church, upon thoſe who either refus'd to appear or abide by the *Sentence*. And as to *Monaſteries*, they had, as it were, an unlimited Authority, and were impower'd to allow Penſions, to ſuch as were diſpoſed to quit that way of living (z).

(z) *See Records, N.* 30.

Legh and *John Apprice* being apprehenſive the Biſhops would uſe their Intereſt to get the Inhibition of their Juriſdiction taken off, wrote to the Vicegerent *Cromwell* to diſappoint them in their Attempt. In the Letter they ſuggeſt ſeveral Reaſons why the Inhibitions ſhould continue.

Biblioth. Cot. Cleop. E. 4. *fol.* 255.

“ Firſt, That the King always look'd upon himſelf as Supreme Head of the Church, notwithſtanding it had been but lately added to the Regal Stile: 'Tis our Opinion therefore that if the King made a temporary Seiſure of all ſpiritual Juriſdiction it would confirm the Subject in the Belief of his Right and prove a ſerviceable Precedent.

“ Secondly, That in caſe the Biſhops had always enjoy'd this Juriſdiction without any Interruption, they wou'd (as they now do upon the Matter) have preſum'd they had receiv'd their Authority from ſome other Fountain than the King's Highneſs. Theſe *Viſitors* therefore look upon it as a prudential Expedient to ſuſpend their Juriſdiction for ſome time, that by this means they may be forc'd to confeſs their Authority flows from the King. They proceed and argue farther upon *Eraſtian* Principles. If (ſay they) the Biſhops have any Juriſdiction they muſt receive it either by virtue of the Law of God, or by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, or by the King's Permiſſion. If they ſay by the Law of God, let them produce their Proofs from Scripture, but we think them not ſo impudent as to ſay ſo.

“ If they ſay by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, let them exerciſe it ſtill, if they think it convenient.

“ If they ſay by the King's Permiſſion, why ſhould they be diſturb'd at the *Inhibition?* Why ſhould they be diſſatisfied at the King's reſuming that Authority which was no more than a voluntary Grant and proceeded originally from him? They proceed in their Argument, and object that poſſibly the Biſhops will argue upon the Topick of Preſcription and immemorial Cuſtom: To this they anſwer, that tho' this Aſſertion contradicts the Language of the Law, yet, in the Opinion of theſe *Viſitors*, the Biſhops might in time have preſcrib'd, if the Exerciſe of their Authority had continued; and therefore to cut them off from this Plea, they thought it beſt to put a ſtop to this Juriſdiction, and that this may ſerve to juſtify the *Inhibition*. For had not their Authority been laid aſleep, during the King's *Viſitation*, their Succeſſors might pretend the King was only a Titular and Nominal Head of the Church, but had no Right to put his Claim in Execution.

“ They urge farther, if the Biſhops claim Authority by divine Right, let them ſhew their Evidence; but if they pretend only to hold it of the King's Favour, let them addreſs his Majeſty that they may have it return'd, that by ſo doing both themſelves and all others may declare the King to be the Fountain of all Power within the Realm, and that all kind of Juriſdiction is deriv'd from him; and that during the *Regal Viſitation* they may execute only the neceſſary Branches of their Function, (if they can ſhew any to be ſuch) as the King's Commiſſaries and *Cromwell*'s.

To proceed: For the *Viſitors* better Direction in this new Office, they were furniſh'd with *Inſtructions* to make their Inquiry; theſe were drawn up in eighty ſix Articles: The Subſtance of 'em was to examine (a),

(a) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4.

Inſtructions or Articles of Inquiry for viſiting the Monaſteries.

“ Whether Divine Service was kept up Day and Night at the right Hours? How many were commonly preſent, and who were frequently abſent?

“ Whether every Religious Houſe was furniſh'd with a full Number, perſuant to the Statutes of the Foundation? Who were the Founders? Whether the original Settlement has been enlarg'd ſince the Foundation, and to what Degree? What were the Revenues of the Houſe? Whether 'twas ever chang'd from one Order to another? By whom? And upon what Account?

“ What *Mortmains* they had? And whether their Founders were legally authoriz'd to convey ſuch Eſtates?

“ Upon what Suggeſtions, and for what Cauſes their Exemptions from their Dioceſans were procur'd?

“ Their local Statutes were alſo to be examin'd.

“ The Election of their reſpective Heads, whether Abbots or Priors, Abbeſſes or Prioreſſes, was to be inquir'd into, and the *Rule* of every Houſe inſpected. And here the Inſtructions directed a View of how many were *Profeſs'd?* How many Novices were in the Houſe? And whether the Novices were *Profeſs'd* within due time?

“ Whether they were acquainted with their *Rule* and kept it, eſpecially in the three principal Branches of *Poverty*, *Chaſtity*, and *Obedience?* Whether any of 'em made uſe of any Money or Plate without the Maſter's Knowledge or Leave?

“ Whether they convers'd with Women, either within the Monaſtery or elſewhere? And whether the Head, or any Brother, be ſuſpected for Incontinency, and blemiſh'd in his Reputation upon that ſcore? Whether Women came into the Monaſtery by any Back-ways, or otherwiſe, or whether they were lodg'd within the Precinct of the ſame? Whether the Maſter, or any of the Convent had any Boys lying with 'em?

“ Whether they kept Silence in the Church, Cloiſter and Dormitory at the Hours appointed? Whether they obſerv'd the Diſcipline of Faſting and Abſtinence, purſuant to the Orders

“ and Cuſtoms of the Houſe? And particularly whether they abſtain'd from Fleſh, in *Advent*, and other times preſcrib'd by their *Rule*? Whether they made uſe of woollen Shirts and Sheets? Or had any Conſtitution or Diſpenſation for Liberty in theſe Matters? Whether any of the Brothers quitted the Houſe, and remov'd to another of the ſame *Order*, without Letters of Leave from the Abbot or Prior? And where any have been receiv'd without ſuch Recommendation? Whether any of the Brothers have deſerted the Cloiſter, and rambled about the Country? And whether the Cruelty or Negligence of the Maſter occaſion'd this Diſorder? Whether the Maſter was guilty of Partiality or Diſaffection to any of the Convent? And whether he was not exceſſive in his Diſcipline and Corrections?

“ Whether the Brothers wore their proper Habits, without running out towards Expence and Equipage?

“ Whether any of the *Religious* were incorrigible? Whether the Maſter treated his Brethren fairly under Sickneſs and Infirmity, and provided Phyſitians, and other Neceſſaries for 'em? Whether the Maſter paſs'd his Accounts fully once a Year? Whether all the other Officers gave the ſame Proof of their Conduct and Integrity? And whether the Revenues of the Houſe were ſpent as the Founder intended?

“ Whether the Monaſtery, and all the Granges, Farms, and Tenements were kept in ſufficient Repair?

“ Whether they had an Inventory of the Jewels, Relicts, Ornaments, Money, Plate, Furniture, and all other Goods and Chattels belonging to the Houſe?

“ Whether the Monaſtery was indebted? To whom? And upon what Account?

“ Whether any of the Lands were ſold, mortgag'd, and for how much Money?

“ What Leaſes were made to Farmers? And for what Term? And whether the annual Rent was leſſen'd to increaſe the Fines?

“ Whether the Maſter compell'd the Convent to conſent to the ſealing of any Leaſes, Annuities, Corrodies, or other Alienations?

“ Whether the Plate, Jewels, or any other Goods belonging to the Houſe were pawn'd or ſold, or otherwiſe embezell'd? And for what Cauſe? And to whom?

“ Whether the Maſter convey'd any Farms, Corrodies, *&c.* to his Friends and Relations? Whether he paſs'd any Grant, or made uſe of the Convent Seal, without the Conſent of his Brethren?

“ Whether the Convent Seal was kept under three Keys, one in the Cuſtody of the Maſter, and the other two in the Hands of two of the Seniors?

“ Whether the Charters, Evidences and Records of the Houſe are well laid up, and preſerv'd from Decay?

“ Whether the Maſter maintains the cuſtomary Hoſpitality, in porportion to the Revenues of the Houſe? Whether he has taken Bribes for receiving Novices? And whether he has refus'd any for want of a Gratification? Whether the Novices are furniſh'd with a Maſter to teach 'em Grammar and other Parts of Learning? And whether any Senior of the Houſe be particularly appointed to inform 'em in their *Rule* and Behaviour? Whether any of 'em have undertaken the *Profeſſion* out of an ambitious View, and in Hopes of being Head of the Houſe?

“ Whether the Maſter has charg'd the *Preſentee* to any Benefice with any Penſion, or brought him to a Simoniacal Contract? How many Benefices the Maſter keeps in his own Hands? And whether they are appropriated, and annex'd to the Houſe by ſufficient Authority? Whether the Maſter diſtributes his Charity amongſt the Pariſhioners of the Appropriations, and performs the Conditions mention'd in that Settlement?

And here they were to exhibit the Deeds of the Appropriations, together with the Erection and Endowments of the Vicaridges.

Farther, They were to enquire, “ Whether the Maſter preſented ſuch Clerks to the Benefices of the Houſe, as were well qualified with reſpect to Learning, Probity and Diſcretion?

“ Whether any Brother of the *Houſe* ſupplied the Cure of any of their appropriated Churches? And how many of the Convent were thus employ'd?

“ Whether the Maſter of the Houſe holds any Benefice with Cure, or other Dignity with his Abby? If he did he was to ſhew his Diſpenſation. Whether any Perſon ſince his being Maſter, was conſcious of his lying under the Cenſures of Suſpenſion or Excommunication? If he did, whether he preſum'd to ſing *Maſs* before Abſolution?

Inſtructions for the Nunneries.

The Remainder of the Inſtructions relates to the Nuns. Here the Viſitor was order'd to walk round the Monaſtery, to examine the Buildings of the Houſe, and ſee whether there are any back Paſſages, or private Ways of getting in: And for better Information, he was to take the Abbeſs and two or three of the eldeſt Nuns along with him: Theſe were to be aſk'd, “ Whether the Gates of the Monaſtery were lock'd every Night? Whether the Abbeſs or any of the elder Siſters kept the Keys? It not being ſafe to truſt them with the younger.

“ Whether Strangers both Men and Women converſe frequently with the Siſters of the *Houſe*, without Leave from the Abbeſs or Prioreſs.

“ Whether this is done in private when none of the Siſters are in Company?

“ Whether any Siſter of the Houſe was compell'd to take the *Veil* by the Abbeſs, or her own Relations?

“ Whether any of the Siſters walk beyond the Precinct of the Houſe, without ſpecial Leave from the Abbeſs or Prioreſs?

“ Whether any Siſter when out of her *Cell* appears always in her Habit?

“ How they employ their Time, out of the Hours of Divine Service?

“ Whether any Siſter converſes familiarly with Monks, ſecular Prieſts or Laymen, not nearly related to her? Whether any Siſter has been diſcover'd to entertain any ſuch ſuſpicious Commerce, without any reaſonable Cauſe for ſo doing?

“ Whether any *Love-Letters* are written or receiv'd, or any private Meſſages or Preſents, are conveyed to the Siſters from any ſecular Perſon or others?

“ Whether any of the Siſters makes it a Cuſtom to talk with any Perſon by Night or Day, at Grates or back Windows, without Leave from her Superior?

“ Whether the Confeſſor of the Houſe, be a Perſon of Learning, Probity and Diſcretion? And whether he has always had the Reputation of being thus qualified?

“ How often in a Year the Siſters of the Houſe us'd to *confeſs* and receive the *Holy Euchariſt?*

“ And laſtly, to put the *Viſitors* in a Condition to diſcharge their Commiſſion more effectually, they were requir'd to produce all their Charters, Evidences, Inventories, and Writings of what kind ſoever.

The Method us'd in Elections of Abbots, &c.

By theſe Inſtructions the Government of the Religious Houſes may be in a great meaſure collected, and their Diſcipline and *Manner* diſcovered. Now becauſe one Article concerns the Election of their *Superior*, I ſhall inſert ſomething extracted from the Biſhop's *Regiſter* upon this Subject.

To begin: Upon the Vacancy of an Abbey or Hoſpital, Application was made to the Founder to proceed to a new Election: After the Election was made by the *Houſe*, the Patron conſented to it, and then wrote to the Biſhop to confirm the whole Proceedings (*b*).

At the Confirmation of the *Elect*, the Abbot or Prior took an Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs (*c*).

To be ſomewhat more particular: When the *Elect* was preſented to the *Dioceſan*, the Biſhop order'd the Apparitor to ſummon thoſe who had any thing to object againſt the Election, affixing a Paper to the Church-Door of the *Priory* for that purpoſe: If no Body appear'd within ſo many Days, the Biſhop proceeded to confirm the Election, and put the Government of the *Houſe* into the Hands of the *Superior*. Upon which the Abbot or other *Head*, took the Oath to the Biſhop above mentioned. The Oath taken by *Iſabel Sackville*, the laſt *Prioreſs* of *Clerkenwell*, is entred in *Engliſh*, and runs in this Form.

A Prioreſſes Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Biſhop.

“ In the Name of God. *Amen*. I Dame *Iſabel Sakeſeld*, elect and confirm'd *Prioreſs* of the Houſe and Priory of our bleſſed Lady of *Clerkenwell*, of the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London* (*d*), Promit and Swear upon this Holy Evangeliſts here bodily touch'd by me, before you Mr. *Jeoffry Wharton* Doctor of Decrees, and Vicar-General to the Reverend Father in God, Lord *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London*, Founder and Patron of the ſaid Priory, and mine Ordinary and Dioceſan, that from henceforth as long as I ſhall be Prioreſs of the ſaid Houſe and Priory, I ſhall give due Reverence, Obedience, and Subjection to the ſaid Reverend Father Lord *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London* now being. And alſo to his Succeſſors lawfully ſucceeding, and their ſpiritual Officers, in all lawful Things and Commandments. And alſo that I ſhall ſave and keep the Goods of the ſaid Houſe or Priory, and defend, maintain, and recover the Rights thereto belonging, to the beſt Profit of the ſame, as far forth as I can, or ſhall be able to do. And that I ſhall not grant no Fees, nor Corrodies, nor make none Alienations or Dilapidations thereof, or Goods belonging to the ſame Houſe or Priory, to the great Hurt or Damage thereof. So God me help, and this Book, and the holy Contents of the ſame, ------ *&c.*

After the taking this Oath, ſhe was inſtall'd by the Chaplain of the *Houſe*, purſuant to the Biſhop's *Mandate*.

See Records, Numb. 34.

In the *Ordo Romanus*, there is an *Office* for the Conſecration and Inſtalment of an Abbeſs, which, in regard it was compos'd by *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, we may conclude 'twas us'd in *England*, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Reader. To this I ſhall ſubjoin the Form for conſecrating a Nun.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, That the *Engliſh* Nunneries choſe their general or ordinary Confeſſor, which Election was confirmed by the Biſhop (*e*).

I have mention'd the Original of the *Monaſtick Inſtitution* elſewhere, and given an Account of the ſeveral Orders in *England* (*f*). I have likewiſe related the Reformations in theſe *Societies*; for this Reaſon I ſhall wave the Repetition. But the *Rule* of the *Benedictines* having not been already obſerv'd, I ſhall give it the *Reader*. For this *Order* being the ancienteſt ſince the *Saxons*, and the later *Fraternities* going moſtly upon their Plan, a brief Recital may not be unacceptable.

The Benedictine Rule.

Firſt, As to the *Hours* of Prayer in the Chapel: They were oblig'd to perform their Devotion Seven Times within the Four and Twenty Hours. They are commonly rang'd under theſe Diſtinctions.

Firſt, At Cock-crowing, or the *Nocturnal*; this Service was perform'd at Two a Clock in the Morning: The Ground for pitching upon this Hour, is taken partly from *David*'s ſaying, *At Midnight I will praiſe the Lord*. And partly from a Tradition of our Saviour's riſing from the Dead about that time. Pſ. 119. 62.

Secondly, *Mattins*: Theſe were ſaid at the firſt Hour, or according to our Computation, at Six a Clock. At this Time the Jewiſh Morning Sacrifice was offer'd. The Angels likewiſe are ſuppos'd to have acquainted the Women with our Saviour's Reſurrection at this Hour.

Thirdly, The *Tierce*: which was at Nine in the Morning, when our Saviour was condemn'd and ſcourg'd by *Pilate*.

Fourthly, The *Sexte*, or Twelve at Noon, when our Saviour was crucified and the Sun eclipſed to a total Darkneſs.

Fifthly, The *None*, or Three in the Afternoon; at this Hour our Saviour expir'd, and beſides 'twas a Time for Publick Prayer in the Temple. Acts 3. 1.

Sixthly, *Veſpers*: Theſe were ſaid at Six in the Afternoon: The Reaſon for the Time is, becauſe the Evening Sacrifice was then offer'd in the Jewiſh Temple, and our bleſſed Saviour is ſuppos'd to have been taken down from the Croſs at this Hour.

Seventhly, The *Compline*: This Service was perform'd after Seven, when our Saviour's Agony in the Garden was believed to begin.

The Monks going to Bed at Night, had ſix Hours to ſleep before the *Nocturnal* began: Neither if they went to Bed afterwards, was it reckoned a Fault, as far as I can diſcover: But after *Mattins*, they were not allowed that Liberty (*g*).

To proceed: At the Tolling of the Bell for Prayers, the Monks were immediately to leave off their Buſineſs: And here the *Canon* it ſeems, was ſo ſtrict, that thoſe who copied Books, or were Clerks in any Buſineſs, and had begun a *Text* Letter, were not allow'd to finiſh it. Thoſe who were abſent and employ'd in the Buſineſs of the Houſe, were reckon'd preſent as to Excuſe and Duty: And that they might not ſuffer by being elſewhere, they were particularly recommended to the Divine Protection.

The Monks were oblig'd to go always Two together: This was done to guard their Conduct, to prompt 'em to good Thoughts, and furniſh

(*b*) *Regiſt.* Fitz-James, *fol.* 66 114. *See Records, Numb.* 32.

(*c*) Tonſtal. *Regiſt. fol.* 57. *See Records, Numb.* 33.

(*d*) Tunſtal. *Regiſt. fol.* 46.

(*e*) *Regiſt.* Fitz-James, *fol.* 40.

(*f*) *See my Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt.* 1. Morery's *Dictionary. The Supplement to* Morery, *Article* Religious.

(*g*) Concord. Regular. *Collected by St.* Benedict, *and publiſhed with a Comment, by Frier Æ*nard, 1638. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 6. *p.* 287. & deinc.

them with a Witneſs to defend their Behaviour.

From *Eaſter* to *Whitſontide*, they din'd at Twelve and ſupp'd at Six. In this Interval, the Primitive Church obſerv'd no Faſts (h).

At other Times the *Religious* were bound to faſt till Three a Clock on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. The Twelve Days in *Chriſtmas* were excepted in this Canon.

Every Day in *Lent*, they were enjoin'd to faſt till Six in the Evening. During this Solemnity, they retrench'd their Refreſhment, and came to Abatements in Sleep and Eating, and ſpent more Time in their Devotions. However, they were not to go into any voluntary Auſterities, without Leave from the Abbot.

They were not allow'd to talk in the Refectory at Meals.

They were likewiſe to hearken to the Scriptures read to 'em at that Time.

The *Septimarians* were to dine by themſelves after the reſt. Theſe *Septimarians* were ſo call'd, becauſe their Office continued but a Week. Such as the *Reader*, *Waiters*, *Cook*, &c.

Thoſe who were abſent about Buſineſs, had the ſame Hours of Prayer preſcrib'd 'em, tho' it may be not oblig'd to the ſame Length of Devotions.

Thoſe ſent abroad, and expecting to return at Night, are forbidden to eat till they came home. But this *Canon* was ſometimes diſpens'd with.

The *Compline* was to be ſolemnly ſung about Seven at Night. The Service concluded with this Verſe. Pſ. 141. v. 3. *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, and keep the Door of my Lips*. After the *Compline*, they were not allow'd to talk, but go to Bed immediately. They were all to Sleep in the ſame Dormitory, but not Two in a Bed. They lay in their Cloaths. Small Faults, only put them from the Table; but for greater, they were barr'd Religious Commerce, or excluded the *Chapel*; and here none was to converſe with any Perſon excommunicated, under the Penalty of the ſame *Cenſure*. Incorrigible Criminals were expelled the Monaſteries.

When a *Brother* was received after Expulſion, he loſt his Seniority, and was plac'd the laſt in the *Convent*.

Every Monk was to have two Coats and two Cowles: And when they had new Cloaths, their Old ones were given to the Poor.

Every Monk was to have a Table Book, a Knife, a Needle, and a Handkerchief. The Furniture of their Bed was a Mat, a Blanket, a Rug, and a Pillow.

As to the Abbot, he was to be choſen upon the Qualifications of Regularity and Learning: But in more modern Times, the Senior Brother was generally choſen by a Majority. This *Superior* was never to dine alone, but when there were no Strangers, he was to invite ſome of the Brothers to his Table.

Theſe are the ſubſtantial Parts of the *Benedictine* Rule. The reſt being leſs ſignificant, ſhall be omitted.

To proceed: The *Viſitors* at their Return, gave in a tragical Relation of the Immorality of the Monaſteries. But whether their Report was fair, and their Teſtimony unexceptionable, I ſhall conſider afterwards.

At preſent I ſhall only examine ſome of the Remarks of a late Church Hiſtorian (i). This learned Gentleman taxes 'em with Encroachment upon the *Church*, upon the Score of their *Exemptions*. And that their exceſſive Wealth and licentious Behaviour, made 'em a Nuſance to the *State*.

The Exemptions of the Monks not ſo early nor ſo numerous as has been affirmed.

That their *Exemptions* from their *Ordinary*, were unprimitive Privileges, and prejudicial to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, cannot be deny'd: And for this Innovation the Court of *Rome* muſt account, who were too forward to gratifie Princes and other Sollicitors in ſuch Requeſts. Our Biſhops ſometimes complained of theſe Encroachments, and made bold Remonſtrances to the Pope himſelf. Thus in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* conteſted the *Exemption* of the Abby of St. *Auguſtine*'s, prov'd it a Forgery, and had the Authority of our beſt Hiſtorians to ſupport him in the Diſpute. And becauſe the Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s *Canterbury* was countenanc'd by the *See* of *Rome*, the Archbiſhop wrote a long Letter to Pope *Alexander* the Third, and declaims againſt Invaſions of this kind with great Freedom and Strength of Argument (k). And as the *Exemptions* were not ſo early, ſo neither were they ſo many as is commonly pretended. However, the learned *Harmer* who makes *Battle-Abby* the firſt Inſtance of an *Exemption*, is miſtaken: For not to mention the Abbies of *Glaſſenbury* and *Malmsbury*, thoſe of *Bury* St. *Edmond*'s and *Weſtminſter* were undoubtedly *exempted* before the *Conqueſt* (l).

The Revenues of the Monks magnified beyond Matter of Fact.

Farther, the Monks are charged with *poſſeſſing themſelves of the greateſt Part of the Riches of the Nation: And that this was done about the End of the Eighth Century. Now the beſt part of the Soil of* England *being in ſuch ill Hands, 'twas the Intereſt of the whole Kingdom to have it put to better Uſes* (m). But firſt, the Period for their Wealth is ſet much too high: For at the End of the Eighth Century, there were but few *Monaſteries* in *England*. 'Tis true, in the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Centuries, their Number and Eſtates were mightily increas'd. Now if we take 'em in the higheſt of their Fortune, they will not be found to exceed the Proportion of a fifth Part: But then even upon this Calculation, a great Abatement muſt be diſcounted: For the *Religious* were far from making the moſt of their Property, and ſtraining their Farms to *Rack-Rents*. On the contrary, they granted Leaſes to Laymen upon ſmall Rents, and gentle Fines; ſo that upon a juſt Computation, it may be truly affirm'd, their Revenues did not exceed the Tenth Part of the Nation.

And as their being generous Landlords cannot be deny'd, ſo the other Branch of their Charge which reflects upon their Management, falls ſhort of Proof. For the Monks are known to have made the moſt of their Farms which they kept in their own Hands: Neither were they at all Defective in the Serviceableneſs of Buildings, or other Improvements (n).

A heavy Imputation upon the Monaſteries, without Proof.

To proceed: There is another heavier Imputation laid upon the Monks: They are charg'd with a Crime of the moſt flagrant Nature: That they were ſo far from any Reſerve or Diſcretion in their Licentiouſneſs, *that ſome of their Farms were let for bringing in a yearly Tribute to their Luſts* (o). This Charge is reported in ſuch deciſive Language, that one wou'd think the Fact was beyond Queſtion: But *Fuller*, from whom the Paſſage is taken, believes the Story altogether improbable: He produces but a ſingle Inſtance, and has but an ill *Vouchee* for the Report. His Evidence was only *Stephen Marſhal*, the *Smectymnian* Divine. This Man pretended to ſee an Abby-Leaſe with ſuch a Proviſion. But then all things conſider'd, his Teſtimony deſerves but little Credit in ſuch Depoſitions (p).

(h) Tertul. de Coron. Milit.

(i) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 186. & deinc.

(k) *See my Church Hiſt. pt.* 1. *p.* 387, 388. Harmer, p. 40.

(l) *See my Church Hiſt. pt.* 1. *under the Reigns of* Knute *and* Edward *the Confeſſor, and p.* 286.

(m) *Bp.* Burnet. *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 187. Id *pt.* 2. *in Pref. p.* 9.

(n) Harmar, *p.* 41.

(o) *Bp.* Burnet. *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 189.

(p) Fuller. *Church Hiſtory* p. 317, 318.

The Scriptures tranſlated by ſeveral Engliſh Monks.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, the *Tranſlation of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, continued till the State of Monkery roſe: But when they engroſs'd the Riches, 'twas not conſiſtent with their Deſigns, nor with the Arts uſ'd to promote 'em, to let the Scriptures be much known* (q). In diſproving the Severity of this Accuſation, I ſhall confine my Remarks to our own Nation. And here as the learned *Harmer* obſerves, we have the Names of Seven *Engliſh* Monks who tranſlated the *Scriptures*, or ſome part, into the *Saxon* Language. Theſe all of 'em lived before the *Conqueſt*, as by the *Verſion* we may eaſily imagine. Particularly, the Venerable *Bede* expired in tranſlating St. *John's Goſpel*: And even after the *Norman Conqueſt*, the Monks had no leſs a ſhare in Performances of this kind, than the *Secular* Clergy (r).

(q) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 194.

(r) Harmer, *p.* 43, 44. *See my Church Hiſtory*, *pt.* 1. *p.* 126.

The Motives which govern'd, the K. in the Diſſolution.

The motives which puſh'd the King upon theſe extraordinary meaſures of a *Diſſolution*, are ſaid to have been partly the incompliance of ſome of the *Religious* in the Caſes of his Supremacy and Divorce. But this Oppoſition was not general: For the greateſt part of 'em went a long with the Current, and ſubmitted to the Orders of the Government.

Another Reaſon which ſway'd the King in this Matter, was the Proſpect of a War with the Emperour. This Prince was then the moſt conſiderable at Sea; he was poſſeſs'd of the *Seventeen Provinces*: Some of which were remarkable for Naval Preparations. The Emperour had likewiſe conſiderable Fleets to Convoy the Wealth of the *Indies* to his European Dominions: Now the King perceiving the Intereſt of Trade extreamly advanc'd upon the diſcovery of *America*, was willing to project a ſhare for his own Subjects. And thus for Commerce and Defence, he deſign'd to fortifie his Ports, and make a great many new ones. This Charge was too big for the Revenues of the Crown: and as for his Subjects, he was loth to burthen 'em with a Tax proportion'd to ſo great an occaſion. In ſhort, the ſuppreſſion of the *Monaſteries*, was thought the eaſieſt way of furniſhing the *Exchequer* for this purpoſe. He had likewiſe a deſign of Founding many more Biſhopricks: By ſuch a new Erection, the exceſſive largeneſs of ſome Dioceſſes, would be reduc'd to a reaſonable Compaſs. Thus the Biſhops inſpection wou'd be more practicable, and the Primitive Plan better follow'd. Now to endow theſe Biſhopricks with a competent Revenue, he intended to ſettle the Eſtates of ſome of the *Monaſteries* upon 'em. But this noble Scheme was but lamely executed, as will appear upon the courſe of this Work.

Now to leſſen the Reputation of the *religious Houſes*, and make 'em fall unpitied, the King ſent his *Viſitors* in the manner above mention'd, to bring 'em to a ſtrict account, and expoſe their Misbehaviour.

The Proviſion for thoſe diſcharg'd the Monaſteries.

The Commiſſioners exerted their Powers to the utmoſt ſtretch, and were far from Partiality in the Inquiry. And thus ſeveral *Monaſteries* ſunk under the *Teſt*. Some Monks declar'd themſelves weary of their Habit, and beg'd for *Enlargement*: They pretended themſelves driven into *Retirement*, and that they were *Profeſs'd* before they underſtood their own Inclinations, or arrived at the Years of Diſcretion: Others complain'd there was no living upon the *Viſitors Inſtructions* (s). And thus when the *Houſes* were ſeiz'd, the King order'd ſuch to be diſcharg'd who were *Profeſs'd* under four and twenty Years of Age; and that thoſe who had liv'd longer when they turn'd *Religious*, might have the liberty either to quit their Profeſſion, or remove to a larger *Houſe*: That is, to one above the Value of Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*. They who choſe to go into the World, if they were Prieſts, had a Habit allow'd 'em, and Forty Shillings for a Maintenance: As for the Nuns, they were only furniſh'd with a Gown, but had the choice of going where they pleas'd. Some of 'em, by ſubmitting to a ſurrender got better Conditions, and were allow'd ſmall Penſions during their Lives.

(s) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 399.

Id.

Dr. *Lee* had a ſole Commiſſion from *Cromwell* the Vicar General, for a Viſitation at *Cambridge*; he brought with him ſome Injunctions of his own for the Government of the Univerſity. Theſe Regulations were ſupplemental to the Injunctions lately ſet forth by the King.

By the firſt Clauſe, the Members of the Univerſity were bound to obſerve the Statutes of that *Society*, and of the reſpective Colleges, provided they were not repugnat to theſe Injunctions, nor to the Common and *Statute* Laws of the Realm.

No Maſter or Fellow was to receive any Money or acknowledgment for the Admiſſion of any Student.

The Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, and Maſters of Colleges, were to bring in an Inventoty of the Goods belonging to the Univerſity; a Rental and Survey of their Eſtates; the Charters and Deeds of their Privileges and Endowments, together with the Pope's Bulls; all theſe Records and Inſtruments they were to bring in to the Honourable *Thomas Cromwell*, or to his Deputy; *ipſius bene Placitum in eâ parte expectaturi*.

They were likewiſe enjoin'd to furniſh a *Greek* or *Hebrew* Lecture at the Expence of the Univerſity.

They were oblig'd to ſay publick *Maſs* for the Proſperity of the King and his Queen *Anne*: And that this Service was to be perform'd in Great St. *Mary's* within a Month next enſuing. Theſe *Injunctions* were to be read every Month to the Scholars of each College.

And Laſtly, if any Member of the Univerſity ſhould be guilty of acting contrary to the King's *Injunctions*, or theſe annex'd to them; that then the Univerſity was to give the Court immediate notice of the Offence: And make their report of ſuch Misbehaviour either to the King, the Vicar General, or his Deputy. Theſe *Injunctions* were to be inlarg'd or mended as *Cromwell* thought fit. The *Inſtrument* is dated *October 22d*, *A. D.* 1535. 27 *H.* 8.

Theſe regulations being additional Proviſions, it may not be improper to mention ſome Heads of the King's *Injunctions* to which they relate.

His Majeſty begins with lamenting the Ignorance and Uncultivated Condition to which the Univerſity was lately ſunk. Secondly, He exhorts all the *Members* to recover the Chriſtian Religion to its original Purity and Truth: And here he recommends their Chancellor *Cromwell*, for their *Viſitor*. Thirdly, He commands them to renounce the Pope intirely, and to ſubmit to the *Regale* as the higheſt Authority under God Almighty. Fourthly, He encourages them to the Study of Languages, becauſe things are not to be gain'd without the Conveyance of Words. Or as the *Inſtrument* ſpeaks, *ſenſum alicujus rei non poteſt ille aſſequi, qui rudis eſt idiomatis quo traditur.* Fifthly, They are injoin'd to found two *Lectures*, one for the *Latin*, and another for the *Greek* Language: And that the Salary for the *Readers* ſhould be furniſh'd by a joint Contribution of the Colleges. Sixthly, That no Commentators upon the *Maſter of the Sentences* ſhould be publickly Read; but that all *Lectures* ſhould be made on ſome parts of the *Scripture*. Seventhly, That all Perſons ſhould have the liberty to read the *Scriptures* in their Studies. Eightly, That for the future, no Member in the Univerſity ſhould take any Degree in the *Canon Law*. Ninthly, 'Twas Order'd, that the Young Students ſhould read *Ariſtotle*, *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Melancthon*, *Trapezuntius*, &c. and that the ſtudying *Scotus*, *Burlæus*, *Anthony Trombet*, *Bricot*, *Bruliferius*, &c. ſhould be forborn. Tenthly, All Maſters of Colleges were to be ſworn to theſe *Injunctions*, with the Reſervation of a Latitude, notwithſtanding to *Cromwell*, or his Deputy, to add or alter at Diſcretion.

Three Days after Dr. *Lee* publiſh'd his *Injunctions*, the Colleges made their reſpective Submiſſions; the Maſters and Fellows ſigning an *Inſtrument* to that purpoſe, The Clauſe in which they renounce the Pope, ſpeaks to this Senſe: *We declare the Roman Papacy has no Foundation in holy Writ, but ſtands purely upon human Conſtitution; and that we will never conſent that the Pope of* Rome *ſhall exerciſe any Authority or Juriſdiction amongſt us: And that we ſhall not treat him with the Pompous Titles uſually given. We likewiſe promiſe to keep all the Statutes of the Realm, either made or to be made for extinguiſhing his Authority*, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe.

To conclude, purſuant to theſe *Injunctions*, the Univerſity ſurrendred all their Charters, Bulls, Rentalls, *&c.* to the King: The Vice-Chancellor and Senior Proctor took a Journey to *London*, and put all their Records in the Hands of their Chancellor *Cromwell* *.

*Fuller's *Hiſt. of the Univerſitie of* Cambridge, *p.* 109. & deinc.

Having related the King's ſuſpending the Juriſdiction of all the Biſhops; it may be expected I ſhould mention the taking off this reſtraint. 'Twas recall'd about this time: The reaſon aſſign'd in the *Inſtrument* for this Relaxation is ſomewhat ſurprizing. 'Twas done it ſeems becauſe *Cromwell* was employ'd about matters *of State*. Had this *Miniſter* not been buſie, he might have been ſole *Ordinary* for the Kingdom; and the Epiſcopal Character in both *Provinces*, had, it may be, been diſabled to inſignificancy for this whole Reign.

See Records N. 41.

Dember 6. 1535. *The Bp. of* Hereford's *Speech to the Proteſtant Princes.*

The King having now fill'd his *Exchequer*, and put himſelf in a better condition to conteſt with the Emperour, endeavour'd farther to prevent the ſtorm, and keep that Monarch from having any leiſure to diſturb his Dominions. To this purpoſe, he diſpatch'd *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* to the *Proteſtant* Princes in *Germany*. “This Prelate finding them at *Smalcalde*, preſs'd them to a unity of Doctrine with the *Engliſh* Church: That this wou'd be the moſt ſolid ground for a laſting Peace. That difference of Opinions is often times the occaſion of Confuſions in the *State*: And of this the *Anabaptiſts* had lately been a lamentable Inſtance. That the preſent juncture call'd loudly for the putting an end to all religious Diſputes, for now the Pope pretended to call a *Council*; but unleſs his Maſter and the *German* Princes were ſo happy as to agree in religious Matters, the expedient of a *Council* might prove very unfortunate. For diverſity of Sentiments wou'd prevent a mutual Confidence, occaſion claſhing, and nothing wou'd be done by common concert. That 'twas the Pope's buſineſs to keep theſe Controverſies a foot, and hinder the Princes of *Chriſtendom* from coming to a right underſtanding with each other: And that he diſpair'd of ſupporting his Exorbitant Pretenſions any other Way. That the King was ſenſible a fair and publick debating the Points in Queſtion might be ſerviceable to the *Church*: But then all imaginable care was to be taken that matters might be argued with freedom, and prevent the Pope's being Maſter of the Diſpute. And therefore, 'twas the King's Opinion a *Council* ſhould not be agreed to, till the Peace of *Europe* was better ſettled. That his Majeſty was deſirous the true Worſhip of God might be reſtor'd, and was willing to join his endeavours with 'em for that purpoſe. And to make the matter more practicable, the Biſhop deſir'd they wou'd appoint a Committee for a Conference with him (*t*).

(*t*) Sleidan. *Comment.* l. 9. December 21 *The Princes Anſwer.*

“The *Proteſtant* Princes after ſome introductive Commendation of the King, told the Ambaſſadour, that their chief aim was to propagate the Doctrine of the *Goſpel*. That notwithſtanding how much they had been miſrepreſented, they had no other View but the doing their Duty. That the King's clearing his Dominions of the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, was very acceptable News: That they were much oblig'd to his Highneſs, for putting 'em in mind of the miſchiefs ariſing from diverſities of Opinion: But as for themſelves, they were diſturb'd with no difference in Belief; and were reſolv'd to adhere to the Doctrine of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*. And as to the *Anabaptiſts*, they puniſh'd the incorrigible of that *Sect* ſeverely enough: Beſides, they were moſt numerous in thoſe Places, where the *Reformation* could not make its way. As to the Pope's intreaguing about a *Council*, they were extreamly glad, his Majeſty was ſo well appriz'd of his Deſign. 'Tis true the Pope's *Nuncio* (*u*) was now in *Germany*, and promis'd a *Council* at *Mantua*: That he had treated with the Elector of *Saxony* upon this ſubject: That he diſcours'd as if it was the Pope's Privilege to convene this *Council*; but they were of Opinion, the Kings, and *States* of *Europe* wou'd not allow him this Claim; nor agree to his calling a *Council* without their Privity, to decide in matters of Faith, and of the laſt Importance. They return the King thanks for offering his Concurrence, and profeſs themſelves ready to run the utmoſt hazards, rather than give over ſo glorious an Undertaking. And laſtly, purſuant to the Biſhop's Requeſt, they order a Committee to treat with him: But of the Iſſue of this Conference afterwards. This Year there was a *Primer* Printed in *Engliſh*: 'Twas drawn up as appears in the *Admonition* to the *Reader*, by a ſingle Hand; and Printed with a *Patent* of Privilege. The *Admonition* complains of ſeveral Books that miſlead the People in their Application to the Saints, made them believe their Addreſſes before ſome Images would be more particularly ſignificant; that they would deliver a certain number of Souls out of Purgatory, bring wicked Men to Reformation, and keep others in a ſtate of Grace. The ſaying the Maſs before the five Wounds has this promiſe annex'd.

(*u*) Vergerius.

“*Boniface* Byſhop of *Rome* lay ſycke and lyke to dye, to whome our Lord ſent the Arc-angel *Raphael* with the Office of the Maſſe of the five Wounds, ſayeng: Ryſe and write this Office, and ſaye it fyve tymes, and thou ſhalt be reſtored to thy Health immediately. And what Preeſte ſoever ſhall ſay this Office for himſelf, or for any other that is ſycke fyve tymes, the Perſon for whome it is ſayde, ſhall obteyne Helthe and Grace, and in the Worlde to

“ come (if he continue in Vertue) everlaſtinge Lyfe. And in whatſoever Tribulation a Man ſhall be in this Lyfe, that he procure this Office to be ſayd fyve tymes for hym of a Preeſte without doubt he ſhall be delyvered: And that it be ſay'd for the Soule of the Deade, anone as it ſhall be ſay'd and ended fyve tymes, his Soul ſhall be ryd from Paynes. This *Hearynge* the Biſhop, he dyd erecte hymſelf up in his Bedde, conjuryng the Angell, by the name of Almighti God, to tell hym what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he ſhoulde departe without doing hym harm, who anſwered, that he was *Raphael* the Arc-angell, ſent unto hym of God, and that all the Premiſſes were undoubtedly true. Then the ſayde *Boniface* confirmed the ſayde Office of the fyve Wounds, by the Apoſtolique Auctoritie.

Here the Author beſtows ſome tragical Expreſſions on the Fondneſs and Superſtition of this Fancy, and laments the ill grounded and dangerous Reliance upon ſuch Performances as theſe; that ſeveral Books of the Lives of the Saints, as the *Golden Legends*, and others publiſhed by *Eccrus Coctrus*, and ſuch High-flyers had given the People a wrong Idea of the Chriſtian Religion, carried them to an exceſſive Regard for the Saints, and ſet God and his Creatures too much upon the ſame Level. Notwithſtanding theſe Divines made a diſtinction between *Latria* and *Dulia*, and appropriated the firſt to God Almighty, yet when they come to practiſe upon this Doctrine in their Prayers, they miſmanage to that degree as if they had quite forgotten the Diſtinction. Thus far the *Admonition*.

The *Preface* takes notice that 'twas cuſtomary for all Chriſtians to learn the *Ten Commandments*, *Creed*, and *Lord's Prayer* by heart. That the ſettling this Cuſtom was a wiſe and providential Appointment: For a thorough Underſtanding of theſe Comprehenſive Abſtracts takes in all the neceſſary Part of Chriſtian Knowledge; and ſince the Compaſs of a Man's Duty lies in ſo few Words no body has any reaſon to complain that the way to Happineſs is tedious in the length, or hard to find.

The *Primer* begins with an Expoſition upon the Ten Commandments, and from thence proceeds to the *Creed*. Upon the Article of our Saviour's Deſcent into Hell, Hell is taken for the Place of the damn'd. Upon the Article of the *Catholick Church*, the Power of the Keys are ſaid to be given to the Church in the Perſon of St. *Peter*. Then follows a general Confeſſion in which every Perſon is directed to examine his Practice by the Ten Commandments, to lament his Failure in Duty, and addreſs to God for his Pardon. Then are general Inſtructions given how, and in what manner, we ought to pray. And here the following Qualifications are requir'd: Firſt, To prevail in our Addreſſes, we muſt forgive thoſe who have done us any Injury. Secondly, We muſt pray with an humble Confidence of Succeſs. Thirdly, The Matter of our Petition muſt be agreeable to the Will of God. Fourthly, We muſt perſevere in our Applications, and not deſpond or grow weary. Fifthly, We muſt petition in the Name of Chriſt, and reſt upon his Paſſion and Merits. The *Book* proceeds to a very pious and uſeful Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer: The Petition of *give us our daily Bread* is wholly expounded to a Spiritual Senſe, the *Bread*, as the *Book* ſpeaks, *is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which nouriſheth and comforts the Soul*. In the *Salutation* of the bleſſed Virgin by the Angel *Gabriel*, the *Primer* obſerves, the Words import only a Regard and honourable Mention, and do not go ſo far as Prayer; however the *Book* ſuppoſes the bleſſed Virgin had ſome diſtinguiſhing Privileges; that *ſhe was full of all Goodneſs, and void of all Evil, and deliver'd without any of the cuſtomary Pains of Childbirth*. From hence the *Book* proceeds to deſcribe the Duties of publick and domeſtick Relations; then follow ſeveral Pſalms, Leſſons, and ſhort Prayers; for inſtance, the *Te Deum*, the Song of the *three Children*, of *Zacharias*, *&c.* the *Prime*, and *Hours*, *&c.* the *Veſpers*, and *Compline*; the ſeven *Penitential Pſalms* are next, and then the *Litany*, which being ſomewhat uncommon I ſhall tranſcribe it for the *Reader*.

“ Be mercifull to us, and ſpare us, Lorde.

“ Be mercifull to us, and delyver us, Lorde. Propitius eſto.

“ From all Synne, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From all Errour, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From all Yvell, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Crafty Traynes of the Divell, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the imminent Peryll of Synne, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Poſſeſſion of Devylls, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Spirite of Fornication, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Deſire of Vain-glory, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Uncleanneſſe of Mynde and Body, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From uncleneThoughts, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From the Blindneſſe of the Herte, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From Sodeyn and unprovided Dethe, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From Peſtilence and Famine, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From all mortal Warre, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From Lyghtnynge and Tempeſtious Wethers, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From Seditions and Schiſmies, delyver us, Lorde.

“ From Everlaſtinge Dethe, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By the privie Myſtery of thy holy Incarnation, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By thy holy Nativity, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By thy Baptiſme, Faſtyngs, and Temptations, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By thy painful Agony in ſweating Blood and Water, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By the Paynes and Paſſions, on thy Croſſe, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By thy Dethe and Buryenge, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By thy Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, delyver us, Lorde.

“ By the Comynge of the Holy Ghoſte, delyver us, Lorde.

“ In Tyme of our Tribulations, delyver us, Lorde.

“ In the Tyme of our Felicite, defend us, Lorde.

“ In the Hour of Dethe, delyver us, Lorde.

“ In the Day of Judgement, delyver us, Lorde.

“ We Synners pray thee to hear us, Lorde.

“ That it mought pleaſe the Lorde to governe and leade thy holy Catholyke Churche. We beſeeche thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe that our Byſhops, Paſtors, and Miniſters of thy Churche, may in holy Lyfe, and in thy ſound and holy Worde

“ ſede thy People. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe that all perverſe Sects and Sclaunders may be avoided. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe that all which doe erre, and be deceyved, may be reduced into the Way of Verite. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe that we may the Devyl with all his Pomps, fruſhe and treade under foote, we pray.

“ That thou vouchſafe to ſend us Plentie of faythful Workmen in thy Harveſt. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe Lord, to gyve the Herers of thy Worde, lyvely Grace to underſtand it, and to worke thereafter, by the Vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, we pray thee.

“ That all extreme Povertie thou pleaſe Lord to reconforte. We pray thee to here us.

“ That they which are weyke in Vertue, and ſoon overcome in Temptation, thou of thy Mercye wilt helpe and ſtrengthen them. We pray thee to here us.

“ That you vouchſafe to give univerſal Peace amonges all Kings and other Rulers. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou vouchſafe to preſerve our moſte gracious Soveraign Lorde and Kynge, *Henry* the Eyghte, his moſte gracious Quene *Anne*, all their Poſterite, Ayders, Helpers, and true Subjects. We pray thee to here us.

“ That our Miniſters and Governours may vertuouſly rule thy People. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thy People in Affliction or in Peryl, and Daunger by Fyre, Water, or Lande, thou wilte vouchſafe to defende and preſerve. We pray thee to here us.

“ That Temyng Women may have joyful Spede in their Labour. We pray thee to here us.

“ That all yonge Orphantes and Sycke People, you pleaſe Lorde to noryſhe and provide for. We pray thee to here us.

“ That all being Captive or in Priſons, thou wilte ſend Delyveraunce. We pray thee to here us.

“ That unto all People, Lorde, thou wilte ſhewe thy ineſtimable Mercy. We pray thee to here us.

“ That thou wilte forgyve all Warryars, Percutors, and Oppreſſours of thy People, and to convert them to Grace. We pray thee here us.

“ That the Frutes, Lord, on the Earth may give good Encreaſe, and that thou wilt conſerve them. We pray thee.

“ That thou Lord wilt here our Prayer. We pray thee.

“ O the very Son of God. We pray thee to here us.

“ O Lambe of God, which takeſte away the Synne of the World: Have Mercy on us.

“ O Lambe of God which takeſte away the Synne of the World: Have Mercy on us.

“ O Lambe of God which takeſt away the Synne of this World; gyve Peace and Reſt unto us.

The Verſicle.

“ O Lord here thou my Prayer.

Th'aunſwer.

“ That my Callynge may come to thyne Ears.

The Coletts or Prayers.

“ O omnipotent and mercyful God, the Father Eternal, which doſt not deſpiſe us Synners, bewaylyng with contrite Herte, for offending thy hye Majeſtie, we pray thee by thy Grace and Mercy to draw us nere to thee, to here our Prayers, to forgive us our Offences, and conforte us in our Afflictions. And forgyve Lord them that oppreſs us. And that our ghoſtly Enemy have no Power to devoure us (as he deſyreth) but that we may ſtrongly withſtand his Fraudes and Snares, to our Confort, that we may die in the very true Catholyke Faythe, and reſte with thee eternally, our Lorde Jeſu Chriſt. So be it.

The Verſicle.

“ We have ſynned with our Forſfathers.

Th'aunſwere.

“ Iniquite have we wrought with unjuſte Lyvingye.

“ Lord God, which doſte not ſuffre Synners to peryſhe and die in their Works, but rather wilt that they ſhall convert and lyve, we humbly pray thee to forgive us nowe, while we have Time and Space. And give us Grace that we do not abound in Synne, nor in Iniquite no more, leſt thou Lord be wrathe with us. And mekely we pray the Lord to open the Verite of our true Catholike Faith, and deſtroy all Antichriſts with all their Jugelynges and crafty Sciſmes which doth ſo ſore oppreſs and daunger thy People to Dampnation (ſeace this Sciſme Lorde) and that thy moſte holy Wordes of thy Goſpelles may plentuouſly be preached, without Crafte or Diſſimulation: which beareth with it thy holy Spirit and Lyfe, to conforte all that hunger or thyrſte to drynke thereof, by the Vertue of our Lorde Jeſu Chriſt. So be it.

“ O moſt hye and mightie Lord God, and Kynge of Peace, which whan thou tokeſt thy moſt holy Humanite upon the, in the Woombe of the mooſte holy Virgin *Mary*, than by the hye Proviſion of thy Fathers devyne Power, all the univerſal World was in Peace and Concord. Wherefore bounteful Lorde God, we pray thee to preſerve our Kynge, his Ayders and Counſellers, and all Governours, and the whole univerſal Commons of this Realm in Peace and Concorde, and not only us Lord, but all the Realmes in the World, that we may keep one God, one Faythe, and one Lawe, by the Ordinaunce of our Lord Jeſu Chriſte, which reighneth in the Worlde of Worldes. So be it.

After this follows a long Expoſition upon the One and Fiftieth *Pſalm*. Next is a Prayer to our Saviour, which is followed with a long practical Diſcourſe upon his Paſſion. There is likewiſe an Inſtruction for Children: A Dialogue between Father and Son, by way of Catechiſm: A Prayer for removing Hardneſs of Heart. A Prayer taken out of the Sixty Third and Sixty Fourth of *Iſaiah*: *Hannah*'s Thankſgiving, the Firſt of *Samuel* and the Second; and the Prophet *Daniel*'s Prayer in his Ninth Chapter. Then follows a Collection of *Pſalms*, ſeveral of which relate to the Paſſion of our Saviour. There is likewiſe an Admonition prefix'd to the *Dirige*: And here the Words of *Job* to move his Friends to Compaſſion, are ſaid to be miſapply'd: The Text is this (*Job* 19 and 21.) *Have Pity upon me, have Pity upon me, O ye my Friends, for the Hand of God hath touched me.* “ Job *ſpake theſe Words*, ſays the *Primer*, *than being in lyve, and being in the great Rage of his intolerable Affliction*. And muſt “they now ſerve for the Souls that be departed, and in the Pains of I cannot tell what? Finally, there is nothing in the Dirige, taken out of Scripture, that makes any more mention of the Soul departed, than doth the Tale of *Robinhood*.

This *Book* was printed by *John Biddyl*, June 16, 1535, in the 34th Year of this Reign: When the *Bible* was prohibited to all under Gentlemen, this *Primer*, and ſeveral other Devotional Books in *Engliſh*, were excepted from the Prohibition.

There were other *Primers* afterwards printed in this King's time, but the Matter and Manner being much the ſame with this, I ſhall take no farther notice of them.

Queen Catharine's *Death.*

Queen *Catharine*'s Affairs moved ſlowly with the Pope and the Emperour; neither of 'em being in a Condition to relieve her ſo ſoon as ſhe expected. This Diſappointment, together with the Succeſs of her Rival, ſat hard upon her Spirits, and haſten'd her End. She fell into her laſt Sickneſs at *Kimbolton* in the fiftieth Year of her Age: During this Illneſs, ſhe receiv'd ſome Meſſages of Ceremony from the King, and had the Countenance of the Emperour's Ambaſſador at her Court: But theſe were but weak Cordials. When ſhe found her Death drawing near, ſhe order'd one of her Maids of Honour to write to the King to this Effect.

Her laſt Letter to the King.

“She told him, that now at the Approach of Death, ſhe cou'd not forbear, out of the Love ſhe had for him, to ſuggeſt ſome Thoughts for the good of his Soul: That this Buſineſs ought to be preferr'd to all Conſiderations of Intereſt or Pleaſure: She let him know, he had involv'd her in a great many Misfortunes, and embarraſs'd his own Affairs over and above: but that ſhe heartily forgave him, and prayed he might likewiſe have God's Forgiveneſs. She recommended the Princeſs *Mary* to his Care and Affection. She entreated him, to have regard to her Maids, and diſpoſe of 'em in Marriage with the uſual Advantage. And for the reſt of her Servants, ſhe requeſted a Years Salary, beſides what was due already. She takes her leave by declaring, *her Eyes deſired him above all Things* In the Top of the Letter, ſhe ſalutes him with, *My moſt dear Lord, King, and Husband* (w).

(w) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 403.

She dictated another Letter to *Euſtachius* the Emperor's Ambaſſador, requeſting him to put his Maſter in Mind, of taking her Daughter into his Protection. The King received her Letter with ſome Tenderneſs and Regret. And when the News of her Death was brought him, he order'd her to be buried in the Monaſtery of *Peterborough*, with decent Solemnity. The Furniture of her Houſe was partly laid out upon her Funeral, and the Remainder diſpoſed of among her Servants. The Abby of *Peterborough* was afterwards turn'd to a Biſhop's *See*, in honour as it is ſuppos'd, of her Memory.

Id.

Her Character.

She was remarkable for Regularity and Devotion. Before her Misfortunes, ſhe uſed to divert herſelf with Buſineſs, and kept thoſe about her from miſemploying their Time. Thus when the Cardinals *Wolſey* and *Campegio* came to wait on her, they found her with a Skein of Silk about her Neck, and at Work with her Women *. 'Tis true, the King is ſaid to have ſometimes complain'd of her Temper: But whether the Fault lay there, or in the Treatment ſhe receiv'd, I ſhall leave with the *Reader*. It ſeems Queen *Anne* did not manage herſelf exactly upon this Occaſion: She appear'd too much pleas'd with the Death of this Princeſs, both in her Dreſs and Converſation (x).

* Cavendiſh.

(x) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 192.

The Emperor who had a great Regard for his Aunt, was much concerned at the hearing of her Death. He conſider'd notwithſtanding, that now the Grounds of Hoſtility between himſelf and the King of *England*, were taken away: And having Occaſion to employ his Forces againſt the *Turk*, was rather diſpos'd to cloſe with the King, than purſue the Execution of the Pope's *Ban*. However, he thought himſelf bound in Honour, not to lie open to a Refuſal: He took Care therefore to handle the King's Pulſe, before the Diſcovery of his own Inclination. Thus when he found his Propoſals would be receiv'd, he offer'd the Revival of their ancient Friendſhip. But then 'twas upon the Conditions the King wou'd be reconcil'd to the Pope, and aſſiſt his Imperial Majeſty againſt the *Turk*, and the *French* King. To this the King of *England* anſwer'd, That the Rupture was begun by the Emperor: However, if this was acknowledged, the King was willing to renew their Correſpondence, but then it muſt not be clogg'd with any Conditions. For to mention only that which relates to the *See* of *Rome*, where the Emperor promis'd to uſe his Intereſt for a Reconciliation: The King told his Imperial Majeſty, his Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, had been ſo unexceptionably manag'd, that there was no reverſing them, eſpecially ſince they had been confirm'd by *Parliament*. For theſe Reaſons he had been already oblig'd to refuſe ſome Overtures from that Prelate (y).

The Emperor propoſes an Accommodation with the King.

His Terms are refus'd.

(y) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 404, 406.

In the next *Seſſion* of Parliament, there were ſeveral *Acts* paſs'd relating to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: The moſt remarkable of this kind, was that for the Diſſolution of the leſſer Abbies. The Preamble runs thus.

The Preamble of the Statute for the Diſſolution of the leſſer Abbies.

Foraſmuch as manifeſt Sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable Living (z), is daily uſed and committed commonly in ſuch littel and ſmall Abbayes and Priories of Monks, Chanons, and Nonns, where the Congregation of ſuch Religious Perſons is under the Number of Twelve Perſons, whereby the Governours of ſuch Religious Houſes, and their Convents, ſpoil, deſtroy, conſume, and utterly waſte as well theſe Churches, Monaſteries, Priories, Principal Houſes, Ferms, Granges, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, as the Ornament of their Churches, as their Goods and Cattalls, to the high Diſpleaſure of Almighty God, Slander of good Religion, and the great Infamy of the King's Highneſs, and the Realm, if Redreſs ſhould not be had thereof. And albeit that many continual Viſitations have been heretofore had, by the Space of Two hundred Years and more, for an honeſt and charitable Reformation of ſuch unthrifty, carnal, and abominable Living; yet nevertheleſs, lyttel or Non-Amendment ys hitherto hadde; but their vycious Livings ſhameleſly increaſeth and augmenteth: And by a curſed Cuſtom ſo grone and infeſted, that a great Multitude of the Religious Perſons in ſuch ſmall Houſes do rather chuſe to rome abroad in Apoſtacy, than to conform themſelves to the Obſervation of good Religion. So that without ſuch ſmall Houſes be utterly ſuppreſs'd, and the Religious Perſons therein commytted to great and honourable Mo-

(z) 27 H. 8. c. 28. Dugdale's *Monaſticon*, *vol.* 1. *fol.* 1048.

naſteries of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to Lyve religiouſly, for Reformation of their Lyves, there can elſe be no Redreſs nor Reformation in that behalfe. In conſideration whereof the King's moſt Royal Majeſty, being Supream Hede in Earth under God, of the Church of England, daily ſtudying and deviſing the Increaſe, Advancement, and Exaltation of true Doctrine and Vertue in the ſaid Church, to the only Glory and Honour of God, and the total extirping and Deſtruction of Vyce and Sin, having Knowledge that the Premiſes be true, as well by the Complaints of the late Viſitations, as by ſundery credible Informations.

The Behaviour of the greater Abbies own'd unexceptionable.

Conſidering alſo that divers and great ſolemn Monaſteries of this Realm, wherein Thanks be to God, Religion is well kept and obſerv'd, be deſtitute of ſuch full Numbers of Religious Perſons as they might, and may keep, have thought good that a plain Declaration ſhould be made of the Premiſſes as well to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as to others his loving Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled. Whereupon the ſaid Lords and Commons by a great Deliberation, finally be reſolved, That it is and ſhall be much more to the Pleaſure of Almighty, and for the Honour of this Realm, that the Poſſeſſions of ſuch ſmall Religious Houſes being now ſpent, ſpoiled, and waſted for increaſe and Maintenance of Sin, ſhall be uſed and converted to better Uſes, and the unthrifty religious Perſons ſo ſpending the ſame, to be compelled to reform their Lives; and thereupon moſt humbly deſire the King's Highneſs, that it may be enacted by Authority of this preſent Parliament, that his Majeſty ſhall have and enjoy to Him and his Heirs, all and ſingular ſuch Monaſteries,---- &c.

In the *Body* of the *Statute*, " All *Religious*
" *Houſes*, not above the clear yearly Value of
" Two Hundred Pounds, with all their Man-
" nors, Lands, Tythes, Advowſons, *&c.* are
" granted to the *Crown*, together with all the
" Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and
" Debts thereunto belonging.

A Clauſe for ſaving the Intereſt of the Founders.

" This *Act* did not paſs without a Clauſe for
" ſaving the Right and Intereſt of the Patrons
" and Founders: Such as Rents, Annuities,
" Fees, Offices, Leaſes, Commons, *&c.*

And for maintaining Hoſpitality.

There's another *Proviſion* for the maintaining the uſual Hoſpitality of thoſe Places. The *Grantees or Purchaſers of theſe Religious Houſes being bound to keep an honeſt continual Houſe in the ſame Site or Precinct*, " and to plow as much of the Ground as
" the Abbots or Priors had done within Twen-
" ty Years laſt paſs'd. The Forfeiture was Six
" Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence *per*
" Month, to be recover'd to *the King's Uſe. The*
" *Juſtices of the Peace, were impower'd to inquire of*
" *the Premiſſes, to try the Cauſe, and aſſeſs the Fine.*

In the *Preamble* of this *Act*, there's a high Charge of Immorality laid againſt the *leſſer* Abbies: This is grounded upon the Report of the *Viſitors*, and reſts chiefly upon their Credit. And here the *larger* Abbies have the Commendation of a regular Behaviour. The *Preamble* takes notice farther that there's a Neceſſity of tranſplanting the Monks of theſe little *Societies*: And without removing them to more numerous Convents, their Reformation was impracticable.

Now 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, Diſcipline ſhould be moſt inſignificant where there are feweſt to be govern'd, and infect the reſt. And that no Regulation cou'd be of Force enough to keep a few People within Compaſs. Had it not been for the Authority of this *Preamble*, one wou'd have thought the greater Monaſteries wou'd have been more difficultly manag'd. But theſe, the *Act* tells us were regular enough, and anſwer'd the Ends of their Inſtitution. *Fuller* takes the Freedom to fancy there was ſomething of Fineſs in this Commendation. The *leſſer* Abbies he believes cou'd not be ſuppreſs'd without the Votes of the *Greater*. And of theſe latter there were no leſs than Twenty Six mitred Barons who ſate in the Houſe of Lords *(a)*. 'Twas Prudence therefore to lay the Apprehenſions of theſe Abbots aſleep, and prevent their Suſpicion of falling under the ſame Fate.

(*a*) Fuller. *Church Hiſtory p.* 312.

The Revenue and Riches of the Abbies diſſolv'd.

And thus Three Hundred Seventy Six of theſe ancient Monuments of Devotion (as the Lord *Herbert* calls 'em) *(b)* were diſincorporated and diſſolv'd: A yearly Revenue of Two and Thirty Thouſand Pounds accrued to the *Exchequer*: And the Goods and Chattels at a low Valuation, amounted to a Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

(b) Lord Herbert, *p.* 377.

However, the enriching the *Crown* this way, did not give general Satisfaction. For no leſs than Ten Thouſand Perſons were ſent into the World unfurniſhed, and in a manner undone by this Expedient *(c)*.

(c) Stow's *Annal.*

The ſlender Proviſion made for the religious and thoſe who belong'd to 'em.

The ſeeing the Monks and Nuns ſtrole about the Country for their Bread, and the Churches pull'd down, prophan'd, and turn'd to Barns and Pidgeon-Houſes, was no agreeable Spectacle. Beſides, ſince the *Statute* gave the King all Sums of Money due to the *Monaſteries*, 'twas thought reaſonable the Debts owing by thoſe *Houſes* ſhou'd have been diſcharg'd. This was accordingly done for the moſt part, at the *Surrender*, by the King's Commiſſioners. But when *Relicks* happen'd to be pawn'd, it ſeems they refuſed to redeem 'em: Thus one Man loſt Fourty Pound upon St. *Andrew*'s Finger, excepting One Ounce of Silver with which it was cover'd *(d*.

(d) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 377.

And here we are to obſerve, that ſome few of theſe *Religious*, in hopes 'tis likely of better Entertainment, ſurrender'd their Houſes before the paſſing this *Statute* *.

* *Biſhop* Burnet, *p.* 1. *p.* 191.

This *Diſſolution* of the Abbies made the Princes of *Germany* more forward to enter into Alliance with *England*. This unexpected Step, they took for an Indication of the King's Averſion for any Correſpondence with *Rome*: They had likewiſe Reaſon to conclude Queen *Anne* in the ſame Diſpoſition. This was no more than a plain Inference from the Intereſt of her Marriage. This Complexion of Affairs, invited 'em to make Propoſals of a Treaty to the King's Ambaſſadors *. The Articles were theſe.

* *At* Smalcalde.

The Propoſals of the Princes of Germany.

Firſt, That the King ſhou'd receive the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, only with this Latitude; that ſome Alterations might be made in that *Syſtem* by common Conſent.

Secondly, The King was to be oblig'd to join with 'em in the defence of a free *Council*.

Thirdly, That neither of the Parties ſhou'd allow of the *Intimation* of a *Council*, or agree to the Place without a mutual Concurrence: And that if ſuch a *Council* was conven'd as was now promis'd by the Pope's Legate *Vergerius*, it ſhou'd not be refus'd.

Fourthly, That if the Pope did not ſtand to his Legate's Propoſals, they ſhou'd oppoſe his Proceedings, and proteſt publickly againſt him.

Fifthly, That the King ſhou'd unite with 'em in their League, as well as in their Religion, and accept the Title of Defender of it.

Sixthly, That the common Belief of the Pope's *Primacy* ſhou'd be totally renounc'd.

Seventhly, That if either of the Parties happen to be invaded for Religion, the other ſhall ſend no Forces againſt 'em.

Eightly, That the King ſhall pay a Hundred Thouſand Crowns towards ſupporting the Confederacy: And if the War happen'd to be drawn out into length, this Sum was to be doubled; upon Condition however, that when a Peace was made, the remainder ſhou'd be return'd.

Laſtly, When the King had declar'd his Mind upon theſe Points, they promis'd to ſend him ſome Men of *Learning* with a publick Character.

Theſe Overtures being tranſmitted by *Cromwell* to *Gardiner*, then Ambaſſador in *France*; the Biſhop returned him this Advice.

A. D. 153$\frac{5}{6}$.
* Cotton. Libr. Cleop. 5. *fol.* 213.
The Bp. of Winchester's *Opinion upon the Overture.*

“ The granting the firſt Article, he ſaid wou'd * bind the King to the Senſe of the Church of *Germany*. And thus he wou'd be under an obligation, not to make uſe of the Permiſſions of *Revelation*, without the Concurrence of common Conſent.

“ Now if ſuch a ſtipulation ſhou'd be defenſible, the Biſhop of *Rome* wou'd take the advantage of this Inference; That the Word of God might be brought under Conditions, and limitted to a common Aſſent. Such an Article therefore wou'd be unwarrantable: For the word of God leaves both Parties at liberty to Reform as far as Truth and the Intereſt of Religion directs: Neither can they barr themſelves from proceeding in this manner by any Treaty whatſoever.

“ He ſuggeſted another Difficulty drawn from the Diſparity of Authority between the King and the Proteſtant Princes. The King, ſays he, is a Sovereign Magiſtrate, veſted with imperial Juriſdiction; and in Conſequence of that Prerogative *Head* of the Church of *England*: But the Princes of *Germany* are but Dukes at the higheſt: They are no more than Subordinate Governours, and ſuch as make no ſcruple to own their Emperor for their chief Lord. Now ſince we prove the King *Head* of the Church of *England*, from his *Civil* Supremacy, 'twill follow by Parity of Reaſon, that the Emperor is *Head* of the Churches in *Germany*. Things ſtanding thus, which way can theſe Princes be in a Condition to perfect a Treaty, or ſettle an Agreement of Religion between us? Which way can this be done, without the Conſent of his Imperial Majeſty the *Head* of their Church? Or how can we Stipulate upon Points of Religion, with thoſe who confeſs themſelves Subjects, without Prejudice to the King's Authority? For if we muſt be govern'd in theſe matters by our *Head* the King's Highneſs, the Emperor will expect theſe Princes ſhou'd treat him with the ſame deference. And that his Imperial Majeſty ſhou'd direct religious Affairs *within the Limitations of the word of God*. If this reaſoning is not allow'd by the Princes at *Smalcalde*, we ſhall diſagree in a matter of Importance. For then, they muſt either deny the Emperor's being their *Supream*, which contradicts their publick acknowledgements: Or elſe they muſt fall into our Opinion, and confeſs him the *Head* of their Church. And if ſo, 'twill not be in their Power to conclude any thing without his Concurrence: For what ever is done in this Caſe, may be alter'd by his Imperial Majeſty; *the word of God* being made the Rule for his Proceedings.

“ Farther, The King may ſtipulate to abide by a Settlement concluded by common Conſent, provided the *Scriptures* are made the Standard, and govern the Diſpute. But then which way their Promiſe can bind without their Sovereign's Conſent, was paſt the Biſhop's Comprehenſion.

“ As concerning the *Council*, he thought their Propoſal very much embaraſs'd. For ſince the King has no Correſpondence with the Emperour, or Dependence upon him, why ſhou'd his Highneſs be oblig'd to admit of any Council conven'd by that Prince's direction? And yet, this conſent follows from one of the Articles, for the Proteſtants inſiſt upon the accepting ſuch a *Council* as had lately been offer'd by the Pope's Legate: Thus much for the Second and Third Articles.

“ As for the Fourth Article, the King may do his Part, and proteſt againſt an exceptionable *Council*; but how the Princes his Allies ſhou'd perform their's, is ſomewhat unintelligible. For in Caſe the Emperour agrees to the calling a *Council*, by what defenſible Authority can they hinder it?

“ Farther, the Biſhop adviſes the preſſing theſe Princes to own the King's *Stile*; he means that of his being *Head of the Church*: That ſuch an Acknowledgement wou'd be ſerviceable to his Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy*, and make the *Divorce* look the better: And that in this latter Cauſe, he thought *Providence* had in a great meaſure decided for the King, by the Death of the Princeſs *Dowager*. The reſt of the Letter relates to the *State*: However, ſince it gives a farther diſcovery of *Gardiner*'s Abilities, and ſhews him a Perſon of no ordinary reach, I ſhall inſert it among the *Records* (*e*).

(*e*) *See Records, N.* 34.

To proceed to ſome other *Acts* paſs'd in this Parliament, with relation to the Church.

No Tenths to be paid by the Incumbent for the firſt Year.

The firſt I ſhall mention refers to an *Act* paſs'd in the laſt Parliament, touching *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, then granted to the *Crown*. This *Statute* takes off ſome little of the weight of that Burthen, and Enacts that no *Tenths* ſhall be demanded for the firſt Year, in which the *Firſt Fruits* were due (*f*). The Privilege of this Abatement extended to the *Religious Houſes*, as well as to the *Secular* Clergy.

(*f*) 27. H. 8. c. 8.

The Regulation of Sanctuaries.

There was a Proviſion made, for the better government of *Sanctuaries*. Thoſe under this Protection were oblig'd to wear Badges, to appear with no Weapons about 'em, not to walk abroad before Sun riſing, or after Sun ſetting; not to reſiſt their Governours, *&c.* who were impower'd to determine any Debt under Forty Shillings, *&c.* (*g*).

(*g*) 27 H. 8. c. 19.

27 H. 8. c. 20.

“ In another *Act*, for the better recovery of *Tythes*, the Preamble complains, that many of the People had been more outragiouſly fraudulent in detaining their Tythes, and diſregard the Decrees of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, with more Contempt than had ever been known.

A Court of Augmentation erected.

“ For the better regulation of the Revenues of the *Crown* ariſing from the *Diſſolution* of the leſſer *Monaſteries*, a Court of *Augmentation* was erected: And all Lands, Mannors, and Rents of *religious Houſes*, which are or ſhall come to the King's Hands, are put in the Order, Survey and Governance of the ſaid Court. Farther, by this *Statute*, in all Grants of Abby Lands made by the King; a Tenure by

Cranmer Th. *Abp of* Cant.

“ Knights Service *in Capite* and a yearly Rent of the tenth part of the yearly value of ſuch Lands, were reſerv'd to the *Crown*. The Officers of this Court were a Chancellor, Treaſurer, an Attorney, Sollicitor, Ten Auditors, Seventeen Receivers, beſides a Clark, Uſher and Meſſenger. By the ſettling ſo many Officers, the Diſſolution of the greater Abbies ſeems to have been concerted; otherwiſe, one wou'd have thought *Seventeen Receivers* had been more than neceſſary.

27 H. 8. c. 27.

c. 19.

The *Act* made in the twenty fifth of this Reign, concerning the impowering the King to nominate Sixteen of the *Spiritualty*, and Sixteen of the *Layety* to examine the *Canons*, is confirm'd in this Parliament. And here the King is authoriz'd to ſupply the Number of thoſe who ſhall happen to deceaſe after his firſt Nomination. The *Act* has a Proviſo, that no Canons or Conſtitutions repugnant to the Prerogative Royal, or the Laws of the Realm, ſhall be made or put in execution. The King's Authority for the Nomination of the ſaid Two and Thirty Perſons is limited to three Years after the Diſſolution of this Parliament. By the way, his Majeſty never made any uſe of this Privilege.

27 H. 8. c. 15.

The King's Ambaſſadours Anſwer to the Proteſtant Princes at Wittenburgh.

How far *Gardiner*'s advice, concerning the *German* Alliance, govern'd the Ambaſſadors private Inſtructions is uncertain. However, the following anſwer was return'd to the Proteſtant Princes. “ The Ambaſſadours acquainted 'em, the King was ſatisfied with the main of their Propoſals; but expected they ſhould yield to an *Amendment* in ſome Particulars. And notwithſtanding the repoſe of his own Dominions, and that he had no reaſon to fear any foreign Attack; yet he was willing to part with the Money they deſired, provided the Confederacy was ſettled: That he deſired to diſcourſe their Ambaſſadours farther upon that Head: That he thank'd 'em for the Honour of offering him to be head Guarantee of the League: That notwithſtanding, he was not inſenſible, how invidious a diſtinction this was, yet for the ſake of the Publick Intereſt, he ſhou'd not decline it, provided the firſt and ſecond Articles were adjuſted. For unleſs they cou'd come to a Harmony in Doctrine, he conceived the undertaking ſuch a Function might diſoblige his Character. He was deſirous therefore in the firſt Place, that the learned both of his own, and their Dominions, might be brought to the ſame Sentiment: That this was impracticable, unleſs ſome Articles in their *Confeſſion* were ſoften'd, and farther explain'd: That private Conferences were the beſt expedient for ſuch a Temper. He requeſted 'em therefore to diſpatch their *Agents* to him, and to join ſome Perſon of eminent learning in the Embaſſy: That thus furniſh'd, they might argue the Caſe; and go through the Controverſy with ſome of his Subjects. And when the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church, were thoroughly debated; 'twas to be hoped they might cloſe and underſtand each other (*h*).

March. 12 $153\frac{5}{6}$.

Melancthon and ſome others ſent from the Proteſtant Princes into England. Ibid.

To this and ſome Points of *State* inſiſted on by the Ambaſſadours, the Duke of *Saxony* replied, he wou'd conſult the Confederates. Theſe meeting ſoon after at *Frankford*, 'twas agreed to ſend an Embaſſy into *England*, but with this Proviſo, that nothing ſhou'd be done to the Prejudice of their Allegiance to the Emperour. *Sturmius* was the Ambaſſadour for the Confederate Cities: The Divines join'd with him, were *Melancthon Bucer*, and *Draco*. But the Misfortune of Queen *Anne* intervening, diſconcerted the juncture, and retarded the affair for ſome time.

Hen. VIII. K.

After the Death of Queen *Catharine*, Queen *Anne* 'tis likely thought herſelf ſecure: And thus relying too much on the Eſtabliſhment of her Greatneſs, manag'd with leſs Caution and Reſerve, than was required to preſerve her in the King's Eſteem. But this, it may be was not the intire Cauſe of her Ruine: For 'tis certain the King had already remov'd his Affection to *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*. This Lady being a finer Woman, and a Novelty to the King's Fancy, might probably make his Jealouſie run higher againſt the Queen, and proceed to the utmoſt Rigours of Law againſt her. However, how far the King was govern'd by his ſuſpicions is altogether uncertain (*i*).

May 1. *The Fall of Q.* Anne.

To come to the Narrative: There was a ſolemn Tilting at *Greenwich* on *May-day*; at this Diverſion 'tis ſaid by ſome, the Queen dropt her Handkerchief, which was taken up by a ſuppos'd Favourite, who wiped his Face with it. The King taking notice of this Paſſage, immediately withdrew, to the great ſurprize of the Queen and Court. The King went immediately to *Weſtminſter*; and the next Morning *George* Lord *Rochford* the Queen's Brother, and *Henry Norreys* were committed to the *Tower* (*k*). The ſame Day the Queen coming to *London*, was apprehended in her Barge by the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Chancellor *Audley*, *Cromwell* Principal Secretary, and Sir *William Kingſton* Lieutenant of the *Tower*: When theſe Lords acquainted her with the reaſon of the King's diſſatisfaction, ſhe declared ſtrongly againſt the Imputation; and made a ſolemn Appeal to God for her Innocency. She requeſted the Favour of ſeeing the King before her Commitment; but they told her, they had no Commiſſion to gratifie her. Thus ſhe was convey'd to the *Tower*, where a great deal of diſcourſe paſs'd between her and Sir *William Kingſtone*, upon the ſubject of her reſtraint. Her Language was broken and diſturb'd: She ſeem'd to diſcover a mixture of Aſſurance and Confuſion: For ſhe laugh'd one Minute and wept another. Beſides her Brother and *Norreys*, *William Breerton* Eſq; Sir *Francis Weſton*, a Gentleman of the *Privy-Chamber*, and one *Mark Smeton* a Muſician, were committed on the ſame occaſion. The Queen, tho' ſhe always defended her Honour, and deny'd the height of the Charge, yet ſhe confeſs'd enough to prove ſhe had been Airy to Indiſcretion, taken improper Freedoms, and convers'd out of guard (*l*).

May 2.

May 3. *The Archbiſhop's Letter in her Behalf.*

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was much afflicted at her Misfortune, and did his utmoſt to preſerve her. He wrote a conſolatory Letter to the King: In which after having ſuggeſted equality of Temper, and Reſignation to Providence, he puts the King gently in mind of the good Opinion he always entertain'd of the Queen, and the great Obligations he had received from her, and how much afflicted he was to hear her Virtue call'd in queſtion. And here to prevent ſhocking the King, as if he had gone too far in his Jealouſie, he tells him, that unleſs the Queen had been to blame, he conceives his Highneſs wou'd not have proceeded in that manner againſt her. He deſires therefore, he may have the Liberty to wiſh her well, and that ſhe may wipe off the Blemiſhes caſt upon her Honour. In ſhort, he endeavours to diſpoſe the King to Clemency and good Nature, with a Reſerve notwithſtanding, that in Caſe ſhe was found guilty, neither himſelf, nor any of his Friends wou'd ſollicite for her. But let the Iſſue of this Matter prove never ſo unfortunate, he begs

the

(*h*) Sleidan Comment. Lib 10. April 24. 1536.

(*i*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 381.

(*k*) Heylin. *Hiſt. Ref. under Q.* Eliz. *p.* 92.

(*l*) *Ld.* Herbet, *p.* 382.

the King wou'd ſtill continue his Regards to *Religion*; inſinuating withal, that if his Highneſs ſhou'd vary in his Conduct, it might be thought 'twas not ſo much Truth, as Inclination which gover'd him in this Affair.

A Letter ſuppoſed hers to the King.

But neither this *Letter* of the Archbiſhop's, nor another, ſaid to be written by her ſelf, made any Impreſſion upon the King. The Queen's Letter, mention'd by the Lord *Herbert* and others, is ſaid to be found among *Secretary Cromwell*'s *Papers*; but 'tis no Original: 'Tis written with a great deal of Genius and Elocution, and not at all reſembling her *Manner*, either in her two Letters to *Wolſey*, or her *Speech* upon the Scaffold. 'Tis poſſible ſhe might dictate the *Minutes*, and ſome Attendant of hers might draw it into Length, and give it a rais'd Turn. In this *Letter* ſhe expoſtulates with the King, charges him with hard Uſage, and vindicates her Innocency to the heighth. She lets him know, ſhe expected ſome Inconſtancy in her Fortune, and that his Highneſs wou'd be apt to diſingage and float in his Affection. She deſires ſhe may be brought to a Tryal, but excepts againſt the Prepoſſeſſion of her Judges. And if his Majeſty has determin'd her Fate, and ſhe muſt be ruin'd by dint of Calumny, ſhe deſires God to forgive him ſo great an Injuſtice; appeals to the laſt Judgment, where ſhe does not queſtion her own Conduct in this Matter will be ſufficiently approv'd.

Her laſt Requeſt is, that his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure may reſt only upon herſelf, and not deſtroy thoſe innocent Gentlemen committed on her account (*m*).

On the twelfth of *May*, *Norreys*, *Weſton*, *Breerton*, and *Smeton* were tryed by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* at *Weſtminſter Hall*. *Smeton*, as Biſhop *Burnet* relates, confeſs'd the Fact (*n*). But the Lord *Herbert*'s Silence in this matter, ſeems to import him of another Opinion: To which we may add, that *Cromwell*'s Letter to the King takes notice that only ſome Circumſtances were confeſs'd by this *Smeton* (*o*).

They were all four brought in guilty, and executed on the ſeventeenth of *May*.

The Queen and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother were arraign'd and tried by their Peers in the *Tower*, and found guilty. This it ſeems did not give the King full Satisfaction without proceeding to a *Divorce*. To make way for this Proceſs a Præ-contract between her and the Lord *Piercy*, now Earl of *Northumberland*, was ſuggeſted. The Earl to clear this Matter wrote a Letter to *Cromwell*; he acquaints this *Miniſter*, that he had formerly been examin'd upon this Subject before the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*: That he took his Oath before theſe two Prelates, there had never been any Contract or Promiſe of Marriage between that Lady and himſelf. That he had taken the bleſſed Sacrament before the Duke of *Norfolk* and others, and wiſh'd it might be his Damnation if there was any ſuch Engagement between them (*p*). But notwithſtanding the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Evidence, ſome other Reaſons were diſcover'd for the Ground of a Divorce. Our learned Church Hiſtorian affirms ſhe confeſs'd a Præ-contract to prevent the Severity of the Execution: And that the Sentence of being burnt, might be mitigated to beheading (*q*). But it does not appear ſhe was particular in this Confeſſion. She only acknowledg'd there were ſome juſt and lawful Impediments againſt her Marriage with the King. And therefore the *Inſtrument* under *Cranmer*'s Archiepiſcopal Seal, only takes notice that the Marriage was null and void for good and valuable Reaſons, without mentioning what they were (*r*).

May 13. *The Earl of* Northumberland *denies a Pre-contract with her.*

She confeſſes ſome Impediment againſt the Lawfulneſs of her Marriage with the King.

* The *Sentence* of Divorce was ſolemnly pronounc'd at *Lambeth*, before the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, *William* Lord *Sandys*, *Thomas Cromwell* Maſter of the Rolls, and Principal *Secretary*, with others of the *Privy Council*: to which we may add the Queen's Proctors, and ſeveral dignified Clergy. This *Sentence* of Divorce was confirm'd in Convocation *, and afterwards in Parliament.

May 17.

June 9.

The *Statute* touching the Succeſſion of the Crown (*s*), ſets forth, *That till now of late the Marriage between his Majeſty and the Lady* Anne *was reputed by the Nobles and Commons to have been good and unexceptionable. But that now God had brought to light and open Knowledge certain juſt, true and lawful Impediments unknown at the making of ſome former Acts: And that by the Lady* Anne's *Confeſſion before* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *it plainly appear'd that the ſaid Marriage between his Grace and the ſaid Lady* Anne, *was never good, nor conſonant to the Laws, but utterly void and of none effect*. Farther, by this Act, *The Lady* Elizabeth, *Daughter to Queen* Anne, *is declared illegitimate, and diſabled from inheriting the Crown.*

Her Divorce confirm'd by Convocation and Parliament, and her Daughter declared illigitimate.

I obſerve the *Record* of this *Divorce*, at *Lambeth*, tho' paſſing thro' all the Forms, and thus publickly atteſted, is not enter'd upon the *Regiſter*. This is ſomewhat remarkable, eſpecially ſince that of *Anne* of *Cleve*, which happen'd ſome few Years after, is inſerted at length.

To go backward a little: The Queen was allow'd but a ſhort time after Judgment againſt her: For on the ninteenth of *May* ſhe was brought to a Scaffold within the *Tower*, where ſhe ſpoke to this Effect.

Her Speech at her Death. May 19.

“ She told the People, ſhe was condemn'd by
“ Law, and therefore ſhou'd offer nothing againſt
“ the *Sentence*. 'Twas not her Intention to ac-
“ cuſe any Perſon, nor deliver any thing concern-
“ ing the Matter wherewith ſhe was charged.
“ She pray'd God to preſerve the King, to bleſs
“ him with a long Reign, and then ſpeaks very
“ full in Commendation of his Clemency and
“ good Nature. And if any Perſon was diſpo-
“ ſed to examine the Proceedings, and interpoſe
“ their Opinion in her Cauſe, ſhe requir'd 'em to
“ make the beſt Conſtruction.

This Queen's Memory was differently treated: Some cenſur'd her Silence upon the Scaffold with reſpect to the Vindication of her Innocence. She was not, they thought, explicite enough in juſtifying her Behaviour. Others interpreted this Reſervedneſs to a Tenderneſs for her Daughter, and that the taxing the King with Injuſtice at her Death, might have proved unſerviceable to the Lady *Elizabeth*. Others make her Death judicial, and that it was a providential Puniſhment upon her, for ſupplanting Queen *Catharine* (*t*). She is reported to have been a very charitable Lady; and that ſhe expended above fourteen thouſand Pounds this way in leſs than a Year. She had likewiſe a Deſign of raiſing a Stock to employ poor Tradeſmen. This Queen was a Favourer of the *Reformation*, but not to the length of *Fox*'s Opinion: For ſhe was altogether averſe to the Suppreſſion of *Religious Houſes*; and put *Hugh Latimer* upon preaching againſt it before the King. She likewiſe caution'd others of the Clergy not to declaim againſt the Monaſteries, and preach down the Inſtitution *. As to her Deſcent, ſhe was eldeſt

Her Extraction.

(*m*) Id. *p*. 382.

(*n*) *Bp*. Burnet, *pt*. 1. *p*. 202.

(*o*) Heylin, *Hiſt. Ref. p*. 92.

(*p*) *Ld*. Herbert, *p*. 384.

(*q*) *Bp*. Burnet, *pt*. 1. *p*. 203.

(*r*) Heylin, *Hiſt Ref. p*. 94.

* *MS*. Johan. Anſtey Armig.

* Fuller *from the Acts of the Convocation, p*. 207.

(*s*) 28 H 8. c. 7.

(*t*) Saunders de Schiſm. Anglicano, *p*. 169.

* *Mr*. Harbin's *MSS*

eldeſt Daughter to Sir *Thomas Boleyn* afterward Earl of *Wiltſhire.* Her Mother was *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk.* Her Father's Family had intermarried with the Houſe of *Ormond*, and was related to ſeveral of the chief Gentry in *Norfolk.* It ſeems the King parted with her without the leaſt Regret: For the next Day after her Execution he was married to Mrs. *Seymour (u).*

(*u*) Id. *and Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 207.

The Princeſs Mary's *Submiſſion to the King her Father.*

The Fall of this Queen, and the Illegitimation of the Lady *Elizabeth*, gave the Princeſs *Mary* ſome Hopes of a favourable Juncture. About this time therefore ſhe wrote ſeveral Letters to the King, to improve her Intereſt, and recover his Affection. She had loſt ground it ſeems by adhering to her Mother's Cauſe, and not being ſo flexible as the King expected. Upon her making a General Submiſſion, for this Incomplyance, the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent to her, with Orders from the King, to put her hand to certain Articles: The Purport of 'em in ſhort was, to acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; to ſubmit to the Laws of the Kingdom; to renounce the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretended Power, and diſclaim all manner of Intereſt from that Quarter; to acknowledge the Marriage between his Majeſty and her Mother to be wholly unlawful; to declare for what Reaſon, and at whoſe Suggeſtion, ſhe had ſo long continued obſtinate; and laſtly, upon what Motive, and by whoſe Advice, ſhe made her Submiſſion now. She demurr'd to the two laſt Queſtions, being not willing to diſcover her Friends. As to the other Articles ſhe return'd the following Subſcription.

"The Confeſſion of me the Lady *Mary* made upon certain Points and Articles (*w*) underwritten, in the which, as I do now plainly and with all my Heart confeſs and declare mine inward Sentence, Belief and Judgment with a due Conformity of Obedience to the Laws of this Realm: So minding for ever to continue and perſiſt in this Determination without Change, Alteration or Variance: I do moſt humbly beſeech the King's Highneſs, my Father, whom I have obſtinately and inobediently offended in the Denial of the ſame heretofore, to forgive mine Offences therein, and to take me to his moſt gracious Mercy.

(*w*) Ex Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

"*Firſt*, I confeſs and knowledge the King's Majeſty to be my Sovereign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of *England*, and do ſubmit my ſelf to his Highneſs, and to all and ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm as becomes a true and faithful Subject to do, which I ſhall alſo obey, keep, obſerve, advance and maintain according to my bounden Duty, with all my Power, Force and Qualities that God has endued me with, during my Life.

"*Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute and knowledge the King's Highneſs to be ſupreme Head in Earth under Chriſt of the Church of *England*, and do utterly refuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretended Authority, Power and Juriſdiction within this Realm heretofore uſurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that Behalf, and of all the King's true Subjects humbly received, admitted and obey'd, kept and obſerv'd, and alſo do utterly renounce and forſake all manner of Remedy, Intereſt and Advantage which I may by any means claim by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Laws, Proceſs, Juriſdiction, or Sentence at this preſent time, or in any ways hereafter, by any Manner, Title, Colour, Mean or Caſe that is, ſhall, or can be devis'd for that Purpoſe.

MARY.

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly and for the Diſcharge of my Duty towards God, the King's Highneſs and his Laws, without other reſpect, recognize and knowledge that the Marriage, heretofore had between his Majeſty and my Mother, the late Princeſs Dowager, was by God's Law, and Man's Law inceſtuous and unlawful.

MARY.

The Pope offers at an Accommodation with the King.

Notwithſtanding the ſeveral *Acts* of Parliament for diſclaiming the Juriſdiction of the *See* of *Rome*; notwithſtanding the Proteſtation of the Clergy, Univerſities and Religious to the ſame Purpoſe, the Pope did not utterly deſpair of retrieving his Affairs in *England.* He ſent for the King's *Agent* Sir *Gregory Caſſaley*, told him he was glad to hear the King was diſingag'd from his laſt unfortunate Marriage: That now his Highneſs had an Opportunity of procuring a Peace between the Emperour and the *French* King: That he wou'd be in a Condition to ſucceed in this honourable Undertaking by renewing his Correſpondence with the Apoſtolick *See.* As for himſelf he always endeavour'd to do his Highneſs good Offices: That when he was Cardinal, he ſolicited *Clement* the Seventh to do him Juſtice in his Divorce; and uſed his Intereſt with the Emperour to acquieſce. As for *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he ſent him a Cardinal's Hat only to make him more ſerviceable at the *General Council.* 'Tis true, when the News of that Prelate's Death was brought to *Rome*, he was preſſed to ſhew his Reſentment. At this Juncture he could not avoid doing ſome things which carried a rough Appearance, *tho' he never deſign'd to drive 'em to the Head* *. He intended therefore to diſpatch a *Nuncio* into *England*, after which a *Council* might be expected, and a War concerted againſt the *Turk.* All this he deſir'd Sir *Gregory* to advertize the King of, without taking notice 'twas done at his *Holyneſs*'s Inſtance (*x*).

* Quæ tamen nunquam in animo habuit ad Exitum perducere.

May 27.

(*x*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 387.

Soon after Cardinal *Campegio* ſent his Brother *Marco Antonio* into *England* to ſolicit the regaining his Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*: This and ſome other Buſineſs was given out; but the main of his Journey was in all Likelihood to work the King to a Reconciliation. But the Terms propos'd, not giving Satisfaction, the Pope concluded an Accommodation impracticable. And now being reſolv'd to treat the King as an Heretick, he endeavour'd to form a Confederacy againſt him. He gain'd the Emperour by intimating a *Council* at *Mantua* for the next Summer. And to bring *James* the Fifth of *Scotland* into the Alliance, he careſs'd him with Preſents, and ſent him a rich conſecrated Sword. Upon Tryal made at the *French* Court, he found that Prince not in the Diſpoſition expected. But as the *French* King diſappointed the Pope, ſo neither did he come up to King *Henry*'s Inclination. He choſe rather to hold a middle Courſe, and neither wholly ſatisfy, nor break with either. For when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *Gardiner*, laid his Maſter's Proceedings before him, he did not think fit to oblige with his Approbation. He told the Ambaſſador, that notwithſtanding all the King's Subjects ſhou'd be never ſo unanimous touching the Legitimacy of his Iſſue by his ſecond Marriage, yet if foreign Countries were of a different Sentiment it might prove a troubleſome Affair.

But fails of Succeſs.

Id. *p.* 388.

The French *King declares againſt King* Henry's *Marriage with* Catharine *of* Spain, *notwithſtanding Pope* Julius's *Diſpenſation.*

(y) See Records, N. 36.

But tho' the *French* King thought fit to return this cool Anſwer at preſent, he had formerly ſign'd a ſolemn Inſtrument in which he declares againſt the Lawfulneſs of King *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catharine* of *Spain*, approves that with Queen *Anne*, and engages to ſtand by the King of *England* in Defence of it againſt all Perſons and Authorities whatever *(y)*. This Declaration tho' without a *Date* muſt have been ſign'd before this Time, becauſe the Parliament now ſitting had pronounc'd the Iſſue by Queen *Anne* illegitimate.

This *Seſſion* began *June* the eighth, and held no longer than the eighteenth of *July* following.

The *Statutes* relating to the Church are as follow.

Statutes relating to the Church.

'Twas Enacted that all thoſe, who maintain'd either by writing, printing, preaching or teaching, that the Biſhop of *Rome* had any Juriſdiction within this Realm, ſhou'd incur the Penalty of *Præmunire*. And to fortifie this *Statute*, 'twas ordain'd that all Officers Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, all *Religious* Perſons when they were *profeſs'd*, and all the Clergy at their taking Orders, and Scholars of the Univerſity when promoted to any Degree in Learning, ſhou'd be oblig'd to ſwear a Renunciation of the Pope's Authority, and an Acknowledgment of the King's being the only ſupreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*. This ſolemn Engagement runs in the Stile of *So help me God, all Saints and the holy Evangeliſts (z)*.

(z) 28 H. 8. c. 10. *Statutes at large.*

The Refuſal of this Oath was high Treaſon.

There was a Clauſe for the *Saving* the Ceremonies, *Service*, and Diſcipline of the *Church*; together with the cuſtomary Juriſdiction of the Clergy.

To go on: There was an *Act* paſs'd for the ſecuring the Profits ariſing in Benefices and other Spiritual Promotions and Dignities to the next Incumbent. This *Statute* was made to prevent the *Ordinaries* laying their Hands upon the Profits abovemention'd, during a Vacancy. By this *Act* the Incumbent has the Liberty of bequeathing the Corn upon the Glebe Lands, by his laſt Will and Teſtament. There is likewiſe Proviſion made for *Leſſees* of a Parſonage, *&c.* and for the Payment of the Curate.

(a) 28 H. 8. c. 13.

There's another *Act* touching Non-reſidence (*a*) with ſome Clauſes ſupplemental to the 21 *H.* 8. *cap.* 13.

*28 H. 8. c. 16.

There was likewiſe an *Act* to diſcharge the Licenſes and Diſpenſations granted by the *See* of *Rome* *. It ſets forth, "That the Popes, out of an ambitious Intent to advance and enrich their *See*, had uſurp'd ſeveral Powers and Juriſdictions, in virtue of which, they had granted ſundry Immunities, Faculties, Licenſes, *&c.* to the King's Subjects. 'Tis therefore Enacted that all *Bulls*, Briefs, Faculties and Diſpenſations of what Natures or Qualities ſoever obtain'd of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any of his Predeceſſors, are declared void and of no Force, and never to be us'd, allow'd or pleaded in any Courts of the Realm, under the Penalty of a *Præmunire*. And here by way of Remedy, and to prevent Inconveniencies, all Marriages ſolemniz'd before the twenty third of *November* in the twenty ſixth Year of this Reign, not prohibited by the Law of God, and where no Divorce had paſs'd upon 'em in the Spiritual Courts, are declared good in Law. All Conſecrations of Biſhops, Promotions of Abbots, and other Heads of Religion, *&c.* by virtue of ſuch *Bulls* are confirm'd. And for the future, all who enjoy'd any Privileges or Intereſts upon the ſcore of ſuch Papal Authorities, were to bring their Faculties to the Maſters of *Chancery*, or to ſuch Perſons as the King ſhould nominate. And if the Perſons appointed for this Purpoſe ſhall judge their Faculties ſuch, as may be lawfully granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that then they were to make Application to the Lord Chancellor, who was to paſs the Subſtance of their Faculties under the *Great Seal*.

This *Act* ſtruck at the Privileges of *exempted* Abbies; and unleſs they cou'd get their Privileges renew'd in *Chancery*, brought 'em under the Juriſdiction of their *Ordinaries*: But the Juncture was touchy, and they were glad to acquieſce for fear of a greater Misfortune.

1536.

The Convocation Journal ſtiles Cromwell *only* Honorandus Magiſter Thomas Cromwell Vicarius Generalis. June 16. *fol.* 63.

(*b*) Deformi ſatis ſpectaculo, &c. Godwyn Annal. *p.* 59.

On the ninth of *June* this Year the *Convocation* met. And now *Cromwell*, lately made a Baron and Lord Privy Seal, appear'd among the Prelates, and by the Strength of his Vicar-Generalſhip took Place of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Figure that *Cromwell* made in this *Aſſembly* was ſomewhat ſingular, eſpecially ſince he had neither Birth, Learning, nor *Character* to bear him out. For an ignorant Layman, ſays Biſhop *Godwyn*, to preſide in a *Synod* of the moſt learned Biſhops that ever were in *England*, was but a ſcandalous Sight (*b*). If this Function cou'd have been executed by one of the *Laity*, the King wou'd have done much better in Perſon, than by ſuch a *Proxy*. However *Cromwell* had Courage enough to ſupport his Commiſſion: And repreſented the King up to all the Points of State and Ceremony. He appear'd firſt in the *Upper Houſe* by his Proxy Doctor *Petre*, who claim'd Precedency, and had it, upon the ſcore of his *Deputation*. About a Week after *Cromwell* came thither himſelf, exhibited the *Divorce* between the King and *Anne Boleyn*, to be ſign'd by the *Convocation*. This Inſtrument paſs'd and was ſubſcrib'd by both *Houſes* *.

June 16.

* June 28. *Journal Convoc. fol.* 63, 64.

On *Friday* following, Mr. *Gwent*, the Prolocutor, laid a Book of erroneous Opinions before the Biſhops: 'Twas deliver'd with a *Proteſtation* of the *Lower Houſe* againſt the Heterodoxies publickly preach'd and printed, requeſting that Order might be taken to check the Progreſs of ſuch dangerous Tenents. The *Proteſtation* ſtands at the Head of the *Liſt*; and runs thus.

A Remonſtrance of the Lower Houſe of Convocation againſt ſeveral erroneous Tenents.

"In very humble and reverend Manner, with Proteſtation that we, the Clergy of the *Lower Houſe*, in the Province of *Canterbury*, neither in Word, Deed or otherwiſe, directly or indirectly intend any thing to ſpeak, attempt, or do which in any manner of wiſe may be diſpleaſant unto the King's Highneſs our moſt dread Sovereign Lord and ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*; but in all things according to the Command of God to be moſt obedient to his Grace, to whom accordingly we ſubmit ourſelves, minding in no wiſe by any colourable Faſhion, to recognize privily or apertly the Biſhop of *Rome*, or his uſurp'd Authority, or in any wiſe to bring in, defend or maintain the ſame into this noble Realm, or the Dominions of the ſame. But that the ſame Biſhop of *Rome*, with his uſurp'd Authority utterly for ever with his Inventions, Rites, Abuſes, Ordinances and Faſhions to be renounced, forſaken, extinguiſh'd and aboliſh'd: And that we ſincerely addict ourſelves to Almighty God and his Laws, and to our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King our Supreme Head in Earth, and his Laws, Statutes, Proviſions, and Ordinances made here within his Grace's Realm.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

" We think in our Conſciences and Opinions " theſe Errors and abuſes following to have " been, and now to be within this Realm, Cau- " ſes of Diſſention, worthy ſpecial Reforma- " tion.

Now follows a Recital of the *Errors.*

1. That 'tis commonly preach'd and diſcours'd to the Slander of this noble Realm, the Diſquiet of the People, and to the Hinderance of their Salvation, *that the Sacrament of the Altar is not to be regarded:* For ſeveral profane and ſcandalous Perſons are neither aſham'd nor afraid to ſay, *why ſhou'd I ſee the Sacring of the high Maſs? Is it any thing elſe but a piece of Bread, or a little pretty round Robin?*

2. *Item,* They deny extreme Unction's being a Sacrament.

3. *Item,* They affirm that Prieſts have no more Authority to adminiſter the Sacraments than the Laity.

4. That Children ought not to be confirm'd by the Biſhop till they came to Years of Diſcretion.

5. *Item,* That all Church Ceremonies not expreſly warranted in *Scripture,* are humane Inventions, and for that Reaſon to be laid aſide.

6. That all thoſe deſerve the Character of Antichriſt, who refuſe to communicate the *Laity* under both kinds.

7. That all who are preſent at the *Maſs,* and do not receive with the Prieſt, have no Benefit by that *Office.*

8. That the *Church* in the common Acceptation of the Word is the *Old Synagogue*; and that properly ſpeaking the *Church* conſiſts only of good People.

9. That it was never merry in *England* ſince the *Litany* was brought into the *Service,* and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina, &c.* ſung and repeated.

10. That a Man has no ſuch Faculty as Freedom of Will.

11. That God never gave Grace or Underſtanding in the *Scriptures* to Men of Quality or Fortune: And that ſuch Perſons never govern themſelves by ſuch Directions.

12. That all Monaſtick Diſtinctions are a plain Contradiction to the Chriſtian Religion.

13. That all things ought to be common: And that Prieſts ſhou'd marry. The *Convocation* complains,

14. That Preachers will not conform themſelves to the Catholick Church, nor be govern'd by unexceptionable Authorities, but reſign themſelves to the Liberty of their own Imaginations. The following Heterodoxies are,

15. That no Reverence ought to be paid to the Images of the *Saints:* And that 'tis downright Idolatry to light Lamps or Tapers before an Image, or to have any Lights at divine Service 'till after Sunſet.

16. That it is Idolatry to make any Oblations.

17. That it is as lawful to chriſten a Child in a Tub at Home, or in a Ditch in the Field, as in a Church Font.

18. That the Font is only furniſh'd with conjur'd Water.

19. That the holy Oyl is no better than the Greaſe or Butter in the Pope's Kitchin.

20. That the Tonſure of Prieſts is a Mark of the Whore of *Babylon.*

21. That the *Stole* about the Prieſts Neck is the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Rope, and nothing better.

Hen. VIII. K.

22. That it is a Breach of God's Command for Chriſtians to make a Reverence or Curteſy to our Saviour's Picture.

23. That it is no Fault to eat Meats prohibited by the Church in *Lent.*

24. That it is as lawful to eat Fleſh upon *Good-Fryday* as upon *Eaſter-Day,* or any other time.

25. That a Sin committed in *Lent,* or at any other ſolemn Seaſon, deſerves nothing of extraordinary Puniſhment.

26. That *Auricular Confeſſion,* Abſolution and Penance are neither neceſſary, nor beneficial.

27. That *Auricular Confeſſion* is only a Practice to unlock a Man's Breaſt, and rob him of his Thoughts and Money.

28. That a *Ghoſtly Father* has no Authority to enjoin Penance.

29. That *Confeſſion* to God alone is ſufficient for any Body.

30. That we may as well confeſs to a Layman as to a Prieſt.

31. That *Confeſſion* is nothing but whiſpering in a Prieſt's Ear, and may be done as well before Company as privately.

32. That in this Caſe 'tis ſufficient for the *Penitent* to ſay, he owns himſelf a Sinner.

33. That Biſhops, *Ordinaries* and Eccleſiaſtical Judges have no Authority to excommunicate or abſolve.

34. That 'tis neither neceſſary nor ſerviceable to have Churches or Chapels for divine Service.

35. That burying People in Churches and Church-yards is inſignificant, and to no Purpoſe.

36. That rich Ornaments in Churches are rather diſpleaſing, than acceptable to God Almighty.

37. That 'tis pity *Maſs, Mattins, Veſpers* or any other part of *Divine Service* was ever made, or ſuffer'd to be read or ſung in a Church: Their Reaſon is becauſe they tend only to impoſe upon the People.

38. That the Saints are not to be honour'd with *Invocation:* That they underſtand nothing of our Prayers, nor are in a Condition to mediate between God and us.

39. That our Lady the bleſſed Virgin was no better than another Woman, and that ſhe can prevail with our Saviour no more than another ſinful Perſon of her Sex.

40. That 'tis to no more Purpoſe to pray to the Saints than to throw a Stone againſt the Wind.

41. That all recommending Prayers and Offices ſuch as Diriges, *Maſſes,* Diſtributions of Charity, *&c.* for the Souls of thoſe departed, ſignify nothing.

42. That at the Commencement of the State of Separation the Soul goes immediately either to Heaven or to Hell.

43. That there's no third Place, diſtinct from Heaven or Hell, for the Puniſhment of departed Spirits.

44. That if there be ſuch a Place as Purgatory our Saviour was never incarnate.

45. That Prayers, Suffrages, Faſting and Alms have no Efficacy to diſpoſe God to Forgiveneſs.

46. That *Venial* and *Mortal,* with reſpect to Sins, is a Chimerical Diſtinction.

47. That after the Converſion of a Sinner all Sins are by the Merits of Chriſt's Paſſion made *Venial,* that is are wholly forgiven.

48. That Almighty God does not require Faſting or Alms of a Sinner, but only that he ſhou'd be ſorry for what's paſt, and reform his Practice.

49. That holy Water, holy Bread, hallowing of Candles, Aſhes, Branches of Palm, and ſuch Ceremonies, are altogether inſignificant, and uſed only as Amuſements to delude the People.

50. That Holy-days of Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution are not to be regarded: For all Days are alike, and a Man may go to Plough and Cart on thoſe ſolemn Feſtivals as well as at any other Time.

51. That the ſaying or ſinging of *Maſs*, *Mattins* or *Veſpers* is no better than roaring and whiſtling, maſquerading and *Leger de main:* And the playing on the Organs nothing but Levity and Folly.

52. That going on Pilgrimages, Faſting and giving of Alms are not to be uſed; and that a Man is not bound to come to Church excepting to hear the Sermon.

53. That *Believing* is ſufficient to bring a Man to Heaven without the Condition of a virtuous Practice.

54. That ſome *Noveliſts* are not content to preach againſt the Exceſſes and Irregularities in Pilgrimages, Faſting, Invocation of Saints, Worſhipping of Images, and giving of Alms, but will needs declare againſt the *Thing*, and ſweep off the Practice: For the Reformation of Abuſes is not enough to ſatisfy theſe People.

55. That by ſome Preachers the People are perſuaded to believe nothing without expreſs Proof from Scripture.

56. That ſince our Saviour has redeem'd us by ſhedding his Blood, we need do nothing but believe, and repent our paſt Miſcarriages.

57. That there's a new Form of *Confeſſion* lately made.

58. That the *Canon* of the *Maſs* is the Comment of ſome illiterate fooliſh Prieſt, and that the Names of the Saints there mention'd are not to be rehears'd.

59. That no human Laws or Conſtitutions are binding to any Chriſtian, excepting thoſe of the *New Teſtament*.

After a Recital of theſe erroneous Opinions (as they are call'd;) and indeed moſt of 'em are no better, the *Lower Houſe* complains at the end of their Remonſtrance, that certain Books having been examin'd by a Committee of the *Convocation*, and declared full of Hereſy and Heterodoxy; have notwithſtanding this Cenſure not been expreſly condemn'd by the Biſhops, but ſuffer'd to remain in the Hands of unlearned People: That by this Connivance, the Vulgar were furniſh'd with Arguments to diſpute againſt the Church, and diſturb the Kingdom: That thoſe who had deſerted from the receiv'd Doctrine, and were under an ill Character, both for *Belief* and *Manners*, take leave to preach their Singularities without any Authority either from the King or the Ordinary.

This Cenſure at the End of the Remonſtrance ſeems pretty plainly levell'd againſt Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Shaxton* of *Sarum*. Theſe Prelates were ſuſpected for the Countenance of ſome of the beſt (as we have Reaſon to account 'em) of theſe Opinions. However their Conduct was not uniform and equally unexceptionable: For, as our learned Church Hiſtorian expreſſes it, The Firſt managed *prudently and ſolidly:* The Second *zealouſly and ſimply:* And the Third *with much indiſcreet Pride and Vanity* *.

But Queen *Anne* being taken off with Diſgrace, the Intereſt of theſe Biſhops was thought to decline at Court, and that this was the proper time to make good a Charge againſt 'em. But it ſeems their Enemies miſcalculated in this Matter; for *Cranmer* had the King's Favour no leſs than formerly: And *Cromwell* being partly in the Archbiſhop's Sentiment endeavour'd to attempt ſomething farther againſt the other Party. To this Purpoſe he brought one *Alexander Aleſſe*, a *Scotch* Divine, with him into the *Convocation*. This *Aleſſe* having the Liberty to declare his Opinion concerning the *Sacraments*, endeavour'd to prove that only Baptiſm and the holy Euchariſt were of divine Inſtitution. *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London* argued againſt this Aſſertion out of *Gratian*'s *Decretum*, and diſputed with ſome Vehemence for the receiv'd Number, Seven: He was ſeconded by the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Chicheſter*. *Cranmer* having diſcover'd the Opinions of theſe Prelates, made a learned Diſcourſe concerning the Sufficiency of the *Scriptures*, and the Efficacy of the *Sacraments*. He likewiſe diſcours'd upon the Subject of Traditions, Monaſtick Vows, Cœlebacy of the Clergy, and ſeveral other Uſages unſupported, by *Revelation*. He ſaid, to determine any thing, eſpecially in a *Synod* without Warrant from the *Scriptures* was not becoming the Character of a Biſhop. That the Nicety and Jargon of the *School Divines* was more proper for Boys in the *Univerſity*, than Divines in ſuch a ſolemn *Aſſembly*. *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* abetted *Cranmer*'s Diſcourſe: He told the *Houſe* that for the Prelates to miſtake in Religion, and miſs their way wou'd be more unreputable than formerly: For now the *Goſpel* appear'd in ſo diſtinguiſh'd a manner, that even the common People were enlighten'd. That in *Germany*, where this Biſhop was Ambaſſador, they had recourſe to the original *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and tranſlated the *holy Scriptures* into their own Language. That by theſe Aſſiſtances the People had little Occaſion for Commentaries and *Gloſſes*, but were able to inſtruct themſelves in a great meaſure. That this Precedent of theirs was very commendable, and ought to be follow'd, and that now we ought not to be wholly govern'd by Interpreters, but have Recourſe to the *holy Scriptures* themſelves *.

To return: The fifty nine Propoſitions in the cenſur'd Liſt, *Fuller* calls the Proteſtant Religion in Ore (c). But to make uſe of his Allegory, unleſs we had found a richer Vein, it may very well be queſtion'd, whether the Mine had been worth the working. However, here we have another Repreſentation of the *Lollards* Tenents, which confirms the Truth of what has been already related concerning 'em.

What Succeſs this Remonſtrance met with in the *Upper Houſe* is not related. 'Tis likely a Unanimity in all Points was not to be expected: For the Biſhops were in a manner broke into two Parties. Thoſe who lean'd towards a Reformation were *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Goodrich* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Nicholas Shaxton* Biſhop of *Sarum*, *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *John Hillſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *William Barlow* Biſhop of St. *David*'s. The other Diviſion which adher'd to the receiv'd Doctrines, excepting the Pope's Supremacy, were *Edward Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, *Cuthbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Robert Sherburne* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Richard*

---

* *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 214.

* Antiquit. Brittan. *p.* 333.

(c) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 5. *p.* 208.

chard Nix Biſhop of *Norwich*, *John Kite* Biſhop of *Carliſle*. Theſe Prelates 'tis probable after ſome Conteſts, made reciprocal Conceſſions, and came to a Temper. For now it was that certain Heads of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in Matters of Faith, Sacraments and Ceremonies were ſubſcribed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with many other Biſhops and Abbots.

Articles ſubſcrib'd by the Biſhops and Clergy in Convocation.

Theſe Articles, as the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, were drawn by the King's Order, brought into the *Upper Houſe* of *Convocation* by *Cromwell*, where tho' this Syſtem did not paſs the whole Houſe, 'twas ſubſcrib'd by a Majority of the Biſhops. 'Twas afterwards ſigned by the King, and runs in his Name. The Royal *Declaration* at the Head of it, ſets forth the Occaſion of this Form, and the Authority upon which it ſtood (*d*). It begins thus.

" *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God,
" King of *England* and *France*, Defenſor of the
" Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth, Su-
" preme Head of the Church of *England*, to all
" and ſingular our moſt loving, faithful and o-
" bedient Subjects, greeting,

The King's Declaration relating to Religion.

Amongſt other Cures appertaining unto this our Princely Office, whereunto it has pleaſed Almighty God of his infinite Mercy and Goodneſs to call Us, We have always eſteemed and thought, like as We alſo yet eſteem and think, that it moſt chiefly belongs unto our ſaid Charge, diligently to foreſee and cauſe, that not only the moſt Holy Word and Commandments of God ſhould moſt ſincerely be believed and moſt reverently be obſerved and kept of our Subjects; but alſo that Unity and Concord in Opinions; namely, in ſuch Things as do concern our Religion, may increaſe and go forward, and all Occaſion of Diſſent and Diſcord touching the ſame be repreſs'd and utterly extinguiſh'd.

For the which Cauſe, we being of late to Our great Regret, credibly advertized of ſuch Diverſity in Opinions as have grown and ſprungen in this Our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo touching certain other honeſt and commendable Ceremonies, Rites and Uſages now a long time uſed and accuſtomed in our Churches, for Conſervation of an honeſt Politie, and decent and ſeemly Order to be had therein: Minding to have that Unity and Agreement eſtabliſhed through Our ſaid Church concerning the Premiſes. And being very deſirous to eſchew not only the Danger of Souls, but alſo the outward Unquietneſs, which by the Occaſion of the ſaid Diverſity of Opinions (if Remedy were not provided) might perchance have enſued; have not only in Our own Perſon at many times taken great Pain, Study, Labours, and Travels, but have alſo cauſed Our Biſhops, and other of the moſt diſcreet and learned of Our Clergy of this Our whole Realm, to be aſſembled in Our Convocation for the full Debatement and quiet Determination of the ſame. Where after long and mature Deliberation had of, and upon the Premiſes, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the moſt ſpecial Points and Articles; as well ſuch as be commanded of God, and are neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo divers other Matters touching the honeſt Ceremonies, and good and politick Orders as is aforeſaid; which their Determination, Debatement and Agreement, forſomuch as We think to have proceeded of a good Right, and true Judgment, and to be agreeable to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and much profitable for the Eſtabliſhment of that charitable Concord and Unity in Our Church of England, *which We moſt deſire, We have cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed, willing, requiring, and commanding to accept, repute, and take 'em accordingly. And farther, We moſt heartily deſire and pray Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him ſo to illuminate your Hearts, that you, and every of you may have no leſs Deſire, Zeal, and Love to the ſaid Unity and Concord, in reading, divulging, and following the ſame, than We have had and have in cauſing 'em to be thus deviſ'd, ſet forth and publiſhed.*

And, for becauſe We would the ſaid Articles and every of them ſhould be taken and underſtanden of you, after ſuch Sort, Order, and Degree as appertaineth accordingly; We have cauſed by the Aſſent and Agreement of our ſaid Biſhops, and other learned Men, the ſaid Articles to be divided into two Sorts, whereof the one Part contains ſuch as be expreſly commanded by God, and be neceſſary to our Salvation; and the other contains ſuch Things as have been of a long Continuance, for a decent Order and honeſt Polity, prudently inſtituted and uſed in the Church of Our Realm, and be for that ſame Purpoſe and End, to be obſerved, and kept accordingly, although they be not expreſly commanded of God, nor neceſſary to our Salvation. Wherefore We will and require you to accept the ſame, after ſuch ſort as We have here preſcrib'd them unto you, and to conform your ſelves obediently unto the ſame: Whereby you ſhall not only obtain that moſt charitable Unity and loving Concord, whereof ſhall enſue your incomparable Commodity, Profit and Lucre, as well ſpiritual as other: But alſo you ſhall not a little encourage Us to take farther Travels, Pains, and Labours for your Commodities in all ſuch other Matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it ſhall be moſt to the Honour of God, the Profit, Tranquility, and Quietneſs of all you Our moſt loving Subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

Paper Office.

Firſt, " As touching the chief and principal Ar-
" ticles of our Faith. *Since it is thus agreed, as*
" *hereafter followeth, by the whole Clergy of this Our*
" *Realm*. We woll that all Biſhops and Preach-
" ers, ſhall inſtruct and teach our People *by Us*
" committed to their ſpiritual Charge, that they
" ought and muſt, mooſt conſtantly believe and
" defend all thoſe Things *to be true*, which be
" comprehended in the whole Body and Canon
" of the Bible, and alſo in the Creed and Sym-
" boles; whereof one was made by the Apo-
" ſtles, and is the commune Creed which every
" Man uſeth. The Second was made in the holy
" Council of *Nice*, and is ſaid daily in the Maſſe,
" and the Third was made by *Athanaſius*, and is
" comprehended in the Pſalm, *Quicunque Vult*;
" and that they ought and muſt take and inter-
" pret all the ſame Things according to the
" ſelf ſame Sentence and Interpretation, which
" the Words of the ſaid Creed, or Symboles, do
" purporte, and the holy approved Doctors of
" the Church do entreat and defend the ſame.

2. " *Item*, That they ought, and muſt repute,
" hold, and take all the ſame Things for the
" moſt holy, moſt ſure, and moſt certain, and
" infallible Words of God, and ſuch as neither
" ought ne can be altered or convelled, by any
" contrary Opinion or Authority.

3. " *Item*, That they ought and muſt be-
" lieve, repute, and take all the Articles of our
" Faith, conteyned in the ſaid Creeds, to be ſo
" neceſſary to be believed for Man's Salvati-
" on, that whoſoever (*being* taught) woll not
" believe them as is aforeſaid, or will obſtinate-
" ly affirm the contrary of them, or any of
" them, he or they cannot be the very Mem-
" bers of Chriſt, and his Eſpouſe the Church,
" but be very Infidels or Heretiques, and Mem-

(*d*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 5. *p.* 213. *from the Convocation Records.*

bers of the Devil, with whom they ſhall perpetually be damned.

4. “ *Item*, That they ought, and muſt moſt reverently and religiouſly obſerve and kepe the ſelf ſame Wordes according to the very ſame Form and Manner of Speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceaved, and expreſſed in the ſaid Creeds, without altering in any wiſe, or varying from the ſame.

5. “ *Item*, That they ought and muſt utterly refuſe and condemne all thoſe Opinions, contrary to the ſaid Articles, which were of a long time paſt condemned in the four holy Counſayles, that is to ſay, in the Council of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſie*, and *Chalcedonenſe*, and all others *ſithe that Time in any Point conſonant to the ſame.*

The Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Seconde, “ As touching the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, We will that all Biſhopps, and Preachers, ſhall inſtruct and teach our People, committed *by Us unto* their Spiritual Charge, That they ought and muſt of neceſſity believe certainly all thoſe Things which hath been already alway by th'ole Conſent of the Church approved, received, and uſed in the Sacrament of Baptiſme; that is to ſay, That the Sacrament of Baptiſme was inſtituted and ordayned in the New Teſtament by our Saviour Jeſu Chriſt, as a thing neceſſary for th'attayning of everlaſting Lief, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non poteſt intrare in regnum cœlorum.*

2. “ *Item, That* it is offered unto all Men, as well Infants as ſuch as have the Uſe of Reaſon, that by Baptiſme they ſhall have Remiſſion of Synnes, and the Grace and Favour of God, according to the Saying of *John*, *Qui crediderit, & baptizatus fuerit, ſalvus erit.*

3. “ *Item*, That the Promiſe of Grace and everlaſting Lief, which *Promiſe* is adjoyned unto this Sacrament of Baptiſme, perteyneth not only unto ſuch as have the Uſe of Reaſon, but alſo unto Infants, Innocents and Children, and that they ought therefore and muſt needs be baptized: And that by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, they do alſo obteine Remiſſion of their Sinn, the Grace and Favour of God, and be made thereby the very Sonns and Children of God; inſomuch that Infants and Children dying in their Infancy, ſhall undoubtedly be ſalved thereby, or *elſe not*.

4. “ *Item*, That Infants muſt needs be Chriſtened, becauſe they be born in Original Synne, which Synne muſt needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, whereby they receave the Holy Ghoſt, which exerciſeth his Grace and Efficacye in them, and purifyeth them from Synne, by his moſt ſecret Vertue and Operation.

5. “ *Item*, That Children or Men, once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

6. “ *Item*, That they ought to repute and take all the *Anabaptiſts* and the *Pelagians* Opinions, contrary to the Premiſes, and every other Mann's Opinion agreeable unto the ſaid *Anabaptiſts* or the *Pelagians* Opinions in this behalf, for deteſtable Hereſies, and utterly to be condemn'd.

7. “ *Item*, That Men or Children having the Uſe of Reaſon, and willing and deſiring to be baptized, ſhall, by Vertue of that holy Sacrament, obteyne the Grace and Remiſſion of all their Synnes, if they ſhall come thereunto perfectly and truely repentant, and contrite of all their Synnes before committed, and alſo perfectly and conſtantly confeſſing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article here before, *or elſe not*.

8. “ And finally, if they ſhall *alſo* have firme Credance and Truſt in the Promiſe of God, adjoyned to the ſaid Sacrament; that is to ſay, that in and by this ſaid Sacrament which they ſhall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his Son Jeſu Chriſt's ſake, Remiſſion of all their Synnes, and the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt; whereby they be newly regenerate, and made the very Children of God, according to the Saying of Chriſt, and his Apoſtle Saint *Petre*: *Penitentiam agite & baptizetur unuſquiſque veſtrûm in Nomine Jeſu Chriſti in remiſſionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritûs Sancti:* And according alſo to the ſaying of St. *Paul ad Titum* 3. *Non ex operibus juſtitiæ quæ fecimus nos, ſed ſecundum ſuam miſericordiam ſalvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis Spiritûs Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulentè, per Jeſum Chriſtum Servatorem noſtrum, ut juſtificati illius gratia hæredes efficeremur juxta ſpem vitæ æternæ.*

The Sacrament of Pennance.

Third, “ Concerning the Sacrament of Pennance: We woll that all Biſhoppes and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, That they ought and muſt moſt conſtantly believe, That that Sacrament was inſtitute of Chriſt in the New Teſtament, as a thing ſo neceſſary for Man's Salvation, that no Man which after his Baptiſme, is fallen againe, and hath committed deadly Sinne, can without the ſame be ſalved, or atteyne everlaſting Life.

2. “ *Item*, That like as ſuch Men, which after Baptiſme do fall againe into Synne, if they do not Pennance in this Life, ſhall undoubtedly be damned: Even ſo whenſoever the ſame Men ſhall converte themſelves from their ſaid naughty Life, and do ſuch Pennance for the ſame, as Chriſt requireth of them, *the Declaration whereof followeth*, they ſhall without doubt atteyne Remiſſion of their Synnes, and ſhall be ſalved.

3. “ *Item*, That this Sacrament of perfite Pennance which Chriſt requireth of ſuch manner of Perſons, conſiſteth of three Parts; that is to ſay, Contrition, Confeſſion, with Amendment of the former Life, *and a new obedient Reconciliation* to the Lawes and Will of God; that is to ſay, exterior Actes, in Works of Charitie, according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni pœnitentiæ*.

“ Furthermore, as touching Contrition which is the firſt Parte, We woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People, committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, That the ſaid Contrition conſiſteth in Two ſpecial Parts, which muſt always be conjoyned together, and cannot be diſſevered; that is to ſay, the penitent and contrite Man muſt firſt acknowledge the Filthineſs and Abomination of his own Synnes, (whereunto he is brought by the hearing and conſidering of the Will of God, declared in his Lawes) and

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

feeling and perceiving in his own Conſcience, that God is angry and diſpleaſed with him for the ſame, he muſt alſo conceive not only great Sorrow and inward Shame, that he hath ſo greviouſly offended God, but alſo great Fear of God's Diſpleaſure towards him; conſidering that he hath no Works or Merritts of his owne, which he may worthily lay before God as ſufficient Satisfaction for his Synns; which done, then afterwards with this Fear, Shame and Sorrow muſt needs ſucceed, and be conjoyned the ſecond Parte, *viz.* a certain Faith, Truſt, and Confidence of the Mercy and Goodneſs of God, whereby the Penitent muſt conceave certain Hope and Faith, that God woll forgive him his Synnes, and repute him juſtifyed and of the Number of his elect Children, not for the Worthyneſs of any Merrit or Worke done by the Penitent, but for the only Merritts of the Blood and Paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

“ *Item*, That this certain Faith and Hope, is gotten and alſo confirmed, and made more ſtronge by th'applying of Chriſt's Words and Promiſes of his Grace and Favour conteyned in his Goſpel, and the Sacraments inſtituted by him in the New Teſtament; and therefore t'attayne this certain Faith, the ſecond Part of Pennance is neceſſary; that is to ſay, Confeſſion to a Prieſt, if it may be had, for the Abſolution given by the Prieſt, was inſtitute of Chriſt, to apply the Promiſe of God's Favour and Grace to the Penitent.

3. “ Wherefore as touching Confeſſion, We woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers, ſhall inſtructe and teach our People committed *by Us* unto their ſpiritual Charge, That they ought and muſt certainly believe, that the Words of Abſolution pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſpoken by the Authoritie given unto him by Chriſt in the Goſpel.

4. “ *Item*, That they ought and muſt give no leſs Faith and Credance to the ſame Wordes of Abſolution ſo pronounced by the Miniſters of the Church, than they would give unto the very Wordes and Voice of God himſelf, if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of Heaven, according to the Saying of Chriſt, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata, &c. & qui vos audit me audit.*

5. “ *Item*, That in no wiſe they do contemne this Auricular Confeſſion which is made unto the Miniſters of the Church, but that they ought to repute the ſame as a very expedient and neceſſary Meane, whereby they may require and ask this Abſolution at the Prieſtes Hands, at ſuch Time as they ſhall find their Conſcience grieved with mortal Synnes, and have occaſion ſo to do, to th'intent they may thereby attayne certain Comfort and Conſolation of their Conſciences.

6. “ As touching the Third Part of Pennance, We woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers, ſhall inſtructe and teach our People committed *by Us* to their ſpiritual Charge, That although Chriſt and his Death be the only ſufficient Oblation, Sacrifice, Satisfaction and Recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all Synners, not only their Synnes, but alſo eternal Pain due for the ſame; yet all Men truely penitent, contrite and confeſſed, muſt needs alſo bring forth the Fruits of Pennance; that is to ſay, Prayer, Faſting, Almes-Deeds, and all other good Workes, and expreſſe their obedient Will in the executing and fulfilling of Godds Commandments outwardly, when Time, Power, and Occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto them, or els they ſhall never be ſaved; for this is the expreſſe Precept and Commandement of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentiæ:* And Saynt *Paul* ſaith, *Debitores ſumus:* And in another Place he ſayth, *Quemadmodum exhibuiſtis, &c.* And in another Place alſo he ſayth, *Caſtigo corpus meum & in ſervitutem redigo.*

Hen.VIII.R

“ *Item*, That theſe Precepts and Works of Charity be neceſſary Works to our Salvation, and God neceſſarily requireth that every penitent Man ſhall performe the ſame, whenſoever Time, Power, and Occaſion ſhall be miniſtered unto him ſo to do.

“ *Item*, That by Pennance and ſuch good Works of the ſame, we ſhall not only obteine everlaſting Life, but alſo we ſhall deſerve Remiſſion or Mittigation of theſe preſent Pains and Afflictions in this World, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Si nos ipſi judicaremus, non judicaremur à Domino. Et Zacharias, Convertimini ad me, & ego convertar ad vos. Et Eſa* 58. *Frange eſurienti panem tuum, &c. tunc eris velut hortus irriguus. Et Deus remiſit pœnam Ninivitis propter ipſorum pœnitentiam; hæc ſunt inculcanda Eccleſiis, & ut excitentur ad bene operandum, & in hiis ipſis operibus exerceant, & confirment fidem petentes & expectantes a Deo mitigationem præſentium calamitatum.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

“ *Fourth*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altare, wee will, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtructe and teach our People, committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, That they ought and muſt conſtantly believe, that under the Form and Figure of Bread and Wine, which wee there preſently do ſee, and perceave by outward Senſes, is verily ſubſtantially and really conteyned and comprehended, the very ſelf ſame Body and Blood, of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs for our Redemption. And that under the ſame Forme and Figure, of Bread and Wine, the very ſelf ſame Body and Blood of Chriſt, is corporally, really and in very Subſtance exhibited, diſtributed and receaved of all them, which receave the ſaid Sacrament: And that therefore the ſaid Sacrament is to be uſed with all due Reverence and Honour, and that every Man ought firſt to prove and examin himſelf, and religiouſly to trye and ſearch his own Conſcience before he ſhall receive the ſame, according to the Saying of Saint *Paul*: *Quiſquis ederit panem hunc, aut biberit de poculo Domini indignè, reus erit corporis & ſanguinis Domini; probet autem ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane illo edat, & de poculo illo bibat; nam qui edit, aut bibit indignè, judicium ſibi ipſi manducat & bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.*

Juſtification.

“ *Fifth*, As touching the Order and Cauſe of our Juſtification, We woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers ſhall inſtructe and teach our People committed *by Us* unto their ſpiritual Charge, That this Word Juſtification ſignifieth Remiſſion of our Synnes, and our Acceptation or Reconciliation into the Grace and Favour of God, that is to ſay, our perfite Renovation in Chriſte.

“ *Item*, That Synners attaine this Juſtification, by Contrition and Faith, joyned with Charitie, after ſuch Faſhion, and manner, as wee before mention'd and declared; not as though our Contrition or Faith or any Works proceeding thereof, can worthyly merit or deſerve; to attayne the ſaid Juſtification for the only Mercy and Grace of the Father, promiſed freely unto us, for his Sonns ſake *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Meritts of his Blood, and his Paſſion, be the only ſufficient and worthy cauſe thereof; And yet that notwithſtanding, to th'attaining of the ſaid Juſtification, God requireth to be in us, not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith and Charitie, certaine Hope and Confidence, with all other ſpiritual Graces, and Motions, which as wee ſaid before, muſt neceſſarily concure, in Remiſſion of our Sinnes, that is to ſay our Juſtification; but alſo he requireth and commandeth us, that after wee be juſtified, we muſt alſo have good Works of Charitie, and Obedience towards God, in the obſerving and fullfilling outwardly of his Lawes, and Commandments; for although acceptations to everlaſting Life be conjoyned with Juſtification, yet our good Works be neceſſarily required, to the attayning of everlaſting Life; and wee being Juſtified, be neceſſarily bound, and it is our neceſſary Duty to do good Works, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Debitores ſumus non carni, ut ſecundum carnem vivamus; nam ſi ſecundum carnem vixerimus moriemur; ſin autem Spiritu, facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicunque Spiritu Dei ducuntur, hii ſunt filii Dei.* And *Chriſt* ſaith, *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata.* And St. *Paul*, *De malis operibus* ſayeth, *Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non poſſidebunt.* Wherefore wee woll that all Buſhopps and Preachers, ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed *by Us* to their ſpiritual Charge; That God neceſſarily requireth of us to do good Works, commanded by him; and that not only outward and Civil Works, but alſo the inward ſpiritual Motions and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt: That is to ſay, to dread and fear God, to have ſure Confidence and Truſt in God, to invocate and call upon God, to Love God, to have Patience in all our Adverſities; to hate Synne, and to have certain purpoſe and Will, not to ſynne again, and ſuch other like Motions and Vertues. For *Chriſt* ſayeth, *Niſi abundaverit juſticia veſtra pluſquam Scribarum & Phariſeorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum*; that is to ſay, wee muſt not only do outward Civil good Works, but alſo we muſt have theſe aforeſaid inward ſpiritual Motions conſenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

Of Images.

“ As touching Images, Truth it is, that the ſame hath been ſaid in the *Old Teſtament*, for the great Abuſes of them to have been ſometime deſtroyed and put down; and in the *New Teſtament* they have been alſo allowed as good Authors do declare; wherefore wee woll, that all Biſhopps and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed *by Us* unto their ſpiritual Charge, how they ought and may uſe them; and firſt, That there may be attributed unto them, that they be repreſenters of Virtue and good Example; and that they alſo be by occaſion the Kindlers and Sterrers of Mens Minds, and make Men oft to remember and lament their Synnes and Offences; eſpecially the Images of *Chriſt* and our *Lady*, and that therefore it is meet they ſhould *ſtand* in the Churches, and none otherwiſe to be eſteemed: And to th'intent the rude People ſhould not from henceforth take ſuch Superſtition, as in time paſt it is thought that the ſame hath uſed to do; We woll that our Biſhopps and Preachers, dilligently ſhall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reforme their Abuſes, for elſe there might fortune Idollatrie to inſue, which God forbid: And as for Cenſeing of them, and Kneeling and Offering unto them, with other like Worſhippings; although the ſame hath entered by Devotion, and fallen into Cuſtome, yet the People ought to be dilligently taught, that they in no wiſe do it, nor think it meet to be done, to the ſame Images, but only to be done to God and his Honour: Although it be done before the Images, whither it be of *Chriſt*, of the Croſſe, or of our *Ladye*, or of any other Saint beſide.

Of Honouring of Saints.

“ As touching the Honouring of Saints, wee woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers, that inſtruct and teach our People commited *by Us unto* their ſpiritual Charge, That Saints now being with *Chriſt* in *Heaven*, to be honoured of Chriſtian People in Earth, but not with *that Confidence* and Honour, which are only *due* to God; truſting to attaine at their hands, which muſt be had only of God: But that they be thus to be honoured, becauſe they be known th'elect Perſons of *Chriſt*, becauſe they be paſſed in godly Life out of this tranſitory Worlde, becauſe they already do reign in Glory with *Chriſt*; and moſt ſpecially to laud and praiſe *Chriſt* in them, for their excellent Vertues, which he planted in them, for Example of and by them, to ſuch as are yet in this World, to live in Vertue and Goodneſs: And alſo not to fear to die, for *Chriſt* and his Cauſe, as ſome of them did, and finallye to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our Prayers, and demands unto *Chriſt*. By theſe ways and ſuch like, be Saints to be had in Reverence and Honour, and by none other.

Of Praying to Saints.

“ As touching Praying to Saints, wee woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed *by Us unto* their Spiritual Charge, That albeit, Grace, Remiſſion of Synnes, and Salvation cannot be obteined but of God only, by the Mediation of our Saviour *Chriſt*; which is only ſufficient Mediator for all our Synnes, yet it is very laudable, to pray to Saints in *Heaven* everlaſtingly lyveing, whoſe Charity is ever permanent to be Interceſſors, and to pray for us, and with us to Almighty God, after this manner.

“ All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his deare Son *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Sake, wee may have Grace of him, and Remiſſion of our Synnes, with an earneſt purpoſe, not wanting ghoſtly Strength, to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the ſame againe unto our Lives end. And in this manner wee may pray unto our bleſſed *Lady*, to Saint *John Baptiſt*, to all and

“ every of the Apoſtles, or any other Saint particularly, as our Devotion doth ſerve us; ſo that it be done without any vain Superſtition, as to think that any Saint is more mercifull, or woll here us ſooner than *Chriſt*, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one thing more than other, or is Patron of the ſame: And likewiſe we muſt keep Holy Dayes, unto God in memory of him, and his Saints, upon ſuch Dayes as the Church hath ordained their Memories to be celebrate, except they be mittigated or moderated, by the Aſſent or Commandment of the ſupreme Head to the Ordinaryes, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

“ As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of *Chriſt*'s Church, as to have ſuch Veſtments in doing God's Service, as be and have been moſt part uſed: As ſprinkling of holy Water, to put us in remembrance of our Baptiſm, and of the Blood of *Chriſt* ſprinkled for our Redemption upon the Croſs: Giving of holy Bread, to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar; that all chriſten'd Men be one Body myſtical of *Chriſt*, as the Bread is made of many Graines, and yet but one Loafe; and to put us in remembrance of our receiving of the holy Sacrament and Body of *Chriſt*, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of *Chriſt*'s Church Men did more often *receive* than they uſe now a days to do: Bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, in Memory of *Chriſt*, the Spiritual Light; of whom *Simeon* did propheſie, as is read in the Church that day: Giving of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, to put in remembrance every Chriſtian Man, in the beginning of *Lent* and *Pennance*, that he is but Earth and Aſhes, and thereto ſhall return; which is right neceſſary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother Tongue, always on the ſame Day: Bearing of *Palmes* on *Palm-Sunday*, in Memory of receiving of *Chriſt* into *Hieruſalem* a little before his Death, that we have the ſame deſire to receive him in our Hearts: Creeping to the Croſs, and humbling our ſelves to *Chriſt* on *Good-Fryday*, before the Croſs; and Offering there unto *Chriſt* before the ſame, and kiſſing of it in Memory of our Redemption, by *Chriſt* made upon the the Croſs: Setting up of the Sepulchre of *Chriſt*, whoſe Body after his Death was buried: The hallowing of the *Font*, and other like Benedictions by the Miniſters of *Chriſt*'s Church; and all other like laudable Cuſtoms, Rites and Ceremonies, be not to be condemned and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of thoſe Spiritual things, that they do ſignifie; not ſuffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in Oblivion: But renuing them in our Memories, from time to time: But none of theſe Ceremonies hath Power to remit Sins, but only to ſter and lift up our Minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

“ For as much as due Order of Charity requireth, and the Book of *Maccabees* and divers ancient Doctors plainly ſhew, that it is a very good and charitable Deed to pray for Souls departed; and for as much alſo, as ſuch uſage hath continued in the Church ſo many Years, even from the beginning, *Wee* woll that all Biſhopps and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach, our People committed *by Us unto* their Spiritual Charge, That no Man ought to be grieved with the Continuance of the ſame. And that it ſtandeth with the very due Order of Charity, a Criſtian Man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our Prayers to God's Mercy; and alſo to cauſe other to pray for them in Maſſes and Exequies, and to give Almes to other to pray for them; *whereby they may the ſooner obtain the Mercy of God and the Fruition of his Glory*: But for as much as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of Paines there alſo, be to us uncertain by *Scripture*; therefore this with all other ſuch things we remit to God Almighty, unto whoſe Mercy 'tis meet and convenient for us to commend 'em, truſting that God accepteth our Prayers for them, referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their Eſtate and Condition.

“ Wherefore 'tis much neceſſary that ſuch Abuſes be clearly put away, which under the name of *Purgatory* hath been advanc'd: As to make Men believe that thro' the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardons, Souls might be clearly delivered out of *Purgatory*, and all the Pains of it; or that *Maſſes* ſaid at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwiſe in any Place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver 'em from all their Pains, and ſend 'em ſtrait to Heaven: And other like Abuſes.

A Liſt of thoſe who ſubſcrib'd the Articles.

Sign'd,

Thomas Cromwell.
T. Cantuarienſ.
Johannes London.
Johannes Exon.
Johannes Lincoln.
Johannes Bathonienſ.
Thomas Elienſ.
Johannes Bangor.
Johannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Domino *Roland. Coven. & Litchfield.*
Nicolaus Sarum.
Edvardus Hereford.
Hugo Wygorn.
Johannes Roffen.
Willielmus Norwicen.
Ricardus Ciceſtren.
Willielmus Meneven.
Robertus Aſſaphen.
Willielmus Abbas Weſtm.
Johannes Abbas de Bury.
Ricardus Abbas de Glaſton.
Thomas de Abbingdon.
Willielmus Abbas de Illceſtre.
Clemens Abbas de Eveſham.
Clemens Abbas de Burton, Sti. Petri.
Hugo Abbas de Redyng.
Robertus Abbas de Malmesbury.
Johannes Abbas Croylandie,
Robertus Abbas Sti. Albani.
Johannes Abbas de Bello.
Ricardus Abbas de Winchellcomb.
Thomas Prior de Covent.
Johannes Abbas de Oſney.
Robertus Abbas de Waltham.
Johannes Abbas Cirenceſtr.
Robertus Abbas de Thame.
Henricus Abbas de Gratiis.
Grabriel Abbas de Buckfeſtria.
Henricus Abbas de Wardona.
Robertus Prior ſive Magiſter Ordinis de Sempringham.

Johannes Prior de Newbery.
Thomas Abbas de Stanley.
Ricardus Abbas de Bruera.
Robertus Prior Elienſ.
Radulphus Prior de Lynn.
Willielmus Abbas de Vale Dei.
Ricardus Prior de Lanthony.
Willielmus Prior de Bergaven.
Johannes Teoxber. Abbas.
Robertus de Thorney Abbas.
Ricardus de Notley Abbas.
Willielmus de Stratford Abbas.
Johannes Prior de Merton.
Bartholomeus de Overrey.

There is a larger Liſt of Subſcriptions in an Inſtrument in the *Cotton Library*, ingroſs'd in *Vellum*; and which carries the Face of an original (*e*).

This Inſtrument which 'tis probable was drawn by the *Convocation*, recites the *Members* who ſubſcribed in the *Upper Houſe*. It ſtands thus,

Sign'd,

Thomas Cromwell.
T. Cantuarienſ.
Edovardus Ebor.
Johannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmenſ.
Johannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dommino *Johanne Exon.*
Jo. Bathonienſ.
Thomas Elienſ.
Johannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Domino *Roland Covent. & Litchfield.*
Johannes Bangor.
Nicolaus Sarisburien.
Edovardus Herefordén.
Hugo Wygorn.
Johannes Roffen.
Ricard. Ciceſt.
Willielmus Norwicenſ.
Willielmus Meneven.
Robert Aſſaphen.
Robertus Sti. Albani Abbas.
Willielmus Weſtmonaſter. Abbas.
Johannes Burienſ. Abbas.
Ricardus Glaſtoniæ Abbas.
Hugo Abbas de Redyng.
Robertus Malmesber. Abbas.
Clemens Eviſhamenſ. Abbas.
Johannes de Bello Abbas.
Willielmus Sti. Petri Gloceſtr. Abbas.
Ricardus Winchellcombenſ. Abbas.
Johannes de Croyland Abbas.
Robertus de Thorney Abbas.
Robertus de Waltham Abbas.
Johannes Cirenceſtr. Abbas.
Johannes Teoxber Abbas.
Thomas Prior Covent.
Johannes de Oſney Abbas.
Henricus de Gratiis Abbas.
Antonius de Eynſham Abbas.
Robertus Prior Elten.
Hugo Prior de Huntingdon.
Robertus Prior ſive Magiſter Ordinis Sempringham.
Ricardus de Notley Abbas.
Willielmus de Stratford Abbas.
Gabriel Abbas de Bucſeſtria.
Henricus Abbas de Wordona.
Johannes Prior de Merton.
Ricardus Prior de Walſhingham
Thomas Abbas de Gerendon.
Thomas de Stanly Abbas.
Ricardus de Bitleſden Abbas.
Ricardus Prior de Lanthony.
Robertus Abbas de Thame.
Johannes Prior de Newhenham.
Radulphus Prior de Kyme.
Ricardus de Bruera Abbas.
Robertus de Welhoe Abbas.
Bartholomeus de Overrey Prior.
Wilielmus de Bergaveny Prior.
Thomas de Abindon Abbas.

By this larger Liſt of the Biſhops, it appears that ſome of the *Northern* Prelates concurr'd in the *Articles* with thoſe of *Canterbury*. Whereas the Inſtrument in the *Paper Office* was drawn up only to ſhew the Agreement of this latter *Province*.

To proceed, the *Cotton* Library affords a Liſt of Subſcriptions of the *Lower Houſe* of *Convocation*, but this only relates to the Clergy of the *Province* of *Canterbury*: The Order ſtands thus,

R. Gwent Archidiaconus.
London & Breck.
Roberus Alridge Archid. Colceſt.
Thomas Bedel Archid. Cornub.
Ricardus Street Archid. Derbie.
David Pole Archid. Salop. & Proc. Cleri Coven. & Litchf.
Ricardus Doke Archid. Sarum.
Edmondus Bonner Archid. Leyceſtr.
Thomas Baghe Archid. Sur.
Ricardus Rawſon Archid. Eſſex.
Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cantuar.
Polydorus Virgilius Archid. Wellenſ.
Ricardus Coren Archid. Oxon.
Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri Lincoln.
Milo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicenſ.
Gulielmus Knight Archid. Ceſtrie.
Gamaliel Clyſton, Dec. Eccleſ. Heref. & Proc. Capit.
Johannes London. Decanus Wallingford.
Nicolaus Medcalfe Archid. Roffen.
Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicenſ.
Adam Traves Archid. Exon.
Ricardus Woleman Dec. Wellen.
Thomas Brereword Archidiac. Har. Procur. Capit. & Cleri Exon.
Georgius Carew, Archid. Toten. Proc. Capit. & Cleri Oxon.
Thomas Bennet Proc. Cleri & Capituli Sarum.
Ricardus Arche Proc. Cleri. & Capit. Sarum.
Petrus Lighman Proc. Cleri Cant.
Edmundus Steward Proc. Cleri Winton.
Johannes Rayne Proc. Cleri Lincoln.
Leonardus Savile Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen.
Symon Matthew Proc. Cleri London.
Humphrid Ogle Archid. Salop.
Ricardus Layton Archid. Bucks.
Gulielmus Maye Proc. Cleri Elien.
Rolandus Phillips Proc. Capit. Eccleſ. Cathedralis Divi Pauli.
Johannes Bell Archid. Gloceſtriæ.
Hugo Coren. Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Ricardus Sparkeford Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Georgius Heneage Decanus Lincoln.
Petrus Vannes Archid. Wigorn.
Mauritius Griffyth Proc. Cleri Roffen.
Gulielmus Bukmaiſtre Proc. Cleri London.
Ricardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Metyngham, per me Gulielmum Glyn Archid. Angleſ.
Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren.
Gualterius Gretygn Archid. Bathonenſ.
Thomas Bagard Procurator Cleri Wigornen.
Johannes Naſe Proc. Cleri Bathen. & Wellen.
Georgius Wyndham Archid. Norwicen.
Johannes Chambers Decanus Divi Stephani & Archid. Bedford.
Nicolaus Wilſon

In

(e) Biblioth. Cot Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 59.

In this Liſt of Subſcriptions in the *Cotton* Library there are eighteen Biſhops, fourty Abbots and Priors. And in the Lower Houſe of *Convocation* the *Articles* are ſubſcrib'd by fifty: Of theſe, there are four Deans of Cathedrals, twenty five Archdeacons, three Deans of Collegiate Churches, ſeventeen Proctors for the Clergy, or Convocation Men for the Dioceſſes as they are call'd, and one Maſter of a College.

Some of the Doctrines of the Church of Rome *reform'd in the Articles.*

By peruſing theſe *Articles* the *Reader* may perceive ſeveral of the moſt ſhocking Doctrines of the *Roman* Communion were ſoften'd and explain'd to a more inoffenſive Senſe; and ſeveral ſuperſtitious Uſages diſcharg'd. And being come thus forward towards an Accommodation, the Lord *Herbert* ſeems to wonder they cou'd not agree. He complains of the Heat and Obſtinacy of both Parties, thinks they contended more for Victory than Truth: And that ſome of the Preachers and Schoolmen wou'd rather have imbroil'd the whole World, than riſque their Reputation with their Audience by retracting in the leaſt Circumſtance. He takes notice farther, that the Reformers being the weaker Side, ſuffer'd moſt by their Stiffneſs, and were ſeveral of 'em burnt in the Controverſy. Amongſt theſe *William Tyndal* loſt his Life at the *Stake* near *Bruſſels* in the Low Countries. He lived regularly and had no ſlender ſhare of Parts and Learning; but he did not always manage a Diſpute with Decency and Temper. However, theſe Barbarities againſt the *Goſpellers*, as they were call'd, inflam'd the Difference, and drew an Odium upon the *Roman Catholicks* (*f*).

The King and *Clergy* having proceeded thus far in the *Reformation* of the Church, endeavour'd to guard againſt foreign Oppoſition. His Highneſs had Reaſon to believe the approaching *Council* at *Mantua* wou'd cenſure our late Proceedings in Religion. To weaken the Authority of this *Council* therefore, and make it more inoffenſive, 'twas thought proper the Biſhops and Clergy ſhou'd come to a Reſolution concerning the Force of ſuch an *Aſſembly*, and by whom it ought to be conven'd. The *Inſtrument* drawn up and ſign'd upon this Occaſion, runs thus.

The Senſe of the Convocation with reſpect to General Councils.

“As concerning *General Councils* like as we (taught by long Experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing deviſed, invented or inſtituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the Extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms, and finally for the reducing of Chriſt's People unto one perfect Unity and Concord in his Religion, than by the having of *General Councils*, ſo that the ſame be had and congregated *in Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conform and agreeable as well concerning the Surety, and Indifference of the Places, as all other Points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame; unto that wholſome and godly Inſtitution and Uſage, for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church: Even ſo on the contrary ſide, taught by the like Experience, we eſteem, repute and judge, that there is, ne can be, any thing in the World more peſtilent and pernicious to the Common Weale of *Chriſtendom*, or whereby the Truth of God's Word as in times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced and ſubverted, or whereof has, and may enſue more Contention, more Diſcord and other develiſh Effects, than when ſuch *General Councils* have or ſhall be aſſembled nor chriſtendly nor charitably; but for and upon private Malice, and Ambition, or other worldly and carnal Reſpects or Conſiderations, according to the Saying of *Gregory Nazianzenus* in his Epiſtle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writes this Sentence following: *Sic ſentio ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam cupiditates contentionum & gloriæ (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem.*

“Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes eſpecially and above all things, ought and muſt with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence, foreſee and provide, *ne ſanctiſſima hac in parte Majorum inſtituta ad improbiſſimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diverſiſſimo ſuo fine, & ſceleratiſſimo pervertantur, neve ad alium prætextum poſſint valere & longè diverſum effectum orbi producere, quam ſanctiſſima rei facies præ ſe ferat.* That is to ſay, *Leſt the moſt noble, wholſome Inſtitutions of our Elders in this behalf, be perverted to a moſt contrary and wicked End and Effect. That is to ſay, to fulfil and ſatisfy the wicked Affections of Mens Ambition and Malice*; *or leſt they might prevail for any other Colour or bring forth any other Effect than their moſt virtuous and laudable Countenance doth outwardly ſhew unto the World or pretend.* And firſt of all, we think that they ought principally to conſider, who has the Authority to call together a *General Council.* Secondly, whether the Cauſes alledged be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily they require a *General Council*, nor can otherwiſe be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the *General Council*. Fourthly, what Order of Proceeding is to be obſerv'd in the ſame: And how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be conſulted or ask'd. Fifthly, what Doctrines are to be allow'd or defended, with divers other things, which in *General Councils* ought of Reaſon and Equity to be obſerv'd. And as unto the firſt Point we think, that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, ne any one Prince of what Eſtate, Degree, or Preheminence ſoever he be, may by his own Authority call, indict, or ſummon any *General Council* without the expreſs Conſent, Aſſent and Agreement of the Reſidue of Chriſtian Princes; and eſpecially ſuch as have within their own Realms and *Signiories Imperium merum*; that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole, intire and ſupreme Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other ſupreme Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and ſundry as well Examples as great Reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhou'd be over long and tedious to expreſs here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in Witneſs that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion and Judgment touching the Premiſes, we the Prelates and Clergy underwritten being congregate together in the *Convocation* of the *Province* of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, have to theſe Preſents ſubſcribed our Names the twentieth of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1536, 28 *H.* VIII.

Thomas Cromwell.
Thomas Cantuar.
Johannes London. with thirteen Biſhops more.

The Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, Deans and other Convocation Men, were fourty nine (*g*).

(*f*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 406.

(*g*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 406. *from Records. Journal of Convocation, fol.* 64.

Cranmer Th. Abp. of Cant.

Several of the Biſhops had formerly been conſulted by the King upon this Argument; to tell the preciſe time is ſomewhat difficult: But it was certainly after *April* 1534, as appears from the Subſcription of *Thomas Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*, who was not till then promoted to that *See*. The *Record* is conſiderably larger and ſubſcribed by more Biſhops, &c. than that mention'd by Biſhop *Burnet* (h): For this Reaſon I ſhall tranſcribe it for the *Reader* (i). In the latter part of this *Inſtrument* the twentieth Chapter of St. *John* the twenty ſecond and twenty third Verſes, and *Acts* the twentieth, Verſe the twenty eighth are cited to prove the Independency of the Sacerdotal Function on the *Civil* Magiſtrate. And by *Cranmer*'s ſubſcribing with the reſt 'tis plain his Sentiment concerning the Seat of Church Government was not unorthodox at preſent.

To proceed: The King was now fortified with a Declaration of the *Clergy* relating to a *General Council*; in which amongſt other Things, they maintain, it neither belong'd to the Pope, nor any one Prince whatſoever, to convene an Oecumenical Synod: His Highneſs, I ſay, being thus ſupported by this ſolemn Concurrence, publiſh'd a *Proteſtation* againſt the *Council* indicted at *Mantua* (k).

The King's Proteſtation againſt the Council ſummon'd to Mantua.

Father *Paul* (l) takes notice of this Remonſtrance. It goes upon theſe Grounds, “That the Pope had no Power to convene a *General Council*: That the Juncture was unſeaſonable, upon the ſcore of the War in *Italy*; and farther, that no Freedom of Debates could be expected at that Place. The King continues that he was very deſirous of a fair, well qualified *Council*, but at this of the Pope's ſummoning, he was reſolved neither to appear in Perſon, nor by his Ambaſſadors. The *Bulls* of the Biſhop of *Rome* ſignifying no more, in his Highneſs's Judgment, than the Summons of any other Biſhop. That the ancient *Councils* were call'd by the Authority of Princes: That this Cuſtom ought to be reviv'd: For now the Pope's Pretenſions and Conduct are one of the Grievances of *Chriſtendom*, and the Miſmanagement of his Court particularly complain'd of: That it was not unuſual with Popes to break their Word: That himſelf had more Reaſon than other Princes to ſuſpect the Fair-dealing of that Prelate; he having ſufficiently diſcover'd his Diſaffection ſince his Authority was renounced, and his *Peter-Pence* ſtopp'd in *England*. That if the Pope had the Choice of the Place, it would be either within his own Territories, or in the Dominion of ſome Prince dependent on him. In ſhort, a *Council* rightly conſtituted being impracticable, his Highneſs thought it the beſt way for every Prince to *Reform* at *Home*. In the cloſe of the *Proteſtation*, he decares himſelf reſolv'd never to give way to any Exceſs of Innovation, or depart from the Doctrine of the Catholick Church.

About this time the King ſet forth his *Injunctions* to retrench the Number of *Holydays*. The Inſtrument complains theſe *Feſtivals* were grown ſo numerous, that there was ſcarce time to gather in the Harveſt. That ſuch frequent Relaxations from Labour brought on a Habit of Idleneſs, and were oftentimes abus'd to Intemperance and Riot. The *Injunctions* run in the King's Name, with the Aſſent of the Prelates and Clergy in *Convocation*.

Hen. VIII. K.

Injunctions for the abrogating ſeveral Holydays, &c.

To proceed: The Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches is order'd to be kept upon the firſt *Sunday* in *October*, and upon no other Day.

The Feaſt of the Patron of every Church commonly call'd the *Church Holyday*, is thrown up, and laid open to Buſineſs.

All thoſe *Feaſts* likewiſe which fall either in Harveſt or Term Time, are diſcharg'd, and every Man left at liberty to work in 'em.

The *Feaſts* of the Apoſtles, of the bleſſed Virgin, and all thoſe *Feſtivals* in which the Judges don't uſually ſit at *Weſtminſter* are excepted. However, all Prieſts and Clerks both *Secular* and *Regular* were allow'd to perform their accuſtomed Service in their Churches, provided they did not do it in a ſolemn manner, nor enjoyn the ſame Duty upon others (m).

This Year *Cromwell* ſet forth *Injunctions* of the Tenour following.

Cromwell's *Injunctions.*

In the Name of God, Amen. “In the Year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred thirty ſix, and of the moſt noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* VIII. King of *England* and of *France* the twenty eighth, and the Day of I *Thomas Cromwell* Knight, Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of the Privy Seal of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent unto the ſame: For and concerning all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, viſiting by the King's Highneſs ſupreme Authority Eccleſiaſtical the People and Clergy of this Deanry of by my truſty Commiſſary lawfully deputed and conſtituted for this Part, have, to the Glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highneſs Honour, the Publick Weal of this his Realm and Increaſe of Virtue within the ſame, appointed and aſſigned theſe *Injunctions* enſuing to be kept and obſerv'd by the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendiaries, reſiant or having Cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Adminiſtration within this Deanry, under the Pains hereafter limited and appointed (n).

“Firſt, In all Pariſhes and Places of Preaching, the King's Supremacy was to be ſet forth and maintain'd once every *Sunday*, for a quarter of a Year together; and afterwards twice a Year at leaſt. They were likewiſe to inſtruct the People, that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority being unſupported by the Laws of God, was juſtly diſclaim'd.

“Secondly, That in the *Articles* lately ſet forth by the King's Highneſs, and agreed to by the Prelates and Clergy in Convocation, ſome Things are Points of Faith, and neceſſary to be believ'd; whereas others are of a lower *Claſs*, and relate to certain commendable Rites and Ceremonies, inſtituted only for the ſake of Decency and Order, and for the more ſolemn Performance of divine Service: The ſaid Dean, Parſons, &c. are to range theſe *Articles* under their proper Diſtinctions, and inſtruct their *Audience* in the reſpective Neceſſity, Quality, and Uſefulneſs of 'em.

“Thirdly, That the late Order concerning the Diſcharging certain ſuperſtitious *Holydays* ſhou'd be read to the People with Exhortations to govern themſelves accordingly.

“Fourthly, That they ſhou'd not lay out their Rhetorick in flouriſhing upon Images, *Relicks*, or Miracles upon any Motion of Superſtition or Covetouſneſs: That they ought not to perſuade their People to Pilgrimages, contrary to the Intendment of the late *Articles*, but rather exhort 'em to ſerve God and make Proviſion for their Families. And if they have any thing to ſpare, they are to inform 'em, that the be-

---

(h) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1 p. 174.

(i) See Records, N. 37.

(k) See Records, N. 38.

(l) Father Paul, Hiſt. Council of Trent, Lib. 1.

(m) Fox, Vol. 2. p. 386.

(n) Regiſt. Cranmer, fol. 97.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of Cant.*

ſtowing it on the Poor, will be more acceptable to God Almighty, than making a Preſent to *Images* and *Relicks*.

“Fifthly, That in their Sermons and other religious Exerciſes, they put Parents and other Directors of Youth in mind to teach their Children the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments* in their Mother Tongue; that theſe Summaries of Belief, Devotion, and Manners, ſhou'd be repeated by the young People 'till they are perfect in 'em: And to prevent the Miſchief and Temptations of Idleneſs and Poverty, they ought to be bred to Learning, or ſome other honeſt Buſineſs.

“Sixthly, That *Sacraments* and *Sacramentals* be duly and reverently adminiſter'd by the Parſons, Vicars, *&c.* And if any happen to be non-reſident upon the Privilege of Royal Licenſe or *Act* of Parliament, that then they take Care to leave learned and ſufficient *Curates* in their Place.

“Seventhly, That every Parſon or Proprietary of a Church, ſhou'd provide a Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh* to be laid in the Choir for every one to read at their Pleaſure. But here they were to precaution the People againſt falling into Controverſy about difficult Paſſages. They were to exhort 'em to Modeſty and Sobriety in the uſe of this Liberty: And where they found themſelves entangled, to apply to Perſons of Learning and Character.

“Eighthly, That the ſaid Deans, Parſons, Vicars, *&c.* ſhou'd not go to publick Houſes, excepting upon neceſſary Occaſions. That they are to avoid Intemperance and unlawful Diverſions, ſuch as Tables, Cards, *&c.* and on the contrary employ their leiſure Hours in reading the *Scriptures*: Always remembring that they ought to be particularly unexceptionable in their Behaviour, and live for the Example of others.

“Ninthly, Becauſe the Eſtates of the Church are call'd the Patrimony of the Poor, and yet not employ'd for that purpoſe in liberal Proportions; therefore all Parſons, Vicars, Prebendaries and other benefic'd Men, which can ſpend twenty Pounds a Year or more, are enjoyn'd to diſtribute the fortieth part of their Spiritual Revenue amongſt their poor Pariſhioners, the Church Wardens being preſent at ſuch Diſtributions.

“Tenthly, That every Parſon, Vicar, or benefic'd Man, who has a hundred Pounds a Year or more in Church Promotions, ſhall for every ſuch hundred Pounds a Year, allow a competent Exhibition to maintain a Scholar either in Grammar Schools, or in one of the Univerſities: That theſe Scholars when they had made a Proficiency in Learning might aſſiſt their Patrons in the Functions of their Cure, or elſe prove ſerviceable to the *Publick* in ſome other diſtinguiſh'd Station.

“Eleventhly, That all Parſons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chapels or Houſes belonging to their Livings, ſhall expend the fifth Part of their Benefices, till ſuch Places are ſufficiently repair'd.

“Laſtly, All theſe *Injunctions* were to be obſerv'd under the Penalties of Suſpenſion and Sequeſtration.

Theſe Injunctions, we may obſerve, were only directed to the *Deans* and downwards. Thus the Lord *Cromwell* had ſomething of Modeſty in his wonderful Office, and forbore the brandiſhing his Vicegerency over the Biſhops.

Hen. VIII. K.

Auguſt 21. Shirburne *Biſhop of* Chicheſter *his Death and Character.*

About this Time, *Robert Shirburne* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, departed this Life. He was Ninety Six Years of Age, and for this Reaſon, 'tis probable he reſign'd his *See* a little before his Death. Biſhop *Godwyn* reports him a Perſon of great Prudence and Capacity for Buſineſs; that he manag'd ſeveral Embaſſies to Commendation, under King *Henry* the Seventh. He was likewiſe remarkable for Largeneſs of Mind, kept an hoſpitable Table, and was charitable to the Poor. He left ſeveral Ornaments of Value to his Church, and had this for his Motto, *Dilexi decorem domus tui, Domine.* He was ſucceeded by *Richard Samſon* Dr. of Law, who was conſecrated no longer ſince than *June* the Ninth (*o*).

Nix *Biſhop of* Norwich *his Death with the Reaſon of his being proſecuted.*

To this *Shirburne* I ſhall ſubjoyn *Richard Nix* Biſhop of *Norwich*, who died in *January* laſt. He is ſaid to *have offended the King ſignally by ſome Correſpondence with* Rome, *and was kept long in the* Marſhalſea *and convicted, and found in a Præmunire* (*p*). But this Relation goes only upon Conjecture, and looks improbable even from *Nix*'s Age and Behaviour: For he was a very old Man, and had been blind for many Years: And as he cou'd have no Proſpect of Advantage from ſuch a *Correſpondence*, ſo neither did he manage like one that wou'd riſque his Fortune for any Religion. For as to Regularity, he was a Perſon of a very ſlender Character (*q*). The true Cauſe of his Conviction and Impriſonment was this. The Town of *Thetford* in *Norfolk* made a Preſentment upon Oath, before the King's Judges in Proof of their *Liberties*. The Matter alledg'd was, that none of the ſaid Town ought to be cited into any ſpiritual Conſiſtory, but only into the Court of the Dean of *Thetford*: And that whoſoever cited any Inhabitant of that Town into another Spiritual Court, ſhould forfeit Six and Eight Pence, *toties quoties* (*r*). The Biſhop taking this as a Check upon his Juriſdiction, cited *Richard Cokarel* Mayor of *Thetford*, and ſome others into his Court, and enjoyned them under the Penalty of Excommunication, to ſummon a Jury of their Town, and cancel the former Preſentment. For this the Biſhop was proſecuted in the *King*'s *Bench*, caſt in a *Præmunire*, and had Judgment executed upon his Perſon and Eſtate, purſuant to the *Statute*. This was done in the Beginning of the Year 1534 (*s*). The King afterwards upon his Submiſſion, diſcharged him out of Priſon; however, he was not pardon'd without a Fine, with Part of which 'tis ſaid the Glaſs Windows of *King's College-Chapel* in *Cambridge* were purchas'd.

The King ſeiz'd the Mannors of the Biſhoprick of Norwich *and return'd a ſlender Exchange.*

During the Vacancy of the *See*, the King nominated *William* Abbot of St. *Bennet*'s; but took into his own Hands, all the Mannors of the Biſhoprick. For the ſeizing this large Endowment, there was nothing given in *Exchange* but the *Abby of* St. Bennet'*s in the* Holm, the Priory of *Hickling* in *Norfolk*, and a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of St. *Stephen*'s *Weſtminſter*. This *Exchange* was confirm'd in the Parliament begun *February* the Fourth, and diſſolv'd *April* the Fourteenth this Year (*t*).

Cranmer's *Reſolution of a Caſe concerning Marriage.*

Notwithſtanding a late *Act* of Parliament had mentioned the prohibited Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, and drawn a ſhort Table to diſentangle the Diſputes about Marriage, yet this Proviſion being ſomewhat ſhort, the Matter continued perplex'd, and gave a Colour to Unjuſtifiable Liberty. To give an Inſtance; one *Maſſey* a Courtier, contracted himſelf to his Wife's Niece. This Engagement wou'd not paſs without the Archbiſhop's Diſpenſation. The Lord

---

(*o*) Godwyn de Præſul. Angl.

(*p*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 215.

(*q*) Godwyn de Præſul. Angl.

(*r*) Term Hilary, 25 H. 8. coram Rege Rot. 15.

(*s*) Harmer, *p.* 44. & deinc.

(*t*) Harmer, *p.* 46. *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 215.

Lord *Cromwell* being ſolicited, wrote to *Cranmer* in *Maſſey*'s Behalf. 'Twas mention'd in the Letter, that *Maſſey*'s Wife was dead, and that the Caſe was not within the Prohibition of the *Statute*.

The Archbiſhop having too much Probity to be ſway'd by *Cromwell*'s Greatneſs, return'd him an Anſwer to this Effect *.

*Cotton Lib. Cleop. E. 5.

Cranmer's *Reſolution of a Caſe concerning Marriage.*

“He acquaints him, that by the Law of God, many Perſons are prohibited Marriage without particular and expreſs pointing upon the Caſe. That here the Prohibition is to be collected by Conſequence and Parity of Reaſoning. Thus St. *Ambroſe* tells us, a matrimonial Relation with a Niece, is forbidden by the Law of God; tho' we don't read in *Leviticus* in ſo many Words, that the Uncle and the Niece ſhan't marry. But ſince ſuch a Relation between the Nephew and the Aunt is there declar'd unlawful, we may fairly conclude, the Niece and the Uncle are barr'd the ſame Engagement. Thus, tho' the Caſe of the Daughter marrying her Father is paſs'd over in *Leviticus*, yet ſince the Son's marrying his Mother is expreſly forbidden, 'tis eaſie to come to a Reſolution of the Point, with reſpect to the Daughter. To come to the preſent Caſe; ſince by the *Levitical* Prohibition the Nephew is prohibited marrying the Uncle's Wife, we muſt infer from the Equi-diſtance of the Degrees, that 'tis not lawful for the Niece to be marry'd to the Aunt's Husband. The Archbiſhop adds, “He cou'd have fortified his Opinion with more Reaſon and Authorities; but what he had ſaid already, he thought was altogether ſufficient.

“When the late *Bill* for ſtating the prohibited Degrees of Marriage was read in the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* mov'd for ſome *Amendments*; and that the Caſes of Mother and Mother-in-Law, Daughter and Daughter-in-Law, and ſo forwards to a farther length in the right Line, might have been expreſs'd. He wou'd likewiſe have had the ſupplemental Proviſion been carry'd on to Siſter and Siſter-in-Law, Aunt and Aunt-in-Law, Niece and Niece-in-Law. Had the *Act* been penn'd with this Compaſs, all the prohibited Degrees expreſs'd, and not expreſs'd in the Holy Scriptures would have been comprehended †.

† Fox *Acts and Monuments, p.* 960. Strype's *Memor.* Cranmer, *p.* 46.

To proceed: The Seiſure of the Eſtates of the leſſer Abbies were not generally acceptable to the People; they found Hoſpitality decay, the Farmers Rents were rais'd, and the Poor increaſed upon the Country. 'Tis true, the King, to make theſe Diſſolutions go down the better, had by his Letters Patents, return'd about Ten of 'em, and founded them anew. This Number was within half a Year increas'd to One and Thirty *. But this Inſtance of Royal Bounty was not ſufficient, it ſeems, to quiet the People. For beſides their Grievances in the Loſs of the Abbies, the *Fifteens* granted by Act of Parliament, were look'd on as unſeaſonable Burthens, and too heavy for the Condition of their Fortune. And here the prime Miniſter *Cromwell* was thought to miſmanage. For, to project a Reformation, and load the Subject with Taxes at the ſame Time, was reckoned a dangerous Experiment; and indeed it prov'd ſo in the Event. For now the People began to grow loud in their Mutinies, and fly to Arms in ſeveral Places. 'Tis true, they did not all agree in their Remonſtrance, nor break out in their Revolt at once.

* Bp. Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 204. *and Collect. of Records, Book* 3. *Numb.* 3. *ſect.* 2.

An Inſurrection in Lincolnſhire.

The *Lincolnſhire* Men took the *Field* firſt: They were headed by one Dr. *Mackerel* Prior of *Barlings*, who ſtiled himſelf *Captain Cobler*. Theſe Men, as they were the earlieſt in the Rebellion, ſo they were the moſt moderate in their Demands. “They petition'd the King in very ſubmiſſive Language, Their Grievances were the late *Diſſolution* of the *Religious Houſes*, and the *Act* concerning *Uſes* (u). This *Statute* they pretended reſtrain'd the Subjects Liberty in the Declaration of their *Wills*. As to the *Fifteenths*, they only pleaded Poverty againſt that Burthen. To go on with their Remonſtrance, they complain'd his *Grace* had Perſons diſaffected to the publick Intereſt, at the *Council Board*: That he employ'd Men of mean Birth in the *Miniſtry*, and here *Cromwell* was particularly named. They ſuggeſt farther, that ſeveral Biſhops had made a Change in the fundamental Doctrines; and that they had Reaſon to apprehend, the Jewels and Plate of their Pariſh Churches wou'd be ſeis'd, and fall under the ſame Calamity with the *Religious Houſes*. To deliver his poor loyal Subjects from ſuch Apprehenſions, and for Redreſs of the Grievances abovemention'd, they humbly deſire his Majeſty would make uſe of the Nobility in the *Adminiſtration*, and give ſuch effectual Directions as might put his Subjects in a Condition to ſubmit to his *Grace*'s Government, and pay their Duty to him as Supream Head of the Church of *England*; which Title they own'd belong'd to his Highneſs by hereditary Right. And in the cloſe, they promiſe his Majeſty the *Tenth* and Firſt Fruits of ſpiritual Promotions of the yearly Value of Twenty Pounds and upwards: And of all others under the ſaid Value, where the Incumbents fail'd in Reſidence and Hoſpitality (w).

The Rebels Petition.

(u) 27 H. 8. c. 15.

(w) *Ld.* Herbet, *p.* 410, &c.

The publiſhing theſe *Articles* increas'd their Numbers to a conſiderable Body: And to give the Inſurrection the better Colour, they ſwore to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth. And thus ſince they were their own *Caſuiſts*, and interpreted the Oath to what Latitude they pleas'd, they were ſafe enough.

Their plauſible Oath.

The King being advertis'd of their Motions, and that they began to have a formidable Countenance, ſent *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, againſt them: He had a Commiſſion to raiſe Forces at Diſcretion. At the ſame Time, the King wrote to the Rebels: The Letter was couch'd in Terms ſomewhat ambiguous. He ſeem'd to promiſe 'em Juſtice, as they call'd it: But then this Condeſcenſion was clogg'd with ſeveral Demands: And particularly he requir'd, that Two of the principal Rebels ſhould be put into his Hands. This Anſwer of the King's was ill received by the Rebels, who ordered their Forces to march, and threatn'd to deſtroy ſome Perſons of Condition, unleſs they wou'd acquieſce and go along with them. Theſe Gentlemen who pretended themſelves dragg'd and menac'd into the *Service*, acquainted the Duke of *Suffolk* with the Obſtinacy of the Revolters; that unleſs they had manag'd 'em with ſome Art, prevail'd with them to ſlacken their March, and petition the King, they had been advanc'd as far as *Huntington*; and that nothing but a General Pardon wou'd make 'em disband.

Octob. 10.

The Duke of *Suffolk* perceiving an Indemnity wou'd quiet 'em, ſolicited in their Behalf; he likewiſe perſuaded them not to march till they received the King's Anſwer. His Majeſty being inform'd, that the People in ſeveral Parts of the

Kingdom, and eſpecially in *Yorkſhire*, began to run into *Diſorder*, thought it the beſt way to apply to ſtrong Remedies, and exert the Force of the Government. And finding no Time was to be loſt, he ordered the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Rutland*, and *Huntington*, to command the *Lincolnſhire* Men to diſperſe immediately, and lay down their Arms at their utmoſt Peril. The Terror of this *Proclamation*, made a great many quit the *Service*, and go home. However, thoſe who had moſt Obſtinacy, and leaſt to loſe, retreated to the *Yorkſhire* Inſurrection. The Remainder were at laſt perſuaded by their *Leaders*, to make the Submiſſion requir'd: That is, they own'd their Fault, deliver'd up their Arms, and promis'd to be govern'd by all the *Statutes* made in this Reign.

They diſperſe upon the King's Proclamation.

Another Rebellion in the North.

While the *Lincolnſhire* Revolt was unſuppreſſed, the *Yorkſhire* Men appeared in Arms, under the Command of one *Robert Aſke*. They call'd the Inſurrection a *Pilgrimage of Grace*. And to make this Pretence paſs upon the Unwary, ſeveral Prieſts march'd before the Rebels, with *Croſſes* erected; and the Troops had the *Crucifix*, the *Five Wounds*, and the *Chalice* in their *Colours*. And being deſirous to engage Perſons of Quality, they ſolicited *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilliſland*, in the firſt place. This Lord had been lately try'd for holding Correſpondence with the *Scots*, but was acquitted by his Peers. This Uſage they thought might have given him a Diſguſt againſt the Government, and made him pliant to their Purpoſe: But he refus'd to join them. This Diſappointment did not diſcourage them from tampering with others: And thus where Courting wou'd not do, they made uſe of rougher Methods, haled in ſeveral Men of Quality, and made 'em ſwear to the *Cauſe*. This Revolt was blanched like the other, and carried a very plauſible Appearance: For they pretended to engage only for the Good of the King and Common-wealth, for the Intereſt of Religion, and the Suppreſſion of Hereſie.

The Rebels reſtore the ejected Monks.

As this numerous *Body* march'd Southward, they were frequently addreſs'd by the *Monks* of the *diſſolv'd* Monaſteries. *Aſke* put ſeveral of 'em in Poſſeſſion as Opportunity ſerv'd, adviſ'd 'em to pray for the King, and to take up Proviſion of their Farmers upon *Bills* till their *Houſes* were reſtor'd. The King receiving Advice of this Rebellion, and that the Commons of *Richmond*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmorland*, &c. had fired the Beacons againſt the Government, was not a little alarm'd. He order'd the Earl of *Shrewſbury* to march with a conſiderable Body againſt the Northern Men: He wrote alſo to the Earl of *Darby* to raiſe what Forces he cou'd. At this dangerous Juncture *Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*, the King's Couſin German, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland*, offer'd the *Crown* their Service. And to frighten the Monks from applying to the Rebels, and returning to their old *Seats*, his Highneſs order'd that the *Religious* of *Sally*, *Wally*, *Norton*, and *Hexham*, ſhould be dragged out of the Monaſteries, and executed by martial Law. And receiving Intelligence of the *Inſurrection's* growing ſtronger, he diſpatch'd *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* with Troops to reinforce the Earl of *Shrewſbury*.

Pomfret *Caſtle ſurrendered to them.*

In the mean time *Aſke* and his Army coming up to *Pomfret* Caſtle, obliged *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* to ſurrender the Caſtle, and take the aſſociating Oath. The Contents of this *Engagement*, beſides what has been already mention'd, was the Preſervation of the King and the Royal Family, the purging the Nobility, and diſcharging all evil Counſellors and Perſons of mean Extraction from the *Adminiſtration*. The Archbiſhop and Lord *Darcy* pretended want of Ammunition and Proviſion; but the Strength of the Caſtle made ſome People ſuſpect their Integrity. This Succeſs made way for a farther Progreſs: For ſoon after, the Rebels were Maſters of *York* and *Hull*, and either careſs'd or frighten'd moſt of the *Quality* into their Intereſt. Beſides the Colour of Religion, they ſpred ſeveral Calumnies which increas'd their Party. They gave out, that all the Gold of *England* was to be touch'd at the *Tower*. That the King claim'd all the Cattle unmarked, and the Furniture and Ornaments of Pariſh Churches. That a Tax wou'd be laid upon Chriſtenings, Weddings, and Buryings; and that they muſt pay for Licenſes to eat white Bread, and the better ſort of Diet.

Octob. 20.

To proceed: The Earl of *Shrewſbury* ſent a Herald to *Pomfret* with a Proclamation: The Herald was brought before *Aſke* who ſat in State between the Archbiſhop and the Lord *Darcy*. This General, being inform'd of the Contents, refus'd the reading of the *Proclamation*. However he was ſo civil as to grant the *Herald* a ſafe Conduct as long as he wore his *Coat*.

The King, now at *Windſor*, prepar'd to take the *Field*, and order'd the Nobility to join him at *Northampton*. 'Twas time to make the beſt Proviſion, for now the Rebels were thirty thouſand ſtrong. They ranged themſelves in three Diviſions, and appear'd before *Doncaſter*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and the Marquiſs of *Exeter* cover'd the Town with a Body but of five thouſand Men, tho' better appointed than the Enemy. They endeavour'd to make good the two Paſſes to the Town, the Bridge and the River *Don*. This River was fordable, and had it not been for the falling of a great Rain that Night, the Enemy in all Likelyhood wou'd have paſs'd it the next Day. The Duke of *Norfolk* being ſenſible how neceſſary it was to gain Time till the King's Forces were drawn together, entertain'd the Rebels with a Treaty, and prevailed with them ſo far as to ſend a *Petition* to the King: 'Twas carried by Sir *Ralph Elesker* and *Robert Bowes*. The Duke promis'd to go with 'em, upon Condition of a Ceſſation of Arms, which was granted. When they came to Court, the Duke having pre-acquainted the King with the Poſture of Affairs, the Commiſſioners were introduced with their *Petition*. The King being informed by the Duke, that the Rebels began to diſperſe, took ſome Time to return an Anſwer. The ſetting a Treaty on Foot, had created Miſunderſtandings among the Rebels, and made 'em diſtruſt each other. Beſides, the King's Friends took Care to ſpread a Report, that the principal Revolters wou'd deſert the *Aſſociation*, make Terms for themſelves, and leave the reſt to *Juſtice*. And now the Danger growing leſs, the King countermanded the Rendezvous at *Northampton*. At laſt, to clear all Suſpicion of myſterious Dealing, he diſmiſs'd *Elesker* and *Bowes*, and return'd the Rebels an Anſwer by the Duke of *Norfolk*. He likewiſe ſent a ſafe Conduct for Three Hundred Perſons to meet at *Doncaſter* for adjuſting Matters. The King's *Anſwer* penn'd by himſelf, was to this Effect (x).

Octob. 26. *The Duke of* Norfolk *treats with them at* Doncaſter.

(x) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 417. *From Records.*

The King's Anſwer to their Petition.

“ Firſt, Concerning the Maintenance of the
“ *Faith*, the Terms are ſo generally laid down,
“ that it is very hard to reach the Meaning,
“ and return an Anſwer: But if they under-
“ ſtand the Faith of Chriſt, We proteſt it is,
“ and always has been our Intention to live
“ and die in the Belief and Defence of it. We are

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of Cant.*

“are ſtrangely ſurpriz'd therefore, to find ignorant People have the aſſurance to inſtruct us in the Doctrines of Faith; eſpecially ſince we have ſome Reputation for *Letters*, and have had the Concurrence of our whole Clergy in *Convocation*, for the ſetling theſe Points. We can't therefore but wonder, at the ingratitude, and unnatural Behaviour of theſe Men, to their rightful King and Sovereign; that without any ground on our Part, they ſhou'd give Credit to Rumours and falſe Reports, and ſuſpect us of unſound *Belief*, when all our Reign is a Proof of the contrary.

“Secondly, As to the Maintenanee and *Liberties* of the *Church*; the Propoſition is ſo perplex'd, that without diſtinguiſhing, there's no dealing with it; either with reſpect to the Laws of God, or the *Conſtitution*. For Firſt, They muſt tell us, what *Church* they mean: Secondly, Whether the *Liberties* they inſiſt on are either lawful or ſerviceable to the King and Kingdom? Let the Affirmative of both theſe Points be made out, and we ſhan't ſcruple the giving them Satisfaction. But let 'em involve their meaning as much as they pleaſe; this we dare affirm, that we have done nothing unſerviceable to the Publick Intereſt, or which will not ſtand the Teſt of both Human and Divine Laws: And as to our Church of *England*, of which we are the Supream Head on Earth; our Predeceſſors have loaded that *Body* with heavier Burthens upon leſs occaſions. Since therefore our *Commons* are nothing concern'd in the pretended Grievance of this *Article*, we can't but take it very unkindly, that they had rather a *Churl* or two ſhou'd ſpend the Revenues of their *Monaſteries* upon Luxury and Licenciouſneſs, than that their Prince ſhou'd have 'em to enable him to ſupport the Government, and protect his Subjects.

“The Third Article conſiſts of Three Branches: The Firſt concerns the Laws; The Second thoſe who execute them by our Commiſſion: The Third relates to the Commonwealth in a more general manner. Touching the *Laws*; as the Blind are no Judges of Colours, ſo we dare boldly affirm, as a thing that may eaſily be made good, that in no one Reign of our Predeceſſors, there have been ſo many beneficial *Acts* made, as in our Time. And as to the Condition of the Commonwealth, what Prince has maintain'd his Dominions in Peace and Wealth, ſo long as we have done? And that without doing or receiving any Injury: What Prince has adminiſter'd Juſtice more impartially to all Degrees of his Subjects? When have they been better defended from foreign Invaſion? Who has been at greater Expence in fortifying his Frontiers, and guarding the Intereſt and Repoſe of his People? Theſe things being all ſo apparent and beyond Diſpute, 'tis ſtrange Preſumption in you our Subjects to fancy the contrary. And whereas, 'tis pretended our *Council Board* was furniſh'd with a great many of the Nobility in the beginning of our Reign, and from hence a Compariſon of diſadvantage is drawn upon our preſent Adminiſtration; to this we ſhall condeſcend to anſwer; That at our Acceſſion to the Throne, there were but two of the *Temporalty*, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Lord High Steward, who deſerv'd to be call'd Noblemen; and of the *Spiritualty*, none but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: For as for the Lords *Marny* and *Darcy*, they were only Gentlemen of private Extraction, and ſlender Fortunes, till rais'd to Wealth and Honour by us. If therefore our Subjects were ſatisfied then with this ſmall Appearance of the Nobility, why ſhou'd they not be better pleas'd now, when we have thrice the number of *Quality* in our *Privy Council* *? And becauſe 'tis neceſſary we ſhou'd have ſome at the *Board* learned both in the Conſtitution of our Realm, and the Law of *Nations*; we have thought fit to make uſe of ſome Perſons thus qualified. And now we muſt put you in mind, that both we, and all our *Council* think it very ſtrange, that you who are but Brutes upon the Matter, and People of no Talent or Experience, ſhou'd take the freedom to pronounce upon the Merit of the *Miniſtry*, preſcribe us our *Council*, and inſtruct us in the Meaſures, of Government. By what we have obſerv'd to you, you may perceive how much you have been abus'd by the reports of ſome *Incendiaries*. But tho' out of our great Clemency and Condeſcenſion, we are willing to diſentangle our People, and reſcue 'em from thoſe miſtakes they have been led into by *Malcontents*; yet we wou'd have 'em all know, that it does not belong to any Subject to preſume ſo far, as to tell his Prince, how, and by whoſe Aſſiſtances he muſt govern. We expect therefore, that for the future, our Subjects ſhou'd recollect themſelves better; manage within their Duty, and not interpoſe where they have nothing to do.

Hen. VIII. K.

* *Here the King mentions four Spiritual Lords and eight Temporal.*

“To the Fourth Article, where the *Commons* complain by name of certain of our *Council*, as Subverters of the Laws of God, and thoſe of the Realm; we look upon this as an unjuſt imputation, and that the Perſons charg'd with Miſbehaviour have executed their Commiſſions unexceptionably enough. However, if the contrary can fairly be prov'd, we ſhall diſmiſs them our Service, and give them up to *Juſtice*. But then if all this Remonſtrance is nothing but Clamour and Calumny, we conceive thoſe who raiſe theſe injurious Reports, ſhou'd ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment, they wou'd draw upon others. As for your Complaints, as if ſome of the Prelates preach'd againſt the Doctrines of the Church, you know nothing of theſe matters but by the report of others: For your diſtance from the Biſhops complain'd of is ſuch, that you can charge nothing from your own hearing. We conjure you therefore, not to be ſo forward to arraign our Government, and believe ill of us.

“We are fully perſuaded, that the reſt of our *Commons*, to whom you are but a handful in Compariſon, will ſcorn you for your Preſumption, and never endure your ſetting down Rules for them, and their Sovereign. And whereas you being Rebels, wou'd bring them into the Revolt, and put them upon demanding a Pardon; we verily believe they were not in the Concert of the *Inſurrection*; their Actions declare the contrary: For immediately upon our Orders, they have like loyal Subjects appear'd in the *Field* both in Defence of us, and themſelves.

“As to your Demands, we muſt let you know, that the Pardon for ſuch things as you inſiſt on, is mere Favour, and perfectly at the Pleaſure of the Prince. But it ſeems by *your lew'd Proclamations, and Safe-Conducts*, you have Kings and Counſellors among your ſelves. But we can't remember that we have reſign'd our Station, or put them in any ſuch Poſt. What Inſolence therefore is it in thoſe Wretches to “raiſe our Subjects without, and againſt our Authority? To raiſe our Subjects in our Name without any Commiſſion, and upon our Government? To colour their Rebellion with the pretence of Publick Good, and for the Redreſs of your Greivances? Whereas, were we not more merciful, theſe Commotions wou'd end in your utter Confuſion: Wherefore we muſt once more put you in mind, that did we not believe this ſhameful and unnatural Rebellion, proceeded more from Levity and want of Thought, than from malicious Diſloyalty, we ſhou'd have puniſh'd the Criminals in another manner than we now intend; provided you humbly acknowledge your Fault, and ſubmit to our Mercy.

The *Pardon* the Duke of *Norfolk* brought down to *Doncaſter*, excepted ſix by name, and four unmention'd. But every body looking upon themſelves affected with the laſt Exception, refus'd the Conditions.

The King had lately ſent down the *Articles* of Religion already mention'd: Theſe it ſeems were ill received in the Northern Parts, and reckon'd Innovations. To remove this Miſconſtruction, an Order was directed to the Biſhops, not to neglect the uſual Ceremonies of the Church (*y*).

(*y*) *See Records, N.* 39. *A Reprimanding Letter directed to ſome of the Biſhops againſt Innovations in the Church.*

It ſeems ſome Perſons of Diſtinction amongſt the *Clergy*, were too much affected with the *German Model:* This made them overrun the *Juncture*, and reform too faſt, if not too far in ſome things. Thus the King complains, ſome of 'em had omitted reading the *Articles*, ſpoke with diſregard of the *Ceremonies*, and gone too far in novel Opinion and Practice. Theſe Singularities, as he conceives, had occaſioned the *Commotions* in the *North:* He therefore commands them to read the *Articles* in their Cathedrals, to recommend the cuſtomary Ceremonies, not as Eſſentials, but only as Circumſtances of Solemnity, and ſubſervient to Devotion. They are likewiſe commanded not to entertain any Clergyman that miſbehaves himſelf in theſe matters.

About this time the *Clergy* of the *North* met at *Pomfret*, and agreed upon certain Articles of Religion to be propos'd at the *Treaty*. It ſeems ſome thing of this kind had been lately offer'd them, which they refus'd to ſubſcribe: Their Exceptions are as follow (*z*).

(*z*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 380. *A Remonſtrance of the Northern Clergy againſt ſeveral Statutes in this Reign relating to Religion.*

“To the Firſt Article, we think that preaching againſt Purgatory, Worſhipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, Images, and all Books ſet forth againſt the ſame; or againſt the Sacraments or Sacramentals of the Church, be worthy to be reprov'd or condemn'd by *Convocation*, and the Pain to be executed, that is deviſ'd for the Doers to the contrary; and Proceſs to be made hereafter in *Hereſy*, as was in the days of King *Henry* the Fourth; and the new *Statutes* whereby *Hereſies* have now lately been nouriſh'd, to be null'd and abrogated. And that the Holydays may be obſerv'd according to the Laws and laudable Cuſtoms: And that *the Bidding of Beads*, and Preaching, may be obſerv'd as has been us'd by old Cuſtom.

“To the Second, we think the King's Highneſs, nor any Temporal Man may not be Supream Head of the Church by the Laws of God, to have or exerciſe any Juriſdiction or Power ſpiritual in the ſame; and all Acts of Parliament made to the contrary to be revok'd.

“To the Third, we ſay we be not ſufficiently inſtructed in the Fact, ne in the Proceſs therein made; but we refer it to the Determination of the Church, to whom it was appeal'd *.

“To the Fourth, we think that no Clerk ought to be put to Death, without Degradation by the Laws of the Church.

“To the Fifth, we think that no Man ought to be drawn out of *Sanctuary*, but in certain Caſes expreſs'd in the Laws of the Church.

“To the Sixth, we ſay that the Clergy of the North Parts, have not granted nor conſented to the Payment of the Tenths or Firſt Fruits of Benefices, in the *Convocation*. And alſo we may make no ſuch perſonal Grant by the Laws of the Church; and we think that no temporal Man, by the Laws of God, has Authority to claim any ſuch Tenths or Firſt Fruits of any Benefice or ſpiritual Promotion.

“To the Seventh, we think that the Lands given to God, the Church and Religious Men, may not be taken away, and put to prophane Uſages, by the Laws of God.

“To the Eighth, we think that Diſpenſations upon juſt Cauſes, lawfully granted by the Pope of *Rome*, to be good, and to be accepted. And Pardons have been allow'd by the General *Councils* of *Lateran* and *Vienna*, and by the Laws of the Church.

“To the Ninth, we think that by the Laws of the Church, General *Councils*, Interpretation of approv'd Doctors, and by Conſent of Chriſtian People, the Pope of *Rome* has been taken for the Head of the Church, and Vicar of *Chriſt*, and ſo ought to be taken.

“To the Tenth, we think that the Examination and Correction of deadly ſin belongs to the Miniſters of the Church by the Laws of the ſame, which be conſonant to God's Laws. Farther, we think it convenient, that the Laws of the Church may openly be read in Univerſities, as has been us'd heretofore. And that ſuch Clerks as be in Priſon, or fled out of the Realm, for withſtanding the King's Superiority in the Church, may be ſet at Liberty, and reſtor'd without Danger. And that ſuch Books and Works as do intreat of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, may be freely read and kept, notwithſtanding any Prohibition to the contrary; and that the *Articles* of *Præmunire* may be declared by *Acts* of Parliament, to the intent no Man may be in danger thereof, without a Prohibition firſt awarded. And that ſuch *Apoſtates* who be gone from Religion without Diſpenſation from the *See* of *Rome*, may be compell'd to return to their *Houſes*. And that all Sums of Money, as Tenths, Firſt Fruits, and other Arrearages granted unto the King by Parliament or *Convocation*, and due to be paid before the firſt Day of the next Parliament, may be remitted and forgiven, for the Cauſes and Reaſons above expreſs'd.

“And we the ſaid *Clergy* ſay, that for lack of Time Inſtruction in theſe *Articles*, and want of Books, we declare this our Opinion for this time; referring our Determination of the Premiſes to the next *Convocation*. Alſo we deſire that the *Statute* commanding the Clergy to exhibit their *Diſpenſations* granted by the *Pope* before the Feaſt of *Michaelmaſs* next coming, may be revoked at the next Parliament.

This laſt Clauſe concerning the exhibiting their *Diſpenſations*, refers to the 28 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 16. From whence we may conclude theſe Demands of the Northern Clergy were made this Year ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament: And had we no other Circumſtance to ſtate the Chronology, the Freedom of their Remonſtrance wou'd point out the time: For we may reaſonably infer,

* *Meaning in all likelihood, the Divorce between the King and Queen* Catherine.

fer, they durſt not have inſiſted upon theſe Terms without a ſtrong Inſurrection to ſupport them.

The military Appearance of the Northern Men diſlik'd by the Archbiſhop of York.

(a) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 416.

The Archbiſhop of *York* was preſent at this Aſſembly, but ſeems not to have gone the ſame length with the reſt. He told 'em, the manner of their Appearance was unwarrantable, and that an *arm'd Pilgrimage* cou'd not be lawful (*a*). After this there was a Day appointed for a meeting at *Doncaſter*: And here *John* Lord *Scroope*, the Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, *Robert Aske* and about three hundred more were to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Admiral *Fitz Williams*, and the reſt of the King's Commiſſioners. The Conditions the Rebels inſiſted on were theſe: A General Pardon; A Parliament to be held in thoſe Parts, and a *Seat* of Juſtice erected; And that none North of *Trent* might be ſummon'd to the *Courts* at *Weſtminſter*. They likewiſe moved for a Repeal of the *Act* of Parliament for the laſt Subſidy: Of the *Statutes* concerning *Uſes*, Miſpriſion of Treaſon for *Words*, *Tenths*, and Firſt Fruits: That the Lady *Mary* might be declar'd legitimate, the Pope reſtored to his cuſtomary Juriſdiction, and the Monks to their Houſes: That the *Lutherans* might be puniſh'd, and the *Lord Privy Seal*, and the Lord Chancellor not permitted to ſit in the next Parliament: And that the Doctors *Lee* and *Layton* might be impriſon'd for Bribery and Extortion. Theſe Demands were thought too inſolent, and rejected at firſt: But the Duke of *Norfolk* ſending the King Advice of his Army being in no good Condition to hazard a Battle, his Highneſs ſent the Rebels a General Pardon: This giving Satiſfaction, they disbanded, and went Home.

December 6.

The Demands of the Rebels.

December 9.

Notwithſtanding the Rebels had left the *Field*, and accepted their Pardon, the King thought fit to take ſome farther Meaſures to prevent Diſturbance from that Quarter. The Duke of *Norfolk* therefore was order'd to keep his Forces together, and take a farther Submiſſion of the *Commons*: And now they engage to revoke all Promiſes and Oaths made in the former Inſurrection; to be true to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors; to be governed by all *Acts* of Parliament paſs'd in this Reign: Not to take Arms without the King's Authority: To apprehend all ſeditious Perſons: And laſtly, To remove all Monks, Fryers, and Nuns they had ſettled in the Monaſteries lately diſſolv'd.

Febr. 153$\frac{6}{7}$.

Aske was brought up to the King, and upon his Submiſſion above mention'd well received, and permitted to go where he pleas'd.

The Rebellion breaks out again, and is cruſh'd.

A Parliament not being ſummon'd to *York* as ſoon as was expected; and the People being apprehenſive ſome of the chief Revolters wou'd be call'd to account, took the *Field* again under the Conduct of *Nicholas Muſgrave*, *Thomas Tilby* and ſome others. This *Body*, conſiſting of eight thouſand, beſieg'd *Carliſle*, but were beaten off by the Garriſon, and afterwards defeated by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Sir *Francis Bigot*, and one *Haylam*, attempted the ſurprizing of *Hull* about the ſame time, but miſcarried in the Enterprize, and were both taken, and executed. This ſecond Inſurrection being quickly cruſh'd, the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aske*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt*, and *William Lumley* were apprehended for high Treaſon, and brought up to *London*. Not long after the Lord *Huſſey*, and the Lord *Darcy* were beheaded; and ſeveral *Religious* and others were executed at *Hull*, *York*, and elſewhere. The Duke of *Norfolk* diſcharg'd his Commiſſion with great Diſcipline and Vigour, and diſpatch'd no ſmall Numbers by *Martial Law*. But now the King ſaid he wou'd cloſe the *Tragedy*, and ſtop the Iſſue of Blood. Thus he ſent down another general Pardon, which was extremely welcome; for the People were pretty much frighten'd by the Duke's Management (*b*).

Aske hanged, afterwards in Chains at York.

(*b*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 428.

Nov. 19. 1536.

I obſerv'd the Northern Rebels charg'd ſome of the Biſhops with innovating in Religion. 'Tis probable they had ſome reaſon for their Complaint, for *Barlow* Biſhop of St. *David*'s was inform'd againſt for delivering the following Paſſages in a Sermon.

An Information againſt Barlow *Biſhop of* St. David's.

" *Imprimis*, He affirm'd and ſaid, That whereſoever two or three ſimple Perſons, as two Coblers or Weavers, were in Company, and elected in the Name of God, that there was the true Church of God.

" *Item*, That it is not expedient for Man to confeſs himſelf, but only unto God, for he will at all times accept and take any penitent Man or Woman to his Mercy, if he cannot expediently have a Prieſt.

" *Item*, That there neither is, nor was any Purgatory; but 'tis only a Thing invented and imagin'd by the Biſhop of *Rome*, and our Prieſts to have *Trentals* and other mundane Lucre thereby.

" *Item*, That if the King's Grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, did chuſe, denominate and elect any Layman (being learned) to be a Biſhop; that he, ſo choſen, (without mention made of any Orders) ſhou'd be as good a Biſhop as he is, or the beſt in *England* (*c*).

(*c*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 383.

One *Talley* preach'd before the Biſhop of St. *David*'s this Doctrine amongſt other Things; *viz.* " That in times paſt, there was none that did preach or declare the Word of God truly, nor the Truth was never known till now of late.

Theſe *Articles* were exhibited to the right Reverend Father in God the Lord Preſident of the King's *Council* in the Marches of *Wales*, by one *Roger Lewis* Batchelor of Law.

Jan. 11. 1536.

Ibid.

Pole *made a Cardinal.*

This Year *Reginald Pole* had a Cardinal's Hat given him by *Paul* the Third. He was of the Blood Royal, and Couſen German to the King, by both the *Houſes* of *York*, and *Lancaſter*. The King deſign'd to breed him for the higheſt Preferments in the Church, and make him no leſs eminent in Learning, than he was for his Extraction. He had the Deanry of *Exeter* with ſome other Preferments, to furniſh him for Study and Travelling. He loſt the King's Favour at *Paris*, for refuſing to ſubſcribe for the *Divorce* with the reſt of the *French* Univerſities. From *France* he travell'd to *Padua*, where he ſettled a conſiderable Time. Here he was courted to the Acquaintance of ſeveral Perſons of Character for the *Belles Lettres*. Among theſe were *Contareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, *Sadoletti*, and others. Rhetorick and the old *Roman* Authors were the Inclination of theſe Men. In this Study *Pole* made a great Proficiency, and was much celebrated for his Elocution (*d*).

(*d*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 221.

He refuſes to return into England *at the King's Inſtance.*

The King had given him ſeveral Invitations to return, and aſſiſt him in his Affairs: But *Pole* declin'd the Offers. At laſt, being farther preſs'd, and thrown out of his Excuſes, he diſcover'd his Mind, told the King he cou'd not approve his Proceedings: That he neither underſtood his Divorce from Queen *Catharine*, nor his diſengaging from the Apoſtolick *See*. The King in his Anſwer deſired the Reaſons of his Diſagreement, and ſent him Doctor *Sampſon*'s Book in Defence of

He writes his Book de Unione Eccleſiaſtica *againſt the Proceedings in* England.

of what had been done. This Diſcourſe occaſion'd the Writing of *Pole*'s Book *de Unione Eccleſiaſtica*; which was penn'd with ſomething of Acrimony, and made the Cardinal appear a plain Dealer with the King.

(*e*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. *fol.* 385.

July 13. 1536. *The Biſhop of* Durham's *Letter to the Cardinal in Anſwer to his Book.*

Tunſtal Biſhop of *Durham* wrote to *Pole* upon the Subject of this Controverſie. “ His Letter endeavours at a Confutation of the Cardinal's Performance. He takes the Freedom to acquaint *Pole*, that he was neither ſatisfied with the Manner, nor the Matter of his Eminency's Book (*e*). As to the Manner, he thought his *Sincerity* went too far, and that his Zeal had carried him to an Invective. As to the Matter, he blames the Cardinal for charging the King with a Defection from the Catholick Church, with encroaching on the Privilege of the Prieſthood, invading the holy Function, and pretending an Authority to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments. To this Biſhop *Tunſtal* replies, that *Pole* was much miſtaken in Matter of Fact: That the King had a great Eſteem for the Sacerdotal Character, provided due Qualifications were not wanting, and the Management of the Perſon anſwer'd up to the Office. And to the Charge of his departing from Catholick Communion, his Highneſs was much injur'd by ſuch an Imputation. For it had all along been his Practice to adhere to the Unity of the Catholick Church, to maintain the ancient Doctrine, and conform to the Worſhip and Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Reſt of Chriſtendom. 'Tis true, as the Biſhop continues, he had reſcued the *Engliſh* Church from the Encroachments of the Court of *Rome*: And if this be a Singularity, he deſerves Commendation: For the King has only reduc'd Matters to their original State, and help'd the *Engliſh* Church to her ancient Freedom. And why ſhou'd his Majeſty be blam'd for hindering the Exporting the publick Treaſure, and putting a ſtop to the arbitrary Meaſures of the Biſhop of *Rome*?

“ The Biſhop proceeds, and puts *Pole* in mind, That the Popes at their coming to the *Chair*, make a ſolemn Profeſſion to obſerve the *Canons* of the eight General *Councils*. That by the Regulations in theſe *Councils*, there is no ſuch Monarchy ſettled on the See of *Rome* as is now pretended. The Ancient *Fathers* knew nothing of the Right of governing the univerſal Church, to which the modern Popes have put up their Claim.

It appears by what follows in the Biſhop's Letter, that *Pole* had argued for the Pope's *Supremacy* from the *New Teſtament*, and urg'd our Saviour's Promiſe to St. *Peter*.

“ Now, ſays the Biſhop, if theſe *Texts* prove the *Papal Supremacy*, *Pole* muſt grant that the Fathers at the firſt *Council* of *Nice*, and other Oecumenical *Synods* were altogether miſtaken: And which is more, the Apoſtles in their *Canons* decree counter to the *Goſpels* written by themſelves.

By the way, he ſuppoſes the *Apoſtles Canons*, penn'd by the Authors whoſe Names they bear.

To return: “ He inſtances in ſome Particulars: For the Purpoſe; That the *Apoſtles Canons* and the *Councils* above mention'd decreed that Conſecrations of Biſhops, Ordinations of Prieſts, together with ſuch Conteſts as might happen amongſt the Clergy, ſhou'd be perform'd and determin'd within the *Dioceſs*, or at leaſt within the *Province*. Now, continues the Biſhop, 'tis unimaginable to conceive, that the firſt four General *Councils* ſhou'd have proceeded in this Manner, and overlook the Pope's *Supremacy*, if that Privilege had been ſettled upon them in the *New Teſtament*.

“ And whereas *Pole* inſiſted upon Cuſtom and ancient Uſage, *Tunſtal* replies, that for the firſt thouſand Years the Belief and Practice of the Church was againſt him. That in the Primitive Times when the Blood of the Martyrs was freſh, and the *Scriptures* beſt underſtood; when Faith was ſtrongeſt and Virtue had the greateſt Aſcendant; when things were in this State of Advantage, the Cuſtoms of the Church muſt be better than thoſe of latter Ages; Of latter Ages; I ſay, when Ambition and Covetonſneſs had made an Impreſſion upon Chriſtendom. And who ever ſhall infer the Papal Authority now exerciſed, eſpecially in Temporal Matters, from St. *Peter*'s Primacy, may by Parity of Reaſon make Light and Darkneſs the ſame thing. In Proof of this Point the Biſhop refers *Pole* to Cardinal *Cuſanus*, in his ſecond Book *de Concordia Catholica*.

“ As to *Pole*'s Objection, that the King has croſs'd upon the Inclinations of his Subjects in diſcharging the Pope's Authority; he tells him this is ſo far a Miſtake, that on the contrary, if the King ſhou'd attempt the reviving the Pope's Power, he wou'd find it a very difficult Buſineſs to bring the Subject to this Sentiment, and get a *Bill* of this nature paſs in Parliament.

“ The Biſhop goes on, and takes notice, that *Pole* had reproach'd him with want of Reſolution in not adhering to the *Apoſtolick See*, and that the Terrors of Death over-aw'd him in this Matter. To this he anſwers, that he did not think the Cauſe wou'd bear the loſing an Ounce of Blood. And that the Court of *Rome* had no reaſon to take it ill, that People refus'd to run any Riſques upon their Account: For he was well ſatisfied themſelves wou'd venture nothing for any Body elſe.

“ He conjures *Pole* not to be ſwayed by any Opinions deliver'd in his Book; nor conclude the Extent of the Pope's Authority from any Submiſſions in *Italy*, or other Parts of *Europe*: For the modern Practice is no infallible Interpreter of the *New Teſtament*: 'Tis much ſafer to govern ourſelves by the Deciſions of the *earlier Ages*. Now 'tis evident from the *Councils* above mention'd, that no *particular See* has ſo extenſive and monarchical a Privilege. And that the Preferences given to the Biſhop of *Rome* in thoſe General *Councils* were granted upon the ſcore of the imperial City, and the *Sees* being the Capital of the Empire. 'Twas for this Reaſon that the Pope had the Precedence, and not becauſe St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* exerciſ'd the Apoſtolical Function, and were buried in that City. In ſhort, this Prerogative was not drawn from any Claim in the *Goſpel*, but granted in Honour to the *Capital*, and in Conformity to the *Civil* Government. Thus the ſecond Rank or Diſtinction was aſſign'd the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, becauſe that City was call'd *New Rome*, and made the Reſidence of the Emperors: And in conſequence of this *Civil* Privilege, the *See* of *Conſtantinople* was preferr'd to that of *Antioch*, notwithſtanding the *Name* of Chriſtendom began there, and St. *Peter* was the firſt Biſhop. And upon the ſame Conſideration the *See* of *Conſtantinople* had the Precedence of *Alexandria* where St. *Peter*'s Diſciple St. *Mark* ſat; and of *Jeruſalem*, where our Saviour himſelf preach'd, where the Apo-

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

“ ſtolical College was ſettled, and where *James* the Brother of our Lord was firſt Biſhop: Which Church, till the City was deſtroy'd, was call'd *the Mother of all Churches*. And notwithſtanding theſe three Churches had extraordinary Pleas for Regard, *Conſtantinople* was preferr'd to 'em all upon the Ground above mention'd. This, by the modern Doctrine, being ſo great a Partiality, and Violation of divine Right, theſe holy *Councils*, and particularly the General one of *Chalcedon*, wou'd never have agreed to it, if the Goſpel had determin'd the Matter otherwiſe.

*Paris Honoris ac Poteſtatis. De Unitat. Eccleſ.

“ From the *Councils* the Biſhop refers *Pole* to the *Fathers*, and tells him if he will give himſelf the Trouble to read St. *Baſil*, St. *Nazienzen*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and St. *Damaſcene*, he'll meet with no ſuch Claims of Spiritual Empire, as the Pope pretends to. And to go ſomewhat higher; St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks home to the point, and affirms that the Apoſtles were all equal by their Commiſſion *. In the Cloſe, beſides theſe Topicks from Antiquity and Religion, he puts *Pole* in mind, the Intereſt of his Family, the King's former Kindneſs, and the regaining his Favour, were no deſpicable Motives.

Cardinal Pole's *Anſwer to Biſhop* Tunſtal.

'Twas not long before *Tunſtal* received an Anſwer from the Cardinal: “ He complains in his Letter, the Biſhop had not carefully peruſed his Book: That otherwiſe the Objections which were ſatisfied, wou'd not have been urg'd without mentioning the Anſwers. From hence he proceeds to reply to ſome of the Biſhop's Arguments. And as to *Tunſtal*'s Endeavour to clear the King from invading the Sacerdotal Office, becauſe he did not pretend to preach, or adminiſter the Sacraments; to this *Pole* rejoins that his taking the Title of *Supreme Head* of the Church, ſuppoſed him the Fountain of Spiritual Juriſdiction: And in caſe he had Authority to delegate others, and commiſſionate them for ſuch Offices, does it not follow that he might execute the ſame whenever he pleas'd? Farther, if the Adminiſtration of the *Sacraments* is the higheſt Spiritual Office, muſt it not belong to the ſupreme *Ordinary*, and be annex'd to the *Head* of the Church? He obſerves in the next Place, That thoſe Authors who write in Defence of the King's *Supremacy*, proceed upon this falſe Ground, that the *Church* and the *State* are one *Society*. Now this is a capital Miſtake: For theſe two *Bodies* are inſtituted for different Ends, and govern'd by independent Authorities. He blames the Biſhop for citing the *Councils* againſt him in general, and not alledging particular *Canons* to diſprove his Principles. From hence he goes on to prove St. *Peter*'s *Primacy* from the *Text* in St. *John*, *Feed my Sheep*, &c. And whereas the Biſhop had urged the Learning of the *Engliſh* Clergy as a Counter-balance to thoſe on the other Side; *Pole* puts him in mind, that *Fiſher* and *Moore* who died for the contrary Perſuaſion, were not inferior to the reſt in any Branch of a great Character. The Cardinal ſeems ſurpriz'd, the Subject of his Book ſhou'd be ſo unacceptable: He wonders thoſe who argued to the King's Diſhonour, ſtuck a Blemiſh upon his Father's Conduct, and charg'd his preſent Majeſty with living in Inceſt one and twenty Years together, ſhou'd be reckon'd his Highneſs's Friends: And that thoſe on the other ſide, who endeavour'd to wipe off the Calumny, and juſtify the King's firſt Marriage, ſhould be treated as Enemies and Traytors (*f*). This is all which is neceſſary to be obſerv'd in this Letter.

John 21. 17.

Hen. VIII. K.

(*f*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. *fol.* 343.

Pole *made Legate and ſent to the Low Countries.*

About this time the Cardinal was made the Pope's *Legate*, and diſpatch'd to *Flanders* for a nearer Correſpondence with *England*. Our King being inform'd of his Character and Journey, wrote to the *French* King either to deny him Paſſage thro' his Dominions, or deliver him up as a Rebel; or at leaſt, not to treat him with the Ceremony of a *Legate*. The laſt Requeſt was granted, and *Pole* order'd to withdraw out of *France* at a very ſmall Warning. From hence he retir'd to the Low Countries; but the Queen Regent refus'd to afford him her Protection. *Hutton* the King's *Agent* had remonſtrated to this Princeſs againſt her receiving the Cardinal: And declar'd it a Breach of Treaty in caſe he was entertain'd. Thus the Cardinal was diſappointed of a Reſidence in the Low Countries, and his Communication with his Friends in *England* in a manner cut off. He complain'd loudly of this Uſage, charg'd the *Regent* with Diſobedience to the *Apoſtolick See*, but all to no purpoſe: Before he return'd to *Rome*, he ſent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwell*; the Purport of it was to purge himſelf from the Imputation of Diſloyalty, and to proteſt he had no Intention of Diſſervice to the King (*g*).

He is refus'd Entrance by the Queen Regent.

(*g*) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 424.

Iriſh *Acts of Parliament relating to the Church.*

In *May* laſt, this Year, a *Parliament* began in *Ireland*, and made ſeveral *Statutes* relating to the Church. For inſtance: An *Act* was paſs'd for conſtituting the King and his Succeſſors Supreme *Head* of the Church of *Ireland* (*h*). Appeals to *Rome* are prohibited. The Firſt Fruits of Biſhopricks, Livings and *Religious Houſes* are granted to the Crown. There was likewiſe a Statute made, That no *Proctors* of the *Clergy* ſhall be reputed Members of *Parliament*. The *Preamble* ſets forth, That Two *Proctors* of every Dioceſs, were of Cuſtom ſummon'd to Parliament: But that by Law, they had no Right of voting, but only aſſiſted as Counſellors in that Aſſemhly. Their Buſineſs being to declare their Opinions when any Controverſy touching Religion or Learning, happen'd to ariſe. And that moſt commonly, they were made acquainted with all the Buſineſs of Parliaments, and their Advice ask'd concerning all Bills before they paſs'd. That now theſe *Proctors* temerariouſly preſum'd to claim a Share in the Legiſlature, and pretended themſelves Members of Parliament. 'Tis therefore enacted and ordained, That for the future, none of theſe *Proctors*, tho' ſummon'd to Parliament, ſhall be held any part of the legiſlative Body, or their Vote or Aſſent reckon'd neceſſary to any *Act*.

(*h*) Iriſh *Statutes.*

28 H. 8. c. 5.

28 H. 8. c. 6.

28 H. 8. c. 8, 26.

By this *Statute* we may perceive the inferiour Clergy had their Repreſentatives in the *Iriſh* Parliaments: And that they inſiſted on a Right of Voting with the *Temporal Commons*.

To proceed: The Pope's Authority is diſown'd under the Penalty of a *Præmunire*, and 'tis made High-Treaſon to refuſe the Oath of Supremacy. By this *Act*, all Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions not repugnant to the Statutes and Cuſtoms of the Country, nor prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal, are continued till ſuch Time as the King or Parliament ſhall make other Proviſion (*i*). The leſſer Abbies are ſuppreſs'd with a Clauſe that the King and *Patentees* ſhou'd enjoy them in as large and beneficial a manner as they were held by the Abbots. The Grantees are oblig'd to keep Hoſpitality, under the Forfeiture of Twenty Pounds *per Annum*. The Act for granting *Faculties* is much of the ſame Nature with that made at *Weſtminſter* in this Reign, and

(*i*) 28 H. 8. c. 13.

28 H. 8. c. 16.

28 H. 8. c. 19.

and in ſhort, moſt of theſe *Iriſh* Bills are drawn upon the *Engliſh* Model.

I obſerved, that ſeveral of the *Religious* were executed for the Northern and *Lincolnſhire* Rebellions: To be ſomewhat more particular, there were ſix Abbots, and the Prior of *Burlington*, five *Lincolnſhire* Prieſts, and ſeveral Monks, who ſuffer'd for the Inſurrection (*k*).

(*k*) Godwyn. Annal. Saunders de Schiſm. Anglic.

The northern Rebellion not without a colourable Pretence.

Now tho' riſing upon the Government, is Defiance of the Laws, and not to be endured upon any Pretence whatſoever; however, if Reſiſtance of the chief Magiſtrate had been juſtifyable in any Caſe, thoſe who appear'd in Arms upon the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, had a ſtrong Colour for their Undertaking. For were not the old Land Marks ſet aſide, and the Conſtitution new model'd? For do not the Liberties and Immunities of the Church ſtand in the Front of *Magna Charta?* And are they not particularly ſecur'd in the firſt place? Was not the King's Coronation Oath lamentably ſtrain'd, when he ſign'd the *Diſſolution* Act? For had he not ſworn to guard the Property of his Subjects, to protect the *Religious*, and maintain them in their legal Eſtabliſhment? The ancient Nobility were thrown out of the Patronage of their Monaſteries, loſt their *Corrodies* and the Privilege of their Anceſtors Benefactions. The Rents were rais'd, and the Poor forgotten as they complained by the *new Proprietors*. Beſides, they were afraid their Friends in the other World might ſuffer by theſe Alienations, and the *Dead* fare the worſe for want of the Prayers of the *Living*. Granting therefore the Matter of Fact, that the Proſecutions were legal, which way are the Abbots more to be blam'd than the *Barons*, who took up Arms in Defence of Liberty and Property, and appear'd in the Field againſt King *John* and *Henry* the Third? The Abbies without queſtion, had all the Security the *Civil* Magiſtrate cou'd give 'em: No Eſtate could be better guarded by the Laws. *Magna Charta*, as I obſerved, was made particularly in Eavour of theſe Foundations, and confirm'd at the Beginning of every Parliament, for many ſucceeding Reigns. Theſe Things conſidered, we muſt of neceſſity either condemn the *Barons*, or acquit the Monks, and juſtify the Northern Rebellion.

By the way, the ſpecious Pretences for this Commotion made the King very uneaſy. His Thoughts were ſo far embarraſs'd, that he had once reſolv'd to quit his Title of *Head* of the Church, and return the Pope his *Supremacy* *. But being apprehenſive his reſigning in ſo great a Point, might be conſtrued to Fear, he ſtood his Ground and drop'd that Reſolution.

* Gardiner's *Sermon before King* Philip *and Cardinal* Pole. Fox *p.* 1479. *Edit. Second.*

A brief Abſtract of Gardiner's *Book* de Obedientia.

This Year, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, publiſhed his Book *de vera obedientia*, againſt the Pope's *Supremacy*. This Book, treating a remarkable Subject, and being in a very few Hands, I ſhall give the *Reader* a brief Account of the Argument. “ This Prelate at firſt ſeems only to contend for the King's Civil Supremacy: Maintains, that Allegiance is due from all his Subjects; that no Privilege of Religion can plead an *Exemption*, and that a Prince ought not to ſuffer in his Prerogative by turning Chriſtian. He endeavours to reconcile the *Texts* which injoin Obedience to Church Governours: And here he grants *teaching* and adminiſtring the *Sacraments* belongs to the *Clergy*. But afterwards, he diſallows the Diſtinction of making the King Head in Temporal Cauſes, and aſſigning the Juriſdiction of ſpiritual Matters to the *Church*. And yet by giving the *Clergy* the Function of *Preaching*, he ſeems to make 'em Judges in Points of Doctrine, and by granting them intruſted by our Saviour with the Diſpenſation of the *Sacraments*, he muſt grant by conſequence, that they are authoriz'd to admit or exclude *Communion* as they ſhall think fit. To go on with him, “ he endeavours to prove the *Civil Supremacy* from Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*: he mentions a Saying of *Conſtantine* to the Biſhops, but does not anſwer it. The Emperor's Sentence is this, *I ought to be judged by you, and therefore will not pronounce Sentence upon you*. He allows the calling the King Head of the Church, was an uncuſtomary Stile: But that it was neceſſary to make uſe of a new Term for the Revival of an old Truth. That Princes being Sovereigns of all their Subjects, are to command their Buſineſs, and aſſign every one their Station. He goes on, and alledges ſeveral Laws relating to the Church, made by the Emperor *Juſtinian*; and obſerves that the ancient Kings of *England*, exerciſed Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, made Regulations concerning Hereſy, and gave the Biſhops an Enlargement of Power. But here he miſtakes Matter of Fact, and argues looſly. “ He obſerves rightly, the Pope's *Supremacy* own'd by ſome of our Kings, but that it was not *Jure Divino*: And that Precedents and cuſtomary Submiſſion to the *See* of *Rome*, are not ſufficient to carry the Cauſe.

Heb. 13. 7, & 17. Acts 20. 28.

P. 14. & 15.

p. 16.

p. 17.

p. 18.

p. 19.

p. 20.

“ He endeavours to reinforce his Reaſoning farther from the *Old Teſtament*, and urges the Pope to prove his Juriſdiction from *Scripture*. He affirms our Saviour did not inſiſt on *Civil* Juriſdiction, but liv'd ſubject to the Emperor, and reprimanded his Diſciples for their Expectation of a Temporal Kingdom. But this can do *Gardiner* no Service. What he ſays next is more to the Point; that is, “ there is not a Syllable for the Biſhop of *Rome*'s *Primacy* in *Holy Scripture*. He takes notice from *Euſebius*, that after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, the Three chief Apoſtles St. *Peter*, St. *John*, and St. *James* the Great, had no Conteſts about Superiority, but yielded the *See* of *Jeruſalem* to the other St. *James*, call'd our Lord's Brother (*l*). This Teſtimony is very much to the purpoſe. But the Biſhop's reaſoning is not uniformly ſtrong, “ for now he ſinks the Authority of the Church, and makes the Biſhops no more than Officers conſtituted by Princes. He complains, the Popes don't anſwer their Character, nor live up to their Pretenſions. This Miſbehaviour, he ſeems to conclude, affects their Juriſdiction. St. *Peter*, as he continues, had no Authority over the reſt of the Apoſtles. His *Primacy* was founded on his Confeſſion, on his extraordinary Courage and Zeal in the Diſcharge of his Commiſſion. And that this Privilege is intail'd on his Succeſſors only, upon Condition of their being qualified as St. *Peter* was. That to be ſtiled the *Chief*, with reſpect to others in the ſame Buſineſs, implies perſonal Excellency, but not Dominion and Command. Thus to ſay, a Man is a Phyſician, or a Painter of the Firſt Rank, does not ſuppoſe him in a Poſt of Juriſdiction, and that he is to govern the reſt of his Fraternity. Farther, he urges the Conſent of the *Engliſh* Nation, for the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy: That now they had all taken their Leave of the Pope; and that ſince *Paul* the Third had no Apoſtolical Vertues, he muſt not pretend to Apoſtolical Regard. However, he wiſhes his *Holineſs* well. In the cloſe of the Argument, he puts an Objection againſt himſelf.

p. 22.

(*l*) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 1.

p. 23, 29.

“ ſelf. It might be ſaid there was no Agreement between his *Book* and his Practice. He had undertaken to preſs Obedience, and fail'd notoriouſly in that Branch of his Duty. He had engaged his Subjection to the Court of *Rome*, ſworn a Submiſſion to the Pope and his Succeſſors, and ſolemnly oblig'd himſelf to defend the Privileges and Juriſdiction of the *Apoſtolick See*. He receiv'd his Epiſcopal Character by the Pope's Conſent, and was conſecrated by his *Mandate*, and yet after all theſe Ties and Aſſurances, he has ventur'd to write againſt his Supremacy, and renounce him in the moſt publick manner. To take off the Imputation of Falſhood and Perjury, he obſerves very well, that an Engagement againſt Right, is by no means binding. For an Oath was never intended a Bond of Iniquity, and a Bar againſt Repentance. He illuſtrates his Caſe with a Husband's marrying a ſecond Wife, living the former: Living the former, I ſay, whom after the beſt Enquiry, he concluded dead. Thus he continued undiſturbed in his ſecond Marriage: And when his firſt Wife returned from a foreign Country, and challeng'd him for her Husband, he deny'd the Relation. But after ſhe had made out her Claim by legal Proof, he liv'd with her again, and diſmiſs'd the *Second*. This Inſtance the Biſhop applys to his own Caſe: He thought the Pope's Authority unqueſtionable at firſt, and ſubmitted accordingly. But when Truth appeared, he found himſelf miſtaken, and therefore ought not to be charged with Breach of Faith for altering his Meaſures.

Page 31.

Bonner, afterwards Biſhop of *London*, wrote a *Preface* to *Gardiner*'s Book. “ He treats the Pope with rough Language, and complains the *Traditions* were for the moſt part repugnant to the Law of God. He commends the King for his Piety, and Care of Religion; excuſes *Gardiner* for diſ-entangling himſelf no ſooner; and takes notice, this Prelate was not the firſt that detected the Pope of Miſbehaviour. This *Preface*, as appears by the firſt Page, was made, tho' not publiſhed, before the Miſfortune of Queen *Anne*. As to *Gardiner*, he ſeems to have been a better *Stateſman*, than controverſial Divine. For tho' his Topicks are ſometimes good, yet generally ſpeaking, his Reaſoning is either foreign or faint. He floats in the Diſpute, flies off from Conſiſtency, and wants either Force or Direction.

Page 33, 34. Bonner's Preface.

The King having ſuppreſs'd the Inſurrections above mentioned, was under no Apprehenſion of farther Diſturbance. Being thus at Eaſe in his Government, he reſolved to purſue his *Diſſolution Scheme*, and go farther with the *Religious*. Thus there was a *new Viſitation* appointed for all the *Monaſteries*. The *Viſitors* had Inſtructions to make a nice Inquiry both into their Loyalty and private Behaviour. They were to examine how far they were ſunk in Superſtition, and how affected to the King's Supremacy. 'Twas their Buſineſs likewiſe to diſcover whether they had enrich'd themſelves by Impoſture, deluded the People by counterfeit Miracles, and miſled 'em in their Veneration for Images and Relicks. This *Viſitation* brought on Three Surrenders this Year. But of theſe Things more afterwards (*m*).

A ſecond Viſitation of the Monaſteries.

A. D. 1537.

(*m*) Bp. Burnet, pt. p. 235.

This Year the Pope order'd the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet* and *Pole*, to inſpect the State of the Church, and make ſome Regulations in his own Court. They drew up a Liſt of ſeveral Abuſes in Diſcipline and Government: But as to Matters of Doctrine, they wou'd not allow any thing was amiſs (*n*). This Remonſtrance gave occaſion to the rectifying ſeveral Diſorders in that Communion. Had this Eſſay towards a *Reformation*, been well received by the *Proteſtants*, 'tis not improbable the other ſide might have gone farther in their Conceſſions, and relax'd in ſome points of Belief. But *Luther* and *Sturmius* were ſtiff in their Temper, and had too good an Opinion of their Plan. They made a publick Jeſt of the Cardinal's Buſineſs, and wou'd endure no *Reformations* but their own. Thus all Hopes of Accommodation vaniſh'd, and the Breaches in the Church were kept open. The *Court* of *Rome* being thus treated with Contempt, were diſcourag'd in the Union-Project, and thought it to no purpoſe to make any Offers of farther Satisfaction (*o*).

The delegated Cardinals remonſtrate againſt ſeveral Abuſes in the Church.

(*n*) Sleidan. Comment. lib. 12.

Luther *and* Sturmius *ridicule this Eſſay towards a Reformation.*

(*o*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 426, 427.

The Time for the *Council*, promis'd by the Pope, drawing near, our King privately diſpatched *William Paget* and *Chriſtopher Mount* to *Smalcalde:* Their Inſtructions were to diſſuade the *German* Princes from agreeing with the Emperor, or accepting the *Council*. The King was apprehenſive ſuch an Aſſembly of the Biſhops would paſs no favourable *Cenſure* upon what he had done: The *French* King and the Emperor too had promis'd his Proceedings ſhou'd not be queſtioned, but he thought it not prudent to depend on ſuch an Aſſurance; and therefore after the *Proteſtant* Princes had concurr'd with him in refuſing the *Mantuan* Council, he publiſh'd a Proteſtation againſt it: And to this Year, upon Recollection, I perceive the *Record* above mention'd, muſt be referr'd (*p*).

The King's Proteſtation againſt the Council at Mantua.

(*p*) *See Records, Numb.* 38.

This Year Prince *Edward* was born at *Hampton-Court*; but this Satisfaction receiv'd an Abatement by the Queen's Death, which happened Two Days after. The King was extremely diſconſolate at the Loſs of this Princeſs, and continued a Widdower for more than Two Years (*q*).

Octob. 12. *The Birth of Prince* Edward.

(*q*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 429.

About this Time, a Form of bidding the *Beads*, or publick Prayers, was drawn up, and ſent into *Ireland*. It differs ſomething from that already mention'd, and therefore I ſhall inſert it for the *Reader* (*r*).

The Form of bidding Beads in Ireland.

(*r*) *See Records, Numb.* 40.

This Year a very remarkable Book call'd the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man* was publiſh'd *. This Book was compoſed in *Convocation* Three Years before: 'Twas drawn up for a Direction for the Biſhops and Clergy.

A. D. 1537.

* *'Twas printed by* Berthelet *the King's Printer*, cum privilegio.

They were to govern themſelves in the Inſtruction of their Flocks by this Rule. 'Twas an authoritative Explanation of the Doctrines of Faith and Manners, and a ſort of Standard for the *Desk* and *Pulpit*. For theſe Reaſons, and becauſe the Book is in a very few Hands, I ſhall abridge ſome part of it for the *Reader*. 'Tis rang'd under theſe *Diviſions*; The *Creed*, the *Seven Sacraments*, the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lord's-Prayer*, the *Ave-Maria*, *Juſtification*, and *Purgatory*. I ſhall only abſtract thoſe Places which are moſt uncommon.

The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man abſtracted.

To begin with the Fifth Article of the *Creed*: “ This Article maintains a local Deſcent of our Saviour into Hell. And here Hell is taken for the Place of the damn'd. The End of our Saviour's coming hither in his ſtate of Separation was to ſpoil Principalities and Powers, to triumph over the *Kingdom of Darkneſs*, and to reſcue all thoſe righteous Souls which died in the Favour of God, and the Belief of a Meſſiah to come. That by this Deſcent of our Saviour into Hell, the Sentence of eternal Condemnation pronounc'd upon *Adam* and his Poſterity, was revers'd: The Puniſhment conſe-

Our Saviour's Deſcent into Hell, how underſtood.

quent upon original or actual Sin diſcharg'd, and the Dominion thence accruing to the Devil over Mankind determin'd.

The Catholick Church.

“ The Article concerning the *Catholick Church*, makes this Body conſiſt in the Unity of Faith, Hope and Charity, and in the right Uſe and Adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*; and that all the good Works, Gifts and Graces perform'd or conferr'd on any particular Member, will be univerſally ſerviceable, and applied to the Benefit of the whole Body.

“ That all particular Churches are Parts of the Church Univerſal; and that there are no Diſtinctions of Superiority or Authority in any one of them excluſively of the reſt. But they are all equal in Dignity and Power, built upon the ſame Foundation, govern'd by the ſame Spirit, and entitul'd to the ſame glorious Immortality. The Church of *Rome* therefore can't properly be call'd any more than a Part of the Catholick Church: Neither can the Biſhop of that *See* make out any Claim by the Word of God, to Univerſal Paſtorſhip, or to exerciſe any Juriſdiction in the Churches of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or any other foreign Realm.

“ In the Article of the *Communion* of *Saints*, the Operations of the Holy Ghoſt, Remiſſion of Sin, and eternal Salvation, are wholly confin'd to the Catholick Church, and a very ſevere Sentence pronounc'd upon all Hereticks, Heathens, Jews, and Infidels of what Age or Diſtinction ſoever.

“ In the Notes upon the twelve Articles, 'tis declared, all thoſe Heterodoxies condemn'd by the firſt four General Councils muſt be renounced, and the *Creed* interpreted agreeably to the Senſe of *Scripture* and Antiquity.

“ From the *Creed* the Book proceeds to the *Seven Sacraments*.

Matrimony.

“ And here Matrimony is ſaid to conſiſt of an outward viſible Sign, and an inward Grace, and affirm'd to be inſtituted in Paradiſe, and no new Sacrament of the *Goſpel*. And after all, there is a Preference given to Cælibacy.

Baptiſm.

“ Under *Baptiſm*, they inſiſt on the Neceſſity of this Sacrament, for the Remiſſion of Sin, the Recovery of the Divine Favour, and the Infuſion of Grace, and pronounce that all baptized Children dying in their Infancy, ſhall undoubtedly be ſaved, *and elſe not:* And here they condemn Re-baptization, and all *Pelagian* and *Anabaptiſtical* Doctrines, as deteſtable Hereſies.

Pelagianiſm *and* Anabaptiſm *condemn'd.*

Confirmation.

“ The next Advance is, to *Confirmation:* And after having premiſed the Sufficiency of Baptiſm, for the Purpoſes above mention'd, they maintain, that *Confirmation* was inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and continued in the primitive Church, to recover the Perſon from any Failings he had been guilty of ſince Baptiſm, and to furniſh him with new Strength to combate the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil. And here the Biſhop is made the Miniſter of *Confirmation.*

Acts 8. 19.

“ The Sacrament of *Penance* is divided into Contrition, Confeſſion, and Reformation.

Penance.

“ As to *Confeſſion*, all Biſhops and Preachers are to inſtruct their People that the Words of Abſolution pronounc'd by the Prieſt, are within his Commiſſion, and warranted by our Saviour's Authority. And that the Words of Abſolution pronounc'd by the Miniſters of the Church, ought to be depended on as much as if they were proclaimed from the Sky, and ſpoken viſibly by God himſelf. This Aſſertion is proved from St. *Luke* and St. *John*.

St. John 20. 23.
Luke 10. 16.

The Sacrament of the Altar.
It ſeems to reach no farther than Conſubſtantiation.

“ In the Sacrament of the Altar, the Corporal Preſence is maintain'd, *and the very ſelf-ſame Body and Blood of our Saviour, which was born of the Bleſſed Virgin, and ſuffer'd upon the Croſs, is affirm'd to be preſent under the form of Bread and Wine.* But here there is nothing ſaid of the Deſtruction of the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine: And therefore the whole ſeems to come no farther than *Conſubſtantiation*. 'Tis probable the Article was couch'd in this Latitude with a reconciling Deſign, and to prevent breaking off into Parties: This healing Temper ſeems farther purſued, where 'tis ſaid this Sacrament is to be us'd *with all due Reverence and Honour*, without injoyning Extremities, or making any mention of *Adoration*.

Orders.

“ The Sacrament of *Orders* follows next: And here the Sacerdotal Office is ſaid to include Inſtruction and Government. But then 'tis no Arbitrary or Tyrannical Power, but given with Limitations, and reſtrain'd to certain ends and purpoſes. 'Tis call'd the Power of the *Keys*, and implies a right of Adminiſtring the Sacraments, excluſive of the Laity.

“ This Office of teaching and governing the Church was committed to Biſhops and Prieſts by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and is to continue by Succeſſion in the Sacerdotal Order.

“ *Orders* may properly be called a Sacrament both upon the Score of being inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and in regard of the Eſſentials of other Sacraments, *The Outward viſible Sign, and the Inward Spiritual Grace. The Outward Sign* is the Prayer and Impoſition of the Biſhop's Hands. And the *Inward and Spiritual Grace*, is the Power and Authority convey'd with the Character.

1 Tim. 3.
Tit. 1.

The Authority of Biſhops and Prieſts.

“ They proceed to a more particular Explanation of the Authority of the Clergy, and divide it into two Branches; *Poteſtas Ordinis & Poteſtas Juriſdictionis.* Concerning the firſt, not being conteſted, they ſay nothing: The latter touching Juriſdiction committed by God to the *Hierarchy*, they throw into three ſubdiviſions. By the firſt, they are impower'd to reprove Immorality and Misbelief, and excommunicate the Obſtinate and Ungovernable. 'Tis likewiſe within their Commiſſion to moderate their *Cenſures*, and relax in the Diſcipline of the Church. But then by Virtue of their Character they have no Authority upon Property or Perſon, or any right to inflict Corporal Puniſhment, and carry their *Cenſures* to Death or Impriſonment. By the ſecond Branch of Juriſdiction, Biſhops are authoriz'd by our Saviour to continue the Succeſſion, and perpetuate the *Hierarchy*. They are the Judges of the Qualifications for Prieſthood, and may admit or refuſe as they think fit. And here the Rights of Patronage, ſettled by the Conſtitution are allowed, provided there's no juſt exception againſt the Perſon preſented.

“ A Third Branch of Juriſdiction belonging to Biſhops and Prieſts, comprehends the Power of making Canons for the Diſcipline and Service of the Church. And here the *Book* inſtances in ſeveral Regulations made by the Apoſtles: 'Tis farther obſerv'd, that the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church were ſettled by Biſhops and *Councils*, during the firſt three *Centuries:* And that the conſent of the People was likewiſe concurrent upon ſuch occaſions. That after the Converſion of Kings and Princes, the Biſhops had recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the Secular Magiſtrate. This

1 Cor. 5.
1 Cor. 12.
1 Cor. 14.
1 Cor. 16.
1 Tim. 1.

was done to reinforce the Juriſdiction of the Church by the *Civil* Sanction: For the *Church* as was obſerv'd before, has no Authority to inflict pecuniary or corporal Puniſhment. 'Twas upon this View that Princes confirm'd the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, and ſometimes made Regulations in theſe matters with Penalties annex'd.

Superſtitious Notions and Practices complain'd of.

“ Under this *Head*, the Biſhops and Clergy take notice the People had been entangled with ſuperſtitious Notions, with reſpect to the Ceremonies and *Canons* of the Church. That tho' moſt of theſe things were but indifferent in their own Nature, yet many People were more afraid of living counter to theſe Uſages and Regulations, than of tranſgreſſing the plain Laws of God. Thus for inſtance, not a few in this Kingdom thought the eating an Egg upon *Friday*, tho' done upon a fair Motive, and without any Contempt of the *Canons*, was a greater Sin than either Theft or Fornication: and that the Abſtaining from ſo ſlender a Liberty, was more meritorious than the diſcharging of any human or charitable Office. Upon the progreſs of this *Sacrament*, they declare againſt the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*, and obſerve, that for ſeveral of the firſt *Centuries*, his pretended Primacy was unknown, and his Juriſdiction confin'd to the Province of *Italy*. That his Power was ſomewhat enlarg'd by *Imperial* Grants, and the conſent of General *Councils*: But that the preſent enormous Greatneſs was owing to foul Practice. That by the modern Claims of *Supremacy*, theſe Prelates revolted from the Doctrine of the *Fathers*, from the Conſtitutions of the Primitive Church, and even from their own Proteſtations when admitted to the Popedome. For all the Biſhops of *Rome*, when conſecrated to that *See*, make a ſolemn Profeſſion to govern by the firſt Eight General *Councils*, without the leaſt Stretch or Violation. And yet by ſome of theſe 'tis particularly provided, that all *Cauſes* ſhall be determin'd by the Provincial Biſhops where the Proceſs began: And that no Biſhop ſhall exert his Character beyond his Dioceſs or Province. They mention other Authorities to the ſame purpoſe.

Con. 3. Carthag. c. 26. Gregor. lib 4. Epiſt. 23.

No Diſparity among the Apoſtles mention'd in Scripture.

“ For farther Confirmation, they lay it down for a certain Truth, that neither the *Scripture*, nor any Father of the Apoſtolical Age mention our Saviour's making any Diſtinction or Diſparity in the Apoſtolical or Epiſcopal Character. But that all the Apoſtles and Biſhops were ſettled upon a Foot of Equality, with reſpect to Authority and Juriſdiction. And that Metropolitical Pre-eminence and larger Diſtricts were poſterior Proviſions, contriv'd for the advantage of Order and Unity, and only of Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution.

“ They add farther, That no Biſhops ought to interpoſe in *Civil* Affairs, upon the ſtrength of their Commiſſion, nor pretend to any Temporal Juriſdiction independently of Princes. And in the cloſe they add, 'tis part of the Regal Office to defend the Chriſtian Religion, to ſupport the Orthodox Clergy, to exterminate *Hereſy* and *Idolatry*, and to ſuperintend the Biſhops in the execution of their Office.

Extream Unction intended for the Recovery, and not to be given at the Point of Death.

“ *Extream Unction* is the next; this they endeavour to raiſe to the force of a *Sacrament* from the precedent of the Apoſtles, who recover'd the Sick by anointing them with Oyl *. They reinforce their proof from St. *James*'s commanding thoſe that were ſick, *to call for the Elders of the Church, who were to pray over him, and anoint him with Oyl in the name of the Lord*: That by theſe Applications, *God wou'd reſtore the ſick Man to his Health, and forgive him his Sins*.

St. James 5. 14, 15.

“ The Doctrine the Biſhops and Clergy were to teach the People upon this *Sacrament*, was,

“ *Firſt*, That no Man ought to think his Life ſhorten'd by receiving *Extream Unction*; on the contrary, this *Sacrament* was inſtituted for the recovery both of Soul and Body.

“ *Secondly*, That 'tis an ill Cuſtom to defer the Adminiſtration of this *Sacrament* 'till the ſick Perſon is paſt hopes of Recovery: And therefore,

“ *Thirdly*, 'Tis proper to apply this Remedy in any dangerous Sickneſs. For the ancient Fathers did not call the *Sacrament Extream Unction*, becauſe it ought to be the laſt; neither did they appoint the giving it only to Perſons at the point of Death. But they call'd this *Unction Extream*, becauſe it was poſterior to the *Sacraments* of *Baptiſm* and *Confirmation*, in both which anointing was us'd. For this reaſon, they recommend the receiving the *Holy Euchariſt* after *Extream Unction*; adding withall, that the communicating in this *Sacrament* of our *Saviour*'s Body, gives a force to all the reſt. And as a Conſequence from what has been ſaid, They adviſe the uſe of *Extream Unction*, while the ſick Perſon's Memory and Judgment continues, and before he is paſt underſtanding a Chriſtian's Duty.

The Holy Euchariſt to be received after Extream Unction.

The Sacraments of Baptiſm, the Holy Euchariſt and Penance of greater Dignity than the reſt.

“ From hence the Book proceeds to make a diſtinction between the *Seven Sacraments*, both as to Inſtitution and Dignity. The *Sacraments* of *Baptiſm*, *Penance*, and the *Altar* are plac'd in the firſt Rank: And the Benefits convey'd by them declar'd greater than thoſe from the other. The reaſons of the Preference are becauſe theſe *Three Sacraments* are inſtituted by our *Saviour*, and made neceſſary to our Salvation. Secondly, Becauſe the receiving of 'em in the *Outward viſible Signs* is commanded by *Chriſt*. Thirdly, Becauſe Remiſſion of Sins, ſupernatural Aſſiſtance, and the being incorporated into *Chriſt*'s myſtical Body, are annex'd to theſe *viſible Signs*, provided the Receivers are duly qualified. The other *Four Sacraments* of *Matrimony*, *Confirmation*, *Orders* and *Extream Unction*, tho' by the conſent of the *Catholick Church*, they have been honour'd with the name of *Sacraments*, which is no more than they deſerve; tho' they have been adminiſter'd in the Church a long time as ſuch; tho' by the Prayer of the Prieſt, ſome ſpecial Gifts of the *Holy Ghoſt* are convey'd, neceſſary for Chriſtians, in ſome Conditions and Stations; yet after all they are declared to be of inferior conſideration to the *Firſt Three*, for the Reaſons above mention'd.

“ The *Ten Commandments* which follow next, are mention'd in the ſame Order they are with *Us*, and rang'd under the ſame Diviſion: There are four of the *Firſt*, and ſix of the *Second Table*.

“ Under the *Second Commandment*, they recommend the uſe of Images in Churches for Memory and Inſtruction; but pronounce poſitively againſt bowing down to 'em, or giving them any Worſhip.

Reſtrictions upon the Invocation of Saints.

“ Under the *Third*, The *Invocation* of Saints is reſtrain'd to Interceſſion, and the People are to be inſtructed that health of Body or Mind, Forgiveneſs of Sin, Grace, and future Happineſs are above the diſpoſal of created Beings: And therefore we are to apply to none but

“ God

* St. Mark 6. 13.

God Almighty for theſe Bleſſings. To Invocate the Saints upon ſuch an Expectation, is to injure the Majeſty of God, and transfer his Prerogative upon his Creatures: This Levelling the Creature with the Creator, is expreſly declared againſt in Scripture *.

* Iſaiah, c. 42.

Churches Conſecrated to none but God.

“ Farther, No Church or Altar ought to be conſecrated to any Being but God: For according to St. *Auguſtin*, to whomſoever we may appropriate any Church or Altar, to him we may Sacrifice; but we are to offer Sacrifice to none but God. The Biſhops and Preachers are therefore to inſtruct the People, that when we call the Churches or Altars by the name of any Saint, we fall ſhort of Propriety in the Expreſſion. For to ſpeak properly, in the meaning of this Language; they are only to preſerve the Memories, and refreſh the Virtues of theſe Saints upon the Minds of the People: For in ſtrict and orthodox Conſtruction, theſe holy places are dedicated to none but the Honour of the Bleſſed *Trinity*.

A Precaution againſt Superſtitious Obſervance of Holydays.

“ After having dilated upon the religious Obſervation of the *Seventh Day*, and mention'd the removing this Feſtival from *Saturday* to *Sunday*, recommended the other Holydays, and laid down Directions for the Peoples Behaviour at Church; after theſe things premis'd, they lay in Caution againſt ſuperſtitious Exceſſes: And here they give a Liberty to work upon Holydays in caſes of Neceſſity, and when the Fruits of the Earth are otherwiſe in danger of being ſpoyl'd. In ſuch Caſes to lie by, and loſe the Bleſſings of Providence, is carrying our ſcruples too far. At the cloſe of the Expoſition on this *Fourth Commandment*; they give a ſhort *Rationale* of the Ceremonies of the Church, and explain the meaning of 'em. But this I ſhall paſs over, and give a larger Recital upon this Head afterwards.

“ In treating the *Fifth Commandment*, the *Clergy* were to inſtruct their Charge, that all Chriſtians are bound to pay the ſame regard to their ſpiritual, as to their natural Fathers. That theſe ſpiritual Parents are appointed by God to adminiſter the Sacraments to the People, to direct their Conſcience, to inſpect their Conduct, to govern and guide them in their way to Heaven.

“ They proceed to ſtate the Subjects Duty to their Prince or the Father of their Country. And here 'tis declared, as the Senſe of this Commandment, that the Subjects are never to fail in their Obedience, nor withdraw their Allegiance from their Prince upon any Pretence whatſoever.

The Duty of Subjects to Civil Magiſtrates.

“ And if the Subject happens to be privy to any Plot againſt the Perſon or Government of his Sovereign, he is bound by this Commandment to diſcover his Knowledge with all Expedition, to the Prince or his *Council*. For by the Law of Nature, every part of a Body ought to exert it ſelf in Defence of the *Head*. For Conſpiracy and Treaſon never ends in any Good, but brings a train of Miſchief, and common Calamity along with it. And to put this Doctrine beyond all Doubt, they cite the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, together with a terrible example of Vengance upon the Rebels againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*.

1 Pet. 2.
Rom. 13.
Numb. 16.

Paſſive Obedience aſſerted without Reſerve.

“ In expounding the *Sixth Commandment*, They pronounce categorically, and lay it down for unconteſted Doctrine, That no Subjects have any Authority to draw the Sword without their Prince's Leave, excepting in the Caſe of lawful Defence againſt Aſſaſſines: And that 'tis their Duty to appear in Arms in Defence of their Prince and Country, whenever the Prince ſhall think fit to command them. That 'tis not lawful for any Cauſe whatſoever, for the Subjects to draw their Swords againſt their Sovereign: For tho' King's may miſtake in their Conduct, and fall into Maladminiſtration, yet God has not made their Subjects their Judges, nor allow'd them any Commiſſion to try their Prince. No, he has made the Supream Magiſtrate, unaccountable to the People, reſerv'd Kings to his own Tribunal, and will puniſh 'em when his Providence ſhall think fit: What Remedy then is there againſt Oppreſſion and Tyranny? Nothing but praying to God, that he wou'd turn the Hearts of their Governours, bring 'em to Recollection, and diſpoſe 'em to a right uſe of their Power.

“ After their Expoſition upon the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Lord's-Prayer*, they proceed to the *Ave Maria*; that is, the Angel's Salutation mention'd in the firſt of St. *Luke*. And here they enlarge upon the Honour done to the bleſſed Virgin, and affirm her dignify'd above the reſt of Mankind. Before they part with this *Article*, the People were to be precaution'd againſt Miſtakes, and Miſapplications in ſaying this Form. To prevent this, the *Ave Maria* is declared to be no Prayer properly ſpeaking, becauſe there's nothing of Petition or Supplication in it. However, the Church has ſubjoyn'd it to the Lord's-Prayer, in the nature of a *Hymn*.

v. 28.

The Ave Maria, *no Prayer.*

Juſtification how underſtood.

“ In the Article of *Juſtification*, they declare this Bleſſing is granted for the Merits and Satisfaction of our bleſſed Saviour: That our Pardon ſtands upon this Ground, and that no good Works on our Part could reconcile us unto God, procure his Favour, and prevail for our Juſtification. However, this Benefit is ſuſpended upon Conditions; ſuch as Reliance upon the Divine Goodneſs, obſerving our Saviour's Commands, and performing the Offices of Juſtice and Charity.

Purgatory.

“ The *Book* concludes, with the Article of *Purgatory*: Upon this Head, 'tis ſaid that by the Book of *Maccabees*, and the Authority of the *Ancients*, Praying for the Dead is recommended as a Charitable Office: That this Uſage has continued in the Church from the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. Therefore all Biſhops and Preachers are to put the People in mind, that they have no reaſon to be ſhocked with the continuance of this Practice. That Charity and common regard requires Chriſtians not to forget their Friends in the ſtate of Separation; but to commit them to the Mercy of God in their Prayers, to prevail with others to aſſiſt them in their Maſſes, and to diſtribute Alms upon their account. That by ſuch Aſſiſtances their Sufferings might be abated, and their ſtate made more comfortable. But ſince we have no Certainty or *Revelation* concerning the Place where they are, or the Nature and Degree of their Puniſhment, we think fit, as the *Book* ſpeaks, to determine nothing upon theſe Points, but refer departed Souls wholly to the Mercy of God Almighty. And here the *Convocation* declares againſt the Significancy of the Pope's Pardons for the delivering of Souls out of *Purgatory*: Or that ſaying Maſſes at *Scala Cœli*, at any other celebrated Place, or before particular Images, are any ways available for this Purpoſe.

Some Abuſes condemn'd with reſpect to this Article.

The anſwer to Dr. *Martin*'s Book againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, written in the time of Queen

'Tis ſuppos'd to be written by Poynet *Bp. of* Winchester.

A Liſt of the Biſhops &c. *Subſcriptions.*

Queen *Mary* * tells us, this *Book* was ſet forth by the joynt Authority of the Biſhops. The Liſt of their Subſcriptions to this *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man* tranſcrib'd by Dr. *Samuel Ward*, are as follow. *Thomas Cant. Jo. London. Stephen Winton. Jo. Exon. Jo. Lincoln. Jo. Bathon. Roland Coven. & Litch. Tho. Elien. Nic. Sarum. Jo. Bang. Edward Hereſ. Hugo Wigorn. Jo. Roſſen. Ric. Ciceſt. Gulielm. Norv. Gulielm. Meneveнſ. Rob. Aſſav. Rob. Landav. Edoard. Ebor. Cuthb. Dunelm. Rob. Carliolen.*

The Divines of the *Lower-Houſe* of *Convocation* are theſe, *Richard. Woolman, Archidiac. Sudbur. Guliel. Knight, Archid. Richmond. Jo. Bell, Archid. Gloc. Edmund Bonner, Archid. Liceſt. John Skip, Archid. Dorſet. Nic. Heath, Archid. Stafford. Cuth. Marſhal, Archid. Nottingham. Rich. Curren, Archid. Oxon.*

Gulielm. Cliff, Galfridus Downes, Robertus Oaking, Radul. Bradſord, Ricardus Smith, Simon Matthew, Johannes Pryne, Gulielm. Buckmaiſtre, Gulielm. May, Nic. Wotton, Ric. Coxe, Johannes Edmunds, Thomas Robertſon, Johannes Baker, Thomas Barret, Johannes Haſey, Johannes Tyſon, Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Eccleſiaſtici & Civilis Profeſſores *.

*Strype's *Memorials of Archbp.* Cranmer, *Book* 1. *p.* 54.

The Liſt of the Biſhops is compleat thro' both *Provinces*: But whether that of the *Lower-Houſe* was all tranſcrib'd by Dr. *Ward*, may be a Queſtion.

This Book, in the Sacrament of *Orders*, declares the Clergy have their Commiſſion from God Almighty, and by Conſequence, that their Authority is no Grant of the *Crown*, nor the exerciſe of it dependent on the *Civil* Magiſtrate. Notwithſtanding this frank Declaration, it paſs'd the Teſt of the *Court*, and was publiſh'd by the King's Printer.

However, the King went on with the exerciſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy: To give an inſtance, becauſe of the Unuſualneſs of it, of a lower kind: 'Tis a *Licence* to Preach, granted to *Roland Taylor* Dr. of *Law*: It runs thus †.

†*Regiſt.* Bonner, *fol.* 42.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ & in terris ſupremum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, fideli noſtro Subdito Rolando Tayler, Legum Doctori & in Diaconali ordine conſtituto, ſalutem. Cum nihil ſit quod ad Chriſtianæ religionis corruptelam eradicandam, ſinceramque Chriſti fidem reſtaurandam plus habeat momenti, quam aſſidua Sacroſanctæ Scripturæ explicatio, cujus Fructum quo magis ſubditi noſtri imbibant, eos Deo Optimo Maximo acceptiores, & noſtro Imperiali Regimini Obedientiores futuros eſſe neutiquam dubitamus. Tibi igitur de cujus erga Chriſti Evangelium zelo, (etiam ſecundùm ſcientiam) vitæ & integritate morum, conſcientiæ puritate & circumſpectionis induſtria, plurimùm confidimus; in omnibus Eccleſiis & aliis locis ad hoc congruis, ubicunque intra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ ſituatis, prædicandi verbum Dei Licentiam impartimur, & plenam concedimus Poſteſtatem. In cujus rei Teſtimonium Sigillum noſtrum, &c. *dat. Martij* 24. *die. Anno Regni noſtri.* 29.

In *May* the next Year, the *Proteſtant* Princes ſent *Francis Burgrat*, and two other learned Men with a publick Character into *England*. Their Buſineſs was to argue with the *Engliſh* Divines, and preſs the King to a farther *Reformation*. They had Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Intereſt in this Affair: At their going off, they drew up their Arguments againſt Communion in one kind; Private Maſſes, and the Cælibacy of the Clergy. I ſhall tranſlate what they offer upon the two firſt Heads, and for the laſt, refer the *Reader* to my former Part (*s*).

Auguſt 5. A. D. 1538.

(*s*) *p.* 191. & deinc.

The German Ambaſſadors Letter to the King for a farther Reformation.

“ After ſome introductive Ceremony, theſe Ambaſſadors acquaint the King, they had ſpent near Two Months in Conferences with the *Engliſh* Biſhops and others of the eminent Clergy: That they had brought the Matter to a very promiſing Iſſue; and that they hop'd his Majeſty, and the Princes of *Germany* wou'd come to a perfect Underſtanding in points of Religion. From hence they proceed to treat the Pope very coarſly. I ſhall endeavour to give the *Reader* their Reaſoning, and omit moſt of their hard Language.

They argue againſt Communion in one kind.

“ Their Argument againſt Communion in one kind ſtands thus. They take it for granted, his Highneſs won't deny that the Doctrine and Commands of our Saviour, are to be preferr'd to all humane Conſtitutions, Traditions and Ceremonies whatſoever. For our Saviour is the *Life* and the *Truth*, he is infallible in whatever he pronounces. But all humane Deciſions, eſpecially in matters of Faith and religious Worſhip, are liable to miſtake. Now 'tis certain our Saviour inſtituted the *Holy Euchariſt* under both kinds. This is evident from his ſaying, *Drink ye all of this.* And for this we have a farther Proof from St. *Paul*: *Let a Man examine himſelf*, ſays the Apoſtle, *and ſo let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.* Now both theſe Places direct the Practice of the whole Church, and not the Clergy only. For to aſſert, that our *Saviour* ſpoke theſe words only to the Apoſtles, and therefore the Communicating under *both* kinds, can bind no farther than the *Hierarchy*; to aſſert this, is an inconſequent way of Arguing: For from hence it will follow, that the Laity are not to receive ſo much as under one kind: For neither do we read in any other Place, our *Saviour* commanded that only his *Body* ſhou'd be given to the *Laity*; or that both the *Bread* and the *Cup* ſhou'd be reſerv'd as a Privilege to the Sacerdotal Order. From hence we muſt neceſſarily infer, that our *Saviour*'s Command for receiving the *Holy Euchariſt* equally concerns the *Laity* and *Clergy* without any Abatement; or elſe that the *Laity* are altogether to be refus'd the *Sacrament* of our Lord's Body, ſince we don't find any Inſtitution of the Sacrament for the *Laity* in any part of the Goſpels, excepting at our *Saviour*'s laſt Supper. To affirm, that half Communion was ſettled by the Church upon ſeveral weighty Conſiderations, is not to talk much to the Point: For the Queſtion is here concerning our *Saviour*'s Inſtitution, which every Chriſtian muſt grant ought to over-rule all Eccleſiaſtical Authority. For the Church does not preſume upon the Liberty of making an indifferent thing of our *Saviour*'s Command: And as for the Plea of difference in Degree, Dignity of Prieſthood, fear of ſpilling the Cup aud ſuch like; theſe Pretences can never have force enough to overbear or ſet aſide a divine Inſtitution. For 'tis confeſs'd even in the *Canon Law*, that no Cuſtom can preſcribe againſt the Laws of God. Beſides, the advantage of Cuſtom lies on the other ſide; for the receiving under both kinds, has not only the warrant of our Saviour's Precept, but the Authority of the *Ancients*, and the Practice of the Primitive Church to ſupport it. Thus St. *Jerome* tells us, the Prieſts adminiſter the *Holy Euchariſt*, and diſtribute *Chriſt*'s Blood to the People: Thus Pope *Gelaſius* declares againſt dividing the Body and Blood of our Lord, that is, keeping back part of it, and calls it a great Sacrilege.

1 Cor. 11. 28.

“ From

Their Reaſoning againſt private Maſſes.

“ From hence they go on to alledge the Practice of the *Greek* Church: That this part of *Chriſtendome* as they have maintain'd the Liberties againſt the Encroachments of the Court of *Rome*, ſo they have always communicated the Laity under both kinds.

“ The other Point in which they deſire the *Engliſh* wou'd reform, is the Cuſtom of *Private Maſſes*. This Part of divine Service, as 'twas then eſteem'd, they declaim againſt with great Vehemence. They affirm, the Chriſtian Religion is in a manner loſt, both as to Notion and Benefit, by this Practice. Thus the propitiatory Sacrifice upon the Croſs is made ineffectual; an idolatrous Worſhip, and a chimerical Satisfaction for Sin, brought into the Church. For the *Maſs* implies nothing leſs than Communion, and ſo 'tis call'd by the Apoſtle St. *Paul (t)*. Thus the holy Exchariſt was celebrated in the times of the Apoſtles, and the Primitive Church: And for this we have the concurrent Teſtimony of the *Fathers*. But now the *Maſs* is made quite another Thing, turn'd to a different Uſe, and *Communion* ſtruck off in the Adminiſtration. They'd teach us now to reſt upon the *opus operatum* for the procuring of Grace, and for pardoning the Sins both of the Living and Dead.

“ The Ambaſſadors argue farther againſt this Doctrine, and affirm, that if the *Maſs* is thus ſerviceable to thoſe who don't receive, then *Juſtification* does not reſult from *Faith*, but from the *opus operatum* of the *Maſſes*. But to maintain this is a plain Contradiction to *Scripture*, where we are told, that we are freely juſtified by *Faith*, thro' the Merits of our Saviour: That our Sins are pardon'd, and the divine Favour procur'd, not by Proxy, or foreign Performance, but by a Perſonal Relyance upon Chriſt. And as to the Benefits of the Sacraments, we can't expect they ſhou'd reach us, without actual partaking in the Inſtitution. But theſe Men of the *Roman* Church pretend to *receive* for the Congregation, which is juſt to as much purpoſe, as if they ſhou'd undertake to be baptiz'd for 'em. This is direct croſſing upon the *Scripture*, and the End of the Inſtitution. For this Sacrament was intended to awaken the Acknowledgment of the Receiver, and refreſh the Bleſſing of our Redemption upon his Mind; to ſupport a dejected Penitent, and relieve us under the Conſciouſneſs of Sin. And thus, as St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks, becauſe we are always ſinning, we ſhould always apply to the Remedy. Thus, as they go on, from the Age of the Apoſtles, to *Gregory* the Great's time, there was no ſuch thing as private Maſſes heard of in the Church. To begin with the Teſtimonies; St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us, the Prieſt was plac'd at the Altar, to invite thoſe prepar'd to the Communion, and refuſe the reſt. And by the antient *Canons* it appears that one of the Clergy was appointed to conſecrate the holy Euchariſt, from whom the other Prieſts and Deacons were to receive the Body of our Lord. The Words of the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Nice* are theſe. Let the Deacons receive the *Holy Communion* after the Prieſts, from the Biſhops Hands, or from ſome of the *Second Order*. And *Epiphanius* informs us, that in *Aſia* the *Synaxis* or Communion was celebrated thrice every Week, and that this Cuſtom ſtood on Apoſtolical Tradition. From whence it appears that daily *Maſſes* were not the Practice. This Uſuage contiues ſtill in the *Greek Church*: There is only publick *Maſs* on Sundays and Holydays. As for private Celebrations without communicating the Laity, they know nothing on't. That which principally ſecur'd the *Greeks* from this *Innovation*, was becauſe of their refuſing to ſubmit to the Pope's Supremacy, and own him in his Pretenſions of univerſal Paſtor.

“ But ſome People don't ſtretch the Virtue of *private Maſſes* to this extravagant Exceſs. They are willing to give up a great Part of the *opus operatum*, and ſink it to a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving: And this they ſay may be done either ſingly by the Prieſt, or in Conjunction with the Congregation, as the Church thinks fit. This Opinion has ſome Colour, and may ſerve to varniſh over a bad Cauſe. But to argue thus, is to ſoften and palliate without Warrant; for 'tis plain, the *Maſs* was principally deſign'd for a *Sacrament*: And that by receiving this Sacrament Faith might be increas'd, and Grace and Pardon conveyed. This being allow'd to be the principal Intention of the Inſtitution, the giving of Thanks can be no more than a conſequential Duty, and of inferiour Conſideration. From hence the Inference is, that we have no Liberty to diſpenſe with our Saviour's Precept, to alter the Form of his Inſtitution, and go off from the Practice of the Primitive Church. The *Sacraments* are Things that will admit of no Innovation: In Performances of this Importance we muſt keep cloſe *to the Pattern in the Mount*, to the Rule of the *Goſpel*, and the Uſuages of the antient Church.

“ Farther, They urge that *private Maſſes* have prov'd very deſtructive to the Intereſt of the Church in other Reſpects: That the Pope's Uſurpations ſtand moſtly upon this Bottom. Without theſe the Trade of *Indulgences* wou'd fall off, and it wou'd not be in his Power to draw ſo much of the Treaſure of Chriſtendom into his Coffers.

“ To diſcharge theſe Abuſes therefore, our illuſtrious Princes have ſtruck off *private Maſſes*, and recover'd the Sacrament to the Benefit of the Inſtitution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church. And as for the cuſtomary Ceremonies they are almoſt all continued; ſome Alteration, we confeſs, is made; the *Hymns* are in *High Dutch*; for 'tis the Apoſtle's Injunction, that a Language underſtood by the People ſhou'd be ſpoken in the Church: And becauſe the *Maſs* was inſtituted for a Communion, the People after Examination are admitted to the Lord's Table. The Congregation are likewiſe inſtructed from the Pulpit, in the Meaning and Dignity of this Sacrament. And in ſhort, the whole Service is perform'd with all the Solemnity and Devotion imaginable.

“ 'Tis therefore mere Calumny in our Adverſaries to charge us with throwing off the Ceremonies, weakening the Majeſty of Religion, and making the Service of God look homely and contemptible. For Order, Decency and *Regard* is no where ſeen to more Advantage than in our Churches.

“ Farther, That the *Maſs* is no Sacrifice, they endeavour to prove from theſe Words of our Saviour, *This is my Body which is given for you*. Theſe Words, as they continue, ſuppoſe a Promiſe on God's Part, and on ours only Faith to believe it: To believe that Grace and Remiſſion of Sin is offer'd us in the Promiſe: Therefore it can be nothing of a Sacrifice, that is, it can't be *offer'd* to God for the Re-

(t) 1 Cor. 10.

"miſſion of our Faults. Thus St. *Paul* teaches us, that in this Sacrament, *we ſhew the Lord's Death*. But to *ſhew* or *declare* is not *ſacrificing*: That is making an Oblation to God Almighty for the Forgiveneſs of Sin. Beſides, we read in the *Goſpel*, that he *broke, and gave the Bread to his Diſciples*, ſaying, *Take, and Eat, &c.* Likewiſe, *Drink ye all of This*: But to *Receive*, to *Eat*, and to *Drink*, can by no means be ſtrain'd to a Sacrifice; becauſe the bare Performance of this Action can never relieve us againſt Guilt, nor diſcharge our Tranſgreſſions.

"Neither are we commanded by theſe Words of the Inſtitution, to *offer* any thing to God Almighty, but rather to receive ſomething from him. For we read, *which is given for you*, meaning his Body; and afterwards, *the Blood which is ſhed for you*: From which Expreſſion we may plainly collect, that thoſe who partake of the holy Euchariſt, are only *Receivers*, and *offer* nothing to God Almighty. Beſides, when the *Laity* receive this holy Sacrament, a Sacrifice on their part is not ſo much as pretended. And yet our Saviour has put no Difference between the Clergy and Laity, as to the Uſe and Deſign of the holy Euchariſt.

"Theſe things conſider'd, all palliating Explanations of private *Maſſes* ſignify nothing: For the groſſer and moſt exceptionable Senſe is ſupported by the beſt Authorities in the Church of *Rome*. Thus *Thomas* putting the Queſtion, why the *Maſs* was inſtituted, makes this Anſwer. *The Body of our Lord as it was once offer'd upon the Croſs for Original Sin; ſo it ought to be continually repeated upon the Altar for our daily Tranſgreſſions; that by this means, the Church may be furniſh'd with a Preſent to propitiate the divine Majeſty, much more acceptable than all the Sacrifices under the* Moſaic *Law*. Thus Pope *Alexander* affirms, *that this Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, is to be preferr'd to all other Oblations. That our Saviour himſelf has taught us to offer the Bread and the Cup in the holy Sacrament, by commanding us to take and eat: And that our Sins are forgiven in Virtue of ſuch Sacrifices*. Thus *Gabriel* informs us, *that the Euchariſt is offer'd in the nature of a Sacrifice to God the Father: That by this Performance both venial and mortal Sins are diſcharg'd: That not only thoſe who receive, but others for whom 'tis offer'd are benefited by this Sacrament, in proportion to the Preparations they are under*. In conſequence of this Doctrine, *Aquinas* maintains, *that the Euchariſt, upon the ſcore of its being a Sacrifice, reaches to the Advantage of thoſe who are abſent, provided 'tis offer'd in their Behalf: And that it requires only Potential, and not Actual Qualifications of a holy Life in them. And therefore, if they are under a Diſpoſition for Virtue and Duty, the Aſſiſtances of Grace are procur'd for 'em in this Sacrament: And thus by Conſequence it diſcharges the Debt of mortal Sin, not by way of immediate Cauſality, but by procuring the Grace of Contrition.*

Aquinas in Opuſc. de Sacrament. Altaris. Pro Debito originali.

De Canon. Miſſæ.

In Quarto, Diſt. 1, 2. Q. 2.

"The Writings of the *Schoolmen* are full of ſuch Sentences as theſe: Nothing is more common with them than their Aſſertion of the *Maſs*'s being a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead. That the Aſſiſtances of Grace flow naturally as it were, from the *opus operatum*, and that a Man may receive the Advantage without having any part in the Solemnity. That all reconciling Attempts, extenuating Gloſſes, and Senſes of Accommodation, are to no purpoſe, while private *Maſſes* are kept on, and the Significancy of them maintain'd. To ſoften the Terms, and let down the Expreſſion a little, by calling it *a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving*, is ſhort of the Buſineſs; for under this Notion, it cannot riſe up to any *ſatisfactory* Expiation for thoſe who officiate; neither can it be made applicable for the Benefit of others. By this way of arguing, the *Nativity*, and other *Feſtivals* kept in Honour of our Saviour, may be call'd Euchariſtick, or *Memorial* Sacrifices. And to come nearer Truth and Propriety, preaching the Goſpel, Faith, Prayer, and other Inſtances of Piety in holy Men, may rather be call'd Sacrifices; and yet none of theſe Performances can be call'd Satisfactions, or extend to the Benefit of others. From hence they proceed to argue for the Marriage of the Clergy.

The reſt of the *Letter* is moſtly Addreſs, Complement, and Declamation. 'Tis ſign'd by *Francis Burgrat*, and *George Boyneburg* Ambaſſadours, and *Myconius a Pariſh Prieſt* (u).

The King gave the Ambaſſadours an Anſwer, as they deſir'd: 'Twas drawn by Biſhop *Tunſtal* (w). After ſome Length of Commendation, and Return of Ceremony, the King enters upon the Controverſy. He begins with Communion in one kind.

The King's Anſwer to the Ambaſſadours Letter. Corporal Preſence and Concomitancy maintain'd to the laſt Degree of Wonder and Incomprehenſibleneſs.

"That this *Sacrament*, ſays the King, was commanded to be given the People under both Kinds, and never under one, is an Aſſertion we are ſurpriz'd at: Neither can we imagine your *Excellencies* are in earneſt, but that you have only a mind to ſound our Opinion, and try our Strength upon the Argument. And therefore, notwithſtanding what you have advanc'd, we can't help thinking your Perſuaſion the ſame with ours: And that you believe under the Form of Bread, the natural and living Body of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contain'd, together with the true and real Blood; otherwiſe we muſt confeſs, that the Body is diſfurniſh'd of Blood *, which wou'd be an impious Affirmation: Since this Fleſh of our Saviour is not only alive, but productive of Life in others. And thus under the Form of Wine, there is not only the natural and real Blood of our Saviour, but likewiſe, together with his Blood, the real and natural Fleſh of his Body is contain'd †. The Article of Orthodox Belief ſtanding thus, the Conſequence is, that thoſe who communicate in either Kind, communicate in both, as to Effect and Benefit; becauſe our Saviour's Body and Blood is entirely in each. And to ſupport this Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, we are not unprovided with Authority and Inſtances from the *New Teſtament*. Thus our bleſſed Saviour adminiſter'd the *Sacrament* in one Kind to the Diſciples going to *Emmaus*. For 'tis written, *As he ſat at Meat with 'em, he took Bread and bleſſed it, and brake, and gave to 'em: And their Eyes were open'd, and they knew him, by the breaking of Bread*. This Place, the *Ancients* St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Auſtin*, and *Theophylact*, interpret to the *holy Euchariſt*, and yet here's not the leaſt Mention of giving the *Wine*. Thus our Saviour by adminiſtring in one Kind, ſeems to have left the ſame Liberty to his Spouſe the Church. For Chriſt,

Luke 24. 30.

(u) Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 173.

(w) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 431.

* Corpus ibi exſangue eſſe.

† Cum vero ſanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis ſit Caro.

who gave Inſtructions at his laſt Supper for Communion in both Kinds, has left us his Precedent for communicating under *one:* But no Man was ever ſo bold, as to charge our Saviour with Inconſiſtency between Precept and Example.

“Thus after the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Converſion of three thouſand People at St. *Peter*'s Sermon, 'tis ſaid, *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtle's Doctrine and Fellowſhip, and in breaking of Bread and in Prayers.* This Text the *Ancients* likewiſe underſtand of adminiſtring the holy Sacrament: But neither is here any thing ſaid of the *Cup*. Now if Communion under one Kind is warranted both by our Saviour's and the Apoſtles Example, we are not to charge this Uſuage with Contradiction to the *Goſpel:* For the Apoſtles who were led *into all Truth* by the Holy Spirit, wou'd never have communicated the People only in the Bread, if our Saviour's Command had oblig'd them to adminiſter under both Kinds: For ſuch a Latitude wou'd have look'd like Forgetfulneſs of their Maſter's Command, and changing his Inſtitution.

Acts 2. 42.

“Farther, From our Saviour's Inſtructions for this Solemnity, recited by St. *Paul*, we find the *two Kinds* ſeparately and independently mention'd. The Apoſtle's Words which he received from our Saviour are theſe: *The Lord Jeſus in the ſame Night in which he was betray'd, took Bread; and when he had given Thanks, he brake it, and ſaid, Take, Eat, This is my Body which is broken for you: This do in Remembrance of me.* Here we ſee our bleſſed Saviour, in the Words *Do This*, ſpeaks ſeparately, and by its ſelf, of his Body under the Appearance of Bread, before he proceeds to any Mention of the *Cup*. Afterwards, the Apoſtle informs us, that after *the ſame manner alſo he took the Cup when he had ſupp'd*, ſaying, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood: This do ye, as oft as ye ſhall drink it in Remembrance of me.* Here we are to obſerve the Abſoluteneſs of the Command is alter'd; for 'tis not ſaid without Limitation, as it was was in the breaking of the *Bread*, *This do in Remembrance of me*; but there's a Clauſe of Latitude added, that is, *Do This as oft as ye ſhall drink it in Remembrance of me.* By which we are to underſtand, that we are under no Neceſſity of always receiving the *Cup*; but that as often as we are communicated with the Blood of our Saviour in the Form of Wine, we are bound to *do This in Remembrance of Him.*

“Farther, Our bleſſed Saviour, when *Supper* was over, at which he had given them his Body under the Form of Bread: After this he gave his Blood ſeparately under the Appearance of Wine, ſaying, *Do This as oft as ye ſhall drink it in Remembrance of me:* Letting us know, that ſometimes the Adminiſtration might be perform'd under one Kind; and yet, notwithſtanding, the Force and Significancy of both received by the People: For otherwiſe there had been no Neceſſity of pronouncing the Words, *Do This*, more than once, neither wou'd they have been repeated diſtinctly upon the *Bread* and *Cup*. We have Reaſon to conclude therefore, that our Saviour, at the giving of the Cup, wou'd not have added, *Do This, as oft as ye ſhall drink it*, having ſaid the ſame before of the Bread, unleſs he had allow'd the receiving of either of theſe without the other.

“Neither can it be denied, that the Diſciples receiv'd the Body of our Lord upon his giving them the Bread, ſaying, *This is my Body:* For tho' the Cup was not given till after ſome Interval, when Supper was ended, no Perſon we conceive is ſo ſtupid, as to think the Body of Chriſt was not received by the Diſciples under the Form of Bread, till after Supper when the Cup was given them: To ſuppoſe this wou'd be extremely abſurd, becauſe it makes the former Words of our Saviour (*This is my Body,*) (pronounc'd over the *Bread,*) ſignify nothing; and that the giving the Bread to the Diſciples, had no ſupernatural Efficacy, till they had all drank of the Cup after Supper. Now this wou'd be a wicked Sentiment, becauſe it throws both what our Saviour ſaid and did, out all Force and Signification. Laſtly, St. *Paul* himſelf, after he had made a joint Mention of both kinds, concludes with a diſjunctive Inference upon the whole, ſaying, *whoſoever ſhall Eat this Bread*, ἢ πίνη τὸ ποτήριον, *&c.* and OR *ſhall Drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, &c.* Which Text is thus tranſlated by *Eraſmus, Itaque quiſquis ederit Panem hunc,* aut *de Calice biberit indignè, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Domini.*

The Streſs of the Argument laid upon the Word or.

“From theſe Words of the Apoſtle it appears plainly, that whoſoever receives this Bread *unworthily*, is guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord; or whoſoever ſhall drink this Cup *unworthily*, is likewiſe guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Which Crime cou'd never be charg'd upon the Communicant, unleſs the Body and Blood of Chriſt was ſeparately contain'd under the Form of Bread, and likewiſe in the ſame Integrity and Extent of Nature, under the Form of Wine: Neither wou'd the Apoſtle have ſpoken disjunctively of the Species of *Bread*, if it was never to have been received but in Conjunction with the *Cup:* Neither on the other ſide, wou'd he have ſpoken of the Cup in Terms of Separation, if it had never been lawful to receive it without the Bread. For why ſhou'd he disjoin thoſe Things which were never to be parted? Now the leaſt Portion of *Inſpiration* has its Weight, and every Word ought to be regarded. For thus we are commanded by the Prophet, *incline your Ear to the Words of my Mouth.* And in *Deuteronomy* 'tis ſaid, *Theſe Words which I command thee this Day, ſhall be in thine Heart*; and elſewhere in the ſame Book, we read, *thou ſhalt not add thereto, or diminiſh therefrom.*

“We grant no Command of our Saviour's can be over-rul'd by any human Conſtitution: For Men can have no Authority to reverſe a divine Eſtabliſhment. We are likewiſe perſuaded, that no Cuſtom ought to prevail againſt the Word of God, or be pleaded in Derogation of our Saviour's Inſtitution.

“But then we affirm our Saviour has left us at liberty to receive him three Ways in a *Corporal*, and the fourth in a *Spiritual* Manner: That is, Firſt, in both Kinds: Secondly, under the Form of Bread only: Thirdly, under that of Wine: And, Fourthly, in Affection and Deſire only, when by the Diſadvantage of Circumſtances we can receive no otherwiſe.

“As to the Firſt Way, 'tis our Opinion, That if any of the faithful, out of Ardency of Devotion ſhall earneſtly deſire to receive in both Kinds, provided there's no Impediment of Weakneſs or Diſtemper, the Communion may be given him under both Kinds; provided farther, that neither the Perſon receiving, nor the Prieſt does this, in Contempt of the Diſcipline of the Church, and the Cuſtom of the Country.

“As to the Second and Third Manner of *receiving*, our Opinion is this, That in caſe a Man lies under Diſadvantage of Nature or Accident: For inſtance, if he has the Palſy, or an Antipathy againſt eating Bread or drinking Wine, ſo that he can't conveniently receive under both Kinds; in this Caſe, if he deſires the holy Communion, it ought to be given under one.

“As to the Fourth, If a Man's Stomach is diſturb'd with nauſeating to that Degree that he can keep nothing; under ſuch a Diſtemper the ſhewing the Sacrament upon his Deſire, is a virtual Communion: This will help him to recollect the Death of his Redeemer, bring him to Compunction, and convey the Benefits of actually *receiving*.

“We can't but wonder therefore, that thoſe who appear ſo zealous in maintaining their Chriſtian Liberty ſhou'd reſtrain it in ſo valuable an Inſtance; that they ſhou'd put us under an unneceſſary Incapacity, and deny us the ineſtimable Privilege of our Saviour's Body and Blood, under ſeveral Emergencies! What pious Chriſtian wou'd not rather die than be thrown out of ſo great a Privilege?

“Beſides, upon theſe Principles of Reſtraint, what muſt become of the Northern Nations, and thoſe of *Affrick* within the *Tropick?* What muſt become of 'em, I ſay, where Wine is not imported, nor the Growth of their Country? Are theſe People to be barr'd the Sacrament, and receive under neither Kind, becauſe they can't have it under both? Or can we ſuppoſe the Integrity of our Saviour's Body, or the intire Sacrament, is not convey'd under one Kind?

“When the People began firſt to leave off the Primitive Uſuage, and communicate in the *Bread* only, is to us uncertain: But 'tis probable our Anceſtors went upon the Authority of *Scripture* in the Change of this Cuſtom: Upon the Authority of *Scripture*, I ſay, which mentions the Communion ſometimes given under one Kind, by our Saviour and his Apoſtles: Being ſupported by ſuch infallible Precedents, 'tis our Opinion, Chriſtians of former Ages declin'd the receiving the Cup, for fear the precious Blood of our Saviour might be ſpilt. Neither can we believe our Lord, who has promis'd to be with his Church to the End of the World, wou'd have withdrawn his Direction for ſo many Ages, ſuffer'd it to fall into ſo great an Error: And yet this muſt have been the Caſe, if there had been a plain Precept for every one to receive always under both Kinds.

“The Practice of the *Greek Church* in this Matter is not clear to us: However 'tis certain thoſe Chriſtians are almoſt Slaves to the *Turks*, and under ſeveral Reſtraints as to their Religion. For they are neither allow'd to preach publickly, to have Bells in their Churches, to carry the Croſs, nor go in publick Proceſſion.

“Laſtly, It ought to be particularly obſerv'd, that thro' all Chriſtendom upon *Good Fryday* both the Prieſt and the People communicate only in the *Bread*, and not in the Wine: The Reaſon is, becauſe on that Day the Death of Chriſt is more eminently repreſented: On that Day his precious Blood was ſhed for our Salvation, and ſeparated from his Body. To repreſent the Memory of this with more Force and Advantage, 'tis the Cuſtom of the whole Congregation, both Prieſt and People, to receive under one Kind: Which Uſuage wou'd never have been brought upon the univerſal Church, unleſs Chriſt had been entirely contain'd under one Kind, and the giving the Communion to the Laity in that Manner, had been believ'd lawful.

Of Private Maſſes.

Of Private Maſſes.

“Under this Head you complain of a great many Abuſes; that it is, as it were, the Baſis and Support of the *Papacy*: That it has led the way to Indulgences, pick'd People's Pockets, *made a Gain of Godlineſs*, increas'd the Monks to a troubleſome Number, *and made the Word of God of none Effect.* That for theſe Reaſons the Princes of *Germany* have reſtor'd the primitive Practice, tranſlated the *Service* into the vulgar Language, and guarded the Celebration with Solemnity and Reverence: But as for *private Maſſes*, which open'd a Paſſage to ſo many ill Conſequences, you have wholly ſuppreſs'd them. Now we having ſpent no little time upon this Subject, muſt remind you in the firſt Place, that our Saviour never inſtituted any thing in his Church, which the Devil has not endeavour'd to draw towards Abuſe and Diſappointment: But things well and wiſely eſtabliſh'd are not to be ſet aſide becauſe they paſs thro' the Hands of People liable to Miſcarriage: Upon this Reaſoning all the *Sacraments* ought to be diſus'd. But in our Opinion, 'tis a much better way to remove the Abuſes, and retain ſuch Cuſtoms as were firſt begun upon Motives of Piety and Service.

“Your Argument for ſuppreſſing *private Maſſes*, becauſe *Aquinas*, *Gabriel*, and other *Schoolmen*, have launch'd out into impious Doctrine, and flouriſh'd extravagantly upon the *opus operatum*, won't do: For whatever Heterodoxies they may be guilty of, affects *Maſſes* in general, and not *private* ones only. If *private Maſſes* therefore were to be laid aſide, to prevent the keeping up their Doctrine; for the ſame Reaſon, we muſt have no *publick Maſs* neither, which is more than you will allow. But if things are cloſely examined, *private Maſs* will amount to a ſort of private Communion; where if Circumſtances are duly manag'd; if the Laity there preſent are under Diſpoſitions for Repentance; if they are heartily ſorry for their Sins, and addreſs to God for his Pardon; if they *preſent themſelves a living Sacrifice acceptable to God*, there is no queſtion, but that they communicate with the Prieſt in a Spiritual Manner, tho' their Number is ſmall, and they abſtain from a Corporal *Receiving* *. For this Reaſon *private Maſſes* are ſo far from diſſerving the Church, that they are conſiderably inſtrumental for the Correction of Manners, and the ſtrengthening of Faith. Thus Chriſtians are

Rom. 12.

---

* A corporali ſacramenti ſumptione,

“brought to a daily Acknowledgment of their Faults, apply conſtantly for Pardon, riſe by Repentance upon every Slip: And by this frequent Recovery of their Ground, and Conqueſt upon the Enemy, they are better animated for a farther Encounter.

“Farther, At the beginning of every *private Maſs*, there is a general Confeſſion of Sin, God is addreſs'd for Pardon, and the Sacerdotal Abſolution given, no leſs than when the *Service* is *publick*.

“And ſuppoſing this *Service* never ſo publick and ſolemn, yet if none of the Congregation is diſpoſed to communicate with the Prieſt, what Difference is there between this and a *private Maſs?* Or is the Prieſt oblig'd not to celebrate *publick Maſs*, becauſe none of the People will communicate with him? And even among the Chriſtians of the *Greek* Church, where you own there is *publick Maſs* every *Sunday*, the People very ſeldom communicate with the Prieſt, as we have been told by credible Perſons, who have been at their *Service*.

“As to your Teſtimony from *Epiphanius*, that the Communion was receiv'd thrice a Week in *Aſia*, in his Time; and that this Cuſtom ſtood upon Apoſtolical Authority: To this we anſwer, That ſince by your own Confeſſion, this *thrice* a Week, is brought to *once* every *Sunday* in the *Greek* Church; we deſire to know, that if an Apoſtolical Uſuage may be thus alter'd to the *ſeldom-ſide*; why may it not be chang'd as well upon the Degrees of Frequency? Why mayn't the Intervals of Devotion be leſſen'd, ſince by this Practice, the Memory of Chriſt's Death is more ſerviceably refreſh'd? Now this is the Buſineſs and Deſign of *private Maſſes*.

“For if our Saviour inſtituted this Sacrament to preſerve the Memory of his Death, as 'tis ſaid, *Do This in Remembrance of me*, then the Frequency of the Performance beſt anſwers the Command: For Frequency and Repetition are the beſt Security againſt Forgetfulneſs; and from hence we may conclude the Uſefulneſs of *private Maſſes*.

“The Apoſtle St. *Paul* calls private Families of Believers by the Name of the *Church:* Now I deſire to know whether the *Church*, under any Denomination, may be refus'd the Communion of our Lord's Body? For our Saviour, at the Inſtitution of this Sacrament has ſaid, *As often as ye do this, do it in Remembrance of me*. Thus we ſee there is no Reſtraint upon the Performance either for Time or Place. How then can we refuſe any Perſon the Benefit of private Maſſes, and remit him to Holydays and publick Communion? How can he be thus refus'd, when our Saviour has left him at Liberty as to Time, provided Solemnity and other due Circumſtances are not wanting? For had we been tied to Regards of Time, our Saviour, *who was the Wiſdom of the Father*, wou'd not have expreſs'd himſelf in ſo indefinite a manner.

“In the firſt Beginnings of Chriſtianity, the Communion was celebrated every Day in private Houſes, as St. *Luke* informs us; *And they continued daily with one Accord in the Temple, and breaking Bread from Houſe to Houſe:* Which breaking of Bread, according to the Fathers, was receiving the Communion. Luke 2. 46.

“And as to your Citation from St. *Chryſoſtom*, where the Prieſt is repreſented ſtanding at the Altar to invite ſome, and refuſe others; here the Father deſcribes the Cuſtom at publick Communions, which in the Primitive Ages were more frequent than afterwards. However, this Cuſtom of the Prieſt's ſtanding at the Altar for the Purpoſes abovemention'd, is ſtill obſerv'd at *Eaſter*, when all the People communicate. But then St. *Chryſoſtom*'s expoſtulating with the Congregation, for not communicating to the Frequency of the Cuſtom, does not amount to a Diſallowance of private Maſſes.

“We grant the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Nice*, which you mention, orders the Deacons ſhall be plac'd behind the Prieſts at a publick Communion; but neither that Canon, nor any other, declares againſt *private Maſſes*.

“You think the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt is no *Sacrifice:* Your Reaſon is, becauſe the Death of our Saviour is the only propitiatory Sacrifice; and ſince he was once offer'd for us, *and Death hath no more Dominion over him*, your Inference is, there's no other Sacrifice under Chriſtianity, excepting that of ſpiritual Worſhip: *That is, the Righteouſneſs of Faith, and the Fruits of Faith.* What *the Righteouſneſs which is by Faith means*, we underſtand very well from St. *Paul*, who oppoſes it to the Righteouſneſs of the *Moſaick Law*. And tho' the *Scripture* is not clear in ſetting down the Fruits or Effects of *Faith*; yet that *Faith* it ſelf, Charity, and many other Vertues, are the Fruits of the *Spirit*, is beyond Queſtion. But to come cloſer, we can't but wonder any Perſon ſhou'd ſcruple calling the *Maſs* a Sacrifice, ſince 'tis cuſtomary to all the *Latin* and *Greek* Fathers to give it this Name: Their Reaſon is, becauſe the Elements are there conſecrated into the Body and Blood of our Saviour, in Remembrance of his Death; who, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *having offer'd himſelf a Sacrifice for Sin, for ever ſate down at the Right-Hand of God: For by one Offering he has perfected for ever them that are ſanctified.* Heb. 10. 12, 14. Therefore, if our Saviour is both Prieſt, Sacrifice, and Propitiation, it follows, wherever our Saviour is preſent, our Sacrifice muſt be there alſo. Now if the Body and Blood of Chriſt are really preſent in the Sacrament of the Altar, how can it be deny'd we have there no Sacrifice?

“Farther, in regard Chriſt our Sacrifice is preſent in the *Maſs*, ſince we who are his Body, offer up our ſelves a living Sacrifice in Conjunction with our *Head*; the *Greek* Fathers call the holy Action, ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν *an unbloody Sacrifice*. Thus for Inſtance, 'tis call'd by St. *Baſil*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Auſtin*. Now if we ſhould ſtand off from an Expreſſion ſo recommended by Antiquity, may we not be juſtly ſuſpected to draw towards the Opinion of the *Sacramentaries* and *Anabaptiſts?* Now as we declare our ſelves very different in our Belief from theſe *Noveliſts*, ſo we deſire to give no Occaſion to Calumny and Miſreport.

“Now ſince both Prieſt and People approach this Solemnity with Contrition, and purſuant to the Apoſtle's Exhortation, *preſent themſelves a living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God*. Rom. 12. 1. Since the holy Performance conſiſts in Praiſe and Thankſgiving, why mayn't the *Maſs* be defenſibly call'd a Sacrifice upon this Reaſon? Does not the Prophet mention a Sacrifice of

“ Praiſe ? And does not St. *Paul* exhort all the Faithful *to preſent themſelves a living Sacrifice ?*

“ Laſtly, The Prophet *Malachi* deſcribing the Advantage of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, tells us in the Perſon of God, *from the riſing of the Sun, even to the going down of the ſame, my Name ſhall be great among the* Gentiles, *and in every place Incenſe ſhall be offer'd unto my Name, and a pure Offering : For my Name ſhall be great among the Heathen, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Now we wou'd gladly know, what other *pure Oblation* is every where offer'd among the *Gentiles*, excepting that of our bleſſed Saviour ? Or what other Sacrifice is in uſe among the Chriſtians, excepting that of the *Maſs*, where the Death of Chriſt is commemorated ? Now there muſt either be ſome Sacrifice kept up among the Chriſtians, or the Prophet has fail'd in this Prediction. But what *pure Oblation* can be pretended, excepting Chriſt *our Paſſover*, who is preſent in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Species of Bread and Wine ? For whatever elſe we can offer unto God, does by no means deſerve the Name of a *pure Offering*. For all our *Righteouſneſs* as the Prophet ſpeaks, is ſtain'd with Blemiſh, and full of Defects *.

Mal. 1. 11.

By this Anſwer of the King's, we may perceive *Tunſtal* was a Prelate of no ordinary Learning and Capacity: Where he maintains the wrong ſide of the Queſtion, he gives ſtrong Colours, and makes the moſt of the Argument. When I ſay this, I inſinuate nothing againſt his Sincerity: I am willing to believe, he thought his Expoſition of *Scripture* good, his Inferences well drawn, and his Proofs ſatisfactory. For Prejudices of Education, and Doctrines generally received for ſome Length of Time, are apt to give an inſenſible Biaſs, affect a good Head, and ſurprize an honeſt Underſtanding.

Images and Relicks expoſed, and the Religious charged with Impoſture.

The King having the *Diſſolution* of the remaining Monaſteries in view, thought it neceſſary to leſſen their Reputation, to lay open the Superſtition of their Worſhip, and draw a Charge of Impoſture upon ſome of them: And here it muſt be ſaid, he was not without a Colour for his Proceedings. For *Relicks* had been for ſome time too much magnified, and many of 'em were counterfeited; Images were ſuppoſed to be more ſignificant in one place than another; and in ſhort, the People were drawn to tedious Pilgrimages, to viſionary Hopes, and Miſapplication in their Devotions. To mention ſome of theſe religious Curioſities : The bleſſed Virgin's Girdle was ſhewn in Seven different Places, and her Milk in Eight. The Bell of St. *Guthlac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, were counted ſovereign Remedies for the Head-Ach. By the way, this *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, was one of the Rebellious Barons in *Edward* the Second's Time, and executed for High Treaſon (w).

To proceed : The Penknife and Boots of Arch-biſhop *Becket*, and a Piece of his Shirt was much valued by Women with Child. The Coals that roaſted St. *Laurence*, two or three Heads of St. *Urſula*, *Malchus*'s Ear, and the Paring of St. *Edmund*'s Nails, were of ſuperſtitious Regard. To theſe we may add the Figure of an Angel with one Wing, which brought over the Spear's Head which pierc'd our Saviour's Side : An Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine Years together without waſting, till at laſt 'twas put out by Perjury. This upon Examination was diſcovered to be nothing but a piece of Wood. Our Lady of *Worceſter* was another Piece of Impoſture : For after her Habit and Dreſs was taken off, the Figure was quite of another kind, and repreſented a Biſhop ten Foot high. Beſides theſe and ſome others, there were two remarkable Rarities which muſt not be forgotten. One of 'em was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*. There was ſo much of a Machine in this Figure, that the Eyes wou'd turn, and the Lips move upon Occaſion. 'Twas publickly expoſed at *Paul*'s-Croſs, by *Hilſley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and there knock'd in Pieces. The other was a *Relick* at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*. Here 'twas pretended the Blood of our Saviour brought from *Jeruſalem* had been kept for ſeveral Ages. 'Twas ſaid, if a Man was in mortal Sin, and had not received Abſolution, he cou'd not ſee the Relick, which otherwiſe, to a Perſon under pious Qualifications, was viſible enough. To prepare therefore for the Sight of the Miracle, 'twas the Cuſtom to confeſs to a Prieſt, and offer at the Altar, before the *Relick* was ſhewn. This pretended Blood of our Saviour, was kept in a Chryſtal, very thick on one ſide, but very thin and tranſparent on the other. If a wealthy Perſon appear'd, they turn'd the thick ſide, where the Eye cou'd reach nothing: This, as 'tis ſaid, was done to open his Heart and his Pocket. For when he had bought as many *Maſſes*, and preſented as far as they thought fit, they turn'd the thin ſide, and then the Blood appear'd. And this, as *William Thomas* Clerk, of the *Council* to *Edward* the Sixth, ſays, was no better than the Blood of a Duck renew'd every Week.

Beſides theſe, the Figures of our Lady of *Walſingham*, *Ipſwich*, *Penrice*, *Iſlington*, St. *John Oſulſton*, and ſome others, were publickly burnt. There was alſo a gigantick Image call'd *Darvel-Catharine*, brought out of *North-Wales*, where there was an old Propheſy, That a whole Wood ſhou'd be burnt down by it. It happen'd at that time, that one *Forreſt*, a *Franciſcan*, was condemn'd for Hereſie and High-Treaſon. Tho' by what Law they cou'd ſtretch his Crime to Hereſie, is hard to diſcover. For he was try'd only for diſſuading his *Penitents* in Confeſſion, from owning the King's *Supremacy*. However, this Reign governing ſomething at Diſcretion, *Forreſt* was hang'd, and the Statue kindled under him ; and by this rigorous Execution, the Propheſie was fulfilled in a *Jingle* (x).

The miſtaken Reliance and ſuperſtitious Practice, with reſpect to Images and Relicks, is not to be deny'd : But whether the Impoſtures abovemention'd are Matter of Fact will be a Queſtion : For *William Thomas* cited by the Lord *Herbert*, is ſomewhat an exceptionable Authority. He wrote the Book call'd *Il pelerine Ingleſe*, in Juſtification of King *Henry*'s Proceedings; but by the Account which he gives of Arch-biſhop *Becket*, 'tis plain he was either biaſs'd, or groſsly miſtaken. This will be ſhewn by and by.

To proceed : As the Intereſt of the Monaſteries ſunk, the King's Project grew more feaſible. He went on therefore againſt the Abuſes of Pilgrimages, and the Offering at the *Shrines* of the Saints. And here Biſhop *Godwyn* obſerves, the King was ſtrongly diſpoſed to promote a *Reformation* that wou'd turn the Penny, and furniſh the *Exchequer*. Now, at ſome of the moſt celebrated Tombs, there were very rich Preſents

Godwyn, Annal.

---

*Cotton. Lib. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 215.

(w) *Sir* Thomas de la More, in vit. Ed. 2.

(x) Godwyn Annal. A. D. 1538. *Ld.* Herbert, p. 431, 432.

Archbiſhop Becket'*s Tomb defac'd and the Treaſure ſeiz'd by the King.*

ſents made; many of which were kept in Honour both of the *Saint* and his Votaries. Among theſe, Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Tomb was one of the moſt famous in *England*: 'Twas a ſtately *Mauſoleum*, and ornamented with Gold and Jewels of a prodigious Value. The King order'd this Monument to be defac'd. The Treaſure was not his only Motive: He was willing, 'tis likely, to ſtrike at the Reputation of this Prelate, and bring a Diſgrace upon his Memory. For *Becket*'s Character, 'tis plain, muſt be ſomewhat unſerviceable to the *Regal Supremacy*; and tho' this Claim was not ſet up by the *Crown* at that time of Day, yet the Archbiſhop conteſted very warmly for the Privileges of the Church with *Henry* the *Second*. And tho' his Conduct in this Diſpute was not altogether defenſible, he was far however from being guilty of that groſs Miſmanagement with which he is charg'd. *William Thomas* affirms, “That upon his retiring to the Pope, the King and Kingdom was excommunicated, and put under an *Interdict* upon his Account (y). And that for four Years together, both Maſs, and other publick Service was wholly diſcontinued (z). But this Relation is altogether Miſtake: For there was no Excommunication, or any other Cenſure diſcharg'd by the Pope, either againſt the King or Kingdom. On the contrary, the Pope being apprehenſive of loſing the *Engliſh* Nation, applied to Lenitives, avoided exaſperating the King, and endeavour'd to put an End to the Conteſt (a).

Becket *miſreported.*

(y) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 243.

(z) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 438.

(a) *See my Church Hiſtory, vol.* 1. *from p.* 365, *to p.* 375.

The King order'd *Becket*'s Bones to be burnt, and ſeiz'd the vaſt Treaſure offer'd at his *Shrine*. We need not wonder the Wealth of this Tomb ſhou'd encreaſe to ſo vaſt a Bulk, if we conſider, that ſince the Reign of King *Henry* II. few Perſons of Condition went to *Canterbury* without viſiting *Becket*'s Tomb, and making Preſents of Value. Among others, there was one almoſt ineſtimable Stone offer'd by *Lewis* the Seventh of “*France*. This our King had ſet in a Ring, and wore it on his Thumb. Biſhop *Godwyn* reports, there were two large Cheſts full of Gold and Jewels ſecur'd for the King; each of which were ſo heavy, that they had eight Men to carry them out of the Church.

The Monaſtery of St. Auſtin's Canterbury, *ſeiz'd.*

About this time the King ſeiz'd the rich Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*'s *Canterbury*, frighted away the Monks, kept ſome part of their Eſtates, and gave away the reſt among his Courtiers. As to Archbiſhop *Becket*, beſides burning his Bones, carrying off the Treaſure, and defacing his Monument, he order'd his Name to be raz'd out of the *Calendar*, and forbad the keeping his *Holyday* (b).

(b) Godwyn. Annal. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 437.

A Tranſlation of the Bible publiſhed for general uſe.

The King, tho' not giving Satisfaction to the *German* Divines, went on with the *Reformation* his own way: And having been often ſolicited for a Tranſlation of the *Bible*, referred the Direction of that Affair to *Cromwell*. When the *Verſion* was finiſh'd, it was put into the Hands of *Richard Grafton* (c); and for want of good Paper in *England*, the Copy was ſent to *Paris*, and printed there in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. To make way for the Uſe of this *Tranſlation*, and govern the Curioſity of the People, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, by which he gave them to underſtand, that the Permiſſion of this *Tranſlation* was more than his Duty required; that the Subjects were to look upon this Liberty as an Inſtance of Favour and royal Bounty; that therefore they were to manage themſelves in reading with Temper and Diſcretion; to conſult the holy Text for the Improvement of their Morals, and the Increaſe of their Faith, and not for Diſputes and Wrangling. That no Perſon ſhould read aloud to diſturb the Prieſt at Divine Service, nor preſume to expound difficult Places, without Aſſiſtance from the Learned.

(c) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 431.

Ibid.

Cromwell's Injunctions in the King's Name, were likewiſe publiſh'd for the ſame Purpoſe (d). By this Order a *Bible* of the largeſt Volume, was to be provided for every Pariſh-Church, at the joint Charge of the Parſon and Pariſhoners. No Perſon was to be diſcouraged from reading, or hearing the Scriptures; but on the contrary, exhorted to improve themſelves from thence. Every *Sunday* and *Holiday*, the Parſon was to repeat a Sentence out of the *Lord's-Prayer* or *Creed*, in *Engliſh*, till the People had learned the whole by heart; and at the Confeſſion of Penitence in Lent, they were to examine them upon theſe *Heads*, and not admit them to the Holy Communion till they came up to Expectation. The Clergy were likewiſe ordered to remove ſuch Images as had been ſuperſtitiouſly applied to Pilgrimages and Offerings, or treated with over-proportioned Regard. To this purpoſe they were not to ſuffer any Candles or Tapers to be ſet before any Image, but only the Light by the *Roodloft*, the Light before the Sacrament of the *Altar*, and the Light about the Sepulchre: Theſe were allowed to ſtand for the ornamenting the Church, and the Solemnity of Divine Service. However, to guard the People from miſtaking theſe Matters, the Curates were to inſtruct them, that the Uſe of Images was only to inform the unlearned in the Hiſtory of the Saints, and to refreſh their Memory for Imitation. That to go farther in their Addreſs and Veneration, was to fall into Idolatry, to the Hazard of their Salvation. That they were to let no Man have the uſe of their Pulpits, unleſs he had the King's, the Archbiſhop's, the Vicegerent's, or the Dioceſan's Licenſe. That every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, was to furniſh a Book to regiſter Weddings, Burials, and Chriſtenings. That no Parſon ſhould take upon him to change any Faſt-day as to the manner of keeping it, the Vigils of ſuch Holydays, now abrogated, excepted. The knolling of the *Aves* after *Service*, and certain other times introduced by the Pretence of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardon, are from henceforth to be omitted, leſt the People ſhould depend upon their Pardon for ſaying their *Aves* as they had formerly done. And whereas in times paſt, it hath been cuſtomary at *Proceſſions* in ſeveral Places, to ſing *Ora pro nobis* to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to make immediate Application to God Almighty, in the Suffrages, *Parce nobis, Domine, & Libera nos, Domine*: The People were therefore to be inſtructed, 'twere better for them to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and repeat the other. The reſt of *Cromwell*'s *Injunctions* having been touched upon other Occaſions, or are not ſo material, ſhall be omitted.

(d) Regiſt. Cranmer. Cromwell's *Injunctions.*

A. D. 1538.

Theſe Changes in Religion, tho' commendable, excepting in *Cromwell*'s Office, were diſreliſhed abroad: By ſaying this, I do not undertake a defence of every thing. The latter part eſpecially of this Reign was not without an exceptionable mixture. The diſſolving the leſſer Monaſteries, and ſome rigorous Executions had weakned the King's Correſpondence with the Courts of *France* and *Spain*. His Highneſs not being willing to break

Bonner *diſobligeth the* French *King*.

He is recalled from his Embaſſy.

break off with the *French* King, recalled *Bonner* Biſhop of *Hereford* from his Embaſſy with the *Emperour*, and employed him in *France* in *Gardiner*'s room. For this Prelate it ſeems had a ſecret Inclination for the *Emperour*, and did his Maſter little Service with that Prince. *Bonner*, tho' coldly received by the *French* King, procured a Licenſe for Printing the *Engliſh* Bible at *Paris*. This Favour being afterwards complained of by the *French* Clergy, gave ſome Interruption to the Work (*e*). *Bonner*, as it happen'd, was unſucceſsful in his Character at the *French* Court. He had Inſtructions to demand a Penſion due to the King, and which had been unpaid by the *French* for four Years. This was unacceptable Buſineſs, and required nice Management: But *Bonner* being of a warm Temper, failed in the decency of Behaviour, and made his Demands with a ſurprizing and haughty Air. This unexpected Management tranſported *Francis* to ſomething of Reſentment, and made him treat the Ambaſſadour and the King with rough Language. However, to prevent a War, he ſent an *Expreſs* to *England* to mollifie the King, and explain himſelf, deſiring at the ſame time that *Bonner* might be recalled. Our King believing that Prelate would make nothing of his Character in *France*, ordered his Return. However, that he was not diſſatisfied with *Bonner*'s Conduct, appears by his preferring him afterwards to the *See* of *London*, and employing him at the *Emperour's* Court.

Lambert *proſecuted for Hereſie, and tried before the King.*

In *November* this Year, one *John Lambert*, alias *Nicolſon*, a Perſon of Learning, was proſecuted for *Hereſy*. He had been queſtioned for unſound Opinions by Archbiſhop *Warrham*; but upon the Death of that Prelate, and the changing of Counſels at Court, he procured a Diſcharge. He kept School at *London*, and hearing Dr. *Taylor*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, preach for the Corporal Preſence of *Chriſt* in the *Sacrament*, he came to him, declared his Diſſent from that Doctrine, and drew up his Exceptions in ten Arguments. This Paper was ſhewed by *Taylor* to Dr. *Barnes*; *Barnes* who was bred among the *Lutherans*, was, it ſeems, made a Proſelyte to their Warmth, as well as their Opinions. He thought their falling lower than *Conſubſtantiation*, would check the Progreſs of the Reformation in *England*: Theſe Doctors therefore, *Barnes* and *Taylor*, carrried *Lambert*'s Papers to *Cranmer* and *Latimer*: When *Lambert* was brought before them, they endeavoured to work him to a Recantation, but all to no purpoſe; he reſolved to ſtand by his Paper, and appeal'd to the King (*f*).

It is ſaid *Cranmer* at that time was of *Luther*'s Opinion, which he had drunk in from his Friend *Oſiander*: Our Hiſtorian affirms that *Latimer* was of the ſame Belief. Firſt as to *Latimer*, he miſreports his Opinion: For at the Diſputation at *Oxford* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when Dr. *Weſton* reproach'd him, that he agreed with the *Lutherans* in the Doctrine of the *Euchariſt*, *Latimer* anſwer'd no: “ I was a *Papiſt*, for I could never perceive “ how *Luther* could defend his Opinion without “ *Tranſubſtantiation* *. Then as to *Cranmer*, he cannot be ſuppoſed to be of *Luther*'s Opinion at this time, with reſpect to the Sacrament of the Altar, without a Mark of Inſincerity. For as this Hiſtorian obſerves in the Book called the *Neceſſary Erudition*, &c. Publiſh'd by the King in the Year 1543, *Tranſubſtantiation* was fully aſſerted †: And yet this Book was ſubſcrib'd by *Cranmer* ‖. If therefore *Cranmer* believ'd *Conſubſtantiation*, when he ſubſcrib'd *Tranſubſtantiation*, he muſt have been a Perſon of a ſcandalous Conſcience, which is too hard a Reflection upon him.

The King received the Appeal, and, it may be, was not unpleaſed with the Opportunity for ſhewing his Zeal and Learning. The Biſhops and Temporal Nobility had notice given them of the Solemnity of this Tryal, that the King intended to appear, and manage ſome part of the Argument. At the day prefix'd, beſides the *Quality* juſt mentioned, the Judges, the King's *Counſel*, with great numbers of Spectators came to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where Scaffolds were erected for the convenience of hearing; the Biſhops were ſeated on the King's right Hand, and behind them the Judges, and the moſt eminent of the Profeſſion of the Law: The Temporal Nobility ſat on his Highneſs's left Hand, and after them the Gentlemen of the Court.

The Trial open'd by Day *Bp. of* Chicheſter.

When the Priſoner was brought to the Bar, *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* being commanded by the King to open the Tryal, ſet forth, “ That *Lambert* “ being charged with Heretical Pravity, had ap“ pealed from his Biſhop to the King, as if he “ expected more Favour from this Application, “ and that the King would protect an *Heretick*: “ From whence it appeared, that the Report of “ the Priſoner's being infected with the *Lutheran* “ *Novelties*, had too much Truth in it; then “ ſpeaking directly, as in the King's Perſon, he “ dilates upon the Progreſs already made in the “ *Reformation*. That he had thrown off the U“ ſurpations of the *See* of *Rome*, diſcharged and “ diſincorporated ſome idle *Monks*, who lived on“ ly like Drones in a Beehive: That he had re“ moved the idolatrous Regard for Images, pub“ liſhed the *Bible* in *Engliſh* for the Inſtruction of “ all his Subjects, and made ſome leſſer Alterati“ ons in the Church, which no body could deny “ were for the publick Intereſt. But as for other “ things, he was reſolved to keep conſtant to “ the Catholick Faith and Cuſtoms: That he “ was very deſirous the Priſoner would retract “ his Errors, and return to the Catholick “ Communion. That for this purpoſe, and to “ prevent the Extremities which would other“ wiſe follow, he had ordered the Appearance of “ thoſe grave and learned Men (meaning the “ Biſhops) hoping, that by the advantage of “ their Character, and force of their Reaſoning, “ they would recover him to the Church, and “ wreſt his unfortunate Opinion from him. “ But in caſe he was not to be removed from his “ Obſtinacy, but continued proof againſt Con“ viction, he was reſolved to make him an Ex“ ample; and by a Precedent of his own ſetting, “ acquaint his Judges and the Magiſtracy, how “ they ought to manage *Hereſie*, and behave them“ ſelves upon ſuch occaſions (*g*).

When Biſhop *Day* had delivered his Majeſty's Senſe to this effect, the King himſelf asked *Lambert* what his Opinion was concerning *Chriſt*'s Preſence in the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*? *Lambert* not returning an acceptable Anſwer, they began to argue the Point, and oppoſe the Priſoner in the forms of *Logick*. To be ſomewhat more particular, *Lambert* enter'd upon his Defence with ſome introductive Reſpect, acknowledged the King's Goodneſs for condeſcending to appear perſonally at the Tryal; and here he threw in ſome commending Expreſſions of his Highneſs's, Learning and Judgment. The King interrupting him, told him in *Latin*, that he did not come thither to hear any Panegyrick upon himſelf;

(*e*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 433.

(*f*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 252.

* Fox 1877.

† *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 290.

‖ Id. *p.* 299.

(*g*) Godwyn. Annal. An. 1538.

ſents made; many of which were kept in Honour both of the *Saint* and his Votaries. Among theſe, Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Tomb was one of the moſt famous in *England*: 'Twas a ſtately *Mauſoleum*, and ornamented with Gold and Jewels of a prodigious Value. The King order'd this Monument to be defac'd. The Treaſure was not his only Motive: He was willing, 'tis likely, to ſtrike at the Reputation of this Prelate, and bring a Diſgrace upon his Memory. For *Becket*'s Character, 'tis plain, muſt be ſomewhat unſerviceable to the *Regal Supremacy*; and tho' this Claim was not ſet up by the *Crown* at that time of Day, yet the Archbiſhop conteſted very warmly for the Privileges of the Church with *Henry* the *Second*. And tho' his Conduct in this Diſpute was not altogether defenſible, he was far however from being guilty of that groſs Miſmanagement with which he is charg'd. *William Thomas* affirms, "That upon "his retiring to the Pope, the King and Kingdom was excommunicated, and put under an "*Interdict* upon his Account (y). And that for "four Years together, both Maſs, and other "publick Service was wholly diſcontinued (z). But this Relation is altogether Miſtake: For there was no Excommunication, or any other Cenſure diſcharg'd by the Pope, either againſt the King or Kingdom. On the contrary, the Pope being apprehenſive of loſing the *Engliſh* Nation, applied to Lenitives, avoided exaſperating the King, and endeavour'd to put an End to the Conteſt (a).

Archbiſhop Becket's *Tomb defac'd and the Treaſure ſeiz'd by the King.*

Becket *miſreported.*

The King order'd *Becket*'s Bones to be burnt, and ſeiz'd the vaſt Treaſure offer'd at his *Shrine*. We need not wonder the Wealth of this Tomb ſhou'd encreaſe to ſo vaſt a Bulk, if we conſider, that ſince the Reign of King *Henry* II. few Perſons of Condition went to *Canterbury* without viſiting *Becket*'s Tomb, and making Preſents of Value. Among others, there was one almoſt ineſtimable Stone offer'd by *Lewis* the Seventh of "*France*. This our King had ſet in a Ring, and wore it on his Thumb. Biſhop *Godwyn* reports, there were two large Cheſts full of Gold and Jewels ſecur'd for the King; each of which were ſo heavy, that they had eight Men to carry them out of the Church.

The Monaſtery of St. Auſtin's Canterbury, *ſeiz'd.*

About this time the King ſeiz'd the rich Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*'s *Canterbury*, frighted away the Monks, kept ſome part of their Eſtates, and gave away the reſt among his Courtiers. As to Archbiſhop *Becket*, beſides burning his Bones, carrying off the Treaſure, and defacing his Monument, he order'd his Name to be raz'd out of the *Calendar*, and forbad the keeping his *Holyday* (b).

A Tranſlation of the Bible publiſhed for general uſe.

The King, tho' not giving Satisfaction to the *German* Divines, went on with the *Reformation* his own way: And having been often ſolicited for a Tranſlation of the *Bible*, referred the Direction of that Affair to *Cromwell*. When the *Verſion* was finiſh'd, it was put into the Hands of *Richard Grafton* (c); and for want of good Paper in *England*, the Copy was ſent to *Paris*, and printed there in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. To make way for the Uſe of this *Tranſlation*, and govern the Curioſity of the People, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, by which he gave them to underſtand, that the Permiſſion of this *Tranſlation* was more than his Duty required; that the Subjects were to look upon this Liberty as an Inſtance of Favour and royal Bounty; that therefore they were to manage themſelves in reading with Temper and Diſcretion; to conſult the holy Text for the Improvement of their Morals, and the Increaſe of their Faith, and not for Diſputes and Wrangling. That no Perſon ſhould read aloud to diſturb the Prieſt at Divine Service, nor preſume to expound difficult Places, without Aſſiſtance from the Learned.

Ibid.

Cromwell's *Injunctions.*

Cromwell's Injunctions in the King's Name, were likewiſe publiſh'd for the ſame Purpoſe (d). By this Order a *Bible* of the largeſt Volume, was to be provided for every Pariſh-Church, at the joint Charge of the Parſon and Pariſhoners. No Perſon was to be diſcouraged from reading, or hearing the Scriptures; but on the contrary, exhorted to improve themſelves from thence. Every *Sunday* and *Holiday*, the Parſon was to repeat a Sentence out of the *Lord's-Prayer* or *Creed*, in *Engliſh*, till the People had learned the whole by heart; and at the Confeſſion of Penitence in Lent, they were to examine them upon theſe *Heads*, and not admit them to the Holy Communion till they came up to Expectation. The Clergy were likewiſe ordered to remove ſuch Images as had been ſuperſtitiouſly applied to Pilgrimages and Offerings, or treated with over-proportioned Regard. To this purpoſe they were not to ſuffer any Candles or Tapers to be ſet before any Image, but only the Light by the *Roodloft*, the Light before the Sacrament of the *Altar*, and the Light about the Sepulchre: Theſe were allowed to ſtand for the ornamenting the Church, and the Solemnity of Divine Service. However, to guard the People from miſtaking theſe Matters, the Curates were to inſtruct them, that the Uſe of Images was only to inform the unlearned in the Hiſtory of the Saints, and to refreſh their Memory for Imitation. That to go farther in their Addreſs and Veneration, was to fall into Idolatry, to the Hazard of their Salvation. That they were to let no Man have the uſe of their Pulpits, unleſs he had the King's, the Archbiſhop's, the Vicegerent's, or the Dioceſan's Licenſe. That every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, was to furniſh a Book to regiſter Weddings, Burials, and Chriſtenings. That no Parſon ſhould take upon him to change any Faſt-day as to the manner of keeping it, the Vigils of ſuch Holydays, now abrogated, excepted. The knolling of the *Aves* after *Service*, and certain other times introduced by the Pretence of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardon, are from henceforth to be omitted, leſt the People ſhould depend upon their Pardon for ſaying their *Aves* as they had formerly done. And whereas in times paſt, it hath been cuſtomary at *Proceſſions* in ſeveral Places, to ſing *Ora pro nobis* to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to make immediate Application to God Almighty, in the Suffrages, *Parce nobis, Domine, & Libera nos, Domine*: The People were therefore to be inſtructed, 'twere better for them to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and repeat the other. The reſt of *Cromwell*'s *Injunctions* having been touched upon other Occaſions, or are not ſo material, ſhall be omitted.

A. D. 1538.

Theſe Changes in Religion, tho' commendable, excepting in *Cromwell*'s Office, were diſreliſhed abroad: By ſaying this, I do not undertake a defence of every thing. The latter part eſpecially of this Reign was not without an exceptionable mixture. The diſſolving the leſſer Monaſteries, and ſome rigorous Executions had weakned the King's Correſpondence with the Courts of *France* and *Spain*. His Highneſs not being willing to break off with the *French* King, recalled *Bonner* Biſhop of *Hereford* from his Embaſſy with the *Emperour*, and employed him in *France* in *Gardiner*'s room. For this Prelate it ſeems had a ſecret Inclination for the *Emperour*, and did his Maſter little Service with that Prince. *Bonner*, tho' coldly received by the *French* King, procured a Licenſe for Printing the *Engliſh* Bible at *Paris*. This Favour being afterwards complained of by the *French* Clergy, gave ſome Interruption to the Work (*e*). *Bonner*, as it happen'd, was unſucceſsful in his Character at the *French* Court. He had Inſtructions to demand a Penſion due to the King, and which had been unpaid by the *French* for four Years. This was unacceptable Buſineſs, and required nice Management: But *Bonner* being of a warm Temper, failed in the decency of Behaviour, and made his Demands with a ſurprizing and haughty Air. This unexpected Management tranſported *Francis* to ſomething of Reſentment, and made him treat the Ambaſſadour and the King with rough Language. However, to prevent a War, he ſent an *Expreſs* to *England* to mollifie the King, and explain himſelf, deſiring at the ſame time that *Bonner* might be recalled. Our King believing that Prelate would make nothing of his Character in *France*, ordered his Return. However, that he was not diſſatisfied with *Bonner*'s Conduct, appears by his preferring him afterwards to the *See* of *London*, and employing him at the *Emperour's* Court.

(y) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 243.

(z) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 438.

(a) *See my Church Hiſtory, vol.* 1. *from p.* 365, *to p.* 375.

(b) Godwyn. Annal. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 437.

(c) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 431.

(d) Regiſt. Cranmer.

Bonner *diſobligeth the* French *King*.

He is recalled from his Embaſſy.

In *November* this Year, one *John Lambert*, alias *Nicolſon*, a Perſon of Learning, was proſecuted for *Hereſy*. He had been queſtioned for unſound Opinions by Archbiſhop *Warham*; but upon the Death of that Prelate, and the changing of Counſels at Court, he procured a Diſcharge. He kept School at *London*, and hearing Dr. *Taylor*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, preach for the Corporal Preſence of *Chriſt* in the *Sacrament*, he came to him, declared his Diſſent from that Doctrine, and drew up his Exceptions in ten Arguments. This Paper was ſhewed by *Taylor* to Dr. *Barnes*; *Barnes* who was bred among the *Lutherans*, was, it ſeems, made a Proſelyte to their Warmth, as well as their Opinions. He thought their falling lower than *Conſubſtantiation*, would check the Progreſs of the Reformation in *England*: Theſe Doctors therefore, *Barnes* and *Taylor*, carrried *Lambert*'s Papers to *Cranmer* and *Latimer*: When *Lambert* was brought before them, they endeavoured to work him to a Recantation, but all to no purpoſe; he reſolved to ſtand by his Paper, and appeal'd to the King (*f*).

Lambert *proſecuted for Hereſie, and tried before the King*.

It is ſaid *Cranmer* at that time was of *Luther*'s Opinion, which he had drunk in from his Friend *Oſiander*: Our Hiſtorian affirms that *Latimer* was of the ſame Belief. Firſt as to *Latimer*, he miſreports his Opinion: For at the Diſputation at *Oxford* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when Dr. *Weſton* reproach'd him, that he agreed with the *Lutherans* in the Doctrine of the *Euchariſt*, *Latimer* anſwer'd no: “I was a *Papiſt*, for I could never perceive how *Luther* could defend his Opinion without *Tranſubſtantiation* *. Then as to *Cranmer*, he cannot be ſuppoſed to be of *Luther*'s Opinion at this time, with reſpect to the Sacrament of the Altar, without a Mark of Inſincerity. For as this Hiſtorian obſerves in the Book called the *Neceſſary Erudition*, &c. Publiſh'd by the King in the Year 1543, *Tranſubſtantiation* was fully aſſerted †: And yet this Book was ſubſcrib'd by *Cranmer* ‖. If therefore *Cranmer* believ'd *Conſubſtantiation*, when he ſubſcrib'd *Tranſubſtantiation*, he muſt have been a Perſon of a ſcandalous Conſcience, which is too hard a Reflection upon him.

The King received the Appeal, and, it may be, was not unpleaſed with the Opportunity for ſhewing his Zeal and Learning. The Biſhops and Temporal Nobility had notice given them of the Solemnity of this Tryal, that the King intended to appear, and manage ſome part of the Argument. At the day prefix'd, beſides the *Quality* juſt mentioned, the Judges, the King's *Counſel*, with great numbers of Spectators came to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where Scaffolds were erected for the convenience of hearing; the Biſhops were ſeated on the King's right Hand, and behind them the Judges, and the moſt eminent of the Profeſſion of the Law: The Temporal Nobility ſat on his Highneſs's left Hand, and after them the Gentlemen of the Court.

The Trial open'd by Day *Bp. of* Chicheſter.

When the Priſoner was brought to the Bar, *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* being commanded by the King to open the Tryal, ſet forth, “That *Lambert* being charged with Heretical Pravity, had appealed from his Biſhop to the King, as if he expected more Favour from this Application, and that the King would protect an *Heretick*: From whence it appeared, that the Report of the Priſoner's being infected with the *Lutheran Novelties*, had too much Truth in it; then ſpeaking directly, as in the King's Perſon, he dilates upon the Progreſs already made in the *Reformation*. That he had thrown off the Uſurpations of the *See* of *Rome*, diſcharged and diſincorporated ſome idle *Monks*, who lived only like Drones in a Beehive: That he had removed the idolatrous Regard for Images, publiſhed the *Bible* in *Engliſh* for the Inſtruction of all his Subjects, and made ſome leſſer Alterations in the Church, which no body could deny were for the publick Intereſt. But as for other things, he was reſolved to keep conſtant to the Catholick Faith and Cuſtoms: That he was very deſirous the Priſoner would retract his Errors, and return to the Catholick Communion. That for this purpoſe, and to prevent the Extremities which would otherwiſe follow, he had ordered the Appearance of thoſe grave and learned Men (meaning the Biſhops) hoping, that by the advantage of their Character, and force of their Reaſoning, they would recover him to the Church, and wreſt his unfortunate Opinion from him. But in caſe he was not to be removed from his Obſtinacy, but continued proof againſt Conviction, he was reſolved to make him an Example; and by a Precedent of his own ſetting, acquaint his Judges and the Magiſtracy, how they ought to manage *Hereſie*, and behave themſelves upon ſuch occaſions (*g*).

When Biſhop *Day* had delivered his Majeſty's Senſe to this effect, the King himſelf asked *Lambert* what his Opinion was concerning *Chriſt*'s Preſence in the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*? *Lambert* not returning an acceptable Anſwer, they began to argue the Point, and oppoſe the Priſoner in the forms of *Logick*. To be ſomewhat more particular, *Lambert* enter'd upon his Defence with ſome introductive Reſpect, acknowledged the King's Goodneſs for condeſcending to appear perſonally at the Tryal; and here he threw in ſome commending Expreſſions of his Highneſs's, Learning and Judgment. The King interrupting him, told him in *Latin*, that he did not come thither to hear any Panegyrick upon himſelf;

(*e*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 433.

(*f*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 252.

* Fox 1877.

† *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 290.

‖ Id. *p.* 299.

(*g*) Godwyn, Annal. An. 1538.

ſelf; and therefore ordered him to come cloſe to the matter. This being pronounced with no friendly Countenance, diſconcerted *Lambert*, and overſet him in ſome meaſure. The King aſked him again whether *Chriſt*'s Body was in the Sacrament or not? He replied in St. *Auſtin*'s words, *that it was his Body in a certain manner*. The King bid him anſwer directly without Obſcurity or Evaſion; upon which he diſcovered his Opinion, and anſwered, *that it was not his Body*: Upon this the King preſſed him with the Text in the *Evangeliſt*, *This is my Body*. After ſome Eſſay upon the Controverſy, the King diſengaged, and ordered the Archbiſhop to confute him. *Cranmer* only ſpoke to that part of *Lambert*'s Objection, which maintained the impoſſibility of a Body's being in two Places at once. This Aſſertion the Archbiſhop endeavoured to diſprove from *Chriſt*'s appearing to St. *Paul*: For tho' the *Scripture* aſſures us our Saviour is always in Heaven, yet he was ſeen by St. *Paul* in the Air; to this *Lambert* returned, That our Saviour was then only in Heaven, and that the human Appearance, and the Voice, was a Viſion, but not the natural Body of *Chriſt*. This Diſpute laſted for ſome time, and then *Cranmer* gave over.

Cranmer *argues againſt* Lambert.

Act 9.

Gardiner *and* Tonſtal *argue*.
1 Cor. *v*. 1.
c. 1. *v*. 5.

Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter* thought *Cranmer* did not drive the Argument home, and therefore endeavoured to reinforce him: He cited two Texts of St. *Paul*, *have I not ſeen Jeſus, and elſewhere he was ſeen of* Cephas, *then of the Twelve. After that he was ſeen of* James, *then of all the Apoſtles. And laſt of all, he was ſeen by me alſo*: To this *Lambert*, anſwered, He did not queſtion the Appearance of our Saviour, but denied his Body being in two Places could be infer'd from thence.

Tonſtal came after *Gardiner*; he argued from God's Omnipotency, That our Apprehenſion of Poſſibilities was ſhort: That things which ſeem'd Contradictons to us, were not ſo in themſelves, nor out of the Reach of the Divine Power. That therefore, ſince our Saviour had called the *Bread* his Body, we ought to believe he ſaid no more than he intended to perform. To this *Lambert* anſwered, Our Saviour hath no where declared in *Scripture* that he would change the Bread into his Body: That it was a figurative Speech frequently uſed in the inſpired Writings. Thus Circumciſion is called the *Covenant*, the *Lamb*, the *Paſſover*; beſides many other Inſtances.

Stokeſly's *Sophiſm*.

Stokeſly Biſhop of *London* came after *Tonſtal*: He thought, as it is ſuppoſed, he had found out a way to remove the Contradiction, and reconcile the Myſtery to other Appearances of Nature: He inſtanced in Water's being boiled till it evaporates into Air: From hence he inferred, that one Subſtance might be chang'd into another, the Accidents ſtill remaining: For the moiſture which was the Accident of the Water, remains, when rarefied into Air. But to argue from an accidental Converſion, where the Subſtance is ſtill the ſame, to a ſubſtantial Change, where one Subſtance is annihilated, and a new one brought in its Place, was looked on as no better than a Fallacy. *Lambert*, when diſengaged from *Stokeſly*, had the Fatigue of defending himſelf againſt ſix Biſhops more: Inſomuch that at laſt, either by the Greatneſs of the *Preſence*, the Learning of the Oppoſers, or the Length of the Argument, he ſeem'd very much embaraſſed, and almoſt driven to Silence. At the cloſe of the Day, the King aſked him if he was not ſatiſfied, and whether he was reſolved to live or die? *Lambert* anſwer'd, he caſt himſelf wholly upon his Majeſty's Clemency. The King told him he would be no Patron to *Hereticks*; and therefore, if that was the fartheſt of his Anſwer, he muſt die. The Lord *Cromwell* read the *Burning Sentence* by the King's Order (*h*). *Fox* ſaith, *Cromwell* was a great Favourer of the *Goſpellers* at this time; and pretends he was put upon this ill Office by *Gardiner*'s Policy. But this is bare Affirmation without Proof; for *Cromwell* being Eccleſiaſtical Vicegerent, it was part of his Buſineſs. Beſides, he was too much a Courtier to diſpute the Commands of ſo arbitrary a Prince: But more than this, he ſeems to have been ſatisfied with *Lambert*'s Execution, as appears by one of his Letters written to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, the King's Ambaſſadour in *Germany*: In this Letter he magnifies the King's Performance at the Tryal, and propoſes him as a Preſident to other Princes: The words are theſe,

Cromwell *reads the Burning Sentence*.
(*h*) Fox V. 2. p. 425, 426.

Nov. 28. 1538.

> ——“ The King's Majeſty, for the Reverence of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, did ſit openly in his *Hall*, and there preſided at the Diſputation, Proceſs, and Judgment, of a miſerable *Heretick* Sacramentary, who was burnt the 20th of *November*. It was a wonder to ſee how Princely, with how excellent Gravity, and ineſtimable Majeſty, his Highneſs exerciſed there, the very Office of Supream Head of the Church of *England*. How benignly his Grace eſſay'd to convert the miſerable Man: How ſtrong and manifeſt Reaſons his Highneſs alledg'd againſt him. I wiſh the Princes and Potentates of *Chriſtendom* to have had a meet Place to have ſeen it. Undoubtedly they ſhould have much marvell'd at his Majeſty's moſt high Wiſdom and Judgment; and reputed him no otherwiſe after the ſame, than in manner the Mirrour and Light of all other Kings and Princes in *Chriſtendom*. The ſame was openly done with great Solemnity, whereby I doubt not but ſome of your Friends that have good leiſure, ſhall by their Letters advertiſe you of the Diſcourſe thereof (*g*).

(*g*) Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

This Account of *Lambert* was perfectly voluntary; from whence we may conclude, that *Cromwell* read the *Sentence* without regret, for we ſee he calls *Lambert* a miſerable *Heretick*, and commends the King highly for his Part at the Tryal. As to *Lambert*, he refuſed to live upon the Terms of a Recantation, ſuffered with great Fortitude; and as *Fox* reports the Matter, was barbarouſly uſed by the Sheriff's Men.

Stow's Annal. p. 556.

Some few Days before, four *Dutch Anabaptiſts*, three Men and a Woman, had Fagots tied to their Backs at *Paul's* Croſs; and one Man and a Woman, of the ſame Sect and Country, were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Cranmer*, upon the firſt of *October*, with ſome others, had a Commiſſion from the King to try ſome *Anabaptiſts*; which by comparing the Dates of the Commiſſion, with that of the Execution, we may conclude the Tryal paſſed upon the Perſons abovemention'd *.

* *See Records, Numb.* 46.

Godwin. de Præſul. Angliæ.

In *May* laſt, this Year *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* departed this Life. He was educated in *King's-College* at *Cambridge*, where he was made Provoſt in the Year 1528. He ſerved the King in ſeveral Embaſſies, and was promoted to the *See* the Year 1535. He was a Perſon of conſiderable Learning; and beſide other things, wrote the famous Book entituled, *De vera Differentia* *inter Regiam & Eccleſiaſticam Poteſtatem.* He was a Favourer of the Reformation, at leaſt to the length of the Eſtabliſhment in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. *Bonner* who was nominated to ſucceed him, was remov'd to *London* before his Conſecration.

To proceed: The King's Severities did not run altogether againſt one Party; Wherever he found Incompliance, or ſuſpected Diſaffection, he let looſe the rigour of the Law. *Henry* Marquiſs of *Exeter*, *Henry* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, were looked on as *Malecontents*, and too far in the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*. They were committed to the *Tower*, and afterwards indicted for High-Treaſon. They were charged with correſponding with *Reginald Pool*, late Dean of *Exeter*, the King's Enemy; and that they had concerted to depoſe the King. They were tryed before *Thomas* Lord *Audley*, ſitting as High-Steward, and found guilty. Sir *Jeffery Pool*, two Prieſts and a Mariner, were likewiſe indicted, and caſt upon the ſame Score. They were all executed, excepting Sir *Jeffery Pool*, who was pardoned for turning Evidence. Sir *Nicholas Carew*, was likewiſe beheaded for being concerned with the Marquiſs of *Exeter* *(k)*.

Dec. 31. *Several great Men and others executed.*

(*k*) Godwyn, Annal. *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 439.

The rough Treatment of Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Memory was highly reſented at *Rome:* The *Pope* was now reſolved to bear the King's Uſage no longer; he therefore withdraws the Suſpenſion, and orders the Excommunication to take Place. I have given the *Reader* an Abſtract of this *Bull* from *Sanders*; it was Publiſh'd at *Bruges*, *Tournay*, *Dunkirk*, in *Flanders*; at *Bouloign*, and *Diepe* in *France*; and St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*.

De Schiſm. Anglic. *The Pope lets looſe his Excommunication againſt the King.*

At the latter end of the *Inſtrument*, the *Pope* ſets forth, that when he deſign'd to exert the *Cenſure* againſt the King, the Mediation of ſome Princes, and other Perſons of eminent Quality, prevailed with him to hold his Hand, in hopes the King might recal himſelf, and recover. "That his *Holyneſs* being willing to believe the beſt, ſtopp'd the Execution of the *Sentence*. He hoped Time, and gentle Uſage, would not have produced ſuch unfortunate Effects, and brought the King to a greater Obſtinacy. But now, after having waited three Years, he was lamentably diſappointed; for *Henry*, as he calls him, grew worſe and worſe under the Cure, broke out into new Inſtances of Preſumption and Savageneſs, was not contented with the Murder of Prieſts and Prelates, but exerciſed his Rage upon the Dead, and ſtruck at the Honour of the *Saints*. Thus, ſays he, Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, Archbiſhop and Martyr, famous for Miracles wrought at his Tomb, canonized by one of our Predeceſſors, and treated by almoſt all *Chriſtendom* with the higheſt Regard, has been barbarouſly inſulted by this Prince. To make his Contempt of Religion more remarkable, he ordered a Mock Tryal: The Saint was ſummon'd into Court, condemn'd for Contumacy, and had Judgment given againſt him for High-Treaſon: In ſhort the Body was taken up and burnt, and the Aſhes ſcattered in the Air. This was an unprecedented Barbarity, and exceeds the Revenge of a conquering Enemy, who don't uſe to extend their Reſentment beyond Death, nor fight with Graves and Carcaſes.

"From hence he proceeds to recount the rifling *Becket*'s Shrine, and the ſeizure of the Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*'s *Canterbury*, and driving out the Monks, with all the arbitrary Injuſtice, and Fury imaginable. That theſe were Violations of the moſt flaming Nature, and things ſcarce heard of among *Turks* and *Heathens*. Since therefore the Diſtemper was above all Remedy, and evidently incurable, there was no other way but to come to Amputation, and cut off the gangren'd Limb, for fear the Infection ſhould reach farther upon the whole Body. He proceeds therefore to declare the Suſpenſion determined, and that the Excommunication was immediately to take Place *(l)*.

The *Pope* wrote to the *Emperour* and other Princes, drove his Satyr ſtrongly againſt the King, and made a tragical Repreſentation of his Proceedings in *England* *(m)*. but all this Thunder carried but little Terror with it, as appears by the Correſpondence in Treaties and Commerce, between the King and other Catholick Princes *(n)*.

(l) Sanders de Schiſm. Angl. *p.* 190. Jan. 1. A. D. 1538.

(m) Morriſin's Apomaxis &c.

(n) Father Paul, Council of *Trent.*

The King underſtood the Proteſtants in *Germany* had enter'd upon a Treaty with the *Emperour* without his Knowledge. He complain'd of this Reſervedneſs by his Ambaſſadours: The Princes in *Germany* excuſed themſelves, by alledging, that there had been very little Progreſs in this Matter, the Terms being as yet not fully propoſed: And here they take notice of a late *Proclamation* ſet forth by the King, in which the Belief of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and ſome other conteſted Points, were injoin'd under ſevere Penalties. They intreated the King theſe Rigours may be recalled; neither were they inclined, as far as it appears, to compromiſe the Matter, nor make any Receſſion from the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*. Now this *Syſtem* of the *German Belief* differed in ſeveral material Points from King *Henry*'s *Reformation*, as we may ſee by comparing it with *the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*. To give ſome few Inſtances, and here not to mention the Difference between *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Conſubſtantiation*, the *Auguſtane Confeſſion* declares againſt the Neceſſity of Penance, preſcribed by the *Canons* *(o)*. Their Article of *Juſtification* doth not altogether agree with the Doctrine of the *Inſtitution*, &c. They inſiſt on imputative Righteouſneſs, lay a great ſtreſs upon the bare Act of *Believing*; and tho' they do not deny the Neceſſity of good Works, they ſeem, notwithſtanding, to range them under a lower Conſideration. They reject Invocation of Saints and Angels, affirm nothing of Praying for the Dead, maintain the three Points already mentioned for Communion under both Kinds, ſuppreſſing private Maſſes, and all owing the Marriage of Prieſts. They diſpute againſt the Biſhops Authority for the Inſtitution of Ceremonies, and making *Canons* for the Regulation of Diet, and the ſettling of *Feſtivals* and *Faſts:* But then it muſt be ſaid their chief Objection againſt this Branch of the Church's Power, is levelled againſt the Opinion of the Merit of theſe Obſervances. They likewiſe declare againſt the Obligation of Monaſtick Vows. But no more of this.

The Auguſtane Confeſſion much different from the Religious profeſs'd by King Henry.

(o) Syntagma Confeſſionum. Auguſt. Artic. 11. *See Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 255.

Artic. 20.
Artic. 21.

Melancthon's *Letter to the King.*

"About this time *Melancthon* wrote a Letter to perſuade the King to a farther *Reformation*. This Divine touches upon the King's Proclamation abovementioned, and is much troubled, that the cuſtomary Ceremonies of the Church are commanded to be obſerved. He pretends the continuing theſe Uſages would perpetuate the Abuſes in the *Maſs*, takes the Freedom to call ſome of them ſuperſtitious Fooleries, and makes Saint *Auſtin* com-

“ plain the Church was overlaid with Ceremonies “ in his time, and almoſt brought back to the “ Servitude of the *Moſaic Law*. He acquaints “ the King, *Contareni*, *Sadolet*, and Cardinal *Pool* “ were the great Patrons of this Superſtition: “ That without great Prudence in the Gover- “ nours of the Church, Truth would be ſtifled un- “ der this Rubbiſh. But here he doth not ſeem “ to underſtand the State of Religion in *England*: For his main Argument againſt the Continuance of theſe *Externals*, is levelled againſt the *Belief* of their Neceſſity; but this was fighting without an Adverſary. For the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man* declares for the Uſe of *Ceremonies*, but only under the nature of Circumſtantials; and that no more than Convenience and Solemnity are deſign'd by them. “ *Melancthon* goes “ on to diſpute againſt the *Cœlibacy* of the Clergy, “ and preſſeth the King to a farther diſtance “ from the Church of *Rome*, from the Examples “ of *Hezekiah*. And being, not without reaſon, “ ſenſible he had taken ſome unuſual Liberty, he “ deſires the King would give him a favourable “ Conſtruction (p).

April 1. 1539.

(p) Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 244.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK III.

A Diſſolution of the greater Monaſteries.

THERE were ſeveral Surrenders of the greater Monaſteries made the laſt Year. This Affair was carried on with all the Application imaginable; inſomuch that by the Beginning of this Year, almoſt all the religious Houſes were reſigned to the *Crown*. This being a very extraordinary Revolution both in Church and State, it will not be amiſs to open the Scene, to enlarge upon the Circumſtances, and acquaint the *Reader* with the Detail of this ſurprizing Emergency. To aſſiſt this Project, and make it go down the better with the People, the *Monaſteries* had a heavy Charge of Diſorder and Immorality brought in againſt them, that the Narratives of this kind were ſwelled beyond Truth and Proportion, may well be ſuſpected from the mercenary Temper of ſome of the *Viſitors*, who begged for this Employment, as hath been obſerved already; beſides, that ſeveral of the *Religious Houſes* had a fair Reputation, appears from authentick Records, ſome of which I ſhall give the *Reader*.

The Charge of Immoralities too generally laid, and carried too far.

To begin: *John Apprice*, upon his Viſitation of the Abby of Saint *Edmonsbury* in *Suffolk*, acquaints *Cromwell* (q), “That the *Viſitors* had nothing to except againſt the Abbot's Regularity: But it was reported he diverted himſelf too much at Cards and Dice, was too expenſive in Building, and turn'd ſeveral Farms into Copyholds, and ſpent too much time in his Country Houſes. The *Viſitors* charg'd him farther with being addicted to ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; that is, he practis'd the Religion then eſtabliſh'd. As for the *Convent*, *Apprice* declares they could draw little or nothing from them. But this Silence he interprets to Pre-inſtruction and Concert. It is true, he adds that ſome of the Monks confeſs'd great Numbers of Women frequented the Abby; but mentions no Diſorder amongſt them. The *Relicks*, *viz.* Coals that roaſted Saint *Lawrence*, the Parings of Saint *Edmund*'s Nails, Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Boots, *&c.* ſeemed the heavieſt Part of the Charge.

The Commiſſioners Letter to Cromwell *in behalf of the Priory of* Cateſby.

“In this Letter they make a Report of the pious and inoffenſive Behaviour of the Prioreſs and Nuns: That the *Houſe* was very diſcreetly managed, and very ſerviceable to the Poor of the Neighbourhood. They deſire *Cromwell*, that the King may be addreſſed to

(q) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. fol. 120.

“preſerve the *Houſe*. This Letter is ſubſcribed by three Commiſſioners, *Edmund Knightly*, *John Lane*, and *George Gifford*. Ibid. *fol.* 209.

A Letter from the King's Commiſſioners in behalf of the Nunnery of Polſworth *in* Warwickſhire: July *the* 28*th*, 1537.

“In this Letter ſubſcribed by ſix Commiſſioners, *Cromwell* is ſtrongly ſolicited, that the Abby might ſtand. To prevail with him, they give a great Character of the Abbeſs and Nuns. That both by general Fame, and Enquiry into the Houſe, they found the Rule of the Inſtitution exactly obſerved. That in caſe the *Nunnery* ſhould be ſuppreſſed, the Town would be ruined, and ſix or ſeven ſcore Perſons thrown out of their Livelihood. Ibid. *fol.* 210.

Commiſſioner Gifford's *Letter to* Cromwell *in behalf of the Priory of* Woolſtrop *in* Northamptonſhire: June *the* 19*th*, 1537.

“*Gifford* takes notice, that himſelf and ſome of thoſe joined in Commiſſion with him, had formerly written to the *Chancelour* of the *Augmentations*, in behalf of the Abbey of Saint *James*, and Priory of *Catesby* in *Northamptonſhire*; that the King was diſpleaſed with this Solicitation, and charged them with receiving Money for interpoſing in this Affair. And here after a Proteſtation of his Integrity, he proceeds to beg *Cromwell's* Favour for the Priory of *Woolſtrop*. He acquaints him that the Prior was an unexceptionable Perſon, managed the Revenues of the Houſe to Advantage, and was remarkable for Hoſpitality and relieving the poor. That the Prieſts of the Convent lived up to their Character, and ſpent their leiſure Hours in embroidering, tranſcribing, making their own Cloaths, carving, painting, *&c.* He added, the Charity of the Houſe was ſuch, that it would be a very gracious and meritorious Act in the King to let it ſtand. And that for this good Office *Cromwell* would not only have the Prayers of the *Convent*, but the Benefit of the Devotions of the People four or five Miles round. At the Cloſe of the Letter, he calls God to witneſs the Truth of this Report. Ibid. *fol.* 214.

By this Letter it appears the Fate of the Abbeys was irrevocably fix'd: The King's Paſſions ran ſo ſtrong for a *Diſſolution*, that he would ſcarce endure the Report of a fair Character given the *Religious*. Tho', after all, the learned Sir *William Dugdale* is of Opinion, that the Ruin of the Abbeys was no original Thought of the King's. It is more reaſonable to believe it was the Suggeſtion of ſome ambitious Men, who projected vaſt Advantages to themſelves. And if Wealth and Titles are ſuch, without regard to the manner of coming by them, they were not miſtaken in their Aim. To mention ſome more Applications in Favour of the Monaſteries.

A Letter from Mr. Arundell, *a* Corniſh *Gentleman, to* Cromwell, *to preſerve the Abbey of* Cliffe *in that County.*

“He informs the *Vicar General*, there were ſeventeen Prieſts, all of them remarkable for their Hoſpitality and regular Behaviour. They offer the King a thouſand Mark to compound againſt Diſſolution. Ibid. *fol.* 257.

Thomas Bedyle's *Letter to* Cromwell: January *the* 15*th*, 27 H. 8.

“Here this Viſitor gives *Cromwell* an Account of the Condition of the Abbey of *Ramſey*. He informs him the Abbot and Convent were remarkable for their Loyalty, and all other Parts of a regular Life. He mentions their *Exemption* from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction by King *Edgar's* Charter, and ſuggeſts from thence an Advantage for the King's *Supremacy*. At taking Leave, he deſires a Commiſſion from *Cromwell* to viſit the unexamin'd *Houſes* in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*: This he is ſo frank as to ſay would be very much for his *Commodity*. Ibid. *fol.* 294.

A Letter of Thomas *Lord* Lawarr *to* Cromwell.

“He deſires *Cromwell* to uſe his Intereſt with the King, that the Priory of *Boxgrave* might not be ſuppreſſed. And if this Requeſt could not be granted, that he might be Tenant to the Land, in regard the *Houſe* was founded by his Anceſtors. He concludes with a Promiſe of giving *Cromwell* Satisfaction. Ibid. *fol.* 234.

The Abbeſs of Godſtowe's *Letter to* Cromwell: Nov. *the* 5*th*, 1537.

“She complains of the menacing and ill Treatment of Dr. *London*, one of the *Viſitors*: That he had miſreported her to the King, and charged her with embezling the Goods, and committing Waſt upon the Nunnery. She deſires to be called to an Account, denies the Charge, and offers to juſtify her Conduct in every particular. Ibid. *fol.* 238.

A Letter of the Abbot of Rewly *in* Oxfordſhire, *to* Cromwell, *in behalf of his Abbey. I ſhall give it the* Reader *in his own Words.*

“Right honourable, and my ſingular good Maſter, my Duty remembred, I humbly commend to you, glad to hear of your Health, Wealth, and Proſperity, the which I pray Jeſu long to continue to your Heart and Deſire, *&c.* thanking your Maſterſhip for your great Kindneſs ſhewed to me at all times: Whereas it pleaſed you that ſo ſoon I ſhould come to your Speech, with ſo little Expence in lying at *London*, and alſo for your good and gentle Words, kind and loving Friendſhip, not having for the ſame Pleaſure or Commodity of me as yet, truſting by ſome ſpecial Gift of Grace to acquit it tenfold: And whereas I had a Letter ſent me, that our Monaſtery ſhould be given to Mr. *Archard* your Servant, and that it was alſo in the Commiſſion, I ſubmit my ſelf full and whole to your Maſterſhip, as all my Refuge, Help and Succour is in you; glad of my voluntary Mind to be bound in an Obligation of an hundred Pounds to be paid to your Maſterſhip, ſo that our Houſe may be ſaved; altho' it be converted into the Uſe of a College, to have both Learning, and learned Men go forward therein. I was loath to attempt your Maſterſhip any farther, ſince I had ſuch gentle

“ tle Anſwers; unleſs the great Rumour of the Town and Univerſity compulſed me, becauſe of the aforeſaid Gift to the aforeſaid Mr. *Archard*, beſeeching your Maſterſhip's kind Letter againſt the Surveyors Letter coming to diſcharge them; that it may be as a Shield or Buckler to defend me; that you may get you a Memorial to be pray'd for for ever. And thus Almighty Jeſu ſend your Maſterſhip long Life and much Honour.

Ibid. *fol.* 269.

Nicholas, *by the Grace of God, Abbot of* Roy Alleyn.

Upon this Occaſion it may not be improper to take notice, that, at the beginning of theſe Alterations, *Cromwell* had written circular Letters to the Abbots of the greater Abbies, aſſuring them againſt the Apprehenſion of a *Diſſolution*. And here, amongſt other things, he acquaints them from the King, that except the leſſer religious *Houſes* had made a free and voluntary Surrender to his Majeſty, *his Grace would never have received the ſame*.

Ibid. *fol.* 68.

A Letter of the Abbot of Hewlim, *in Vindication of himſelf and his Convent:* Febr. *the* 10*th*, 1533.

“ He takes notice the Perſon to whom he writes was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at the Incompliance of his Houſe: But to juſtify his Behaviour in not ſurrendring, he puts them in mind the Abbey was dedicated to God Almighty's Service, and to be ſpent in Diſtributions of Charity, and that theſe Ends were honeſtly anſwer'd. That ſince they had given no Occaſion for a Diſſolution, they thought themſelves not obliged to reſign. But underſtanding the King and the Lord Privy Seal *Cromwell* were diſpleaſed with this part of their Conduct, he promiſes his utmoſt to bring his Brothers to Conformity.

Ibid. *fol.* 270.

A Letter from the Prioreſs and Siſters of Legburne *to the Founder, to intercede with the King that the Houſe might not be ſuppreſſed:* 29 H. 8. 1537.

“ To move the King to continue the Nunnery, ſhe acquaints the *Founder* they were ready to ſtand the Teſt of an Examination: That they did not fear the *Viſitors* could find any Ground of Complaint againſt them, either with reſpect to their Hoſpitality, or Behaviour.

Ibid.

There are ſeveral other fair Teſtimonials of the Regularity of the *Religious Houſes* to be ſeen upon *Record* in the *Augmentation Office*, but what I have mentioned may be ſufficient.

The Abbots of *Croiland*, *Leiceſter*, and the Prior of *Burlington*, endeavoured to preſerve themſelves from the Storm, as Mariners do, by throwing part of their Goods overboard: That is, they endeavour'd to ſweeten the Court with Preſents. The Prior of *Canterbury*, and the Abbey of Saint *Edmondsbury*, to mention no more, try'd this Expedient with *Cromwell*. By the Prior of *Canterbury*'s Letter to *Cromwell*, it appears that Houſe paid an annual Gratuity of ten Pounds to *Cromwell*, which they now augment to twenty, by a new Inſtrument, to him and his Son. The Houſe likewiſe promiſes the Reverſion of two Farms to two of *Cromwell*'s Servants, to be nominated by himſelf.

Ibid. *fol.* 34, 57, & alibi.

The Abbot of *Bury* ſettled an Annuity of ten Pounds upon *Cromwell*, and another of the ſame Value upon his Son, as appears by an Inſtrument under the Seal of the Convent (*r*).

We ſee here were ſtrong Applications made to *Cromwell*: He was looked upon as a Perſon of the greateſt Aſcendant; as the Motion of this new *Machine*. They endeavoured to work him upon the Topicks of Juſtice and Honour, of Regard to the Country, and Pity to the Poor. They plied him with Teſtimonials, with Preſents and Promiſes, but all to no Purpoſe: He had more prevalent Motives, more tempting Views on the other Side. In ſhort, no Rhetorick, either in Language or Acknowledgments, could make an Impreſſion: He was *like the deaf Adder, that refuſeth to hear the Voice of the Charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely*.

Cromwell *applied to to ſave the Abbeys, but without Succeſs.*

Beſides the Charge of Immorality, there were ſeveral other Fineſſes made uſe of to carry on the Ruin of the Abbeys. To mention ſome of them: In the *Vacancy* of the greater *Houſes*, ſuch Perſons were elected, as were diſpoſed to comply with the Court Meaſures: Theſe Abbots had Inſtructions to perſuade the Monks to ſurrender. And here, it ſeems, they were ſo active and ſucceſsful in their Poſt, that within two Years they brought the Monks in ſeveral *Convents* to their Bent, and prevail'd for a Reſignation. Things being thus ripe for the King's Purpoſe, *Commiſſioners* were ſent down to take the Surrenders. The Liſt of them, beſides thoſe already mentioned, is as follows: *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *John Saint Clere*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Farrington*, Knights; and *Richard Devereux* late Frier; *Anthony Fitzherbert*, afterwards one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*; *John Gage*, *William Leyland*, *John Williams*, *Thomas Mildmay*, ——— *Jobſon*, *Richard Cromwell*, *Robert Southwell*, *William Parr*, *Henry Polſted*, *John Antony*, *John Grevil*, *Simon Mountfort*, *Thomas Holt*, *Roger Wigſton*, *Robert Burgoin*, *Richard Pollard*, *Philip Parys*, *John Smith*, *Edward Carne*, *Richard Gweent*, *William Berners*, *John Arnold*, and *Richard Pawlet*: Theſe Gentlemen were great Managers, and well qualified for their Employment: They left no Stone unturned to drive on their Projects, and bring their Buſineſs to a Point (*s*). When they found the Abbots indiſpoſed for their Purpoſe, they tempted them with the Promiſe of large *Penſions* during Life. This Bait ſucceeded with the Abbot of *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*, with the Abbot of *Ramſey*, and the Priors of *Ely* and *Gisborn*. To make the Precedent work upon others, the Pliancy of theſe Men was highly commended to the Lord *Cromwell*; and the Obſequiouſneſs of ſome was ſo far encouraged, as to be honoured with a Commiſſion to deſtroy the reſt. This, for inſtance, was part of the Prior of *Gisborn*'s Preferment.

A Liſt of the Commiſſioners for viſiting the Abbeys.

The Methods made uſe of to ſuppreſs Religious Houſes.

Dugdale, Ibid. & *p.* 802.

On the other hand, when they proved untractable upon Motives of Conſcience or Honour (*t*), they were highly complain'd of for their Diſobedience to the Lord *Comwell*. Thus *Bedyle* in his Letter concerning the Nunnery of *Sion*, has nothing to charge the Ladies or Siſters with, excepting their Obſtinacy and Incompliance: And that they endeavoured to make a Party in the *Houſe* againſt a *Surrender*: And refuſed to fortify the King's Title with the *Convent*'s Seal (*u*).

This *Bedyle* in another Letter concerning the Priory of *Charterhouſe*, *London*, acquaints *Cromwell* with the traitorous Behaviour (as he calls it) of

June 14. 1537.

The Monks of Charterhouſe *hardly uſed.*

(*r*) *See Records, N.* 12.

(*s*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, *fol.* 801.

(*t*) Godwyn, Annal. An. 1539.

(*u*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. *fol.* 109.

of ſeveral of the Monks: For which, as the Letter goes on, they were committed to *Newgate*. This traitorous Behaviour, as far as it appears, means no more than their Obſtinacy againſt a Surrender. Five of them, whoſe Names are mentioned, died of the Hardſhip of their Uſage. The ſame Severity in the Priſon, as *Bedyle* continues, had brought Five more to the Point of Death. This Commiſſioner commends the Prior for his Honeſty, becauſe he was willing to give up the *Houſe*. He concludes with a politick Wiſh, that the Revenues of the *Monaſtery* might be popularly and unexceptionably employed: Becauſe by its lying in the Capital of the Kingdom, it might occaſion an unſerviceable Report, if it was either kept in the King's Hands, or granted to a foreign Uſe. Many of theſe *Carthuſians*, as our learned Church Hiſtorian relates, *were executed for their open denying the King's Supremacy*. Now after having own'd this, I'm ſomewhat ſurprized to find the reverend Author charging thoſe who wrote before him with Miſrepreſentation. His Words are theſe.

Ibid. fol. 217.

Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 241.

There's one Calumny that runs in a Thread through all the Hiſtorians of the popiſh ſide, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up; that many were put to Death for not ſwearing the King's Supremacy. 'Tis an impudent Falſhood; for not ſo much as one Perſon ſuffer'd on that Account. With Submiſſion, How does this appear? Was there not an *Act* which made it High-Treaſon to refuſe the Oath of *Supremacy* * ? This Gentleman is ſenſible of it †. Now when the Monks were complained of as diſaffected to the Government, when ſuch a ſtrong Perſecution was drawn upon them; when the King and the chief *Miniſters* were ſo warm upon the *Diſſolution*-Project; when the Caſe ſtood thus, is it not highly probable the *Oath* was tendered to thoſe *Religious* who appeared refractory to the King's Pleaſure? Now if ſome of them refuſed to comply, as we find they did, we may believe they were proſecuted for High-Treaſon. And if they choſe rather to fall under the heavieſt Penalties, than ſwear this *new Supremacy*, might they not fairly be ſaid to deny it? To deny it, I ſay, when they choſe to ſuffer Death rather than own it? And then we may eaſily imagine the Indictment ran that they had renounced the King's *Supremacy*. But what made them diſcover ſo dangerous a Sentiment? In all likelihood, nothing but the Teſt of the Oath put to them. For we don't find the Monks over-hardy in expoſing themſelves, or that they either printed or preached againſt the Regal *Supremacy*. From hence we may pretty reaſonably infer, 'twas their Refuſal of the *Oath* which prov'd fatal to them. To return to the *Viſitors*.

Id. p. 351.

*28 H. 8. c. 10.

† *Bp.* Burnet, Ibid.

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. fol. 217.

The Abbot of St. Albans *incompliant.*

Dr. *Lee* and *William Peters* acquaint *Cromwell* with their Diſappointment at the Abby of St. *Albans*; they inform him of their ſummoning the Abbot before them; they complain of him for breaking the King's *Injunctions*, for Dilapidations, and other Inſtances of Negligence and exceptionable Management. Then they open his grand Crime, and proceed to mention his Obſtinacy, notwithſtanding the higheſt Threatning. One Argument they uſed to preſs him to a *Surrender*, was the great Debts contracted upon the *Houſe*. That for this Reaſon, either no Perſon would accept the Preferment, or elſe the next Succeſſor would take it only upon the View of putting it into the King's Hands. But it ſeems, the Abbot was not of their Opinion. And therefore, laſtly, they deſire ſuch Directions from *Cromwell*, that their Proceedings may be manag'd in ſuch a manner as may make leaſt Noiſe, and be moſt inoffenſive to the Country. However, to make ſure Work, they think it moſt adviſeable to proceed to Extremities: That this Method may probably ſhake the Abbot's Conſtancy, and work him to compliance in hopes of a *Penſion*.

Ibid. fol. 43.

Penſions, it ſeems, were Batteries which play'd with Succeſs upon the mercenary Tempers of ſome of the *Religious*. This Expedient was not forgotten by the Courtiers. The Lord Chancellor *Audley*, managed this way: He employed an Agent to treat with the Abbot of *Athelny*: The Offer was an Hundred Marks *per Annum* Penſion. But the Abbot thought the Terms too low, and refuſed to ſurrender. This Lord had tamper'd with the Abbot of St. *Oſithes* in *Eſſex*, and brought him to his Expectation (*w*). And to make way for a Grant of the Abby of *Walden* in the County laſt mentioned; beſides giving in a ſlender Valuation of the Eſtate, he takes Care it might be remembred, that he had diſobliged his Reputation, and brought a great deal of Infamy upon himſelf in ſerving the King, and ſeems to think the *Abby* no more than a fair Conſideration for Damages ſuſtained (*y*).

The Lord Chancellor Audley *treats with the Abbot of* Athelny.

Ibid. fol. 113.

To proceed, the Abbot of **Feverſham**, to preſerve himſelf from *Diſſolution*, inſiſted on the Antiquity of the *Monaſtery*; That it was founded by King *Stephen*; That the Bodies of this Prince, his Queen and his Son, were there interred; That the Deſign of the Foundation was to pray for the Souls of theſe Royal Benefactors. But neither thoſe in this World, nor thoſe in the other, had Intereſt enough to prevail. Where the Difficulties ſtuck upon Principle, and were not eaſily removed, the Commiſſioners took Care to gain the *Superiors* of the *Religious*, and thoſe who were moſt likely to ſway their Practice. Thus the Nuns of *Sion* were ſolicited to Compliance by the Biſhop of *London*, and their *Confeſſor*. Theſe ſpiritual Directors, after ſeveral other Perſuaſives, told them plainly, that they were bound in Conſcience to ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure (*x*).

Dugdale, p. 802.

Large Penſions offered for Reſignation.

When large *Penſions* which were ſometimes given, and well paid too (*z*), failed of Succeſs, they applied to Menacing and Rigor. Thus ſome *Religious* were frightned, by being charged with Dilapidations and other Particulars of Miſmanagement: For whether the Articles were true or not, they had not always the Courage to ſtand the ſhock, and bear up againſt the *Viſitors*. The late *Injunctions* were likewiſe contrived pretty ſevere; this made ſome of the Monks tired with the *Cloyſter*, and afforded Exceptions to the Conduct of the *Houſe*. Thus ſome Abbots were deprived, and others more managable put in their room (*a*).

Convent Seals taken away from ſome Abbeys.

Farther, the *Commiſſioners* took the *Convents* Seals from ſome *Houſes*: This was in a manner laying cloſe Siege to them. Thus their Communication and Proviſion was in a great manner cut off; they could neither make Leaſes, or ſell their Jewels: By this means the paying their Debts, and ſupplying their Occaſions, was oftentimes impracticable. And thus the Garriſon was reduc'd, at laſt, and ſtarv'd to a Surrender. The *Canons* of *Leiceſter* were threatned to be proſecuted for Adultery and Sodomy: But their Submiſſion, it ſeems, wiped off the Blemiſh, or at leaſt compounded for the Puniſhment (*b*). Dr. *London* made no Scruple to tell the Nuns of *Godſtow*, That *ſince he found them obſtinate*, *he would*

Ibid.

(*w*) Ibid fol. 231.

(*y*) Ibid. fol. 197.

(*x*) Id. p. 802.

(*z*) *Augmentation Office.*

(*a*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 802.

(*b*) Biblioth. Cotton, E. 4. fol. 131.

would diſſolve the Houſe in ſpite of their Teeth; and yet the whole Matter was ſo managed, as if nothing rough or compulſive had been offered, but that the King had been courted to accept the *Monaſteries*. And if any *Religious* gave out their *Surrenders* were involuntary, a Mark of Diſlike was ſet upon them (c).

When by this Management the Reſolution of no ſmall Number of *Abbeys* was ſhaken, they ſerved for a Precedent to the reſt. That the Caſe was thus, appears by the Date of their *Surrenders*: For the Treatment they foreſaw from the *Viſitors*, and the unexpected Compliance of ſo many of the *Fraternity*, embarraſs'd their Motions, and put them to a Stand. They were amazed to the laſt Degree, and perfectly at a loſs which way to diſentangle themſelves. Some of them, as hath been obſerv'd, made Tryal of the Prevalence of Money, and offered to compound upon no ſlender Propoſals. Thus the Abbot of *Peterborough* offered the King Two Thouſand Five Hundred Marks, and the *Viſitor*-General, *Cromwell*, Three Hundred Pounds for the purchaſing his Favour (d). Thoſe Abbots who appeared with a more ſtubborn Honeſty, who refuſed to break their Oath, and betray their Truſt, by a Reſignation, were handled very roughly. Thus the Stiffneſs of the Abbot of **Fountains** in *Yorkſhire* is ſaid to have brought the Storm upon him. The *Commiſſioners* drew up a Charge againſt him, for taking ſome Jewels belonging to the Monaſtery into his Cuſtody. This, by an unuſual Rigour of Expreſſion, was called Theft and Sacrilege. In ſhort, he was pronounc'd perjured, depoſed, and had a private Reſignation wreſted from him. Theſe Inſtances of Hardſhip will run higher by and by; in the mean time, no Intereſt or Interceſſion ſignified any thing. Biſhop *Latimer* moved ſtrongly, that two or three of theſe *Religious Houſes* might be left in every County for pious Uſes. But *Cromwell*, as my Lord *Herbert* ſpeaks, (by the King's Permiſſion) *invaded all*. This *Miniſter*, as the noble Hiſtorian goes on, play'd all the Engines that were likely to do Execution. And thus, by Menacing and Preſents, by Promiſes and Perſuaſions, and by all the Artifices which were like to batter the Conſtancy, and prevail upon the Paſſions of Mankind, he brought the Abbots to a *Surrender*, and made himſelf Maſter of his Project. If they proved untractable, and ſtood upon their Right, they were terribly hamper'd, either with the *Injunctions*, or ſome Act of Parliament (e). *Saunders* pretends, the Form of the *Surrenders* was preſcribed, and proper Agents pitch'd upon to bring the *Houſes* to a Compliance. I ſhall tranſcribe one or two of theſe *Inſtruments* for the *Reader*.

The Surrender of the Warden *and* Friers *of St.* Francis *in* Stanford *.

“For as moche as we the Warden and Freers, of the Howſe of Saynt *Frances* in *Standforde*, comenly call'd the Gray-Freers in *Standforde*, in the County of *Lincolne*, do profoundly conſider that the Perfeccion of Chriſtian Lyving dothe not conciſte in the dome Ceremonies, weryng of the grey Cootte, diſgeaſing our ſelfe after ſtrange Faſhions, doking and beckyng, in gurding our ſelffes with Gurdle full of Knots, and other like Papiſtical Ceremonies, where we have byn mooſt principally practyſed, and miſſelyd in Times; but the very tru waye to pleaſe God, and to live a true Chriſtian Man, wytheout all Ypocraſie, and fayned Diſſimulation, is ſinceerly declaryd unto us by our Maſter Chriſte, his Evangeliſts and Apoſtles. Being mindyd hereafter to folowe the ſame, conformyng our ſelffe unto the Will and Pleaſure of owr Supreme Hedde under God in Erthe, the Kinges Majeſtye; and not to follow henceforth the Superſtitious Tradicions of any forincycall Potentate, or Poore, with the mutual Aſſent and Conſent, doe ſubmyt owr ſelffes unto the Mercye of owr ſaide Soveraygne Lorde. And withe like mutuall Aſſent and Conſent, doe ſurrender, and yelde upe unto the Hands of the ſame, all owr ſaide Howſe of Saynte *Frances* in *Standforde*, comenly callyd the Greye Freers in *Standforde*, withe all Lands, Tenements, Gardens, Medowes, Waters, Pondyards, Feedings, Paſtures, Comens, Rents, Reverſions, and all other our Intereſt, Ryghtes or Tythes, apperteyning unto the ſame; mooſte humbly beſeechyng his mooſte noble Grace, to diſpoſe of us, and of the ſame, as beſt ſchall ſtonde wythe his mooſte graciouſe Pleaſure. And farther, freely to graunt unto every one of us his Licens undre Wretyng and Seall, to change our Abites into ſecular Faſſion, and to receive ſuch maner of Livynges, as other ſecular Prieſtes comenly be preferryd unto. And we all faythfully ſchall pray unto Almighty God, long to preſerve his mooſte noble Grace wyth Encreaſe of moche Felicitie and Honor.

“And in Witneſs of all and ſingular the Premiſſes, we the ſaid Warden and Covent of the Grey Freers in *Standforde*, to theſe Preſents have put owr Covent Sceall the yeght Day of *Octobre*, in the thyrtythe Yere of the Raygne of owr mooſte Soverayne King *Henry* the yeght.

Factum Johannis Schemy, Gardian.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Robards.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Chadwhort.
Per me Fratrem Ricardum Pye.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Clarke.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Quoyte.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Garman.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Tong.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Lovell.
Per me Fratrem Willielmum Tomſon.

The Surrender of the Abby of *Betleſden* in *Bedfordſhire* is much to the ſame Tenor, and therefore ſhall be omitted. But the Form ſign'd by the Prior and Convent of St. *Andrews Northampton* is couch'd in a more renouncing and mortifying Strain *. I ſhall tranſcribe part of it.

“But as well we as others our Predeceſſors, called religiouſe Perſons within yowr ſaid Monaſtery, taking on us the Habite of outward Veſture of the ſaid Rule, onley to the Intent to lead owr Liffes in the ydle Quyetneſſe, and not in the vertuoſe Exercyſe, in a ſtately Eſtimation, and not in obedient Humylyte, have undre the Shadowe or Color of the ſaide Rule and Habite, vaynely, deteſtably, and alſo ungodly, employed, yea, rather devowered the yerely Revenues yſſuing and comyng of the ſaid Poſſeſſions, in continual Ingurgitations and Farcynges of our carayne Bodyes, and of others, the Supportares of owr voluptuoſe and carnal Appetyte, with other vayne

(c) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, *p.* 802.

(d) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. 4. fol. 205.

Ibid. fol. 114. Dugdale, ut ſupra.

(e) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 442. Saunders de Schiſm. Anglic. p. 195.

* *Augmentation Office.*

See Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Records, Book* 3. *p.* 150.

* *Augmentation-Office.* Fuller, *Book* 6. *p.* 320.

“ and ungodly Expenſys; to the manyfeſt Subvertion of Devocion, and Clenneſs of Lyvyng, “ and to the mooſte notable Slaunder of Chriſt's “ holy Evangely, which in the Form of owr Profeſſyon, we did oſtentate, and openly devaunt “ to kepe mooſt exactly; withdrawyng thereby “ from the ſymple and pure Minds of yowr “ Grace's Subjects, the onely Truth and Comfort which they oughte to have by the true “ Faith of Chriſt, and alſo the devyne Honor “ and Glory, only due to the glorious Majeſty “ of God Almighty, ſteryng them with all Perſwaſions, Ingynes, and Polyce, to dedd Images, “ and counterfett Reliques, for our dampnable “ Lucre: Which owr mooſte horryble Abominations and execrable Perſuacions of yowr Grace's “ People to deteſtable Errours, and our long “ coveted Ypocriſie, cloked with fayned Sanctity; we revolving dayly, and continually “ ponderyng in owr ſorrowfull Harts, and “ thereby perſeyving the botomlas Gulf of everlaſting Fyre redye to devowre us, if perſyſting in this State of Lyvyng, we ſhulde depart from this uncertyn and tranſitory Liffe, “ conſtrayned by the intollerable Anguyſh of owr “ Conſcience, call'd as we truſt by the Grace “ of God, who wold have no Man to peryſh in “ Synne, with Harts mooſt contrited and repentante, proſtrate at the noble Feet of yowr “ mooſt royal Majeſtye, mooſt lamentably doe “ crave of yowr Highneſs, of yowr abundant “ Mercy, to grant unto us mooſt greivous againſt God, and yowr Highneſs, your moſt “ gracious Pardon, for owr ſaide ſondry Offences, Omyſſions, and Negligences, comytted “ as before by us is confeſſed, againſt yowr Highneſs, and yowr moſt noble Progenitors. And “ where your Highneſs, being ſupreme Hedd, “ immediately after Chriſt, of his Church, in “ this yowr Roialme of *England*, ſo conſequently generall and onely Reformator of all religiouſe Perſons there, have full Authority to “ correct or dyſſolve at yowr Grace's Pleaſure, “ and Liberty, all Covents and religious Companyes abuſing the Rewles of their Profeſſion. “ And moreover to your Highneſs, being owr “ Soveraygn Lord, and undoubted Fownder of “ yowr ſaid Monaſtery, by Diſſolution whereof “ apperteyneth only the Oryginal Title, and “ propre Inherytance, as well of all other Goods “ moveable and unmoveable, to the ſaid Monaſtery in any wyſe apperteyning or belonging, “ to be diſpoſed and imploy'd, as to yowr Grace's “ moſt excellent Wyſedeme ſhall ſeme expedyent and neceſſary.

Per me Franciſcum Priorem.
Per me Johannem Sub-priorem.
Per me Johannem Pette.
Per me Jo. Harrold.
Per me Tho. Smith.
Per me Tho. Golſton.
Per me Rob. Martin.
Per me Jacob. Hopkins.
Per me Ric. Bunberry.
Per me Tho. Barly.
Per me Will. Ward.
Per me Tho. Atterbury.
Per me Will. Fowler.

27 H. 8. c. 28. Dugdale's Monaſt. Vol. 1. fol. 1048.

It is ſomewhat ſtrange the Charge of Immorality ſhould run ſo high againſt the Religious in general, ſince no longer than four Years agone, the greater Monaſteries had ſo fair a Teſtimony of their Behaviour from the Parliament it ſelf. Amongſt other Inſtances of Diſorder, the Abbots are ſome of them charg'd with Coining: But this upon Conſideration, will be found no Fault; for not only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but ſome of the *great Abbeys* had the Privilege of a *Mint*. The Abby of *Reading* in *Berkſhire* particularly, had the Grant of Coinage inſerted in their *Charter*, by their Founder King *Henry* the Firſt. The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Dean of St. *Martins-le-Grand*, had the ſame Privilege *.

Bp. Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 190.

Dugdale. Monaſt. Vol. p. 417. Spelm. Concil. Vol.

*14 H. 8. c 12. 17 Ed. 4. c. 1. *See* Davis's *Reports.* Le Caſe de mixt Moneyes.

The Lord *Herbert* is of Opinion, the King's Title to the *Religious Houſes*, was not founded either upon *Statute*, or Claim of Right: He choſe rather to inſiſt on voluntary Surrender, or Forfeiture: However, the Proceedings, as hath been obſerved, having been ſomewhat ſingular, it was thought proper to get them confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament. To this purpoſe he iſſued out his Writ of Summons: The *Seſſion* began *April* 28, One Thouſand, Five Hundred, and Thirty Nine.

In the mean time, there were very ſerviceable Reports ſpread throughout the Kingdom. It was ſaid Cardinal *Pool* was ſoliciting ſeveral Princes to draw a kind of *Cruiſade* upon King *Henry*. The late Truce between the Emperor and the *French* King, made this News not altogether impoſſible. The Credibility improv'd by the King's diſpatching ſeveral People of Quality to viſit the Ports, and by his own Progreſs ſoon after for that purpoſe. Upon general Alarms and Advices of Danger, Forts were erected, the Fleet equipped, and Muſters taken all over the Kingdom. It is true, the Lord *Herbert* who relates all this, does not point upon the place of any formidable Preparation, or diſcover the Enemy either by Sea or Land. However, the Scene look'd buſy and black upon the People, threw in an Amuſement, and made them drop their Concern at the Suppreſſion of the *Abbeys*. They hop'd the Charge of the War would be ſupported by the *Crown*, and their own Pockets ſpared by ſuch an Expedient. But all this Noiſe of an *Invaſion* was look'd on as no better than Management and Myſtery, by a great many: It was a Strain, they ſaid, of a *Party*, to colour the Practice, and carry on the Deſign. There was a melancholly Account of the Ruine of *Religious Houſes* tranſmitted beyond Sea. The Methods for bringing this Matter about, the raizing ſtately Buildings, laying Churches and Chapels in Rubbiſh, the prophane Scrambling of ſome of the *Viſitors*, and the lamentable Diſappointment of the Country, made a tragical Relation. The reſt of Chriſtendom ſtood at gaze at the *Engliſh* Court, and were ſurpriz'd to Aſtoniſhment. The King's Neceſſities were too faint a Colour to diſcharge the Imputation. The Cenſure went deep, and the Scandal ſpread, notwithſtanding this Allegation.

Id. p. 443.

Reports of War and publick Danger, made the Diſſolution of the Abbeys, leſs regretted.

The Parliament was now ſitting, and the *Bill* paſs'd for regulating the Precedency of the Lords of Parliament: And here we meet with a Recital of the King's being Supreme Head of the Church of *England*: And that for the good Exerciſe of the ſaid moſt Royal Dignity and Office, his Highneſs hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Lord Privy Seal, his Vicegerent for good and due Miniſtration of Juſtice, to be had in all Cauſes and Caſes touching the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and for the godly Reformation and Redreſs of all Hereſies and Abuſes in the ſaid Church (*f*). And in conſequence of this *Delega-*

An Act for regulating Precedency.

(*f*) 31 H. 8. c. 10. *Statutes at large.*

Cranmer Th. Abp. of Cant.

Delegation, the *Act* gives *Cromwell* place of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The next *Act* relating to the Church, conveys all the *Religious Houſes*, *Colleges*, and *Hoſpitals*, diſſolv'd, or to be diſſolv'd hereafter, to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſours for ever. The *Preamble* ſets forth, that ſundry Abbots, Priors, Abbeſſes, and Prioreſſes, *&c.* have given the King their **Mannours, Lands**, &c. **of their own free and voluntary Minds, good Wills, and Aſſent, without Conſtraint, or Compulſion of any manner of Perſon or Perſons**, &c. (g).

(g) 31 H. 8. c. 13.

An Act for Settling all the Abbey Lands upon the Crown.

This *Bill*, we may obſerve, was drawn with great Care to prevent the Suſpicion of hard Uſage, and forc'd *Surrenders*. To make it paſs the better, a Proſpect of vaſt Advantage was opened to the Subject, the *Reader* ſhall have the Detail in Sir *Edward Coke*'s Words.

Sir Edward Coke's *Remark of the Diſappointment of the Kingdom, in what was promis'd by the Court.*

“On the King's behalf, ſaith this learned Gentleman, the Members of both Houſes were informed in Parliament, that no King or Kingdom were ſafe, but where the King had three Abilities. Firſt, To live of his own, and able to defend his Kingdoms upon any ſudden Invaſion or Inſurrection. Secondly, To aid his Confederates, otherwiſe they would never aſſiſt him. Thirdly, To reward his well-deſerving Servants. Now the Project was, if the Parliament would give unto him all the Abbeys, Priories, Frieries, Nunneries, and other Monaſteries, that, for ever, in time then to come, he would take Order, that the ſame ſhould not be converted to private Uſe. But Firſt, That his *Exchequer*, for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, ſhould be enriched. Secondly, The Kingdom be ſtrengthened by the Maintenance of Forty Thouſand well train'd Soldiers, with ſkilful Captains and Commanders. Thirdly, For the Benefit and Eaſe of the Subject, who never afterwards (as was projected) in any time to come, ſhould be charg'd with Subſidies, Fifteenths, Loans, or other common Aids. Fourthly, Leſt the Honour of the Realm ſhould receive any Diminution of Honour, by the Diſſolution of the ſaid Monaſteries, there being twenty nine Lords of Parliament of the Abbots and Priors (that held of the King *per Baroniam*) that the King would create a Number of Nobles. The ſaid Monaſteries were given to the King by the Authority of divers *Acts* of Parliament; (h) but no Proviſion was therein made for the ſaid Project, or any part thereof; only *ad faciendum populum*, theſe Poſſeſſions were given to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to do and uſe therewith his, and their own Wills, *to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, the Honour and Profit of the Realm*.

(h) 27 H. 8. c. 28.
31 H. 8. c. 13.
32 H. 8. c. 14.
32 H. 8. c. 23.
34 H. 8. c. 16.
37 H. 8. c. 34.

“Now obſerve the Cataſtrophe. In the ſame Parliament of 32 *H.* 8. when the great and opulent Priory of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem* was given to the King, he demanded, and had a Subſidy both of the *Laity* and *Clergy*, and the like he had in 34 *H.* 8. and in 37 *H.* 8. he had another Subſidy. And ſince the Diſſolution of the aforeſaid Monaſteries, he exacted great Loans, and againſt Law receiv'd the ſame (i). Thus far Sir *Edward Coke*.

(i) Coke *inſtit. pt.* 4. *fol.* 44.

To bring the Houſes to a farther Diſpoſition for paſſing the *Bill*, the Nobility were promiſed large Shares in the Spoils, as Sir *William Dugdale* phraſeth it (k). They had the Proſpect either of free Gifts, eaſie Purchaſe, or very advantageous Exchanges. The Lay-Gentry were likewiſe promiſed a conſiderable Riſe, both in Honour and Eſtate. Neither were they diſappointed in their Expectation: For no ſmall part of the *Abbey-Lands* were granted to the *Laity*, before the ſitting of this *Parliament* (l). This was done by the Advice of the *Viſitor-General Cromwell*: The parcelling theſe Lands out amongſt a great many Proprietors was the only way, as he told the King, to clinch the Buſineſs, and make the Settlement irrevocable (m). *Fox* makes this Suppreſſion of Abbies, a principal Part of *Cromwell*'s Commendation (n). But by the Favour of this *Martyrologiſt*, *Cromwell*'s adviſing the King to part with the Abbey-Lands, is not altogether cover'd from Exception. For by conveying theſe Lands into a great many Hands, the *Crown* was diſfurniſh'd, and the Promiſe of maintaining a great Army out of theſe Revenues made impracticable: In ſhort, the *Publick* was quite diſappointed by this Expedient, and the Neceſſity of Taxes continued as great as ever. Beſides *Fox* might have conſider'd, that the Monaſtick Life is no part of Popery: For Popery, to take it rightly, means nothing more than the Encroachments and Innovations of the Court of *Rome*. But it is well known, there were Monks both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, before theſe Grievances appear'd. And now, to ſay nothing more, there are Monaſteries in the *Greek* Church, where the *Pope* is diſown'd. However, it muſt be ſaid, *Cromwell*'s Thought was politick enough for his Purpoſe. The pulling down the Buildings, likewiſe of the *Religious Houſes*, was not ill contrived for the new Eſtabliſhment. This was carefully done in moſt Places: To give an Inſtance (o). When the Abbey of *Leiceſter* was ſurrendred, *Cave*, one of the *Commiſſioners*, informs *Cromwell*, that himſelf, and the other Viſitors, had made Sale of the Ornaments of the Church, amounting to Two hundred, Twenty Eight Pounds, beſides the Plate, Lead, Bells, *&c.* From hence he proceeds to deſire this *Vicar-General's* Order for defacing the Church, and other *Superſtitious* Buildings (p).

(k) Dugdale's *Warwickſhire* p. 802.

Hen. VIII. K.

The Nobility have large Promiſes made them of the Grants of Abbey Lands.

(l) Rot. Pat. Ann. 30 H. 8.

(m) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 376.

(n) Fox, *V.* 2. *p.* 513.

Cromwell's *Advice.*

Dugdale, *p.* 803.

(o) Dugdale *Warwick. p.* 803.

The Religious Houſes pull'd down.

(p) Biblioth. Cotton Cleop. E. 4. *fol.* 215.

The Ruin of the Monaſteries giving a new Face to the Kingdom, and appearing ſo very extraordinary, it may not be improper to make a few Remarks upon ſo great an Alteration.

Remarks upon the Diſſolution of the Abbies.

By what hath been related already, it is pretty plain the Lives of the *Religious* were not ſo irregular as ſome Authors repreſent them. But granting this Charge had been true, it would have been no ſufficient Reaſon to have ſeiz'd their Eſtates: If Inſobriety and Miſbehaviour were ſufficient Grounds for Forfeiture; if Ill Living, and not anſwering the Ends of an Eſtate, would juſtifie the Diſpoſſeſſing the Owner; Property would be very precarious, and the *Engliſh Tenures* ſlenderly guarded.

For if we conſider the Matter cloſely, all Chriſtians are bound to ſtrict Living, to Diſcipline, to large Diſtributions of Charity, little leſs than the Monks. They are falſe to the Engagement of *Baptiſm* if they manage otherwiſe. The Monaſtick Inſtitutions were principally deſign'd to revive the Piety of the Ancient Chriſtians, and bring up Practice to the Rule of the Goſpel.

Farther, if Degeneracy and Miſbehaviour were the grand Motive for Diſſolution, why were they not put under a better Management? Why had they not ſome Tryal for Reformation? If unneceſſary Expence, and Omiſſion of Kindneſs to the Poor; if Luxury and Licence are good

Fleury *Manners of the Chriſtians.*

Reaſons to change the Owner, and determine the Eſtate; if this will hold, we ſhould have ſtrange Transferring of *Titles:* At this rate, 'tis to be feared, ſome People would have a very ſlender Claim to their *Abbey-Lands*.

But if Immorality, or Miſpending of Revenue, is no ſufficient Reaſon for defeating of Titles, why did the Monaſteries ſuffer? Why muſt the Church be diſpoſſeſs'd upon this Score? Why were thoſe Monaſteries, which were unexceptionable in their Management, which were charitable to the Poor, and hoſpitable to the Rich; Why were theſe involv'd in the common Fate, and condemn'd to *Diſſolution* with the reſt? By the Evidence of *Records*, there were many more *Righteous* Monaſteries in *England*, than *Righteous* Men in *Sodom*. However, this Over-balance of Merit could not divert the Calamity, nor preſerve them from Ruin. Thus we ſee how much the Mercies of God are greater then thoſe of Men! Juſtice *below* is ſometimes blind upon myſterious Motives, ſtrikes without Diſtinction, and ſweeps away the Innocent with the Guilty!

If the Monks were tied to greater Strictneſs than others, are not the Owners of Abbey-Lands bound to take their Eſtates with the Conditions annex'd? I do not ſay they are bound to the whole Compaſs of their Inſtitution; their *Tonſure*, or their *Habit*, their Cælibacy or Retirement, can't reaſonably be expected. But are they not oblig'd to the more ſignificant Duties, for which theſe *Houſes* were firſt endow'd? Are not theſe ſecular *Grantees* bound to the moſt ſubſtanſtantial part of the Founder's *Will?* Are they not under the Tie of being more frequent in their Devotions, more guarding in their Conduct, more remarkable in their Charity than other People? That the *Parliament* in *Henry* the VIII's. Time was ſome what of this Opinion, is plain: Why elſe did they oblige the *Proprietors* of *Abbey Lands* to extraordinary Degrees of Hoſpitality? (q) If ſtrict Living, ſober Hoſpitality, and Serviceableneſs to the Poor, are accounted Incumbrances, the Abbey Lands ſeem chargeable with them. For tho' Princes *Charters*, and *Acts* of Parliament, may convey a legal Title; yet, that they can deſtroy the force of Conſecrations, diſpenſe with the Meaning of the *Founders*, and defeat the Deſign of the original Grant, is farther than I can diſcover. *Acts* of Parliament have, without Queſtion, Authority to over-rule Claims, and extinguiſh Titles, and govern the Courts of of Juſtice. But are not ſome things above the reach of the *Legiſlature?* Can a *Statute* unconſecrate a Church, *enact* Sunday no Holy-day, or Sacrilege no Sin? Is not God Almighty capable of Property? If we muſt anſwer in the Affirmative; how can an Eſtate dedicated to his Service, and veſted in him, be taken away without his Conſent? Which way can the Intention of the Donor, and the main Deſign of the Conveyance, be overlooked and defeated? Regularity and Largeneſs of Mind, therefore, are the leaſt that can be expected from the *Abbey Proprietors*. Theſe, it may be, are the loweſt Requiſites to make ſuch Alienations inoffenſive to them.

And therefore, when thoſe who enjoy theſe *Religious* Eſtates, rack their Tenants, or overlook the Poor: When they exhauſt themſelves in Figure or Licentiouſneſs: When any thing of this happens, the Intention of the pious Settlement is lamentably diſappointed: The Miſapplication is doubly criminal: And without Reformation, it is much to be fear'd, the Curſe of the *Founders* will light upon them. To be better enabled to ridicule Virtue, to browbeat Religion, or ſet a faſhion in Vice, is wide of the Deſign of a *Religious* Fondation. Thoſe therefore, who are poſſeſs'd of theſe Lands, ſhould be particularly careful in theſe Matters.

It 'tis ſaid, the *Monaſteries*, *Colleges*, &c. were of a Royal Foundation; and therefore the taking them away, was only a Reſumption of Grants from the *Crown*. To this it will be anſwer'd, The Aſſertion is wide of matter of Fact; and that many of the *Abbeys* &c. were founded by Biſhops and Temporal Lords, and ſome by Subjects of leſſer Quality.

Beſides, all the Eſtates in the Kingdom were Grants from the *Crown*, as appears from the *Tenures:* And yet it would have been look'd upon as an abitrary Attempt, to have taken them away. For a Gift is a Tranſlation of Right, extinguiſhes the Title of the Donor, and veſts the Property in another.

But this Alienation of *Abbey Lands* was made by *Act* of Parliament: That is true; and therefore it was a legal Ouſting. But then 'twill be asked, if a great part of the Temporal Lords and others of the rich Laity, had been thrown out of their Eſtates by a *Statute*, if this had happen'd, the Queſtion is, Whether ſuch Proceedings would not have been thought an Inſtance of Rigour, and a myſterious Exerciſe of Authority? Had they been thus impoveriſh'd without Treaſon or Felony to deſerve it, it may be, the Legality of the Form, and the Pleaſure of the *Legiſlators*, would hardly have reconciled them to ſuch Uſage. They could not have argued againſt the Force of the Law, but the Friendſhip of thoſe that made it would not have been ſo clear.

Farther, The Endowments of the Church, were ſettled upon important Conſiderations: For the Honour of God; for the Advancement of Learning; for the Intereſt of Eternity: And therefore, in *Acts* of Reſumption, the Church hath been particularly excepted (r).

Laſtly, The Rights and Liberties of the Church had been confirm'd in thirty Parliaments: This made ſome People think it ſtrange, that King *Henry* the VIII's. Parliaments ſhould be of ſo very different a Sentiment from thoſe in former Reigns. It hath been obſerv'd, theſe Methods of Proceeding were no ſtrong Recommendation of what was well done in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*. Had the *Engliſh Laity* not enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of the Church, the *Reformation* would have had a clearer Complexion, and been better underſtood by the reſt of *Chriſtendom:* But when *Proteſtancy* had ſuch a Face of Intereſt: When Men got Mannors and Townſhips by renouncing the *Pope:* When People of ſlender Pretenſions made Eſtates out of their Orthodoxy, and ſhot up into Title and Figure: When the Church was ſtripp'd of her Revenues, and maim'd in her Juriſdiction: When Changes in Religion were carried on by Revolt and Civil Commotion, as it happen'd in *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Low-Countries:* When they ſaw Diſcipline laid aſleep, Learning decay, and Liberty encreaſe; theſe were diſcouraging Circumſtances. This made the moderate *Papiſts* ſtand off from the *Preſident:* They choſe rather to ſubmit to the Encroachments, and bear with the *Innovations* of the *Court of Rome*, than adventure the Enfranchizing themſelves. And tho' I do not commend them for their Caution, yet I believe the Motives to their Acquieſcence are not ill gueſs'd: And thus the exceſſive Claims of the *Court of Rome*, the indefenſible Doctrines

---

(q) 27 H 8. c. 28.

(r) Rot. Parl. E. 4. & lib. *See the Book concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Clergy, &c. Tranſcribed from the Parliament Rolls by Archbiſhop* Laud, *and remaining in the Library at* Lambeth.

and Practice of that *Communion*, which probably might have been clear'd in moſt Places of the *Latin Church*, are by ſuch Methods as theſe, it may be more fix'd and eſtabliſh'd then ever.

'Twas ſomewhat unhappy, the *Laity* ſeem'd to ſtand ſo much to the Point of Intereſt, made a *Gain of their Godlineſs*, and built ſo many Fortunes out of the Ruins of the Church. This, how well ſoever it might be meant, carried an Appearance of Deſign, and gave a diſcouraging Proſpect to other Countries. Whereas, had they planted their Zeal againſt the Superſtition in the *Monaſteries*, and let the Revenues alone: Had the Ruſt been rubb'd off, and the *Metal* left behind: Had theſe *Religious* been brought back to the Primitive Standard: Had they been mended in their Manners and Belief, without forfeiting their Eſtates; the Conduct of the whole Buſineſs would have been more intelligible. Nay, had the number been retrench'd, and the Revenues tranſlated to publick and pious Uſes: Had there been more Biſhopricks erected, and better endow'd: Had the Abbeys diſſolv'd been turn'd into Publick Schools, and Seminaries of Learning, into Hoſpitals and *Invalides*; into Proviſions, for diſabled Souldiers and Seamen; for the Poor worn up with Labour and Age; for Orphans and Widows; for Gentlemen and Tradeſmen unfortunate without their own Fault: Had half the *Monaſteries* been thus diſpos'd of, the loſs of them would not have been regretted; the *Community* would have found their Account in it, and the Purity of the Intention been more viſible.

I do not deny, but that there might be Sincerity at the bottom; and that the *Courtiers* might be govern'd by good Meaning, and Publick Regards. All that I ſay is, the Diſintereſtedneſs of the Matter doth not lie ſo open to common View: But then we are to conſider, that the inſide of things are ſometimes moſt valuable. Some Peoples Actions, like rich Mines, are leſs promiſing upon the Surface: And when it happens thus, every Body hath not force enough to dig down to the *Treaſure*, and reach the Honeſty of their Neighbour.

However, it muſt be confeſs'd, there were ſeveral ſhocking Circumſtances in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. and his Childrens. For to ſee Churches pull'd down, or rifled; the Plate ſwept off the *Altar*, and the holy Furniture converted to common Uſe, had no great Air of Devotion. To ſee the *Choir* undreſs'd, to make the Drawing Room, and Bed-Chamber fine, was not very Primitive at firſt View. The forc'd Surrender of Abbeys, the maiming of Biſhopricks, and lopping the beſt Branches of their Revenues; the ſtopping impropriated Tithes from paſſing in the ancient Channel; theſe things are apt to puzzle a vulgar Capacity: Unleſs a Man's Underſtanding is more then ordinarily improv'd, he'll be at a loſs to reconcile theſe Meaſures with Chriſtian Maxims, and make them fall in with Conſcience and Reformation!

The Abbeys granted to the Crown, with their Privilege of being diſcharg'd from the Payment of Tythes.

To proceed, By the *Act* of *Diſſolution* abovemention'd, where the *Abbeys* were diſcharg'd of the Payment of Tythes, the King, and all the Grantees or Purchaſers of the *Crown*, are likewiſe to enjoy thoſe Lands without Paying Tythes. The impropriated Parſonages are alſo convey'd to the King, his Grantees, and Purchaſers, by this *Act*. By the drawing of the Bill, it appears, the King deſign'd to alienate the Abbey-Lands from the *Crown*; and that the *Courtiers* and others, had a clear Proſpect of enriching themſelves by the *Diſſolution*. The penning the Statute in this manner, I ſuppoſe, made Sir *Edward Coke* take the Freedom to ſay, that the furniſhing the *Exchequer*, the maintaining a great Army upon the King's Revenue, and diſcharging the Subjects forever from the burthen of *Taxes*, were only ſpecious Pretences thrown out, *ad faciendum Populum*.

The transferring the Privilege of not paying Tythes from the Convents to the *Lay Proprietors*, and not returning the Impropriations to the Pariſhes on which they were firſt ſettled, was no ſmall Hardſhip on the Church. The diſmembring the Tythes and Glebes from the Parochial Prieſts, and annexing them to *Monaſteries*, was a modern Encroachment, defeated the original Settlement, and was no better then downright *Popery*; for it was the Popes who made theſe *Appropriations*, and broke in upon the ancient Practice. However, the religious Character of the Monks, and their having ſeveral Prieſts to ſupply the *Cure*, gave ſome Pretence for theſe Alienations: But the *Laity* have no Character for a Plea of this Nature; they are in no Condition to perform the Sacerdotal Office, nor diſcharge any of thoſe Duties for which the Church was endow'd. What a lamentable Maintenance is reſerv'd for the Vicars in many Places, is too well known: The Queſtion is, whether thoſe of the *Laity*, who detain the impropriated Tythes, and ſtarve the *Benefice*, are not to anſwer for the conſequent Miſchief; that is, for the Defects which are like to happen in the Qualifications of the Pariſh-Prieſt; for the Inſignificancy of his Intereſt and Character; for the Diſadvantages in Conduct, Diſcipline, and Learning; for the Ignorance and Immorality of the People under his Cure? The Expoſtulation in *Malachi* is very remarkable: And how far the Application will hold, ought ſeriouſly to be conſider'd (s). *Will a Man rob God? Yet ye have robb'd me: But ye ſay, wherein have ye robb'd me? In Tythes and Offerings. Ye are curs'd with a Curſe: For ye have robb'd me, even this whole Nation. Bring all the Tythes into the Storehouſe, that there may be meat in my Houſe*, &c. Farther,

The Pope's granting Appropriations, a great Miſfortune to the Church.

All Abbey-Lands are, by this *Statute*, put within the Survey of the *Court* of *Augmentations*, excepting ſuch as come to the *Crown* by Attainder.

Laſtly, All the *Abbeys*, &c. which before the *Diſſolution* were exempted from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, are by this *Act* return'd to the Inſpection and Government of the *Ordinary*. This, as is very worthily obſerv'd, (t) had been a great Happineſs to the Church, had not it been for this Clauſe: *That the King might appoint others to viſit them*: Thus the Benefit was partly loſt, and the old Miſfortune return'd in a great Meaſure: For as the *learned Hiſtorian* continues, many of the Purchaſers of theſe Lands, had the Privilege of viſiting the Churches and Chapels formerly exemted, thrown into the *Conveyance*, from whence great Diſorders have follow'd. For thus the Biſhops are barr'd the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction over theſe Churches: And thus both Prieſt and People, have oftentimes made an ill Uſe of their *Legal* Diſcharge: For not being liable to the Diſcipline of their Dioceſan, they are apt to ſtrike out into Licence and Diſorder. Thus thoſe who were diſaffected to the Hierarchy, ſometimes cenſure the Prelates for overlooking thoſe Inſtances of Scandal, which they cannot puniſh without running againſt the *Statute*. This Abuſe, which began upon *Papal Exemptions*, continues ſtill unprovided with an effectual Remedy.

Exempted Abbeys return'd to the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary, but not without a Clauſe of Exception.

(s) Mal. 3. v. 8, 9, 10.

(t) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 261.

Had it not been for this *Statute*, the *Surrenders* might very well have been queſtioned: For the Abbots and Convents were but Truſtees and Tenants for Life: What Right cou'd they then have to convey away all their Lands, and diſſolve their Corporation? Beſides, ſome of them are ſaid to be uſed with *Dureſs*, and frighted into Compliance (*t*). The Abbey of *Wooburn* ſeems to have fallen under this Diſadvantage, as appears by their *Submiſſion* to the King. In this Inſtrument they mention a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes, from which they endeavour to purge themſelves. However, rather than conteſt any farther with the King, they ſubmit to a *Surrender*, having before acknowledg'd his *Supremacy*. In the Cloſe of their Submiſſion, they come towards a Petition they may be continued, and their Abbey re-granted to them (*u*).

The Abbots of Reading, Colcheſter, *and* Glaſſenbury, *executed for Incompliance.*

The learned Biſhop *Godwin* obſerves, there were but three Abbots who had Courage enough to maintain their Conſcience, and run the laſt Extremity: Theſe were the Abbot of *Colcheſter*, *Hugh Farringdon* of *Reading*, and *Richard Whiting* of *Glaſſenbury*. It ſeems neither Bribery nor Terror, nor any other diſhonourable Motives, could prevail upon theſe Men. To reach them therefore another way, the Oath of *Supremacy* was offer'd them, and upon their Refuſal, they were condemn'd for High-Treaſon. Thus *Beach* Abbot of *Colcheſter* was executed at that Town, and *Faringdon* at *Reading*, with two Prieſts, *Rug* and *Oinion*: *Whiting* of *Glaſſenbury*, an old Man, was try'd at *Wells*, diſmiſs'd the Court, and ſuffer'd to go at large: And thus being upon his Return to his Monaſtery, and not ſuſpecting any farther Misfortune, he is ſaid to be ſeiz'd, dragg'd to a Hill call'd *Tor*, near *Glaſſenbury*, and hurried out of the World, without being allow'd the Liberty of taking leave of his Convent, which he earneſtly deſired. Two Monks, *Roger Jacob*, and *John Thorn*, were executed with him: They were charg'd with giving him ill Advice, and bringing him to ſuch an obſtinate Inflexibleneſs (*w*).

Saunders makes a more tragical Relation of this Matter, that *Whiting* was ſent for up to *London*, that upon declining to ſign a Surrender, his Papers were ſearch'd, and a *Tract* againſt the King's *Divorce* found amongſt them; that when he came to *Wells*, he was ſo far from the Apprehenſion of a Trial, that he went voluntarily into the Court, and offer'd to take his Place upon the Bench (*y*.) But *Saunders* being an Hiſtorian of ſlender Credit, I ſhall go on with him no farther. Theſe three Abbots were not executed till *December* this Year; but I have mention'd them now for the Reſemblance of the Matter.

The Suppreſſion of the Abbeys cenſured.

To proceed, This Suppreſſion of *Abbeys*, was generally diſliked. Beſides, the manner of diſpoſing the Eſtates, was not clear in Point of Equity to every Body. Some People were of Opinion, the Lands belonging to religious Houſes, ſhould have *reverted* to the *Founders*, or fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were held, by way of *Eſcheat*. But this laſt Title cou'd have no Pretenſion, becauſe the Anceſtors of theſe ſuperior Lords, had confirm'd the Endowments of the Abbeys: But the Heirs of the Founders, 'tis thought, might have recover'd the Lands notwithſtanding the *Surrenders*, had their Claim not been barr'd by *Act* of Parliament (*x*). The King was diſpleas'd with *Cranmer*, and the other Biſhops of his Party, for not falling altogether into his Meaſures. Theſe Prelates could not be brought to a thorough Complaiſance in Parliament. They were willing the Abbeys of Royal Foundations ſhould return to the *Crown*: But for the reſt, they inſiſted upon their being turn'd into Hoſpitals, Schools, and ſuch other Eſtabliſhments of publick Service. 'Twas thought the King's Reſentment of this Incompliance brought him to the *Thought* of the *Six Articles*, of which more afterwards (*z*).

Pretended Preſidents for Diſſolution.

To make this general *Diſſolution* leſs ſurprizing, there were ſome Preſidents which ſmoothed the Way, and look'd towards the preſent Buſineſs. Of this kind, were the Pope's ſuppreſſing the *Order* of the *Templars*, the Diſſolution of the Priors *Aliens* in the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth (*a*). To which we may add, the *Religious Houſes* lately ſuppreſs'd by Cardinal *Wolſey*. Though none of theſe Inſtances came fully up to the point; for great part of the *Templars* Eſtates in *England*, were ſettled on the *Knights Hoſpitalers*. The Prior *Aliens* Lands were diſpoſed of, as *Selden* informs us, to Eccleſiaſtical Corporations *, and thoſe diſſolved by Cardinal *Wolſey*, converted to a reſembling Uſe: As to the Priories *Alien*, none of them were diſſolved by *Henry* the Fifth's Parliament, excepting thoſe *Cells* which were not Conventual, but depended on *foreign Monaſteries*. Theſe Monks having their main Intereſt in another Country, beſides the Suſpicion of a dangerous Correſpondence, convey'd a great part of the Profit of their *Houſes* to their Convents beyond Sea, and for this reaſon were reckoned a kind of Nuiſance to the Commonwealth.

Before I take leave of this part of the Hiſtory, it may be expected I ſhould give ſome Account of the *Mitred* Abbies, of the Revenues, of the Serviceableneſs of theſe *Religious Houſes* to the State, and of ſome Inconveniencies conſequent upon the *Diſſolution*.

And firſt of the Mitred Abbots: Theſe ſate all in the Houſe of Lords, and voted there. They held of the King *in capite per Baroniam*. Their Endowment being at leaſt an entire Barony, which conſiſted of thirteen *Knights Fees*. Thus they were advanced to the State and Honour of Spiritual Lords, as appears by the Abbot of *Taviſtock*'s Patent who was made a Mitred Abbot in the Beginning of this Reign (*b*).

Mitred Abbots

The Number of the Mitred Abbots, are reckoned twenty ſeven by *Fuller*, twenty eight by the Lord *Herbert*, and twenty nine by Sir *Edward Coke* (*c*). The Lord *Herbet*'s Liſt is as follows; St. *Albans*, St. *Peter*'s *Weſtminſter*, St. *Edmondsbury*, St. *Bennet*'s of *Holm*, *Berdſey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Eveſham*, *Glouceſter*, *Ramſey*, St. *Mary*'s in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Wincheſter*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Malmesbury*, *Thorney*, St. *Auguſtine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, St. *John*'s in *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Taveſtock*; St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem* and *Glaſſenbury* are omitted. The Valuation extracted from *Speed*, may be ſeen in the *Records* (*d*).

Beſides theſe, there were four Nunneries, *Shaftsberry*, *Barkin* in *Eſſex*, St. *Mary*'s *Wincheſter*, and *Wilton*, which held of the King by an entire Barony, but the Abbeſſes were not ſummon'd to Parliament upon the Score of their Sex. However, they had Writs directed to them, *ad habendum ſervitium ſuum*, that is to ſend their Quota of Soldiers into the Field, in proportion to their Knights *Fees* (*e*).

(*t*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 238.

(*u*) Cotton. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. *fol.* 89.

(*w*) Godwin. Annal. Ann. 1539.

(*y*) Saunders de Schiſm. Angl. p. 199.

(*x*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *fol.* 261.

(*z*) Stripe. Cranmer's *Life from* Foxe's *MSS.* *p.* 72.

(*a*) 4 H. 5. Rot. Parl. Raſtal. Tit. *Monaſteries.*

* Selden's *Hiſt. of* Tythes, c. 13. p. 396.

(*b*) *See Records, Numb.* 43.

(*c*) Coke 4. Inſtit. fol. 44.

(*d*) *Records, Numb.* 44.

(*e*) Rot. Pat. 5. E. 1. Dorſ. in 11. Rot. Scutag. ejus Ann. M. 7. Fuller, p. 294.

There were other Abbies, though of leſſer Quality, yet of wealthier Endowments than ſeveral of the Parliamentary Abbots. I ſhall mention Six.

The old Valuation of their Abbeys.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*ob.*	*q.*
1. *Fountaines*, *Richmondſhire*,	1173	00	7	1	0
2. *Lewes*, *Suſſex*,	1691	09	6	0	1
3. St. *Werburgh*'s *Cheſhire*	1073	17	7	1	0
4. *Leiceſter*,	1062	00	4	1	1
5. *Merton*, *Surrey*,	1039	05	3	0	0
6. *Furnace*, *Richmondſhire*,	969	7	1	0	0

To theſe we may add the Nunnery of *Shaftsbury*, valued at 1329 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* *Barking* in *Eſſex*, and *Sion* in *Middleſex*, fell not much ſhort of the Revenues of *Shaftsbury*, the Rents of either of them amounting to more than 1000 *l.* *per Annum*. The Abbies ſuppreſſed in *England* and *Wales*, were Six Hundred Forty Five, as *Cambden* reports: But the Liſt of them taken out of the *Court* of *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, mounts the Number to Seven Hundred Fifty Four. And therefore it is likely the Hundred and Ten *Hoſpitals* diſſolved, were thrown into the Catalogue. The yearly Revenue is computed at a Hundred Thirty Five Thouſand, Five Hundred Twenty Two Pounds, Eighteen Shillings and Ten Pence (*f*). Beſides this, the Money raiſ'd out of the Stock of Cattle and Corn, out of the Timber, Lead and Bells, out of the Furniture, Plate, and Church Ornaments, amounted to a vaſt Sum, as may be collected from what was brought off from the Monaſtery of St. *Edmundsbury*. From hence, as appears from Records, Five Thouſand Marks of Gold and Silver, beſides ſeveral Jewels of great Value, were ſeis'd by the *Viſitors*. All which, ſaith the Lord *Herbert*, *being by ſome openly called Rapine and Sacrilege, I will no way excuſe* (*g*). And here this noble Hiſtorian can't help lamenting the Ruine of ſo many pious Foundations: Eſtabliſhments which afforded ſo handſome a Proviſion to Perſons of a contemplative, devout, and retired Temper. As to the Revenues of the Abbies, they were ſometimes undervalued by the *Viſitors*, in hopes it may be of an eaſier *Grant* or Purchaſe (*h*): And therefore in all likelihood, upon Rack-Rents, and modern Computation, the Lands would riſe to near twenty times as much.

Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.*

Cambd. Brit.

(*b*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. fol. 381.

The Ld. Herbert's *Reflection upon their Diſſolution.*

(*g*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 444.

(*b*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 6. *p.*295

The Advantages accruing to the *Publick* from theſe *religious Houſes*, were conſiderable, upon ſeveral Accounts. To mention ſome of them: The Temporal Nobility and Gentry had a creditable Way of providing for their younger Children. Thoſe who were diſpoſed to withdraw from the World, or not likely to make their Fortunes in it, had a handſome Retreat to the Cloyſter. Here they were furniſh'd with Conveniences for Life and Study, with Opportunities for Thought and Recollection, and over and above paſs'd their Time in a Condition not unbecoming their Quality. The Charge of the Family being thus leſſen'd, there was no Temptation for racking of Tenants; no occaſion for breaking the Bulk of the Eſtate to provide for the younger Children. Thus Figure and good Houſe-keeping was maintain'd with greater Eaſe, the Entireneſs of the Eſtate, and by conſequence, the laſting of the Family better ſecur'd. 'Tis true, there were ſometimes ſmall Sums given to the Monaſteries for admitting Perſons to be *profeſs'd*; but generally ſpeaking, they received them *gratis*. This they thought moſt adviſable, to cultivate an Intereſt with Perſons of Condition. By this means, they engag'd great Families to appear for them, upon Occaſion, both at Court and in Parliament.

The Abbeys ſerviceable to the Publick, upon ſeveral Accounts.

The Abbies were very ſerviceable Places for the Education of young People: Every *Convent* had one Perſon or more aſſign'd for this Buſineſs. Thus the Children of the Neighbourhood were taught Grammar and Muſick without any Charge to their Parents. And in the *Nunneries*, thoſe of the other Sex learned to work, and read *Engliſh*, with ſome Advances into *Latin*, and particularly the Nunnery at *Godſtow* in *Oxfordſhire*, was famous upon this Account, and for breeding young Gentlewomen and others to Improvements proper to their Condition.

Farther, it is to the Abbies we are oblig'd, for moſt of our Hiſtorians both of Church and State: Theſe Places of Retirement had both moſt Learning and Leiſure for ſuch Undertakings: Neither did they want Information for ſuch Employment. For not to mention ſeveral Epiſcopal Sees were founded for the *Cloyſter*, the Mitred Abbots, as we have ſeen ſate in Parliament, and not a few of the *Religious* had a Share in the *Convocation*. It is not deny'd, but that they were ſome of the beſt Landlords. Their reſerv'd Rents were low, and their *Fines* eaſy: And ſometimes the Product of the Farms, without paying Money, diſcharged the Tenants in a great meaſure. They were particularly remarkable for their Hoſpitality. The Monaſteries were, as it were, Houſes of publick Entertainment for the Gentry that travell'd: And as for their Diſtributions of Charity, it may be gueſs'd from one Inſtance. While the *Religious Houſes* were ſtanding, there were no Proviſions of Parliament to relieve the Poor: No Aſſeſsment upon the Pariſh for that purpoſe. But now this Charge upon the Kingdom amounts, at a modeſt Computation, to Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Hiſtories moſtly written by the Monks.

Beſides this Rent-Charge, as it were, drawn upon the whole Nation by the *Diſſolution*, the ancient Nobility ſuffer'd conſiderably. For the Seiſure and Surrender of the *Abbeys*, being confirm'd to the *Crown* by *Act* of Parliament, the *Services* reſerv'd by the Founders were extinguiſh'd of Courſe. To mention ſome of them, the Abbeys that held by Knight's *Service*, were bound to provide ſuch a Number of Soldiers as their Eſtates requir'd, and to furniſh them for the *Field* at their own Charges: Thus their Men were to appear at the *Muſters*, and attend the Heirs of their Founders, or ſuch Benefactors who had ſettled a Knights *Fee* upon them.

The Founders of Abbeys ſuffered by Diſſolution.

Secondly, Where they held by *Knight-Service*, they were bound to contribute towards a Fortune for marrying their Lord's eldeſt Daughter. And thirdly, To pay a Sum of Money to defray the Expence of Knighthood, when that Diſtinction was conferr'd upon the Founder's eldeſt Son.

Laſtly, The Founders had the Benefit of *Corrodies*: That is, they had the Privilege of quartering a certain Number of poor Servants upon the *Abbeys*. Thus People that were worn up with Age and Labour, and in no Condition to ſupport themſelves, were not thrown up to ſtarving, or *Pariſh Collections*, but had a comfortable Retreat to the Abbeys, where they were maintain'd without Hardſhip or Marks of Indigence, during Life. It is granted, where theſe *Corrodies* were alter'd into Payment, and diſcharg'd for an annual Sum of Money, there the Intereſt continued, after the *Diſſolution*, and the Money was paid by the *Exchequer*. But the

Corrodies continued *in kind*, fell with the *Abbeys*. For in the Clauſe for ſaving the **Rights, Titles, and Intereſt of the Founders and Patrons of Abbeys, their Heirs and Succeſſors, Rents, Services, Rent Secke, and all other Services and Suits are only** excepted (*h*).

(*b*) 31 H. 8. c. 13.

The ſcandalous Deſtruction of Abbey Libraries.

Another Misfortune conſequent upon the Suppreſſion of the *Abbeys*, was an ignorant Deſtruction of a great many valuable Books; moſt of the learned Records of that Age were lodged in the Monaſteries. Printing was then but a late Invention, and had ſecur'd but a few Books in compariſon of the reſt. The Main of Learning lay in *Manuſcripts*, and the moſt conſiderable of theſe, both for Number and Quality, were in the Monks Poſſeſſion. But the Abbeys, at their Diſſolution, falling oftentimes into Hands who underſtood no farther than the *Eſtates*, the Libraries were miſerably diſpos'd of. The Books, inſtead of being remov'd to royal Libraries, to thoſe of Cathedrals, or the Univerſities, were frequently thrown in to the *Grantees*, as things of ſlender Conſideration. Now theſe Men oftentimes prov'd a very ill Protection for Learning and Antiquity. Their Avarice was ſometimes ſo mean, and their Ignorance ſo undiſtinguiſhing, that when the Covers were ſomewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pull'd them off, threw away the Books, or turned them to Waſte-paper.* Thus many noble Manuſcripts were deſtroy'd, to a publick Scandal, and an irreparable Loſs of Learning.

John Bale the *Centuriſt*, a Man remarkably averſe to Popery, and the Monaſtick Inſtitution, remonſtrates againſt this Barbarity, in pretty ſtrong Language, to King *Edward* the Sixth (*i*). The Reader ſhall have it in his own Words.

(*i*) Bales's *Declaration upon* Leland's *Journal*, An. 1549. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 6. *p.*335.

> *Covetouſneſs was at that time ſo buſie about private Commodity, that publick Wealth in that moſt neceſſary, and of reſpect, was not any where regarded. A Number of them which purchas'd thoſe ſuperſtitious Manſions, reſerved of thoſe Library Books, ſome to ſerve their Jakes, ſome to ſcoure their Candleſticks, and ſome to rub their Boots, and ſome they ſold to the* Grocers *and* Soap ſellers, *and ſome they ſent over Sea to the* Book-binders, *not in ſmall Numbers, but at times, whole Ships full. Yea, the Univerſities of this Realm are not all clear in this deteſtable Fact: But curſed is the Belly which ſeeketh to be fed with ſo ungodly Gains, and ſo deeply ſhameth his natural Country. I know a Merchant Man (which ſhall at this time be nameleſs) that bought the Contents of two noble Libraries for Forty Shillings Price; a Shame it is to be ſpoken. This Stuff hath he occupied inſtead of gray Paper, by the Space of more than theſe ten Years, and yet he hath Store enough for as many Years to come. A prodigious Example is this, and to be abhorred of all Men which love their Nation as they ſhould do. Yea, What may bring our Realm to more Shame and Rebuke, than to have it noiſed abroad, that we are Deſpiſers of Learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with Heavineſs, that neither the* Britains, *under the* Romans *and* Saxons, *nor yet the* Engliſh *People under the* Danes *and* Normans, *had ever ſuch Damage of their learned Monuments, as we have ſeen in our Time. Our Poſterity may well curſe this wicked Fact of our Age, this unreaſonable Spoil of* England'*s moſt noble Antiquities.*

Fuller breaks out into a paſſionate Declamation upon this Occaſion, complains that all Arts and Sciences fell under this common Calamity. How many admirable Manuſcripts of the *Fathers*, Schoolmen, and Commentators were deſtroyed by this means? What Number of Hiſtorians of all Ages and Countries? The Holy *Scriptures* themſelves, as much as theſe *Goſpellers* pretended to regard them, underwent the Fate of the reſt. If a Book had a Croſs on't, it was condemn'd for Popery, and thoſe with Lines and Circles were interpreted the Black Art, and deſtroy'd for *Conjuring*. And thus, as *Fuller* goes on, *Divinity* was prophaned, Mathematicks ſuffer'd for Correſpondence with evil Spirits, Phyſick was maim'd, and a *Riot* committed on the *Law* it ſelf.

The King was very bountiful, not to ſay profuſe, in parting with theſe Abbey Lands, of which *Fuller* gives ſeveral Inſtances. To mention one or two: He tells us, he made a Grant to a Gentlewoman of a *Religious Houſe*, for preſenting him with a Diſh of Puddings which happen'd to oblige his Palate. This Hiſtorian adds, he play'd away many a Thouſand a Year belonging to the Monaſteries: And particularly, that *Jeſus* Bells hanging in a Steeple not far from St. *Paul*'s, *London*, very remarkable both for their Size and Muſick, were loſt at one Throw to Sir *Miles Partridge* (*k*). And thoſe Monaſteries which paſs'd from the *Crown* by *Sale* or *Exchange*, were granted upon very unequal and ſlender Conſiderations: But of this more hereafter.

(*k*) Stow's *Survey of* London *in* Faringdon *Ward within*, &c. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 6. *p.*336, 337. Ibid. *p.* 341.

And that the *Reader* may make a fuller Judgment of theſe and other reſembling Proceedings, I ſhall ſubjoin this King's Coronation Oath. It is as follows.

The King's Coronation from a Copy taken by Selden *from the* Cotton *Library, and interlined with the King's Hand.*

> "The King ſhall ſwear, that he ſhall keep
> "and maintain the lawful Right, and the Liberties of Old Time granted by the righteous Chriſtian Kings of *England*, to the holy Church of *England*, not prejudicial to his Juriſdiction and Dignity Royal: And that he ſhall keep all the Lands, Honours, and Dignities and Freedoms of the Crown of *England*, in all manner whole, without any manner of Miniſhment, and the Rights of the Crown hurt, decay'd, or loſt, to his Power ſhall call again into the ancient Eſtate: And that he ſhall endeavour himſelf to keep Unity in his Clergy and temporal Subjects, he ſhall according to his Conſcience, in all his Judgments, miniſter Equity, and Right, and Juſtice, and ſhewing, where is to be ſhew'd, Mercy: And that he ſhall grant to hold the Laws and approved Cuſtoms of the Realm, lawful, and not prejudicial to his Crown or Imperial Juriſdiction, and to his Power keep them, and affirm them which the Nobles and People have made and choſen with his Conſent; and the evil Laws and Cuſtoms wholly to put out, and ſtedfaſt and ſtable Peace to the People of his Realm keep, and cauſe to be kept, to his Power, in that which Honour and Equity doth require.

Penſions allowed the Religious, but with ſome Exceptions.

To return: As to the *Religious* diſlodg'd, and thrown out of their Eſtates by the *Diſſolution*, the King didnot ſend them altogether unprovided into the World. They had *Penſions* during Life allow'd for their Maintenance. Theſe *Penſions* were ſecured to them by *Patents* under the *Broad Seal*, and regiſtered in the Court of *Augmentations*. This Clauſe of *tempore diſſolutionis illius, & diu antea*, was inſerted in the *Patent*. And thus a great many young People, who were lately *profeſſed*, were left to ſhift for themſelves, and excluded the Benefit of this Proviſion. Thoſe likewiſe who were preferr'd to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Benefice, at the Diſſolution of their *Houſe*, had no *Penſion*: Which Maintenance was likewiſe to determine with thoſe that had it, upon their Promotion to any Church Preferment of equal Value. This, as *Fuller* obſerves, was a Temptation to the King and *Chancellour*, to prefer Monks of mean Qualifications, to good *Livings*: For by ſuch a Proviſion, the *Exchequer* was diſcharg'd of taking any farther Care of them. The *Patents* for theſe *Penſions* were all drawn in the ſame Form, as to Subſtance; I ſhall tranſcribe one of them for the *Reader* (l).

(l) *See Records, Num.* 45.

Beſides theſe *Penſions*, which were well paid, the Monks had ſome Advance Money to equip them for the *World*, and ſupply their Neceſſities, till their *Penſions* became due. This *Bounty Money* generally held the Proportion of a fourth Part to their *Annuity*. The *Nuns* Maintenance ſeldom roſe to more than four Pounds *per Annum Penſion*, and forty Shillings in hand, when they quitted the *Cloyſter* (m). What Share of the Abbey Lands was ſettled on the Endowments of Biſhops *Sees* newly erected, and other publick Benefactions, ſhall be related afterwards *.

(m) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book 6. p. 343. 346,

About this Time Archbiſhop *Cranmer* addreſs'd the King for a farther Reformation.

He intreats the King would graciouſly pleaſe to conſider the following Conſiderations.

“ Firſt, That no important Buſineſs, eſpecially Matters of Religion, ought to be concluded without mature Deliberation *.

* Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. *fol.* 50.

“ Secondly, How ill both Provincial, and even General Councils have ſucceeded, when Men have attempted to decree any thing as of Divine Authority, without a clear Warrant from the *Holy Scriptures*, or from Conſequences evidently inferr'd from thence.

“ Thirdly, That all Chriſtendom is now furniſh'd with learned Men, who are competent Judges in this Controverſy, and able to pronounce what Doctrines are agreeable to *Scripture*, and what not.

“ Fourthly, To what Pitch of Boldneſs Men are now arriv'd? What intemperate Freedoms they take in writing againſt great Princes? With what Diſreſpect they treat a Sovereign Character? How they argue upon the Level? and mind only the Cauſe, without taking notice of the Quality of the Perſon †.

† *This Reflection ſeems levell'd againſt* Luther.

“ Fifthly, That both Men of the *New Learning*, as they are called, and thoſe who adhere to the *Papacy*, agree that Prieſts are not forbid to marry by the Word of God: This both Parties allow, tho' they are well aware many Expoſitors of *Scripture* have written otherwiſe.

“ Sixthly, That 'tis not poſſible all learned Men ſhould be of one Mind, as long as the *Cockle* and the *Wheat*, the Godly and the Ungodly are mix'd together.

“ Seventhly, That variety of Opinions have ſometimes occaſion'd uſeful Diſcoveries, and Truth hath been ſtruck out of Claſhing and Oppoſition. Thus for the Purpoſe, the uſurp'd Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* has been brought into view.

“ Laſtly, There are other unmention'd Opinions, which are no leſs likely to obſtruct the Bleſſing of uniform Belief in your Grace's Dominions. That is, Whether the *Holy Scriptures* teach the Doctrine of Purgatory and Invocation of Saints? Whether any unwritten Verities, convey'd by Oral Tradition, are neceſſary to be believ'd? Whether theſe are to be look'd on as ſupplemental Articles? Or whether, on the other ſide, we are not bound to believe any farther than what is deliver'd in the *inſpired Writings*, or can be made good by direct Inference from ſome plain *Text*? Whether there is any other *Satiſfaction* beſides that of Chriſt? Whether the Will is furniſh'd with ſuch a Degree of Strength and Freedom, as to *diſpoſe it ſelf to Grace* de congruo? Whether the kiſſing our Saviour's Image, in honour of him, is forbidden in Scripture? And generally, Whether Images may be made uſe of in any other manner, than what is mention'd in your Grace's *Injunctions*?

“ Whether, in Conſideration of the Premiſſes, your Highneſs may pleaſe to ſuſpend your Judgment for ſome time? Not to pronounce the Marriage of Prieſts againſt *Scripture*, but rather to command Silence to both Parties under a Penalty.

“ And in caſe what I have offer'd does not prevail with your Highneſs to demur, that then your Majeſty would pleaſe to order, that the Queſtion touching the Marriage of Prieſts, may be openly diſputed before indifferent Judges, in both Univerſities. That the Arguments of thoſe who hold the Queſtion on the Negative ſide, may be deliver'd to the other Party twelve Days before the Diſpute begins: That by this means, thoſe who maintain the Affirmative may be the better prepar'd to anſwer the Objections. That theſe latter, in caſe they fail in the Conteſt, and have Judgment given againſt them, ſhall be oblig'd to loſe their Lives for their Miſcarriage. But if the other ſide, who argue againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, happen to ſink in the Controverſy, they ſhall forfeit nothing, only it will be then deſir'd, that your Highneſs will pleaſe to allow your Subjects the Liberty that God hath given them.

As to the preciſe Time when theſe *Conſiderations* were ſent to the King, 'tis hard to determine: However, by the Circumſtances we may come ſomething near in the Chronology. For by the Archbiſhop's mentioning the King's *Injunctions*, 'tis plain this *Paper* muſt be written after the Year 1536. And by his ſuggeſting a Diſputation touching the Lawfulneſs of Prieſts Marriage, we may conclude this Addreſs was made before the Year 1539, when the *Six Articles* were enacted.

May *the* 5*th*, 1539.

To return to the Buſineſs of the *Parliament*. The Lord Chancellor acquainted the Upper Houſe, that the King being moſt deſirous to put an end to all Controverſies about Religion, and bring his Subjects to an uniform Belief, had commanded him to move a Committee might be appointed for examining the Difference of Opinions, to draw up Articles for an Agreement, and make their Report to the *Houſe*. The Lords agreed to this Motion, and named *Cromwell* the Vicegerent, the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Bangor*, *Carliſle*, and *Worceſter*, for a Committee. Theſe Lords were ordered to finiſh this Union Scheme with all Expedition. The Sentiments of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of *Cromwell*, of the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Worceſter*, being different from the other five, this Affair came to no Point. And thus, after eleven Days Debate, the Matter was taken out of their Hands.

A Committee of Religion aſſign'd to no effect.

For now the Duke of *Norfolk* acquainted the Lords, that the Committee had made no Progreſs,

greſs, and that there was little proſpect of the Buſineſs ſucceeding this way: He offer'd therefore ſome Articles to their Lordſhips Conſideration; that theſe, after they had been examin'd by the *Houſe*, might be paſs'd into an *Act*. The *Articles* are as follow *(n)*.

(n) Biſhop Burnet. *Part firſt. p.* 256.

The ſix Articles argued in Parliament.

"First, Whether in the Holy Euchariſt
"Chriſt's real Body is preſent without any Tran-
"ſubſtantiation * ?

* Abſque Tranſubſtantiatione. *Journal* procer.

It ſeems, provided the Corporal Preſence had been eſtabliſh'd, they would have left the Manner undetermin'd.

"Secondly, Whether the Laity are to communicate in this Sacrament under both Kinds?

"Thirdly, Whether the Vows of Chaſtity, made either by Men or Women, ought to be obſerv'd by the Law of God?

"Fourthly, Whether by the Law of God private Maſſes ought to be celebrated?

"Fifthly, Whether by the Law of God Prieſts are allow'd to marry?

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* argued boldly in the *Houſe* againſt theſe Articles, three Days together: But what Arguments he made uſe of does not appear. That they were not unbecoming a Perſon of his Learning and Character, may be conjectur'd by the King's ſending for a Copy of them. And notwithſtanding the Freedom taken by the Archbiſhop in this Debate, he did not loſe the King's Favour. His Majeſty look'd on him as a Man of Probity, and one that had Courage to deliver his Mind. Some, on the other ſide, thought him particularly intereſſed againſt the fifth Article, upon the ſcore of his being married *(o)*.

(o) Lord Herbert, *p.* 448.

The Parliament, after a ſhort Prorogation, ſitting on the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the *Houſe*, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himſelf had taken a great deal of Pains in the *Articles* above-mention'd: That now, at laſt, the Matter was brought to an Iſſue, and ſettled. He mov'd therefore, in the King's Name, that a *Bill* might be read for the puniſhing ſuch as ſhould offend againſt this Proviſion: The Lords appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely* and St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Petre*, a Maſter of Chancery, and afterwards Secretary of State, to draw one Bill; and the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Tregonnel*, another Maſter of Chancery, to draw another. When both theſe *Bills* were ready, a Day was ſet to lay them before the King. The Draught made by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and thoſe join'd with him, was moſt approv'd: However, the Matter hung in Debate from the firſt until the ſeventh of *June*, when it was brought into the *Houſe*, and read the firſt time *(p)*. It was carried thro' the Houſe of Lords with Diſpatch; for on the tenth it was engroſs'd, and read the third time. The King would have had the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* quitted the *Houſe*, ſince he could not vote for it; but after a decent Excuſe, he told the King he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to ſtay there, and ſhew his Diſſent. This *Bill* paſs'd ſmoothly with the *Houſe* of *Commons*; for on the fourteenth 'twas finiſh'd and ſent up to the Lords, and on the twenty eighth 'twas ſign'd by the King. The Preamble ſets forth, That whereas the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty is by God's Law ſupreme Head immediately under him of this whole Church and Congregation of England, intending the Conſervation of the ſame Church and Congregation, in a true, ſincere and uniform Doctrine of Chriſt's Religion, calling alſo to his bleſſed and moſt gracious Remembrance, as well the great and quiet Aſſurance, proſperous Increaſe, and other innumerable Commodities, which have ever inſued, come and followed of Concord, Agreement and Unity in Opinions, as alſo the manifold Perils, Dangers and Inconveniencies, which have heretofore in many Places and Regions, eſpecially of Matters of Chriſtian Religion; and therefore deſiring, that ſuch an Unity might and ſhould be charitably eſtabliſh'd in all things touching and concerning the ſame, as the ſame, ſo being eſtabliſhed, might chiefly be to the Honour of Almighty God, the very Author and Fountain of all true Unity and ſincere Concord, and conſequently redound to the Commonwelth of this his Highneſſes moſt noble Realm, and of all his loving Subjects and other Reſidants and Inhabitants of or in the ſame: Hath therefore cauſed and commandad this his moſt High Court of Parliament, for ſundry and many urgent Cauſes and Conſiderations, to be at this time ſummoned, and alſo a Synod and Convocation, of all Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and other learned Men of the Clergy of this Realm, to be in like manner aſſembled.

(p) Journal Procer.

The Act of the ſix Articles, with the Penalties.

The Preamble continues, That the ſix Articles were debated in Convocation as well as Parliament, in both which Places it was finally agreed and reſolv'd.

First, That in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, by the Strength and Efficacy of Chriſt's mighty Word (it being ſpoken by the Prieſt) is preſent really under the Form of Bread and Wine, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſu Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin Mary: And that after the Conſecration, there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread or Wine, or any other Subſtance, but the Subſtance of Chriſt, God and Man.

Secondly, That the Communion in both Kinds is not neceſſary ad ſalutem by the Law of God, to all Perſons: And that it is to be believ'd and not doubted of, but that in the Fleſh, under the Form of Bread, is the very Blood, and with the Blood under the Form of Wine, is the very Fleſh, as well apart as though they were both together.

Thirdly, That Prieſts, after the Order of Prieſthood received, as afore, may not marry by the Law of God.

Fourthly, That Vows of Chaſtity, Widowhood, by Man or Woman, made to God adviſeadly, ought to be obſerv'd by the Law of God; and that it exempteth them from the Liberties of Chriſtian People, which without that they might enjoy.

Fifthly, That it is meet and neceſſary, that private Maſs be continued and admitted in this the King's Engliſh Church and Congregation, as whereby good Chriſtian People, ordering themſelves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly Conſolations and Benefits: and it is agreeable alſo to God's Law.

Sixthly, That auricular Confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retain'd and continued,

tinued, uſed and frequented in the Church of God.

“ The Penalty for writing, preaching, or diſ-
“ puting againſt the firſt Article, is to ſuffer the
“ Judgment and Execution of a Heretick Con-
“ vict, without the cuſtomary Allowance of Ab-
“ juration, and to forfeit all his Eſtate, real and
“ perſonal, as in Caſes of High Treaſon.

“ And thoſe who declared againſt any of the
“ five other Articles, either by writing or other-
“ wiſe, were for the firſt Offence, after legal
“ Conviction, to forfeit all their Goods and
“ Chattels to the King, and all other Branches
“ of their real Eſtate during Life, and to ſuffer
“ Impriſonment at the King's Pleaſure. The
“ ſecond Offence is enacted Felony, with the
“ conſequent Pains and Forfeitures.

“ The Act proceeds to a Retroſpection, and
“ pronounces the Marriages of Prieſts, and of
“ thoſe Women who had vow'd either ſingle
“ Life or Widowhood, to be void and of none
“ Effect: And that the *Ordinaries*, upon the
“ Diſcovery of ſuch *Engagements*, were to proceed
“ to a Divorce. And that ſuch Prieſts and Wo-
“ men, who for the future ſhould cohabit, were,
“ upon Conviction, to ſuffer as Felons:

Farther, All Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, are enjoin'd to read this Act once a Quarter. And laſtly, There is a Proviſo, that the Vows of Chaſtity ſhould not be conſtrued to bind any Perſon, but ſuch as were one and twenty Years of Age when they entred into this Engagement; and that without being over-aw'd by any Force or Compulſion: But Prieſts are barr'd the Benefit of this Clauſe, which ſeems ſomewhat unneceſſary, becauſe their Age at their entring into theſe *Orders*, would have barr'd the Plea of the *Proviſo* (q).

This Act gave *Satisfaction* to thoſe who were apprehenſive of farther Innovations upon the receiv'd *Doctrines*, ſcreen'd the King from the Suſpicion of proceeding to Exceſſes of *Reformation*, and made the Diſſolution of the Abbeys leſs regretted: And here we are to obſerve, that the Perſons proſecuted for offending againſt any Branch of this *Statute*, were to be tried by a Jury, before ſuch Commiſſioners as the King ſhould nominate, of which the Archbiſhop or Biſhop, his Chancellor or Commiſſary, were to be one.

The King ſends the D. of Norfolk, *&c. to* Lambeth, *to countenance the Archbiſhop.*

The King, to relieve *Cranmer* under the Mortification of this *Act*, ſent for him, and gave him an aſſurance of his Favour. And to make him the more eaſie, he order'd the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Cromwell* to dine with him at *Lambeth*.

Theſe Lords, according to their Inſtructions, acquainted him with the Regard the King had for him; commended him for the Learning, Elocution, and prudent Management, ſhewn in his Oppoſition againſt the *Bill* above-mention'd. That his *Manner* in this Debate was ſo unexceptionable and engaging, that he had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of ill Offices from thoſe of the contrary Opinion. That Cardinal *Woolſey* loſt even his Friends by his Haughtineſs and Self-conceit: But that this Archbiſhop, by his Piety and obliging Behaviour, gain'd the Eſteem of his Adverſaries, and that in Points of the niceſt Concern. And here *Cromwell* added, That *Cranmer* was particularly happy in the King's good Opinion: For let the Information againſt him have never ſuch ſtrong Colours, the King threw it off, without farther notice, at the firſt Hearing. Whereas, if either himſelf, or any other of the Privy Council was complain'd of, his Highneſs's Cuſtom was to enquire throughly into the Matter. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* told *Cromwell*, that no body knew the Difference between the Humours of *Cranmer* and *Woolſey*, better than himſelf: For, my Lord, ſays he, you were for ſome time in the Cardinal's Service. *Cromwell*, reſenting this as a Reflection, anſwer'd with ſomething of warmth, that notwithſtanding he belong'd to *Woolſey*, he never lik'd his Management ſo well, as the Duke ſeems to have done: For, ſays he, my Lord, you promis'd to wait on him to *Rome*, and ſerve him in the Admiral's Poſt, in caſe he had been choſen Pope: And then mention'd how many *Florens* he was to receive for his Salary *. The Duke ſwore this was a Lie, and broke out into ſome other rough Expreſſions. And though *Cranmer* interpos'd, ſtopp'd the Progreſs of the Quarrel, and prevail'd with them to part like Friends, yet the Diſobligation was not forgotten, nor the Friendſhip heartily recover'd (r). This Story is miſrelated by Biſhop *Burnet*, to *Cromwell*'s Advantage *. *Cromwell* fell into another Misfortune by miſcalculating upon *Bonner*'s Diſpoſition. *Cranmer* and this Lord, it ſeems, took him for an Enemy to the *old Superſtition*; and upon this Confidence, lent him their Intereſt to promote him, firſt to the *See* of *Hereford*, and thence to *London*. At this time the King's Privy Council broke into two Diviſions: *Cranmer*; *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Cromwell* were at the Head of one Party, and endeavour'd to check the Rigor, and ſtop the Proſecution upon the late *Act*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* were of a quite different Sentiment, and preſs'd the King to Severities againſt thoſe who could not come up to the eſtabliſh'd *Belief*. When *Bonner* perceiv'd the King's Inclinations ſway'd by the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardner*, he deſerted *Cranmer*, as ſome ſay, and *Cromwell*, and went over to the other ſide.

A Claſh between Cromwell *and the D. of* Norfolk.

Bp. Burnet.

Ibid.

“ Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, this
“ Biſhop took a ſtrange Commiſſion from the
“ King. Whether the other Biſhops, continues
“ this Author, took ſuch Commiſſions I know
“ not, but am certain there is none ſuch in *Cran-*
“ *mer*'s Regiſter —— After *Bonner* had taken
“ this Commiſſion, he might well have been
“ call'd one of the King's Biſhops *.

As this learned Hiſtorian obſerves, the Contents of *Bonner*'s Commiſſion were extraordinary, for it begins thus. *Quandoquidem omnis juriſdicendi autoritas, atque etiam juriſdictio omnimoda, tàm illa quæ eccleſiaſtica dicitur quàm ſæcularis, à regia poteſtate, velut a ſupremo Capite, & omnium infrà regnum noſtrum magiſtratuum fonte & ſaturigine, primitùs emanavit, ſanè illos qui juriſdictionem hujuſmodi antehac non niſi precariò fungebantur, beneficium hujuſmodi ſic eis ex liberalitate regiâ indultum, gratis animis agnoſcere, idque regiæ munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique quoties ejus Majeſtati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit.*

“ That is, That the King is the Fountain of all
“ manner of Juriſdiction and Authority, as well
“ Eccleſiaſtical as Secular; and that thoſe who for-
“ merly exercis'd this Juriſdiction, did it only
“ in a precarious Manner, and upon royal Cour-
“ teſy; and that therefore it ought to be re-
“ turn'd when ever his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to
“ call for it. And that ſince the Lord *Cromwell*,
“ Knight of the Garter, Vicegerent and Vicar-
“ General, to preſide, manage, and direct in

(q) 31. H. 8. Cap. 14. *Statutes at large.*

* Fox. Vol. 2. *p.* 513.

(r) *Antiquit.* Britann. *p.* 333.

* *Hiſt. Ref. Part* 1. *p.* 265.

* *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 267.

“all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, was ſo far employ'd in Matters concerning the *State*, that he was not at leiſure to diſcharge the Function of a Vicegerent, and manage the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, wholly delegated to him by the King, ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, &c.

“Becauſe *Cromwell* was thus buſie, and could not be every where, nor execute the Office of an univerſal Superintendant; for this Reaſon the King, as the *Inſtrument* continues, gives *Bonner* a Commiſſion, to execute all the Branches of the Epiſcopal Authority under his Highneſs: For the Purpoſe, he has a royal Licenſe to ordain within the Dioceſe of *London*, to viſit the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul's*, and all other Colleges, Hoſpitals, Monaſteries, Clergy and Laity, within his Diſtrict, he has likewiſe a Power given him to hear Cauſes, and to give Sentence in the Spiritual Courts, to exerciſe Diſcipline, and inflict *Cenſures* according to the Directions of Law, and the Degrees of the Criminal's Offence: And in ſhort, to execute every thing belonging to the Authority and Juriſdiction of a Biſhop.”

And after the King has thus declar'd himſelf Patriarch in his Dominions, claim'd all manner of Spiritual Authority, and pronounc'd the Biſhops no more than his Delegates at pleaſure; After this, theſe Words are thrown into the Commiſſion, to give it the more paſſable Complexion, *Præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex ſacris literis divinitus commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur* *.

* *Regiſt.* Bonner. *fol.* 1.

Now, with Submiſſion, this *Clauſe* ſeems to come in too late, and is utterly inconſiſtent with the former part of the Commiſſion. For if the King is the Fountain of all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; if his *Lay-Vicegerent* might lawfully ſupply the room of all the Biſhops in *England*, provided he were at leiſure, and able to do it in Perſon; if the Biſhops, in the Execution of their Office, are only the King's Repreſentatives, and revocable at Pleaſure: If theſe Affirmations are all defenſible, as the *Commiſſion* ſets forth, then without queſtion, the *Hierarchy* can have no Juriſdiction aſſign'd in the *New Teſtament*, nor any Authority deriv'd from our Saviour.

But if the Church is a diſtinct and intire *Society*; if in *pure Spirituals* ſhe is conſtituted independent on all the Kings on the Earth; if ſhe is furniſh'd with Powers ſufficient to anſwer the Ends of her *Charter*; if theſe Powers were ſettled by our Saviour, upon the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to the World's end; if the *Hierarchy* can make out this Title *, then I muſt crave leave to think thoſe who ſuggeſted the Draught of this *Inſtrument*, were no great *Divines*.

* *See my Church Hiſtory, pt.* 1. *p.* 257.

But how extraordinary ſoever this Commiſſion may ſeem, it was certainly complied with, and that by other Biſhops beſide *Bonner*. For the Purpoſe, *Cranmer* took out one of the ſame Tenor and Form, from King *Edward* VI *. Now if *Bonner* was ſo much to blame for complying to this Latitude, the ſame Imputation muſt fall upon *Cranmer*. To which we may add, That this was not the firſt Commiſſion of this Kind, taken out by *Cranmer*. For as our Hiſtorian obſerves, the *Order of Council* made in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* VI. *requires the Biſhops to take out new Commiſſions of the ſame Form with thoſe they had taken out in King* Henry's *time, only with this Difference, that there is no mention made of a Vicar-General in theſe Commiſſions, there being none, after* Cromwell, *advanced to that Dignity*. If no ſuch Commiſſion, as this learned Gentleman remarks, taken by *Cranmer* from King *Henry*, be found in his *Regiſter* *; it doth not follow he took out no ſuch *Inſtrument*, for his *Regiſter* is imperfect in many Places. To ſpeak clearly, he took out ſuch a Commiſſion from King *Henry* ſome Years before *Bonner*. For from the Collections of Dr. *Yale*, the learned *Harmer* cites a Tranſcript of this Commiſſion, agreeing exactly with that of *Bonner* above mention'd; to which this Note is ſubjoin'd, *Tales licentias acceperunt Thomas Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, menſe Octobri* 1535. *Edwardus Archiep. Eborac. Johannes Epiſcopus Lincoln.* 13. *Octob.* 1535. *Johannes Epiſcopus London.* 19. *Octob.* 1535. *Stephanus Epiſcopus Winton. eodem Anno. Cuthbertus Epiſcopus Dunelm.* 10. *Novemb.* 1535. &c. Now this Dr. *Yale* being an eminent Advocate in Doctors Commons, in *Cranmer's* time, and afterwards principal Regiſtrary and Vicar-General to Archbiſhop *Parker*, muſt be own'd an unexceptionable Evidence for this Point *. Farther, our learned Hiſtorian has miſreported *Bonner*, in ſaying, he was one of the Popiſh Party at this time, and took out his Commiſſion to ſerve that Intereſt: For *Fox* has given ſeveral Inſtances to prove, that *Bonner*, till the Fall of *Cromwell*, was a zealous Promoter of the *Reformation*, which is likewiſe afterwards confeſs'd by our Hiſtorian *.

**Bp* Burnet's *Hiſt Refor. pt.* 2. *p.* 6. Id. *Record. p.* 90. Num. 2.

**Bp.* Burnet's *Hiſt. Ref. pt.* 1. *p.* 267.

* Harmer, *p.* 52.

**Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 299.

To proceed: Now *Cranmer* had a difficult Poſt to manage. His Aim was to puſh the *Reformation* to a farther Progreſs: But here, beſides the pretended Diſappointment in *Bonner*, he had reaſon to be diſcourag'd by thoſe who continued firm to the Cauſe: His Inſtruments were diſproportioned to the Work, and his Adherents, if they are rightly repreſented, unprepar'd to diſcharge their Part. For in the Words of our learned Hiſtorian (*s*), *The other Biſhops, that adher'd to* Cranmer, *were rather Clogs than Helps to him.* Latimer's *Simplicity and Weakneſs made him be deſpiſ'd:* Shaxton's *proud and litigious Humour drew hatred on him:* Barlow *was not very diſcreet; and many of the the Preachers whom they had cheriſh'd, whether out of an unbridled Forwardneſs of Temper, that would not be managed by politick and prudent Meaſures, were flying at ſeveral things that were not yet aboliſhed. Many Complaints of this kind were brought to the King.* Thus we ſee theſe Men wanted either Light or Diſcretion, and were either ill, or underqualified.

Cranmer *ill ſupported by his Adherents.*

(*s*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 255.

To give check to this Miſmanagement, *Cromwell* wrote to ſome of the Biſhops by the King's Directions. In his Letter to *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, “he puts this Prelate in mind of his being the King's principal Miniſter, in all Matters relating to the Clergy. Upon the Strength of this Commiſſion, he proceeds to preſs the Biſhop to execute the Purport of the King's Letters, for the avoiding of Contrarieties and Novelties in Doctrine: And on the other ſide, to ſtop the Liberty of thoſe who preach'd up the pretended Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* (*t*).

His Letter to the Biſhop of *Landaff* is to the ſame effect (*u*).

(*t*) Cotton. Cleop. V. *fol.* 302.

(*u*) Bibl. Cotton. Cleop. E. 4. *fol.* 1.

In the beginning of this Year, *Luther*, *Melancton*, together with ſome Princes and States in their Communion, came to a Temper upon ſeveral Articles. By this Recollection, they ſeem'd to have been ſenſible of reforming too far from the Church of *Rome*. That they were willing to own the Neceſſity of Epiſcopal Government, to explain ſome conteſted Points, and relax in ſeveral Articles of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*. This *Draught*, which I tranſcrib'd from the *Cotton* Library (*w*) runs thus;

(*w*) Cleop. 5. *fol.* 228.

A Copy of ſuch things as Marten Luther, Philip Melancton, *with certain Cities and Princes of* Germany, *their Adherents, have admitted.* March, *Anno* 1539.

Some accommodating Articles, aſſented to by Luther, Melancton, *and ſome German Princes of their Communion. They allow the Papacy under certain Qualifications.*

“ Firſt, We confeſs, that there ought to be a Policy in the Church, and a Regimen; in the which there muſt be Biſhops, who ſhall have the Power of the Examen and Ordination of the Miniſtrations of the ſame, for to exerciſe the Juriſdiction of the ſame; who ſhall diligently foreſee, that the Churches committed to them may be truly inſtructed with pure and ſincere Doctrine.

“ We admit that it is good and convenient, that in the Church there be a Biſhop of *Rome*, that may be above other Biſhops, who may gather them together, to ſee the Examination of the Doctrine, and the Concord of ſuch as do teach Diſcrepances in the Church. But we admit not the Pomp, Riches, and Pride of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who would make Realms ſubject unto him: The which things do neither help nor promote the *Goſpel*, becauſe the King who hath right thereto, may and ought to rule the ſame.

“ We confeſs, that, as concerning choice of Curates, Holydays, and Ceremonies, there might an Agreement be made eaſily, if there could be a Concord in the Doctrine of the Church, and not ſuch Diſcrepancy as there is. For if there were a Concord of Doctrine in the Church, we ſhould not think it reaſonable to divide us from the Church; ſeeing that it is not poſſible that the World might ſtand without Ceremonies, and Man's Conſtitutions: Whereby it ſhould not need to divide us from the other, and to bring up new and unaccuſtom'd Conſtitutions: Seeing that all Innovation without Neceſſity ought to be eſchew'd, and that there is no Peril to uſe a mean in the obſervation of the ſaid Ceremonies and Mens Conſtitutions, ſo that the Doctrines be purely handled.

“ We judge it to be profitable, that Confeſſion and Rehearſal of Sins be made in the Church: For taking the ſame away, the Doctrine of Remiſſion of Sins, and of the Power of the Keys, ſhould be offuſcate and taken away; ſeeing that in the *Confeſſion*, amongſt other things, the People ought to be taught whence comes the Remiſſion of Sins; provided that there be honeſt faſhion to inſtruct the Perſons that be ſhriven, and that the Conſciences be not overlaid with rigorous and exact Rehearſal of all Sins.

“ We believe that Juſtification is made by Faith, becauſe there be no Works whereby we may ſatisfie, or obtain Remiſſion of Sins: Yet nevertheleſs, the ſame Faith that juſtifieth us, ought not to be idle, but adorn'd with good and godly Deeds.

“ We confeſs that the free Will, holpen with the *Holy Ghoſt*, may do ſomewhat, whenſoever we will withdraw from Sin.

“ We confeſs, that after the Remiſſion of Sins, the Holy Ghoſt is given to the Man, from the which he departeth again as ſoon as he committeth any deadly Sin.

“ We uſe the faſhion accuſtom'd in the Office of the *Maſſes*; for what ſhall avail a Change of Ceremonies without Neceſſity? But we admit not the *Privy Maſſes*, becauſe they have occaſion of ſundry Abuſes, becauſe there is an open Fair or Market for Celebration of *Maſſes*.

“ We believe thus concerning the Supper of the Lord, that like as *Chriſt* in his laſt Supper did give unto his Diſciples his true Body to be eaten, and his Blood to be drank, for Spiritual Meat and Drink, ſo he gives daily to us his Diſciples and loyal Men, as often as we keep the Supper according to the Form commanded, *accipite & comedite*, his true Body and Blood to be eaten and drank. And this is the mind of the three *Evangeliſts*, and of St. *Paul*, and ſo their words do ſound clearly; wherefore away with all ſuch erroneous Interpretations as is made upon the ſame words.

“ We be taught that *Chriſt* did give unto his Diſciples his Body and Blood under both Species and Kinds; and that therefore we ought to obſerve the ſame as we do indeed. But becauſe the one *Species* has by Man's Conſtitutions been forbidden by the Biſhop of *Rome*, there might be a Remedy found without Peril or Danger; ſo that he that would, might have both Species, that and there ſhould be a Prohibition made, that the one ſhould not inſult againſt the other.

“ Seeing that it appears by the holy Doctors, that the Holy-days and Feaſts of Saints have been accuſtom'd to be obſerv'd, as we ſee as yet ſome holy Canons of that matter: But it appears not, that there is made in the ſame any mention of their *Invocation*. But it appears only by the ſame, that they be propoſed unto us for an Example to learn to follow their Life and Converſation. Yet nevertheleſs, ſeeing by ſome Cuſtom the Interceſſion of Saints ought to be admitted, then there ſhould be Prayers made unto God, that it might like him to hear them by the Interceſſion of ſome Saint: We affirm for a certainty, that the Saints do continually intercede for the Church; albeit the Chriſtian Man ought to be taught, that they ſhall not convert the ſame hope to the Saints, which they ought to have unto *God*.

“ We do not reject Images of *Chriſt*, and of Saints, but the Adoration made to them; whereof Idolatry is ſprung.

“ Alſo, we damn not the Monkery, or Life of ſuch as be cloſed in the Cloyſters; but only the Truſt that ſome Men have put in the *Regular* Obſervation. Alſo, we reject the Vows that have been made upon ſuch things as Men cannot obſerve: Yet nevertheleſs, we will not that Monaſteries ſhould be put down for the ſame, but that they may be turn'd into Schools, in the which, good Doctrine ſhould be taught; and that the *Pope* may diſpenſe with the Vows. So that it were free for every Man to keep, or not keep them; and ſo the ſame ſhould be much to the Quiet and Tranquillity of Mind, and the Vows ſhould not be the Snares of Malice.

“ That the Marriage of Prieſts ſhould be in the *Pope*'s Hands, who might admit the ſame; and the Concubinate of many ſhould be forbidden, for we ſee few chaſt: But if the Law to not Contract ſhould have Place, then for to avoid Slander, there ſhould be none advanc'd to the Dignities Eccleſiaſtick, but grave Perſons, and of full Age.

“ We think it beſt to diſpute of *Purgatory*, and Pardons, in the Schools, rather than in the *Pulpit*, to diſpute the ſame publickly, without any Profit; ſo that the Markets and Bargains thereof ſhall be avoyded. For we do reject in thoſe things, and other, where we

“ do not agree, rather the Abuſe, than the thing it ſelf; the which, nevertheleſs, may be diſcuſſed and amended by *Councils* lawfully aſſembled. At the cloſe of the *Articles*, theſe words follow. *viz.*

“ The *Zuinglians*, and *OEcolampadians*, have not yet receiv'd theſe *Articles:* But the ſimple People ſhall be eaſily reduced, and we truſt they ſhall ſhortly be conformable thereto.

“ *Luther* has revoked all his Books, wherein there be any things contrary to theſe *Articles*; and hath retracted them with his own Hand, and acknowledg'd his Faults.

Thus we ſee *Luther*, and a conſiderable Party of thoſe of his Sentiment came to a Recollection. They conſider'd their firſt Motions were ſomewhat too ſtrong, and that the Heat of Diſputation, and the Stiffneſs of the *Court* of *Rome*, had rais'd their Paſſion, and driven them towards the other Extreme. I grant theſe *Articles* are not in *Sleidan:* But their paſſing the Teſt of ſo great an Antiquary as Sir *Robert Cotton*, and being lodg'd in his Library, without any Mark of Diſadvantage, is a ſtrong Recommendation of their Authority. Beſides, the *Engliſh* ſpeaks them as old as the Date they pretend to: Whether they were drawn up here by ſome reconciling Hand, tranſmitted to *Luther* and *Melancton*, and agreed by them; or that they were form'd and concerted in *Germany*, and tranſlated into our Language, is uncertain. However, this accommodating Scheme fell ſhort of an Eſtabliſhment; from whence we may conclude there was a Majority, or at leaſt ſome powerful Intereſt againſt it.

The Six Articles complain'd of.

To return to the Parliament. The *Act* of the *Six Articles* was looked on as no ſmall Grievance. To be forced under the higheſt Penalties to follow a Parliamentary Reſolution in Matters of Faith, was complain'd of as a great Hardſhip upon Conſcience. *Belief*, is not in every Man's Power: Terror and Extremities are none of the moſt likely ways to make way for Proof, and form a new *Perſwaſion*. Men don't love to be dragg'd into Religion: To lie under a Neceſſity of being either a Martyr or an Hypocrite, they thought ſingular Uſage. To be menac'd with ſuch Severities, is apt to overrule the choice, fright a Man out of his Sentiment, and make him decline a thorough Examination of the Point. For if our *Creed* is preſcrib'd us under Pain of Death, how dangerous will it be to go thorough with our Enquiry? And on the other ſide, if we take our Religion upon *Content*, how can we be aſſur'd we are not miſtaken? Beſides, if *Turks* and *Heathens* ſhould force their Subjects to a Compliance with their *Infidelity*, upon the ſame Forfeitures, what a Diſcouragement would this be againſt turning Chriſtian? (x)

The Religious allow'd to purchaſe, but not to inherit.

There was an *Act* paſs'd this Parliament, That all *Religious* Perſons, now diſmiſs'd from the *Monaſteries*, might have the common Privilege of purchaſing or ſuing, they might alſo be ſued: But here they were not perfectly return'd to the Birthright of Perſons *unprofeſs'd*; for they are barr'd by a *Proviſo* from claiming any Eſtate of Inheritance: But ſince many of them were forc'd into the *World*, and turn'd out of a comfortable Maintenance, this *Clauſe* of diſabling them from inheriting, was thought ſomewhat ſevere (y).

May 23.
An Act enabling the King to erect new Biſhopricks.

Farther, a *Bill* was brought into the *Houſe* of *Lords* by *Cromwell*, for impowering the King to erect new Biſhopricks. 'Twas penn'd at Court, and therefore 'tis no wonder to find ſome hard Expreſſions beſtow'd on the *Monaſteries*. The *Præamble* ſets forth, “ That the Idleneſs and Immorality of the *Religious* was not unknown; that therefore their *Houſes* might be turn'd to a more ſerviceable Account, that the *Scriptures* might be better ſet forth, Children bred to Learning, and Scholars maintain'd in the Univerſities; old Servants diſabled, furniſh'd with a Support; Almes-Houſes better provided; *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latin* Lectures encourag'd with good Salaries; Exhibitions given, *&c.* For theſe publick Reaſons the King thought it neceſſary that more Biſhopricks, Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, ſhould be erected in the room of the Monaſteries diſſolv'd.

“ By the *Enacting* Part of the *Statute*, the King is authoriz'd by his Letters Patent under the Great Seal, to erect what number of new *Sees*, to ſettle the Endowments, the Extent of the Diſtricts, to govern the Tranſlations, and to appoint ſuch other Regulations as to his moſt excellent Wiſdom ſhould be thought neceſſary (z).

There is a rough Draught under the King's Hand in the *Cotton* Library (a). In the ſame *Paper*, there is likewiſe a *Liſt* of the *Sees* he intended to Found, with the Abbeys where they were to ſtand. This Memoir is under the King's hand in the following Order,

A Liſt of the Sees the King intended to erect.

Eſſex.	*Waltham.*
Hartford	St. *Albans.*
Bedfordſhire and *Buckinghamſhire.*	*Dunſtable.* *Newenham.* *Elveſton.*
Oxford. and *Berkſhire.*	*Oſnay* and *Tame.*
Northampton and *Huntington.*	*Peterborough.*
Middleſex.	*Weſtminſter.*
Leiceſter and *Rutland.*	*Leiceſter.*
Glouceſterſhire.	St. *Peters.*
Lancaſhire.	*Fountains*, and the Archdeaconary of *Richmond.*
Suffolk.	*Edmondsbury.*
Stafford and *Salop.*	*Shrewsbury.*
Nottingham and *Derby.*	*Welbeck.* *Werſop.* *Thurgarton.*
Cornwall.	*Lanceſton.* *Bodmynne.* *Wardreth.*

Thus we ſee a noble Deſign was ſtruck out: If it be enquir'd how it came to miſcarry, it may be anſwer'd, The King was diſabled from executing this Project: He quickly exhauſted himſelf upon the Courtiers: The meaſure of his Bounty was no leſs extraordinary, than the manner of his Acquiſition; inſomuch that he may be almoſt ſaid, to have ſnatch'd with one Hand, only to throw away with t'other (b).

How the Scheme happen'd to fail.

Thus the beſt part of the Scheme died under Thought, and came to nothing.

About this time a Diſcourſe was drawn by ſome ſingle Hand, entitul'd *a Declaration of the Faith, and a Juſtification of King* Henry VIII. *in matters of Religion; or a Summary Declaration of the Faith, Uſes, and Obſervations in* England (c).

(x) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 447.

(y) 31 H. 8. c. 6. *Statutes at large*

(z) 31 H. 8. c. 9. *Statutes at large.*

(a) Cleop. E. 4.

(b) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 461. *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 268.

(c) *See Records, N.* 47. *from Paper Office.*

The Deſign of this Apology is to juſtifie the *Engliſh* Nation from the Charge of deſerting the Catholick Church. It is likewiſe a Defence of the *Adminiſtration:* The *Author* endeavours to prove the King had not given way to arbitrary Meaſures, or done any thing unwarrantable by *Law* or *Equity*. The *Paper* deſerves the *Reader*'s View: However, it is not altogether without Miſtakes. For the *Apologiſt* affirms, *Mortuaries* were wholly taken away by Act of Parliament; whereas, they were only regulated. He argues faintly, for the Suppreſſion of *religious Houſes*, and contradicts Matter of Fact. He ſays, the King would not diſſolve ſome of the *Monaſteries*, which is another Miſtake. The Story about *Becket*'s Death is falſe; and his Satyr upon that Arch-biſhop's Management, indefenſible. Biſhop *Fiſher*, and Sir *Thomas More*, are unhandſomly remember'd: The latter is call'd a *Jeſter*, and the other a *glorious Hypocrite*. If the Author is right in what I am going to mention, this *Paper* was publiſh'd before the *Bills* of *Attainder* paſs'd. For he affirms, that neither Peers, nor Commoners, were ever condemn'd in this Reign, without legal Proceſs.

A Declaration of the Faith, &c. of the Engliſh *Nation.*

This *Parliament* ſeveral *Attainders* paſs'd, without ſuffering the Parties to make their Defence. This our learned Church Hiſtorian complains of, as *a Breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable Rules of Juſtice: That it is a Blemiſh never to be waſh'd off, nor capable of any Excuſe* (*d*). The Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Counteſs of *Sarum*, fell under theſe Severities. The firſt is charg'd with abbetting Sir *Nicholas Carew* in his Treaſons: To which is added, that divers other abominable Treaſons had been committed by her. The latter is charged with entring into criminal Engagements with her Son the Cardinal. It does not appear by the Journal, that any Witneſſes were examined; but that after the third Reading, *Cromwell* produced a Coat of white Silk, found by the Lord Admiral amongſt the Counteſs of *Salisbury*'s Cloaths (*e*): That upon this Coat the Arms of *England* were wrought on one ſide, and the Rebels Standard on the other. This was urg'd as preſumptive Evidence, that ſhe approv'd the Rebellion. Three *Iriſh* Prieſts were likewiſe attainted for conveying Letters out of *Ireland*, to the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*: Sir *Adrian Forteſcue* was attainted for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion; and *Thomas Dingly* Knight of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, and *Robert Granſeter* Merchant, for ſoliciting ſeveral foreign Princes to make War upon the King, and aſſiſt the Lord's *Darcy* and *Huſſie* in their Rebellion. Two Gentlemen, a *Dominican* Frier, and a Yeoman, were *attainted* for ſaying, That *venomous Serpent, the Biſhop of* Rome, *was Supreme Head of the Church of* England. And laſtly, two Prieſts, another Gentleman, and a Yeoman, were attainted for Treaſon in general, without the mention of any Crime in particular. Thus ſixteen Perſons fell under the *Act*, and if any Witneſſes were examin'd, in order to their Conviction, 'twas either in the *Star Chamber*, or before the *Privy-Council*; for the *Journals* mention no *Evidence* in the Parliament Houſe (*f*).

May 10. 1539.

Several Perſons attainted in Parliament without being heard.

As to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*'s Caſe, the Lord *Herbert* relates from *Records*, that ſeveral *Bulls* were found at *Cowdrey*, which he ſuppoſes was then the Counteſs's Houſe. That the Parſon of *Warblington* convey'd Letters from her to the Cardinal her Son: And that ſhe forbad all her Tenants to have the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, or any other new Book privileg'd by the King. However, as this noble Hiſtorian goes on, it appears this Lady was allow'd a Hearing, tho' he does not ſay where. For he adds, notwithſtanding ſhe was Seventy Years old, her Behaviour was full of Spirit and well ſupported; and that ſhe refus'd to make any Confeſſion: But notwithſtanding this Silence, the Proof brought againſt her was judg'd ſufficient (*g*). *Forteſcue* and *Dingley* ſuffer'd on the 10th of *July*. The Counteſs liv'd by Reprieves two Years, and was then executed: The Marchioneſs of *Exeter* had gentler Uſage, ſurviv'd the King, and died a natural Death. In *November*, the Abbots of *Reading*, *Glaſſenbury*, and *Colcheſter*, already mentioned, were *attainted* of Treaſon. *What the Particulars were*, our learned Church Hiſtorian confeſſes, *he can't tell*; *for the Record of their Attainders is loſt*. But, as he goes on, *ſome of our own Writers deſerve a ſevere Cenſure, who write it was for denying the King's Supremacy. Whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the Hiſtory without any Information at all, they muſt have ſeen, that the whole Clergy, and eſpecially the Abbots, had over and above again acknowledg'd the King's Supremacy* (h).

But how does it appear our Hiſtorians are miſtaken? Has this Gentleman ſeen the Abbot of *Colcheſter*'s Indictment, or perus'd his *Record* of *Attainder?* He confeſſes no: How then is his Cenſure made good? He offers at no Argument beyond Conjecture: He concludes, the Abbot of *Colcheſter* had formerly acknowledg'd the King's *Supremacy*; and from thence infers, he could not ſuffer now for denying it. But do not Peoples Opinions alter ſometimes, and Conſcience and Courage improve? Did not Biſhop *Fiſher* and Cardinal *Pool* at leaſt, as this *Author* repreſents them, acknowledge the King's *Supremacy* at firſt? And yet 'tis certain, they afterwards ſhewed themſelves of another Mind, to a very remarkable degree. To give another Inſtance: *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had ſolemnly renounc'd the Pope's Authority; but notwithſtanding all this diſclaiming, *there were violent Preſumptions, that he had ſecretly reconcil'd himſelf to the Pope, and enter'd into a Correſpondence with him.* To which we may add, that many of the Biſhops and Clergy, who had own'd the Regal Supremacy in this Reign, refus'd that length of Compliance to Queen *Elizabeth*. Beſides, the Abbot of *Colcheſter*, who ſubmitted to the *Supremacy*, and he that ſuffer'd for denying it, were not the ſame Perſon. For the firſt, in his Submiſſion, ſubſcribes himſelf *Thomas Abbas* (*h*); but the Name of him that is executed, was *John Beach* (*i*). Farther, Does not himſelf tell us, that *many of the* Carthuſians *were executed for their open denying the King's Supremacy* *. And why then might not ſome of the Abbots have the ſame *Belief* and Fortitude with others of their Fraternity?

An unproved Cenſure upon our Hiſtorians, by the Author of the Reformation of the Church of England.

Id. *p.* 251.

About this time, a Proclamation was publiſhed for the free Uſe of the *Scriptures*. 'Tis true, the *Engliſh* Bible had been ſet up in Churches a Year ſince; but now private Perſons had leave to buy and read it at home. This Liberty was probably granted at the Inſtance of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. The *Letters Patent* inform us, the Management of this Affair was intruſted with the Lord *Cromwell*. The Inſtrument ſets forth; " The King was deſirous of his Subjects
" Improvement in the Knowledge of their Duty to God and himſelf. That the moſt likely Means for attaining this End, was to allow them the free Uſe of the *Bible* in their Mother Tongue: That becauſe different Tranſlations may occaſion Diſpute and Error, eſpecially amongſt People of obſtinate and pre-

Free Uſe of the Scriptures allowed private Perſons.

Nov. 13. 1539.

(*d*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 359.

(*e*) *Journal. Procer.*

(*f*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 360.

(*g*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 447.

(*h*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 239.

(*h*) Wharton Hiſt. de Epiſ. & Decan. Londin. p. 292. in Append.

(*i*) Stow's Annal. p. 577.

* *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 241.

“ ſuming Tempers; therefore the Lord *Cromwell* was ordered to take Care that no Perſon, without his Authority, ſhould print any *Bible* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, during the ſpace of Five Years (*k*).

(*k*) Rot. pat. 31 H. 8.

Latimer *and* Shaxton *reſign their Biſhopricks.*

To proceed; Thoſe who were inclined to a Reformation, were apprehenſive of rough Uſage from the *Six Articles*: Tho' this *Act* was not preſſed cloſe till *Cromwell*'s Death: However, *Latimer* and *Shaxton*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Saliſbury*, are ſuppoſed to have reſigned their Biſhopricks upon this Score. They were not willing, it may be, to have a Share in the Execution of this *Act*, or countenance the Severity of it (*l*).

(*l*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 49.

The Proſecutions in Scotland *upon the Score of Religion.*

To ſtrike off a little, and give a brief Account of the Church in *Scotland*. Laſt Year *Hieronimus Ruſſel*, a Gray Frier, and one *Kenedy* a young Man of *Aire*, were inform'd againſt for Hereſie at *Glaſcow*: And becauſe *Dunbar* the Archbiſhop was thought to exceed in Lenity and Moderation, two or three other Clergymen, of more bigotted Tempers, were ſent for from *Edinburgh* to manage at the Trial. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* doth not tell us what the Articles were, only that *Kenedy* was willing at firſt to have denyed the Charge, and diſentangled himſelf. But being incouraged by *Hieronimus*'s Behaviour, he recollected his Spirits, and reſign'd chearfully to the Event.

The Frier is ſaid to have made a learned Defence; but being anſwered with Railing and Reproach, he return'd ſome rough Language, and ſaluted the Court in their own way. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* was very averſe to theſe Methods of Rigor; ſuch Extremities, he ſaid, were unſerviceable to Religion: He thought it therefore much the beſt way not to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to apply to ſome milder Expedient. The *Aſſiſtants* from *Edingburgh* told him, that if he ſet up any new Precedents of gentler Uſage, and refuſed to be govern'd by the *Capital* of the Kingdom, they could not eſteem him the Church's Friend. Thus it ſeems the Archbiſhop's Prudence and good Nature was overruled, and he gave way to the Burning-*Sentence*.

Ruſſel and *Kenedy* behav'd themſelves with great Piety and Reſolution at the *Stake*, and went thro' the Execution without any Signs of Surprize or Diſorder *.

*Spotſwood's *Hiſt. of the Church of* Scotland, *p.* 67.

About this time, *George Buchanan* was committed for ſome ſatyrical Verſes againſt the *Franciſcans*, but he made his Eſcape and got into *France*. This *Buchanan* was an extraordinary Genius, and a great Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, as appears from his Poems and Hiſtory.

The Clergy and Temporaity in the Courts of Juſtice.

And now Proſecutions for Religion in *Scotland* were very frequent: for *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, being diſabled with Age, had reſign'd, as it were, his Poſt, and put the Government of the Church into the Hands of his Nephew the Cardinal. Some few Years paſt, this Prelate and the Clergy had a Conteſt with the King: They complain'd of a Tax laid upon them for the Entertainment of the *College* of *Juſtice*. The Diſpute was carry'd on to an Appeal to *Rome*. But before they had gone far in that Court, the Matter was compromiſ'd: And here it was agreed, the *Lords* of the *Seſſion* ſhould conſiſt of Fourteen Ordinaries with a Preſident; Seven of the Spiritualty, and Seven of the Temporalty: But with this Advantage to the firſt Diviſion, That the Preſident was always to be a Prelate. This Accord was confirm'd by an Act of Parliament, *Anno Dom.* 1537. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* died two Years after, and nominated the Succeſſors to his Preferments: He left the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, and the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, to the Cardinal his Nephew. The King who had a great Eſteem for the old Archbiſhop, allow'd this Diſpoſal.

Cardinal Beaton *Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews.

The Cardinal, ſoon after his Promotion, diſcover'd himſelf of a warm and proſecuting Temper. To ſtop the Progreſs of thoſe who oppos'd the eſtabliſh'd Religion, he brought a great Appearance of *Quality*, both Clergy and Laity, to St. *Andrews*. And here in the Cathedral, he made a Speech to acquaint them with the Increaſe of Hereſie, how the Catholick Faith was inſulted: That Heterodoxy was openly maintain'd, and too much encouraged in the King's Court; particularly he mentioned one Sir *John Bothwick*, who had been cited to St. *Andrews* for diſperſing heretical Books, and holding ſeveral Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church. The *Articles* were theſe:

Articles againſt Sir John Bothwick.

Firſt, “ He held, the Pope had no more Au-
“ thority than any other Biſhop.
Secondly, “ That Papal Indulgences and Par-
“ dons, were deſign'd only to abuſe ignorant
“ People, and ſignified nothing.
Thirdly, “ That it is lawful for Biſhops and
“ Prieſts to marry.
Fourthly, “ That the Hereſies, commonly
“ call'd the Hereſies of *England*, and their new
“ Liturgy, were a commendable Reformation,
“ and ought to be followed by the reſt of Chri-
“ ſtendom.
Fifthly, “ That the People of *Scotland* were
“ miſled by the Clergy, out of the Profeſſion of
“ the true Faith.
Sixthly, “ That Churchmen ought not to en-
“ joy any Temporalties.
Seventhly, “ That the King ought to ſeize the
“ Eſtates of the Church, and convert them to
“ other pious Uſes.
Eighthly, “ That the Church of *Scotland* ought
“ to be govern'd by the *Engliſh* Model.
Ninthly, “ That the Canons and Conſtitutions
“ of the Church, were repugnant to the Law of
“ God, and by conſequence of no force.
Tenthly, That the Monaſtick Orders ought
“ to be ſuppreſs'd.
Eleventhly, “ That he took the Liberty of
“ reading heretical Books written by *Melancton*,
“ *OEcolampadius* and *Eraſmus*.

Sir *John Bothwick* appearing neither in Perſon nor Proxy, the Charge was taken for confeſſed. Upon this he was declared a Heretick, his Goods confiſcated, he was burnt in Effigy, and all Perſons prohibited to entertain or relieve him under the Penalty of Excommunication.

May 28, 1540.

Sir *John* being inform'd of theſe Proceedings, retir'd into *England*, where he was well receiv'd by King *Henry*, and honour'd with a publick Character to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*. Thus far Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*. But notwithſtanding, Sir *John Bothwick* did not think it ſafe to ſtand his Trial at St. *Andrews*, the Articles were tranſmitted to him by a Friend. By his Anſwer to the Charge related by *Fox*, it appears, he was much miſtaken in ſome Points; particularly, in aſſerting that the Clergy ought not to have any Property or temporal Juriſdiction. But the Weakneſs of this Pretence has been ſufficiently expos'd already *: Beſides, Sir *John*, as to the manner of his Defence, is extremely foreign to the Character of a Chriſtian.

* *My Church Hiſtory, pt.* 1. *p.* 661.

He is very coarſe and intemperate in his Satyr, and flies out into the laſt Exceſſes of Railing †.

To break thro' the Order of Chronology a little, and proceed ſomewhat farther with the *Scottiſh* Affairs. King *Henry* ſome Years ſince, ſent the Biſhop of St. *David*'s into *Scotland*, to preſent his Nephew with ſome *Engliſh* Books, and particularly with the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*: But that Prince was not diſpos'd to make any Alteration in Religion. Some time after, the Lord *William Howard* was ſent to the *Scotch* Court to deſire an Interview between the two Kings at *York*. This Motion was agreed to, the Time ſet, and an Equipage prepar'd for the Journey. But the Cardinal and Clergy being apprehenſive of ill Conſequences, endeavoured to break the Appointment. They told the King, there was a great deal of Danger of putting himſelf in the King of *England*'s Hands; that he would in all likelihood meet with the Miſfortune of King *James* the Firſt, and be kept Priſoner in *England*: That by taking this Step, his Friendſhip would be ſuſpected by the Emperor and the *French* King; and which was chiefly to be regarded, by entring into ſuch a Confidence with an excommunicated Prince, he muſt neceſſarily fall under the Pope's Diſpleaſure. Notwithſtanding this Remonſtrance, the King reſolved to keep his Word, and ſet forward for *England*. For not to appear at *York*, and diſappoint his Uncle upon ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, might draw a War upon him, which his *Exchequer* was in no Condition to deal with. The Clergy perceiving where the Matter pinch'd, beſides ſome Advances in Hand, made an Offer of Fifty Thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, in caſe any War ſhould happen, repreſenting withal, that by the Forfeiture of Hereticks Eſtates, a Hundred Thouſand Crowns more would accrue to his Majeſty. Upon the Strength of theſe Expectations, the King was prevail'd upon to decline the Interview, and ſend an Excuſe to his Uncle. From this time his Highneſs was intirely managed by the Cardinal and his Party, and ordered a ſtrict Proſecution of Perſons ſuſpected for Hereſie *.

The King of Scots *refuſes an Interview with King* Henry, *and why.*

A. D. 1540.

To return to *England*; the Lord *Cromwell*, who perceiv'd his Intereſt at a ſtand, and the other Party gaining upon the King, projected the Marriage between his Maſter and the Lady *Anne*, the Duke of *Cleves*'s Siſter. This *Miniſter* obſerv'd, the King was much ſway'd by his Queens, as long as his Fancy continued. He thought therefore the moſt effectual Expedient to preſerve himſelf and his Friends, was to bring on an Alliance with ſome of the Princes of *Germany*. The Emperor had propos'd *Chriſtiana* Dutcheſs of *Milan* to the King; and King *Francis* had offer'd him the Choice of any *French* Lady: But both theſe Overtures came to nothing (m). This made the King hearken to *Cromwell*'s Suggeſtion, and think of engaging with *Anne* of *Cleve*. The Treaty was begun with Duke *John* her Father, but ſome Difficulties intervening, it broke off. Upon her Father's Death the Treaty for a Match with *England*, was revived with Duke *William* her Brother. The Lady's Picture was drawn by *Hans Holben*, and ſent over hither. But this famous Painter was too ceremonious, and very much exceeded the *Life*. The King being pleas'd with the Pourtrait and Alliance, concluded the Match, and ſoon after, the Lady was ſent over with a ſplendid Equipage. His Majeſty upon the Sight of her at *Rocheſter*, was much diſappointed in her Perſon. He diſſembled his Diſguſt notwithſtanding, and treated her with the cuſtomary Regard. Having proceeded thus far, he thought it too late to diſengage, and therefore reſolved to marry when the Difficulty of the Precontract between this Lady and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, was diſentangled. The Lord *Cromwell* was charg'd with the clearing this Buſineſs. He told the King, that an Inſtrument for releaſing the Covenants of Marriage between the Lady *Anne* and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, was brought over. But whether *Cromwell* was guilty of an Omiſſion, or deceiv'd by the Duke of *Cleve*'s Agents, is ſomewhat uncertain: For it ſeems the *German* Ambaſſadors could produce no ſuch Inſtrument. But to give the King what Satisfaction was in their Power, *Oleſleger* * offer'd to remain Priſoner until a Revocation of the Contract was ſent over. This Failure in what was expected, made the King complain of ill Uſage; however, the Matter was referred to the *Council-Table*. Here the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *Durham*, deliver'd their Opinion; That if nothing but a Contract had paſs'd between them, the Renunciation abovementioned, would void the Articles, and return them to their former Liberty. As to the manner of this Revocation, each of the Parties were to declare their Releaſe before Perſons of Quality, and publick Notaries. And that their proteſting the Articles void in this ſolemn manner, would be a ſufficient Diſcharge in Law. The Duke of *Cleves*'s Commiſſioners undertook a Form of this kind in Writing, procur'd from their Maſter and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, ſhould be put in the King's Hand; and the ſame Declaration was made by the Lady, at his Majeſty's Inſtance. Things being thus far advanc'd, the King told *Cromwell* there was now no Remedy or Evaſion, and therefore he muſt of neceſſity put *his Neck in the Yoke*. Thus the next Day, he marry'd her with the uſual Solemnity at *Greenwich*, and reſolved to enter into a Confederacy with the Princes of *Germany*, provided Religion could be tolerably agreed. The latter end of this Year, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Secretary of State, was ſent Ambaſſador to *James* King of *Scotland*. After a Preſent of ſome Horſes for a Recommendation, his Inſtructions were to bring *Beton*, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, into Diſ-favour with that Prince: To this purpoſe the Cardinal's Letters to the Pope, couch'd in Terms not ſerviceable to the Writer, being intercepted in *England*, were ſhewn at the *Scottiſh* Court: But this Deſign of leſſening the Cardinal's Intereſt, made little Impreſſion upon King *James*. The other Branch of the Ambaſſador's Charge, was, to perſuade the King of *Scots* to make Seiſure of the Abbeys: That this Expedient would be a great Addition to the Revenues of the *Crown*. The King generouſly reply'd, the Monaſteries were ready to anſwer any Intimations of his Pleaſure for a Supply; and therefore he had no Occaſion to deſtroy their Eſtabliſhment: He added, a great many of theſe *Houſes* manag'd to Commendation, and if there were any Abuſes in the reſt, they might be eaſily reform'd.

The King's Marriage with Anne Cleve.

Id. p. 453.

Jan. 6. 153$\frac{9}{40}$.

Id. p. 454.

The King of Scots *Reaſon for not diſſolving the Monaſteries.*

Ibid. p. 445.

'Tis poſſible this Prince might conſider farther, That if the Abbeys were diſſolved, it would be expected he ſhould follow King *Henry*'s Precedent, and convey the greateſt Part of theſe Eſtates to his Courtiers, and other ſecular Men. That unleſs they were thus gratify'd, the *Temporalty* might think themſelves diſappointed, and Loſers by the Change. That being thus baulk'd, they might ſympathize too far with the unfortunate *Religious*, abett their Pretenſions, and occaſion a Commotion in the Government.

---

† Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 605. & deinc.

* Spotſwood, p. 71.

(m) Ld. Herbert, p. 434, 435.

* *He was one of the Commiſſioners.*

On the other hand, if the Lands of the *Monaſteries* were granted to his Lay-Subjects, he might foreſee the Senſe of the Benefaction would be quickly worn out. Such Bounty would be look'd on as the Reward of Service, and the Title laid in the Merit of the *Grantee*. 'Twould be very much a Queſtion whether the Heirs of the Abbey-Lands would be ſo compliant with the *Crown*, and part ſo eaſily with their Money as the Monks had uſually done. The ſending for *Loans* might probably be look'd on as arbitrary Demands, and Invaſions of Property: And tho' the ſqueezing a defenceleſs *Order*, would, it may be, go off in a Jeſt, or paſs for a publick Convenience; yet ſuch an Experiment upon Men of Title and Intereſt, of *Steel* and Stomach, might prove dangerous in the Operation: 'Twas upon this Proſpect, 'tis likely, in Concurrence with other Motives, that King *James* was not in a Diſpoſition to go into his Uncle's Meaſures. And thus when the Emperor *Charles* heard of the Fate of the *Engliſh* Abbeys, and into what Channels their Revenues were turned; he is reported to have ſaid, That now the King had kill'd the *Hen* which laid him the *Golden Egg*.

The King reſolves to part with his Queen. Cromwell's *Fall.*

To return to *England*: It ſeems the new Queen had neither Agreeableneſs of Perſon, or Converſation, to engage the King's Affections: For how well qualified ſoever ſhe might be for Diſcourſe in her own Country, that Advantage was loſt *here*, for ſhe underſtood no Language but *Dutch*: And as for Muſick, which was the King's *Inclination*, 'twas not any part of the Breeding of her Father's Court. Beſides, the *Inſtrument* for diſentangling the Pre-contract, was either not ſhewn the King, or came ſhort of giving Satisfaction. 'Tis granted it was tranſmitted hither, to *Oleſleger*, the Duke's Commiſſioner, but it was not lodg'd with the *Records* of *State*, but only found amongſt *Cromwell's* Papers after he was apprehended. In ſhort, the King was reſolv'd to part with his Queen, and deſtroy *Cromwell*, who adviſ'd the bringing them together. It was not long ſince the King had loaded him with Titles and Advancement in Office; made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Lord Chamberlain of *England*. But *Cromwell* having gone ſo deep in making this Match, and flouriſh'd, 'tis likely, too much upon the Lady's Perſon, his Fate was determin'd. This *Miniſter* was puſh'd from his Station with little Regret. The Nobility grudg'd ſo much Greatneſs to ſo mean a Birth. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and thoſe of his Intereſt and Perſwaſion, hated him for projecting the Diſſolution of the *Abbeys*, and acting ſo vigorouſly in it. As for the *Reformers*, he ſign'd the Inſtrument for their Puniſhment, and had a Share in the Proſecution, and therefore could have no great Expectations from *that* Quarter: Beſides, his Counſels were thought oppreſſive, both to the *Clergy* and *Laity*: For notwithſtanding the prodigious *Treaſure* flowing into the *Exchequer*, from the Diſſolution of the Abbeys; or at leaſt might have run into that Channel, had the Courſe been well directed: Notwithſtanding this, and a *Subſidy* of four Shillings in the Pound, given by the *Clergy*, he had wreſted one *Tenth*, and four *Fifteenths* from the *Laity*, againſt the Grain of the *Parliament*. Theſe Circumſtances of his Condition, and Management, made him univerſally hated. The King therefore thought his *Miniſtry* no longer neceſſary, but gave way to the Complaint of his Enemies. Now it was no difficult Undertaking to form a Charge againſt a Perſon who had acted in ſo many Publick *Poſts*, and been concern'd in ſuch a Complication of Buſineſs.

June the 13th, A. D. 1540.

The King being furniſh'd with Articles and Evidence againſt *Cromwell*, order'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to arreſt him at the *Council Table*. *Cromwell* drew a Preſage of his Ruin from the Perſon employ'd: For this Duke was Uncle to the Lady *Catherine Howard*, who began now to draw the King's Inclination. When the News was ſpread of *Cromwell's* Commitment to the Tower for High Treaſon, the People gave publick and ill-natur'd Signs of their being pleas'd with his Miſfortune. The King perceiving the Guſt of the Generality, that the Hardſhips ſuffer'd, and the wrong Steps in the *Adminiſtration*, were thrown upon this *Miniſter*, he proceeded in the Divorce, and his Buſineſs in Parliament, without much Reſerve or Heſitation.

Cromwell *ſent to the Tower for High-Treaſon.*

Cromwell was attainted of High Treaſon in *Parliament*, without being brought to his Anſwer. This Method was thought Extremity of Juſtice, to ſpeak ſoftly; but the former Proceedings of this Kind, and moſt other Severities of the Government, being imputed to his Suggeſtions, he had little Compaſſion. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſhew'd his Friendſhip heartily on this Occaſion, and made a generous Effort to diſengage *Cromwell*, as appears by his Letter to the King on this Lord's Behalf.

> “He acquaints his Majeſty, how much he was ſurpriz'd at *Cromwell's* being put under an Arreſt for High Treaſon. That the Obligations of this *Miniſter* to his Majeſty being ſo extraordinary; his Security reſting wholly on the *Crown*, and his Inclination, upon all Occaſions, ſo apparent to ſerve his Maſter, his Miſbehaviour to ſuch a Degree was a moſt amazing Relation. The Archbiſhop continues, That he thought *Cromwell* lov'd his Majeſty no leſs than God Almighty; That he always made his Majeſty's Pleaſure the Rule of his Conduct, and valued no Man's Diſpleaſure to ſerve his Maſter; That, in his Opinion, no King of *England* ever had a *Miniſter* better qualified in Point of Prudence, Application, and Integrity, than *Cromwell*; That if King *John*, *Henry* the II. and *Richard* the II. had been furniſh'd with ſuch a Counſellour, he believes they would never have miſcarried, and been ſo traiterouſly deſerted. I lov'd him, ſays the Archbiſhop, as a Friend, but chiefly for the diſtinguiſhing Regard he always diſcover'd for your Highneſs; But now, if he is a Traitor, I am ſorry I miſplac'd my Affection, and took him into any Share of Confidence, and am very glad his Treaſon is detected. But then I am extreamly concern'd upon another Account; for who can your Highneſs truſt if he has deceiv'd you? Alas! I lament your Highneſs's Miſfortune, and am perfectly at a loſs in whom you may confide: But ſhall never ceaſe to beg of God Almighty, to ſend your Highneſs a Counſellour in his Place, ſo well qualified for your Service, both in Abilities and Inclination, as I ever thought this Perſon to have been.

June the 14th.

Ibid. p. 447.

This is the Subſtance of *Cranmer's* Letter, as 'twas copy'd, by Lord *Herbert*, from the Original. This Letter, tho' written in Time, and with great Frankneſs, was not prevalent enough to preſerve *Cromwell*. For three Days after, the *Bill*

June the 17th.

of *Attainder* was brought into the Houſe of Lords, where it paſt in two Days: It ſtuck longer with the *Commons*, but at laſt 'twas agreed to by both *Houſes*, and had the Royal Aſſent.

Crimes charg'd upon Cromwell *in the Bill of Attainder.*

“The *Act* ſets forth, That *Cromwell* had preſum'd to diſcharge ſeveral Perſons committed for Miſpriſion of Treaſon: That he had receiv'd ſeveral Bribes, and for that Conſideration, granted Licences to carry Money, Corn, Horſes, and other things, out of the Kingdom, contrary to the King's Proclamation: That he had traiterouſly uſurp'd part of the King's Prerogative, and iſſued forth Commiſſions to ſeveral Perſons, upon urgent and weighty Affairs, without the King's Knowledge or Conſent: That he had procur'd many Heretical Books to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*: That he had openly maintain'd, that 'twas lawful for every Chriſtian Man to adminiſter the Sacrament of the Altar, as well as the Prieſt: That he had misbehaved himſelf in his Office of *Vicegerent*, ſcreen'd Hereticks from Puniſhment, obſtructed their Reformation, and written to the Sheriffs to ſet them at liberty, upon a falſe Suggeſtion of an Order from the King: That having ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt, by debauching his Majeſty's Subjects, and thinking himſelf in a Condition to maintain his Treaſons and Hereſies by plain Force, on the laſt of *March*, in the 30th Year of the King's Reign, when Complaint was made to him of *Barnes*, and ſome other *new Preachers*; amongſt other things, to the ſame Effect, he traiterouſly deliver'd himſelf in theſe Words; *That if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn: And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Perſon, with my Sword in mine Hand, againſt him and all others:* And then, and there, moſt traiterouſly pull'd out his Dagger, and held it up, with theſe Words; *or elſe this Dagger thruſt me to the Heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel againſt them all. And I truſt, if I live one Year, or two, it ſhould not be in the King's Power, to let it if he would.* And then, ſwearing a great Oath, and throwing up his Arm in a menacing Poſture, he ſaid, *I will do ſo indeed.* He is likewiſe charg'd with enriching himſelf by Oppreſſion, Bribery, Extortion, and deluſive Promiſes. And that having rais'd a great Fortune, by ſuch indirect and ſcandalous Practices, he had treated the Nobility with great Diſregard and Contempt. And being put in mind of the Condition to which the King had advanc'd him, the laſt Day of *January*, the 31ſt Year of the preſent Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Martin*'s in the Fields, in *Middleſex*, he publickly declar'd, That *if the Lords would handle him ſo, he would give them ſuch a Breakfaſt as never was made in* England, *and that the proudeſt of them ſhould know.* For all which Treaſons, and Hereſies, he was attainted to ſuffer the Pains of Death, and to forfeit all his Lands, Goods and Chattels to the King's Uſe, of which he had been poſſeſs'd the laſt Day of *March*, in the 30th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, or ſince. To this *Bill* there is a *Proviſo* added, That this *Attainder* ſhould work no Prejudice to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, or to the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral (*n*).

(*n*) Rot. Parl. 32. H. 8. *See Biſhop* Burnet's *Records. Book* 3. *p.* 187.

Cromwell *Dean of* Wells.

To underſtand this *Proviſo*, we are to take notice, That *Cromwell*, when Lord *Privy Seal* was his higheſt Title, was elected Dean of *Wells*. This was done by Biſhop *Clerke*'s Intereſt, at the King's Recommendation. The Biſhop ſeems very much pleas'd, that *Cromwell* had this Dignity: Becauſe ſo great a Man's being Dean, he conceiv'd, would ſtrengthen the Intereſt, and protect the Privileges of that Church. But if this was Biſhop *Clerke*'s Opinion, he miſcalculated upon the Iſſue; For *Cromwell* procur'd Exchanges of Land, and broke in upon the Endowments of that *See* and *Chapter* (*o*).

(*o*) Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

To return: Upon this *Attainder*, *Fox* takes the Freedom to obſerve, That as General *Councils* have ſometimes been miſtaken, in Matters of Weight relating to Religion; ſo Princes and Parliaments may be ſometimes miſinform'd, by Men of Deſign, and malintention'd. And that to affirm this, is no Reflection upon the Government and Legiſlature (*p*).

(*p*) Fox. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 514.

The Lord *Herbert* is more reſerv'd in his Remarks, and won't pretend to juſtify where the *Law* condemns: However, he ſeems to believe, that thoſe dangerous Words, ſaid to be ſpoken by *Cromwell*, did not proceed from any treaſonable Meaning: But that, being ſome unguarded Expreſſions, they were miſreported, or miſapplied (*q*).

(*q*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 457, 458.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian ventures farther in *Cromwell*'s Juſtification, and makes no Difficulty to affirm, *that from theſe Particulars in the Act, the Reader will clearly ſee, why he was not brought to make his Anſwer, moſt of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which, it is very probable, he had the King's Warrant.* But to ſay this, is to ſtick a remarkable Blemiſh upon the King, to make the Parliament flexible to a lamentable Degree, and arraign the Proceedings of the Higheſt Court of Juſtice; and all this, without ſufficient Proof to warrant the Cenſure (*r*).

(*r*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 279.

The King breaks the Marriage with Anne *of* Cleve.

About this Time, *John Clerke*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was ſent Ambaſſadour to the Duke of *Cleves*, to acquaint him, that the *Inſtrument* for nulling the Pre-contract between *Anne* of *Cleve* and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, had been examin'd in Parliament, and declar'd inſufficient for the Purpoſe. That therefore his Majeſty was reſolv'd to break the Marriage. In the mean time, the King order'd the the Duke of *Suffolk* to acquaint the Queen with his Reſolution. She had been lately remov'd to *Richmond*, upon pretence of better Air (*s*). The Lady was extremely ſurpriz'd at the Delivery of this Meſſage: After ſome Recollection, and recovering her Spirits, ſhe diſcours'd this Lord, and was, at laſt, perſwaded to comply with the Terms propos'd; Firſt, To refer the Matter of the Pre-contract to the Deciſion of the *Engliſh Clergy*: Secondly, To drop her Title of Queen, and take that of the King's *Adopted Siſter*.

(*s*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 458, 459.

Ibid.

On the ſeventh of *July*, the Caſe was brought before the *Convocation*, open'd by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a Committee appointed to conſider it. The Biſhops of *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, *Thurlby*, and *Leighton* Dean of *York*, were order'd to examine Witneſſes: The next Day they receiv'd the King's Depoſition, with a long Declaration of the whole Matter under *Cromwell*'s Hand (*t*). It was likewiſe depos'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, “That when the Queen was brought to *Greenwich*, at her firſt Arrival, the King deſir'd to be inform'd, whether the Promiſes made by the Duke of *Cleve*, to clear the Eſpouſals between the Queen and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s eldeſt Son, were perform'd (*u*). For Satiſfaction in this

(*t*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Records. Book* 3. *Num.* 17, 18.

(*u*) *Regiſt.* Cranmer. *fol.* 141.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

“Matter the King deferr'd the Solemnizing his Marriage two Days: That upon the King's laying this Affair before the *Council*, they found this matter not diſentangled. That no writing was brought over to ſatisfie this Queſtion. That upon the ſcore of this Diſappointment, the Marriage had been declin'd, if the King's Inclination had not been overrul'd by the Solicitation of the Duke's Agents. Theſe Perſons promis'd, that their Maſter would ſhortly ſend over an authentick Inſtrument, and put the matter out of all doubt. But when the writing came to the King's Hand, it rather rais'd new Scruples, than remov'd the old ones. So that now the *Eſpouſals* between the Queen and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s eldeſt Son, might be taken for a Contract, *de Præſenti*. The reſt of the Depoſitions turn'd chiefly upon the King's Diſaffection to the Queen's Perſon. The Evidence being laid before the *Convocation*, they came to an unanimous Vote for nulling the Marriage, and declar'd the King and the Lady *Anne*, perfectly diſcharg'd from the *Engagement* (w). One Argument, beſides thoſe already mention'd, was drawn from the want of Conſummation: But here, as it is well obſerv'd, the *Convocation* ſeems to have forgotten what was urg'd on the King's behalf ten Years before: That Conſent, without Conſummation, compleated a Marriage. But it is ſuppos'd, that many of the *Members* being *Canoniſts*, ſupported their Judgment by Precedents in the *Canon Law*; concluding, it may be, they might uſe the ſame liberty which had formerly been taken by the *Court* of *Rome* (x).

(w) *See Records, N.* 48.
July 9.
Extracts of Convoc.
The Convocation declares the Marriage void.

(x) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 281.

But after all, the Reaſons on which their Sentence is founded, are not very cogent; and therefore I can't help ſaying, they appear to have been too much govern'd by the Will of their Prince.

On the tenth of *July*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* reported the Proceedings of the *Convocation*, in the *Houſe* of Lords: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deliver'd the *Inſtrument* of the Clergy's Deciſion in Writing, and dilated on the Reaſons upon which it was founded. The Lords being ſatisfied with this Repreſentation, ſent *Cranmer* and *Gardner* to acquaint the *Commons* with what had paſs'd. The next day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, were diſpatch'd to the Queen: She appear'd not at all diſconcerted at the News; it may be the manner of this Diſengagement reconcil'd her more to it: For beſides the Privilege of being declar'd the King's adopted Siſter, theſe Lords aſſur'd her, his Highneſs would give her Precedence next to his Queen and Daughters, and ſettle her in an Eſtate of Three Thouſand Pound *per Annum*. And over and above, ſhe had the liberty either of living in *England*, or returning home when ſhe thought fit. She accepted the Terms, acquainted the King with her Compliance in a Letter, and ſign'd in the Stile ſuggeſted: She was farther prevail'd on to write to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*. In this Letter, ſhe reports the Judgment of the *Convocation*, owns the Juſtice of the Proceſs, that her *Honour* was preſerv'd, that ſhe was well us'd in *England*, and deſir'd to remain there; in the cloſe, ſhe requeſts her Brother not to break off his Correſpondence, or maltreat the *Engliſh* Court; for that might prove unſerviceable to her (y). Laſtly, She promis'd theſe Lords, that all the Letters ſhe receiv'd from her Brother, or any other Perſon, ſhould be ſhewn to the King. The day following, a *Bill* was read for annulling the Marriage, and paſs'd both *Houſes* without any Difficulty; the Act recites the Judgment of the *Convocation*, and makes it High-Treaſon to maintain either by Writing or any other overt Act, that the pretenſed Marriage between the King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, is good and binding (z).

July 11.
Their Sentence confirm'd in Parliament.

The Lady Anne *complies with the Proceedings.*
Id.
Collections &c. *Book* 3. *p.* 200.
(y) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 459.

Hen. VIII. K.

(z) 32 H. 8. c. 25. *Statutes at large.*

To proceed to ſome other *Statutes* of this Parliament, relating to the Church. A *Bill* paſs'd for moderating the Rigour of the *Six Articles*, relating to the Marriage of Prieſts, or their cohabiting with other Women. And here the capital Puniſhment was mitigated to a Forfeiture of Goods, Chattels, and Lands, during Life (a).

An Act for moderating the Penalties of the Six Articles.

(a) 32 H. 8. c. 10.

Another *Bill* was paſs'd, touching the State or Declaration of the Chriſtian Religion, by whom it was to be drawn up, and who was to determine the meaning of any controverted Point. The *Preamble* ſets forth, “That his Highneſs, in virtue of his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, had taken all imaginable Care to eſtabliſh the Proſperity of the Church of *England*, and to procure the Bleſſings of Union in that Society. His Highneſs likewiſe conſidering, that ſundry heretical, erroneous, and dangerous Opinions have been ſpread amongſt his Subjects, diſorder'd them in their Belief and Practice, diſpoſed them to Animoſities among themſelves, to the Damage of the Commonwealth, and the danger of their Souls, without timely Remedy. To prevent ſuch Miſchiefs, his Highneſs has order'd the Archbiſhops, and ſeveral Biſhops of both *Provinces*, together with a conſiderable number of Doctors in Divinity, of the beſt Reputation for Learning, and Diſcretion to draw up a Form of the principal Articles of our *Faith*; adding withal, an Explanation of ſuch other Points as by his *Grace's* Advice, Counſel and Conſent, ſhall be thought needful and expedient. They were likewiſe commiſſion'd to deliver in a Form of all the lawful Rights and Ceremonies for Divine Service, to be obſerv'd within this Realm. And becauſe the Matter was ſo important, and required the utmoſt Thought and Deliberation, they were not tied in the Performance to this *Seſſion*, but might take what length of time ſoever ſhould be allow'd them by the King, with the Advice of the *Privy Council*. By the *enacting* Part, all Determinations, Declarations, Definitions, Reſolutions, *&c.* made according to *God's Word*, and *Chriſt's Goſpel*, by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Committee of Doctors, above mention'd, or by the whole Clergy of *England*, upon any Point of the Chriſtian Faith, or touching Rights and Ceremonies, when confirm'd by his Majeſty's *Letters Patent* under the Great-Seal, ſhall be in every Point and Circumſtance fully believ'd, obey'd, and perform'd to all Purpoſes, Intents, and Conſtructions, by all his Majeſty's Subjects, under the Penalties therein to be compriz'd, provided always, that nothing ſhall be done, ordain'd, defin'd, or provided by Authority of this *Act*, which ſhall be repugnant or contrariant to the *Laws* and *Statutes* of this *Realm* (b).

An Act concerning the Declaration of the Chriſtian Religion.

(b) 32 H. 8. c. 26. *Statutes at large.*

This *Proviſo* perplexes the *Statute*, ſeems to recal the Powers already granted; and upon any Diſpute, brings the laſt Reſolution of the Queſtion to the *Temporal Courts*. For as our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, *'twas one of the great Deſigns both of the Miniſtry and Lawyers at this Time, to draw all Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the Cognizance of the Secular Judge* (c).

(c) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 233.

The Order of the Knights of St. John *of* Jeruſalem *ſuppreſs'd.*

The famous *Hoſpital* of the Knights of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, which had hitherto out-rid the ſtorm which fell upon the Abbeys, was now involv'd in the fate of the reſt. For the Diſſolution of this wealthy *Society*, theſe Reaſons, as Lord *Herbert* words it, *were chiefly pretended*, (*d*) “That the Knights of *Rhodes* or St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem* exported great Sums of Money yearly out of the Kingdom: That they abetted the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*, maintain'd the Pope's *Supremacy*: That they had defam'd the King and his Subjects, and endeavour'd to draw an *Odium* upon the publick Proceedings, for diſcharging the pretended Authority of the Court of *Rome*: That the Iſle of *Rhodes*, from whence theſe *Religious* Knights took their Name and Eſtabliſhment, was ſurpriz'd by the *Turks*: And laſtly, that the Revenues of the *Houſe* would be better ſpent in Defence of the Kingdom, than any longer enjoy'd by ſuch a diſaffected *Fraternity*.

By the *Body* of the *Statute*, all the Lands belonging to the Knights of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, both in *England* and *Ireland*, are granted to the *Crown*; and put within the Survey and Juriſdiction of the Court of *Augmentations*. And here with the reſt of their Eſtates, all *Parſonages*, *Tithes*, and *Penſions*, belonging to their *Houſe*, are convey'd to the King. However, Sir *William Weſton* Prior, and ſeveral others of the Brothers, had conſiderable Penſions during their Lives ſettled by the *Act*. For Inſtance, Sir *William Weſton* had an *Annuity* of a Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*: Sir *John Rawſon* Knight, Prior of *Kilmaynan* in *Ireland*, had an *Annuity* of Five Hundred Mark, *Clement Weſt*'s *Annuity* was Two Hundred Pounds: *George Ailmer*, another of the Brothers, had an annual Penſion of an Hundred Pounds during Life. There are ſeveral other Annuities of the ſame Value, but many of them were no more than Ten Pounds; beſides this annual Allowance, all the Brothers had an Aſſignment of part of the Goods belonging to the *Houſe*, proportion'd at the King's Pleaſure. *Thus*, ſays Lord *Herbert*, *fell the ancient and pious Order, not without much Scandal abroad, both to the King and Government* (*e*). The *Endowment* was vaſt, as may be concluded, only by conſidering the *Penſions*. However, the King was not long the richer by the *Diſſolution*; for his Majeſty being diverted with the Tilting, and Entertainment of ſeveral Noblemen, and other Perſons of Condition, rewarded them with a Grant of a great part of the Lands of this *Priory*.

An Act concerning Marriages and Degrees of Conſanguinity, &c. Id.

The *Act* concerning Marriages, and Degrees of Conſanguinity ſhall be next. The *Preamble* ſets forth, “That many Marriages had been null'd formerly by the Biſhop of *Rome*, upon pretence of Pre-contracts, or other Degrees of Kindred, not prohibited by the Law of God: It is therefore *enacted*, that after the Conſummation of the Marriage, no Allegation of a Pre-contract, or any Degrees of Kindred, but thoſe excepted in the Law of God, ſhould be pleaded to annul and void ſuch an *Engagement*. “For theſe Pretences, as the *Act* continues, had been often made uſe of, only when the Parties, or one of them at leaſt, grew weary, and were willing to diſengage (*f*).

This *Act* making Pre-contracts no good Reaſon for breaking a Marriage, drew a Cenſure upon the King, for parting with Queen *Anne Bullen* upon this Score. Some, it is poſſible, thought the King procur'd the paſſing this *Bill*, to wipe off the Blemiſh on the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Birth, and to open a way to her Succeſſion to the Crown. For now the ground upon which ſhe was made illegitimate, was by Implication declared unwarrantable: Another branch of this *Act*, allowing all Marriages, excepting in the Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity prohibited in *Scripture*, was ſuppos'd a Proviſion for removing Impediments againſt the King's Marriage with Mrs. *Catherine Howard*: For this Lady being Couſin *German* to *Anne Bullen*, the nearneſs of the Alliance, would embaraſs the King's Deſign by the *Canon Law*.

“This *Seſſion* the *Court* of *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths* was erected (*g*). There was likewiſe an *Act* for the Payment and Recovery of Tithes: The *Act* is charg'd with two Proviſo's. Firſt, That no Perſon ſhall be ſued, or otherwiſe compell'd to pay Tithes, for any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, which by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm are diſcharg'd, or not chargeable with the Payment of any ſuch Tithes.

An Act concerning Tithes.

“It is farther *Provided*, That nothing in this *Act* ſhall bind the City of *London* and *Suburbs*, to pay their Tithes and Offering otherwiſe than they ought, or ſhould have done before the making this *Act*.

“The *Preamble* ſets forth, That many Perſons in few Years paſt, more contemptuouſly and commonly preſuming to break in upon the Laws of the Realm, have made no Scruple to refuſe the Payment of the lawful and accuſtom'd Tithes of Corn, Hay, Paſturage, Oblations, *&c.* That they have been the more encourag'd to this indirect Practice, becauſe divers *Lay Perſons* having Parſonages, Vicariges, and Tithes convey'd to them and their Heirs, cannot by the courſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Realm, ſue in the Eccleſiaſtical Court for the wrongful detaining the ſaid Tithes or other Duties, nor can have any Remedy by the Common Laws of this Realm for this purpoſe.

“It is therefore *enacted*, That every Perſon ſhall ſet out, and pay his Tithes according to the Cuſtom of the Pariſh where they are due. That Offenders ſhall be convented before the *Ordinary*, and the Cauſe try'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; that in Caſe any of the Parties ſhall appeal from the Judgment of the Spiritual Courts, the Appellants ſhall pay Coſts to the other Party; and that thoſe Perſons who ſhall refuſe to pay their Tithes, purſuant to the Award abovemention'd, ſhall be bound by two Juſtices of the Peace, to obey the *Ordinary's* Sentence (*h*).

Upon this *Statute*, *Fuller* takes the freedom to remark, that ſince the King had lately ſet ſo ſingular a Precedent in ſuppreſſing Abbeys, and alienating Tithes from the Primitive Intendment; it was no wonder to find the Subjects ſtrike out into ſome imitation; eſpecially *becauſe it ſeem'd unreaſonable*, as he goes on, *that they ſhould receive Wages, who did no Work*; *and that the Hire of the Labourers in the Vineyard, ſhould be given to lazy Lookers on* (*i*). This *Statute*, tho' made in favour of *Lay Impropriators*, was ſerviceable to the Clergy: For tho' the Benefit of the Church was not principally in View, the Concurrence of Intereſt, and the Parity of the Caſe made it applicable.

At the end of this *Seſſions*, there was an *Act* of *Grace*, in which ſeveral Perſons of Quality, Monks, and Prieſts of both Parties, are excepted. Thoſe likewiſe who held the following erroneous Principles are excepted *viz.*

(*d*) 32 H. 8. c. 24.

(*e*) The Ld. Herbert, p. 461.

(*f*) 32 H. 8. c. 38.

(*g*) 32 H. 8. c. 45.

(*h*) 32 H. 8. c. 7.

(*i*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 5. *p.* 236.

Perſons holding ſeveral Errors excepted from the general Pardon.

That Infants ought not to be Baptiz'd, and if Baptiz'd, to be Re-baptiz'd when they come to Years of Diſcretion: That it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to exerciſe any Office or Poſt in the Commonwealth: That Human Laws ought not to be obey'd: That it is not lawful for any Chriſtian to take an Oath before a Judge: That Chriſt *aſſum'd none of the Fleſh of the Bleſſed Virgin: That thoſe who ſin after Baptiſm, cannot be recover'd by Repentance. That the manner and time of every Man's Death is ſo irrevocably determin'd by God Almighty, that it is not in the Power of any Mortal to alter it (k).* Theſe *Heterodoxies*, mention'd in the Act, were moſt of them held by the *then Anabaptiſts*.

Ld. Cromwell *executed*, July 28.

His Character.

Some few days after the Diſſolution of this *Parliament*, the Lord *Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was brought to the Scaffold, and executed on *Tower-hill*. This Miniſter was without queſtion of great natural Parts, and of a more than ordinary Talent for Buſineſs: For he came into the World with no advantage of Circumſtances. His Father was a *Blackſmith* at *Putney* near *London:* Notwithſtanding this Diſcouragement of Birth, his Induſtry and Force of Genius made way for his Advancement. He found Opportunities in his Youth to travel, and learn ſome Languages: He ſerv'd ſometime in the *Field* under *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*; and was a *Centinel* at the ſacking of *Rome*. Soon after he quitted the Military Profeſſion, return'd into *England*, and was entertain'd in *Cardinal Woolſey*'s Family. Here he behav'd himſelf to Commendation enough, was at laſt the Cardinal's Secretary; and when that Prelate fell, the King preferr'd him to his Service. During his Miniſtry, he gain'd a great Share in the King's Favour, by ſuggeſting the Diſſolution of the Abbeys, and bearing hard upon the Juriſdiction of the *Clergy*. He ſaid, the driving the Monks out of the *Cloyſter*, was only returning them to *Labour* and a *Lay-Character*, which was no more than their firſt Buſineſs and Pretention. As for the Rules of their *Inſtitution*, and their particular Auſterities injoin'd them, he pretended they might practiſe all this Diſcipline and Self-Denial, without the Forms of monaſtick Confinement. But this way of talking, look'd like ſuperficial and mercenary Reaſoning, in the Opinion of other Perſons of Learning and Thought. In ſhort, his governing himſelf upon theſe Notions, and ſoliciting the King to manage by this Scheme, brought him under a general *Odium*, and occaſioned his Ruine (*l*). *He is ſaid to have carried his Greatneſs with wonderful Temper and Moderation* (*m*). But the learned Hiſtorian, by what he has already reported of *Cromwell*, ſeems to have diſabled himſelf for this Commendation. For the Purpoſe: *Cromwell*'s Letter to *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Sarum*, is ſtiff, preſcribing, and full of his *Vicegerency*. By the Loftineſs of his Stile, one would think he had forgotten the Biſhop's Character, and his own ſlender Qualifications: For as this Gentleman obſerves, *all the Learning he had, was, that he had got the New Teſtament in* Latin *by Heart* (*n*). The ſame learned Hiſtorian delivers himſelf thus: *I ſhall here add a Reflection upon* Cromwell'*s Misfortune, which may juſtly abate the Loftineſs of haughty Men.* Now if he did not believe *Cromwell* a Man of this Temper, his Remark is altogether foreign. *The Day after*, ſays this Hiſtorian, *that* Cromwell *was attainted, being required to ſend the King a full Account under his Hand of his Marriage, which Account he ſent* (*o*). *He concludes it with theſe abject Words*,: “I a moſt woful Priſoner, ready to take the Death when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty, and yet the frail Fleſh incites me to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for mine Offences. And thus Chriſt, ſave, preſerve and keep you. Written at the *Tower* this *Wedneſday* the laſt of *June*, with the heavy Heart and trembling Hand of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor Slave, *Thomas Cromwell*. And a little below that, *Moſt gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy* (*p*).

Farther, *Cromwell* is likewiſe charg'd by this Hiſtorian, with promoting the *Bills* of Attainder. *Cromwell*'s *Ruine*, ſays he, *was now decreed: And he who had ſo ſervilely comply'd with the King's Pleaſure in procuring ſome to be attainted the Year before, without being brought to make their Anſwer, fell now under the ſame Severity.* However, that he was againſt the Proſecution of thoſe call'd Hereticks, muſt be granted; that he was of no ſanguinary exterminating Spirit, is plain by the *Act* of *Attainder*. But when the King's Command preſſed him cloſe, he was not firm enough to hazard his Intereſt or his Perſon. A Proſpect of Danger made him give way, ſign a Commiſſion for the Trial of *Heterodoxy*, and read the Sentence for delivering the *Convict* to the *ſecular* Magiſtrate. *Joſcelin* and *Fox* beſtow a great deal of Panegyrick upon him. The firſt reports, that no Perſon was more faithful to the King, more grateful to his Benefactors, and more generally friendly and benevolent, than this *Miniſter* (*q*). It is likewiſe ſaid, no *Bribery could be faſtened on him* (*r*). Now whether all theſe good Qualities belong to him in ſo ſovereign a Degree, may bear a Queſtion. For in his *Speech* upon the Scaffold, he acknowledges he had offended the King, and asks him Forgiveneſs (*s*). As to Gratitude, he ſeems to have fail'd in one Inſtance, if our Hiſtorian is not miſtaken: For out of a Complement to *Cranmer*, he draws a Parallel between the Archbiſhop and *Wolſey*, to the Reproach of the Cardinal his Maſter (*t*). And laſtly, that *Cromwell* was not ſo clear from taking *Bribes*, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſuppoſes, appears from the *Penſions* and *Preſents* he receiv'd from the *Abbeys*, tho' he adviſ'd the ſuppreſſing them, and as *Joſcelin* confeſſes, exerted his Intereſt for that purpoſe (*u*).

The Charge againſt him for being concern'd in *Bills* of *Attainder*, is of the hardeſt kind. To endeavour the taking off ſome of the weight of this Article, I ſhall cite a Paſſage from Sir *Edward Coke*. This learned Gentleman puts a Queſtion, *What the Reaſon ſhould be, that our Hiſtorians do all agree in this, that* Cromwell *ſuffered Death by a Law which he himſelf had made? For Anſwer hereof, I had it of Sir* Thomas Gawdy, *Knight, a grave and reverend Judge of the* King'*s* Bench, *who lived at that Time, That King* Henry *the Eighth commanded him to attend the Chief Juſtices, and to know, whether a Man that was forthcoming, might be attainted of High-Treaſon by Parliament, and never called to his Anſwer. The Judges anſwered, that it was a dangerous Queſtion, and that the High Court of Parliament ought to give Examples to inferior Courts for proceeding according to Juſtice, and no inferior Court could do the like; and they thought that the High Court of Parliament would never do it. But being by the expreſs Commandment of the King, and preſs'd by the ſaid Earl of* Eſſex, *to give a direct Anſwer, they ſaid, that if he be attainted in Parliament, it could not come in queſtion afterwards, whether he were called or not called to anſwer. And albeit their Opinion were according to Law, yet might they have made a better Anſwer; for by the Statute*

(k) 32 H. 8. cap. 49.

(l) Id. Herbert, *p.* 462.

(m) Bp. Burnet, *p.* 284.

Ibid.

(n) Id. *Records, Book* 3. *p.* 163.

(o) Bp. Burnet. *Records, Book* 3. *p.* 193.

(p) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 281, 282.

Id. *p.* 277.

(q) Antiq. Britan. *p.* 334.

(r) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 285.

(s) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* *p.* 233.

(t) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 265.

(u) Antiq. Britan. *p.* 332.

tute of Magna Charta, cap. 29. 5 E. 3. cap. 9. & 28 E. 3. cap. 5. *No Man ought to be condemned without Anſwer*, &c. *which they might have certified: But* Facta tenent multa quæ fieri prohibentur; *The Act of Attainder paſt by Parliament, did bind, as they reſolved. The Party againſt whom this was intended, was never called in queſtion; but the firſt Man after the ſaid Reſolution that was ſo attainted, and never called to anſwer, was the ſaid Earl of* Eſſex; *whereupon that erroneous and vulgar Opinion amongſt our Hiſtorians grew, That he died by the ſame Law which he himſelf had made* (w). Thus far Sir *Edward Coke*. And if Sir *Thomas Gawdy*'s Story would hold, it might poſſibly be ſomewhat ſerviceable: But the *Attainders* of the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and others mention'd in the *Journal* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*, ſhake the Credit of this Relation (x).

By the way, Sir *Edward Coke* doth not ſay, *Cromwell* was the firſt that was attainted in Parliament without being brought to an Anſwer, but that he was the firſt after this Reſolution of the Judges. That he was not abſolutely the firſt, beſides the Inſtances above mentioned, appears from Sir *Edward Coke* himſelf, who acquaints us, that *Elizabeth Barton*, *Edward Bocking*, and others, were ſeveral Years before, attainted in Parliament, their Crimes being out of the Reach of the Common Law *.

By what Cromwell *ſpoke at his Death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he died*; but, as the learned Author goes on, *it is certain he was a* Lutheran: *For his praying in Engliſh, and that only to God, through Chriſt, without any of thoſe Tricks, that were uſed when thoſe of the Church of* Rome *died, ſhew'd he was none of theirs*. Thus *Fuller* has likewiſe two Arguments, to prove *Cromwell* no Papiſt. Firſt, He us'd no *ſuperſtitious Croſſing of himſelf* (y). But if making the Sign of the Croſs be a ſuperſtitious Uſage, as this Hiſtorian inſinuates, then all the Chriſtians in *Tertullian*'s time were tinctur'd with Superſtition (z). But *Cromwell deſir'd no Prayers for him after his Death*, therefore he was no Papiſt. But if Prayers for the Dead imply Popery, then not only the Primitive Church, but our *Reformation* was Popiſh too: For, during the greateſt part of the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, Prayer for the Dead was part of our *Liturgy*, as will be farther obſerv'd afterwards. I readily grant, *Cromwell* was no Papiſt at his Death: But then, it is pretty plain, he was no *Proteſtant* neither. This, I think, may fairly be collected from part of his dying *Speech*, which runs thus; *And now, I pray you that be here to bear me Record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no, nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have ſlander'd me, and reported, that I have been a Bearer of ſuch as have maintain'd evil Opinions, which is untrue. But I confeſs, that like as God, by his holy Spirit, does inſtruct us in the Truth; ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduc'd, but bear me Witneſs, that I die in the Catholick Faith of the Holy Church*. Now is it not evident by theſe Expreſſions, that *Cromwell* died in the Communion of the then Church of *England*; that is, in the Religion profeſs'd by King *Henry* the VIIIth? He diſowns his having encourag'd thoſe who maintain'd *evil Opinions*. Now evil Opinions, he knew the *Audience* would interpret no otherwiſe, than Opinions contrary to the Doctrines eſtabliſh'd: He explains himſelf farther, confeſſes his *having been ſeduced*, but that now he had recover'd himſelf, and *died in the Catholick Faith of the Holy Church*. Thus, in a Letter to the King, he utterly denied the Charge of Hereſie, and that he was no *Sacramentary*, &c (a). The Meaning of this Letter was, without doubt, to preſerve his Life: But how could ſuch a Proteſtation be ſerviceable to this Purpoſe, unleſs by removing the Suſpicion of Heterodoxy, and perſwading the King, he was of the ſame *Belief* with his Highneſs? His *praying* on the Scaffold *only to God* (b), is no Proof of his being a *Lutheran*. For by this reaſon, Biſhop *Fiſher*, who wrote againſt *Luther*, may be a *Lutheran* too. For, at the Execution of this Prelate, we do not find he made any Application to Angel or Saint. To take leave of *Cromwell*: *Stow* reports, from his own Knowledge, that this Lord us'd his Father very ill, and took away part of his *Freehold* in a very arbitrary manner (c). But then, he does not forget to commend him for his large Charity: For he tells us, he had often ſeen above two hundred Perſons, plentifully reliev'd twice a Day, at the Lord *Cromwell*'s Gate.

During the *Seſſions* of Parliament, there were ſeveral others *attainted*: To mention ſome of them, *Richard Fetherſtone*, *Thomas Abel*, and *Edward Powel*, Prieſts, and *William Horne* Yeoman, were attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, and adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome* (d). By another *Bill*, *Gregory Butolph*, *Adam Damplip*, *Edward Brindeholme*, Clerks, and *Clement Fillpot*, Gentleman, were attainted for adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, correſponding with Cardinal *Pool*, and endeavouring to ſurprize *Calais*. By the ſame *Act*, *Barnes* Dr. of Divinity, *Gerrard* and *Jerome* Prieſts, were attainted of Hereſie. The Act ſets forth, “they had conſpired to ſet forth many Hereſies, and preſuming themſelves Men of Learning, had expounded the *Scriptures*, and wreſted them to an heretical Conſtruction: That having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible Hereticks. Thus they were condemned to be burnt, or to ſuffer any other Death at the King's Pleaſure (e).

The *Act* taking notice of a Recantation, 'twill be proper to lay it before the *Reader*: It runs thus.

“I confeſs with Heart, that Almighty God is no wiſe Author, Cauſer of Sin or any Evil, and therefore, whereas *Scripture* ſaith, *Induravit Dominus cor Pharaonis*, and ſuch other Texts of like Senſe, they ought to be underſtood, *quod Dominus permiſit eum indurari*, and not otherwiſe; which agrees with many of the ancient Interpreters.

Secondly, “That whenſoever I ſhall offend my Neighbour, I muſt be reconcil'd to him before I can obtain Remiſſion of Sin. And in caſe he has offended me, I muſt forgive him as I expect Forgiveneſs from God.

Thirdly, “That good Works mentioned in *Scripture*, and done by a penitent and true reconcil'd Chriſtian, are profitable to Salvation.

Fourthly, “That Laws and Ordinances made by Chriſtian Governours, ought to be obey'd, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.

Theſe Propoſitions were ſubſcrib'd by *Robert Barnes*, *William Jerom*, and *Thomas Gerrard* (f).

This *Barnes* had formerly been brought into Trouble upon the ſcore of his Preaching and Opinion. During *Wolſey*'s Miniſtry, he had reflected in a Sermon at *Cambridge* upon the Cardinal's Port and Equipage. The Cardinal told him, this State and Magnificence could not well be diſpens'd with by a Perſon in his Station; that it was neceſſary to ſupport his Character, and the Reputation of the Government. *Barnes* not reaching this Reaſon, was unwilling to retract his Invective: But *Gardner*, the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being his Friends, prevail'd with him to give Satisfaction, and abjure ſome Opinions charged upon him (g). He was afterward delated upon other Articles, and in Danger of being burnt; but counterfeiting himſelf lunatick, got off into *Germany*. Here he made an Acquaintance with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and other Divines: He was likewiſe known to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the King of *Denmark*. *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Ambaſſador at *Smalcald*, ſent him into *England*, where he was kindly entertained by *Cromwell* (h). By his Intereſt, the Correſpondence with the *Germans* was in ſome meaſure kept up. He was firſt employ'd in the Buſineſs of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. But this Lady's Perſon proving unacceptable, was, it may be, one Occaſion of *Barnes*'s Diſgrace (i).

(w) Coke's Inſtit. pt. 4 fol. 37.

(x) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 359, 360.

* Coke's Inſtit. pt. 3. fol. 14. Marg.

Id. p. 245.

(y) Fuller's Church Hiſt. p. 233.

(z) Tertul. de Coron. Milit.

Fuller, ibid.

Cromwell no Lutheran.

Ibid.

July 28.

(a) Ld. Herbert, p. 462.

(b) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 285.

(c) Stow's Survey of London, p. 187.

Several Attainders.

Id. p. 74.

Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. p. 232.

(d) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 361.

(e) Id. p. 297.

(f) Regiſt. Bonner, fol. 37.

A farther Account of Dr. Barnes.

Ann. 1536.

But other Accidents concurr'd to *Barnes*'s Miſfortune. This Year in *Lent*, Biſhop *Bonner* appointed him, *Gerrard*, and *Jerom*, to preach at St. *Paul*'s-*Croſs*; this it ſeems, was done as a Mark of Reſpect, and to oblige *Cromwell*; but *Gardner* ſent *Bonner* Word, he intended himſelf to preach at St. *Paul*'s-*Croſs* on *Sunday*. In his Sermon, he ſpent ſome Strokes of Satyr againſt the *new Teaching*: Complain'd that the Devil had taught ſome People to throw off Confeſſion, Faſting, and other Inſtances of Diſcipline and Penance. About three Weeks after, *Barnes* took the ſame *Text*, but ſpent his Diſcourſe in maintaining the oppoſite Doctrine. Beſides this, he gave himſelf the Liberty of making ſome bold indiſcreet Reflections upon *Gardner*'s Perſon. He play'd upon his Name, and brought a jingling Compariſon or two, which were ſhort, both in Senſe and Breeding. *Gerrard* and *Jerom* preached much the ſame Doctrine, but without falling foul upon any Perſon. *Jerom* had been charg'd with Preaching againſt the Magiſtracy, but he explain'd himſelf to a very defenſible and honeſt Meaning. He affirm'd, "That if the Laws of Princes are conſiſtent with thoſe of God Almighty, we are bound to obey them; but in caſe the Prince is wicked, and commands a Contradiction to *revealed Religion*: When this happens, we are to ſubmit and ſuffer, and not apply to the Expedient of Reſiſtance (k).

Jerom *maintains Paſſive Obedience.*

To return to *Barnes*: Tho' *Gardner* ſeem'd to bear the Affront with great Temper and Neglect, his Friends thought it neceſſary to ſolicite for Reparation. To this purpoſe they complain'd to the King of *Barnes*'s intemperate Language: How ill he had uſed *Gardner*, who was both a great Prelate and a Privy-Counſellor (l). *Fox* reports one Circumſtance otherwiſe, and ſaith *Gardner* complain'd to the King himſelf. But let this be as it will, *Barnes* was reprimanded for his Miſbehaviour, and ordered to ask the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Pardon. They were likewiſe to argue the Point of Juſtification. Upon this Article, *Barnes* had maintain'd, That *tho' God requires us to forgive our Neighbour, as a Condition of Forgiveneſs from him, yet God muſt forgive us firſt, before we forgive our Neighbour*; *for elſe it would be ſinful to forgive our Neighbour: For St.* Paul *tells us, Whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin.* By this foreign and uncatholick Conſtruction of the *Text*, it appears, Dr. *Barnes* was none of the greateſt Divines (m). The next Day, *Gardner* and *Barnes* had another Conference: At the Concluſion, the latter made his Submiſſion, ask'd the Biſhop's Pardon, and deſired to be under his Inſtructions. The Biſhop very frankly paſs'd over the former Affront, entertain'd *Barnes* as his Companion, and offer'd him a Penſion of forty Pounds a Year: *Barnes* accordingly went to the Biſhop's Houſe: But hearing the People talk to his Diſadvantage, and diſcourſing with ſome Men of Learning, he grew weary of this cloſe Correſpondence, and diſengaged with the Biſhop.

Barnes *his Conference with the Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

Rom. 14.

The King was diſpleas'd with *Barnes* his Management, and order'd him, *Gerrard*, and *Jerom*, to renounce their Opinions. They promis'd Satisfaction, and made their Recantation abovementioned. But this, it ſeems, was but a Force upon their Judgment, for they retracted their Recantation in the *Pulpit*: Upon this they were ſent to the *Tower*, and attainted of Hereſie in *Parliament*. On the thirtieth of *July* they were brought to *Smithfield*, with three others of a different Perſwaſion, *Abel*, *Fetherſtone*, and *Powel*. Theſe were attainted, for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and denying the King's. One of each was put upon a Hurdle; the Papiſts were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, and the other three burnt. This was an odd Spectacle, and look'd like fanciful Severity. Inſomuch, that a *Frenchman* who was there, being ſurpriz'd at the Conduct of the Government, told his Friend in *Latin*, *They had a ſtrange way of managing in* England; *for thoſe, who were for the Pope are hang'd, and thoſe againſt him burnt.*

Barnes, Gerrard, *and* Jerom *ſuffer in* Smithfield. *Three others executed with them, for denying the King's Supremacy.*

Ibid. *p.* 529.

When *Barnes* came to the *Stake*, he declar'd his *Belief* to the Company, and having been charg'd, it ſeems, with ſome Anabaptiſtical Opinions, and particularly, with our Saviour's not taking Fleſh of the Bleſſed Virgin, he diſclaim'd that Hereſie. As to *Good Works*, he affirm'd, they could be no Foundation for Merit, becauſe of the Blemiſhes and Imperfections with which they were mix'd, and therefore he reſted only on the Paſſion of our Saviour. However, to prevent Miſconſtruction, he declares, that thoſe who don't practiſe Virtue, and do *Good Works*, ſhall never come to Heaven; we muſt do *Good Works*, ſays he, becauſe God has commanded us, and to recommend our Religion, but not for any Plea of Deſert.

The Declaration of Barnes, Gerrard, *and* Jerom.

From hence he proceeds to vindicate his Preaching concerning the *Catholick Church*: That he had always treated that Article, and honour'd that *Society*, in as high Terms of Regard as the *Scripture* would give him leave. And here he ſpoke very reverendly of the Bleſſed Virgin. Being ask'd his Opinion, touching *Invocation* of Saints, he told them, he believ'd they were in Heaven, and that their Memories ought to be honour'd, as far as the Permiſſions of *Revelation*: But ſince the *Scriptures* don't command us to addreſs them, he could not warrant any ſuch Application. And whether the *Saints* pray'd for us, or not, was more than he knew, but if they did, he told the Sheriff, he hop'd to be praying for him, and all the Church Militant within half an Hour. After this, he ask'd the Sheriff, if he knew upon what Articles he was to ſuffer: Then put the ſame Queſtion to the Company; and whether any Perſon had been led into Error by his Preaching? But receiving no Anſwer; I underſtand, ſays he, I am condemn'd for Hereſie by an *Act* of *Parliament*; I pray God to forgive all thoſe who have been inſtrumental in this Matter, and particularly the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, if any way concern'd. Then he went on to pray for the King's Proſperity, that his Reign might be long, that his Son,

Prince

(g) Fox. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 518. & deinceps.

(h) *Bp.* Burnet. *p.* 295.

(i) Fox, Ibid.

(k) Fox, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 524.

(l) *Bp.* Burnet. *pt.* 1. *p.* 296.

(m) Fox, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 525.

Prince *Edward*, might ſucceed him, and finiſh thoſe things begun by his Father. And whereas he had been reproach'd for preaching Sedition and Diſloyalty, he told them, they were all bound to obey their Prince, not only for *Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake:* And more than that, if the King ſhould command a Repugnancy to the Law of God, they ought not to reſiſt him, tho' it might be in their Power (*n*).

Ibid. *p.* 527.
(*n*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 298.
Barnes *his Requeſt to the King.*

Then he requeſted the Sheriff, to acquaint the King, that he deſir'd the Grant of five things; Firſt, That his Highneſs would pleaſe to beſtow the Abbey Lands, or part of them at leaſt, for the Relief of his poor Subjects, who had very great need of ſuch a Maintenance. Secondly, That the King would pleaſe to take care, that Marriage might be more honourably treated, and thoſe Engagements better perform'd. That Men might not be permitted to part with their Wives upon ſlight Pretence, and then keep a ſcandalous Correſpondence with other Women: And that thoſe unmarried, might not be ſuffer'd in licentious Practice. Thirdly, That common Swearers might be puniſh'd. Fourthly, That the King would make farther Advances in the *Reformation*, and take his Directions from the *Holy Scripture:* And that his Highneſs would be particularly careful not to be impos'd on by unorthodox Preachers, and ill Counſel.

Jerom made a reſembling Declaration, repeated the *Creed*, profeſs'd his Belief of every thing contain'd in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, pray'd for the King, and recommended Charity, and general Kindneſs, in a very Chriſtian pathetical manner; and gave the Company a Caution, not to rely upon their Performances, but on the Satisfaction of our Saviour's Paſſion.

Gerrard, after a Recital of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſpeaking much to the ſame Purpoſe with the other, declar'd his Abhorrence of all Errors and Hereſies, in caſe, either by Negligence or Miſtake, he had maintain'd any ſuch: And if any Raſhneſs of Conduct, or Vehemence of Temper, had diſoblig'd, or miſled any Perſon, he intreated their Forgiveneſs. Notwithſtanding, he ſaid, he had us'd his beſt Endeavours to inform himſelf rightly, and do his Duty to God and the King. But if he had undertaken any thing too big for him, and miſcarried in the Execution, he deſir'd God would pardon his Preſumption.

He and the other two ſuffer with great Reſignation and Conſtancy.
(*o*)Fox.*p.*529.

Theſe three Perſons, having ſaluted each other with all the Tenderneſſes of Friendſhip, were faſtned to the *Stake*, and ſuffer'd with the Patience and Fortitude of the old Martyrs (*o*).

By the *Act* of *Attainder*, upon which they were burnt, it appears, the *Parliament* had, for once, taken the Cognizance of religious *Belief* from the Biſhops Courts, and made themſelves Judges of *Hereſie*.

This Year, upon a Complaint made, that ſome Servants of the Biſhop of *Ely* had publiſh'd a Tranſlation of *Melanctons*'s Book againſt the *Six Articles*, an Order was ſent down from the *Council* to ſeize their Papers: And in caſe the Biſhop is ſuſpected to be concern'd in this Matter, the Meſſengers are order'd to ſearch his Study *.

* *Council Book.*
Conventiones, Acta publica, &c. Tom. 14. *p.* 705.
Six new Biſhopricks erected.

About this time, the King founded an *Hebrew Lecture* at *Cambridge*, with a Salary of forty Pounds *per Ann.* to be paid out of the Rents of the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*. And ſoon after, this Monaſtery was turn'd into a Biſhop's *See*, &c. with a Deanry, twelve Prebends, with Officers for a Cathedral and Choir. There were five more afterwards erected, *viz. Cheſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, and *Briſtol*; And tho' there is more than a Year's difference between ſome of the *Foundations*, yet for the Affinity of the Matter, I mention them together (*p*). The *Charter* of their Foundation ſets forth, That the King deſires nothing more, than that true Religion, and the right Worſhip of God Almighty, may be reſtor'd to its Primitive Vigour and Perfection, which had ſuffer'd very much by the Degeneracy of the Monaſtick Profeſſion: His Majeſty's Intention being to retrieve the Practice of Religion, to provide for good Inſtruction from the Pulpit, and the right Adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, that Diſcipline and Regularity might be encourag'd, young People bred to Learning, and thoſe diſabled by Age and publick Service, furniſh'd with Neceſſaries, the Poor maintain'd, Ways and Bridges kept in Repair, and all other Offices ſerviceable to Religion and the Commonwealth, better perform'd, had erected the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* into an Epiſcopal *See*, and nominated *Thomas Thirleby*, Dean of the Chapel Royal, for the Biſhop (*q*). The Inſtruments for the Foundation of the five other *Sees* ran in the ſame Form.

The Charter for erecting Cheſter *into a Biſhoprick, bears Date* Aug. 4. 1541. *That for* Glouceſter, September 3. *the ſame Year.* Peterborough *Charter is of the ſame Date with* Glouceſter. *The Biſhoprick of* Briſtol *was erected* June 4. 1542. *And that of* Oxford Sept. 1. *the ſame Year.* Aug. 5.
(*p*) Godwin. de preſul. Ang.
Conventiones Acta publica, &c. Tom. 14. *p.* 717, *to* 754.
(*q*) *Bp.* Burnet. *pt.* 1. *Records Book* 3. *p.* 246.
(*r*) *Bp.* Burnet. *pt.* 1. *p.* 263.

And here it may not be improper to take notice of a Miſtake concerning the Year when the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter* was founded, which was not done, till two Years after the Time ſuppoſed by our learned Hiſtorian (*r*). This *See* was not erected, as himſelf afterwards relates, till the Year One Thouſand Five Hundred and Forty One. And therefore the Commiſſion granted to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, for taking the Surrender of the Monaſtery of *Hammond* in *Shropſhire:* This Commiſſion, I ſay, was granted to the Biſhop of *Lichfield*, that Place being within his Dioceſe, and he commonly call'd, both in Writing and Diſcourſe, Biſhop of *Cheſter*. The reaſon of this way of ſpeaking was, becauſe *Cheſter* had formerly been a Biſhop's *See*, from whence 'twas tranſlated to *Lichfield* (*s*). About this Time the Cathedrals founded for *Priories* were turn'd into Deanries and Prebends. Theſe were *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Durham*, and *Carliſle*.

(*s*) *Bp.* Burnet, *p.* 263. *compared with p.* 300. *and Records, Book* 3. *p.* 149.

But theſe Endowments fell much ſhort of the King's former Scheme, and *Cranmer*'s Project. This Archbiſhop, it ſeems, aim'd at a Proviſion for the ſetting up *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and Divinity *Lectures:* And that a great Number ſhould be bred to Learning and Devotion in the *Cathedrals:* and that thus the Biſhop might have a ſort of Seminary to furniſh his *Dioceſe*. But now the King had diſabled himſelf by the Exceſs of his Bounties, and parted with too much of the Abbey Lands for ſuch an Eſtabliſhment.

Bible printed in a large Vol.

This Year, the *Bible* printed in One Thouſand Five Hundred Thirty Seven, was reprinted into a *larger Volume*; 'twas tranſlated moſtly by *Tindall*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Coverdale*, afterward Biſhop of *Exeter*. *Tindall* ſuffering for his Religion in *Flanders*, before he had gone thro' the whole Work, the *Apocrypha* was tranſlated by *John Rogers*, with the Addition of ſome Marginal Notes. This was called *Matthew*'s Bible, to make it paſs the better, becauſe *Tindall* lay under the Imputation of unſound Opinions. This Impreſſion for the *large Volume* was reviſ'd by *Coverdale*, who compar'd the Tranſlation with the Original, and corrected ſeveral Places. And now, to make it leſs offenſive, the *Notes* were omitted, and a *Preface* of *Cranmer*'s added, which I ſuppoſe is the reaſon of calling it his *Bible* (*t*).

(*t*)Bale Cent.

Soon after the publiſhing this Impreſſion, Biſhop *Bonner* ſet up ſix Bibles in his Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s. He faſtned an Admonition to the Pillars to which the Books were chain'd. "In this Paper, he puts them in Mind they ought to prepare themſelves with Devotion and Humility for their better Edification, not to make any Expoſitions upon the Text, not to read aloud, nor in time of Divine Service or Sermon; that they were not to appear in great Numbers for this purpoſe, nor fall into Diſputes and Claſhing with each other. That in caſe they continued their former Miſbehaviour, and refus'd to comply with theſe Directions, he ſhould be forc'd againſt his Will, to remove the Occaſion, and take the Bible out of the Church *."

* Regiſt. Bonner, *fol.* 25.

Theſe *Bibles* ſet up in St. *Paul*'s by *Bonner*, were publiſh'd this Year by *Tonſtal* and *Heath*, Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*; who by the King's Order review'd *Coverdale*'s Tranſlation, and made what Correction they thought fit. Thus Dr. *Durell* reports the Matter, and refers to the firſt Page of the *Bible* for Proof †.

† Durell vindic. Eccleſ. Anglic. c. 27.

This Year the Cathedral of *Canterbury* was chang'd from Prior and Monks into Dean and Chapter.

To go back a little: In the Beginning of this Year, a Commiſſion was iſſued to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, St. *David*'s, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, and *Rocheſter*, to try one *Alexander Seaton* a *Scotch* Prieſt, complain'd of to the Privy-Council, for maintaining and preaching ſeveral heretical and damnable Opinions. By this Commiſſion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was to be one of the *Quorum*. It is dated the 20th of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1540, and counterſign'd *Thomas Cromwell*. Some of his Opinions, as they ſtand in *Fox*, are, That he deny'd the Freedom of the Will, pronouncing People under a perfect Impotency, to make any Advances towards Virtue. He affirm'd likewiſe, that good Works had nothing of Merit in them, nor had the leaſt Concurrence towards our Juſtification. But then to the Queſtion, whether good Works ſhall be rewarded or not, he anſwers affirmatively, and explains himſelf towards an orthodox Conſtruction: "Good Works, ſays he, ſhall be rewarded with eternal Glory, but not upon the ſcore of Merit, for they deſerve nothing: But becauſe God has ingaged to conſider them thus far, and he will not fail in his Promiſe. Beſides this, which was the main of his Charge, he was delated likewiſe for affirming, private Maſſes and Prayers for the Dead, did the Souls departed no Service. For theſe Aſſertions he was order'd to bear a Faggot and recant at St. *Paul*'s-*Croſs*, which he did accordingly (*u*).

Cranmer, Regiſt. *fol.* 69.

(*u*) Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 535, 536.

This Year *Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was ſent to the *Tower*: He was committed, as our learned Church Hiſtorian reports, upon Suſpicion of Correſpondence with the Pope. But here ſome Evidence for this Relation ſeems to have been neceſſary; for *Fabian*, *Hall*, and *Stow*, acquaint us, this Biſhop was impriſoned for relieving ſome poor Priſoners who had been put up for denying the King's *Supremacy*. By this Account, this Prelate's Crime was no more, at the hardeſt, than an uncautious Charity (*w*).

Bp. Burnet, *p.* 361.

(*w*) Harmer, *p.* 61.

To proceed, the *Act* concerning the *Six Articles*, was cloſely proſecuted in ſeveral Places, and particularly in the Dioceſs of *London*, where not a few Perſons were ruggedly handled in the Biſhop's Courts (*x*). Upon the ſame Charge, three were burnt at *Saliſbury*, one of which was a Prieſt, who had quitted his Profeſſion, and turned Player: Notwithſtanding this Miſbehaviour, he had, it ſeems, a ſerious Senſe of Religion, choſe rather to run the laſt Hazard, than own Tranſubſtantiation, and therefore *Fox* ſets him down for a Martyr.

(*x*) Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 531.

This Year another Inſurrection broke out in *Yorkſhire*, but this was cruſh'd before it made any formidable Advances. Sir *John Nevil*, *Lee* a Gentleman, and one *Tatterſal* a Clothier, with about eleven others, were executed for heading this Commotion. Soon after, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Saliſbury* was executed in the *Tower*. She refuſed to lay her Head down on the Block, and ſuffer'd with great Courage. She was the laſt *Plantagenet* of the legitimate Line (*y*).

A. D. 1541. April.

(*y*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 468.

The late Diſturbance in *Yorkſhire*, occaſioned the King's Progreſs thither: His Majeſty had two Things in his View. He hoped, by appearing in the Country, and examining the Temper of the People, to extinguiſh the Remains of the Rebellion.

The King's Progreſs into Yorkſhire.

He had likewiſe a Deſign to expoſe counterfeit Miracles, and diſcourage Pilgrimages. To which we may add an Expectation of meeting his Nephew the King of *Scotland*. This Prince promis'd his Uncle an Interview; but for ſome Reaſons already mentioned, declined the Performance, notwithſtanding the great Preparations made for his Reception. This Diſappointment was deeply reſented by the King of *England*, who projected a Revenge. King *James* underſtanding upon what ill Terms he ſtood with his Uncle, ſent an Ambaſſador with his Excuſe. He likewiſe deſir'd their former Correſpondence might be reviv'd, which Motion being refus'd by King *Henry*, his Nephew levy'd Men, and prepar'd for his Defence (*z*).

(*z*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 649.

The King who thought himſelf very happy in his laſt Marriage, was much ſurpriz'd at the News of the Queen's Miſbehaviour; ſhe was charg'd with being falſe to his Highneſs's Bed, attainted for High-Treaſon, and beheaded. When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, ſhe confeſs'd ſhe had liv'd diſorderly when ſingle, but utterly deny'd her being guilty of any Diſloyalty, or ſcandalous Commerce, after Marriage (*a*). The Lady *Jane Rochford*, *Culpeper*, *Deeram*, &c. were attainted by the ſame *Act*, and ſuffer'd with her.

Queen Catharine Howard *beheaded.*

(*a*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 470. *Bp.* Burnet, *p.* 311. & deinc.

This *Parliament* an *Act* paſs'd for the diſſevering the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, and *Iſle* of *Man*, from the Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*, and annexing them to the Province of *York* (*b*). There was likewiſe an Act againſt Conjuration, Witchcraft, and Enchantment; and here it is enacted, "That if any Perſon ſhould dig up, or pull down any Croſſes for correſponding with Spirits, to diſcover ſtollen Goods, or to hurt any one in their Perſon or Eſtate, or work them to any unlawful Paſſion of Love, that then the Principals and Abbettors ſhould be deem'd Felons, and be barr'd the Privilege both of Clergy and Sanctuary (*c*).

The Biſhoprick of Cheſter *diſſevered from the Province of* Canterbury.

(*b*) 33 H. 8. cap. 31.

(*c*) 33 H. 8. c. 8. *Statutes at large.*

This Year the Parliament was held at *Dublin* in *Ireland*: The firſt Statute raiſes King *Henry*'s Title from Lord, to King of *Ireland*, and makes it High-Treaſon to refuſe that Style to the Crown of *England*. Notwithſtanding the enacting this Title, the Preamble acknowledges, that the King and his Progenitors had all manner of Regal Juriſdiction and Authority, and were in Right and Reality Kings of that Iſland *.

33 H. 8. c. 1. Iriſh *Statutes.*

There was likewiſe an Act paſs'd for recovering of Tithes †. 'Tis both for Form and Subſtance

† 33 H. 8. c. 12.

ſtance much the ſame with that paſs'd the laſt Year at a Parliament in *England*.

Farther, Another *Bill* paſs'd in the *Iriſh* Parliament, for erecting Vicaridges. The Preamble begins thus,

Whereas, as well the Church of Kilmaynam, **is a Pariſh-Church, and has been appropriated and united to the late Hoſpital of St.** John's Jeruſalem, **within this Land of** Ireland; **and alſo divers other Pariſh-Churches within the ſaid Land, likewiſe appropriated to the ſaid late Hoſpital and to other Monaſteries, Religious Houſes, and Hoſpitals now diſſolv'd; having no Vicar endow'd within the ſame Pariſh-Churches, within which Pariſh-Churches Divine Service was done, maintain'd, and kept, and the Cure ſerv'd by the late Religious Perſons of the ſame Hoſpital, Monaſteries, and Religious Houſes. And for as much as the ſaid Hoſpital, Monaſtery, or Religious Houſes, be now lawfully diſſolv'd, and come into his Majeſty's Hands, whereby there is no Perſon certain appointed to doe, maintain, or keep the ſame Cure, Miniſter, Sacraments and Sacramentals, to the Pariſhioners.** &c. In Remedy of this Inconvenience, it is **enacted, That Sir** Anthony Saintleger **Knight, Deputy to the King's Highneſs,** John Allen, **his Grace's Chancellor,** *William Brabazon* **his Majeſtty's Vice-Treaſurer of this Land, Sir** Jarald Aylmer **Knight, his Grace's Chief-juſtice of the Plees before himſelf to be holden. Sir** Thomas Lutterell **Chief-juſtice of the** Common-Place, **with two more judges, the Maſter of the** Rolls, **the King's Serjeant, and the Attorney General, or any nine, eight, ſeven, or ſix of them; whereof the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Treaſurer, and Chief-juſtice, were to be four, are impower'd to erect and incorporate a Vicaridge in every Pariſh-Church belonging to the Religious Houſes lately diſſolv'd. And here the Portion of Tithes, Oblations, and other Profits, are left to the diſcretion of theſe Commiſſioners, with this Proviſo, that the whole Endowment muſt not exceed the Value of thirteen Pound, ſix Shillings and eight Pence Iriſh. The King was likewiſe to have the Preſentation to all the Vicaridges** ‖. And here in this *Statute*, as it happen'd, there is not one Biſhop or Clergyman nominated with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for ſettling this Affair, in which Religion and the Church were not a little concern'd.

‖ 33 H. 8. c. 14. *Iriſh Statutes.*

A Review of the Tranſlation of the Bible propos'd in Convocation, but miſcarries.

To go from the *Iriſh* Parliament, to the *Engliſh Convocation*; where the Review of the *Tranſlation* of the *Bible* was propoſed. Here *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to check the Deſign, as 'tis ſuppos'd, read a Catalogue of *Latin* Words collected out of the *New Teſtament*; ſuggeſting, that for the Significancy of the Terms, and the Weight of the Matter, they ought either to remain untranſlated, or elſe rendred into *Engliſh* with the leaſt Alteration. The words are theſe. *Eccleſia*, *Penitentia*, *Pontiſex*, *Ancilla*, *Contritus*, *Olocauſta*, *Juſtitia*, *Juſtificate*, *Idiota*, *Elementa*, *Baptizare*, *Martyr*, *Adorare*, *Dignus*, *Sandalium*, *Simplex*, *Tetrarcha*, *Sacramentum*, *Simulacrum*, *Gloria*, *Conflictationes*, *Ceremonia*, *Myſterium*, *Religio*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Spiritus*, *Merces*, *Confiteor tibi Pater*, *Panis Propoſitionis*, *Communio*, *Perſeverare*, *Dilectus*, *Sapientia*, *Pietas*; *Presbyter*, *Lites*, *Servus*, *Opera*, *Sacrificium*, *Benedictio*, *Humilis*, *Humilitas*, *Scientia*, *Gentilis Synagoga*, *Ejicere*, *Miſericordia*, *Complacui*, *Increpare*, *Diſtribueretur Orbis*, *Inculpatus*, *Senior*, *Apocalypſis*, *Satisfactio*, *Contentio*, *Conſcientia*, *Peccatum*, *Peccator*, *Idolum*, *Prudentia*, *Prudenter*, *Parabola*, *Magnifico*, *Oriens*, *Subditus*, *Didragma*, *Hoſpitalitas*, *Epiſcopus*, *Gratia*, *Charitas*, *Tyrannus*, *Concupiſcentia*, *Ciſera*, *Apoſtolus*, *Apoſtolatus*, *Egenus*, *Stater*, *Societas*, *Zizania*, *Myſterium*, *Chriſtus*, *Converſari*, *Profiteor*, *Impoſitio Manuum*, *Idololatria*, *Dominus*, *Sanctus*, *Confeſſio*, *Imitator*, *Paſcha*, *Innumerabilis*, *Inenarrabilis*, *Infidelis*, *Paganus*, *Commilito*, *Virtutes*, *Dominationes*, *Throni*, *Poteſtates*, *Hoſtia*.

Some of theſe *Terms*, it may be, were ſomewhat ſhocking in a *Tranſlation*; and therefore *Gardner* would have cover'd them in the Original, and kept them conceal'd from vulgar Enquiry. In the carrying on this Review, the Books of the *New Teſtament*, were divided amongſt the Biſhops: For Inſtance, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had St. *Matthew*, *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, St. *Mark*, *Gardner* Biſhop *of Wincheſter*, St. *Luke*, *Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*, St. *John*, and ſo the reſt. By this Method the Biſhops were in a manner Maſters of the Undertaking, and might defer the Performance to what time they pleas'd.

To expedite the *Review* therefore, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* acquainted the *Houſe*, 'twas the King's Pleaſure the Tranſlation of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* ſhould be examin'd by both Univerſities. This Motion was much diſlik'd by the *Houſe*; all the Biſhops, excepting *Ely*, and St. *David*'s, proteſting againſt it. They alledg'd the Univerſities were much ſunk from their former Conſiderableneſs. " That Matters were carried by a " Majority of young Men; that without Matu- " rity of Judgment, there was no relying upon the " Reſult: And in ſhort, that the Learning of " the Nation lay moſtly in the *Convocation*. *Cran-* " *mer* reply'd, he was reſolv'd to refer the *Review* to the Univerſities, and be govern'd by the Orders of the King his Maſter. However, by this Diſagreement, the Buſineſs dropp'd (*d*).

Feb. 17. A.D. $154\frac{1}{2}$

This *Convocation*, the Archbiſhop mov'd, That Candles, Silk-Habits, and other Ornaments, might be taken away from *Images*; that *Miſſals*, and other *Liturgick* Books, might be reform'd; and that the Names of the *Popes*, and that of Archbiſhop *Becket*, might be expung'd. That this Reformation was not made this Year, appears by the Archbiſhop's acquainting the *Houſe* next Year, that 'twas the King's Pleaſure, that all *Maſs Books*, *Antiphoners*, and *Portuaſſes*, ſhould be examin'd over again, and reform'd from all mention of the Biſhop of *Rome's* Name; from all *Apocrypha's*, feign'd *Legends*, *Collects*, *Verſicles*, and and *Reſponſes*: And that the Names and Memories of *all Saints*, which are neither mention'd in the *Scriptures*, nor by authentical Doctors, ſhould be deleted in the ſame *Books* and *Calendars*. And that the *Service* ſhould be compil'd out of the *Scriptures*, and other authentick Doctors. And here the Clergy are blam'd for their Negligence in not expunging and omitting ſuch things and Names, as by his Majeſty's *Injunctions* and *Proclamations*, were commanded to be ſtruck out, and cancell'd *.

Feb. 21. A.D. $154\frac{2}{3}$.

The King directs to the Reforming the Miſſals, &c.

Upon this 'twas order'd, that the Examination and Correction of the ſaid *Service-Books*, ſhould be committed to the Biſhops of *Sarum* and *Ely*, each of them taking three of the *Lower-Houſe* to their Aſſiſtance. But the *Lower-Houſe* wav'd their Privilege of furniſhing a Committee, and reſted the matter with the Biſhops.

To return to the former Year. A *Bill* deſign'd for an *Act* of Parliament, was ſent from

---

(*d*) Fuller, *from the Records of the Convocation.*

* *Extracts from the Convocation Book, fol. 65. and 67.*

March 10. A. D. 154$\frac{1}{2}$.

A Motion to impower Lay-Chancellours to execute Church Cenſures, rejected.

the Lord-Chancellor, to the *Upper-Houſe* of *Convocation*, and read there. The Purport of it was, that Biſhops Chancellors might be married, and impower'd to ſuſpend and excommunicate, and to publiſh all Church Cenſures, as Prieſts do: And that they, and their Regiſtraries, ſhould have their Offices for Term of Life, with ſufficient Fees and Salaries from the *Ordinaries* to ſupport their Families: And that an Officer deputed, having the King's Seal, or Patent, ſhould continue during Life.

This *Bill* being wholly diſlik'd by the Biſhops, they moved the Lord Chancellor that it might not be read in Parliament. And thus the Chancellor, 'tis likely, thinking the Requeſt not unreaſonable, the Matter was laid aſide.

Feb. 21. A. D. 154$\frac{1}{2}$.

'Twas ordered in the *Upper-Houſe*, that every Sunday and Holy-day throughout the Year, the Curate of the Pariſh, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, ſhould read to the People one Chapter of the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, without Expoſition; and when the *New Teſtament* was read over, then to begin the *Old* *. This Convocation Buſineſs was manag'd at ſome diſtance of Time; but I thought it moſt proper to mention it together.

* Id. *fol.* 67.

1542. Decem. Scots *defeated at* Solway.

The Death of James *the* 5*th*, *King of* Scotland.

The King of *England* being provok'd with his Nephew's breaking the *Interview* at *York*, levied an Army, which under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, entred *Scotland*; and after having ravag'd the Country, counter-march'd to *Berwick*. The *Scotch*, to make Reprizals, advanc'd with a Body of Fifteen Thouſand into *England*, by the *Weſt-Marches*; but theſe Troops were defeated at *Solway* by a handful of Men, under the Command of *Muſgrave*, *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton*. This Diſgrace ſat heavy upon the King of *Scots*'s Spirits, and threw him into a mortal Diſtemper. He died at *Falkland*, in the Two and Thirtieth Year of his Age. Some few Days before his Death, he received the News of his Queen's being deliver'd of a Daughter at *Linlithgow*. The Cardinal hearing the King was dead, is ſaid to practice with one *Balfour* a Prieſt, to forge a Will. By this pretended *Inſtrument*, the King had put the Adminiſtration into the Hands of the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, and *Murray*, during the young Queen's Minority. This *Will* was immediately publiſh'd in *Edinborough*. But the Body of the Nobility believing it a Counterfit, made Choice of the Earl of *Arran* for Regent (*e*).

Bonner's *Injunctions*.

To go back to *England*. This Year *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, publiſh'd his *Injunctions* (*f*). I ſhall abſtract them for the Reader.

Firſt, His Clergy are enjoin'd to obſerve all Orders ſet forth by the King's Authority, and to provide themſelves either a written or printed Copy of every thing of this kind.

Item, That every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, was every Day to read a Chapter in the Bible, with ſome approv'd Comment upon it; beginning with the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, to the end of the *New Teſtament*; that they ſhould take Care to Charge their Memory with what they had read, and be prepar'd to give the Biſhop, or any of his Officers, an Account of their Proficiency.

Item, That they procure themſelves the Book call'd the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, or the *Biſhops Book*, and that they ſtudy it, purſuant to Directions given them by their Ordinary.

Item, That being abſent from their Benefices, according to the Permiſſions of Law, they ſuffer'd no Prieſt to undertake the *Cure*, unleſs firſt preſented to the Biſhop, or his Officers, and allow'd by them.

Item, That every Parſon, *&c.* ſhall exhort his Pariſhioners in the Pulpit, once a Quarter, not to make clandeſtine Marriages, and that the Parents, or ſome relation or Friend, may be preſent at the Contract, and record the Form.

Item, That no Parſons, Vicars, *&c.* preſume to marry any Perſons married before, without being ſufficiently inform'd of the Deceaſe of the Wife or Husband of the Parties.

Item, That Parſons, Vicars, Chantry-Prieſts, *&c.* ſhall teach their Pariſhioners Children to read; taking but moderate Rates of thoſe that are able to pay.

Item, That they endeavour to take up Differences, promote good Correſpondence, and exhort the Pariſhioners to paſs over Injuries, and forgive each other.

Item, That thoſe who to diſguiſe their malitious Temper, diſregard the Authority of their Curates, and make their Confeſſion to foreign Prieſts, ſhould not be admitted upon the Teſtimonials of ſuch Confeſſors, nor allow'd to receive the Communion in their own Pariſh, 'till they had chang'd their Conduct, and ſubmitted to Confeſſion to their own Curates.

Item, All Parſons, *&c.* are injoin'd to warn *Ale-houſe-Keepers* and *Vintners*, within their Pariſhes, not to ſuffer any Gaming or Drinking in the time of Divine Service, under Pain of *Excommunication*, and being farther puniſh'd by the Laws of the Realm.

Item, That all Curates ſhall in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter, declare the Seven deadly Sins, and the *Ten Commandments*, that the People may be fully inſtructed in their Duty to God and their Neighbour.

Item, That all Prieſts appear in the Habit of their Function.

Item, That all Parſons, *&c.* Exhort their Pariſhioners, both in the Pulpit and elſewhere, to avoid Swearing and Curſing, Railing and Detraction, Adultery and Fornication, Gluttony and Drunkenneſs. And to preſent thoſe notoriouſly guilty of thoſe Crimes at every *Viſitation*.

Item, That no Prieſt ſhall give himſelf the liberty of any unlawful Diverſion, or go to Ale-houſes or Taverns, excepting in Caſes of Neceſſity.

Item, That no Parſons, Vicars, *&c.* ſhall ſuffer any Plays, Games, or Interludes, in their Churches or Chapels.

Item, That no Sermon compos'd by other Men, within this two or three Hundred Years, ſhould be made uſe of; but that the Preacher ſhould raiſe his Diſcourſe upon the *Goſpel* or *Epiſtle* of the Day: That in this Expoſition, they are not to ſtrike out into Singularities, or Notions of their own Invention; but to explain the *Text* agreeably to the Senſe of ſome Catholick Doctor allow'd in the Church of *England*. They were likewiſe injoin'd to explain the Ceremonies of the Church, not to run out into Intemperate Heat and Paſſion, and rail againſt thoſe of a Different Opinion; but to recommend Virtue, and declaim againſt Vice, without perſonal Reflections. They are farther injoin'd, to inſtruct the *Audience* in the Prayers us'd by the Church, either commonly, or upon particular Occaſions: To let the People into the Meaning of the *Sacraments*, to open the Force and Significancy of them, and with what Solemnity and Devotion they ought to be receiv'd. They were to avoid entertaining the People with fabulous Relations, or Hiſtories of ſuſpected Credit: And when the *Preacher* had enlarg'd

---

(*e*) Spotſwood, *p.* 71.

(*f*) *Regiſt.* Bonner, *fol.* 39.

upon the *Text*, to what length he thought fit, he was then to abſtract the Subſtance, and repeat the moſt material Paſſages in few Words, and reinforce his Reaſoning with what ſupplemental Arguments he thought fit.

Item, That no Parſon, Vicar, *&c.* ſhall permit any Perſon under the Degree of a Biſhop, to preach in their Churches or Chapels, without a ſpecial Licence from the King or the *Ordinary*, which the Perſon was to produce before he had the Liberty of the Pulpit.

Our learned *Church Hiſtorian*, in his Remarks upon theſe *Injunctions*, tells us, “That in the “Time of Popery there had been but few Sermons, but in *Lent:* That the Pulpit Diſcourſes on the Holy Days were ſpent in Panegyricks on the Saints, and magnifying of Relicks. “'Tis true, in *Lent*, he obſerves, there was a “more ſolemn and ſerious way of Preaching; “but there was not that Pains taken to inform “the People of the Hatefulneſs of Vice, and Excellency of Holineſs, or the wonderful Love “of Chriſt, by which Men might be ingag'd to “acknowledge and obey him: And, in ſhort, “that the People had been little acquainted with “the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity (*f*).

(*f*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 316.

Now this Gentleman, with due Regard to him, goes too deep in his Cenſure: There was a better Proviſion for the Inſtruction of the People than he ſeems aware of: Neither were the Biſhops ſo negligent in diſcharging their Function, as this Repreſentation ſuppoſes. That our *Hiſtorian* has overloaded the Inditement, appears from the *Canons* of *Otho* and *Othobon*, and the *Conſtitutions* of Archbiſhop *Peckam*. By theſe *Proviſions*, the Biſhops were oblig'd to reſide upon their Cathedrals, and inſtruct their Flock. The Pariſh Prieſts are likewiſe enjoin'd to preach frequently, to inſtruct the *Audience* in the Fundamentals of Religion, to explain all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and the Ten Commandments: To diſcourſe upon the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven deadly Sins, the Seven principal Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments. Upon theſe main Heads of Faith and Practice, they were bound to preach once a Quarter, and oftner, if occaſion ſhould require: And that they might not run off from the Point, and miſtake in their Compoſures, the *Council*, under *Peckam*, has ſtruck out the Lines, and form'd a ſhort Diſcourſe upon each Head, and laid down ſuch Directions, that they could not eaſily ramble or miſs their way (*g*). Now the lateſt of theſe *Proviſions* was made in the Reign of King *Edward* the Iſt. Farther, by the Conſtitutions of *John de Thoresby*, Archbiſhop of *York*, the Parochial Clergy are injoin'd to preach frequently to their Pariſhioners, and explain the Articles of Faith in the *Engliſh* Tongue. At the Cloſe of which *Injunctions*, there is a remarkable Exhortation directed to the People, “To here “Goddys Service every Soneday with Reverence “and Devocioun; and ſeye devowtly thy *Pater* “*Noſter*, &c. and here Goddys Lawe taught in “thy Modyr Tonge. For that is better, than “to here many Maſſys. If we come nearer the *Reformation*, we ſhall find Preaching more frequent than this Hiſtorian ſuppoſeth. For Dr. *Litchfield*, Rector of *All Saints Thames Street*, *London*, left three thouſand eighty three Sermons in his own Hand, and preach'd by him *. And can we imagine all theſe Diſcourſes could be deliver'd in *Lent?* *Bradly*, * the Suffragan Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſpent many Years in travelling that Dioceſe, for the Buſineſs of Preaching: Dr. *Colet*, Dean of St. *Pauls*, conſtantly preach'd or expounded the Scripture, and Dr. *Colinwood*, Dean of *Lichfield*, preach'd in that Cathedral every Sunday, for many Years together (*h*).

(*g*) *See my Church Hiſt. pt.* 1. *p.* 428, 438, 481.
A. D. 1360.
* Dr. Litchfield *died in the Year* 1447.
*Bradly *died in the Year* 1492.

(*h*) Harm. *p.* 56.

Our *learned Hiſtorian* takes notice, “That “none were to preach, without a particular Licenſe from the King or his Dioceſan, and that “the ſmall Number of good Preachers was the “occaſion of this Reſtraint (*i*). But this is plainly miſtaking the Matter: For the Parochial Clergy were under no Neceſſity of procuring ſuch *Licenſes* for their own *Cures*. The *Injunction*, as far as they are concern'd, was not to ſuffer any Stranger to preach in the Pariſh, without producing the *Licenſes* above-mentioned. The *Hiſtorian* goes on in his Remark, and tells us, “That “to ſupply the ſlender Qualifications of Pariſh “Prieſts, a *Book* of *Homilies* was printed, in “which the *Goſpels* and *Epiſtles* of all the Sundays and Holidays in the Year, were ſet down, “with a Homily to every one of theſe, which is “a plain and practical Paraphraſe on theſe Parcels of Scripture. And that theſe were to “be read to the People by ſuch as were not licens'd to preach.

(*i*) *Bp.* Burnet. *p.* 317.
Ibid.

That the Pariſh Prieſts are not barr'd preaching, hath been obſerv'd already. I grant, a Book of *Homilies* of the ſame *Contents* mention'd by this Hiſtorian, was publiſh'd, with a monopoly *Patent* to *Richard Bankes:* But then this was printed in 1540; two Years before the ſetting forth *Bonner's Injunctions.* Our Hiſtorian infers from the *manner* of theſe *Homilies*, that the *Compiler of them was a Man both of good Judgment and Learning.*

A. D. 1542.
Ibid.

This Gentleman, I perceive, took the *Book* for the Work of a ſingle Hand: But the *Title Page* tells us, 'twas *drawn forth by diverſe learned Men, for the ſingular Edification and Commodity of all good Chriſtian Perſons, and in eſpecial of Prieſts and Curates.*

As to the licens'd Preachers, their Buſineſs was to travel the Country, to diſcourſe upon controverſial Points, and ſettle the Belief of the *Audience*. Theſe Men, it ſeems, ſometimes indulg'd their Paſſions, and plaid their Invective too ſtrong againſt the oppoſite Party. Theſe Sallies occaſion'd frequent Complaints to the King. To guard therefore againſt Malice, or bad Memory in the *Informers*, the *Preachers* wrote their Diſcourſes, and read them. And from hence the reading of Sermons grew cuſtomary in *England*. And thus the *Matter* makes amends for the Coldneſs of the Delivery, and what is loſt in the *Sound*, is gain'd in the *Senſe*.

The Heats of ſome of the Preachers.

To proceed: The *Injunctions* take notice of the acting of Plays in Churches, than which, nothing could be a greater Profanation and Abuſe. Theſe Repreſentations were made by ſome of the *Goſpellers*. The Subject of the Entertainment, was the Immoralities and Diſorders of the Monks and Clergy: They took the Liberty likewiſe to ridicule their religious Worſhip. The *Mob* were pleas'd with theſe Theatrical *Shews*, in hopes, it may be, of being ſet free from Diſcipline and Reſtraint. The Clergy complain'd, as they had reaſon, againſt ſuch licentious Sport: This, they ſaid, was the way to let in Atheiſm, and make all Religion a Jeſt. For if People were allow'd to burleſque Devotion, and make themſelves merry with the Ceremonies of the Church, they would proceed to farther Extremities, and laugh the Nation out of their *Creed* at laſt. The judicious, and better ſort of *Reformers*, diſliked theſe

Plays forbidden to be acted in Churches.
Ibid. *p.* 318.
Extracts of Conv. fol. 65.

Courſes, but the *Politicians* of that Party countenanc'd this Licence, and made great uſe of it: And upon what Motives they went is not difficult to diſcover.

An Act reſtraining the Uſe of the Bible to certain Degrees.

This Year, at a Parliament begun the 22d of *January*, an *Act* paſs'd, relating to the Deciſion of Controverſies in Religion. The *Preamble* ſets forth, “ That many ſeditious and ignorant People had abus'd the Liberty granted them for reading the *Bible*, that great Diverſity of Opinions, Animoſities, Tumults, and Schiſms, have been occaſion'd by perverting the Senſe of the *Scripture*. To retrieve the Miſchiefs ariſing from hence, it is enacted, That a certain Form of orthodox Doctrine, conſonant to the *inſpired Writings*, and the Doctrine of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, ſhall be ſet forth as a Standard of Belief, that *Tindal*'s falſe Tranſlation of the *Old and New Teſtament*, and all other Books touching Religion in the *Engliſh* Tongue, contrary to the Articles of Faith, or that Summary of Doctrine publiſh'd by the King in One Thouſand Five Hundred and Forty, or any Time after during his Majeſty's Reign, ſhall be ſuppreſs'd, and forbidden to be read in any of the King's Dominions.

“ All Printers and Bookſellers are prohibited printing or vending any of the ſaid Books. The expoſing the Doctrine of the Religion eſtabliſh'd, in *Plays* or *Ballads*, is likewiſe prohibited under deep Forfeitures and Impriſonment. All Books likewiſe impugning the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, or maintaining the damnable Opinions of the Anabaptiſts, are prohibited under Forfeitures and Fines. The reading the Bible is likewiſe prohibited, to all under the Degrees of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. After this follows a *Proviſo* of ſome Liberty. “ That it ſhall be lawful for all Perſons whatſoever, to read or teach all ſuch Doctrine, as is or ſhall be ſet forth by his Majeſty ſince the Year of our Lord 1540. And alſo the *Pſalter*, *Primer*, *Pater Noſter*, *Ave*, and *Creed* in *Engliſh*. And if any ſpiritual Perſon ſhall preach or maintain any thing contrary to the Doctrines above-mentioned, he ſhall recant for his firſt Offence, abjure for his ſecond, and bear a Faggot; and upon a farther Relapſe ſhall be adjudg'd an Heretick, ſuffer the Pains of Burning, and forfeit all his Goods and Chattels (*k*).

(*k*) 34 H. 8. Cap. 1. *Statutes at large.*

“ There are two favourable *Proviſos* upon this *Act*, Firſt, The Chancellour of *England*, Generals and Officers in the Field, the King's Juſtices, the Recorders of any City, or Town, the Speaker of the Parliament, and all other Officers, Juſtices and Miniſters, which have been accuſtomed to declare any good or virtuous Exhortations in any Aſſemblies, may uſe any part of the Bible as they have done formerly, with this Limitation, that they did not raiſe any Diſcourſe contrary to the Doctrine ſet forth, or to be ſet forth, by his Highneſs.

To underſtand the Meaning of this Proviſo we are to obſerve, that it was uſual for the Lord Chancellours, Judges, Recorders, *&c.* to take a *Text* for their Speeches upon publick Occaſions.

By another Proviſo it is enacted, That the King might alter or ſet aſide the *Act* or any part of it.

“ Our learned Church Hiſtorian takes notice of another Act paſs'd this Parliament, which made way for the Diſſolution of Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations of that Nature. The Courtiers, as he continues, had been practiſing with the Preſidents and Governours of ſome of theſe Houſes, to reſign them to the King. The Reſignations were penn'd in the ſame Style with the Surrenders of Monaſteries. Eight of theſe Inſtruments were procur'd and inroll'd. But the Progreſs of this Deſign was check'd by the local Statutes of moſt of theſe Foundations. For by theſe Proviſions no Preſident, or any other Fellows, could make any ſuch Deed of Alienation without the Conſent of the whole *Society*: But ſuch an unanimous Concurrence was not eaſily gain'd. All ſuch *Statutes* were now null'd, and none for the future to be ſworn to them *. Thus this Gentleman has diſcover'd the *Court-Compaſs*, and what ſort of Motives had the aſcendant upon the Practice of many of the great Men of this Reign.

* *Bp.* Burnet. *pt.* 1. *p.* 314.

A. D. 1543.

The next Year, a Book called, *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any chriſtned Man*, was publiſh'd by the King's Order. This Book was deſign'd for a Rule of religious Belief, of which we have a general Intimation in the *Act* juſt mentioned. By *Bonner*'s late *Injunctions*, 'tis plain this *neceſſary Erudition* was unſet forth ſome part of the Year 1542. For by one of the Articles, *Bonner* injoins the Curates to provide the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*. Now the *Erudition* being a Review and Alteration of the *Inſtitution*, in ſeveral Points, we may conclude, that if the *Erudition* had been publiſh'd, the Clergy would never have been oblig'd to have procur'd the *Inſtitution* for the Inſtruction of their Pariſh. From hence we may reaſonably infer, the *neceſſary Erudition* was not drawn up by a Committee of the Clergy in the Year 1540, as our learned Hiſtorian ſuppoſes (*l*). For how can we imagine ſo finiſh'd and inſtructive a Performance, a Book deſign'd for publick Uſe, and ſettling Controverſies, ſhould lie by thus long? I grant that Branch relating to the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*, was examin'd in the Year mention'd by this *learned Hiſtorian*: This may be prov'd from *Thirleby Elect* of *Weſtminſter*'s having a Share in this Buſineſs: For the Patent for founding this *See* is dated on the ſeventeenth of *September*, in the thirty ſecond of *Henry* the VIIIth, which was the Year of our Lord 1540 (*m*). His Conſecration follow'd two Days after. From hence we may conclude, the Queſtions touching the Sacrament were debated ſome little time before *Thirleby*'s Conſecration (*n*). To finiſh the Account of this Matter. The Queries relating to the Seven Sacraments were given out to the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, of *Durham*, *Hereford*, and St. *David*'s. The other Divines were *Thirleby*, Dr. *Robertſon*, *Day*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Symmons*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, *Edgworth*, *Oglethorp*, *Crayford*, *Willſon* and *Robins*. When their Anſwers were return'd, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, as to their Agreement or Diſagreement. One of theſe thus appointed wrote in *Latin*, and the other in *Engliſh*. The original Anſwers of the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, and the Drs. *Day*, *Robertſon*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Symmons*, *Leighton*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, *Edgworth*, and *Oglethorp*, are upon Record; but the Papers given in by the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Hereford*, and St. *David*'s, and the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, by the Drs. *Crayford*, *Willſon*, and *Robins*, tho' mentioned in the Extracts, are not to be met with (*o*).

(*l*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 286.

(*m*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *Records Book* 3. *N.* 23.

Queſtions concerning the Sacraments, when debated.

(*n*) Godwin. de preſul. Angl.

(*o*) *See Records. N.* 49. *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 285.

Having

An Account of the neceſſary Erudition.

Having premiſed this, I ſhall proceed to a farther Account of the *neceſſary Erudition*. To begin with the King's *Preface*. Here his Majeſty ſets forth, “ That in order to the bringing off his Subjects from ſuperſtitious Practices, he had publiſh'd the Scriptures in the *Engliſh* Tongue: That tho' this Expedient was not without its Effect, yet ſome People, out of a Spirit of Pride and Contention, had wreſted the *Holy Text*, and given Riſe to Diſputes, and Diverſity of Opinions: That to recover the People to Orthodoxy and Union, he had ſet forth this Summary of Religion, with the Advice of his Clergy: That it had been view'd and approv'd by both Houſes of Parliament. After this, the King proceeds to the Subject of the *neceſſary Erudition*, mentions the Articles, and ſhews the Reaſon of the Order in which they ſtand. He takes notice, that the Church conſiſts of two ſorts of Men, ſome to inſtruct, and the reſt to be inſtructed: That it is neceſſary for the firſt Diviſion to read and ſtudy the *Scripture:* But as to the Laity, the reading the *Old* and *New Teſtament* is not ſo neceſſary for all of that Claſſe: That Liberty or Reſtraint in this Matter, is to be referr'd to the Laws and Government: And that the Legiſlature now lately had barr'd ſeveral Ranks reading the Bible.

From this Paſſage, 'tis evident, the *Book* was not publiſh'd till after the *Act* made in the 34th of this Reign.

The Article of Faith.

The *neceſſary Erudition* begins with a Declaration of Faith. “ This Theological Vertue, they tell us, is to be underſtood in two Senſes. Firſt, For a Belief of the Being of God, and the Truth of his Revelations. In this Senſe, Faith is the Gift of God. Faith in the ſecond Acception is conſider'd in Conjunction with Hope and Charity. This Faith is profeſs'd by every Chriſtian at his Baptiſm. And here to prevent an Over-reliance on bare Belief, it is added, that all God's Promiſes are ſuſpended upon Conditions, and ſuppoſe our Endeavours to Obedience. That where we are ſaid to be juſtified by Faith, we are to take Faith in this latter Senſe. And becauſe a certain Aſſurance of being of the Number of the Predeſtinate, is maintained by ſome Perſons, therefore to keep People from avoiding the Extremes of Preſumption and Deſpair, or reſting too much upon their own Thoughts and Perſuaſion, the *Book* tells us this Queſtion is undetermin'd in Scripture: That tho' we have no Reaſon to doubt God's Promiſe, yet ſince the Will is mutable, and the Frailty of human Nature apt to be ſurpriz'd, we ought not to live under too ſtrong a Confidence, but to manage with Caution and Vigilance, conſidering the Force of the Enemies we have to deal with, always remembring the Words of the Apoſtle, *That a Man cannot be crown'd, unleſs he ſtrives lawfully*.

The neceſſary Erudition ſupplemental to the Inſtitution, in ſeveral Articles.

Of Faith.

Before I go farther, I ſhall obſerve to the Reader, that the *neceſſary Erudition* is ſupplemental to the *Inſtitution* in ſome *Articles*. For notwithſtanding the *Inſtitution* mentions Faith, Free-Will, and Good-Works, in ſome ſhort incidental Paſſages, yet there are no diſtinct Diſcourſes upon any of theſe three Heads.

Of Free-Will.

Upon the Article of *Free-Will*, the *neceſſary Erudition* maintains this Faculty is not extinguiſh'd by *Adam*'s Fall. This Aſſertion is ſupported by theſe plain Texts of Scripture. *Be not overcome of Evil. Neglect not the Gift which is in thee. Love not the World*, &c. *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments* (p). Now theſe Exhortations, if a Man had no Power to make uſe of them, would be to no purpoſe. But tho' we are not under an abſolute Impotency, yet this Faculty is diſabl'd by the Sin of our firſt Parents. The Force of the Mind in Paradiſe was much greater than afterwards. When *Adam* and *Eve* were in the State of Innocency, they were poſſeſs'd of an Independence of Thought: The Superiority of their Reaſon was ſuch, that they could check the animal Impreſſions without Trouble, call off their Thoughts from unſerviceable Objects, and govern their Inclinations at Pleaſure. Under this Condition, the Practice of Virtue was natural and eaſie, and it was no more troubleſome to obey, than to miſcarry. But ſince the Fall of *Adam*, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God without ſupernatural Aſſiſtance. The Propenſions to Duty are grown faint, and the Bent of the Will lies moſtly towards ſenſual Advantage. Thus, without the Succours of Grace, it is impoſſible either to begin well, or to make any Progreſs in a Courſe of Obedience. This Inability of mere Nature, and the Neceſſity of a divine Interpoſition, is prov'd from *Scripture*. *Without me ye can do nothing* (q). *No Man can come to me, except the Father which ſent me, draw him. We are not ſufficient of our ſelves to think any thing as of our ſelves.* However, notwithſtanding this Diſadvantage of our Condition, we ought to make the moſt of our remaining Powers, we ought to co-operate with the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and exert our ſelves; we are likewiſe not to throw our Miſbehaviour upon any thing but our own Neglect; for God is not wanting in ſufficient Proviſion, nor any wiſe the Author of Sin. And here the Clergy are particularly admoniſhed to guard in their publick Diſcourſes: To avoid running into Extremes on either ſide; and neither to deny the Freedom of the *Will* on one Hand, nor the Neceſſity of *Grace* on the other.

(p) Rom. 12. 1 Tim. 4. 1 Ep. John 2. Mat. 19.

(q) John 15. John 6. 2 Cor. 3.

Of good Works.

Upon the *Article* of *good Works*, the *Book* begins with the Explication of the Terms: That under this Notion, not only outward Practice, but inward Diſpoſition, Regularity of Deſire, and religious Temper is comprehended: And that indeed the State and Furniture of the Mind is chiefly to be regarded in this Caſe. And here the ſuperſtitious Obſervances of the Monks, and reſting too much upon *Will-Worſhip*, uncommanded Service, and outward Performance, are mentioned with Cenſure. To this is added, that living tolerably by the Directions of the Law of Nature, tho' it may have ſome Claim to temporal Rewards, yet is not available to eternal Happineſs, without Faith in Chriſt. As to thoſe good Works which commence upon preventing Grace, and are done in Faith and Charity, tho' they are not without Mixture and Alloy, and fall ſhort of Perfection; yet their Defects are ſupply'd by the Merits of Chriſt's Paſſion, and God of his Goodneſs is pleas'd to accept them for a full Obedience; and under this Notion they are in ſome meaſure meritorious and inſtrumental in making us happy.

Works of *Penance* are likewiſe ſaid to be ſomewhat ſerviceable towards *Juſtification*. For the purpoſe: When a Sinner, upon recollecting the Law of God, is ſtruck with Remorſe of Conſcience, and aſham'd of his Miſbehaviour; when he laments his Ingratitude, applies to Prayer, and endeavours to recover himſelf, and procure his Pardon; when he goes thro' a Courſe of Diſcipline and Mortification, he cannot but be ſaid to make ſome Advances towards Juſtification. If therefore he goes on in this godly Method, continues his Devotion, and begs farther Aſſiſtances of Grace, he may be aſſur'd of the Remiſſion of his Sins, obtain the Bleſſing of Juſtification, be enabled for farther Improvement in the Service of God, and come up to an acceptable Pitch of Virtue, which, before he is juſtified, is plainly impracticable. And tho' ſuch Works of *Penance* are requir'd as preparatory Conditions of Forgiveneſs, yet Juſtification and Pardon of Sins is the free Gift of God, and beſtowed on us without any valuable Compenſation.

Farther, the maintaining the Neceſſity and Value of good Works, is no leſſening of the Grace of God. For all ſuch commendable Actions are the Effects of Divine Grace. Our Merits, as St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks, are but the Gifts of God; therefore we have no Reaſon to boaſt of our Performances, or value our ſelves upon the Regularity of our Conduct. However, we are bound to improve upon the Divine Bounty, and make the moſt of our Talent. For to this End, as the Apoſtle aſſures us, our Saviour came into the World; *That denying Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſt, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this World. Who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purifie unto himſelf a peculiar People zealous of good Works* (r). And elſewhere the ſame Apoſtle declares, *That every one muſt receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad.*

The Article of Purgatory is much the ſame with the *Inſtitution*: The *Erudition* ſays, we are not to make uſe of the Name of Purgatory, nor diſpute or reaſon about it, which is much the ſame Language with the *Inſtitution*.

The Difference between the Erudition *and the* Inſtitution.

The *Erudition* differs in ſome places from the *Inſtitution*. For the purpoſe: Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, which is the fifth Article in the *Inſtitution*, is the fourth in the *Erudition*. And here tho' Hell is taken in the worſe Senſe, yet the Deſign of our Saviour's coming thither, is more briefly and generally handled. In the *Article* of our Saviour's ſitting at the Right-hand of God, both *Books* mention his Interceſſion; but the *Erudition* adds an explanatory Caution concerning the Mediation of the Saints: That notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of the Church militant and triumphant is ſerviceable for the reſt of their Brethren, yet all this Benefit is only in virtue of the Mediation of Chriſt our Head.

In the Article of the Catholick Church, the *Erudition* endeavours to refine upon the *Inſtitution*, makes Kings *Heads* of the particular Churches in their Dominions, and gives them the Superintendency in reference to the appointing of Biſhops. In the *Communion* of *Saints*, touching the Communication of good Works from one Member, to the Benefit of the whole Body, the *Inſtitution* dilates more againſt the Pope's Privilege of diſpenſing the *Treaſure* of the Church, than the *Erudition*. In the laſt Article, the *Inſtitution* declares good Men are made happy, not upon the ſcore of their own Performances, but thro' the Mercy of God, and the Paſſion of Chriſt, of which in this place, the *Erudition* mentions nothing.

To go on to the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*: Firſt, In the *Article* of *Penance*, the *Erudition* adds, upon the *Inſtitution* touching the Uſefulneſs of Confeſſion to a Prieſt: That ſuch Application is ſerviceable for awakening the Penitent's Conſcience; to make him ſenſible of the Degree and Danger of his Guilt; what a glorious Condition he is fallen from, by breaking his baptiſmal Engagements; and how heartily he ought to abhor himſelf for failing in his Duty to ſo great a Benefactor. The *Erudition* lays the ſame Streſs upon ſacerdotal Abſolution with the *Inſtitution*, and maintains, that as there is no Admiſſion into the Church but by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſo after the Commiſſion of Sin, *Penance* is the only way for Recovery. Where Prieſtly Abſolution cannot be had, ſays the *Erudition*, the *Penitent* may be ſafe without it. This is not deny'd, but rather ſuppoſed by the *Inſtitution*.

Under the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*, the *Erudition* ſpeaks plainly for Tranſubſtantiation, which the *Inſtitution* doth not. But now we are to obſerve, the *Six Articles* were enacted; and farther, that *Cranmer* and his Party, who oppos'd the paſſing the *Six Articles*, were over-ruled in the compoſing this *neceſſary Erudition*. The *Erudition* inſiſts on the Sufficiency of receiving under one Kind, of which there is not a Word in the *Inſtitution*. The *Erudition* likewiſe takes notice, that Prieſts uſed to receive only under one Kind, except when they conſecrate.

Under the Head of *Orders*, the *Erudition* makes *Orders* one of the *Seven Sacraments*, and defines it a Gift of Grace for Adminiſtration in the Church; that it is convey'd by Conſecration and Impoſition of the Biſhop's Hands; that in the Beginning of Chriſtianity, this Character was given by the Apoſtles. The Proof is drawn from the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*. The Words are theſe: *Stir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my Hands: Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, or the Authority of Prieſthood*, as this *Book* tranſlates it (s). *For this Cauſe left I thee in* Crete, *that thou ſhould'ſt ordain Elders in every City, as I have appointed thee. Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man.*

From the Original and Conveyance of Eccleſiaſtical Power, the *Erudition* proceeds to the ſettling other Circumſtances. And here it is declar'd, that the Nomination, Election, or Appointment of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, is not preſcrib'd and determin'd by the Word of God. That this Matter is left wholly to the Conſtitution and Laws of particular Countries, made with the Conſent of the Chief Magiſtrate. That the Functions of the Clergy conſiſt in preaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments, in the Power of *binding* and *looſing*; that is, in giving Abſolution, and admitting the Penitent to Church Communion, and excommunicating thoſe who refuſe to be reclaimed. It is likewiſe part of the Buſineſs of the Clergy to pray for the univerſal Church, and particularly for thoſe committed to their Charge; to which is added, that notwithſtanding the Office of Prieſts and Biſhops takes in this Extent of Direction and Government, yet it is not defenſible for any of them to execute any Part of this Function, excepting in ſuch Manner, and under ſuch Limitations as the Ordinances and Laws of every Chriſtian Realm ſhall permit them ſo to do.

From hence the *Erudition* proceeds to deſcribe the Qualifications of Prieſts and Biſhops, from the Epiſtles of *Timothy* and *Titus* (t). The Hereſie of the *Donatiſts* who made the Sacraments of no force, when adminiſter'd by immoral Perſons, is likewiſe cenſur'd: And here the Virtue of theſe Conveyances of Grace is ſaid to depend upon the Divine Inſtitution, and not on the Qualifications of the Biſhop or Prieſt. After this, there is Mention made of the Appointment of Deacons, to which is ſubjoin'd, that the *Scri-*

(r) Tit. 2. 2 Cor. 5.

(s) 2 Tim. 1. 1 Tim. 4. Tit. 1. 1 Tim. 5.

(t) 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.

pture ſpeaks expreſly of no more than the two *Orders* of Prieſts and Deacons; but that other inferior Degrees, ſuch as Sub-deacons, Exorciſts, *&c.* were added to the former by the primitive Church. That St. *Auſtin* takes notice of all the *lower Orders*, and with what Ceremonies and Solemnity they were conferr'd in his Time. Under thoſe call'd Prieſts or Presbyters in the *New Teſtament*, this *Book* ſuppoſes the Epiſcopal Character was meant: For that theſe two *Orders* were diſtinct and ſubordinate, is plain from this *Erudition*, which tells us in expreſs Terms, that the Office and Miniſtration of Biſhops is inſtituted and deſcrib'd in the *New Teſtament*. The Diſproof of the Pope's Supremacy, is much the ſame with that in the *Inſtitution*.

In the Doctrine of *Confirmation*, the *Books* are both agreed. And under *extreme Unction*, the *Erudition* adds, that we ſhould not rely too much upon this Remedy.

Upon the Sacrament of Matrimony, the *Inſtitution* and *Erudition* diſcourſe after the ſame manner, only concerning the Indiſſolubleneſs of lawful Marriages, they differ ſomething in the Expreſſion. The *Inſtitution* affirms, that where there was any original Impediment to begin this Relation by the Laws of God and *holy Church*, there they may proceed to a Divorce. But the *Erudition* ſpeaking to this Point, inſtead of the Laws of *holy Church*, changes the Expreſſion to *the Laws of every Realm*.

Upon the Second *Commandment*, both *Books* declare againſt expenſive ornamenting of Images, and that the Money would be better beſtowed upon relieving the Poor.

Under the Fifth *Commandment*, the *Inſtitution* mentions the Spiritual Parents before the Civil: But the *Erudition* ranges the *Civil* firſt, that is, next after the *Natural*.

Paſſive Obedience without Limitation or Exception of Caſes, is injoined by the *Erudition* no leſs than by the *Inſtitution*. In touching the Authority of the Hierarchy, the *Erudition* treads tenderly, and leaves out the Word *Govern*, mentioned in the *Inſtitution*. However, the ſacerdotal Juriſdiction, as we have ſeen, is prov'd from the ſame Texts of *Scripture* in both.

The *Erudition*, in the preliminary Notes on the *Lord's-Prayer*, ſets forth, that it is very requiſite unlearned People ſhould pray in their Mother Tongue; that by putting up their Petitions in a Language they beſt underſtand, their Devotion would be aſſiſted, and they would be more fervent and intent upon the Matter they were about. This Paſſage is wanting in the *Inſtitution*. As to the *Sacraments*, the *Erudition* makes Baptiſm, the Holy Euchariſt, and Penance, neceſſary, no leſs than the *Inſtitution*; but does not inſiſt ſo much on their Preference to the other four. To return, the Expoſition on the *Lord's Prayer*, in both Books, is unexceptionable and inſtructive, but having nothing controverſial or uncommon, I ſhall paſs it over.

A Compariſon between the two Books.

The Expoſition of the *Apoſtles Creed* abounds with excellent Matter. There is a large Paraphraſe on every Article, with practical Inferences at the Cloſe. The Style of both *Books* is ſtrong, affecting, and ſuited to a common Capacity. To add a Word or two by way of Compariſon: The *Erudition* manages with leſs Latitude, bends to the *Six Articles*, and in ſome Points of Controverſy, drives farther into the Doctrines of the *Roman* Communion. This *Book* doth not maintain the Hierarchal Authority ſo unexceptionably, but gives in to an Overbalance for the *Regale*. In a Word, where the *Erudition* differs from the *Inſtitution*, it ſeems moſtly to loſe Ground, to go off from the primitive Plan, and Reform backwards. Beſides, this laſt *Book* does not ſtand upon ſo ſtrong an Authority as the former. The *Inſtitution*, as we have ſeen, was the Act of the whole Clergy, and ſubſcribed by both *Houſes* of *Convocation*. But the *neceſſary Erudition*, as our learned Hiſtorian obſerves, was drawn up only by a Committee of the King's Nomination (*u*). 'Tis true, the Preface tells us, 'twas approved by the Lords Spiritual in Parliament; but this may poſſibly amount to no more than a Majority in the Upper Houſe.

The Ceremonies of the Church examined.

About this time, as may be reaſonably collected, the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church were brought under a Review, and a *Rationale* drawn up to explain the Meaning, and juſtifie the Uſage. “The Alteration in the *Miſſals* and *Breviaries*, were ſo inconſiderable, ſays our Church Hiſtorian, that there was no Occaſion for a new Impreſſion. For by the Razures of *Becket*'s Office, and ſome other Saints, ſtruck out by the King's *Injunctions*: By theſe, and ſome other Deletions, the old Liturgick *Books* were allow'd to ſerve. 'Tis poſſible, 'twas thought the Change of the Maſs-Books and others of that kind, might have been too great a Charge upon the Pariſhes: And it may be the People might have fancied their Religion chang'd, and a new Worſhip put upon them, if the *Service-Books* had been taken away. But whatever was the Reaſon, the People had their old *Rituals* continued, and the Churches were furniſhed with no *new Books* for *Divine Service* during this Reign (*w*).

To this Senſe our learned Hiſtorian delivers himſelf. But notwithſtanding this Remark, there was a new Impreſſion of the *Liturgy*, *ſecundùm uſum Sarum*, which was an Office for *Divine Service* beſt known, and farther uſed than any of the reſt. It is printed with Corrections and Deletions, with the King's *Patent* of Privilege: The Title-Page ſtands thus.

Portiforium ſecundum uſum Sarum, noviter impreſſum, & à plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano Pontifici falſò aſcriptum omittitur, unà cum aliis quæ Chriſtianiſſimo noſtri Regis Statuto repugnant. Excuſſum Londini per Edvardum Whytchurch, 1541. *Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.*

And having mention'd the *Rationale*, I ſhall give the *Reader* a Tranſcript of it from the *Cotton* Library (*x*). The Title is this:

Ceremonies to be us'd in the Church of England, *together with an Explanation of the Meaning and Significancy of them.*

An Original.

“Tho' it be very Truth, that there is a great Difference betwixt the Commandments and Works expreſs'd by Scripture, neceſſary for a Chriſtian Man's Life and Salvation, and Rites and Ceremonies devis'd by Men; becauſe the Works contain'd in Scripture, are the expreſs Commandments of God, which may not be infring'd, taken away, or exchang'd by any Man: And the other ſaid Rites and Ceremonies are appointed and ordain'd by Man, which, upon Cauſes reaſonable, may from time to time, by Governours and Men of Authority, be alter'd and chang'd: yet ſuch Ordinances, Rites, and Ceremonies, devis'd by ſuch as are in Authority, for a decent Order, Quietneſs, and Tranquillity, ought (all Abuſes and Superſtition clearly taken away) to be with

---

(*u*) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 286.

(*w*) Bp. Burnet, pt. 1. p. 294.

(*x*) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. fol. 259.

“with all reverent Obedience obſerv'd by the People, not as Works, or Workers for their Salvation, but as godly Policies and Ordinances, made and deviſ'd by Chriſtian Governours, to the Intent (as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Cor.* 1. 14.) that Things ſhould be done in a Chriſtian Congregation, with an honeſt Reverence and decent Order. And therefore, to the End that this Church of *England* may be comely and quietly order'd, and well inſtructed, it is thought meet and convenient, that the Orders, Ceremonies, and Rites following, ſhould be in the ſame Church, honeſtly, obediently, and reverently kept and obſerv'd.

The Church.

“And firſt of all: To have a common Houſe for Chriſtian People, which we call the Church, is very neceſſary, that there they may come together where the Word of God is preached, the Sacraments are miniſtred, and Prayers, as well of the People as the Miniſter's, to Almighty God, are made, both for them that be alive, and alſo for them that be departed in the Faith of Chriſt: Wherefore 'tis convenient, that Place, and the Altars there, be Sanctify'd, Waſh'd, and Prepar'd with Prayers.

“*Sanctify'd:* That is to ſay, ſeparated from all prophane Uſes, and dedicated to the End before rehears'd. And therefore, no Chriſtian Perſon ſhould abuſe the ſame, either by Eating, Drinking, Buying, Selling, Playing, Dancing, Dicing, or with any other prophane or worldly Matter. For all Soberneſs, Quietneſs, and Godlineſs ought there to be uſed.

“*Waſh'd:* To admoniſh all Chriſtian People to waſh inwardly their own Hearts and Conſciences, which be the living Temples of God, before they ſhall approach to the Uſe of any holy Myſtery there.

“*Prepar'd with Prayers*, that the Sacraments there miniſter'd, may be acceptable to Almighty God; and that it may pleaſe him to hear the humble and devout Prayers of his People there, and that all Things there done and heard by them, may be to the Commodity and Wealth of their Souls.

The Church-Yard.

“And albeit that a glorious Sepulture is not profitable to the wicked Man, and an evil Sepulture hurts not the good Man; yet to put us in Remembrance of Death, that we may leave Sin and Wickedneſs, and to teſtifie our Faith and Hope of the Reſurrection of our Bodies; therefore it is convenient that the *Church-Yard* for a Place of common Burial for Chriſtian People, ſhould be ſanctify'd and hallow'd: And if it chances the ſame to be polluted, we think it convenient to be reconciled again. And the *Sepultures* of Chriſtian Men, with good and godly Prayers now uſed, and other Ceremonies belonging to the ſame, are very laudable and convenient.

The Rites and Ceremonies obſerv'd about the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

“Firſt, The *Catechiſm* which goes before the *Baptiſm*, and it is as much as to ſay, a Teaching, or an Inſtruction. For in the primitive Church, when that many came to the Chriſtian Faith, at the Years of Age and Diſcretion, it was uſed, that ſuch, before they were admitted to Baptiſm, ſhould be taught the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and the Sum of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſhould promptly and readily render the ſame to their Paſtor or Curate; which were yet to be uſed, if that any ſuch would deſire to receive Baptiſm. But in Baptiſm of Infants, which for lack of Age cannot be inſtructed, the Prieſt ſhortly expreſſes there ſuch Inſtructions, and then charges the Godfathers and Godmothers farther, to teach the Child or Children, when they come to lawful Age; and then beginneth to make a Croſs upon the Forehead of the Child that is offer'd to be baptized, in token that he is come to be profeſs'd, and totally to be dedicated to Chriſt crucified, whom he will never be aſhamed before Men openly to confeſs and knowledge.

“Then he makes another Croſs upon the Breaſt; from whence cometh the Belief ſignifying, that it is not enough to confeſs Chriſt with Mouth openly, unleſs he does ſtedfaſtly believe in Heart inwardly.

“And therefore the Miniſter prays Almighty God to take away the Blindneſs of his Heart, and to make him apt to receive Grace given him in Baptiſm. And then he puts hallow'd Salt into his Mouth, to ſignify the ſpiritual Salt, which is the Word of God wherewith he ſhould be ſeaſon'd; that thereby the filthy Savour of Sin ſhould be taken away, preſerving him from Corruption, and making him a meet apt Veſſel to continue in the Moiſture of wholſom and godly Wiſdom: And therefore, the Miniſter prays that he may be repleniſh'd with heavenly Food, and that he receiving this Grace of Baptiſm, may obtain everlaſting Reward.

“Then the Miniſter makes the Sign of the Croſs in the Child's Forehead, adjuring the Devil to depart, and no more to approach him, but to knowledge his Sentence of Damnation, and to give Glory unto God, and to Jeſus Chriſt, which triumph'd upon the Croſs over him in his own Perſon, praying that this Child now purged from the wicked Spirit, may be the ſanctified Temple of the Holy Ghoſt.

“After this is read the Goſpel taken out of St. *Mat.* 19. beginning, *Oblati ſunt Jeſu pueri.* Wherein is ſhew'd, that the Oblation of young Children is acceptable unto Chriſt, of whoſe Church, without Baptiſm, they cannot be made Members: Wherefore the People, according to this Example, offer their Children to the Miniſter to be baptized.

“Then the *Miniſter* wets with Spittle the Noiſe Thurles and Ears of him that ſhall be baptiz'd, putting us in Remembrance of the Miracle of the Deaf and Dumb wrought by Chriſt, who looking up into Heaven, puts his Spittle with his Fingers to his Ears, and touching his Tongue, ſaith, *Ephphatha*, that is to ſay, *be opened*, and ſo he healed him; ſignifying thereby the Grace and godly Influence deſcending from Heaven, which by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, opens our Noſe to take the ſweet Odour and Savour of the Knowledge of Chriſt, and our Ears to hear his Word and Commandments.

“Then the *Miniſter* exhorts the Godfathers and Godmothers, with all others that are preſent, to pray to God that the Child may worthily receive the bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſm, to the Honour of God, to the Salvation of the Soul, and Confuſion of our ghoſtly Enemy, the Devil: And ſo the *Miniſter*, and all they together, ſay the *Pater Noſter*.

“Then immediately the *Miniſter* makes the Sign of the Croſs in the Right-hand of the Infant, which Croſs ſhould in all our Life-time, admoniſh us valiantly to defend, reſiſt, and withſtand the crafty Aſſaults of our Enemy the Devil, and all our corrupt and perverſe Affections and Deſires. And ſo bleſſing the Child in the Name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, takes it by the Right-hand, and bids it enter into the Church, there to be admitted as one of Chriſt's Flock and Congregation; and ſo proceeds to the Font. And there entring towards the Baptiſm: Firſt, Inquiſition is made of the Name of him that is to be baptized, to the intent, that by giving him his Name, he may now profeſs himſelf to a new Maſter, Chriſt: For of old Cuſtom, ſuch Profeſſions were made by ſuch Inſcriptions, and giving in of their Names.

“Then there follows a *Stipulation* made under preſcript Words, the *Miniſter* demanding certain Queſtions, and he that is baptiz'd, or his Sureties, making Anſwer to every Queſtion or Demand, particularly. Which Demands, Queſtions, and Anſwers (to the intent the Godfather, with others then preſent, may know what is a Chriſtian Man's Profeſſion at his Baptiſm) we think it very convenient and meet to be utter'd hereafter in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

“And firſt, to the Interrogation of the *Miniſter*: Forſakeſt thou the Devil? He, or his Sureties for him, anſwers; *I forſake him*. The *Miniſter* ſaith, And all his Works? It is anſwered, *I forſake them*. The *Miniſter* ſaith, And all his Pomps and Vanities? The Anſwer is, *I forſake them*.

“After this, the *Miniſter* anoints the Child with holy Oil, upon the Breaſt, and betwixt the Shoulders behind: Which *Unction* upon the Breaſt, ſignifies that our Heart and Affections ſhould be wholly dedicated to *Chriſt*, and eſtabliſh'd in a perfect Faith in his Mercy, which the Oyl doth commonly ſignify in *Scripture*: And the anointing between the Shoulders, with the Sign of the Croſs, ſignifies, that we ſhould be bold and ſtrong to bear the Croſs of our Lord; and patiently to ſuſtain ſuch Croſs of Perſecution, Trouble and Affliction, as our moſt merciful Lord ſhall lay upon us.

“Then farther, the *Miniſter* makes Inquiſition of the Belief of him that is to be Chriſten'd; ſaying, *Believeſt thou in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth?* It is anſwer'd, *I Believe*. The *Miniſter* ſayeth, *Believeſt thou in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord*, &c. *The* Anſwer is, *I Believe*. *The Miniſter* ſayeth, *Believeſt thou in the Holy Ghoſt, the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the Remiſſion of Sins, the Reſurrection of the Body, and after Death to have everlaſting Life?* The Anſwer is, *I Believe*. All which Promiſe and Profeſſion of renouncing the old Errors, and believing, and embracing the Truth made in Baptiſm, every Chriſtian Man ought to have in his often Remembrance.

“And after this, the *Miniſter* ſayeth unto him that is to be baptiz'd, theſe Words, *What askeſt thou?* It is anſwer'd, *Baptiſm*: The *Miniſter* demands farther, ſaying, *Wilt thou be baptiz'd?* It's anſwer'd, *I will?* For there is no Man ſav'd againſt his Will, but willingly. For as Man by his own free Will, obeying the Serpent did periſh; ſo when God calls by Grace, by the Converſion of his own Mind, every Man truely believing and intending to work is ſaved. Then the *Miniſter* calls the Child by the Name, and baptizes it in the *Name of the Father*, *Son and Holy Ghoſt*; (putting it into the Water of the *Font*, and taking it out again; or elſe pouring Water upon the Infant) whereby the Perſon chriſten'd, has not only Remiſſion of all his Sins, by the Operation of the *Holy Ghoſt*, but alſo by the ſame is ſignified the Death and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, the only cauſe of our Health and Salvation: And moreover, that we ſhould daily mortifie our evil Deſires, and corrupt Affections; and ſo waſh'd from Sin, walk in a new, pure and godly Life and Converſation.

“Then after this *Baptiſm*, he is anointed with holy *Chriſme* on the Head, as the ſupream and principal part of Man; ſignifying thereby, that he is made a Chriſtian Man by the head of his Congregation. And that he is anointed with the ſpiritual Unction of the *Holy Ghoſt*; that by his Aſſiſtance and Grace, he may obtain everlaſting Life.

“Then he that is baptiz'd, is cloath'd in a *white Veſture*, in token of his Manumiſſion and Freedom from the former Captivity of the *Devil*: And it ſignifies alſo a Chriſtian Purity and Innocency, which after the waſhing away of the Spots of his old Sin, he ought ſtudiouſly to conſerve and keep, and ſo to come to the Preſence of *Chriſt* at the day of Judgment, and reign with him in Glory everlaſting.

“Finally, The *Miniſter* puts a Candle light in the Right-hand of him that is baptiz'd, in token that he ſhould thro' all his Life-time, ſhew before all Men a Light of good Example, and godly Works; that he may be always in readineſs with the Saints to meet our Lord, and receive the Fruition of everlaſting Joy.

Miniſters.

“The *Ceremonies*, *Obſervances*, and *Prayers*, ſaid and done in the Conſecrations of Biſhops, and giving Orders to Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, and other inferior Miniſters, as heretofore has been accuſtom'd; and as it is devis'd in the Books call'd *Pontificals*, (all manner of things concerning the pretenſed and uſurp'd Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*) aboliſh'd and utterly put aſide; and the King's moſt right and true Supremacy, with all things to the ſame (in any wiſe appertaining and belonging, always preſerv'd and obey'd) be very laudable and expedient to be uſed; for by theſe Ceremonies and Obſervances, every Man in his Order, State and Degree, is admoniſh'd what appertains to their Offices. And the Prayers be made to God, that they truely, ſincerely, and devoutly, may uſe the Miniſtration to them committed, to God's Honour, ſpiritual Comfort of themſelves, and all other Chriſtian People.

Service of the Church.

“The Service uſed in the Church, dayly in ſome Places, or upon the Sundays and other Feaſts in all Places; that is to ſay, *Mattins*, “*Prime*, *Hours*, *Evenſong* and *Compline*, whereof the moſt part is of Scripture, as the *Pſalms*, and many times the *Legends*, (certain things added by Man well reform'd) are very expedient and godly; both for that the Miniſters pray, and give thanks to God for themſelves, and for the People: And alſo, that by the example of their Prayers, they move and excite the People to pray with them. And therefore, for the adorning of the ſame Service, *Surplices*, *Copes*, and other *Veſtures* in the doing thereof, are very laudable and comely.

“The ſober, diſcreet, and devout ſinging Muſick, and playing with Organs uſed in the Church, in the Service of God, are ordain'd to ſtir up, and move the People to the Sweetneſs of God's Word; the which is their Song. And by that ſweet Harmony, both to excite them to Prayers and Devotion; and alſo to put them in Remembrance of the heavenly triumphant Church, where is everlaſting Joy, with continual Laud and Praiſes to God.

Ceremonies uſed in the Maſs.

“Foraſmuch, as divers go about to reprehend the Maſs, and as much as in them is to withdraw *Chriſt's* Flock from hearing thereof, taking it as a thing of little or ſmall Value; and the Ceremonies of the ſame for a Mocking and a Mumming, calling them alſo dumb Ceremonies. Therefore, to the intent that the Maſs may be the more regarded, and the Mouths of ſuch as calumniate and reprehend the ſame, ſtopp'd; it is to be underſtood, that the Maſs is a Remembrance of the Paſſion of *Chriſt*, whoſe moſt bleſſed Body and Blood is there conſecrated, and the Ceremonies thereof are not dumb; but they be Expreſſives and Declaratives of the ſame Paſſion, to the intent, that by ſuch Signs and Ceremonies, they that be preſent thereat, may the better be admoniſh'd and reduced into the Memory of the ſame. And

“*Firſt*, It is to be underſtood, that the Prieſt is a common Miniſter in the name and ſtead of the whole Congregation; and as the Mouth of the ſame, not only renders thanks to God for *Chriſt's* Death and Paſſion, but alſo makes the common Prayers, and commends the People and their Neceſſities in the ſame to Almighty God.

“The Prieſt therefore, when he ſhall ſay Maſs, ſays it not in his common Apparel, which he daily uſes; but puts upon him clean and hallow'd Veſtments, partly repreſenting the Myſteries which were done at the Paſſion; partly repreſenting the Virtues which he himſelf ought to have that celebrates the Maſs. And,

“*Firſt*, He putteth on the *Amyſſe*, which as touching the Myſtery, ſignifies the Veil, with the which the *Jews* cover'd the Face of *Chriſt*, when they buffeted him in time of his Paſſion: And, as touching the *Miniſter*, it ſignifies *Faith*, which is the Head, Ground, and Foundation of all Virtues; and therefore he puts that upon his Head firſt.

“*Secondly*, He puts upon him the *Albe*, which as touching the Myſtery, ſignifyeth the white Garment, wherewith *Herod* cloath'd *Chriſt*, in Mockery, when he ſent him to *Pilate*.

“And as touching the *Miniſter*, it ſignifies the Pureneſs of Conſcience, and Innocency he ought to have, eſpecially when he ſings the Maſs.

“The *Girdle*, as touching the Myſtery, ſignifies the Scourge with which *Chriſt* was ſcourg'd. And as touching the *Miniſter*, it ſignifies the continent and chaſt Living, or elſe the cloſe Mind which he ought to have at Prayers, when he celebrates.

“The *Stole*, as touching the Myſtery, ſignifieth the Ropes or Bands that *Chriſt* was bound with to the Pillar, when he was ſcourged.

“And as touching the *Miniſter*, it ſignifieth the Yoke of Patience; which he muſt bear as the Servant of God; in token whereof he puts alſo the *Phanon* on his Arm, which admoniſheth him of ghoſtly Strength, and godly Patience, that he ought to have, to vanquiſh and overcome all carnal Infirmity.

“The *Overveſture*, or *Cheſible*, as touching the Myſtery, ſignifies the Purple-Mantle that *Pilate's* Soldiers put upon *Chriſt*, after that they had ſcourg'd him.

“And as touching the *Miniſter*, it ſignifies Charity, a Virtue excellent above all other.

“The *Miniſter*, the which ſhall celebrate in the beginning, comes forth, as from ſome ſecret Place to the midſt of the Altar, ſignifying thereby that *Chriſt*, who is the High-Prieſt, came from the ſecret Boſom of his Father into this World, to offer Sacrifice for Man's Redemption.

“And albeit, that that Sacrifice be a ſufficient Price and Redemption for all the World; yet it is not efficient or effectual, but only to them which knowledgeth themſelves with Penance to be Sinners, whom he came to juſtifie; as he ſayeth himſelf, *non veni vocare juſtos, ſed peccatores.*

“Therefore the *Miniſter* in the beginning, teacheth all Men by his Confeſſion, to humiliate and knowledge themſelves Sinners, and aſk Remiſſion, to the intent they may be the more apt to participate of this high Myſtery. *Nam Juſtus in principio accuſator eſt ſui.*

“Then after this followeth, *Kyrie Eleiſon*, *& Chriſte Eleiſon*, which be words of Deſire, and to pray God for Mercy; which Mercy we cannot have of our Deſerts, but of God's Goodneſs, and *Chriſt's* Merits only. And therefore the *Miniſter* proceeding to the midſt of the Altar, renders the Glory unto God; ſinging the Angels Hymn and Song, *Gloria in Excelſis Deo*, i. e. Glory be unto God in Heaven: Whereby we be learn'd, not only to know that we receive all our Benefits of God, being bound to give him thanks for them; but alſo the means whereby we receive them, which is by the Mediation of *Chriſt*, that is both God and Man; by whom the Father is pleas'd and reconcil'd, Angels and Man agreed.

“Then this Song done, the Miniſter and People with Salutations, exhort each other to Prayers, in which he prays as well for the Multitude, as for himſelf; and therefore it is call'd *Collecta*, and it is directed to the Father, and commonly concluded in theſe words, *per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum*, &c. which ſheweth and declareth unto us, that we be only heard by *Chriſt*, and that our Prayer is by him valuable, and by our ſelf without him of no Value. And when the Prayer is ended, the People expreſs their Deſires and Minds to be heard, and anſwer *Amen*; which ſignifies, ſo be it.

“After that Prayer made, then the Prieſt, as a meet Miniſter to teach the People, reads the *Epiſtle*, which is a Leſſon taken out of the

Old and *New Teſtament*, and it precedes the Goſpel, and prepares the Mind thereunto; like as St. *John* prepared unto *Chriſt*, and the old Law unto *Grace*. And *Chriſt* ſent the Diſciples into divers Places to preach before his coming; whereby the People ſhall be more apt to receive the heavenly Doctrine of the Goſpel, and with a true Faith believe the Rewards and Benefits promiſed in the ſame.

“Next to the Epiſtle, enſues the *Graill*; the which teacheth alſo ſuch wholeſome Doctrine, as was taught before in the *Epiſtle*; that they proceeding in Virtue by Degrees, may proceed from Virtue to Virtue, until ſuch time as they may ſee Almighty God in his Glory: And therefore follows the *Song of Gladneſs*, call'd the *Allelujah*, i. e. *Laud ye God*. Both to admoniſh us to remember God with a glad Mind; and alſo with ſuch Mind to prepare our ſelves to the hearing of the Goſpel, and the joyful Promiſes of the ſame.

“Then follows the *Goſpel*, which is a glad Meſſage, or Tidings; for in it is contain'd the glad News of *our Salvation*; the which the Angels ſhew'd to the Shepherds at *Chriſt's* coming: Saying, *Ecce Evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum*; and therefore the Church with Light, and other Ceremonies of Gladneſs and Peace, reads it to the People, ſtanding up diligently to hear the ſame; declaring thereby their prone and ready Minds that they have to the Doctrine of the Goſpel.

“And foraſmuch as Faith ſpringeth of the word of God, therefore divers Days, the Church (after the Goſpel read) pronounces with a loud Voice the *Creed*, expreſſing the Faith with her Mouth, which before ſhe conceiv'd in her Heart, according to St. *Paul's* ſaying, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem Confeſſio fit ad Salutem*.

“Then follows the *Offertory*, whereby we learn to prepare our ſelves by God's Grace, to be an acceptable Oblation to him, to the intent we may be Partakers of the Bleſſed Sacrifices which *Chriſt* offer'd for us upon the Croſs.

“At which time the *Miniſter* laying the *Bread* upon the *Altar*, makes the *Chalyce*, mixing the Water with the Wine; ſignifying thereby, how that Blood and Water ran out of *Chriſt's* Side in his Paſſion; and admoniſhes us of the inſeparable coupling and joining of *Chriſt* and his Church.

“Then after the *Offertory* done, the Prieſt *waſhes* his Hands, knowledging himſelf not to be ſo clean, but that he has ever need more to be waſh'd, according to the Saying of *David*, *Waſh me Lord, more and more from my Wickedneſs, and cleanſe me from my Sin*.

“Then after follows a *Prayer*, ſecretly ſaid, which is call'd the *Secret* of the *Maſs*; and that ſignifies *Chriſt's* ſecret and privy Converſation, which he kept with his Diſciples, a little before his Paſſion. For after the determinate Sentence of Death, conſpir'd by *Caiphas* and the *Jews* againſt him, he walk'd no more amongſt them openly, but amongſt his Diſciples ſecretly.

“Next after the *Secret* follows the *Preface*, which is a Prolocution or Prayer, which goes before the moſt reverend Conſecration of *Chriſt's* Boody and Blood, preparing the Minds of the faithful People to the Reverence of the ſame; and moving them to erect their Hearts to *Almighty God*; giving him Thanks for his ineſtimable Benefits, with deſiring that their Voice joined with the Company of Angels, in one Conſent of Laud and Praiſe, proceeding as well from the Church Triumphant as Militant, unite and knit together, may without End, ſing this Seraphical Hymn. *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, to the Laud of the Bleſſed *Trinity*, whoſe Glory repleniſhes Heaven and Earth.

“Then after this *Preface* follows the *Canon*, which is ſaid ſecretly of the Prieſt, not becauſe 'tis unlawful to be heard, read or known of the People (as ſome fancy) but that it is expedient to keep Silence and Secrecy at the time of ſuch a high Myſtery; and that both the Prieſt and People may have the more devout Meditations, and better attend about the ſame.

“Then the Prieſt begins to repreſent in this Sacrifice of the Maſs, the moſt painful and bloody Sacrifice once offer'd for our Salvation upon the Croſs, and prays the Father to accept theſe Gifts prepared for the Conſecration; and inclining his Body, makes a Croſs upon the Altar, and kiſſes it, ſignifying thereby, the humble Inclining and Obedience of Chriſt to his Father's Will, to ſuffer his Paſſion upon the Altar of his Croſs for our Salvation.

“And then following the Example of Chriſt, the high Biſhop, which, approaching the Time of his Paſſion, gave himſelf to Prayer; and alſo according to the Apoſtle's Doctrine to *Timothy*, the Miniſter gives himſelf to Prayer: Firſt, in *general* for the Univerſal Church, of the which he deſires Peace and Preſervation. Secondly, For Princes and Rulers that govern the ſame. Thirdly, For all Chriſtian and faithful People, remembring ſpecially in his *Memento*, ſuch as Charity moſt binds, and Time ſuffices him ſo to do, making an honourable Mention alſo of Saints which be departed. And firſt, of our Lady, the twelve Apoſtles, and as many Martyrs, which either by their bodily Preſence, Preaching, or their Bloodſhedding in their Life-time, did bear Witneſs and Teſtimony to Chriſt's Paſſion, joining them as it were, both in one Communion and Participation of Chriſt's Death and Merits, which hath deſerved as well Grace to the one, as Glory to the other, deſire God by their Prayers to protect and defend the whole Congregation of all Chriſtians.

And after certain Prayers and Petitions made for the People, and alſo, that the Oblation may be acceptable unto God, he proceeds with all Reverence to the Conſecration.

Firſt, Of the Bread, taking it in his Hands, and giving Thanks, following the Example of Chriſt; by Virtue and Power of whoſe Words, the Subſtance of Bread is turn'd into the Subſtance of the Body Chriſt.

“And likewiſe the Subſtance of Wine into his precious Blood, which he lifteth up, both that the People with all Reverence and Honour, may worſhip the ſame, and alſo to ſignifie thereby, partly Chriſt's Exaltation upon the Croſs for our Redemption, which was figured by the Serpent ſet up by *Moſes* in the Deſert, and partly ſignifying that triumphant Advancement and Exaltation whereto God the Father, becauſe of his Paſſion, has exalted him above all Creatures, bidding the People to have it in Remembrance as oft as they ſhall do the ſame. After the which, the Prieſt extends and ſtretches forth his Arms, in Form of a Croſs,

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

“declaring thereby, that according to Chriſt's Commandment, both he and the People, not only have freſh Remembrance of the Paſſion, but alſo of his Reſurrection and glorious Aſcenſion.

And ſo proceeds to the ſecond *Memento*, in which he prays for them that be dead in the Faith of Chriſt, and ſleep in Peace, that it might pleaſe God to grant them a Place of Refreſhing, Light, and Peace. Then he joins himſelf with the People, knocking himſelf upon his Breaſt, thereby teaching them, that he and they both be Sinners, and have need of Mercy and Grace purchas'd by Chriſt's Paſſion, and deſireth Almighty God to give them a Society with the holy Apoſtles and Martyrs, not as an Eſteemer of their Merits, but as a merciful Granter of Remiſſion, and that by Chriſt by whom he works and grants all theſe Benefits; wherefore all Honour and Glory is to be render'd to him by Chriſt, and with Chriſt, the Holy Ghoſt being knit in Unity to them.

“And then expreſſing with a loud Voice, how long this Honour and Glory is due to God, he ſaith, *per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum* (i. e.) perpetually; the Church anſwering *Amen*.

“The Prieſt then, to the Intent he may the more worthily receive the bleſſed Body and Blood of Chriſt, both to the Comfort and Strength as well of him as of them that be preſent, ſaith the *Pater Noſter*, asking of God this heavenly and celeſtial *Bread*, with Deliverance from all Evils, and Increaſe of Quietneſs and Peace; and ſo diſcovering the *Chalyce*, in token that Chriſt would the Fruit of his Paſſion to be opened and manifeſt to all the World, takes the Hoſt and breaks it, and divides it, in token of the Diſtribution of it amongſt his Diſciples at his laſt Supper, and the breaking of his Body at the time of his Paſſion: At which Supper, above all things, he commends to them Peace and Charity, ſaying, *Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis*. And therefore the *Miniſter* takes the Kiſs of Peace from the bleſſed Sacrament, and ſends it to the People, ſaluting each other in *oſculo ſancto*, as biddeth St. *Paul*, admoniſhing them thereby of the fraternal and mutual Peace and Concord which they ought to have, without which Peace and Concord, this Communion or Sacrament of common Union, is to them nothing profitable, but much to their Hurt.

“Then ſaith the Prieſt, thrice *Agnus Dei*, &c. advertizing us of the Effects of Chriſt's Paſſion; whereof the firſt is, Deliverance from the Miſery of Sin. The Second is, from Pain of everlaſting Damnation; wherefore he ſaith twice *Miſerere nobis:* (i. e.) have Mercy on us. And the third Effect is, giving everlaſting Peace, conſiſting in the glorious Fruition of God; wherefore he ſaith, *Dona nobis pacem:* (i. e.) give us Peace.

“Then follows the *Commixtion* of the Body and Blood of Chriſt together, ſignifying the joining together of his Body and Soul at the Reſurrection, which before was ſever'd at the Time of his Paſſion.

“And albeit there be two Conſecrations, yet there is but one Sacrament, containing under the Form, the holy Body and Blood of Chriſt inſeparably.

“Then follows the *Communion*, which is an exciting or a moving to the People to laud and praiſe God. And becauſe in the Primitive Church, when Devotion was fervent, divers uſed many times to receive it together with the Prieſt. Therefore, in the Prayer call'd the *Poſt-Communion*, the Prieſt in the Name of them all prays and renders Thanks unto God for their Spiritual Refection *per Dominum noſtrum*, by whoſe Paſſion exhibit, the Maſs has its Strength and Efficacy.

Hen. VIII. I.

“Then the Prieſt eftſoons turning his Face to the People after the Salutation, ſays theſe Words, *Ite, miſſa eſt*, i. e. Go ye, the Maſs is ended. And in that he bids them go, is ſignify'd, that we ought to follow Chriſt in his holy Life, and always be going from Virtue to Virtue, and not to ſtand and tarry in the worldly Pleaſures, but diligently to haſte us to Life Everlaſting. And that we may be of the Number of them to whom it ſhall be ſaid *Venite benedicti, (i. e.)* Come ye Bleſſed of my Father and receive the Kingdom *&c.* The Prieſt gives us at our Departure ſometimes the Benediction in the Name of the whole Trinity; ſignifying, that laſt Benediction which Chriſt gave to his Diſciples in the Mount of *Olivet*, when he aſcended to his Father, where he ſits on his Right Hand a continual Interceſſor for us, to whom be all Laud and Praiſe for ever. *Amen*.

“The *Sundays* are to be continued and employ'd in the Service of God, to hear his Word preach'd, to give Thanks unto him for the Benefits we receive daily. And that Day is much to be regarded, both for the Antiquity, and alſo for that it is a Memorial of Chriſt's Reſurrection, whereby we ought to be ſtirr'd to erect our Minds from earthly things, to heavenly Contemplations of Chriſt's glorify'd Nature; by that conceiving alſo a certain Hope of our Reſurrection and eternal Glory.

“The Feaſts of our Lord, divers times in the Year, receiv'd and approv'd as Holy and Solemn Days, are to be kept in their accuſtom'd Veneration and Solemnity, as well for the ſundry Cauſes before rehears'd, as alſo for that they repreſent unto us the manifold and ineſtimable Benefits of our Redemption. As the Incarnation of Chriſt, his Apparition, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, the ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſuch other.

“The Feaſts of Saints, as divers of our Bleſſed Lady, of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors and Virgins, ſuch as are not abrogated, or otherwiſe order'd by the high Governour, are to be uſed in godly Exerciſe and due Veneration, according to the approv'd Cuſtom. Becauſe, that in thoſe Days we remember the high Gifts of God in them; and for thoſe not only to glorifie him, but alſo to pray him that we may have the like Grace here to follow their Example of godly Living, and at the laſt attain with them the Everlaſting Life, and the State that they be in.

“Bells are ordain'd to call the Miniſters and People to the Church in Times convenient; admoniſhing them to come to the Preaching of the Word of God, the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, the Divine Service and Prayer in the Church for the Time uſed; to give Knowledge of our Chriſtian Brother or Siſter departed this World, that both we may call to Remembrance our own Mortality, and alſo be mov'd with Charity to pray for them ſo departed.

“It is convenient the *Biſhops*, and all other ſuch as have Orders, and continue in their Miniſtrations, for an honeſt Difference, to be “known from other Perſons, ſhould not only wear certain manner of Veſtures, and outward Raiment; but alſo, for a like Difference, to have according to their Order and Degree, a convenient Crown, with other honeſt Tonſure in their Head.

“It is laudable and convenient, that (except Sickneſs, or any other reaſonable Impediment or Let) every *Biſhop*, *Prieſt*, and others having *Orders*, and continuing in their Adminiſtration, ſhall daily ſay Divine Service (*i. e.*) *Mattins*, *Prime*, *Hours*, *Evenſong* and *Compline*; and ſuch as are Biſhops and Prieſts, divers times to ſay Maſs; and that they may ſay it oftner, they ought to pray for Grace, and diſpoſe themſelves accordingly.

“Bearing Candles on *Candlemaſs*-Days, is a very good Uſage in Memory of Chriſt, the Spiritual Light, of whom *Simeon* did propheſie, as is read in the Church that Day.

“Faſting certain Times and Days in the Year, as Abſtinence in *Lent*, and other times receiv'd and appointed to be kept, and not chang'd and abrogated, are very laudable, and without a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe to the contrary, ought to be obſerv'd according to the Cuſtom of this Realm. For tho' the manner of Faſting, and certain Days of Faſting are not expreſs'd in Scripture; yet we ought to faſt by the teaching of the Scripture, as it appears in many Places of the ſame, both of the Old and New Teſtament. For it is a godly Exerciſe, both to ſubdue and mortifie the Fleſhly Appetites, and alſo to make the Perſon more apt to pray. And therefore our Maſter Chriſt, for our Example, not only faſted, but alſo does teach us, that when we faſt we ſhould beware of Hypocriſy.

“The giving of Aſhes upon *Aſh-Wedneſday*, with theſe Words, *Remember Man that thou art Aſhes, and to Aſhes thou ſhalt return*, is to put us in Remembrance in the beginning of *Lent*, of our frail Nature, and Uncertainty of this Life. Wherefore, it were very good and convenient to expreſs the ſame in *Engliſh*, to the Underſtanding of unlearned Perſons.

“The covering of the Croſs and the Images in *Lent*, with the uncovering of the ſame at the Reſurrection, ſignifies not only the Darkneſs of Infidelity, which cover'd the Face of the *Jews* in the Old Teſtament, but alſo the dark Knowledge they had of Chriſt, who was the Perfection and End of the Law; and not yet open'd until the time of his Death and Reſurrection.

“And the ſame partly is ſignified by the Veil which hid the ſecret Place of the *Sanctum Sanctorum* from the People. And in the time of Chriſt's Paſſion was open'd that all Men might ſee it, and have a ready Entrance thereunto. The Holy Ghoſt ſignifying thereby, as ſaith St. *Paul*, that the Day of Holineſs was not yet open'd, ſo long as the firſt Tabernacle was ſtanding; nor the Way of Life, as the Prophet ſaith, was known before.

“Bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, done in Memory of the receiving of Chriſt into *Jeruſalem* a little before his Death, that we may have the ſame Deſire to receive him into our Hearts.

“The Service upon *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, and *Good-Friday*, differs from other Service in the Year. And the Church uſeth then lamentable and mourning Ceremonies, reading the Leſſons of the Lamentation of *Jeremy*, ſignifying an Heavineſs, for ſo much as the *Jews* at that time travell'd, and ſought by all means to apprehend Chriſt and bring him to his Death. And the ſame Service is call'd *Tenebræ*, becauſe that Chriſt walk'd then not openly as he was wont to do, but kept himſelf ſecretly with his Diſciples in a City call'd *Ephraim*, till it pleas'd him willingly to come and ſuffer his Paſſion for our Salvation.

“The Candles, in thoſe Nights, firſt light, and then put out at every Pſalm and Leſſon, ſignifies the manifold Lights given by the Holy Prophets before the coming of Chriſt, which at this time were darken'd; for the World was then in an Infidelity, and the cruel *Jews* did not only put the former Prophets to Death, but alſo then they practis'd the Death of Chriſt, the End of all Prophets, which ſhortly after they accompliſh'd to their Confuſion and our Salvation.

“Upon *Shier-Thurſday*, as we call it, moſt principally it is to be conſider'd, that our Saviour did inſtitute the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of Thanks; for then he gave to his Diſciples his moſt Bleſſed Body to eat, and his moſt precious Blood to drink, the very ſame that after was betray'd for us, and put to Death, roſe and aſcended: He waſh'd alſo the ſame Day the Feet of his Diſciples, teaching Humbleneſs, and very Love and Charity, by his Example.

“Oyl and Chriſm are this Day conſecrated, which ſignifies principally the Imperial and Prieſtly Dignity of Chriſt, and his being anointed with the Spiritual Unction of the Holy Ghoſt above all Creatures, admoniſhing us of our State and Condition: For as of *Chriſma* Chriſt is named, ſo of Chriſt we are called Chriſtians.

“And 2*dly*, It ſignifies defacing and aboliſhing of the Rites and Conſecrations of the Old Law, which were done in Oyl. And therefore at this time the old Oyl is burnt and deſtroy'd, and new conſecrated, ſignifying thereby our new Regeneration in Chriſt, and holy Inunction which we have by his Holy Spirit.

“It is a laudable Cuſtom the ſame Day to waſh the Altars, and to prepare with all Cleanneſs the Places where the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament ſhall be miniſtred. And alſo to be for us a Remembrance, that as thoſe things inanimate are waſh'd and cleans'd for that purpoſe; ſo we ought much more to prepare and waſh our Minds and Conſciences at all times, and eſpecially at this time, for the more worthy receiving of the ſame moſt high Sacrament.

“Upon *Good-Friday* is renewed yearly the Remembrance of the Bleſſed Paſſion; wherefore, that Day, amongſt other godly Ceremonies to be continued, is the creeping to the Croſs, where we humble our ſelves to Chriſt before the ſame; offering unto him, and kiſſing of the Croſs, in Memory of our Redemption by Chriſt upon the Croſs.

“And that Day is prepared and well adorn'd the Sepulture, in Remembrance of his Sepulture, which was propheſied by the Prophet *Eſaias* to be glorious. Wherein is laid the Image of the Croſs, and the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament; to ſignify, that there was bury'd no Corps or Body that cou'd be putrefied, or corrupted, but the pure and undefiled Body of Chriſt, without Spot of Sin, which was never ſeparated from the Godhead. And therefore, "as *David* expreſs'd in the 15th *Pſalm*, it cou'd not ſee Corruption, nor Death cou'd not detain or hold him, but he ſhould riſe again to our great Hope and Comfort. And therefore the Church adorns it with Lights, to expreſs the great Joy they have of that glorious Triumph over Death, the Devil and Hell.

"Upon *Saturday*, *Eaſter* Even, is hallow'd the Font, which is as it were *Veſtigium*, or a Remembrance of Baptiſm, that was uſed in the Primitive Church. At which Time, and *Pentecoſt*, there was uſed in the Church two ſolemn Baptizings, and much Concourſe of People came unto the ſame.

"The firſt was at *Eaſter*, becauſe the Myſtery of Baptiſm agrees well to the Time. For like as Chriſt dy'd and was bury'd, and roſe again the Third Day, ſo by putting into the Water is ſignify'd our Death to Sin: And the Immerſions betoken our burying and mortifying to the ſame. And the Riſing again out of the Water declares us to be riſen unto a New Life, according to the Doctrine of St. Paul (*Rom.* 6.)

"And the ſecond ſolemn Baptizing (*i. e.*) at *Pentecoſt*, was becauſe that then is celebrated the Feaſt of the Holy Ghoſt, which is the Worker of that Spiritual Regeneration we have in Baptiſm. And therefore the Church uſes yet to hallow the Font alſo at that time.

"Upon *Eaſter-Day*, in the Morning, the Ceremonies of the Reſurrection are very laudable, to put us in Remembrance of Chriſt's Reſurrection, which is the Cauſe of our Juſtification. And that as Chriſt being our Head, was the firſt among the Dead which roſe never to die again; ſo all Chriſtian Men being his Members, do conceive thereby to riſe from Death of Sin to godly Converſation in this Life; and finally, at the Day of Judgment, when the Bodies and Fleſh of all Mankind ſhall by the Operation of God be rais'd again, to riſe with him to everlaſting Glory.

"General Proceſſions, and other particular Proceſſions, with the Litanies and other Prayers, are very laudable; wherein we pray to Almighty God for the Health, proſperous Eſtate, and Victory of our Prince; for the Wealth of the Realm, and for the Temperance and Pureneſs of the Air to Man's Health: And alſo for the Increaſe of Grain, Graſs, and other Fruits growing upon the Earth for the Suſtenance of Man. In which Proceſſion, we uſe to follow the Croſs and Image of our Saviour, not only praying unto God for our Neceſſities, whoſe Image we do follow, but alſo profeſſing our ſelves as true Chriſtian People, ready to bear our Croſs with Chriſt, willingly to ſuffer all Troubles and Afflictions laid upon us for the Love and Cauſe of our Saviour, like as he ſuffer'd for us. And ſo as his Servants, Soldiers, and Men of War, we follow his Banner for the Remembrance of him, declaring our Proneneſs and Readineſs in all things to follow and ſerve him; provided always, that in all Proceſſions the manner of Praying appointed by the King's Injunctions be obſerv'd.

"The accuſtom'd Benedictions of Biſhops or Prieſts, of old time uſed in the Church, are very laudable: For as Miniſters and Paſtors of the Flock of Chriſt for that whole People, where they have their Adminiſtrations, they pray to Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him to bleſs the People (*i. e.*) to give them his Goodneſs and Grace in all their Neceſſities, both for the Body and Soul: Making a Croſs, to ſignifie in whoſe Name they bleſs, and by whom they aſk the ſame Gift of God.

"Holy Water and Holy Bread be two godly Ceremonies, and to be continued in the Church. The one to put us in Remembrance of our Baptiſm, and of the Blood of Chriſt, for our Redemption ſprinkled upon the Croſs. And the other to put us in Remembrance, that all Chriſtian Men are one Myſtical Body of Chriſt, as the Bread is made of many Grains, and yet but one Loaf. And to put us in Remembrance alſo of receiving of the Holy Sacrament and Body of Chriſt in right Charity, which in the beginning of Chriſt's Church, Men did oftner receive than they do now.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's *Opinion over-ruled in the* Erudition of a Chriſtian Man.

By Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Anſwer to the *Seventeen Queſtions*, it appears his Opinion of Church Power was extreamly wrong and unprimitive: He makes the Government of the Church, and the Functions of the Hierarchy, altogether precarious, and intirely depending on the Pleaſure of the Civil Magiſtrate. Theſe *Eraſtian* Tenents, as they are now called, were quite different from a Paper ſign'd by him ſome few Years ſince: 'Tis called, *A Declaration of the Functions and Divine Inſtitutions of Biſhops and Prieſts*. Here the Independency of the Church in Matters purely Spiritual, is maintain'd without Ambiguity or Reſerve; and the Doctrine touching the Sacrament of *Orders*, is penn'd to the ſame Senſe, and in a manner, to the ſame Words with the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*. This *Declaration* was ſign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Archbiſhops, eleven Biſhops, and four and twenty Divines of Character. 'Tis ſubſcrib'd by *Edward Hereford*, and *John Rocheſter*; from whence 'tis plain, it muſt be drawn up between the Years 1536, and the Beginning of the Year 1538. For *John Hilſley*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was not conſecrated till 1536, and *Edward Fox*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, died *May* the 8th, 1538 (*x*).

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5. Fol. 45.

But notwithſtanding *Cranmer* was ſo unhappy as to change his Opinion, as appears by his Anſwer to the *Queſtions* abovemention'd; yet he was over-ruled by a Majority of the Biſhops, who ſet forth the *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*. And more than that, he ſeems to have recover'd his former Sentiment; for he ſubſcrib'd the *Erudition*, countenanc'd it in his Dioceſe, and check'd one *Joſeph* a Clergyman, who took the Liberty to preach againſt it (*y*).

A Match propos'd between Prince Edward *and the Queen of* Scots.

At the Defeat of the *Scots* at *Solway*, ſeveral of the Nobility were taken Priſoners, and brought up to *London*, and put into the Hands of ſome *Engliſh* Lords, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, where they were entertain'd with great Freedom and Honour. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Caſſils*, the Duke of *Norfolk* the Earl of *Glencarn*, not to mention the reſt. Theſe *Scotch* Noblemen being treated to Satisfaction, and hearing of their King's Death, ſuggeſted a Match between Prince *Edward* and their young Queen, with a Promiſe of their Intereſt to bring it about. The King being pleas'd with the Propoſal, diſmiſs'd them upon the Security of Hoſtages, and preſented them richly at their going off. Not long after, the King ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to *Scotland*, to ſolicit the Marriage, and conclude a Peace. There were likewiſe *Scotch* Ambaſſadors diſpatch'd to the *Engliſh* Court. In ſhort, after ſome Difficulties adjuſted, the Marriage-Treaty was ſign'd by the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors.

(*x*) Godwin de Præſul.

(*y*) Burnet *p.* 289. *Memorials of* Cranmer, *p.* 100.

A. D. $154\frac{2}{3}$.

dours. But upon their Return the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, and all the *Scotch* Clergy, were diſpleas'd with what was done. Particularly the Cardinal diſcover'd his Averſion to the *Alliance* in ſo remarkable a manner, that it was thought fit to confine him, till the Ratification of the Marriage was ſettled, and Hoſtages promis'd for Performance of Articles. But the Cardinal brib'd his *Keeper*, made his Eſcape, and embroil'd the whole Matter. And now acting under the Countenance of the Queen Mother, he gain'd the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy, by repreſenting they were in Danger of Ruin from the other Party. He prevail'd the Hoſtages ſhould not be ſent into *England*, and occaſion'd ill Uſage being put upon our Ambaſſadour. The King of *England*, who had reaſon to be diſpleas'd with this Breach of Articles, laid an Embargo upon the *Scotch* Merchant-men, and reſolv'd to declare War againſt that Nation.

A Treaty of
be Marriage
roken by Car-
inal Beaton.

The Queen Mother and the Cardinal applied to the *French* Court to fortifie their Intereſt, and deſired that King to convey over *Matthew Steward* Earl of *Lenox*; acquainting him this Lord was very conſiderable in his Country, and averſe to *Hamilton*'s Party. The Viceroy being inform'd of the Earl of *Lenox* his Voyage, endeavours to get the young Princeſs, but was prevented by the Cardinal.

The Earl of *Lenox*, upon his Arrival in *Scotland*, levies Four Thouſand Men, and gains his Point upon the Earl of *Arran*. By a Treaty between 'em the young Queen was put into the Cuſtody of Four of *Lenox* his Creatures, and ſoon after crown'd. The Viceroy being thus diſappointed, and over and above not very popular, was contented to be gain'd by the Cardinal, and wholly govern'd by him.

King *Henry* being inform'd of the Change in the *Scotch* Adminiſtration, demanded the Perſon of the young Queen, alledging his Apprehenſion of her being convey'd to *France*. The *Scots* refuſing to part with her, War was declar'd by our King, and Preparations made for that Purpoſe. But of this no more at preſent.

uly, 1543.

This Year our King broke with *France*, and ſign'd a Treaty with the Emperor (z). And about the ſame time he was married to the Lady *Katherine Parr*, the Relict of the Lord *Latimer*.

The King being acquainted that ſeveral Perſons were burnt for Religion at *Windſor*, ſeem'd diſpleas'd with the rigorous Execution of the Law. Whether he thought ſuch Methods of Severity unſuitable to the Chriſtian Religion, or whether he was apprehenſive his Government would lie under hard Imputations by holding on this Courſe, is not eaſie to determine. But whatever the Motive was, 'twas plain his Mind was alter'd; for he gave his Pardon to Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, and ſome others, who had fall'n under the Forfeiture of the *Six Articles*. And for a farther Proof of a gentler Perſwaſion, he withdrew his Favour from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; this Prelate being repreſented of a proſecuting Temper.

d. *p.* 503.

A. D. $154\frac{3}{4}$.

On the Fourteenth of *January* the Parliament ſat at *Weſtminſter*, and continued till the Nine and Twentieth of *March* following. The firſt Act relates to the Succeſſion, in which there is a remarkable Clauſe. "The Act mentions two "Statutes made in the 28th Year of this Reign, "to exclude the uſurp'd Authority and Juriſdi-"ction of the Biſhops of *Rome*; that to give the "King an Aſſurance of the Fidelity of his Sub-"jects, they were oblig'd to ſwear a Renuncia-"tion of the Papal Supremacy, and that each of "the Statutes abovementioned, injoin'd a ſeve-"ral Oath. But theſe Proviſions, it ſeems, falling ſhort of Satisfaction, there is a ſupplemental Clauſe added in the Statute before us. The Words are theſe: *Foraſmuch as in both the ſaid Oaths, mentioned in the ſaid ſeveral Acts, there lacketh full and ſufficient Words, whereby ſome Doubts might riſe: Therefore be it enacted by Authority of this preſent Parliament, that from and after the laſt Day of this Seſſion, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, which be order'd and limited by the ſaid ſeveral Acts, to take the ſaid Oaths mentioned in the ſame Acts, ſhall from thenceforth, in Lieu and Place of thoſe two Oaths, take and ſwear this corporal Oath, according to the Tenor enſuing. And that they, which have already ſworn the other foreſaid Oaths, or any of them, ſhall take and eſteem it of the ſame Effect and Force, as tho' they had ſworn this* (a).

A remarkable Clauſe in an Act relating to Oaths.

In the former Oaths, this *Statute* ſets forth, *there lack'd full and ſufficient Words*. This Oath therefore ſeems to ſupply the Defects, by extending the Matter. Now if a Parliament can charge the Conſcience deeper, and throw a ſupplemental Clauſe upon an Oath taken Seven Years before, the Queſtion will be, Whether a Man can tell what he ſwears to? And whether this might not prove a Diſcouragement againſt taking Parliamentary Oaths? Becauſe, tho' a Man may know the Extent of ſuch a ſolemn Engagement at preſent, yet he can't foreſee with what Addition it may be loaded by the Legiſlature for the Time to come. And then the Queſtion will be, Whether this does not look like taking Religion upon *Content*, and reſigning to a Parliament with implicit Belief, in Things of the moſt ſolemn Nature. The Refuſal of this Oath, is made High-Treaſon, but this *Statute* being ſince repealed (b), the Subject cannot be affected with the extraordinary Clauſe abovementioned.

During this *Seſſion*, one Sir *John Goſtick*, Knight of the County for *Bedfordſhire*, made a Speech in the *Houſe* againſt Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, charged him with encouraging novel Opinions, and that his Family was a Nurſery of Hereſie and Sedition. Biſhop *Gardner* is ſuppos'd to be at the Bottom of this Buſineſs. This Speech of *Goſtick*'s, being of the Nature of an Impeachment, ſeveral Lords of the *Privy Council*, mov'd the King, that ſince *Cranmer* lay under an Imputation of ſo a high Nature, he might be diſmiſs'd the *Board*, and committed to the *Tower*, till Enquiry was made into the Truth of what was commonly reported. The admitting the Archbiſhop to the *Privy Council*, they ſaid, would diſcourage Information (c).

Archbiſhop Cranmer *charg'd with Hereſy.*

In the mean time a Report was ſpread, that the King had determin'd *Cranmer*'s Ruin, That he would quickly be brought to the Scaffold, and ſhare *Cromwell*'s Fate. It ſeems his Enemies had ſo much the Aſcendant at Court, that moſt People thought it would be next to impoſſible to diſentangle himſelf. But the King happening to penetrate the Matter, found there was more Art than Truth in the Clamours againſt *Cranmer*. His Majeſty one Evening after Supper, upon Pretence of diverting himſelf upon the Water, order'd his Barge to be row'd to *Lambeth* Side. Some of the Archbiſhop's Servants acquainting their Lord with the King's being there, he came to the Shoar to pay his Regards, and invite the King to his Palace. The King bid him come into the Boat, and ſit cloſe by him, and entertain'd him with a long Diſcourſe in private.

Amongſt

(z) *Lord* Herbert, *p.* 486, 495.

(a) 35. H. 8. c. 1.

(b) 1. M. 1.

(c) Antiquit. Britann. *p.* 334. & deinc.

Amongſt other things, the King, to ſound *Cranmer* the better, complain'd, that ſince *Cromwell*'s Death the Kingdom had been very much embroil'd with Hereſie and Faction; that 'twas to be fear'd, theſe different Perſuaſions and Animoſities might be attended with dangerous Conſequences, and break out at laſt into a Civil War. That therefore ſuch Diſputes about Conſcience and Religious Belief, ought to be ſilenc'd. For this Purpoſe he was reſolv'd to ſearch after the Grand *Incendiary*, and take him off by ſome exemplary Puniſhment. That this, in the Opinion of ſeveral of the Prelates and other Lords, was the proper Method to put a ſtop to the Miſchief. Upon this he ask'd *Cranmer*, What his Opinion was of this Reſolve? The Archbiſhop, tho' he gueſs'd the Meaning of the Queſtion, anſwer'd frankly, and without any Appearance of Concern, That his Highneſs had pitch'd upon a ſerviceable Expedient, and that the reſt of the Hereticks ought to undergo the ſame Puniſhment with their *Leader*; only he deſir'd the King would not charge thoſe with Hereſy who grounded their Belief upon the *Inſpired Writings*. Upon this Anſwer the King came cloſer, and ſaid, I am inform'd by a great many Hands, that you are the grand *Hereſiarch*; that 'tis you who encourage Heterodoxy; and that were it not for your Counterpaces, the *Six Articles* had not been ſo much diſlik'd, and conteſted in your *Province*. I deſire therefore you would deal clearly, and diſcover your ſelf upon this Matter. The Archbiſhop told his Highneſs he was ſtill of the ſame Opinion he had declar'd himſelf, when the Bill was paſſing; however he had done nothing againſt the *Act*. Then the King putting on an Air of Pleaſantry, asked him whether his Bedchamber could ſtand the Teſt of the *Articles?* The Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding he was ſenſible Marriage was Death in a Prieſt, told the King he was married before his Promotion to the *See* of *Canterbury*, that he entred into this Relation during his Embaſſy at the Emperor's Court: However, to prevent falling under the Penalty of the *Statute*, he had parted with his Wife, and ſent her to her Family in *Germany*. This Anſwer, without Evaſion or Reſerve, pleaſ'd the King. And now being fully perſuaded of *Cranmer*'s Probity, he pull'd off the Maſk, and began to aſſure him of his Favour: He told him the Severity of the *Act* was not levell'd againſt him, and then mention'd the Information preferr'd againſt him, and thoſe who pretended to make it good.

He is preſerv'd by the King.

The Archbiſhop deſir'd the Charge might be carried on thro' the Forms of Law; for he was not afraid of ſtanding the utmoſt Enquiry. The King, who was ſtill more confirm'd of the Archbiſhop's Sincerity, told him he ſhould put the Cauſe into his Hand, and truſt him with the Management. *Cranmer* replied, ſuch a Favour would be cenſur'd by his Adverſaries, and interpreted to a Partiality in his Highneſs. He deſir'd therefore his Majeſty would be pleaſ'd to nominate ſome other Judge. However, the King had ſo ſtrong an Opinion of *Cranmer*'s Honeſty, that he did not queſtion the Fairneſs of his Conduct, tho' in a Caſe in which himſelf was ſo nearly concern'd. Being diſmiſs'd by the King with this unexpected Confidence, he order'd Dr. *Cox* his Vicar General, and *Huſſey* his Principal Regiſtrary, to go down to *Canterbury*, and make a thorough Enquiry into the Practice of thoſe who had inform'd againſt him, to find out the Men, and trace the Progreſs of the Plot: But this Vicar General, and the Regiſtrary moving ſlowly, and trifling, as it were, over their Commiſſion, were ſuſpected of unfriendly Intentions.

On the other hand, the oppoſite Party preſs'd for *Cranmer*'s Confinement, and that he might be brought to anſwer the Charge of Hereſy. The King reſign'd, at laſt, ſo far to their Importunity, as to conſent that in caſe they could make Proof of any one Crime of the Archbiſhop's againſt Church or *State*, he ſhould be ſent to Priſon. Next Day they were in Expectation of gaining their End. The King, who reſolv'd to preſerve *Cranmer*, and was willing to diſcover the foul Play, ſeem'd to countenance the Proſecution, and let his Enemies go the whole Length of their Deſign againſt him.

But now the Matter being come to a Criſis, 'twas time to interpoſe. The King therefore, ſent one Mr. *Denny* a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, and one of *Cranmer*'s Friends, about Midnight, to *Lambeth*: His Buſineſs was, to order the Archbiſhop to come immediately to the King. His Majeſty told him, that the Province of *Canterbury*, and almoſt the whole Kingdom, being over-run with Heretical Opinions, he was ſolicited by almoſt all the *Privy Council* to commit him during the Proceſs; for without ſuch a Confinement the Evidence would be ſtifled, and 'twas impoſſible to go to the Bottom of the Matter: For as the *Privy Council* ſuggeſted, all this Heterodoxy was owing to ſeveral Foreigners of Learning, entertain'd in his Family. This Motion, ſays the King, of the *Privy Council*, I have agreed to; to Morrow it is to be put in Execution, and I deſire to know your Senſe of the Reaſonableneſs of it.

Cranmer return'd the King Thanks for preacquainting him with this Reſolve, declar'd himſelf not unwilling to go to Priſon and abide a Tryal: That not being conſcious of any pretended Miſbehaviour, he had rather ſtand the Event of a judicial Enquiry, than lie under the Load of unreaſonable Suſpicion. He only deſir'd, that ſince his Orthodoxy was called in Queſtion, he might have learned and indifferent Judges aſſign'd him.

The King, inſtead of commending him for his Courage and Integrity, told him his Willingneſs to go to Priſon, and reſting ſo much upon his Innocence, argu'd his Simplicity; for, ſays he, if you are once eclips'd, and hurried into a Goal, there will be Knaves enough to inform againſt you; which as long as you have your Liberty, and your Character ſtands intire, will not have the Confidence to ſay a Word: And therefore ſince you have not the Diſcretion to conſult your own Honour and Security, I will undertake that Part, and preſerve you my ſelf. To Morrow you will be ſent for by the *Privy Council*, charg'd with Hereſy, and order'd to Priſon. Your Way is, to plead that ſince you have the Honour to be one of the *Board*, you may receive the ſame Treatment which they would deſire in the ſame Caſe; that is, that thoſe who inform againſt you may be brought before the *Council*; and then, provided you can't diſprove their Evidence, you are willing to go to Priſon: And in caſe you are refuſ'd this reaſonable Requeſt, make your Appeal to me, and give them a Sign you have an Authority for ſuch an Application: Upon this the King took a Ring of great Value off his Finger, gave it *Cranmer*, and diſcharg'd him.

He is ill treated by the Privy Council.

The next Morning there were Meſſengers ſent to *Lambeth* to ſummon the Archbiſhop to the *Privy Council*; when he came there he was refuſ'd Admittance into the *Council Chamber*. At which, the Courtiers attending thereabouts, were much ſurpriz'd; when Dr. *Butts*, one of the King's Phyſicians heard of this Uſage, he came to the Archbiſhop to ſhew his Regard; and keep him from being inſulted. This Doctor being ſoon after ſent for by the King, told him he had ſeen a very unuſual ſight. What is the matter? ſays the King. Sir, ſays he, there is a ſtrange Revolution in Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Quality: He is ſunk from a Metropolitan, to a Footman; for I have ſeen him wait amongſt the *Liveries* about an Hour in the *Lobby*, before the *Council-Chamber*. What, ſays the King, does the *Privy-Council* treat the *Primate* of all *England* in ſuch a contumelious Manner? And upon this a Gentleman was immediately ſent to order the *Board*, to let the Archbiſhop into the *Council-Chamber*. At his coming in, he was ſaluted with an heavy Accuſation: That the King and the *Council* had receiv'd Information of the Kingdoms being infected with *Hereſy*: That this dangerous Miſperſuaſion was propagated by himſelf and his Family; and that 'till the Riſe and Progreſs, and the whole Detail of this Misfortune was thoroughly examin'd, 'twas thought neceſſary to confine him in the *Tower*. *Cranmer* deſir'd the Informers, the Evidence and all the Furniture of Legal Proof might be produced; that he might have the liberty of defending himſelf before the *Board*. For he could not help thinking it hard Meaſure that a *Primate* of *England*, and Privy-Counſellour, whoſe Integrity had never been called in Queſtion, ſhould be haled to Priſon upon bare Suſpicion. That by ſuch an ignominious Treatment, People would be apt to preſume him guilty, and by this means he might ſuffer when the Cauſe came farther on: He alledg'd ſeveral other Reaſons for gentler Uſage, but perceiving Arguments and Intreaties ſignified nothing; he told them he was ſorry to find himſelf diſappointed in his Expectations of Equity, and that now he was oblig'd to appeal to the King from thoſe he had ſo long ſat with at the *Board*, and liv'd with in a friendly Correſpondence. Having ſaid this, he deliver'd them the King's Ring, acquainting them that by this Sign, their Order for his Commitment was ſuperſeded. When they came with *Cranmer* before the King, they were ſmartly reprimanded by his Highneſs: He told them he was ſorry to find his *Privy-Council* ſo much wanting in Prudence and Decency. What could put them upon ſo foreign a Fancy, as to ſhut the Archbiſhop out of the *Council-Chamber*, and let him wait in the Paſſage like a Valet? He would gladly know whether any of them would be contented to be handled with ſuch Diſreſpect himſelf? And then clapping his Hand upon his Breaſt, he ſwore he was more oblig'd to *Cranmer* than any Man living, and that no Prince could have better Proofs of his Integrity; and therefore he expected that all thoſe who pretended an Affection to him and his Service, ſhould treat the Archbiſhop with all imaginable Regard.

The reſt of the *Board* finding they had miſtaken their Meaſures, and being aw'd to Silence, the Duke of *Norfolk* replied, that the *Board* had no deſign of doing any harm to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Their meaning in moving for his Commitment, was only to give his Innocence the fairer Tryal: That the Proceſs might proceed with a more unexceptionable Appearance; and that after the Falſhood of the Articles had been fully diſprov'd, he might be diſcharg'd with a greater advantage to his Reputation. To this the King return'd, I won't ſuffer *Cranmer* nor any Perſon I have a Value for, to be thus harraſs'd, and run this riſque for clearing their Reputation. But I perceive there are ſome Miſunderſtandings and Animoſities amongſt you, which unleſs they are quickly laid down, I ſhall be forc'd to interpoſe, and quiet them my ſelf. Upon this the King went off with an Air ſomewhat diſturb'd, and the *Privy-Council* ſaluted *Cranmer* with the cuſtomary Marks of Friendſhip and Ceremony. *Cranmer* having eſcaped the Snare, paſs'd over the Injury without the leaſt Reſentment, and from this time forwards had ſo great a ſhare in the King's Favour, that nothing farther was attempted againſt him.

Cox and *Huzzey* being dilatory in executing their Commiſſion, as hath been obſerv'd; the King ſent Dr. *Lee* privately to *Canterbury*, to examine the Matter, and make his Report of what he could diſcover, either in favour of the Archbiſhop or againſt him. *Lee* conſulting with thoſe who wiſh'd well to the *Reformation*, was directed to ſearch the Houſes of ſome Prieſts of a contrary Perſuaſion. And here Letters written by one *Gardner*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Secretary, made a diſcovery. The Import of them was to raiſe the Intereſt of their Party upon *Cranmer*; and bring on a Proſecution: The King perceiving the Impeachment of *Cranmer* to be nothing elſe but plain Concert and Diſaffection; began to cool in his Eſteem, and withdraw his Fancy from the Men of that Complexion. And laying the whole Scheme before *Cranmer*, adviſ'd him to take care how he converſ'd with ſuch People. He would likewiſe have had *Gardner*'s Letters read in the Parliament Houſe: But *Cranmer* not willing to come to an open Rupture with the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Party, prevail'd with the King to conceal them.

A Concert diſcover'd againſt him.

Cranmer's Intereſt being thus eſtabliſh'd, the Proſecution upon the *Six Articles* began to ſlacken, and thoſe inclin'd to the *Reformation* had better Uſage. For now the Archbiſhop finding the Juncture ſomewhat favourable argued againſt the Severity of that ſanguinary *Act* in the Parliament Houſe, preſs'd for a Mitigation of the Penalty; and that no honeſt and well-deſerving Subject might be obnoxious to ſuch Extremities, and deſtroy'd merely for acting with a good Conſcience.

A Mitigation of the Rigor of the Act of the Six Articles.

And notwithſtanding *Cranmer* was deſerted by the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter* and *Rocheſter*, who had promiſ'd to ſtand by him, and ſecond his Motion; yet his Reaſoning and Reſolution made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Temporal Lords and the King; that they agreed to moderate the Rigor of the *Statute*. “Thus, it was enacted that no Perſons ſhould be committed or moleſted for any Preſentment or Indictment upon the *Six Articles*; but upon ſuch Preſentments and Indictments as were made by the Oaths of Twelve Men before ſuch Commiſſioners as are mention'd in this *Act*, and refer'd to in another. The Proſecution was likewiſe to be made in a Year after the Offence was ſuppoſ'd to be done. It was likewiſe enacted, that no Perſon ſhould be arreſted or committed before Indictment, unleſs in ſome few Caſes; and that if any Preacher ſhould ſpeak any thing in his Sermon or Lecture againſt the *Statute* of the *Six Articles*, he was to be inform'd againſt, or indicted within Forty Days, or elſe diſcharg'd from being liable to any Proſecution (c).

(c) 35 H. 8. cap. 5. *Statutes at large.*

35 H. 8. c. 5.

Cranmer Th. *Abp of* Cant.

By another *Statute* paſs'd this *Seſſion*, the Regal Style for *Ireland*, which the King had lately aſſum'd, was confirm'd to the *Crown*.

The Regal Style for Ireland *enacted.*

A Loan lent to the King, was likewiſe diſcharg'd by *Act* of Parliament; “ In the *Preamble* of the Statute, 'tis ſaid amongſt other things, that the reforming and extinguiſhing many damnable and dangerous Schiſms, Opinions and Arguments, ſprung and riſen in the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, had been expenſive to the *Crown*.

By an *Act* made in the 27th of this Reign, 'twas provided that in all Grants of Abbey-Lands, a Tenure by Knights Service in *Capite*, and a Rent of the tenth part of the yearly Value ſhould be reſerv'd to the *Crown*. But by this Parliament, the King is impower'd to change the Tenures of Knights Services in *Capite*, into Sockage or free Burghage at Pleaſure; provided the yearly Rent of the tenth part was reſerv'd, and the Eſtate granted or ſold to the Subject; did not exceed the value of Forty Shillings *per Annum* (d).

Some Abbey Lands may be held in Sockage.

(d) 35 H. 8. c. 14.

The *Crown* was plainly a loſer by this *Act*; for Knight Service draws *Marriage*, *Relief*, and *Ward*. Beſides, by ſinking the Knight Service into Sockage, the Cavalry was weakned, and the King leſs able to defend himſelf againſt any Revolt or Invaſion.

“ The laſt Act I ſhall mention, gave the King an Authority to name Two and Thirty Perſons, Sixteen Clergy, and Sixteen Lay, to review the *Canons*: And here it is expreſly provided, that 'till ſuch time as the King's Majeſty, and the Thirty Two Perſons have accompliſh'd and executed the Effects and Contents afore rehears'd and mention'd; that ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances, Synodal, or Provincial, or other Eccleſiaſtical Laws or Juriſdictions Spiritual, as be yet accuſtom'd and uſed here in the Church of *England*; which neceſſarily and conveniently are requiſite to be put in ure and execution for the time, not being repugnant, contrariant or derogatory to the Laws or Statutes of the Realm; nor to the Prerogatives of the Regal Crown of the ſame, or any of them; ſhall be occupied, exercis'd, and put in ure for the time, within this, or any other the King's Majeſty's Dominions. And that the Miniſters, and due Executors of them, ſhall not incur any damage or danger, for the due exerciſing the foreſaid Laws; ſo that by no colour or pretence of them, or any of them, the Miniſter put in ure any thing prejudicial or in contrary of the Regal Power, or Laws of the Realm, any thing whatſoever to the contrary of this preſent *Act* notwithſtanding.

An Act for Reviewing the Canons.

May 4. A.D. 1544.

Scotland *harraſs'd by the* Engliſh.

The beginning of this Summer, the War with which the *Scots* were threatned broke out; the King eqipp'd a Fleet of two hundred Sail with Land Men on Board, commanded by the Lord *Liſle*. This Admiral debarked Ten Thouſand Men at *Leith*: The Town was taken without Oppoſition, and the Soldiers found much more Plunder than was expected. From hence after three Days, they march'd to *Edinborough*, where the Governour, the Cardinal, and many of the Nobility were poſted with Six Thouſand Horſe, and a conſiderable Body of Foot: However upon the ſight of the *Engliſh* Troops they thought fit to retire. The Burghers offer'd to ſurrender upon Articles for carrying off their Effects; and that the *Engliſh* would not burn the Town. Theſe Conditions were refuſed by the Lord *Liſle*, and the Town taken by Storm, ſack'd and burnt; however they found the Caſtle too difficult an Undertaking. When they had ravag'd the Country thereabouts, they countermarch'd to *Leith*, where after having deſtroy'd the Town, and ſpoil'd the Haven, they re-imbarked. This rough Treatment paſs'd upon the *Scots*, for breaking the Articles of Marriage, and inſulting the King's Ambaſſadour (e).

Hen. VIII. K.

Bouloign *taken by King* Henry.

(e) Godwin. Annal.

The Earl of *Lenox* being diſappointed in his Expectation of marrying the Queen Mother, and meeting with ſome other Mortifications in *Scotland*, retir'd to King *Henry* with the Earl of *Glencarn*'s eldeſt Son, and ſome other Perſons of Quality. The King by a formal Treaty, engag'd to ſupport the Earl of *Lenox* againſt the Earl of *Arran*, and Cardinal *Beaton*; and gave him the Lady *Margaret Dowglas* his Niece; by whom he had Iſſue *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, the Father of King *James* the Firſt *.

* Godwin. Annal.

July 14.

The King, who was now preparing for an Expedition againſt *France*, rais'd the value of Money, and embas'd the Coin. Soon after his Landing at *Calais*, he beſig'd *Bouloign*, which was ſurrendred after leſs than Two Months Siege. Before his entring upon this Campaign he order'd a *Litany*; or Proceſſion to be ſet forth in *Engliſh*. The occaſion of this Order, is ſaid to proceed from the Wars and divided condition of *Chriſtendom*. Amongſt other things, the King in his Letter to the Archbiſhop takes notice, that the Prayers being formerly in an unknown Tongue, made the People negligent in coming to Church: The Archbiſhop's *Mandate* is dated on the 8th of *June* (f). The King at his going off, had put the Adminiſtration in the Queen's Hands. This as the Lord *Herbert* thinks was done for a check upon the *Roman Catholicks*; this Princeſs being ſuppoſed of a different Perſuaſion. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*; the Lord Chancellour *Wriotheſley*, *Thirleby* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, Secretary *Petre*, and the Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, were commiſſionated to aſſiſt the Queen, and direct her Councils (g). About the middle of *September*, the *Emperor* and the *French* King concluded a Peace at *Creſpie*. And the King of *England* after a ſucceſsful Campaign return'd home.

A Litany in Engliſh.

(f) *Regiſter* Tonſal, *fol.* 40.

(g) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 511.

October 1.

September 13.

The Death of Lee, *Archbiſhop of* York.

(h) Godwin, de Preſul. Angl.

This Year *Edward Lee*, Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this Life. He ſate Thirteen Years, and ſerv'd the King in ſeveral Embaſſies: His Epitaph ſpeaks very much to his Advantage, with reſpect to Learning, Conduct, and Regularity; he is likewiſe ſaid to have been acceptable to all ſorts of Perſons, and remarkably kind to the Poor (h). He was ſucceeded by *Robert Holdgate*, a Monk of the *Order* of *Sempringham*, and tranſlated thither from *Landaff*: At his Conſecration, he took the following Oath, for renouncing the *Pope*. “ I *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *York* Elect; having now the Veil of Darkneſs of the uſurp'd Power, Authority, and Juriſdiction of the *See* and Biſhop of *Rome*, clearly taken away from mine Eyes; do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, that neither the *See*, nor the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any foreign Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power or Authority within this Realm; neither by God's Law, or by any juſt Law or Means. And tho' by Sufferance and Abuſions in times paſt, they aforeſaid have

The Oaths for renouncing the Pope.

“ uſurp'd, and vindicated a feign'd and unlawful Power and Juriſdiction within this Realm; which hath been ſupported 'till within theſe few Years paſt.

“ Therefore becauſe it might be deem'd and thought thereby, that I took or take it for juſt and good; I therefore do now clearly and frankly renounce, forſake, refute and relinquiſh that pretended Authority, Power and Juriſdiction, both of the *See* and Biſhop of *Rome*, and all other foreign Powers------and that I ſhall bear Faith, Truth, and true Allegiance, to the King's Majeſty, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors, declared, or hereafter to be declar'd, by Authority of the *Act* made in the Seſſion of the Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter* on the 14th Day of *January*, in the Thirty Fifth Year, and in the *Act* made in the twenty eight Year of the King's Majeſty's Reign -------- So help me God, *all-Saints*, and the Holy *Evangeliſts* (*i*).

(*i*) Regiſt. Cranmer *fol.* 309.
Id. *fol.* 315. 328.

Kitchen, Biſhop of *Landaff* ſwore the ſame Oath at his Conſecration, and ſo did *Farras* of St. *David*'s in the next Reign.

Nicholas Heath, and *Bonner* upon their Promotion to their reſpective *Sees* of *Rocheſter* and *London*, took an Oath to the ſame purpoſe, but with ſome remarkable diſtinction. It runs thus.

An Oath ſomewhat implicit.

“ Ye ſhall Swear, that ye ſhall never conſent nor agree that the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhall Practice, Exerciſe, or have any manner of Authority, Juriſdiction, or Power within this Realm of *England*, or any other the King's Dominions: But that ye ſhall reſiſt the ſame at all times, to the utmoſt of your Powers. And that from henceforth ye ſhall accept, repute, and take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*. And that to the Cunning, Wit, and uttermoſt of your Powers, without Guile, Fraud, or other undue Means; ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain and defend, the whole Effects, and Contents, of all and ſingular Acts and Statutes, *made and to be made* within this Realm; in Derogation, Extirpation, and Extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Authority, and all other *Acts* and *Statutes*, *made and to be made* in Reformation; and Corroboration of the King's Power, as ſupream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, &c. (*k*)

(*k*) Regiſt. Cranmer, *fol.* 259.

To proceed; The King ſtanding upon ill Terms with *France* and *Scotland*, and having exhauſted himſelf with the late Expeditions, was ſolicitous about furniſhing the *Exchequer* for the Publick Service. For this purpoſe the demand of a *Benevolence* was thought moſt expedient. The *Londoners* were tryed firſt, and here two of the Aldermen, *Richard Read*, and *William Roach*, were ſomewhat heavy with complying with the King's occaſions. To take off the ill Impreſſion of this Precedent, *Read* an Old Man, and unpractic'd in the Military Profeſſion, was forc'd to ſerve in the *Field* againſt the *Scots*; where he was taken Priſoner, and put to a high Ranſom. As for *Roach*, he was inform'd againſt for miſbehaving himſelf before the *Privy-Council*, committed to Priſon, where he lay ſeveral Months, and was at laſt diſcharg'd with great Difficulty; and as ſome ſay, oblig'd to part with a Sum of Money for his Liberty (*l*).

(*l*) Godwin, Annal.

The French *Miſcarry in their Attempt upon the* Engliſh *Coaſt.*

This Summer the *French* to revenge the Diſgrace of the laſt Campaign, and recover *Bouloign*, Block'd up that Town, prepar'd a great Fleet, and threatned *England* with a Deſcent: But theſe Preparations were diſappointed, and ſignified little. And as the *Engliſh* ſtood upon the Defenſive in the *South*, ſo they made an Offenſive War in the North of the Iſland. The Forces commanded by *Ralph* Lord *Evers*, and Sir *Brion Laiton*, burnt *Jedborough* and *Kelſow*, and harraſs'd the Neighboring Country: And finding the Governour retired with his Forces, they march'd farther into the Country, and continued their Depredations, 'till they fell into an Ambuſcade, and were defeated at *Ancram*.

Id.
Ld. Herbert.

This Year the King made ſome farther advances in the *Reformation*, as appears by his Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; it relates to ſeveral ſuperſtitious and unwarrantable Cuſtoms, touching *Vigils*, and creeping to the *Croſs*: I ſhall give it the *Reader* in the King's Words (*m*).

(*m*) *Paper Office.*

The King's Letter to Archbiſhop Cranmer, *to forbid creeping to the Croſs*, &c.

“ Foraſmuch as you, as well in your own Name, and in the Name of the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and other our Chaplains and learned Men, whom we appointed with you to peruſe certain *Books* of *Service*, which we deliver'd unto you; mov'd us that the *Vigil*, and Ringing of Bells all the Night long upon *All-hallow* Day at Night, and the covering of Images in the Churches in the time of *Lent*; with the lifting up of the Veil that covereth the Croſs upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the Croſs the ſame time, might be aboliſh'd and put away for the Superſtition, and other Enormities and Abuſes of the ſame. Firſt, Foraſmuch as all the *Vigils* of our Lady, and the Apoſtles, and all other *Vigils*, which in the beginning of the Church were godly uſed; yet for the manifold Superſtition and Abuſes which afterwards did grow by Means of the ſame, they be many Years paſt taken away, throughout all *Chriſtendom*; and there remaineth nothing but the name of *Vigil* in the *Calendar*; the thing clearly aboliſh'd and put away, ſaving only upon *All-hollow* Day at Night, upon which Night is kept *Vigil*; Watching and Ringing of Bells all Night long. Foraſmuch as that *Vigil* is abuſed, as other *Vigils* were; our Pleaſure is as you require, that the ſaid *Vigil* ſhall be aboliſh'd as the other be, and that there ſhall be no watching or ringing but as be commonly uſed upon other Holy-Days at Night. We be contented and pleaſed alſo, that the Images in the Churches ſhall not be cover'd as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt, nor no Veil upon the Croſs, nor kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time. And foraſmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the Croſs, which is a greater abuſe than any other (for there you ſay, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*, and the *Ordinal* ſaith, *procedant Clerici ad Crucem adorandam nudis Pedibus*, and after followeth in the ſame *Ordinal*, *ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur*: Which by your own *Book*, called a *Neceſſary Doctrine*, is againſt the *Second Commandment*. Therefore our Pleaſure is, that the ſaid creeping to the Croſs ſhall likewiſe ceaſe from henceforth and be aboliſh'd, with other the abuſes before rehears'd: And this we will and ſtraitly command you to ſignify to all the Prelates and Biſhops of your Province of *Canterbury*; charging them in our Name to ſee the

A. D. 1545.

“ the ſame executed, every one in his Dioceſs accordingly.

To make this *Order* practicable, and rightly underſtood by the People, the Archbiſhop ſuggeſted what he thought neceſſary upon this Occaſion. I ſhall give the *Reader* part of his Letter to the King (*n*).

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer. Jan. 24. 1545.

“ Never the leſſe in myn Opinion, when ſuch Things be alter'd or taken away, there would be ſet forth ſome Doctrine there with which ſhould declare the Cauſe of the Aboliſhings or Alterations, for to ſatisfy the Conſciences of your People: For if the honouring of the Croſſe, as Creeping and Kneeling thereto, be taken away, it ſhall ſeem to many that be ignorant, that the Honour of Chriſt is taken away, unleſs ſome good Teaching be ſet forth withal to inſtruct 'em ſufficiently therein; which if your Majeſty command the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, with other your Grace's other Chaplains to make, the People ſhall obey your Majeſty's Commandment willingly, giving Thanks to your Majeſty if they know the Truth, which elſe they would obey with Murmurations and Grudgings. And it ſhall be a Satiſfaction to all other Nations, when they ſhall ſee your Majeſty do nothing but by the Authority of God's Word, and to the ſetting forth of God's Honour, and not the diminiſhing thereof. And thus, *&c.*

The Archbiſhop added a Poſtſcript to his Letter, in which he acquaints the King, “ how the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, were forc'd, upon the Alienation of their Lands. That all this Ravage was made under Colour of his Highneſs's Commands; but that he was ſure other Men, and not his Majeſty, had gotten their beſt Lands. He begs therefore, that when his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to take ſome of their Eſtates, they may have a Letter from his Highneſs to be aſſur'd the Motion comes from their Sovereign: That without ſuch Notice, the Dean and Chapter may be ſworn not to make any Alienation. For as the Caſe ſtands now, every Body that hath a Mind to their Lands, moves firſt, they may be convey'd to your Majeſty, not that thoſe Eſtates ſhould be lodg'd in the Crown, but granted away from your Grace's Cathedral to themſelves.

This Letter, amongſt other Proofs, ſhews the Diſpoſition of too many People, what Scrambling there was for the Church Eſtates, and how much the *Loaves* of the *Reformation* were valued above the Doctrine *.

He draws an Extract out of the Canon-Law.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being ſent on an Embaſſy to the Emperor, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſeizes the Opportunity, and endeavours to go forward with the *Reformation*. He was ſenſible the *Canon-Law*, which governed the *Spiritual-Courts*, wanted a Review. The Supremacy of the *Roman* See, the Pope's Power to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance, the Infallibility of his Decrees, his Superiority over General Councils, and ſeveral other indefenſible Pretenſions were maintain'd, and extravagantly overflouriſh'd in *Gratian*'s *Decretum*, and other Collections of that kind. And of this *Cranmer* had taken ſome Pains to inform himſelf, and extracted ſeveral Paſſages out of the *Canon-Law* (*o*).

A Draught of the Book, entitled, Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.

To ripen the Matter, and bring the Deſign to Execution, the Archbiſhop prevailed with the King to paſs the *Act*, by which his Majeſty was impower'd to name two and thirty Perſons to examine the *Canons*, and give them what new Form they thought fit. The *Act* paſs'd, as hath already been obſerv'd, the Perſons were nominated, the Scheme drawn out, and the Buſineſs brought to a Concluſion. *Cranmer* waited on the King at *Hampton-Court*, acquainted him, the Draught was finiſh'd, and wanted only his Highneſs his Authority to make it Law. By the way, the Conduct of this Affair, and the Nomination of the Perſons, were moſtly referr'd to *Cranmer*. In ſhort, an Inſtrument in the Form of *Letters Patent*, was drawn up for the King to ſign. But it ſeems, his Highneſs receiv'd Advice from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that in caſe the King proceeded to any Innovation of this kind, the League now concerting with the Emperor would miſcarry. And thus 'tis probable, for Reaſons of State, the King refuſed the Signing the Inſtrument: However, that the *Reader* may be acquainted with the Contents, I ſhall inſert it in the *Records* (*p*).

The King's Letters-Patent to paſs it into Law.

And to mention a Word or two of it here, the *Inſtrument* ſets forth, “ That the *Supremacy* due to him and his Anceſtors, and uſurp'd for ſeveral Ages by the Biſhop of *Rome*, had been recognized by all the States of the Realm: That it was one Branch of the Office of a Prince, to ſuperintend Religion, to maintain the Catholick Faith, and promote the Honour of God Almighty: That he had been very ſollicitous to diſcharge this part of his Duty, and to remove thoſe Cuſtoms which were unſerviceable to the Chriſtian Church: That ſince the Biſhop of *Rome*, had adulterated the ancient Belief, embroil'd the *Publick*, and made an Invaſion upon the Royal Prerogative, he thought it neceſſary to annul his *Regulations*, and diſcharge all his Laws and Conſtitutions; and that he thought this a ſerviceable Expedient to prevent the Revival of his Authority. And that the *Engliſh* Church might not ſuffer for want of Rules and ſtated Meaſures for Diſcipline and Government, he had furniſhed them with this *Book* in the room of the *Canon-Law*, and requires all his Subjects both in Schools, Colleges, and *Spiritual Courts*, to act purſuant to the Orders preſcrib'd in it.

This Inſtrument not ſigned.

The mentioning of *Abbots* in the *Letters Patent*, is no Mark of Forgery, for notwithſtanding the Monaſteries were diſſolv'd, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not to mention any others, had the Stile of *Abbot*. This Matter was drop'd till the next Reign, when 'twas reviv'd at the Archbiſhop's Suggeſtion, and till that Time, I ſhall mention it no farther.

About this Time, ſeveral Perſons were proſecuted in *Scotland*, for reading the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*. Cardinal *Beaton*, who was then at the Head both of Church and State, ſeems to have been a Perſon of a rugged Diſpoſition, and would make no Allowance for Latitude of Perſuaſion. This Prelate being informed that Mr. *George Wiſhart* had preach'd againſt the received Doctrines, endeavoured to apprehend him. This *Wiſhart* was a Gentleman of the Houſe of *Pittarrow* in *Mernis*. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* gives him the Character of a Perſon of Learning, Elocution, and exemplary Life. He had ſtudied ſome time in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and returned home with a Deſign to propagate his Improvement: He preach'd publickly againſt ſome Popiſh Doctrines at *Dundee* and *Montroſs*, made Proſelytes and

---

(*n*) Paper-Office.

* Bp. Burnet, pt. 2. Records, p. 237.

(*o*) Bp. Burnet, p Records, 257.

(*p*) See Records, Numb. 50. *Ld.* Herbet, p. 529.

and drew a great *Audience* after him. Being diſcouraged at *Dundee* by one of the principal Burghers, he quitted the Place, and preſag'd the Misfortune of the Inhabitants: From hence he went to *Glaſcow*, where he was in danger of being ſeiz'd by the Archbiſhop, but was protected by *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, who offer'd him the Cathedral Pulpit, but *Wiſhart* declin'd putting ſuch a Hardſhip upon the Archbiſhop, and choſe rather to preach at the Market-Croſs. Hearing the Town of *Dundee* was afflicted with a great Mortality, he returned thither, preach'd to the Occaſion, and endeavour'd to ſupport them under the Calamity.

Wiſhart's *Preaching and Trial.*

When the Plague went off, he prepar'd for his Journey to *Edinborough*. Here he had promis'd to meet ſome Gentlemen of the *Weſt*, and offer'd the Clergy a Conference. He preach'd in his Way at *Leith* and *Haddington*, and from thence went to *Ormeſton*, where he was apprehended at the Laird's Houſe: The Governour ſent a Party of Horſe to ſeize him. The Laird at firſt refus'd to deliver him, hoping by gaining Time, he might make his Eſcape. But upon Earl *Bothwell*'s giving his Promiſe, his Life ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould not be in the Cardinal's Power to do him any Injury; *Wiſhart* deſir'd the Laird to open the Gate, upon which the Earl renew'd his Parole of Honour for his Security. But at the Queen-Mother's and the Cardinal's Inſtance, this Lord parted with him: He was firſt convey'd to the Caſtle of *Edinborough*, and afterwards to St. *Andrew*'s (*q*).

He was now in the Cardinal's Hands, who preſs'd for his Trial, and ſummon'd the Biſhops to meet him at St. *Andrews*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* adviſ'd an Application to the Governour, to commiſſionate ſome Laymen of Quality, to ſit with them upon the *Bench*, and countenance the Proceſs. The Governour refus'd the Motion, and adviſ'd the delaying the Trial till he came thither, telling the Cardinal withal, that in caſe he precipitated Matters, and proceeded to Extremity, *Wiſhart*'s Blood ſhould be laid to his Charge. The Cardinal foreſeeing dilatory Methods were likely to work the Priſoner's Eſcape, reply'd with ſome Warmth, that the Reaſon of his writing to the Governour, was not for want of his Authority, but only that he was willing to have the *States* Concurrence with the Diſcipline of the Church: But ſince that was refus'd, he ſhould act as he thought convenient.

Upon this, *Wiſhart* was ſerv'd with a Citation to appear the next Day, and Anſwer to the Charge of Sedition and Hereſie. *Wiſhart* being their Priſoner, took this Form for a Jeſt, ſince it was in their Power to bring him before them when they pleaſ'd.

The next Day the Cardinal and Prelates met in the Abbey-Church, where the Priſoner was brought by the Captain of the Caſtle. *John Windram*, the Sub-prior, a Man of Learning, and inclin'd to the *Reformation*, was order'd to preach. He preach'd upon the Thirteenth of St. *Matthew*, concerning the *Sower*. He interpreted the *ill Seed* to Hereſie, which he defin'd an *erroneous Opinion directly repugnant to the Word of God, and pertinaciouſly defended*. From hence proceeding to mention ſome things which gave Riſe to Hereſie, he ſaid, the Ignorance and Negligence of thoſe who had the Cure of Souls, was the principal Cauſe. And after laying down ſome Rules for the Diſcovery of Hereſie, he ſaid, that as the Touchſtone was made uſe of, for diſtinguiſhing Gold from counterfeit Metal, ſo the *Word of God*, was the proper Teſt for the Trial of Hereſie. He concluded his Diſcourſe, with ſaying, that Hereticks, might lawfully be put to Death by the Magiſtrate.

After Sermon, the *Articles* againſt *Wiſhart* were read. Before he return'd any Anſwer, he deſired he might be permitted the repeating the Doctrine he had taught ſince he came into *Scotland*. And here he told them he advanc'd nothing but what was comprehended within the Compaſs of the *Decalogue*, the *Apoſtles Creed*, and the *Lord's-Prayer*. From hence he went on to repreſent the manner of his Preaching; but this being thought foreign to the Buſineſs, he was treated with ill Language, and order'd to anſwer directly to the Charge. The Articles are Eighteen, and too long to tranſcribe (*r*). In the ninth Article, he is charg'd with affirming, that every Layman is a Prieſt. This Opinion he is ſo unhappy as to defend, and miſconſtrues the Text in the *Revelations*, and St. *Peter*'s firſt Epiſtle, where *Chriſtians are called a royal Prieſthood*, and our Saviour is ſaid to have *made us Kings and Prieſts* (*s*).

The tenth Article objects his denying the Liberty of the Will. To this his Anſwer, tho' not altogether erroneous, is crude, to ſpeak ſoftly, and not well expreſs'd.

He is not orthodox throughout.

In the eleventh Article, he is accuſed with maintaining, that it is as lawful to eat Fleſh on *Friday* as on *Sunday*. Here he confeſſes the Charge, and miſ-interprets St. *Paul* (*t*), to ſupport his Opinion. As to the other *Articles*, he either denied them, or made good his Tenents. But foreſeeing the Iſſue, he offer'd to appeal from the Court to more indifferent Judges. He deſir'd to be try'd by the *holy Scriptures*, and that ſome of the Temporalty might ſit upon the *Bench*, becauſe, ſays he, *I am my Lord Governour's Priſoner*. This Appeal being look'd on as altogether irregular and unprecedented, he was pronounc'd a Heretick, and had Judgment to be burnt the next Day (*u*).

Next Morning the Biſhops ſent two Friers to acquaint him he muſt die, and to aſk him, if he was diſpos'd for *Confeſſion*. He told them, *he had no Buſineſs with Friers: But if they were inclin'd to gratify him, he deſir'd he might ſpeak with the learned Perſon that preached the Day before*. This being granted, the *Sub-prior* came, and diſcours'd with him a good while. And at laſt, he aſk'd *Wiſhart*, if he would receive the holy Euchariſt; he anſwer'd, moſt willingly, provided he might have it adminiſter'd under both kinds, purſuant to our Saviour's *Inſtitution*. Upon this the Subprior went to the Biſhops, ſpoke favourably of the Priſoner, and deſir'd to know if his Requeſt might be granted. The Cardinal demurr'd to the Queſtion: And after having debated the Matter with the reſt of the Biſhops, anſwer'd in all their Names, that 'twas not reaſonable an obſtinate Heretick, judicially condemn'd, ſhould partake of any ſpiritual Benefit. It is not ſaid what *Wiſhart* reply'd, when the Meſſage was brought of his being deny'd the Sacrament: But the Captain of the Caſtle going then to Breakfaſt, aſk'd the Priſoner to eat with him. He accepted the Civility, and deſir'd the Captain, with great Solemnity of Expreſſion, to be ſilent a little till he had made a ſhort Exhortation, and bleſs'd the Bread: He diſcours'd about half an Hour upon our Saviour's Paſſion, and the Inſtitution of the Lord's-Supper, exhorting the Company

He conſecrates the Holy Euchariſt.

(*q*) Spotſwood.

(*r*) Fox, *vol.* 2. *p.* 617.

(*s*) Revelations. 1 Pet. 2.

(*t*) 1 Tim. 4. 3, 4.

(*u*) Spotſwood, *p.* 80.

pany to live anſwerably to the Chriſtian Religion. Then giving Thanks, he broke the Bread and gave every one a Piece: And having taſted the Wine, he put the Cup into their Hands, exhorting them to a thankful Remembrance of our Saviour's Death, in this his Communion with them. Then deſiring the Prayers of the Company, he concluded with another Thankſgiving, and retir'd to his Chamber.

And ſuffers with Reſolution.

He was carry'd to the Place of Execution with a Guard, and had Bags of Gunpowder hung about him. When he came to the Stake, he deſir'd the People not to be diſcourag'd from hearing *God's Word*, by his Sufferings. It ſeems he had been charg'd with the *Arabian* Hereſie; and that the Soul ſlept till the Day of Judgment. This Heterodoxy, he ſaid, was a Calumny upon him, and that *he was aſſured his Soul ſhould be immediately with his Saviour*. In ſhort, he ſuffer'd with great Reſignation and Fortitude. And when the Captain of the Caſtle ſpoke friendly to him, and bid him recommend himſelf to God, he replied in theſe Words: *This Flame has ſcorched my Body, yet hath it not daunted my Spirit: But he* (meaning the Cardinal) *who from yonder high place, beholds us with ſuch Pride, ſhall within few Days, lie in the ſame as ignominiouſly, as now he is ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf.*

Id. *p.* 82.

Remarks on ſome part of his Behaviour.

To ſay ſomething of this Gentleman by way of Character: He appears to have been a Perſon of an exemplary Life: And that nothing but Impulſe of Conſcience, Regard for Truth, and Charity to his Country-men, put him upon Preaching, and made him claſh with ſome of the eſtabliſh'd Opinions. His Oppoſition to the Clergy, does not ſeem to have been govern'd by ſecular Views. His Deſign, as far as may be gueſs'd by his Practice, was to recover the People from Error, and put them in a ſafer way to eternal Happineſs. Notwithſtanding this, he was not without a Mixture of Miſtake and Diſadvantage: For not to mention his Preaching without a canonical Authority, his conſecrating the *Euchariſt*, and exerciſing the moſt ſolemn part of the ſacerdotal Function, looks wholly indefenſible. He is charg'd with uſurping the Prieſts Office without Authority: He does not deny the Fact, but excuſeth himſelf by an erroneous Opinion, by maintaining, that all *Chriſtians* are *Prieſts*, and that by conſequence there is no diſtinction between *Laity* and *Clergy*. This Principle is both repugnant to *holy Scripture*, and deſtructive of all *ſpiritual Society*. For as the *State* can't ſubſiſt, if every Man ſhould meddle with the Government, and pretend a right to make himſelf a Magiſtrate; ſo neither can the *Church* go on where the Privileges of the *Hierarchy* are invaded and made common: The Biſhops and Prieſts are ſpiritual Magiſtrates, and unleſs their Privileges are guarded, and their Powers unencroach'd on, the Body will be diſſolv'd of courſe, and every thing fall into Confuſion: For without Diſtinction between the Governours and Governed, the Being of any *Society* is impracticable. Farther, *Wiſhart* pretended to the Gift of Prophecy, but work'd no Miracles to prove his Claim, either to that Diſtinction, or the Office of the Prieſthood. Beſides, his predicting the Cardinal's Death at his Execution, and giving hard Language, is not altogether intelligible: And whether this Prediction did not occaſion the Cardinal's Murder, may bear a Queſtion. Now how far Purity of Intention, the Spirit of Martyrdom, and reſigning to Death and Torture for Conſcience ſake, which ſeems to have been *Wiſhart*'s Caſe: How far this may attone for humane Frailties, and breaking thro' the Diſcipline of the Church, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but from the Mercies of God, we have Reaſon to hope the beſt. But then no Fervency of Devotion, no Advantage of Character, ought to juſtifie an Error, or ſet up Miſcarriage for a Precedent. On the other ſide, the proſecuting this Perſon to the *Stake*, was an Inſtance of an exceſſive and unwarrantable Rigour, and was look'd on as a Barbarity, even in a heathen Magiſtracy: And how theſe ſanguinary Methods were diſliked by the ancient Church, I have ſhewn in the firſt part of this Work (*w*).

Heb. 5. 4.

To come back to *England*: The laſt Year, as hath been obſerv'd, the King order'd the Tranſlating the *Litany* into *Engliſh*: He had ſince, it ſeems, given ſome farther Inſtructions to *Cranmer* about that Matter, as appears by the Archbiſhop's Letter, which runs thus:

Cranmer's *Tranſlation of part of the Liturgy for a Proceſſion.*

> “ It may pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertiz'd, that according unto your Highneſs's Commandment ſent unto me by your Grace's Secretary Mr. Paget, I have tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, ſo well as I could, in ſo ſhort a time, certain Proceſſions to be uſed upon Feſtival Days; if after due Correction and Amendment of the ſame, your Highneſs ſhall think it ſo convenient. In which Tranſlation, foraſmuch as many of the Proceſſions in the *Latin*, were but barren, (as me ſeem'd) and little fruitful, I was conſtrain'd to uſe more than the Liberty of a Tranſlator: For in ſome Proceſſions, I have alter'd divers Words, in ſome I have added part, in ſome taken part away: Some I have left out whole, either for becauſe the Matter appear'd to me to be little to purpoſe, or becauſe the Days be not with us Feſtival Days. And ſome Proceſſions I have added whole, becauſe I thought I had better Matter for this Purpoſe, than was the Proceſſion in *Latin*. The Judgment whereof I refer wholly to your Majeſty, and after your Highneſs has corrected it, if your Grace commands ſome devout and ſolemn Note to be made thereunto (as is to the Proceſſion which your Majeſty has already ſet forth in *Engliſh*) I truſt it will much excitate and ſtir the Hearts of all Men to Devotion and Godlineſs. But in my Opinion, the Song that ſhall be made thereunto, would not be full of Notes, but as near as may be, for every Syllable a Note, ſo that it may be ſung diſtinctly and devoutly, as be in the *Mattins*, and *Even-Song*, *Venite*. The Hymns *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the *Pſalms* and *Verſicles*: And in the Maſs, *Gloria in Eccelſis*, *Gloria Patri*, the *Credo*, the *Perfice*, the *Pater Noſter*, and ſome of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve Feſta Dies*, the *Latin* Note, as I think, is ſober and diſtinct enough. Wherefore I have travel'd to make the Verſes in *Engliſh*, and have put the *Latin* Note unto the ſame. Nevertheleſs, thoſe that be cunning in Singing, can make a much more ſolemn Note thereto. I made them only for a Proof, to ſee how *Engliſh* would do in a Song. But becauſe my *Engliſh* Verſes want the Grace and Faculty which I could wiſh they had, your Majeſty may cauſe ſome other to do them again, that can do the ſame in more pleaſant *Engliſh* and Phraſe. As for the *Sentence*, I ſuppoſe that will

The Sentence *is the* Meaning *in the Archbiſhop's Language.*

(*w*) *Church Hiſt. p.*617, 356.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

" ſerve well enough. Thus Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in long and proſperous " Health and Felicity (x).

(x) *Paper-Office.*

Your Grace's

Moſt bounden Chaplain and Beadeſman,

From Bechesburn,
October 7, 1545.

Tho. Cant.

Chantries, Colleges, &c. *granted to the King.*

In *November*, this Year the King's laſt Parliament ſate: The Buſineſs of calling the Lords and Commons together, was, the raiſing of Money. The Lord *Herbert* thinks, the King's Neceſſities were very preſſing, otherwiſe they would not have been ſupplied by ſo extraordinary an Expedient: For now Colleges, Free Chapels, Chantries, Hoſpitals, Fraternities, Guilds, and the Maintenance for ſtipendiary Prieſts, with all their Mannors and other Eſtates, were ſacrific'd to the *Crown*, and diſſolv'd. Thus theſe Foundations, which were made for the Benefit of Learning, for the Relief of the Poor, and the Service of thoſe who were deceas'd, which were ſtrengthened with the Privilege of Corporations, and intended for Perpetuity, loſt the Laſtingneſs of their Settlement, and lay all at the King's Mercy. The great Expence of the Wars with *France* and *Scotland*, were alledg'd as Motives to this *Bill*. The Miſmanagement of the Governours of the *Colleges*, &c. was likewiſe inſiſted on: The *Act* ſets forth, that the Revenues of the Colleges, Hoſpitals, Chantries, *&c.* were miſemploy'd, and that the giving them to the Crown, was the way to make them ſerviceable to the Uſes for which they were intended. Theſe Endowments being thus put into the King's Hands, were to be in the Order and Survey of the Court of *Augmentation* (y).

(y) 37 H. 8. c. 4.

Now without great Submiſſion to the Wiſdom of the *Legiſlature*, ſome People would almoſt be at a Loſs upon this Occaſion: For when Purgatory, tho' ſomewhat refin'd, was the national Belief, as it was all the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth: When Prayer for the Dead was reckoned a ſignificant Service: When this Prince left Money in his Will to pray for his Soul: When this was the general Perſuaſion, 'tis ſomewhat ſurprizing, that *Chantry-Lands* ſhould be taken away. The *Chantry-Lands*, I ſay, which were given for the Benefit of the Dead, and ſettled, as it were, upon the *other World*. But ſome People were reſolv'd to venture the Condition of their Anceſtours, and leave them to ſhift as well as they could: And as Popes have often taken Money to let Souls out of Purgatory, ſo the King took *Land*, one would almoſt think, to keep them *in*.

That this Prince believ'd Purgatory; that is, that departed Souls were capable of receiving Benefit from the Prayers and Charities of the Living, appears farther from his Anſwer to Biſhop *Latimer* upon this Argument.

Eccleſ. 11. 3.

The Biſhop, amongſt other Things, urg'd this Text, *In the Place where the Tree falls, there ſhall it be.* To this the King reply'd in theſe Words.

" This Text in it ſelf, ſpeaking but of a Stick, " doth not deny Purgatory, nor the Example " of a dead Stick can well, without great forcing, be attributed to a Soul repentant, not " yet having his full Judgment. And if you " will turn it to a lively Stick, then it ſeemeth " me, that it will make much againſt your purpoſe: For a lively Stick, may chance with falling, to grow, tho' not ſuddenly, and ſo come " to Perfection of its Fruit. So may the Soul " of Man (by this Example) departing hence " to Purgatory in right Faith, grow there towards his Perfection, abiding the Day of Judgment.

Hen. VIII. K.

Upon the Biſhop's urging the Text, *Beati quorum, Bleſſed is he whoſe Unrighteouſneſs is forgiven, and whoſe Sin is cover'd* *. To this the King anſwers with ſomewhat of Emotion and Surprize. " Jeſus! How do you deſcant on this Pſalm, " and alſo on St. *Auſtin!* You would make Folke " believe, that this was meant againſt Purgatory, when the very Text declares nothing but " the Beatitude and Happineſs of them that have " their Sins hid and forgiven. Herein do you " ſhew your carnal Wit, which in Preaching " you diſpraiſe ſo much †.

* Pſal. 32.

† Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. 5. fol. 132.

37 H. 8. c. 12.

This Parliament, there was an *Act* for puniſhing thoſe who took above Ten in the Hundred Intereſt for Money lent. There was likewiſe an *Act* for ſettling the Tithes in *London*, in proportion to the Rent of the Houſes.

Seventy Mannors alienated from the Archbiſhop of York.

By another *Act*, Threeſcore and Ten Mannors are aſſur'd to the Crown belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. The *Act* mentions Archbiſhop *Holgate* had ſold and convey'd all theſe Mannors to the King the Year before. It is ſaid *Holgate* had ſeveral Lands, Tenements, and other Hereditaments, in exchange but not ſo much as one Mannor is mentioned. 'Tis obſerv'd, the Church in this Reign, the next, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s, made generally ill Bargains with the Crown, and barter'd at *Glaucus* his Diſadvantage. But then as theſe Princes bought very cheap of the Prelates, they ſold with the ſame Frankneſs to their *Favourites*.

37 H. 8. c. 16. *And ſeveral from the Sees of* Canterbury *and* London.

By this *Statute* it appears, *Cranmer* had convey'd about a dozen Mannors and Parks to the *Crown*, which Sales are now confirm'd. " *Bonner* " Biſhop of *London*, had likewiſe ſold, given, and " granted to the King, the Mannors of *Chelmsford* and *Graundon*, with the *Park* of *Graundon*, " with all their Appurtenances. This Mannor " and Park of *Graundon*, the King had granted " to Sir *William Peters*. The King's Title and " Sir *William*'s, are ſecur'd by this *Statute*. Farther; Doctors of Civil Law, whether married or " unmarried, are enabled to exerciſe all manner " of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and all Cenſures " and Coercion appertaining, or any way belonging to the ſame. This Statute ſets forth, that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, have no manner of Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, but by, under, and from his **Royal Majeſty. And that his Majeſty is the only undoubted Supreme Head of the Church** of England **and of** Ireland, **to whom by holy Scripture, all Authority and Power is wholly given, to hear and determine all manner of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and to correct Vice and Sin whatſoever, and to all ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty ſhall appoint thereunto.**

The King's Eccleſiaſtical Authority mentioned in comprehenſive Terms.

37 H. 8. c. 17.

" Laſtly, A *Bill* paſſed for the Union of two " Churches not above a Mile diſtant, provided the " yearly Value did not exceed Six Pounds in the " King's Books. But here there is a Proviſo, that no Union or Conſolidation ſhould be made in any City or Town Corporate, without the Conſent of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonalty (z).

(z) 37 H. 8. c. 21.

2 At

Dec. 24. A. D. 1545.

At the Prorogation of the *Parliament*, the *Speaker*, of the *Houſe* of *Commons* made a Speech to the King, to which the King return'd an Anſwer: Now this being his laſt Speech and his laſt Parliament, and over and above remarkable for the Matter, I ſhall give the *Reader* Part of the Subſtance of it.

The King's laſt Speech to his Parliament.

“ The King commends the *Speaker* for his Elocution, and for the Panegyrick he had run upon his Highneſs; letting him know, that he did not apply thoſe good Qualities to himſelf, but look'd on them only as Suggeſtions to Endeavour and Improvement. From hence his Highneſs proceeds to acquaint the *Parliament* how kindly he took the Confidence they treated him with, and the Truſt they repos'd in him, by granting him the *Chauntries*, &c. and referring all thoſe Edowments to his Diſpoſal. Here he promiſes to ſpend the Revenues according to the Deſign of the Settlement, and that neither Learning, the Church, nor the Poor, ſhould receive any Damage. And that unleſs he manag'd in this manner, ſhe ſhould no ways anſwer the Expectations of the Publick, nor the Character of a Chriſtian Prince (*a*).

Here was a ſolemn Engagement, ſays Biſhop *Godwin*, Cæterum promiſſorum fidem nondum exolutam videmus. *The Event did not come up to the Promiſe* (*b*).

To return to the King's Speech: “ He lets them know the Treaſure they had ſupplied him with, ſhould always be ready for the Defence of the Kingdom, and his Perſon ventured, when Occaſion requir'd. And after having return'd them Thanks for giving ſuch Proofs of their Affection to his Service, he recommends Friendſhip and good Correſpondence with each other. He puts them in Mind how ſenſible he is of the Miſunderſtandings and Animoſities amongſt them. And that there is ſcarcely any ſuch thing as good Humour and general Kindneſs to be met with. St. *Paul* tells us, *Charity is kind*; *Charity envies not*; *Charity vaunts not it ſelf, is not puffed up*; and ſo on. “ But what Signs of Charity, ſays the King, are theſe, when one calls another Heretick and Anabaptiſt, and the other returns the Language of Papiſt and Hypocrite? This want of a benevolent Diſpoſition will hinder us from acting with that Union and Heartineſs which is requir'd. The Occaſion of theſe Animoſities is partly to be charg'd upon you who are the *Spiritual Guides*, and Fathers of the Church: For if I know a Man who lives in Adultery, I muſt conclude him a Libertine and a Debauchee. If I ſee a Man brag of any Advantage, I cannot help thinking him tinctur'd with Pride. I am every Day inform'd, that you of the *Clergy* are declaiming againſt each other in the Pulpit: And here your Charity and Diſcretion is quite loſt in Vehemence and Satyr: Some are too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, and others too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*. Thus the Pulpits are, as it were, Batteries againſt each other, the Noiſe is hoſtile and ruinous, and few Preachers are qualified with that benign Temper expected from their Character. Can I ſuppoſe you govern'd by Principles of Charity, while you manage thus? That's impoſſible; Alas! How can we expect the poor People ſhould live friendly with their Neighbours, when they have ſuch unhappy Precedents of Diſcord and Diſſention in thoſe that teach them? They expect Light from your Inſtruction, and you throw nothing out but Smoke and Darkneſs. I deſire this Miſconduct may be rectified, and that both in Precept and Example you may anſwer to your Office, otherwiſe I ſhall be oblig'd to correct this Misbehaviour, and put an End to theſe Diviſions in a more unacceptable way. Which if I ſhould neglect to do, I ſhould fail in the Diſcharge of my Commiſſion, and prove falſe to that Truſt which God has pleas'd to put in my Hands.

1 Cor. 13.

“ And tho' the *Spiritualty* are in ſome Fault for breaking into Parties, and living upon ill Terms with thoſe of their own Buſineſs, yet you of the *Temporalty* don't ſtand clear of Envy and ill Nature: For you rail on the Biſhops, defame and miſreport the Prieſts, and treat the Preacher with Contumely and ill Language. Now is not all this a Breach of good Behaviour, a Contradiction to Decency, and a Treſpaſs upon Order and Government? If you find a Biſhop, or any other Preacher, miſlead his *Audience*, inform againſt him to us or any of our *Council*: To us to whom God has delegated the Authority to reform ſuch Diſorders, and don't ſet up your ſelves for Judges of Controverſy: Nor lay ſo much Streſs upon your *vain Expoſitions* and *fantaſtical Opinions*. In ſuch ſublime Matters you may eaſily miſtake. 'Tis true, you are allow'd to read the *holy Scriptures*, and to have the Word of God in your Mother Tongue: But then this Permiſſion is only deſign'd for private Information, and the Inſtruction of your Children and Family: 'Twas never intended for Mooting and Diſpute, nor to furniſh you with reprimanding Phraſes, and Expreſſions of Reproach againſt Prieſts and Preachers: And yet this is the Uſe a great many diſorderly People make of the Privilege of having the *Scriptures*. I am extreamly ſorry to find how much the Word of God is abus'd; with how little Reverence 'tis mention'd, both with reſpect to Place and Occaſion: How People ſquabble about the Senſe: How 'tis turn'd into wretched Rhyme; ſung and jangled in every Alehouſe and Tavern: And all this in a falſe Conſtruction and Countermeaning to the *Inſpir'd Writers*. I am ſorry to perceive the Readers of the *Bible* diſcover ſo little of it in their Practice: For I am ſure Charity was never in a more languiſhing Condition, Virtue never at a lower Ebb, nor God never leſs honour'd, and worſe ſerv'd, in *Chriſtendom*. I muſt therefore recommend to you the ſame Duty I mention'd firſt: As Chriſtianity makes you Brothers, anſwer that Relation to each other: Let the Majeſty and Goodneſs of God make a ſuitable Impreſſion upon your Minds: And then I don't queſtion but that Affection and good Correſpondence, of which I reminded you before, will always continue between you and your Sovereign (*b*).

And thus after having preſs'd the Execution of the Laws, the King ſign'd the *Bills*, and the *Seſſion* ended.

The *Univerſities* were much alarm'd, as they had reaſon, to find their Foundations in ſuch a precarious Condition, and lie wholly at the Diſpoſal

---

(*a*) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 534.

(*b*) Godwin Annal, ad Ann. 1545.

(*b*) Ld. Herbert, *p.* 534. & deinc.

The Univerſities addreſs the King to preſerve their Eſtates, and ſucceed in their Application.

ſpoſal of the *Crown*. *Cambridge* was the firſt which addreſs'd the King for his Favour. They begg'd his Protection of their Eſtates: And that they might not be made a Prey to Ignorance and Avarice. *Oxford* was likewiſe not long behind in their Application. Dr. *Cox*, the Prince's *Præceptor*, wrote to Secretary *Paget* to the ſame purpoſe. He acquainted this *Miniſter* how much the Kingdom was unfurniſh'd with Schools and Preachers, with Houſes, and Maintenance for Orphans. And ſince the *Chauntries*, &c. were granted to the King, he requeſted a competent Proviſion might be made for the Clergy, for fear Poverty ſhould drive them upon Flattery, and the old Superſtition. I don't mention this, ſays he, as if I queſtion'd the King's Goodneſs, but becauſe there are ſo many hungry, rapacious Wolves that are ready to ſwallow Chauntries, Cathedral Churches, Univerſities, and a thouſand times as much, if it lay in their way. Adding in the Cloſe, that Poſterity will be amaz'd at us. From hence it appears, the young Prince was in the Hands of no ill Inſtructor.

The *Univerſities* ſucceeded in their Addreſs, and were quickly put out of their Pain, as appears by their Letter of Thanks to the King, for preſerving them in their former Condition. However, two of the *Profeſſions* were in Danger of being remov'd, the King once having Thoughts of placing all the *Civilians* in one College, and the *Phyſicians* and *Surgeons* in another. But this Reſolve was dropp'd: And as to the King's Inclination, he was ſo far from leſſening thoſe famous Seminaries of Piety and Learning, that he rather promoted their Intereſt. However, People beyond Sea were not a little ſurpriz'd at the *Parliament*'s putting theſe celebrated *Societies* in ſuch Circumſtances of Hazard. For beſide the great Uſefulneſs of theſe *Bodies*, their Revenues could not be alienated, or turn'd to a foreign Uſe without great Diſregard, to ſay nothing more, to their *Founders*: To their Founders, who ſettled their Eſtates for the Service of God, for publick Ornament, and Education. And, to prevent Invaſion, laid heavy Curſes upon thoſe who ſhould defeat the Settlement, and diſappoint the Deſign of the Donation (*c*).

Cardinal Beaton *aſſaſſinated*, May *the* 29th, A. D. 1546.

The Beginning of the next Year there was an Attempt concerted by five or ſix *Scotch* Gentlemen againſt the Life of Cardinal *Beaton*. The Haughtineſs and rigorous Temper of this Prelate made him generally unbelov'd: Beſides, the Conſpirators thought themſelves particularly injur'd by him. In ſhort, they entred the Caſtle by Surprize, knock'd early in the Morning at the Cardinal's Chamber, and demanded Entrance. The Cardinal perceiving there was no Appearance of Friendſhip or Reſpect, refuſed to admit them: But upon their calling for Fire, and threatning to burn him in his Lodgings, he began to treat: And after they had given him a Promiſe to do his Perſon no Harm, he opened the Door. And now the Opportunity preſenting, they broke through Honour and Articles, ruſh'd in with their Swords drawn, and barbarouſly murther'd him (*d*).

A horrible Aſſertion in Fox.

Fox ſays, *theſe Gentlemen were ſtirr'd up by the Lord to murther this Archbiſhop in his Bed* (*e*). Does the Lord then ſtir up Men to wreſt the Sword out of the Magiſtrate's Hand, and execute their private Revenge in Blood and Slaughter? Is Breach of Faith and Stabbing a Nobleman in his Bed an Argument of Heavenly Impulſe? Did theſe Men work any Miracles in Proof of their Commiſſion to take away the Cardinal's Life, and diſpenſe with the *Sixth Commandment*? Nothing of this Kind is pretended: *Fox* calls it *Murder*, and yet ſays *they were ſtirr'd up by the Lord*. This is ſtrange to Aſtoniſhment! To what Extremes of Diſtraction are People ſometimes hurried by by Prejudice and Paſſion! Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, tho' he diſlik'd the Cardinal's Practice: Tho' he repreſents him of unbounded Ambition, and barbarouſly cruel in his Proſecution of what was called Hereſy; yet he condemns the Fact, and reports that few of the Aſſaſſins eſcap'd an extraordinary Judgment. However, ſome People diſaffected to the Cardinal, were ſo unaccountable as to commend the Action, and offer'd to join the Conſpirators, but the Bigotry of theſe Men is juſtly cenſur'd by the Hiſtorian (*f*).

On the other ſide, the Religious and Clergy declaim'd againſt the Murder with all the Circumſtances of Aggravation, and painted it in the blackeſt Colour imaginable. The Biſhops applied to the Governour for Juſtice without Delay. Upon this the Aſſaſſins were ſummon'd to appear in Court, and abide their Tryal; they taking no notice of the Order, were declar'd Rebels. The Eccleſiaſtical Judges, who were not backward in doing their Part, ſolemnly excommunicated the Murderers, and all that ſhould entertain or ſupport them.

The Governour, in the mean time, nominated *John Hamilton* his Natural Brother to the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*: The Election was paſſed by the *Canons*, and confirm'd by Pope *Paul* the Third. This was no Juncture to object the Illegitimacy of the Gentleman's Birth. The Court of *Rome* were willing to oblige the Governour for fear of a Defection from their *See*. Thus the *Bulls* were expedited: And both the Governour and the Archbiſhop preſs'd to exert their Zeal in proſecuting the Murther, and revenging the Contempt of Religion.

The Conſpirators fortifie the Caſtle, and ſtand on their Defence.

And now the Caſtle was beſieged from *Auguſt* to *January*, but with little Succeſs: For the Paſſage by Sea being open, and the Gariſon declaring for King *Henry*, they were conſtantly ſupplied with Proviſions from *England*. Before I proceed farther, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that upon the News of the Cardinal's Death, the Aſſaſſins were reinforc'd with about Sevenſcore Gentlemen and others, who entred the Caſtle the Day after the Murther: One *John Rough*, who had been the Governour's Chaplain, came to them, and preach'd to the Gariſon.

The Governour being apprehenſive their Correſpondence with *England* might draw ill Conſequences, was prevail'd with to offer them Terms. The beſieg'd cloſed with the Overture, and capitulated upon the following Articles.

Firſt, That the Governour ſhould procure their Abſolution from the Pope: And that 'till the Inſtrument was return'd, Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and the Gariſon continue in the Caſtle.

Secondly, That themſelves and their Abettors ſhould be pardon'd in Form by the Governour: And enjoy all their Rights and Privileges, of which they were poſſeſs'd before the Murder was committed.

Thirdly, That the Beſieg'd ſhould give Hoſtages for evacuating the Caſtle as ſoon as they receiv'd their Abſolution from *Rome*.

Thus the Governour ſtoop'd to the Rebels, and agreed to Conditions of Diſadvantage. But it ſeems neither Side were very ſincere: The

---

(c) Id. *p.* 537.

(d) Spotſwood, *p.* 83.

(e) Fox, Vol. 2. *p* 621.

(f) Spotſwood.

Governour and the Queen *Dowager* ſent to *France* for a Squadron of Men of War to batter the Caſtle, and block up the Haven. On the other ſide the Beſieg'd kept on their Engagements with King *Henry*.

Id.

Knox *his going to them not defenſible.*

After the Conditions were ſign'd, and the Siege rais'd, *John Knox* came into the Caſtle, and preach'd among them: This look'd like countenancing the Murder, and abetting their Defiance of the Government. *Spotſwood* ſtrains to fetch off *John Knox*, and vindicate his Memory: But after all, he confeſſeth his Practice was ſcarce allowable, and that he had been wiſer in keeping away. However, his not going in with them at the Murther, nor coming 'till the Government had given them Articles, were Circumſtances of Extenuation: Thus, tho' he can't blanch the Liberty, nor make the Blemiſh diſappear, he gives it ſomewhat of a better Complexion. Now beſides the aſſaſſinating the Cardinal, theſe Men, by correſponding with King *Henry*, were no better than Rebels in Form. *Knox* therefore would have done well to have laid open their Crime, preſs'd them to Repentance, and to break off their Criminal Engagements. But notwithſtanding he preach'd ſtoutly againſt Popery, I cannot find but he was ſilent upon the other Argument.

The Capitulation being ſign'd, and the Governour retir'd, *John Rough* preach'd boldly at St. *Andrews* againſt the receiv'd Doctrines, and was much frequented. *John Anand* the Dean, undertaking this Preacher, *Knox* interpoſed, and offer'd to maintain his Diſcourſe: Particularly, that the preſent Church of *Rome* was farther degenerated from Apoſtolick Purity, than the *Jewiſh* Synagogue was from the *Moſaick* Inſtitution, when they conſented to the Death of our Saviour.

Knox *goes too far in his Sermon againſt the Church of* Rome.

Knox being called on to make good his Aſſertion, preach'd in the Pariſh Church the next *Sunday*: He took his Text out of the 7th of *Daniel* (g). From theſe Words, and the reſt of the *Chapter*, he took occaſion to diſcourſe of the *Beaſt* which was to riſe upon the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire. This *Beaſt*, he ſaid, was the Church of *Rome*: That all the Marks aſſign'd by *Daniel* belong'd to that *See*, and to no other *Society* whatever. From hence he went on to diſcourſe concerning *Antichriſt*: That under this Denomination we were not to underſtand a ſingle Perſon, but a collective Body with a wicked *Head*. He was very poſitive in applying the Deſcription of *Antichriſt* to the Church of *Rome*, and charg'd them with Oppoſition both in Life and Doctrine to our Bleſſed Saviour. He fancy'd the firſt Branch was prov'd by the Immorality of the Popes and Clergy. The ſecond conſiſting in Contrariety of Doctrine, he endeavour'd to make good by comparing their claſhing with the *Scriptures* in the Article of *Juſtification*, and laying too much Streſs upon the Condition of *Works*. Farther, he maintain'd a Contrariety in the *Laws* and Conſtitution of the *Roman* Communion, to thoſe of our Saviour. He makes his Inſtances in the Obſervation of Holydays, forbearing Fleſh in *Lent*, and forbidding Marriage to the Clergy. At laſt he came to the Marks of the *Beaſt*, one of which was, *He ſhall ſpeak great Words againſt the Moſt High*: This Note of *Antichriſt* he thought was verified upon the Church of *Rome*, in the pompous and ſuperlative Titles given to the Pope: Such as *Vicar of Chriſt*, *Succeſſor of* Peter, *Head of the Univerſal Church*, *Moſt Holy*, *Moſt Bleſſed*, *Infallible*, &c. (h). He made likewiſe the Buſineſs of Pardons and Indulgencies, and ſaying Maſſes for the Relief of Souls in Purgatory, another Mark of *Antichriſt*.

(g) Verſe 24, 25.

(h) Spotſwood, *p.* 85.

John Major the Subprior, the Canons, Friars, and the whole Univerſity, were at this Sermon. But *Knox* was ſo far from being overſet with the *Audience*, that he challeng'd them to a Diſproof of any Part of his Diſcourſe. The Archbiſhop being inform'd of this Liberty, reprimanded the Subprior: And wonder'd the others could be ſo Paſſive under Hereſy and Schiſm. Upon this the Subprior recollected his Spirits, and cited *Rough* and *Knox* to anſwer ſeveral Articles drawn out of their Sermons: They are theſe.

The Articles preferr'd againſt him and John Rough.

“ *Firſt*, That no Mortal can be Head of the Church.

“ *Secondly*, That the Pope is *Antichriſt*, and by Conſequence no Member of Chriſt's Myſtical Body.

“ *Thirdly*, That no Man is allow'd to form a Religion from his own Invention, but bound to adhere cloſe to the Direction of *Revelation*, without any thing of Supplement or Alteration.

“ *Fourthly*, That the *Sacraments* of the *New Teſtament* ought to be adminiſtred purſuant to the Inſtitution of our Saviour, and the Practice of the Apoſtles, and that no Circumſtance ought to be added to, or taken from them.

“ *Fifthly*, That the *Maſs* is downright Idolatry, and a Profanation of the Lord's Supper.

“ *Sixthly*, That there is no ſuch State as Purgatory, either for puniſhing or refining departed Spirits.

“ *Seventhly*, That Prayers for the dead are to no purpoſe, and to pray to them Idolatry.

“ *Eighthly*, That Biſhops, unleſs they preach themſelves, forfeit their Character and Juriſdiction.

“ *Ninthly*, That Tythes are no appropriate Revenue to the Clergy *Jure Divino*.

Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* endeavours to clear *Knox* from this laſt Aſſertion. He does not know but *John Rough* might advance ſomething of this kind: But as for *Knox*, he vouches his Sermons, and other Tracts, in his Vindication. Here *Knox* ſpeaks plainly for the other ſide of the Queſtion, and calls it, *Rank Sacrilege to rob the Church of its Tythes*. It is true, continues the Archbiſhop, a great many of theſe Times were diſpleas'd with the Raking and Avarice of ſome Churchmen. To diſappoint this Temper, they ſet up an Opinion, that *Tythes* did not belong to the Church by *Divine Right*; but then the Archbiſhop believes they were govern'd more by Paſſion than Judgment in this Matter: And that theſe Doctrines were advanc'd to careſs the People, to make themſelves Popular, and leſſen the Intereſt of the Clergy.

Id.

To proceed; *Knox* appearing before the *Conſiſtory* gave the Subprior a ſort of Complement for his Orthodoxy, and deſir'd him either to confute their Tenents, or otherwiſe to recommend them with his Authority to the People. The *Subprior* anſwer'd he came there to argue, and not to determine; and therefore he was ready to reaſon a little upon the Power of the *Church*: This *Society*, ſays he, hath in my Opinion a clear Authority to appoint Rites and Ceremonies for the more ſolemn Adminiſtration of the Sacraments: And for heightning the Devotion of the People, with reſpect to other Parts of Divine Service. To this *Knox* replied, *That no Man in the Worſhip of God might appoint any Ceremony, giving it a Signification to his Pleaſure*. This Aſſertion, which is altogether wrong, diſturbed one *Arburnet*, a Grey *Friar*, to that degree, that the Heat of his Temper and Averſion tranſported him to a worſe Extream on the other hand; for it ſeems, in the Vehemence of the Conteſt, he denied the Apoſtles had receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt, when they writ their *Epiſtles*. The Subprior reprimanded this *Religious*, and after a little Diſpute diſmiſs'd *Rough* and *Knox*; adviſing them in a friendly manner to be cautious what Doctrine they deliver'd in publick.

They have a friendly Diſmiſſion from the Subprior.

Before the Meeting broke up, the Clergy conſulted how to keep the People from deſerting their *Communion*. 'Twas at laſt reſolv'd that thoſe of the *Univerſity* and *Abbey*, who were beſt qualified, ſhould preach in the Pariſh Churches on *Sundays*: They were to avoid Controverſy in their Sermons, and inſiſt only upon Points of Practice. Thus *John Knox* was barr'd preaching on *Sundays*: However, being under the Protection of the Cannon of the Caſtle, he ventur'd to mount the Pulpit on other Days, and had no Diſturbance: But *John Rough* diſliking the Libertiniſm of the Gariſon took his Leave, retir'd into *England*, and was preferr'd to a Benefice near *Hull* by the Archbiſhop of *York*.

John Rough *leaves the Gariſon for their Licentiouſneſs.*

To conclude this Story: About the beginning of *June* the next Year, the Pope's *Abſolution* was deliver'd, and the Gariſon requir'd to deliver up the Caſtle purſuant to the *Articles*. The Soldiers complain'd of a Defect in the *Bull*, and carp'd at the Expreſſion, *Remittimus Crimen Irremiſſibile*. 'Twas anſwer'd, that Clauſe was inſerted only to heighten the Crime, and that the Abſolution was good notwithſtanding. This did not ſatisfie the Gariſon, they ſtill objected that Condition was broken, and reſolv'd to ſtand on their Defence.

Soon after this, the *French* Fleet arriv'd, the Siege was renew'd, and the Caſtle batter'd by Sea and Land. There was likewiſe a Mortality amongſt them: And thus being in no Condition to wait their Relief from *England*, they were forc'd to ſurrender almoſt at Diſcretion. The *French* carried off the Gariſon, together with the Cardinal's rich Furniture and Treaſure. When the *French* were gone, the Caſtle was demoliſh'd by the Government: For by the *Canon Law*, they ſaid, thoſe Places are to be razed where a Cardinal is ſlain. However, this was but a Colour: The true Reaſon was, for fear the *Engliſh* ſhould enter the Fort and keep it. This, tho' it happen'd a Year after the firſt Siege, I have mention'd together, for the Unity of the Relation.

The Caſtle ſurrender'd.

Id. *p.* 88.

June *the* 7th, A. D. 1546.

To come back to *England*: The King finding a Decay in his Conſtitution, and that he was not likely to laſt long, inclin'd to put an End to his Diſputes with the Neighbouring Princes, and provide for the Security of his Succeſſor: He was ſenſible the deep Minority of the Prince his Son would call for Circumſtances of Repoſe. This Conſideration, 'tis thought, diſpos'd him to a Peace with the *French* King; which was concluded at *Campe* near *Calais*. The *Scotch* were comprehended in this Treaty. Amongſt other *Articles*, *Bouloign* was to remain in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, till the *French* King had paid two Millions of Crowns *de ſoleil*. Upon the whole, this Town of *Bouloign* was exceedingly expenſive: For as the Lord *Herbert* proves from Records, the taking and keeping it coſt the King Thirteen Hundred Forty two Thouſand Pounds, and upwards. The Benefit was by no means anſwerable; for, as the Noble Hiſtorian continues, it ſerv'd for nothing but a Landing Place, which might be had at *Calais* (*i*).

Peace between England *and* France.

(*i*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 540. & deinc.

June *the* 14th.

When the Peace was proclaim'd in *London*, there was a pompous *Proceſſion*: And the beſt Silver Croſſes, and richeſt Copes were made uſe of for the greater Solemnity. This is obſerv'd to have been the laſt time theſe Religious Ornaments were publickly us'd. For ſoon after the King took them out of the Churches, and lodg'd them in the Treaſury and *Wardrobe*. The Reaſon of this unuſual Alienation appear'd to be only the then Apprehenſion of a new War with *France*.

Id.

Monſieur *d'Annebault* the *French* Ambaſſadour, and King *Henry* had ſome Diſcourſe about concerting a *Reformation* in both Kingdoms. It is ſaid both Princes had agreed to change the Maſs into a Communion in their reſpective Dominions: That they deſign'd to move the Emperour to the ſame Meaſures, and in caſe he refus'd, to make War upon him; to this 'tis added, that Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was order'd to make a Draught of the Alterations intended. The Credit of this Story relies on the Teſtimony of one *Morris*, *Cranmer*'s Secretary (*k*). To this *Fox* ſubjoyns, that the King in the Preſence of the Earl of *Hertford* the Lord Admiral *Liſle*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Lord *Paget*, gave the Duke of *Saxony*'s Ambaſſadour an Aſſurance of ſtanding by his Maſter, in caſe Difference of Religion was the only Quarrel between that Duke and the Emperour.

(*k*) Fox Vol. 2. *p* 586. & 647.

About this time the King iſſued out a Proclamation, to forbid the Uſe of *Tindal*, and *Coverdales* Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*. The Books of *Frith*, *Wickliffe*, *Joy*, *Baile*, *Barnes*, &c. are likewiſe prohibited, and to be deliver'd to the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Officers, in order to be burnt. The Penalty of offending againſt this Proclamation, is Impriſonment, and Corporal Puniſhment at the King's Pleaſure. The Criminals were likewiſe to make ſuch Fine and Ranſom as his Majeſty, or Four of his *Privy Council*, ſhould ſet upon them.

Id. *p.* 587. Regiſt. Bonner. Fol. 86.

Farther, all Printers of *Engliſh* Books, Ballads, or Plays, are commanded to put their Names, and the Names of the Authors to the ſaid Books or Pamphlets; and to preſent the firſt Copy to the Mayor of the Town, and not ſuffer any of the Copies to be diſpers'd till two Days after. Laſtly, All Perſons are prohibited to ſell or publiſh any *Engliſh* Books printed beyond Sea, upon the Subject of Religion, without a ſpecial Licenſe from the King.

Books prohibited by Proclamation. July *the* 8th.

Soon after this Proclamation the Books of the Authors abovemention'd were burnt at *Paul*'s Croſs by the Order of the Biſhop of *London*.

The Reaſon of ſuppreſſing theſe Books was, 'tis thought, to diſcourage that Exceſs of Satyr and intemperate Language, which was too common in the Writings of theſe Men. The King was likewiſe of Opinion they had gone indefenſible Lengths in Oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*: He deſign'd therefore to proceed with more Temper in his *Reformation*, and keep cloſer to the Pattern of Antiquity (*l*).

(*l*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 560.

About this time *Nicholas Shaxton*, who had ſome Years ſince reſign'd the Biſhoprick of *Sarum*, to avoid Compliance with the Statute of the

Biſhop Shaxton's *Submiſſion.*

the *Six Articles*, alter'd his Sentiment, and made his Submiſſion in form: The Articles are theſe.

Bp. Shaxton's *Submiſſion.*

" Firſt, Almighty God, by the Power of his word pronounc'd by the Prieſt at Maſs in the conſecration, turns the Bread and Wine into the very natural Body and Blood of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo that after the Conſecration, there remains no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and Man.

" Secondly, The ſaid bleſſed Sacrament being once Conſecrated, is and remaineth ſtill the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, altho' it be reſerv'd, and not preſently diſtributed.

" Thirdly, The ſame bleſſed Sacrament being conſecrate, is and ought to be worſhip'd and ador'd with godly Honour, whereſoever it is; foraſmuch as it is the Body of Chriſt inſeparably united to the Deity.

" Fourthly, The Church by the Miniſtration of the Prieſt, offers daily at the Maſs for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the ſelf-ſame Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the Remembrance and Repreſentation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion.

" Fifthly, The ſame Body and Blood which is offer'd in the Maſs, is the very Propitiation and Satisfaction for the Sins of the World; foraſmuch as it is the ſelf-ſame in ſubſtance, which was offer'd on the Croſs for our Redemption; and the Oblation and Action of the Prieſt is alſo a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving unto God for his Benefits, and not the Satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Chriſt's Paſſion.

" Sixthly, The ſaid Oblation or Sacrifice ſo by the Prieſt offer'd in the Maſs, is available and Profitable both for the Quick and Dead, altho' it lies not in the Pow'r of Man to limit how much, or in what meaſure the ſame doth avail.

" Seventhly, 'Tis not a thing of neceſſity, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be miniſter'd unto the People under both kinds of Bread and Wine. And it is none Abuſe that the ſame be miniſtred to the People under the one kind; foraſmuch as in every of both the kinds whole Chriſt's both Body and Blood is contain'd.

" Eightly, It is no derogation to the Virtue of the Maſs, altho' the Prieſt do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

Ninthly, The Maſs uſed in this Realm of *England* is agreeable to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and we have in this Church of *England* the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine.

" Tenthly, The Church of Chriſt, hath, doth, and may lawfully order ſome Prieſts to be Miniſters of the Sacraments, although the ſame do not preach, nor be admitted thereunto.

" Eleventhly, Prieſts being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Prieſthood, and all ſuch Men and Women as have adviſedly made Vows unto God of Chaſtity or Widowhood, may not lawfully marry after their ſaid Order received, or Vows made.

" Twelfthly, Secret auricular Confeſſion, is expedient and neceſſary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Chriſt.

" Thirteenthly, The Preſcience and Predeſtination of Almighty God, although in it ſelf it be infallible, induceth no Neceſſity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely uſe the Power of his own Will or Choice, the ſaid Preſcience, or Predeſtination, notwithſtanding.

" I *Nicholas Shaxton*, with my Heart do believe, and with my Mouth do confeſs, all theſe Articles to be true in every part (*m*).

Mrs. Askew *and three others executed for Religion in* Smithfield.

Soon after this Biſhop's Submiſſion, *Anne Askew*, a young Gentlewoman of Condition, was proſecuted for denying the *Corporal Preſence*, and burned in *Smithfieid* with *Nicholas Otterden*, a Prieſt, *John Laſells* a Gentleman belonging to the Court, and *John Adlam* a Taylor (*n*).

'Tis no Wonder theſe Perſons loſt their Lives for their Diſagreement to the eſtabliſhed Belief: The King was now in a rigorous Diſpoſition touching theſe Matters. The Queen her ſelf, run no ſmall Hazard upon this Score. She began now to countenance thoſe who declaimed againſt the Abuſes of the Church of *Rome:* She thought her ſelf ſo thoroughly informed in Points of Religion, that ſhe ventur'd to undertake the Controverſy, and engage the King. This was no acceptable Diſcourſe: The King was never pleaſ'd with Contradiction: This Humour encreas'd with his Age: Beſides, Religion was a tender Point: He had given great Proof of his Sufficiency, and had been much complemented by learned Men for his Attainments this Way. He had likewiſe an Ulcer in his Leg, which ſower'd his Humour, and made him more difficult to deal with.

The Queen in Danger, for arguing againſt the King's Opinion.

This Freedom of the Queen's, was repreſented to Diſadvantage by *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He put the King in Mind, that by declaring her ſelf thus openly againſt the received Doctrines, and diſputing againſt the *Six Articles*, ſhe had diſcovered the ſlender Regard ſhe had, either to the *Act*, or the late *Proclamation*. Upon this the King gave this Biſhop and *Wriotheſley* the Lord Chancellor, Leave to draw up *Articles* againſt her. They work'd immediately upon this Permiſſion, brought the Draught to the King, who made no Scruple to ſign it. And now her Ruine was almoſt finiſhed, and her Enemies wanted only a Warrant for carrying her to the *Tower:* But an Accident diſappointed their Expectations. The Lord Chancellor put the Articles ſigned by the King in his Boſom: This Paper happened to be drop'd, was taken up by one of the Queen's Servants, and brought to her. This being a ſurprizing Misfortune, the Queen was perfectly overſet with the News, and lamented her Condition in a very ſenſible and diſconſolate Manner. The King hearing how much ſhe was perplexed, firſt ſent his Phyſicians, and after came himſelf to her Apartment: And finding the Diſtemper lie in her Mind, he applied the proper Remedy, and gave her an Expectation of gentle Uſage. And thus being reſtor'd to a tolerable Degree of Eaſe and Health, ſhe went the next Night, with her Siſter the Lady *Herbert*, to the King's Bed-Chamber, where ſhe was well received.

(*m*) Regiſt. Bonner, fol. 100.

(*n*) Fox *and* Fuller.

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

She ſubmits, and recovers the King's Favour.

And here, after ſome little Time, the King entred upon the Subject of Religion, and endeavoured to draw the Queen towards a Diſpute: But being apprehenſive of the Tendency of this Argument, ſhe excus'd herſelf upon the Diſadvantages of her Sex and Judgment, and anſwer'd, that in this, and all other Matters, ſhe was ready to reſign her ſelf to his Majeſty's Wiſdom: Not at all (by St. *Mary*) ſays the King, you are *grown a Doctor*, *Kate*, and better qualified to give, than receive Directions. To this the Queen replied, that what ſhe had offer'd upon this Head, was done rather to divert his Majeſty, to relieve him under his Pain, and make him forget his Indiſpoſition, than to pretend to any Opinion of her own. Beſides, by propoſing Objections, ſhe hop'd to be better inform'd by his Majeſty's learned Reſolution of the Caſe. *And is it ſo, Sweet-Heart, ſays the King, then we are perfect Friends again.* Her Enemies who knew nothing of this Turn of Favour, prepar'd the next Day to convey her to the *Tower*, purſuant to the King's Warrant. The Hour being come, the Lord *Wriotheſley* appears with Forty of the Guards. The King and the Queen happen'd to be then talking pleaſantly in the Garden: The King giving the Lord Chancellor a ſevere Look, called him to him at ſome diſtance from the Queen. His Majeſty's Diſcourſe was altogether angry and expoſtulating: And at laſt he gave this Lord ſome Names of Reproach, and commanded him out of his Preſence. The Queen perceiving the King's Humour ruffled, and Lord *Wriotheſley* diſmiſs'd with Diſgrace, intreated for his Pardon. The King only anſwer'd, that ſhe, *Poor Soul*, did not know how little that Lord deſerv'd that good Office from her. And thus by the Providence of the *Papers* being drop'd, and her ſeaſonable Submiſſion, ſhe eſcap'd the Snare. Though after all, ſome People fancied 'twas not the King's Intention to make uſe of the Rigour of the Law; but only to fright her from reading prohibited Books. On the other Hand, if there was nothing of earneſt at the bottom, 'twas thought a ſevere Jeſt to be put upon a Queen; eſpecially on ſuch an agreeable and obſequious Conſort (*o*). The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was looked on as one of her greateſt Enemies, fell under the King's Diſfavour ſoon after; as appears by his Submiſſion on *Record*. Tho' it muſt be ſaid that *Paper* does not mention the Ground of the King's Diſpleaſure. Notwithſtanding this Submiſſion, the Biſhop never recover'd his former Situation in the King's Fancy, as may be collected by his being left out in the King's laſt Will; whereas formerly he had been nominated one of his Executors and Conſellors to his Son King *Edward* the Sixth.

(*o*) *Ld.* Herbert, *p.* 560. Id.

The Duke of Norfolk *attainted, and the Earl of* Surrey *beheaded.*

Godwin, Annal. Jan. 13. A. D. 154$\frac{6}{7}$.

Towards the latter end of this Year, the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son the Earl of *Surrey* were committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon. The Earl of *Surrey*, no Lord of Parliament, was try'd by an Inqueſt of Commoners at *Guild-Hall*, and found guilty. This Earl by being diſcharg'd the Command of the Army in *France*, and having the Earl of *Hertford* put over him, drop'd ſome paſſionate Expreſſions, importing a Diſlike of the *Privy-Council*; not without ſlanting Inſinuations of Miſconduct in the King. But theſe Sallies of Diſcontent could not reach his Life: That which undid him, was the quartering the Arms of *Edward* the *Confeſſor* with his own. This was ſwell'd to a Charge of High-Treaſon, and interpreted a Deſign of graſping at the *Crown*. He vouch'd the *Heralds* in his Juſtification; but the *Bench* it ſeems, would not allow of their Deciſion, though within their own Buſineſs. And thus a *Verdict* was brought in againſt him, and he was beheaded about a Week after upon *Tower-Hill*: He was a Perſon of a lively Genius, great Courage, and unuſual Improvements in Learning.

The Duke his Father was attainted by *Act* of Parliament: Had he been try'd in the cuſtomary Method by his Peers, 'twas thought he would have diſengag'd himſelf. The Creation of the Prince of *Wales* was given out for the meeting of this Parliament: But the attainting the Duke of *Norfolk* was conjectur'd the true Reaſon (*p*). His grand Crime was the quartering the Arms of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, between whom and the Duke there had been no friendly Correſpondence for ſome time, abſented himſelf from the *Houſe* upon this occaſion. In ſhort, the *Bill* of Attainder paſs'd, tho' the Duke had done his utmoſt to diſpoſe the King towards Clemency, and prevent this Rigour, by his late Submiſſion. It may be no Subject had more Merit to plead than this Noble Man: He had gain'd a Victory over the *Scots*, been ſucceſsful againſt the *French*; and ſuppreſs'd the Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*. However, the King who as our learned Hiſtorian obſerves, never hated or ruin'd any one by halves, ſign'd a Warrant for his Execution the next Morning. But his Majeſty dying in the Night, the Lieutenant could not act upon the Warrant: And thus the Duke of *Norfolk* very narrowly eſcap'd.

(*p*) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 1. *p.* 347.

Jan. 27.
Jan. 12.

Id. *p.* 346.

The King dies.

Having already mention'd the King's *Will*, I ſhall tranſcribe that Part of it which relates to Religion: From hence the *Reader* may diſcover his Opinion concerning Invocation of Saints, Prayers and Alms, in behalf of the Dead (*q*).

(*q*) *See Records, N.* 51.

Somewhat of his Character.

As to other Matters in the *Will*, I ſhall only take notice that the *Crown* was deviſ'd to the Princeſs *Mary*, in Caſe Prince *Edward* died without lawful Iſſue: From hence *Saunders* collects the King had no ill Opinion of his Marriage with *Katherine* of *Spain*. But this reaſoning will not hold; for by this Argument, we may infer the King believ'd his Marriage with *Anne Bulloigne* lawful, becauſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſtands next to *Mary* in the *Will* for the Succeſſion. But the King being married to Mrs. *Bulloigne*, living Queen *Katherine*, either the firſt or the ſecond Marriage muſt of neceſſity be unlawful. And that the *Reader* may not be ſurpriz'd at the diſpoſal of an Hereditary *Crown* by *Will*, we are to conſider, that the King was expreſly enabled for this purpoſe by an *Act* of Parliament (*r*). In which *Act* the *Crown* is ſettled upon the Lady *Mary*, provided Prince *Edward* left no lawful Iſſue. Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*,

(*r*) 35 H. 8. c. 1.

Durham, were two of the Sixteen Executors and Counſellours of State, nominated in the *Will*.

Saunders reports, the King ſome little time before his Death, was inclin'd to reconcile himſelf to the *See* of *Rome*. That he diſcover'd his Mind to ſome of the Biſhops, and ask'd their Advice concerning the manner; who theſe Biſhops were he doth not tell us, only in general, that they were afraid of declaring their Sentiments, and durſt not truſt the King: They ſuſpected the Queſtion might be put to inſnare them.

Saunders de Schiſm. Anglic.

But *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as this Hiſtorian goes on, is ſaid to have adviſ'd the King to call a Parliament, and lay the Matter before them; and provided he had not time for ſuch an Expedient, he ſhould then publiſh his Intention in Writing: That when the Performance was impracticable, the bare Deſire would be acceptable to God Almighty: That when *Wincheſter* went out of the *Preſence*, the other Courtiers, who were afraid of refunding the Church Eſtates, ſcatter'd the King's Scruples, and brought him off his former Reſolve. But this muſt reſt upon *Saunders*'s Credit: It is ſaid by others, that when the King underſtood the Phyſicians gave him over, he turn'd his Thoughts to the other World, and ſent for *Cranmer*, who was then at *Croyden*. But when the Archbiſhop came to *Weſtminiſter*, he found the King ſpeechleſs: Upon *Cranmer*'s exhorting him to truſt in God's Mercy through *Chriſt*, and deſiring ſome Sign of ſuch a Reliance; the King is ſaid to preſs the Archbiſhop's Hand, and ſoon after expir'd. He liv'd Fifty Five Years and Seven Months, and reign'd Thirty Seven Years, Nine Months and Six Days (*s*).

Jan. 28.
A. D. 154$\frac{6}{7}$.
(*s*) *Ld.* Herbert. *p.* 510.

As to the Character of this Prince, it may be collected in a great Meaſure from the foregoing Hiſtory; therefore I ſhall ſay the leſs of it here.

Amongſt other Blemiſhes, he is tax'd with Cruelty: For Proof of this imputation ſome Hiſtorians give a Liſt of thoſe put to Death in his Reign. In this bloody Catalogue, they mention Two Queens, one Cardinal, beſides *Pool*, who was attainted: Dukes, Marqueſs, Earls, and Earls Sons, Twelve; Barons and Knights, Eighteen; Abbots, Prieſts, Priors and Monks, Seventy Seven: Beſides great Numbers of more private Condition both *Papiſts* and *Goſpellers*, who ſuffer'd for their Religion. Covetouſneſs is another dark Quality with which he is charg'd: And here perhaps it is no eaſy Task to diſengage him. The ſeizing the Abbey and *Chauntry* Lands, and venturing through all the Imprecations of the *Founders*, is a ſtrong Preſumption of loving Money too well. Beſides, what Motive excepting this can be aſſign'd for his wreſting ſo many *Mannors* from the *Sees* of *Canterbury*, *York* and *London*; particularly for obliging the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Canterbury* to part with what Lands either himſelf, or his Courtiers had a mind to? *Cranmer* as hath been obſerv'd, remonſtrated againſt this Uſage, and unleſs he had been heartily menac'd, would never have given up the wealthy Lordſhip of *Otford* in *Kent*.

Id. *p.* 572.

I ſhall mention another Inſtance, which looks remarkably this way. 'Tis the King's Injunction to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, not to enter upon any of the Lands, nor to receive any of the Profits of the Biſhoprick, until a Suit depending in *Chancery* between *Bonner* and the Earl of *Hertford* was ended *.

* Regiſt. Bonner, *fol.* 70. 36 H. 8. Jan. 21.

In this *Injunction* 'tis ſuggeſted, that the Biſhop of *London* had demiſ'd his whole Biſhoprick to the ſaid Earl, under the Penalty of Ten Thouſand Marks, to be levied upon his Goods and Chattels to the King's Uſe.

King's Injunction to Bonner.

The Biſhop is injoin'd not to preſent or collate to any Benefice or Preferment belonging to his *See*. The ſame *Injunction* is directed to the *Dean* and *Chapter*.

The next Year, the eighth of *July* there is a Revocation of this Injunction; *Quibuſdam certis de cauſis jam nos moventibus, &c.* as the Words run. The Meaning of which is (as may be reaſonably conjectur'd) that the Biſhop and *Dean* and *Chapter* had either paid a Fine, or parted with ſome of their Lands to compound the Controverſie. In ſhort, if the King had treated his *Temporal* Lords, as he did the *Spiritual*, and ſeiz'd the Eſtates of the *Laity* upon no ſtronger Colours, 'tis probable they would have complain'd ſomewhat louder under the Injuſtice.

His Benefactions.

But then it muſt be ſaid, he did ſomething by way of Reparation. For beſides his endowing the Six new *Sees* already mentioned, he founded a great many Grammar Schools with good Salaries to the Maſters. He likewiſe founded *Lectures* in both *Univerſities*. Where thoſe who *read* in the Faculties of Divinity, Law, and Phyſick, were encouraged with a conſiderable Settlement. The ſame Countenance was likewiſe given to the *Profeſſors* of *Greek* and *Hebrew*. Farther, he confirm'd Cardinal *Wolſey*'s College of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and built and endow'd the famous *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*. He convey'd *Gray-Friers*, now call'd *Chriſt-Church*, and the *Hoſpital* of St. *Bartholomew* in *London*, to that City, for charitable Uſes: To which we may add, his finiſhing *King's-College-Chapel* in *Cambridge*. Laſtly, he maintain'd a great many young Scholars in foreign Countries. 'Twas his Cuſtom to chuſe one or more every Year of the moſt promiſing Parts out of both Univerſities, and breed them beyond Sea. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, was one of the laſt thus educated (*t*). Theſe Men, tho' they had no *Character*, furniſh'd the King with Intelligence, and acquainted him with the *publick* Motions of Chriſtendom. And it muſt be ſaid to his Commendation, that he encouraged Learning in the Diſpoſal of his Church Preferments; moſt of the Biſhops of his Time being Men of Diſtinction this way.

Fuller. Heylin.

(*t*) Cambd. Eliz.

Another Circumſtance of Advantage to his *Memory*, was the ſuppreſſing of the *Stews*. They were *Houſes* inhabited by ſcandalous Women, and allowed by the *State*. There were Sixteen of them diſtinguiſh'd by Signs. They were call'd *Stews*, becauſe the Place at firſt was furniſhed with Ponds for preſerving Fiſh, and making them more clean and palatable (*w*).

The Stews ſuppreſſed by King Henry.

(*w*) Camden. Brit. Middleſex.

In the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, there were ſeveral Regulations made to correct

Cranmer Th. *Abp. of* Cant.

rect the Malignity of theſe infamous Entertainments. I ſhall mention ſome of them.

Firſt, No Stewholder was permitted to open his Doors, or receive any Perſons on Holy-days.

Secondly, No Single-woman was to be kept againſt her Will, but diſmiſs'd whenever ſhe diſcovered any Deſire of reforming her Practice.

Thirdly, None of theſe Pandars were allow'd to entertain any Nun or married Woman.

Fourthly, They were not allowed to ſell Bread, Ale, Fiſh, Meat, Coals, or any Proviſions (*x*).

And farther, thoſe Women who died in theſe Houſes, were barr'd Chriſtian Burial, and interr'd in a diſtant Place from the Pariſh Church, call'd, *The Single-woman's Churchyard*. Thus, notwithſtanding their Toleration, they were under Reſtraints, and had Marks of Diſcountenance ſet upon them.

Hen. VIII. K.

In the One and Twentieth Year of King *Henry* the Seventh, the *Stews* were ſhut up for ſome Time (*y*). They were afterwards open'd, but reduc'd from Sixteen to Twelve. But King *Henry* the Eighth, in the Thirty Seventh Year of his Reign, put an End to theſe infamous Liberties. The *Pandars* with all their *Equipage*, were turn'd out by Sound of Trumpet, and their Houſes aſſign'd to People of regular Converſation. Thus we ſee, notwithſtanding ſome exceptionable Sallies, and the Rigour of his Government, he was not without a Mixture of good Qualities.

(x) Stow's *Surveyof* London, *p.* 449. & Annal.

(y) Fabian.

AN

JL Hen 8th

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK IV.

EDWARD the Sixth only Son to King *Henry* the Eighth by *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, ſucceeded his Father. He was born at *Hampton Court October* the Twelfth 1537, the Queen his Mother dying the Day after. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were his Godfathers. He was under the Ladies Care for the firſt Six Years, afterwards Dr. *Cox*, and Mr. *Cheek* were his Preceptors for Languages and other Parts of Learning. (*a*) There were Preparations made for creating him Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Count Palatine of *Cheſter*, but this Solemnity was prevented by his Fathers Death. This young Prince diſcover'd an extraordinary Genius, and his Attainments in Learning were far beyond the Expectations from his Age: But of this no more at preſent.

(a) *King* Edward *the ſixths Journal* Cotton *Library* Nero. *c.* 10.

His Uncle the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were diſpatch'd by the *Council* to acquaint him with the late King's Death, and conduct him to *Town*, where on the 31ſt of *January* he was proclaim'd King. He was receiv'd at the *Tower* with the Cuſtomary Marks of Regard.

The Executors to the late King's Will.

Upon the opening the late King's *Will*, there were Sixteen nominated for Executors: The Government of the Princes Perſon, and the *Adminiſtration* was likewiſe put into their hands, till the King was Eighteen Years Old. I have already obſerv'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* had the Honour of this Truſt. The other Fourteen were the Lord *Wriotheſly* Lord Chancellor, Lord *Saint John* great Maſter, the Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlain, the Vicount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget*, Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, Sir *Edward Montague* Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Juſtice *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treaſurer of *Calais*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. In executing the *Will*, and governing the publick Affairs, the Majority of theſe were Equivalent to the whole Number. They had one very remarkable Branch of Power: For the Purpoſe, if the Lady *Mary*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other Perſon named for the *Succeſſion*, happen'd to marry without the Conſent of the Majority of the *Privy Council*, they were to forfeit their Title to the *Crown*. (*b*)

(*b*) Fuller *p.* 246.

For the Honour of the Government, and better Management of Affairs, 'twas propoſed that one of theſe Sixteen might have a Title diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt. But then the Luſtre of this Dignity was not to be convey'd with any Addition of Power. This Motion was oppos'd by the Lord Chancellor, who expected the Weight of Buſineſs would fall upon his Office. For the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who by his Place had the faireſt Pretenſion, was neither good Courtier nor Stateſman; nor had any Inclination for ſecular Imployment; and therefore the Chancellor could have no Apprehenſion of Competition from that Quarter.

Biſhop Burnet *page* 302.

The Earl of Hertford *choſen Protector.*

He inſiſted therefore that the *Will* might be punctually executed without Latitude or Alteration: That the late King deſign'd the *Executors* ſhould have an equal ſhare in Truſt and Power, and that the making any Preference in Title or Degree would be a Breach in the Appointment. But the *Chancellor* finding his Intereſt overweigh'd by the Earl of *Hertford*, drop'd his Opinion, and conſented with the reſt. Thus the *Board* agreed, that one of the *Sixteen* ſhould have a rais'd Title, and be called *Protector of the King's Realm, and Governour of his Perſon*. The next Point was quickly ſettled, and the Choice by an unanimous Concurrence fell upon the Earl of *Hertford*. Thus he was ſolemnly proclaim'd Protector, and Governor to the King's Perſon. This Dignity and Truſt was not convey'd, without an expreſs'd Condition, *that he ſhould not do any Act but by the Advice and Conſent of the other Executors purſuant to the late King's Will*. (*c*) One Reaſon for pitching on this Nobleman, was the Nearneſs of his Relation to the King. He was his Uncle by the Mothers ſide near in Blood, but without any Proſpect upon the *Crown*; ſo that there was no dangerous matter for Ambition to work on. (*d*) This Promotion of the Earl of *Hertford* was cenſur'd as a Departure from the late King's *Will*. From hence 'tis plain the Privy Council was form'd, and the Adminiſtration carried on by the Directions of this *Will*: 'Twas likewiſe inroll'd, and Queen *Mary* founded her Title partly upon this Authority, as will be ſeen afterwards. However, *Lethington* Secretary of *Scotland* in his Letter to Sir *William Cecil* Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, pretends 'twas not ſign'd by King *Henry* the Eighth, and by conſequence not legally executed, purſuant to the *Statute* of 35. *H.* 8. *cap.* 1. The Reaſon of *Lethingtons* excepting to the Authority of this *Will* is, becauſe the younger Branch of the Royal Family is prefer'd to the Elder, and the *Crown* ſettled upon the Houſe of *Suffolk*, in Excluſion of that of *Scotland*.

(c) *Biſhop* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform. pt.* 2*d. p.* 5.

(d) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. King* Edward *VI.*

Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 1. *Records Book III. num.* 30.

This *Will* to make it firm in Law, ought to have been ſign'd with the King's own Hand. That it wanted this neceſſary Circumſtance, *Lethington* endeavours to prove firſt, by affirming that the King ſome conſiderable Time before his Death, never us'd to ſign any thing with his own Hand: For the Truth of this, the Scotch Secretary appeals to *Cecil*'s Knowledge. He adds ſecondly, that when the King in his Sickneſs was preſs'd to put his Hand to the *Will* he refus'd to do it. He affirms farther that when the King was almoſt at the Point of Death, one *William Clark* put a Stamp to the *Will* by the Order of ſome Perſons well known both to *Lethington* and *Cecil*'s. To prove this Forgery, for ſo *Lethington* calls it, he deſires the Depoſitions of the *Marqueſs* of *Wincheſter* and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Secretary *Petre*, Sir *Henry Neville*, Sir *Maurice Berkly*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, belonging to King *Henry*'s Court, may be taken and inroll'd in *Chancery*. He likewiſe urges my Lord *Pagets* Evidence in the Houſe of Lords in Queen *Mary's* Reign. But by the way the Lord *Paget*'s Teſtimony as *Dyer* reports it (*e*) is ſhort of the Point, becauſe the *Stamp* there mention'd, referrs only to the *Bill* for attaining the Duke of *Norfolk*. Laſtly, *Lethington* preſſes the Original may be inſpected: And tho' ſome to diſſerve the Queen of *Scots* Title, pretend the original *Will* was made away in Queen *Mary*'s Time, in Favour of the Houſe of *Scotland*, yet he hopes Providence hath preſerv'd this *Inſtrument* to ſilence that Calumny, and bring Truth to Light. To fortify *Lethingtons* Allegations, Sir *Thomas Craig* affirms, that *Clark* above mention'd declar'd openly before Queen *Mary*, before her *Privy Council*, and the Parliament, that he put the Seal or Stamp to the *Will*, after King *Henry* had loſt the Uſe of his Underſtanding.

(e) Dyer *Rep. fol.* 93.

On the other ſide, if the *Will* was thus defective and lay ſo much expos'd to Diſproof, 'tis ſomewhat ſurprizing the Lords of King *Edwards Council* ſhould risk their Reputation ſo far, and venture their being call'd to an account, for acting upon an illegal Warrant. I ſhall not pretend to interpoſe my Opinion, but leave the matter to the *Readers* Judgment. I have heard ſay the original *Will* is now in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Le'Neve* at *Weſtminſter*. If this be ſo, the inſpecting the *Inſtrument* will decide the Queſtion. To proceed, there was now an apparent Diviſion of the Kingdom into Two Parties. One of them were willing Religion ſhould continue upon the preſent Foot; the other preſs'd for a farther *Reformation*. The Lord *Chancellor* headed the firſt, and the *Protector* the latter.

See Craigs *Book of the Succeſſion in anſwer to* Doleman *p.* 334. 345.

On the ſecond of *February* the *Protector* was declar'd Lord Treaſurer and Earl Marſhal, the late King's *Will* was order'd to be inroll'd, and a Copy of it under the great Seal, given to every one of the *Executors*. The Biſhops were likewiſe requir'd to take out new Commiſſions of the ſame Tenour with thoſe of the late Reign. (*f*) *Cranmer* ſet the firſt Preſident; he is ſaid to have petition'd for a Revival of his Juriſdiction: And that *as he had exercis'd the Functions of an Archbiſhop during the former Reign; ſo that Authority determining with the late King's Life, his preſent Majeſty would pleaſe to intruſt him with the ſame Juriſdiction.* (*g*) That *Cranmer* addreſs'd the *Crown* for this purpoſe and in this form, we may reaſonably conclude both from the Singularity of his Opinion, and eſpecially from *Bonners* Practice, from whom ſuch a Complyance might be leſs expected. This Biſhop 'tis certain took out ſuch an Inſtrument in the beginning of this Reign. The *Commiſſion* ſets forth that *Bonner* had made Application to King *Edward* for an Authority to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. As to other things the *Inſtrument* runs in the ſame Form with thoſe Commiſſions taken out by the Biſhops in the late Reign. (*h*)

(f) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. p.* 6. Feb. 7. Anno Dom. 154^{6}_{7}.

(g) *Memorials of Archbiſhop* Cranmer.

The Biſhops take out new Commiſſions.

(h) *Regiſt.* Bonner. *fol.* 102.

Theſe Commiſſions were granted only *durante benè placito*, ſo that the King might recal their Juriſdiction, and ſtrike their Character dead when he pleas'd. The Hiſtorian remarks that this precarious Grant was only to ſerve the Neceſſity of the Juncture, and keep the Biſhops from relapſing to their old Superſtition That afterwards this *Heavy Yoak* was made lighter, the *bene placitum* Clauſe omitted, and the Biſhops enabled to hold their *Sees* during Life. (*i*)

Biſhop Burnet *pt* 2*d. p.* 6.

But that Matters were not thus mended appears from this Learned Author, both in his *Records*, and in the Body of his Hiſtory: (*k*) Where 'tis plain that the Biſhops thro' the whole courſe of King *Edwards* Reign were upon their good Behaviour for their Office, and had the expreſs Clauſe of, *quamdiù ſe benè geſſerint*, put in their *Patent*.

(k) Id. *pt.* 2*d. p.* 218. *and Records p.* 257.

The Learned Hiſtorian laſt mention'd will have it, that by the *Letters Patent* it is clear *that* *the Epiſcopal Function was acknowledg'd to be of Divine Appointment, and that the Perſon was no other way nam'd by the King, then as Lay Patrons preſent to Livings.* (l)

'Tis granted the *Clauſe* in the Commiſſion *per & ultra ea quæ tibi & ſacris Literis divinitùs commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur*, does import a Divine Authority: But then this Acknowledgment is ſo weaken'd and confin'd as to the Exerciſe, by other *Clauſes* in the *Letters Patent*, that without the Kings Licenſe the Powers in the Epiſcopal Character would ſignify little. To ſpeak clearly, the Commiſſion ſeems embaraſs'd and inconſiſtent.

For firſt, 'tis plainly affirm'd in this *Inſtrument*, (*m*) "that all manner of Authority and "Juriſdiction, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, "is originally deriv'd from the *Crown*. If this Aſſertion holds, the Power of the *Keys* muſt be lodg'd with the ſecular Magiſtrate: And if ſo, what Independent Right can the Biſhops have for the Exerciſe of their Function? How can they make any Claim to a Charter of Government from our Saviour? Or what pretence can they have to admit or exclude from Church Communion upon this foot? And if their Pretenſions to govern muſt fail thus far, the Powers ſuppos'd by the *Letters Patent* to be given them in Holy Scripture, muſt be of ſlender Conſideration. Farther the Learned Hiſtorians ſaying, the Perſon appointed by the Kings *Letters Patents*, was no otherwiſe nam'd than as Lay Patrons preſent to Livings, is ſomewhat ſurprizing: For did ever Lay Patrons pretend to give a Commiſſion in their *Preſentations* for the Exerciſe of the Prieſts Function? Does the *Clerk* govern his *Cure*, and execute his Office in the Patrons Name, and by Virtue of his Authority? If this cannot be made good, the Caſe is no ways parallel; for the Biſhops by the *Letters Patents* were to give Orders, and exerciſe all other Branches of ſpiritual Juriſdiction as the Kings Delegates, and upon the ſtrength of his Authority.

A Creation of Noblemen deſign'd by the late King.

To proceed, 'twas order'd in the late Kings *Will*, that all Grants, Gifts, or Promiſes made by him, and not perfected, ſhould be executed and perform'd. (*n*) To ſatiſfy this Clauſe, Secretary *Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *Wm. Herbert* were requir'd to declare knowledge of their King's Intention upon this Head. The Reaſon of theſe three Gentlemen, being called on, was becauſe the King had uſed them with the greateſt Confidence. *Paget* inform'd the *Council*, that upon the Attainders of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, the King told him he intended to diſpoſe of their Eſtates to deſerving Perſons, and create ſeveral Peers, to ſupply the Rooms of Noble Families extinct. That upon the Duke of *Norfolks* Deſire that the King would ſettle all his forfeited Lands upon the Prince, the King clos'd with the Complement, and reſolv'd to reward his Servants ſome other way. Secretary *Paget* by the King's Order drew up a Liſt of this intended *Creation*, where the Perſons, Honours, and Aſſignments were particularly mentioned. The Earl of *Hertford* was to be Earl Marſhal, Lord Treaſurer and Duke of *Somerſet*, and his Son to be Earl of *Wiltſhire* with Eight Hundred Pounds a year of Land, and Three Hundred a year out of the next Biſhops Lands that fell void: The Earl of *Eſſex* to be Marqueſs of *Eſſex*: The Vicount *Liſle* to be Earl of *Coventry*: The Lord *Wriotheſly* to be Earl of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Thomas Seymour* the Protectors Brother a *Baron*, and Lord *Admiral*. Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John St. Leiger*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Edward Sheffeild*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Danby* were to be Barons: Theſe Gentlemen were likewiſe to have Eſtates ſetled on them to ſupport their Titles. The Book where theſe Favours were entred was deliver'd to the King, but his Death happening ſoon after, there was nothing done, excepting the above mention'd Proviſion in the *Will*, which had a Reference to this Buſineſs. The Book being vouch'd by *Paget*, *Denny*, and *Herbert*, the Executors reſolv'd to perform what the King intended. But being apprehenſive of a War with the Emperor and the French King, they did not think it adviſable to part with any of the King's Treaſure, or leſſen his Revenues. However, ſince Title without a proportionable Eſtate had more of Burthen than real Advancement, they caſt about for a practicable Expedient, and reſolv'd upon the Sale of the *Chauntry Lands*.

The *Council* having ſo great a ſhare themſelves in this Aſſignment of Wealth and Honour, their Forwardneſs was much diſreliſh'd: 'Twas thought they were too intent upon their own Intereſt, and that their Pretenſions this way ought to have been poſtpon'd till the King came of Age. (*o*)

Spiritual Preferments given to ſecular Men.

In the late Kings Book where the ſetling of Eſtates upon this new *Creation* was ſpecified, the Earl of *Hertford* had a Promiſe of Six of the beſt Prebends that ſhould fall in any Cathedral, Two of which were afterwards at his Requeſt, chang'd for a Dean'ry and Treaſurerſhip. The diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment to *ſecular* Men may poſſibly ſeem ſomewhat odd, but 'twas not uncommon at that time. The Lord *Cromwell* as hath been obſerv'd, was Dean of *Wells*, and many others of the *Laity* had ſpiritual Promotions without Cure beſtow'd on them. To make them Deans and Prebendaries was a farther ſtep, and leſs capable of excuſe, for theſe Dignitaries were deſign'd for a ſtanding *Council* to the Biſhop; and oblig'd to ſeveral Duties in the Cathedral peculiar to the Prieſtly Function. Prebends and Deaneries were always reckoned the Revenues of the Church, deſign'd as Incouragements for Induſtry and Learning, and Rewards for thoſe who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in publick Service. To ſay the Clergy miſmanag'd in theſe Promotions, is wide of the Purpoſe, ſuppoſing the Charge was true. For ſince the Law had appropriated theſe Preferments to the *Spiritualty*, they could not be otherwiſe diſpos'd without ſtraining the Conſtitution. The Remark of our Learned Hiſtorian upon this Practice is very ſignificant; his Words are theſe, *they*, (meaning the Courtiers) *minded nothing more than the enriching themſelves, took a certain courſe to make the Miſchief perpetual by robbing the Church of thoſe Endowments and Helps it had receiv'd from the Munificence of the Founders of its Cathedrals, who were generally the firſt Chriſtian Kings of this Nation; which had it been done by Law would have been a thing of very ill conſequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to Magna Charta, and to the Kings Coronation Oath.* Id. *p.* 9

The Funeral of the late King ſolemniz'd at Paris.

On the Fourteenth of *February* the late King's Body was remov'd to *Shene* with the uſual Solemnity, and the next Day to *Windſor*, and there inter'd in a Vault by his Conſort Queen *Jane*, purſuant to the Inſtructions in his *Will*. His Funeral was likewiſe ſolemniz'd in *Noſtra-*

(l) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. p.* 218.

(m) *Regiſt.* Cranmer *fol.* 28.

(n) Fuller.

(o) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. p.* 8.

dame Church in *Paris*, by the French King's Order. This was an Inſtance of a generous regard, conſidering King *Henry* dy'd excommunicated by the Pope. This reſpect was return'd to King *Francis* his Memory, by the Engliſh Court ſoon after, though not at the ſame hazard; for they were under no fear of Cenſure from the *See* of *Rome*. (*p*)

(p) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 28.

The late King in his *Will* had ſettled Six Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, upon the *Dean* and *Canons*, to find Two Prieſts to ſay Maſſes for his Soul in St. *Georges* Chappel, where he was buried. He had likewiſe left an Eſtabliſhment for four Solemn *Obits*, every Year, a maintenance for poor Knights, *&c.* which the *Reader* may ſee in the *Records*. The alterations in Religion which immediately followed, made part of the King's *Will* inſignificant. The *Court* did not believe any Applications of the *Living* could be ſerviceable to the *Dead*; and thus the *Maſſes*, Obits, and Charities, deſign'd to relieve him in the other World, were drop'd, notwithſtanding his ſolemn Charge to the contrary. *Saunders* will have this a judicial miſfortune upon King *Henry*, for defeating the *Wills* of ſo many Founders of Chauntry's and *Religious Houſes*. (*q*)

His Will overlook'd, with relation to himſelf.

(q) Saunders de Schiſm. Angl.

When the Funeral was over, the Peers above mention'd were created. The Protector was Duke of *Somerſet*, *Parr* Earl of *Eſſex* and Marqueſs of *Northampton*, *Dudley* Vicount *Liſle* was Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*: Sir *Thomas Seymour* the King's Uncle, was created Lord *Sudley*, and High Admiral, Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby* Lord *Willoughby* of *Parram*, Sir *Edmund Sheffeild* Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwike*. (*r*) The reſt in the Liſt above mention'd, declin'd the Honour of a Title.

February 17.

(r) Stow Annal.

Three Days after the King was ſolemnly Crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and a general Pardon granted, with an exception of theſe Six Perſons, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward* Lord *Courtney* eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, Cardinal *Pool*, Dr. *Pate*, Mr. *Foskew*, and Mr. *Throgmorton*.

There was a new Form order'd by the *Privy Council* for regulating the Coronation Ceremonies, which being ſomewhat different both from the preceding and following Reigns, I ſhall inſert it in the *Records*. (*s*) One material Circumſtance, as our learned Church Hiſtorian, obſerves, was the manner of the Archbiſhops demanding the Peoples conſent for owning the King, which yet, as he expreſſeth it, *was done in ſuch Terms as ſhould demonſtrate he was no elective Prince.*

(s) *See Records Numb. LII.*

The Coronation.

Inſtead of a *Sermon* at the *Coronation*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* made a *Speech* to the King to the following effect. "In the first place he declares the King's Right to govern did not depend upon any Engagement at his Coronation: That his Crown being given him by God Almighty, could not by a failure in the Adminiſtration be forfeited either to Church or State. That notwithſtanding the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had commonly Crown'd his Predeceſſors, yet 'twas never at their liberty to admit or refuſe them for their Soveraigns; neither did the privilege to perform this Ceremony, give them any right to put Terms upon their Kings, or diſpoſe of their Crowns at Pleaſure.

The Archbiſhops Speech at this Solemnity.

This was ſaid by way of Cenſure of the extravagant pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*.

To go on with the Archbiſhops Speech; he takes notice.

"That the ſolemn Ceremonies at a Coronation are ſignificant, but not abſolutely neceſſary: They ſerve to put Princes in mind of their Duty to God, but are no addition to their Character; for 'tis not ſo much the Oil which makes them God's Anointed, as the Power and Juriſdiction given them from *Above*. 'Tis becauſe they are placed in their Station by God's Appointment, and aſſiſted with his Grace for the better diſcharge of their Office. Neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any other *See*, have any Authority to bring Kings upon Articles; however 'tis the part of the Biſhop who officiates in this Solemnity, to remind Princes of what God expects from them, and here the Archbiſhop ſuggeſts, the King, being God's Vicegerent, and Chriſt's Vicar in his own Dominions, was oblig'd to follow the Preſident of *Joſias*, to take care the Worſhip of God was under due Regulations, to ſuppreſs Idolatry, remove Images, and diſcharge the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*: To reward Virtue, and puniſh vice, to protect the Innocent, and relieve the Poor: To execute Juſtice, and diſcountenance violence. Theſe things, ſays the Archbiſhop, I am bound by my Function to lay before your Royal Highneſs, yet I muſt openly declare before God and this noble Aſſembly, that in caſe your Majeſty ſhould fail in any or all theſe particulars, I have no Commiſſion to pronounce you depriv'd. (*t*)

(t) Foxes and Firebrands, *Part 2d from Archbiſhop* Uſhers *Collections.*

Not long after the Coronation the *Broad Seal* was taken from the Earl of *Southampton*, and given to the Lord St. *John*. This Lord, as hath been obſerv'd diſagreed in matter of Religion from the Protector and his Party. They were willing therefore on the firſt opportunity to remove him from his Poſt; and 'twas not long before they had a handle for their purpoſe. The Chancellor deſigning to reſerve himſelf wholly for State Affairs, had lately put the Great Seal to a Commiſſion directed to Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, *John Tregonnell* Eſq; Maſter of Chancery, *John Oliver*, and *Anthony Bellaſis* Clarks, Maſters of Chancery: By Virtue of this Deputation Three or Two of theſe Maſters were Impower'd to repreſent the Lord Chancellor, and execute his Office in as full a manner as if himſelf were in Court; only their Decrees were to be ſign'd by him before their Inrollment. This Authority being granted without any Warrant from the Protector and *Council*, was Cenſur'd as a High Preſumption; beſides the Perſons nominated being Two of them *Canoniſts*, the common Lawyers look'd upon it a diſcouragement to their Profeſſion. Upon this they remonſtrated againſt the Lord Chancellor at the *Council Board*. The *Council* order'd the Judges to examine the Commiſſion with the complaint againſt it. The Judges deliver'd their Opinions that the Chancellor had forfeited his Place, after which Reſolution the *Broad Seal* was taken from him. (*u*) Theſe Proceedings are ſaid to be *ſummary and ſevere, beyond the uſage of the Privy Council, and without the common form of Legal Proceſſes. But the Councils Authority had been raiſed ſo high by* 31 H. 8. *Cap.* 8. *that they were Impower'd ſufficiently for matters of that Nature.* Thus our Learned Church Hiſtorian. But, with Submiſſion, if the *Privy Council* had no other Warrant to ſupport their Proceedings then this *Act*, 'tis

The Lord Chancellor turn'd out, and why? March 6. Anno Dom. 154$\frac{6}{7}$.

(u) *Bp.* Burnet *Part 2d p.* 16. *and Records p.* 96.

Id.

'tis pretty plain they exceeded their Authority: For this *Statute*, in the firſt Place, relates only to *Proclamations*. Secondly; 'Tis expreſly provided, **that none of the Kings Liege People ſhould have any of their Inheritances, Lawful Poſſeſſions, Offices, &c. taken from them.** Which Word **Office** brings the Lord Chancellors Caſe fully within the *ſaving* of the *Statute*. (x)

(x) 31 H. 8. *Cap.* 8. *Statutes at large.*

The Lord Protector who ſtood hitherto upon the Choice of the reſt, procured a *Patent* for his Office. By this means he ſeem'd to Act upon a higher Authority, and was leſs encumbred with reſtraint. (y) This Commiſſion, amongſt other things, ſets forth, " that the " Protector might be furniſhed with a Council " for his Aid and Aſſiſtance, his Majeſty did " by the Advice of his Uncles and others, Nobles, Prelates, and wiſe Men, accept of " theſe Perſons for his Counſellors. The " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord St. *John* " Preſident, *John* Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Privy Seal*, " *William* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, *John* Earl " of *Warwick* Great Chamberlain of *England*, " *Henry* Earl of *Arundel* Lord Chamberlain, " *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* of *Sudley* Admiral, *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Richard* Lord *Rich*, " Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, " Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Houſhold, " Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, " Sir *William Paget*, and Sir *William Petres* Secretaries of State, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Maſter of " the Wardrobe, Sir *John Baker* Knight, Dr. " *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir *Edward* " *North* Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation and Revenues of the Crown, Sir *Edward Montague* Chief Juſtice of the Common " Pleas, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Sir *Edmund Peckum* " Cofferer, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, and Sir *Richard* " *Southwell*.

(y) *Bp.* Burnet *Part* 2*d.* *p.* 17. *and Records p.* 96.

The Lord Protector holds his Office by Patent. March 13.

By this *Patent* the Protector had an Authority to take as many into the *Council* as he thought fit. " The Protector and the *Council* " were likewiſe Impower'd to act, as it were, " at diſcretion, and do whatever they thought " ſerviceable to the Government, without incurring any Penalty or Forfeiture from any " Law, Statute, Proclamation, or Ordinance " whatſoever. I have given a Liſt of the Names of thoſe that ſate at the *Board* with all this Power and Privilege, becauſe of the great ſhare they had in the direction of Church Affairs. And here the Protector had a Negative Vote upon the reſt. His Conſent was neceſſary to all Reſolutions of the *Board*: On the other ſide he was not oblig'd to call the whole Number upon any debate, but only to adviſe with ſo many as he thought convenient: And all this Authority was veſted in him 'till the King was Eighteen Years of Age. Thus a main Branch of King *Henry*'s *Will* is evidently over-rul'd; for firſt, *Wriotheſley* late Lord Chancellor is ſtruck out of the *Liſt* by this *Patent*; Secondly, by the late King's *Will* theſe Sixteen Counſellors therein ſpecified, or the Major Part of them were inſtruſted with the Government of the King and Kingdom; and in caſe any of them died during the King's Minority, the whole Power was to continue in the Survivors. The Young King is likewiſe charg'd *on Pain of his Fathers Curſe*, to be directed and govern'd both in his publick and private Affairs, by the Advice of this *Privy Council*, till he had compleated the Eighteenth Year of his Age. (z) Now this *Will* ſtood upon the Foot of an *Act* of Parliament; (a) by Virtue of which the King was enabled to ſettle the *Crown* either by *Letters Patent*, or his laſt *Will*, under ſuch Conditions as he thought fit. The late King's *Will* being thus ſet aſide, and the Government put into other Hands by the Protectors *Patent*; the Legality of the Proceedings looks ſomewhat myſterious. To affirm this change, being made *by the Major Part of the Executors, was ſtill warrantable by the Will, which devolv'd the Government on the whole Number, or the Major Part*: (b) The affirming this, doth not come up to a ſufficient defence; for 'tis of the nature of *Truſts* not to be transferr'd: By ſuch a liberty the diſpoſition of the Perſon entruſting is diſappointed, and the *Truſtees* don't anſwer to their Promiſe. He that makes a *Will* puts Perſons in *Truſt* out of a particular confidence he has in them; if therefore after their conſent to Act, they reſign their Power, they diſappoint the intention of the *Will*; and fail in their Engagements to the deceas'd. Farther, it doth not appear that the Major Part of the King's *Executors* agreed to this alteration. Had this been done, the *Patent* would moſt probably have mention'd it; for ſuch a conſent, conſidering the King's Minority, would have given a more plauſible colour; but the *Commiſſion* ſays no ſuch thing either expreſly, or in Terms of Equivalence. It is only ſaid in the *Patent*, that the King *by the Conſent of his Uncle and others, the Nobles, Prelates, and Wiſemen of* England, had form'd the *Privy Council* in the manner abovemention'd. By this Commiſſion the Lord *Wriotheſley* or *Southampton* is not only left out, but the Number is increas'd from Sixteen to Twenty Six: Now it can hardly be ſuppos'd the Majority of the *Executors* ſhould conſent to the Abridgment of their own Power, to raiſe the *Protector* ſo much above themſelves; and choſe in Eleven new Members in his Intereſt, to weigh down their Privilege. Beſides, it does not appear they had any liberty for ſuch a compliance. There's no Clauſe in the *Will* for this Latitude: No Authority to encreaſe their Number, and take in others to the Partnerſhip of their *Truſt*. But no more of this.

The great Power granted the Privy Council.

(z) Fuller *p.* 249.

(a) 35 H. 8. *Cap.* 1.

The late Kings Will ſeems ſet aſide by this Patent.

(b) *Bp.* Burnet *Part* 2*d.* *p.* 19.

However, by this alteration the rigor of the Government was abated, the Perſecution upon the *Six Articles* was ſtop'd, and People were more at liberty to profeſs their *Belief*. Thus the Priſons were open'd, and thoſe who had been forc'd to quit the Kingdom recall'd. Amongſt theſe the moſt Eminent were *Miles Coverſdale* afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, *John Hooper* afterwards Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *John Filpot*, and *John Rogers*: The firſt of which was preferr'd to the Archdeaconry of *Wincheſter*, and the other made Prebendary of St. *Paul*'s. (c)

The Rigor of the Six Articles abated.

(c) Heylin *p.* 34.

The *Privy Council* projecting a farther *Reformation*, reſolv'd upon ſending Commiſſioners into all parts of the Kingdom, by way of *Viſitation*. Theſe *Viſitors* conſiſted of a mixture of *Laity* and *Clergy*, and had ſix Circuits aſſign'd them. Every diviſion had a Preacher, whoſe Buſineſs it was to bring off the People from the remains of Superſtition, and diſpoſe them for the intended alterations. And to make the impreſſion of their Doctrine more laſting, they were to lodge ſome *Homilies*, lately compoſ'd, with the Pariſh Prieſt. The Argument of theſe Diſcourſes was firſt concerning the uſe of the Scriptures. Secondly, of the miſery of

A regal Viſitation.

Homilies compos'd. Hollingſhead *p.* 979.

of Mankind by Sin. Third, of their Salvation by Chriſt. Fourth, of true and lively Faith. Fifth, of good Works. Sixth, of Chriſtian Love and Charity. Seventh, againſt Swearing, where Perjury is particularly loaded. Eighth, againſt Apoſtacy. Ninth, againſt the fear of Death. Tenth, an Exhortation to Obedience. Eleventh, againſt Whoredom and Adultery. Twelfth, againſt Strife and Contention about matters of Religion. Theſe *Homilies* are drawn up moſtly by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. The deſign of them was to furniſh the leſs learned part of the Clergy, and to ſuggeſt matter and direction to thoſe better qualified. (*d*)

Some Homilies drawn up.

(d) Heylin *Bp.* Burnet.

The *Goſpellers*, as they were then called, preſuming on the countenance of the Court, over-run the Motions of the *State*, and ventur'd to *reform* without publick Authority. This Year Dr. *John Harley* of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, preaching in Lent, declaim'd with a great deal of vehemence againſt the Pope and the old Tenents: The Majority of the Univerſity being diſpleas'd with this Freedom, brought him before the Vicechancellor, where his Sermon not paſſing the Teſt, he was ſent up to *London*, to be try'd for Hereſy, but the Proteſtant Intereſt prevailing at Court, thoſe who were to inform againſt him thought it beſt not to appear, and ſo he was privately diſcharg'd. When this News was brought to *Oxford*, the Proteſtant Party diſcover'd their Opinion, and under the pretence of taking away the remains of Superſtition, took a great deal of unjuſtifiable liberty in Churches and Chappels. *

* Wood *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ.* Ox. *l.* 1. *p.* 265. *Images pull'd down without Authority.*

Of this we have another inſtance in Biſhop *Gardner*'s Letter, to one Captain *Vaughan*. In the beginning, he takes notice that by an Order of *Council* to the Juſtices of Peace, “no change was to be made upon the Laws and Regulations of the late Reign: (*e*) This Order of the *Council* was dated *February* the Twelfth laſt paſt. From hence the Biſhop proceeds to complain to this Gentleman, that he was inform'd the Images of our Saviour and the Saints, “had been pull'd down at *Portſmouth* with great Outrage and Contempt, the Figure of our Saviour run through, and an Eye bored out. That theſe heats went farther then the exceſſes of the Lutherans in *Germany*: That *Luther* wrote a Book in vindication of the lawfulneſs of Images: And that himſelf, when Ambaſſador in *Germany*, had ſeen Images ſtanding in Churches, where *Luther* was moſt admir'd. After this he proceeds to urge the common Arguments in defence of ſuch Repreſentations: “That they ſuggeſted the Hiſtory of the *Goſpel* to the unlearned, and aſſiſted them inſtead of Books: That ſince the far greateſt part of the Kingdom could not read, the taking Images away would deprive them of one means of Inſtruction, and encreaſe their Ignorance. (*f*)

(e) Cotton *Library* Titus B. 2. May 3d 1547.

Fox 719. Gardner's *complaint upon this Score.*

(f) *Vol.* 2. *p.* 712. *The Protectors Anſwer.*

This *Letter* was ſent by *Vaughan* to the *Protector*, who in his Anſwer to the Biſhop, commends him for his learning, and zeal againſt Innovation; “but then gives a caution againſt being too warm in his Applications this way; that unſeaſonable remedies and over-driving matters, might encreaſe the diſorder: That where Images ſerv'd only for Memory they might be let alone; however, as to the main he look'd upon ſuch a Proviſion as a dangerous liberty. The reſt of his Letter being moſtly ſpent againſt *Gardners* Arguments, I ſhall wave the recital, and refer the Reader to the former Part of this work. *

Ibid.

* *Page* 139. & deinc.

This Year in Lent, *Ridley*, afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Preach'd a Controverſial Sermon at Court: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being one of the Audience, and not altogether pleas'd, wrote him a Letter upon ſome part of the Diſcourſe.

In the firſt place he commends *Ridley* for his Approbation of the Doctrine eſtabliſh'd in the late Reign, “and particularly for diſproving the Popes pretended Authority; but then *Ridley* having declar'd his diſlike of *Images* and *Holy Water*, *Gardner* endeavors to juſtify the receiv'd uſage. His Arguments for Images I ſhall paſs over for the reaſons above mention'd. But what he advances in defence of *Holy Water* being ſomewhat new; I ſhall give the Reader part of it. “*Ridley* had denied this Ceremony could have any force for driving away Devils. “In Anſwer to this, *Gardner* cites a Paſſage out of rhe *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, where the Biſhop *Marcellus* is ſaid to order his Deacon *Equitius* to throw conſecrated Water upon an ill Apparition in *Jupiters* Temple. That the Devil could not ſtand againſt this Application, but immediately Vaniſh'd. That our Saviour had promis'd the Church that *in his Name they ſhould caſt out Devils.* That the force of this Effect, is to be attributed to the Name of God. Notwithſtanding this, the Queſtion is, whether the Element of Water may not be inſtrumental in conveying this ſupernatural Virtue. In proof of the Affirmative he urges the *Hem of our Saviours Garment*, the *Spittle* and *Clay* laid upon the Eyes of the Blind, and St. *Peter's Shadow* curing thoſe that come under it. From hence he proceeds to a modern Inſtance, of our Kings curing the Falling Sickneſs and other Diſtempers, by *Cramp Rings*. Now as the Metal of Gold and Silver can have no natural Cauſality to produce ſuch an Effect, yet by the Prayer of Conſecration 'tis rais'd to the force of a Means, and made a conveyance of the Bleſſing. By Parity of Reaſon Water, when the Preparatory Ceremonies of the Church has paſs'd upon it, may be as it were a Vehicle for a miraculous Remedy. The Biſhop takes notice farther, that *Ridley* had inſinuated the true Church, was known only to God, however he explain'd himſelf afterwards inoffenſively, and corrected the Crudeneſs of the Expreſſion, by ſaying, this *Society* was to be look'd for in the viſible Church, to which Appeals in caſes of Controverſy ought to be made. *

Bp. Gardner's *Letter to* Ridley *in defence of Holy Water.*

* Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 722.

“About this time the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote to the *Protector*, to diſwade alterations in Religion. He complains *Barlow* Biſhop of St. *David*'s had Preach'd againſt the Doctrines ſettled in the late Reign, diſturb'd Peoples Minds with novelties, and rais'd unſeaſonable Diſputes. To make good this allegation he incloſ'd a Copy of the Sermon. He ſuggeſts to the Protector, the King's Minority was a very improper juncture for awak'ning controverſy: That if the Biſhop of St. *David*'s was ſo fully perſwaded of the ſerviceableneſs of his Notions, and ſo much for erecting a new *Fabrick*; he would adviſe him to pitch upon his Ground, and draw his Model, and prepare his Materials, but not to fall upon building till the King was a

His Letter to the Protector to diſſwade alteration in Religion.

“Major, and the times better ſettled. That he humbly conceiv'd 'twas his Graces Intereſt to check the forwardneſs of projecting Men. And ſince he was intruſted with the protection of the King and Kingdom, it would be much for his Honour to maintain Religion and the Laws in the preſent Circumſtances; that when the King came of Age he might put the Church and State into his Majeſty's Hands, in the ſame good condition he found them. That Innovation in Worſhip or *Belief*, would neceſſarily embroil the *Publick*, and draw diſturbance along with it: That his Grace being at the *Helm* would be particularly embarraſs'd and uneaſy; that the miſcarriages would be imputed either to his concurrence, or want of precaution: that if the Biſhop of St. *David's* is countenanc'd in his controverſial Humour, allow'd to ſet up for a Champion, and enter the *Liſts* in a martial Equipage, there will be more indiſcreet *Seconds*, and more preſſing to the Combat than his Grace would approve. This *Letter* is dated the laſt of *February*, and by the Biſhops diſſwading the Scotch Expedition till the King was of Age, 'tis evident 'twas written in the firſt Year of this Reign.

Anno Dom. $154\frac{6}{7}$.

February 28.

In *May* following this Biſhop ſent the *Protector* another *Letter*: Here he takes notice of a ſeditious Book, as he calls it, written by *Bale*, Intitled, *an Elucidation of Anne Askews Martyrdom.* “He endeavours to drive this *Bale* to an Abſurdity, and run him upon contradiction. This Author had lately Publiſh'd *Luther's* Death in Engliſh, in which he recommends this German Divine for a Saint, and beſtows a great deal of Panegyrick on his Memory. Now, ſays *Gardner*, *Luther* always maintain'd the real preſence of Chriſt's natural Body in the *Sacrament of the Altar*, which Article was poſitively denied by *Anne Aſkew*: Thus, continues *Wincheſter* with an Air of Raillery, *Bale's* Saints muſt differ and diſpute in Heaven, if they don't happen to meet by the way, and compound the Article. Upon the courſe of the Letter he complains of the inſufferable liberties of the Preſs, of the Stage, and the Pulpits: And particularly that a ſcandalous *Ballad* call'd *Jack of Lent* was lately Publiſh'd. That the Duties of Self-denial, the Diſcipline of the holy Seaſon, and the Solemn preparations for *Eaſter*, were turn'd to a Jeſt, and expos'd in Doggrel. That notwithſtanding theſe Men pretend to Combat Superſtition, and refine us to a more ſpiritual Worſhip, yet 'tis plain their drift muſt be all for liberty and the animal Life. They would fain have the Privilege of talking and doing what they pleaſe, and unleſs their Pens and Tongues are kept under reſtraint, the Authority of the Church will be loſt; The diſtinctions in the State confounded; and we ſhall all be Reform'd in a little time, to Licenſe, Luxury, and *Levelling*. The Biſhop argues for the keeping *Lent* from the practice of the Church, from our Saviours Faſting Forty Days, and from the publick Benefit conſequent upon Lenten Proviſion, and encouraging the Fiſhery. He takes notice farther, that the Protector had order'd a Lent Diet for the King. *

He complains of the ridiculing Lent.

May 21. Anno Dom. 1547.

* Fox p. 715.

“The *Protector* in his Anſwer to the Biſhops Letter commends his concern for the Publick, and for guarding againſt Innovation. But as to his Remonſtrance he tells him, that Printers, Players, and Preachers too, will ſometimes exceed their Bounds, and talk more than their ſhare. He gives the Biſhop a gentle rebuke for inſinuating, as if all theſe Diſorders were occaſion'd by his Connivance, and to be put to his Account. He charges *Gardner* with Omiſſions and Partiality in his Complaint; that he had been paſſive and ſilent in other Caſes of equal Importance. Particularly, that he had ſpent none of his Satyr againſt Dr. *Smith's* Book, in which the King's *Supremacy* was oppos'd, and the Popes Uſurpations countenanc'd.

The Protectors Anſwer.

By the way, this Dr. *Smith* Maſter of *Whittington* College in *London*, and Divinity Reader at *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, had Publiſh'd Two Books; in one of which he undertakes the Defence of the *Maſs*, and in the other endeavours to prove that *unwritten Verities ought to be believ'd under pain of Damnation.* Theſe Books he lately retracted in a Sermon at St. *Paul's Croſs*, and mortify'd himſelf ſo far, as to own that he had taught not only Error, but Hereſy, both from the Preſs and Pulpit. †

Dr. Smith's *Recantation.*

May 15.

† Hollingſhead, Heylin.

To return to the *Protector's* Letter; who in the Cloſe vindicates himſelf from the Charge of Remiſsneſs, lets the Biſhop know the publick Tranquillity might ſuffer by exceſſes of Fear and Jealouſy, as well as too much Patience; and that he hop'd when his Majeſty came of Age he ſhould deliver the Government to him with Improvement rather than diſadvantage. *

* Fox p. 717.

On the Sixth of *June* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote again to the Protector: “Here he mentions the Biſhops being forbidden Preaching, excepting in their Cathedrals: This reſtraint he covertly cenſures, and ſays he never knew it done in his time. From hence he goes on to touch upon Images, and pleads for no more regard to ſuch Repreſentations then is preſcrib'd by the late King's *neceſſary Erudition*, &c. He conceives the King's Honour is ſomewhat concern'd, to acquieſce in the preſent State of Religion. To do otherwiſe would be a reflection on his Fathers Memory; and implies that Prince was defective in Knowlege or Integrity. He ſuggeſts it would be dangerous for the Biſhops to innovate or unſettle any thing in the Church. That the King when he came of Age might call them to an Account: and that 'tis likely they might find the Laws very unfriendly to them for venturing ſo far. That the Pope would make his Advantage on ſuch Conduct. The *Court* of *Rome* would ſay every new Government would bring us a new Religion. If we give *Faith* and *Worſhip* another Face, and alter that which was ſettled in the late Reign by an unanimous Concurrence, the Papiſts will charge us with fluctuating and uncertainty; and that we are never ſure of underſtanding the *Scripture* in a true ſenſe. That any novelties of this kind would be remarkably diſſerviceable to the Reputation of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Durham*. That People would wonder theſe Eminent Prelates who were made ſtanding Members of the *Privy Council*, and put in ſo high a place of Truſt by the late King, ſhould ſo ſoon forget their old Knowlege in *Scripture*, ſet forth in the *neceſſary Erudition*, and adviſe a Change.

Wincheſters *Arguments againſt alterations in Religion.*

Notwithſtanding *Gardner* recommends the abiding by the *neceſſary Erudition* ſo earneſtly; yet in his Letter to *Ridley* abovemention'd, he declares he had no ſhare in compoſing that *Book*, nor was privy to it till 'twas finiſh'd.

Id.

As to Dr. *Smith* he acquaints the *Protector*, that he neither lik'd his *Books*, or his Recantation. To proceed,

Before the *Viſitors* ſet forward, the Archbiſhop ſent his *Mandate* by Virtue of the King's Letter to the Biſhop of *London*: 'Twas to give notice to the Provincial Biſhops not to viſit their reſpective Dioceſes, nor exerciſe any ſpiritual Juriſdiction, nor preach any where but in their Cathedrals: Nor that any of the Clergy ſhould preach in any Place without the King's Licenſe, excepting in their own Collegiate and Parochial Churches. (*g*) The King's Letter of this Tenour was directed to the Archbiſhops of *York*. This Inhibition was taken off *June* the third, becauſe the *Viſitation* was defer'd for ſome Months, as appears by a *Citation* dated *Auguſt* the 20th in which *Inſtrument* the Biſhop of *London* is cited to appear before the Viſitors on *September* the Fifth. Beſides the Reſtraint of this *Mandate*, there was a particular *Inhibition*, directed to the Biſhop of *London* by the King's Commiſſaries for a general and regal Viſitation. By this *Inhibition* the Biſhops whole Juriſdiction is laid aſleep, and himſelf ſerv'd with a Citation to appear before the *Viſitors*. And which makes the Caſe ſomewhat more extraordinary, the *Viſitors* are moſt of them Lay-men. They have a large Compaſs of Juriſdiction in their *Inſtrument*, and are impower'd to viſit the Clergy and Laity, to have all ſorts of Faculties, Licenſes, and Endowments laid before them, to examine the Clergy's Titles, and to enquire into the Practice of the Spiritual Courts, and inſpect as it were every Part of the Biſhops Function. The *Reader* may ſee the *Inſtrument* in the *Records*. (*h*)

May *the* 14. Ann. Dom. 1547.

(*g*) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 105. Cotton *Library* Titus B. 11.

The Biſhops Juriſdiction inhibited.

The Latitude of the Viſitors Commiſſion.

(h) *Records* Num. 53.

It hath been already obſerv'd, that none of the Clergy were to preach excepting on their own Cures, without the King's Licenſe. The Reaſon of this Reſtraint was to hinder thoſe who oppoſed the intended *Reformation* from ſpreading their Opinions, and haranguing where they pleaſed. Whereas thoſe of the *Proteſtant* Sentiment might move at large, have the Countenance of a Royal Authority, and make Proſelytes as they were able; but that which chiefly diſcourag'd this Deſign was the lamentable Poverty of the Clergy. The Tythes of impropriated Livings being now in *Lay* Hands, reduc'd the Church to a very unfurniſh'd Condition. Beſides, ſeveral cowardly Incumbents had alienated the beſt Part of their Benefices. *Thus there was very little Encouragement left for thoſe who ſhould labour in the Work of the Goſpel.* "And tho' many Projects were thought "on for remedying this great Abuſe, yet thoſe "were all ſo powerfully oppoſ'd, that there was "no Hopes of a Remedy till the King ſhould "come of Age, and be able by his Authority "to procure the Church-men a more propor"tion'd Maintenance (*i*) At preſent the Benefices were generally very ſmall, ſo that in many Places three or four Livings would ſcarcely afford a competent Proviſion for one Incumbent.

(i) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.2d.p.26.* *The Church lamentably impoveriſh'd.*

"'Tis ſaid, while the Abbyes ſtood the Ab"bots allow'd thoſe whom they appointed to "ſerve the *Cure* in the Churches belonging to "them, a ſmall Stipend, or ſome little part of "the *Vicaridge* Tythes.

Id. *p.* 24.

Notwithſtanding this Remark, the *Vicars* Maintenance was not ſo ſlender before the *Reformation* as ſince. In former Reigns, the Fees of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Diriges, *&c.* were very conſiderable. Before the *Reformation* the Biſhops could encreaſe the Allowance of the *Vicars*, out of the Tythes of the Benefice, to what Proportion they pleaſ'd. And thus if the firſt Endowment was too ſtrait, they had an Authority from the *Conſtitution* to give the Vicar a Relief. By a Statute made in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, (*k*) 'tis enacted that becauſe **Divers Damages and Hinderances oftentimes have happened, and daily do happen to the Pariſhioners of divers Places by the Appropriation of Benefices, of the ſame Places: It is agreed and aſſented, that in every Licenſe from henceforth to be made in the Chancery of the Appropriation of any Pariſh Church, it ſhall be expreſly contained and compriſed, that the Dioceſan of the Place upon the Appropriation of ſuch Churches ſhall ordain, according to the value of ſuch Churches, a convenient Summ of Mony to be paid and diſtributed yearly of the Fruits and Profits of the ſame Churches by thoſe that will have the ſaid Churches in proper Uſe, and by their Succeſſors to the poor Pariſhioners of the ſaid Churches, in Aid of their Living and Suſtenance for ever, and alſo that the Vicar be well and ſufficiently endowed.**

The Condition of Vicaridges worſe than formerly.

(k) 15. R. 2. Cap. 6.

By another Act in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, this Statute is confirm'd. (†) 'Tis likewiſe enacted, **That if any Church be appropriated by Licenſe of the ſaid King Richard or of our Lord the King that now is, ſithence the ſaid xv years againſt the Form of the ſaid Statute, the ſame ſhall be duly reformed according to the effect of the ſame Statute, betwixt this and the Feaſt of Eaſter next coming. And if ſuch Reformation be not made within the time aforeſaid, that the Appropriation and Licenſe thereof made be void and utterly repeal'd and annull'd for ever. ——— And that from henceforth in every Church ſo appropried or to be appropried a ſecular Perſon be ordain'd Vicar perpetual, canonically inſtitute and induct in the ſame, and covenably endow'd by the Diſcretion of the Ordinary to do Divine Service, and to inform the People and keep Hoſpitality there. And that no** Religious **be made in any way Vicar in any Church ſo appropried or to be appropried by any means in time to come.**

(†) 4. H. 4. cap. 12.

Theſe Statutes being not repeal'd, the Biſhops have ſtill the ſame Right, as Dr. *Ryves* has prov'd to Satisfaction. (*l*) But whether the Exerciſe of ſuch an Authority now, would not be over-rul'd by the *Temporal Courts*, is another Queſtion. To proceed, by the *Statutes* abovemention'd, 'tis plain the *Vicar* was not left to the Courteſie of the Abbot or *Religious Houſes*, to whom the Church was appropriated. No, The Proviſion for the *Vicars* was referr'd to the Biſhops Diſcretion. Thus in many Places half the Tythes of all Kinds, the Profits of all Sacraments and Sacramentals was ſetled upon the Vicaridges: And in ſome Places they were endow'd with an annual Penſion in Mony. That Vicaridges ſtood in this Condition of Advantage, appears ſufficiently from the Biſhops Regiſters and other Antient Records. As for thoſe impropriated Livings which have now no ſetled Endowment; which are not called Vicaridges, but either perpetual or arbitrary Curacies: Theſe Churches belong'd formerly to thoſe Religious Orders, who ſerv'd the Cure in their own Perſons: After the Diſſolution

(l) Ryves *his Vicars Plea.*

ſolution of the Abbeys they came into Lay Mens Hands, who hired Curates at the cheapeſt Rate they could bargain: And at preſent 'tis to be fear'd, the matter is little mended. (l)

(l) Harmer p. 66.

The Biſhops diſpos'd for a farther Reformation.

To go on; *Cranmer* being now deliver'd from that too awful Subjection he had been held under by King *Henry*, reſolv'd to go on more vigorouſly in purging out abuſes, as our learned Hiſtorian expreſſes it; (m) he had the Countenance of the Protectors Authority, who appear'd wholly in his Deſign; he had alſo ſeveral Biſhops in his Intereſt: In which number we may reckon *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Gooderick* of *Ely*; and particularly *Ridley*, who was conſecrated to the *See* of *Rocheſter* in *September* this Year; *Latimer* likewiſe, late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, tho' he declin'd the Exerciſe of his Character, and ſeem'd to affect a private Life, yet declar'd for *Cranmers* Party, and aſſiſted with his Talent in Preaching.

(m) Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 25.

This Deſign oppos'd by the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

On the other ſide, *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was for making a ſtand upon the old Ground. He thought the *Reformation* was ſufficiently carried on in the late Reign; and was by no means for refining any farther. This Prelate was ſupported with a conſiderable Intereſt both in the Clergy and others; he was much ſhocked at the forwardneſs of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and complain'd of the impoſition of *new Homilies*. He wrote to the Protector to acquaint him, that the Archbiſhops Reaſons for ſetting forth *the Homilies* were not ſatisfactory. *Cranmer* urg'd a Reſolution of the *Convocation* held in the Year, 1542. That the Biſhops and Clergy then Aſſembl'd, agreed to draw up ſome Diſcourſes for publick Inſtruction, and prevent the ſpreading of Error occaſion'd by ignorant and indiſcreet Preachers. To this *Gardner* replies; the late King by publiſhing a Form of *Belief*, had ſuperſeded the uſe of this Expedient. For Proof of this he refers the Protector to his Anſwer to *Cranmers* Letter. (n)

June *the* 10. 1547.

Wincheſters *Letter to the Protector.*

(n) Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 1.

And to Cranmer.

In this Anſwer, he ſeems much ſurpriz'd at *Cranmer*'s affirming the late King was *ſeduc'd*, and that he knew who manag'd his Highneſs, in ſetting forth that which *Wincheſter* calls *the King's Majeſty's Book*. By this *Cranmer* meant the *neceſſary erudition for a Chriſtian Man*. This was that Proviſion which *Gardner* hinted to the Protector, had made the *Homilies* unneceſſary.

But to return to *Gardner*'s Anſwer to *Cranmer*; he tells the Archbiſhop this *Book* was own'd as the King's Book, and authoriz'd by the whole Parliament: "That his Grace of *Canterbury* complied with the uſe of this *Book* all the late Reign, order'd it to be read in his Dioceſe as the *King's Book*, and commanded one *Joſeph* not to Preach againſt it. This length of compliance, continues *Wincheſter*, I conceive your Grace would not have gone, if you had not believ'd the Doctrine of this *neceſſary Erudition* to have been ſound and ſerviceable: And if the *Book* contains Truth, a Man can't be ſaid to be *ſeduc'd* to it, but from it. If your Grace had found any dangerous Heterodoxies in it, I conceive you would have declar'd your Diſſent at firſt, and not have had a Share in paſſing it thro' the Kingdom; for you know *we ought to obey God rather than Man*. Since therefore your Grace has liv'd four years in the Profeſſion of the Doctrine of that *Book*, and rais'd no ſcruples during the late Reign, I can't but wonder to find you affirm in your Letters, juſt after our late Soveraigns Death, that his Highneſs was *ſeduc'd*. (o)

(o) Foxii *Mſs.* Appen. *to* Cranmers *Memoir p.* 73.

Here ſome of the *Letter* is wanting. In the remaining Part he tells the Archbiſhop that the Kings Minority is a very improper Seaſon for Attempts of this Nature. "That the Government ought to be ſmoothly managed, and not diſturb'd with Novelties in Religion. That notwithſtanding ſome pretend the late King had but imperfect Views in matters of Doctrine, yet our better way is, to go to Heaven after him with one Eye, than by ſtriving for another, to run the Hazard of loſing both. 'Tis a dangerous thing to uſe too much Freedom in Reſearches of this kind. If you cut the old Channel, the Water is apt to run farther than you have a Mind too. If you indulge the Humour of Novelty, you can't put a Stop to People's Demands, nor govern their Indiſcretions at Pleaſure. There is no End in humouring the Deſire of Novelty. Some are for one new thing, and ſome are for another, till they have nothing old, but their Folly left them. We have ſeen how lamentably the *Boars* embroil'd *Germany* upon this Principle. To prevent ſuch Confuſion, ſuch Errors in *Belief*, ſuch civil Diſtractions amongſt our ſelves, the late King put a Reſtraint upon private Fancy, and order'd a Form of Belief and Practiſe for publick Uſe: Thus his Highneſs hop'd he had left us in Poſſeſſion of Truth and Repoſe.

The reſt of the Letter relates to the Controverſy upon the Article of Juſtification. But what was *Gardiners* Opinion in this matter I ſhall wave at preſent.

This Biſhops Oppoſition to the publick meaſures was reſented at Court, and drew a Storm upon him, as the *Reader* will ſee by and by. In the mean time I ſhall proceed to the Buſineſs of the *Viſitors*. The Injunctions deliver'd by theſe Commiſſioners are printed either at length, or abſtracted in *Fox*, *Fuller*, *Heylin* and *Sparrow*. However, ſince every Reader may not be furniſh'd with theſe Books, ſince the *Hiſtory* is concern'd in the Recital, I ſhall give a ſummary View of the Articles. In doing this, I ſhall change the Order a little, and throw the reſembling matter together.

"I. All Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are to obſerve the Laws for aboliſhing the pretended Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and maintaining the King's Supremacy. Upon theſe Subjects they were to preach four times a year, that the People might be rightly inform'd, and govern themſelves accordingly.

The King's Injunctions.

II. "Once a quarter they are to diſſwade the People from their ſuperſtitious Fancies touching Pilgrimages, praying to Images, *&c.* And inſtead of theſe unſerviceable and dangerous Applications, they are to exhort their Audience to the Exerciſes of *Faith*, *Mercy*, and *Charity*. III. And Images that have been abus'd with *Pilgrimages* and *Offerings* are order'd to be taken down and deſtroy'd. That no more Wax Candles ſhould be burnt before any Image. However, two Tapers upon the High Altar before the *Sacrament* were to remain ſtill to ſignify that *Chriſt is the very Light of the World*. And here they are to put their Pariſhioners in mind that Images ſerve only for Inſtruction, and to refreſh the Memory with the Virtues of the Perſon repreſented.

"IV. That every Holiday, when there is no Sermon the *Pater Noſter*, the *Creed*, and *Ten Commandments*,

“*mandments*, ſhall be read in the Pulpit. V. And Parents and Maſters are injoin'd to breed their Children and Servants either to Learning, or ſome uſeful and honeſt Employment. VII. Within three Months after this *Viſitation* the *Bible* of the larger Volume in Engliſh; and within twelve Months *Eraſmus* his *Paraphraſe on the Goſpel* was to be provided, and conveniently plac'd in the Church for the Uſe of the People.

“XX. And that every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon under the Degree of a Batchelor of Divinity, ſhall provide for himſelf the New Teſtament in Latin and Engliſh with *Eraſmus* his Paraphraſe. And that the Biſhops and their Officers ſhall examine the Parochial Clergy upon their Proficiency in the Study of the *Holy Scriptures*.

“VI. And thoſe who are diſpenc'd with by *Statute* for Non Reſidence, ſhall get Learned Curates to ſupply their Places. XIV. That all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who are Non Reſident, and able to ſpend Twenty Pounds *per Annum* or more, ſhall diſtribute the Fortieth Part of their Revenue amongſt the Poor of the Pariſh. XV. That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhall allow a competent Exhibition to as many Scholars in one of the Univerſity's as they have Hundred Pounds *per Annum* in Church Preferments.

“XVI. A Fifth Part of their Benefices was to be laid out on their Manſion Houſes, or Chancels, 'till they were well repair'd. VIII. That no Eccleſiaſtical Perſons go to Ale Houſes or Taverns without Buſineſs and Neceſſity And here likewiſe they are forbidden ſpending their Time at Cards, Dice, or any unlawful Diverſion.

“IX. They are to examine ſuch as come to Confeſſion in *Lent*, whether they can repeat the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Ten Commandments* in Engliſh. And that unleſs they are thus far acquainted with the Fundamentals of Religion, they ought not to be admitted to the *Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar*.

“X. None is admitted to preach unleſs ſufficiently licens'd. XI. If they have heretofore magnified *Pilgrimages*, *Relicks*, *Worſhipping of Images*, or any ſuch ſuperſtitious Practice, they are now oblig'd to a publick Recantation of ſuch Opinions.

By the way the ill Uſe of Images, and the Superſtition of Pilgrimages is fully remedied by the *Inſtitution*, and *neceſſary Erudition* publiſh'd in the late Reign.

“XII. They are to preſent ſuch as they perceive are Hinderers of the Word of God in Engliſh, aud the Abettors of the Biſhop of *Romes* pretens'd Power.

“XIX. That no Perſon ſhall alter any Faſt Day, or change the Form and Order of Common Prayer or Divine Service, any otherwiſe than is ſpecified in theſe *Injunctions* XXI And that in time of *High Maſs* he that ſays or ſings the ſame, ſhall read the Epiſtle and Goſpel in Engliſh, and one Chapter at Mattins immediately after the *Leſſons*: And at *Even Song* after *Magnificat*, one Chapter of the Old Teſtament. And that when nine *Leſſons* are to be read in the Church, three of them ſhall be omitted with the *Reſponds*. And at *Even Song* the *Reſponds* with all the *Memories* ſhall be likewiſe omitted

By the *Memories* we are to underſtand the Anniverſary Commemoration of deceaſed Perſons. This was done at the Return of the Day of their Death, and commonly mention'd under the Name of *Obits*.

“XXVI. Every Dean, Archdeacon, Prebendary, *&c.* being a Prieſt is to preach twice a year at leaſt in ſome Church belonging to his Preferment.

“XXVII. The Clergy are to caution their People againſt Incomplyance with the Ceremonies of the Church, and on the other ſide to avoid the Exceſſes of Superſtition. XXV. That thoſe who are maliciouſly affected, and diſcover themſelves in a State of Enmity with their Neighbours, ſhould not be admitted to the Holy Communion, till the Controverſy is taken up, and they are openly reconcil'd.

“XXIII. That to avoid Diſputes formerly occaſion'd by Peoples claiming Precedency in *Proceſſions*; no *Proceſſion* for the time to come ſhall be us'd about the Church, or Church-yard : But immediately before *High Maſs* the *Litany* ſhall be diſtinctly ſaid or ſung in *Engliſh*: And here none were to go out of the Church without juſt occaſion, and no Bells were to be rung, excepting one before Sermon.

“XXVIII. All Shrines, Coverings of Shrines, Tables, Candleſticks, Trindels, or Rolls of Wax, Paintings, and other Monuments of feign'd Miracles were to be taken away and deſtroy'd. The Curates were likewiſe to exhort their Pariſhioners to follow this Example in their reſpective Houſes.

“XXIV. That the *Holy Day* ſhould be wholly ſpent in Religious Service, in hearing the Word of God, in private and publick Prayer, in Confeſſion of Sin to God, in receiving the Communion, viſiting the Sick, putting an End to Animoſities and Quarrels. This Article is not without one Reſerve of Liberty. For the *Curates* are oblig'd to inſtruct their Pariſhioners, that in Harveſt time 'tis lawful for them to work on Holy Days, and preſerve the Bleſſings of the year ſent them by Providence. And that to forbear working out of Scrupuloſity upon ſuch occaſions, would be highly diſpleaſing to God Almighty. Under the *Holy Day* mention'd in this *Article*, Heylin will have the Sunday comprehended. He argues pretty cloſely from a *Statute* towards the latter End of this Reign, (p) in which the Sunday is mention'd amongſt the reſt of the Feſtivals with a Clauſe of Allowance for working in Harveſt, or at other Times when Neceſſity ſhall require. He urges farther that not only the Country but the Court were allow'd to do Buſineſs upon this Day: He recites an Order of the King to this purpoſe. *viz.* That *the Lords of the Council ſhould upon Sunday attend the publick Affairs of this* Realm, *diſpatch Anſwers to Letters for good Order of State, and make full Diſpatches of all Things concluded the Week before. Provided always that they be preſent at Common Prayer, and that on every Sunday Night the King's Secretary ſhould deliver him a Memorial of ſuch Things as are to be debated by the Privy Council in the Week enſuing.* And thus by the Words of the *Statute*, and the Practice of the Court, this Hiſtorian believes the Meaning of the Article in the *Injunctions* may be eaſily collected. (q) But whether theſe Permiſſions of the State don't indulge too far: Whether they are to be reconcil'd with the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of the Church, or not, is another Queſtion, of which no more at preſent.

To go on with the *Injunctions*, *viz.* 'Tis order'd that a *Regiſter* Book be kept in every Pariſh for Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Burials.

(p) 5. 6. E. 6 *cap.* 3.

(q) Heylin p. 38.

" XXIX. That a ſtrong Cheſt be provided to receive the Charity of the People, and the Mony diſtributed, at proper Times, to the Poor before the Congregation, and that a decent Pulpit be provided.

" XXXII. That in Regard a ſufficient Number of Preachers are wanting, the Curates ſhall read *Homilies* ſet forth already, or which ſhall be ſet forth by the King's Authority.

" XXXVI. And that when any *Homily* or Sermon ſhall be deliver'd, the *Prime* and *Hours* ſhall be omitted.

" XVIII. That none bound to pay Tythes ſhall detain them under Pretence, the Curates have been negligent in their Office. XXXIII. And whereas many indiſcreet Perſons are obſerv'd to contemn and abuſe Prieſts upon the Score, that ſome of them are but ſlenderly qualified; yet inaſmuch as their Function is appointed by God Almighty, his Majeſty charges all his Subjects to treat them with Regard for their Characters ſake.

" XXXI. And becauſe the buying and ſelling of Benefices is execrable before God, the Incumbent guilty of any Simoniacal Contract ſhall be depriv'd of his Living, and made uncapable of any other Spiritual Promotion. The Patron likewiſe who ſells a Preſentation, or makes his Profit out of it by any indirect Agreement, ſhall forfeit his Title for that Turn, and the Living ſhall lapſe to the King.

The Penalty in this Article, tho' reaſonable enough, is a Strain upon the Conſtitution; for here the King diſpoſeth arbitrarily of Property, and ouſts the Subject of their Patronage, to which they had a Right by Common Law. The Statute made in the late Reign by which the King's *Proclamations* are of the ſame force with an Act of Parliament (*r*) will do no Service in this Caſe: For here the Inheritances, Rights, and Poſſeſſions of the Subject are expreſly ſav'd.

(r) 31. H. 8. cap. 8.

" To return, XXII. To prevent Sick Perſons falling into Deſpair, the Curates are admoniſh'd to furniſh their Memories with ſuch comfortable Texts of Scripture as ſet forth the Mercies and Goodneſs of God Almighty toward all Perſons, that apply for Pardon with Faith and Repentance. XXX. That Prieſts ſhall not be oblig'd to viſit Women in Child-bed, unleſs they are dangerouſly Sick: Nor to fetch any Coarſes except they be brought to the Church-yard. XXXIV. That no Perſons whether they underſtand Latin or not, ſhall make uſe of any other *Primer* to pray with, but that which was ſet forth by King *Henry* the Eighth. That all *Graces* before and after Meat be ſaid in Engliſh; and no Grammar taught in Schools, but that recommended by Authority. XXXIX. That Chantry Prieſts teach young People to read and write. Theſe *Injunctions* were to be read once a quarter.

Beſides this general Proviſion there were other *Injunctions* drawn up for the Biſhops. Theſe Directions of the King and *Council* were deliver'd by the Commiſſioners in their *Viſitation*. The Purport of them was that,

Particular Injunctions deliver'd by the Viſitors to the Biſhops.

" They (the Biſhops) ſhould to the utmoſt of their Power and Underſtanding, ſee the King's *Injunctions* above-mention'd, exactly obſerv'd in all Places of their Dioceſe.

" That they ſhould Preach Four times a Year at leaſt: Once in the Cathedral, and Three other times within their Juriſdiction, as they ſhould think moſt convenient: This was not to be omitted without a fair and juſtifiable Excuſe.

" Farther; They were forbidden to Ordain any Perſons, excepting thoſe who had ſtudied the *Holy Scripture* to ſome Apparent Proficiency: And where neither this Qualification, nor that of regular Behaviour was wanting, *Orders* were not to be refus'd.

" Laſtly; The Biſhops were Injoin'd not to Preach any thing contrary to the Doctrine, lately ſet forth in the King's *Homilies*; nor to Licenſe any Perſons whom they had reaſon to ſuſpect for Incompliance: And when they were inform'd of any Preacher offending againſt the Premiſes, they were to bar him the Pulpit, and revoke his Licenſe. (*p*)

(p) Fox Vol. 2. p. 657.

Bidding of Prayer.

There was alſo a Form of *bidding Prayer* preſcrib'd by the *Viſitors*; 'twas to be us'd by all Preachers, either before or in their Sermons, as they thought fit. The laſt Part of it differing from what is us'd at preſent runs thus,

You ſhall Pray for all them that be departed out of this World in the Faith of Chriſt, that they with us, and we with them, at the Day of Judgment, may reſt both Body and Soul with Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *in the Kingdom of Heaven.* (*q*)

(q) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. p. 37.

And here becauſe the *Beads*, or Form of *bidding Prayer prior* to the *Reformation*, may not be unacceptable to the *Reader*, I ſhall Inſert it amongſt the *Records*. (*r*)

(r) *See* Num. *Records* 54.

To make way for the Injunctions, and give a Preſident to the reſt of the Kingdom, the *Compline* being the cloſe of the Evening Service, was Sung in the King's Chappel in Engliſh on *Eaſter Monday*. The Tendency of the Times, and the inclinations of the Court being underſtood, ſeveral learned Men retracted their Opinions, whether out of Conſcience or Temporizing, is beſt known to themſelves. For Inſtance, beſides Dr. Smith, Dr. Pern, afterwards Maſter of *Peterhouſe* in *Cambridge* Preaching in *London* at St. *Andrew*'s *Underſhaft*, on St. *George*'s Day, affirm'd the *Figures of our Saviour and the Saints were to be Worſhip'd*, but on the Seventeenth of *June* following he Preach'd Counter Doctrine in the ſame Church, declar'd himſelf miſtaken, and that he was ſorry for what he had deliver'd. One Dr. *Glaſier* was ſomewhat forwarder, and more remarkable; for immediately after *Lent*, he not only maintain'd in a Sermon at St. *Paul's Croſs*, *that Lent was no Divine Inſtitution*, but went farther, and affirm'd that *Abſtinence from Fleſh was no Obligatory Obſervance. That Lent was only a Politick Proviſion of the State, and therefore People might break it at Pleaſure.* This being palatable Doctrine, and too much encourag'd by the Juncture, the Preacher came into no Trouble about his Sermon. People being thus encourag'd by Precept and Connivance, went much too far in Liberty and Indulgence, and therefore to prevent Exceſſes of this kind, the King ſet forth a Proclamation, and commanded Abſtinence from Fleſh, for the following Lent. (*s*)

Several Preachers recant ſome of their former Opinions.

(s) Heylin p. 39.

Biſhop *Gardner* being a Prelate of Figure, there was pains taken to perſwade him to ſubmit to the *Injunctions*. To this purpoſe Sir *John Godſalve*, one of the *Viſitors*, had argued with the Biſhop, Preſs'd him upon the point of Intereſt, and ſuggeſted the danger of Non-compliance. *Gardner* after ſome recollection ſends *Godſalve* a Letter upon this Subject. 'Tis Written in a ſtrain becoming a Chriſtian Biſhop, and therefore it may not be improper to abſtract part of it.

Biſhop Gardners *Letter to one of the Viſitors againſt Complyance.*

“He tells this Gentleman that notwithſtanding his Perſonal Failings, he had not broke God's Laws, or the King's, either in getting, or keeping his Biſhoprick. Now if he could quit his *See*, as Inoffenſively as he had manag'd the other Two Parts, he ſhould hope his Life not ill paſs'd over. How to manage this Third *Act*, as he calls it, and go handſomely off the *Stage*, muſt be his main Buſineſs. Provided this Point is ſecur'd, he ſhould not be ſolicitous about the reſt, nor be more concern'd to ſee the Biſhoprick taken from him, then himſelf from the Biſhoprick. I am, ſays he already, by Nature, Condemn'd to Death: No Man can pardon this Sentence, nor ſo much as procure me a Reprieve; thus there is a neceſſity of leaving my Biſhoprick to the diſpoſal of the *Crown*. I have been oblig'd already to leave a pleaſant Seat at *London*: And as I have quitted ſome Conveniencies already, ſo I am prepar'd to reſign all. There is no diſadvantage in changing for the better; now Truth and Honeſty are more valuable to me, than all the Wealth of the Kingdom. To ſpeak my Mind, and Act as my Conſcience directs, are Two Branches of Liberty I can never part with. Integrity in Speech and Action are entertaining Qualities: Beſides, they will ſtick by a Man when every thing takes its leave, and therefore, I muſt not reſign them upon any Conſideration; and the beſt on it is, if I do not throw them away my ſelf, no Man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then I am ruin'd by my ſelf, and deſerve to loſe my Biſhoprick. This would be ſport to ſome People that would gladly be in my Place, but I don't intend to give them that malitious Pleaſure. What *Homilies* and *Injunctions* will be brought to me I can't tell, ſuch as the Printers have Sold, I have Read and Conſider'd, and therefore am the better prepar'd how to behave my ſelf when the *Viſitors* come hither: And here I intend to ſpeak clearly to the Caſe, and ſupport the Character of a Chriſtian without Cowardice or Reſerve. The Benefit of the King's Laws are every Engliſh Mans Right, and therefore Biſhops ought not to loſe their ſhare in the common Advantage. I intend to behave my ſelf like a good Subject, and pay a juſt deference to the *Conſtitution*. Now all this is very Conſiſtent with an humble Petition, not to be forc'd upon any thing contrary to my Duty to God, and the Tenour of an *Act* of Parliament. With this Reſolution I have acquainted the *Council*, with a requeſt not to be forc'd upon any unacceptable Proteſtation: Which Proteſtation, if matters come to extremity, I can't decline without Scandal and Prevarication. My Lord Protector in one of his Letters bid me not be too Apprehenſive of Hardſhip: Indeed I know him and ſeveral Lords of the *Council* ſo well, as not to fear they will do me any harm for inſiſting upon the *Conſtitution*, and keeping cloſe to the Laws of God and the Realm: I ſhall never reproach theſe Lords ſo far, as to ſuppoſe they will make me ſuffer upon this Score. You know, continues the Biſhop, the force of an *Act* of Parliament; what danger hangs over a Man's Head that will venture through it; for this you may recollect ſeveral Inſtances, and that the breach of an *Act* of Parliament, won't ſhelter a Man from the forfeiture of Treaſon, tho' the ſtretch was made by the King's expreſs Order. (t)

(t) Ex. MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.

His Reaſons for inſiſting on the Conſtitution.

The reaſon of *Gardner*'s inſiſting ſo much upon the *Conſtitution* both in this Letter, and ſome others to the Protector, was becauſe the Religion profeſs'd in the late Reign, was eſtabliſh'd by Law. 'Tis True, the King's *Proclamation* was in ſome Caſes made of the ſame force with an *Act* of Parliament. (u) But then ſuch Proclamations were to be Proclaim'd, and paſted up by the Sheriff, or ſome other Officer, in Market Towns. Beſides, by an expreſs Clauſe the King's Proclamation was not to over-rule any *Act* in being. Now we don't find the *Injunctions* of *Edward* the Sixth, were either Proclaim'd in the manner above-mention'd, or ſupported by any *Proclamation*. Beſides, the *Statute* of the *Six Articles* was afterwards made in the ſame Parliament, (w) in which the *Bill* paſs'd for giving the King's *Proclamation* an unuſual ſway. From whence we may probably conclude the King's Proclamation could not have any force to diſable this latter *Statute*. Farther; Two or Three Years after this in the late Reign, (x) there was another *Act* paſs'd againſt Innovation in Religion. By this *Act* no Books are to be Publiſh'd contrary to the *Doctrine* determin'd, or to be determin'd by the King, under conſiderable Forfeitures. And if any Spiritual Perſon ſhould *Teach* contrary to the Premiſes he was to abjure, or ſuffer as a Heretick. Now the late King, with the Conſent of the Clergy, had ſet forth the *neceſſary Erudition* as a Rule of Faith and Practice. This *Book* we ſee ſtood upon the bottom of an *Act* of Parliament: But the *Homilies* and *Injunctions* now ſet forth by the King and *Council*, claſh'd with the *neceſſary Erudition*, oppos'd ſome part of the Doctrine, and alter'd the uſages recommended by that *Book*. Thus *Gardner*, conceiving himſelf under the Protection of the *Conſtitution*, made a bold ſtand againſt the *Council*, and refus'd to comply with the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*.

Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 2. *Book* 1. *Record* Num. 13.

(u) 31. H. 8. Cap. 8.

(w) 31. H. 8. Cap. 14.

(x) 34, 35. H. 8. Cap. 1.

The Court, who 'tis thought might have ſomething farther than Religion (y) in view, did not think it adviſeable to venture the cauſe upon diſputation, and rely wholly upon Arguments. They might be Apprehenſive that unleſs the diſagreement between *Rome* and *England* was carried to a wider diſtance, the Breach might poſſibly be clos'd: And that ſuch a Union might prove unfriendly to their Church Eſtates. (z) On the other Hand they were not aſſur'd, whether any farther alterations in Doctrine and Worſhip would be well receiv'd. The Minority of the Prince was a Circumſtance of Diſadvantage; And how far the People would be Paſſive under a new Face of things, was not eaſy to Conjecture. To guard againſt the worſt, 'twas thought fit to be furniſh'd with Forces to awe the oppoſite Party, and prevent them from giving diſturbance. And as an Army was a ſeaſonable Proviſion, there wanted not a Colour to raiſe it. A Marriage, as hath been obſerv'd, was agreed in the late Reign between the Young Queen of *Scotland*, and the Preſent King. But the Scots fail'd in their Articles: The *Protector* and the *Council* therefore reſolv'd to bring them to reaſon. For this purpoſe Men are levied, a Fleet equipp'd, and the

(y) Godwin Annal.

(z) Id. ad An. 1547.

The Protector levies Forces, and prepares for an Expedition againſt Scotland.

the Veteran Troops at *Boulogne* and *Calais* Imbarqued for *England*. The *Protector* likewiſe had ſeveral Regiments of Walloons, and Germans in his Pay: Not that he had a better Opinion of their Courage, but becauſe he might believe them more ready to execute any harſh Service at Home, if Occaſion required. (*a*)

(a) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 40.

A fair Correſpondence with the Emperor and France *endeavour'd.*

For a farther ſecurity He took Care to keep a fair Correſpondence with the Neighbouring Princes. Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* was diſpatch'd to the Court of *Vienna*: The chief Buſineſs of his Embaſſy, was to prevail with the Emperor to keep firm to the Alliance, made with *England* in the late Reign, and not to come to any cloſer Union with *France*. But more eſpecially he was to Solicit his Imperial Majeſty, to declare himſelf an Enemy to the Scottiſh Nation, excepting thoſe in the Engliſh Intereſt.

To bring the French to a friendly Diſpoſition, a Proclamation was iſſued to reſtore all ſuch Ships and Goods, which had been taken from them, ſince the Death of King *Henry*. To oblige that Court farther, the Engliſh *Council* paid a particular regard to the Memory of King *Francis* the Firſt. This Prince died on the 22d of *March* laſt, and on the 19th of *June* a Dirige was Sung for him in all the Churches in *London*. The Choir of St. *Paul*'s was hung with Mourning, and no other Circumſtance of State or Solemnity omitted. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with Eight other Biſhops, in their richeſt Pontifical Habits, Sung a *Maſs* of *Requiem*, and a Sermon was Preach'd by Dr. *Ridley* Elect of *Rocheſter*.

The French Kings Obſequies ſolemniz'd in London.

Id.

To go on. The Forces for the Scotch Expedition being drawn together, the *Protector*, who was their General, March'd to the *Borders*. The Fleet which Cruiz'd along the Coaſt, and attended the Army, was commanded by the Lord *Clinton*. The Protector entred *Scotland* on the 3d of *September*, and being willing to take up the Quarrel, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Arran*, Governor of that Kingdom.

The Protectors Letter to offer the Scotch a Ceſſation of Arms.

"He deſir'd the Scots would conſider, the War was begun between Two Chriſtian Nations, that the Engliſh projected nothing farther than a juſt and honourable Peace, which all good People ſhould endeavour to promote: That now there was a happy opportunity of bringing both Nations to a laſting Friendſhip, by the Marriage of their Princeſs. That this Alliance has been courted by the Engliſh, and ſolemnly promiſ'd by the Scotch Nobility: That the Protector was ſurpriz'd to find them deſert ſo publick an Engagement, and apply to Force, the Iſſue of which is not only doubtful, but commonly Calamitous, even to thoſe that Conquer. That 'twas not to be ſuppos'd their Queen would always Live ſingle: If not, where could ſhe engage better than with a Powerful Prince, who Govern'd upon the ſame Iſland, and ſpoke the ſame Language with her ſelf? They were not inſenſible that Intermarrying with Forreigners was attended with Inconveniencies, which was much better to Read in Hiſtory, then prove by Experiment. Thus it appears the Demands of the Engliſh Court were very reaſonable: However, he was ſo far from thirſting after Chriſtian Blood, that provided he perceived the Scots inclin'd to an Accommodation, he would relax in ſome Points, and ſoften the Articles; The Scots ſhould have the liberty of Educating the Queen in their own Country, till ſhe came to a Marriageable Age, and could chuſe her Husband her ſelf by the Advice of her Nobility. That in the mean Time there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms, the Queen not convey'd beyond Sea, nor any Matrimonial Alliance made, either with the French or any Forreign Prince. Now provided the Performance of all this was Solemnly promis'd, he was ready to retire peaceably, and Counter-march into *England*: To make Reſtitution for dammages done, and refer the matters to indifferent Judges. (*b*)

(b) Godwin Annal.

The Battle at Pinky, *near* Muſſleborough.

The Scots were Thirty Thouſand Effective Men, and near double the Number of the Engliſh: The Generals relying on the Superiority of their Forces, and imagining the Protectors Offer had more of Fear than Friendſhip, refuſ'd to hearken to any Terms, and would not ſo much as ſuffer the Protectors Letters to be read in a Council of War. They were Apprehenſive, it ſeems, the reaſonableneſs of the Propoſal might work upon the Officers, and diſencline them to a Battel. Thus, being confident of Victory, they ſpread a report, that nothing leſs would content the Engliſh, then having the Queen put into their Hands, and that they would never give over the War, till they had Conquer'd the Country. The Scots being inrag'd with this Story to the laſt Degree, were impatient to Charge the Enemy. But thoſe of their Commanders who had more thought than Paſſion, were of Opinion it was by no means Prudent; all to hazard a Battle: That the Engliſh were already ſomewhat diſtreſs'd for want of Forrage, that they could neither Retreat thro' ſo many Defiles, nor break thro' the Scotch Intrenchments without great Diſadvantage. However, the main of the Scotch Army was ſo elated with the fancy of Victory, that good Advice was loſt upon them. Thus they March'd out of a well Fortified Camp, and gave the Engliſh their Wiſh. In ſhort, the Armies charg'd near *Muſſleborough*: The Scots having maintain'd the Fight for ſometime, were quite broken, quitted their Artillery, and retir'd in the utmoſt Diſorder. The Scots loſt Fourteen Thouſand Men, with their Cannon and Baggage, and had Fifteen Hundred taken Priſoners; amongſt which were ſeveral of the Nobility, and a great many Gentlemen of Quality.

September *the* 10th Anno Dom. 1547.

Id. Stow Annal.

The remainder of the Scotch Army retir'd to *Striveling*, and left the Country to be overrun by the Engliſh. The Protector March'd to *Leith* the next Day, put Garriſons in ſeveral Places, Plunder'd *Edinburgh*, uncover'd the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*, and carried off the Lead, and the Bells. But he neither took the Caſtle of *Edinborough*, nor mov'd forward to *Striveling* where the Queen lay, with the Debris of the Army. 'Twas thought the Conſternation was ſuch, that no Place would have held out againſt him. But ſome private Reaſons it ſeems preſs'd his return, and made him ſlip the Opportunity of finiſhing the War, which had he follow'd his Blow, might have been effected without much Difficulty. (*c*) However, it muſt be ſaid he had done enough to raiſe his Reputation, and gain a great deal of Honour: His Succeſs was not only very Conſiderable, but very Cheap to the Engliſh, there not having been above Sixty Men loſt in the Expedition. At his coming

(c) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2d. *p.* 34.

Septem. 29.

coming away he receiv'd a Meſſage from the Queen and Governor of *Scotland:* The Buſineſs was to propoſe a Treaty: The Protector accepted the Overture, appointed *Berwick* for the Place, and left the Earl of *Warwick* to Treat with the Scotch Commiſſioners: The Earl expected their coming, but no Body appear'd, for the Offer was no more than an Amuſement to gain time, and concert Meaſures with *France.*

Id.
Bonner *demurs to the Injunctions.*

While the Protector was Abſent in *Scotland,* the *Viſitors* went their Circuit, and met with a ſmoother Buſineſs than they expected. Moſt of the Biſhops reſign'd to the *Council,* and acquieſc'd in the *Injunctions.* On the Fifth of *September,* the Commiſſioners Sate in St. *Paul's* Cathedral, to Examine the Dean and *Chapter,* and Reform the Ceremonies at Diſcretion. (*d*) Biſhop *Bonner* was cited, and the *Injunctions* and *Homilies* tender'd: He offer'd to comply, but not without a Reſerve in theſe Words. *I do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies with this Proteſtation, that I will obſerve them if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of this Church.* (*e*)

He makes an abſolute Submiſſion but is ſent to the Fleet.

But after ſome Recollection, he addreſs'd the King for Leave to make a more implicit and unconditional Submiſſion, which was done before his Majeſty and the Privy *Council,* in the Form following.

“ Whereas I *Edmund* Biſhop of *London,* have at ſuch Time as I receiv'd the King's Majeſty's, my moſt Dread Severaign Lords, Injunctions and Homilies at the Hands of his Highneſſes Viſitors, did unadviſedly make ſuch Proteſtation, as now, upon better Conſideration of my Duty of Obedience, and of the ill Example that may enſue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reaſonable, nor ſuch as might well ſtand with the Duty of an humble Subject; Foraſmuch as the ſame Proteſtation, at my Requeſt, was then by the R*egiſter* of that Viſitation enacted and put in R*ecord*; I have thought it my Bounden Duty, not only to declare before your Lordſhips, That I do now, upon better Conſideration of my Duty, renounce and revoke my ſaid *Proteſtation*. but alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that this my Revocation of the ſame may likewiſe be put in the ſame *Records* for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: Moſt Humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhips, both to take Order that it may take Effect, and alſo that my former unadviſed Doings may by your good Mediations, be pardon'd of the King's Majeſty (f)

Edmund London.

This Submiſſion, tho' as full as required, yet not being made without Heſitancy and demurring, was not accepted for full Satisfaction. The Biſhop, tho' pardon'd in the main, was puniſh'd by Impriſonment for his firſt Incompliance. He was committed to the *Fleet,* and kept there till the 17th of *November* following. During his Reſtraint the *Litany* was ſung in his Cathedral in the Engliſh Tongue, and the Epiſtle and Goſpel read at *High Maſs* in the ſame Language. At his being inlarg'd the Figures of our Saviour, of the Bleſſed Virgin, and St. *John,* and all other Images in St. *Pauls,* and the other Churches in *London* were taken down, as *Heylin* relates. If ſo, *Bonner* ſeems reſolv'd to make amends for his former Stiffneſs, and go beyond the Order of the Council. For the *Injunctions* did not oblige him thus far, they only injoyn the removing Images which have been abus'd with Pilgrimages, and unwarrantable Worſhip, but provided they ſerv'd only for Memory and Inſtruction, they recommend their Uſe, and allow them to ſtand. *Bellaſſeer* Archdeacon of *Colcheſter,* and *Gilbert Bourn* Archdeacon of *London* and *Eſſex,* were no leſs forward in complying with the Viſitors, and executing their Orders.

Images remov'd in London.

Biſhop of Winchester *committed to the Fleet.*

But Biſhop *Gardner* was not of ſo ductile a Temper: He ſeems to have thought himſelf in the Right, and had ſomething of Courage to maintain his Sentiment. He had expreſs'd his Diſlike of the *Viſitation*: 'Tis probable he might except againſt the Character of the Commiſſioners, being moſt of them Lay-men: But the Men and the Manner was not all his Objection, it ſeems he was ſhock'd with the *Matter* too. For being examin'd at the Council Board, he declar'd himſelf not altogether ſatisfied with the *Homilies* and *Injunctions,* and therefore could not promiſe Complyance thro' the whole *Books.* Upon this the Council ſent him to the *Fleet.*

Septemb. 25.

His Letter to the Protector.

Soon after his Commitment the *Protector* being return'd to *London,* Biſhop *Gardner* wrote to him, and ſent him his Reaſons why he could not give the Council Satisfaction. “ He acquaints him that the *Injunctions* deliver'd by the *Viſitors* order'd the Uſe of two Books, the *Homilies* and *Eraſmus* his *Paraphraſe.* Now theſe Books, ſays he, have no Harmony of Doctrine in them, they differ in material Articles? The *Homilies,* make *Juſtification* depend wholly on Faith excluſive of Charity: But *Eraſmus* his *Paraphraſe* affirms that Juſtificatton requires both theſe Qualities, and that Faith muſt have Love or Charity join'd with it.

He charges Eraſmus his Paraphraſe with Contradiction to the Homilies and Injunctions.

“ The *Homily* of *Salvation* maintains that Remiſſion of Sins is accepted of God for perfect Juſtification. The Doctrine of the Parliament (meaning the *neceſſary Erudition*) teaches us that Juſtification, as to the Compaſs of the Notion, includes more Parts than Remiſſion of Sins, and that tho' Remiſſion of Sins is in ſome Senſe a Juſtification, yet the Intireneſs of that Idea is not comprehended in it.

“ The Book of *Homilies* reckons *Palmes, Candles,* and the *Panis Benedictus,* or *Holy Bread* amongſt Popiſh Superſtitions and Abuſes. But the *neceſſary Erudition,* authoriz'd by the Parliament, recommends the Uſe of theſe Ceremonies; which is likewiſe done by the *Injunctions* now ſet forth. The *Homily* of *Salvation* cites St. *Chryſoſtome* unfairly, and tranſlates that *Faith* which is *Hope* in the Original. Now Truth, ſays *Gardner,* is able to maintain it ſelf, and has no need of falſe Suggeſtion. Such myſterious Management does but diſſerve a Cauſe, and give the Enemy Advantage.

From hence the Biſhop proceeds to acquaint the *Protector* with *Eraſmus* his Opinion.

“ If we are ſays he, to govern our Belief by *Eraſmus* his Authority, he will tell us that the Doctrine of *ſola Fides juſtificat,* or that we are juſtified by ſingle and ſolitary *Faith,* is no better than rank Poyſon. The denying the Invocation of Saints of the Pains in Purgatory, and the Neceſſity of good Work's, are likewiſe rang'd by this Author

“ under

(d) Stow Annal.

(e) *Council Book Fol.* 110.

(f) Heylin *p.* 41.

(g) Heylin *p.* 42.

under the ſame Claſs of deſtructive Errors. And elſewhere *Eraſmus*, after having drawn a Parallel between the State of the Primitive and preſent Church, concludes with this Remark, that if St. *Paul* were now living, he would indeed cenſure the Misbehaviour of Men, but not condemn the Doctrine and Conſtitution of the modern Church. This, ſays he, was *Eraſmus* his Judgment in the latter Part of his Life.

Unſound Opinions in Eraſmus his Paraphraſe.

“As to his *Paraphraſe* upon the *New Teſtament*, the ſtudying of which is injoyn'd the Pariſh Prieſts by the *Injunctions*, this Book was written 26 years ſince, before the Author was come to a full Maturity of Judgment. Indeed this *Paraphraſe* is ſo crudely and uncautiouſly manag'd, that the allowing it a free Paſſage may probably give ill Men an Handle not only to diſturb the Church, but embarraſs the *State*.

“For inſtance, thoſe Texts of Scripture, which are commonly urg'd for Obedience to Princes, *Eraſmus* expounds in a manner out of all Force and Significancy; ſo that if his Authority may paſs, they will take but little hold of Peoples Conſciences. His *Paraphraſe* is not like other Expoſitions of *Scripture*, where the Author ſpeaks as from himſelf; no, *Eraſmus* takes the Liberty to diſcourſe in our Saviours Perſon, and that of the inſpired Writers, and ſometimes throws in a ſupplemental Clauſe of his own. For the purpoſe, where our Saviour commands us to *render unto Cæſar the Things which are Cæſars*, from whence we truly infer the Emperor had a right to command ſeveral Things from the Subject: Here *Eraſmus* puts in an *If*; *if there be any thing due to them*: Thus he gloſſes away the Meaning of the Text, by throwing in a Condition wholly unmention'd by our Saviour. I have the Engliſh Tranſlation, continues the Biſhop by me, and ſhall tranſcribe the Paſſage for your *Grace*: The Words are theſe, *render therefore unto Cæſar, if any Things appertain unto Cæſar. But firſt of all render unto God the Things that appertain unto God. Meaning that it is no Hurt unto Godlineſs, if a Man being dedicate unto God, do give Tribute unto a prophane Prince, altho' he owed it not.*

“I ſhall not trouble your Grace with any more Citations upon this Head, tho' in general I may affirm, the *Paraphraſe* takes a very unwarrantable Freedom with Princes, omits nothing that may weaken their Character, and give an unſerviceable Idea of Civil Government. As for Biſhops, he treats them with great Reſpect, calls them no leſs than *Evangelical* Princes, whereas the Supreme Magiſtrate is mention'd in no better Style than that of *prophane Prince*. He likewiſe commends Archbiſhop *Becket* for proceeding to cenſures againſt the King for detaining the Mannour of *Oxford*. (*)

(*) *Here the Paraphraſe miſtakes matter of Fact.*

“'Tis likely the *Tranſlator* might have omitted this Paſſage: But *Eraſmus* his Pen was very untoward in thoſe Days.

“Farther, the *Paraphraſe* maintains that Chriſtians can challenge nothing but Charity or Love from their Neighbours, and can make no Claims of Debt or Right upon each other. This is an extraordinary Aſſertion, and hath an immediate Tendency to deſtroy the Obligation of Laws, and make the Duties of Relations, and Civil Life ſignifie little. Here *Eraſmus* contradicts the Tenour of *Scripture*, and aſſerts a plain Untruth. Thus your Grace may ſee what dangerous Poſitions he advances with Reſpect to the *State*.

“The Subject of Religion is not at all better handled. Here Things of the laſt Importance are expreſs'd without Truth or Diſcretion. I ſhall give your Grace ſome few Inſtances.

“The *Sacrament* of the *Altar* is mention'd by him in unprimitive and unguarded Language. He calls it *Holy Bread*, and a *Symbol*; and in ſhort makes Uſe of ſuch Terms which might, if it were poſſible, as our Saviour ſpeaks in another Caſe, *deceive the very Elect*. But to do *Eraſmus* Juſtice, when he was farther advanc'd in years, he writes with more Caution, mentions the *Sacrament* of the *Altar* with all imaginable Reverence, comes up to the Doctrine of the Church, and complains of thoſe who would interpret him to another Meaning.

“Farther, the *Paraphraſe* allows a Man who had parted with his Wife for Adultery, the Liberty of marrying with another. The *Paraphraſe* gives Biſhops and Prieſts leave to marry. And here *Eraſmus* pretends the Apoſtle intended to deſcribe the Qualities requir'd in the Wifes of Prieſts and Biſhops. But here the Paraphraſer miſtook himſelf. For St. *Paul* knew that if a Biſhop or Prieſt was once married, he muſt take his Wife with all her Faults, for then it would be too late to tell what ſhe ſhould be; for when the Bargain is once made, neither St. *Paul*, nor St. *Peter* can mend her. And if Biſhops have the Privilege of changing their Wifes, 'till they anſwer the Deſcription *Eraſmus* puts upon the Apoſtle, they would be wonderfully envied by other People. But I affirm St. *Paul* did not diſcourſe of Biſhops Wifes in the *Text* (*b*) I write therefore with an Air of Raillery to give your Grace a ſtronger Image of the Abſurdity of the *Gloſs*.

(h) 1 Tim. 3. cap. v. 11.

But here the Biſhop uſes too much Levity upon a Scripture Argument: Beſides he wreſts the *Text*, and Reaſons extravagantly. For the Apoſtles deſcribing a Wifes Duty does not give the Husband a Liberty of a Divorce in Caſe ſhe fell ſhort in any Circumſtance: At this rate no Relation could have any Firmneſs; but Children might change their Parents, and Subjects their Governors, whenever they fail'd in the Offices and Returns juſtly expected from them.

“The *Paraphraſe* as the Biſhop goes on, calls the keeping a Concubine a ſmall Fault. I I leave your Grace to conſider the Conſequence of this Doctrine.

“The *Paraphraſe* ſeems to make no Degrees in Virtue and Vice, but maintains that unleſs a Man riſes to the Top of Goodneſs, he muſt be ſtark naught: And in this he both contradicts Truth and the *Homilies*.

“The *Paraphraſe* wreſts the *Scripture* upon the Subject of *Tythes*, and Claſhes with the *Injunctions* where they are order'd to be juſtly paid.

“Thus I have recounted to your *Grace* ſome of a great many Faults in the Original, and which *Eraſmus* himſelf muſt anſwer for. As to the Engliſh *Tranſlator* he has likewiſe his particular Miſcarriages. His Faults are ſometimes to be charg'd upon Ignorance, and

“ ſometimes on Deſign: He chops and changes, leaves out, and puts in, at Pleaſure. And here for every Falſhood I have written to your Grace, I am willing a Hundred Pounds Fine ſhould be ſet on my Head that I may lie here like a Beggar, till my Rents have anſwer'd it. What I offer is under my Hand, and in Caſe I deſerve it, may be alledg'd as a *Record* againſt me. (*i*)

The Biſhop's Plea before the Privy Council.

The Biſhop proceeds to urge the danger of the Laws, in caſe he ſhould comply with the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*. “ And here he Acquaints the Protector how the Judges have been often fin'd, for Acting againſt the Laws, tho' at the King's Command: That the Lord *Tiptofft* loſt his Head, and Cardinal *Woolſey* was ruin'd upon this Score. From hence he goes on to relate what paſs'd between him and the *Council* at his Commitment. That at firſt he promis'd to receive the *Injunctions* as far as he was bound by the Laws of God and the Realm: That being preſs'd to a more direct Anſwer, and menac'd with harſh Conſequences, he endeavor'd to Diſengage himſelf as far as his Conſcience would give him leave. To this purpoſe he told the *Council* it would be Three Weeks before the *Viſitors* could reach his Dioceſe. That in the mean Time he was willing to go to *Oxford*, and debate the Queſtion. This Motion being refus'd, he deſir'd a Conference with ſome learned Men at his Houſe in *London*. This Requeſt being likewiſe denied, he deſir'd the *Council* to Conſider, that as yet he had not been put to the Proof, nor actually refus'd Compliance, The *Viſitors* as yet having not been with him: That he thought it a hardſhip to be ſent to Priſon, for a bare Declaration of his diſlike of the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*: That the Interval of Three Weeks might poſſibly Inform his Conſcience farther, and make him change his Reſolution: And then his Caſe would be the ſame with the Son in the Goſpel, who told his Father *he would not go into the Vineyard, but afterwards repented and went*. This not giving Satisfaction to the *Council*, he went quietly to Priſon without Expoſtulations. Being reſolv'd with St. *Paul to forget what's paſt*, not to tax the Government with Rigor, or prefer a complaint againſt any Body. That being ſent for by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Dean of St. *Paul*'s Houſe, and brought thither by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, they entred into diſpute, but *Cranmer*'s Arguments fell ſhort of Conviction. And here the *Homily* of *Salvation* Penn'd by *Cranmer* was the Subject of the Conference. He deſir'd the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, and *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Cox*, and Mr. *Aire* then preſent, to produce any Antient Father, affirming, that *Faith* excluded Charity in the **Office** of **Juſtification**. That this Doctrine is point blank againſt the expreſs Words of *Scripture*. (*k*) That to go againſt ſuch Evidence in the Inſpir'd Writings, without ſo much as one *Father*, to ſupport the Singularity, was a dangerous Liberty. He goes on in his Apology, and alledges that he never adviſ'd any Perſon, not ſo much as his Chaplains, to diſpute againſt the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*. However, the publiſhing theſe *Books* in the King's Name, by his Grace the Protectors Direction, was ſomewhat particular, and that his Grace was not well us'd. For the King, he was too Young to underſtand them. And as for his Grace, 'twas well known the late Expedition afforded him no leaſure to Read them. After this he urges an Objection of no ſmall Weight. If an Order of *Council*, ſays he, is an Authority of the higheſt kind, and muſt be obey'd without pleading or Reſerve; then I deſire to know in what Condition the Legiſlature ſtands? And whether the *Act* which diſcharges us from our Obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*, may not be over-rul'd by the *Board*? That the King when a *Major*, will expect the ſame extent of Prerogative, which was us'd by his *Council* in his Minority. And therefore that Preſidents of this kind may be pleaded for Oppreſſion, and prov'd Subverſive of the liberty of the Subject. That in the late Reign when he had the Honour to ſit at the *Board*, he found the *Council* much ſurpriz'd, when the King propos'd any thing to be done againſt an *Act* of Parliament. And here he tells the Protector a Story, how the Lord *Cromwell* put him upon anſwering an inſnaring Queſtion: 'Twas at *Hampton Court*. My Lord of *Wincheſter*, ſays *Cromwell*, anſwer his Majeſty whether the King's Pleaſure is not a Law? I think we have a Maxim for it in the Civil Law, *quod Principi placuit*, &c. The King perceiving me at a ſtand, continues the Biſhop, preſs'd me to declare my Opinion. I told his Highneſs I had read indeed of ſuch Abſolute Governments; but that in *England*, I humbly conceiv'd, the *Conſtitution*, and Temper of the People to be ſuch, that it would be more ſerviceable for his Majeſty to make the Law his Will, then his Will the Law. Afterwards, when *Cromwell* fell out with *Gardner*, he played him foul Play, Charg'd him with his own Suggeſtion, and turn'd the Queſtion upon him.

His Anſwer to the King upon the Subject of Abſolute Government.

“ In the Cloſe of the *Letter*, the Biſhop complains of uneaſy Confinement, and in another Letter, that he was neither allow'd to ſpeak with any Body, nor the Benefit of a Phyſician. This Letter is dated from the *Fleet* the 14th of *October*. (*l*)

“ In another Letter to the Protector, he renews his Complaint of harſh Uſage in Priſon: That he was not allow'd the Converſation of Friends, the convenience of Servants; nor ſo much as a Chaplain to Pray with him: He Remonſtrates againſt the Rigor of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Proceedings: That he did not do well to apply to force, to borrow the Protectors Authority to carry on the Controverſy, and ſupport his Opinions, by committing thoſe to Priſon who argued againſt him: That he thought it an unpreſidented Hardſhip to be thus Confin'd, without breaking any Law: He mentions one of *Cranmer*'s Arguments to prove that only **Faith** Juſtifies; it ſtands in this Form; **We are juſtified by Faith, without all Works of the Law, Charity is a Work of the Law: Therefore we are juſtified without Charity.** “ This Argument *Gardiner* undertakes to Anſwer at his Peril, provided *Cranmer* would ſend it under his Hand. Farther, he takes notice, that whether Faith juſtifies excluſive of Charity or not, ſignifies nothing as to Practice; becauſe all Men are juſtified in the Sacrament of Baptiſm. And ſince we have all receiv'd the Advantage of juſtification in our

“ Infancy,

(i) Biblioth. Cotton Veſpas. D. 18. *Life of Archbiſhop* Cranm.

(k) Gal. 5. *v.* 6. Jam. 2. *v.* 17.

(l) Fox Vol. 2. *p.* 1.

“ Infancy, when we were in no Condition “ to diſpute about the means, to what purpoſe “ is it to ſtart the Queſtion, and lay ſo much “ ſtreſs upon the Point of Belief afterwards. (*m*) Upon this Occaſion *Fox* calls *Wincheſter an Inſenſible Aſs*, and *that he had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of Juſtification.* But here the Hiſtorian ſeems to fail extremely in Decency and Temper: And to have forgotten the Apoſtles Command, for putting away *all bitterneſs and evil ſpeaking*: (*n*) *And that unleſs a Man bridles his Tongue, his Religion is vain.* I mention this, becauſe a Vein of *Satyr*, and coarſe Language runs thro' his *Martyrology*.

(m) Fox *v.* 2. *p.* 5. *and* 6.

(n) Eph. 4. 31. 1 Pet. 2. 1. Jam. 1. *v.* 26.

To proceed; in another *Letter* to the Protector, which is the laſt I ſhall mention. “ Biſhop *Gardiner* complains of his being denied “ the Privilege of aſſiſting in Parliament; and “ that by his Confinement thoſe whom he us'd “ to Nominate for the Houſe of Commons, “ were likewiſe forc'd to be abſent; and laſtly, “ he deſires the liberty of appearing in the “ Houſe of Lords, where he intends to open “ the Controverſy, and argue with the Arch- “ biſhop of *Canterbury*. (*o*)

(o) Fox. *p.* 8.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *Confin'd till the Prorogation of the Parliament.*

But all this Reaſoning and Expoſtulation, was not prevalent enough to procure his Liberty: 'Twas thought proper to keep him Confin'd till the *Seſſion* of Parliament was over. Had this Biſhop appear'd in the *Houſe*, 'tis probable he might have given the Court Party ſome Trouble, perplex'd their Meaſures, and, it may be, over-ſet *Cranmer* in the Diſpute about *Juſtification*. The Archbiſhop, and thoſe of his Perſwaſion, founded themſelves upon the Fourth Chapter to the *Romans*, and the Third to the *Galatians*. But 'tis plain by the Tenor of theſe Epiſtles, that by *Faith* we are to underſtand the *New Covenant*, or the Terms requir'd in the *Goſpel*; in contradiſtinction to the Obſervances of the *Moſaic Law*, which in the Language of the *Scripture* are call'd *Works*. However, *Cranmer* and the Lutherans had a Pious meaning at the bottom of their Notion. They conceiv'd the Mercy of God, and the Merits of our Saviour, were more advanc'd by reſting the Point wholy upon Belief, as to the Act of *Juſtification*: Neither did they exclude the neceſſity of regular Practice. So that upon the whole, the Controverſy ſeems to lie more in Terms and Language, than in meaning and ſubſtance.

Bp. Tunſtal *diſmiſs'd the Council Board.*

On the Fourth of *November* the Parliament met, and ſat to the Twenty Fourth of *December*: 'Twas continued by Prorogation, from *Seſſion to Seſſion*, thro' this whole Reign. The *Broad Seal* was lately given to the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Court of *firſt Fruits and Tenths*, was Speaker in the Houſe of Commons. To ſmooth the way to the Buſineſs concerted, *Gardiner*, as hath been obſerv'd, was kept in Priſon, and *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, a Prelate of great Learning and Moderation, diſmiſs'd the *Council Board*. The reaſon of his Removal, 'tis probable, was to weaken his Character, and make his Oppoſition leſs ſignificant in the Houſe of Lords. The *Members* of Parliament, as *Heylin* relates, tho' of different Sentiments with regard to Religion, yet agreed in a common Principle, to ſtrike in with the Juncture, and take care of themſelves. For tho', as this Hiſtorian goes on, a great Number of the Lords and Commons were inclin'd to the Doctrines of the late Reign; yet they were willing to give way to ſuch *Acts*, as widen'd the Breach between the Engliſh and Roman Communion. The preſent nearneſs in Doctrine, they were afraid might end in a Reconciliation with the Pope: And that ſuch Meaſures would prove dangerous to their Eſtates gain'd from the Church. As for the reſt, whoſe buſineſs was either to make or improve their Fortunes, they came prepared without Queſtion, to cloſe with ſuch a *Reformation* as ſerv'd beſt for their purpoſe. This ſeems pretty evident by the Tendency of ſome of the *Acts*, which in *Heylins* Opinion ſeem to overlook the concern of Religion, and aim at private Intereſt in a very remarkable manner. (*p*)

Heylin's *Remark on the Diſpoſition of the Members of* Parliament.

(p) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 48.

Nov. 5th. Anno Dom. 1547.

A Convocation held.

The next Day after the ſitting of the *Parliament* a *Convocation* was held at St. *Paul's*, in which *John Taylor* Dean of *Lincoln* was Prolocutor.

In the Third *Seſſion* 'twas agreed, the Prolocutor ſhould carry ſome Petitions to the upper Houſe: Before I mention theſe, I am to obſerve that Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in his Speech, at the opening of the *Convocation*, put the Clergy in mind of keeping cloſe to the Rule of the *Scriptures*, of advancing farther in the *Reformation*, and throwing of ſome Unprimitive Remains. But the Terror of the *Six Articles* making an Impreſſion upon the Majority, and being a check upon the Freedom of their Debates, *Cranmer* prevail'd with the King to diſpence with the Penalties of that *Statute*. (*q*)

(q) Antiq. Britan. *p.* 339.

In this Convocation, 'twas unanimouſly agreed by the lower Houſe, that the Communion ſhould be adminiſtred in both kinds. *

* *Convocation Journals, Fol.* 71.

To return; The *Petitions* above-mention'd of the *lower Houſe* to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, were theſe.

Novem. 22d.

“ Firſt, That the Eccleſiaſtical Laws might “ be Review'd and Publiſh'd, purſuant to a “ *Statute*, made in the 35th Year of the late “ Reign.

“ Secondly, That the Clergy of the lower “ Houſe of Convocation, may be admitted to “ ſit in Parliament with the Houſe of Com- “ mons, according to Antient Uſage.

“ Thirdly, That the Performance of the “ Biſhops and others, who by Order of the “ *Convocation*, have ſpent ſome Time in re- “ viewing and correcting the Offices for *Di-* “ *vine Service*, may be laid before the *Houſe*.

“ Fourthly, That the Rigor of the *Statute*, “ for the Payment of firſt Fruits, may be mo- “ derated, and that the Clergy may have “ ſome Allowance made them for Maintenance, “ and defraying Expences in the firſt Years “ of their Preferment. (*r*)

(r) C. C. C. C. *Library* Synodalia. *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *Records p.* 120. *Journal Convocation Fol.* 71.

In their Petition to the upper *Houſe*, for Admittance into the *Parliament*, “ they inſiſt “ upon the *Clauſe* of *Præmunientes* in the King's “ *Writ*, and the Antient Laws and Cuſtoms “ of the Kingdom.

“ If this Requeſt was denied, they deſired “ that no *Bills* in which the Chriſtian Reli- “ gion, the Perſons, Eſtates, or Juriſdiction “ of the Clergy are concern'd, may paſs with- “ out the Aſſent of the Clergy.

The lower Houſe of Convocation mov'd to ſit in Parliament.

That the lower Houſe of *Convocation* in their Requeſt, for ſitting with the Commons in Parliament, inſiſted upon nothing more than being reſtor'd to Antient Privilege, appears by the King's Writ, directed to every Biſhop: In which Summons the Biſhop is firſt requir'd to appear in Perſon, at the Time and Place prefix'd for the Parliament. This part of the *Writ* is the ſame in Subſtance with thoſe ſent to the

Temporal Peers. After this follows the *Premunitory Clauſe*, in which the Biſhop is commanded *to give notice to the (Prior, or) Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church, and to the Archdeacons, and all the Clergy of his Dioceſe, that the Prior, Dean, and Archdeacons in their own Perſons, the Chapter by one, and the Clergy by Two proper Proxy's ſufficiently impower'd by the ſaid Chapter and Clergy; ſhould by all means be preſent at the Parliament with him; to do and conſent to thoſe things which by the Bleſſing of God by their common Advice, happen to be ordain'd in the matters aforeſaid: And that the giving this notice ſhould by no means be omitted by him.* (s)

The Clergy Antiently part of the Houſe of Commons.

(s) Pryn's *Regiſter p.* 7. 8. *pt.* 1.

If the Biſhop happen to be beyond Sea, and in no condition to Execute the King's *Writ*, the Summons was ſent to his *Vicar General*, and by him the Clergy of the Dioceſe had the ſame notice to come to Parliament, as if the Biſhop had been at Home.

Id. *p.* 9.

In the *Vacancy* of a *See*, the *Writ* was directed to the *Dean* and *Chapter*, as *Guardians* of the *Spiritualty's*. And thus the *Clergy* were always aſſur'd of being Summon'd to Parliament.

Id. *p.* 11.

The Biſhop having receiv'd the King's Writ, communicated it to his Dioceſe, by tranſmitting Copy's to the *Prior*, or *Dean*, and *Archdeacons*: To this there was a *Mandate* annex'd, importing that *by Virtue of his Majeſty's Writ he premoniſh'd them, and by them the Chapter and Clergy, that themſelves in Perſon; and their Chapter and Clergy by their Proctors, ſhould take care to be preſent at the Day and Place mention'd in the King's Writ, for the Ends and Purpoſes requir'd of them.*

The Biſhops us'd ſometimes to command their Clergy, to make a *Return* of what they had done upon, the *Writ* and *Mandate*. This *Certificate* was to be ſent to the Biſhop, ſometime before the *Seſſion* of Parliament. The Clergy having promis'd Obedience, in their *Return*, to their Dioceſan; the Biſhop *certified* the King what he had done purſuant to his Command: (t) And of this we have an Inſtance, as low as the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

(t) *Biſhop* Wake's *State of the Church*, &c. *p.* 5. Id. *in Appen.* ad Ann. 1539.

The Clergy thus Summon'd to Parliament by the King and *Dioceſan*, met for the Choice of their *Proxy's*. For this purpoſe the Dean or Prior held his *Chapter*, and the Archdeacon his Synod: The Repreſentatives being Choſen in theſe Aſſemblies, were ſent up to the Parliament, with *Procuratorial Letters* from the *Chapter* and *Clergy*, to give them an Authority to Act in their Names, and on the behalf of their *Electors*.

Theſe *Letters* were for the moſt part Addreſs'd to the King, tho' ſometimes they began with a General Application to *all Perſons whom it might concern*: But ſtill the Subſtance of them was to *Make, Ordain, and Appoint* the Perſons, who were ſent by them, *Their Proctors to appear on their Behalf in Parliament; There to Treat with the Prelates, and great Men of the* Realm, *of the things to be debated there for the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom, and to conſent to what ſhould be agreed to on their Behalf; and to engage themſelves to ſtand by what their Proctors ſhould do, under the Caution or Forfeiture* (many times) *of all their Goods.* (u)

Id.

There were uſually Two Copies of theſe *Procuratorial Letters* deliver'd to every *Proxy*: One of theſe was to be kept by this *Repreſentative*, and the other put into the Hands of the *Clerk* of Parliament in Order to be Inrolled. (w)

(u) See Records, Num. LV.

A Reſolution of the Lord Chancellor and Judges.

(w) *Regiſt.* Arundel *pt.* 1. *Fol.* ult.

That the *lower Clergy* formerly ſent their *Repreſentatives* to Parliament, may be prov'd by a famous Reſolution in *Bird* and *Smith's Caſe*, in the Reign of King *James* the firſt. (x) Here the Lord Chancellor *Edgerton*, *Popham* Chief Juſtice of *England*, *Coke* Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, and *Flemming* Chief Baron; beſides other things, reſolv'd that the Canons of the Church made by the *Convocation* and the King, without a Parliament, ſhall bind in all Eccleſiaſtical Matters no leſs than an *Act* of Parliament. As a Medium to prove this, they Affirm the *Convocation* was once part of the *Parliament*. And ſince the *lower Clergy* were parted from the *Houſe* of *Commons*, they carried their Share of Legiſlature along with them into the *Convocation*. They found their Reſolution farther, upon a celebrated Preſident of both Houſes of Parliament. 21 *H.* 8. Where after a full debate in a Conference, it was Reſolv'd, that when the *Convocation* makes *Canons* concerning Matters, within their Juriſdiction, they are binding to the whole Realm.

(x) Trin. 4. Jac. 1. Moores Reports, Fol. 781. & de hinc.

To proceed; *Records* of the *Procuratorial Letters* above-mention'd, run up as high as King *Edward* the Firſt. Thro' how many Reigns afterwards the *Repreſentatives* of the lower Clergy, Acted with the Temporal Commons in Parliament, is not eaſy to determine. 'Tis probably conjectur'd, that about the Time of King *Henry* the Sixth, This uſage began to be diſcontinued, and quite drop'd by degrees. The Clergy themſelves are thought to have contributed towards the parting with this Privilege. It ſeems they look'd on their Parliamentary Attendance, as a kind of Burthen, and therefore were not unwilling to be diſengag'd. (y)

But whether they were in the Right, or not, is another Queſtion.

(y) Heylin's *Tracts*, *Fol.* 103—4. *Bp.* Wake's *State of the Church p.* 6.

Tho' the *lower Clergy* ſeem not to have come to *Parliament* for more than Two Hundred Years laſt paſt, the Kings notwithſtanding, have ſtill continued to keep on their Right in the *Writ* of *Summons*, which has been executed by the Biſhops. The *Premunitory Clauſe* is ſtill the ſame 'twas Three Hundred Years ſince, excepting the alteration of *Priors* into *Deans*. There are ſeveral Records to prove, that the Biſhops *Mandates* were ſent to the Deans and Archdeacons; that Proctors were Choſen, and Impower'd to Act for their Electors to the end of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh. (z) There are likewiſe Inſtances to prove that the ſame practice was kept on from the Period laſt mention'd, to the Year 1640. (a) This *Præmonitory Clauſe* being ſtill Inſerted in the Biſhops *Writ* of *Summons*, 'tis concluded they may legally Execute it, purſuant to Antient Cuſtom, if they think fit. (b)

(z) Dr. Atterbury's *Rights, Power*, &c. *of an Engliſh Convocation. Appen. Num.* XI.

(a) *Biſhop* Wake's *State of the Church, p.* 6.

(b) Ibid.

To proceed to another Branch of the *Petition* of the *lower Houſe* of *Convocation*. That is, that matters of Religion may be debated in their *Houſe*; That by this means the Caſe may be fully diſcuſs'd, the Controverſy clear'd, and the Conſciences of People well ſettled. They likewiſe deſire, as hath been obſerv'd, that no *Statutes* in which Religion, the Intereſt and Juriſdiction of the Clergy are nearly concern'd, may be enacted 'till the lower *Houſe* of Convocation have at leaſt Examin'd the *Bill*, and reported their Reaſons upon it. *c* To prove the *lower Clergy* not ill Founded in this Requeſt, I ſhall Inſert a Paper in the *Records*, drawn up by a very learned Hand, and lodg'd in the

Paper

(c) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *Records, p.* 118.

The Clergy Claims a Right of examining Bills relating to Religion, &c.

Paper Office, from whence I tranſcrib'd it. The deſign of it is to prove, that matters relating to the Doctrine and Government of the *Church*, ought to be determin'd by *Eccleſiaſticks*: And here the *Reader* will find the *Imperial Conſtitutions*, the Parliament *Rolls*, and other valuable Authorities cited to this Purpoſe. 'Tis Penn'd by way of Anſwer to certain Objections. (*d*)

(d) *See Records Num. LVI.*

Seſs. 5. Nov. ult.

Farther; A Form deliver'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the receiving the Holy Euchariſt under both kinds, of Bread and Wine, was Read in the lower *Houſe* of *Convocation*, and Subſcrib'd by the *Prolocutor* and ſome others. And in the next *Seſſion*, this Order was unanimouſly agreed by all then Preſent, being Sixty Four. At the ſame time Eight of the Members were appointed to draw up a Parliament *Bill* for the Payment of Tythes, in Cities, in the ſame manner as was done in *London*.

Seſs. 6. Dec. 2.

In the laſt *Seſſion*, a Motion was made, that all Canons, Laws, Uſages, *&c.* which forbid any Perſon to Marry upon the Score, of Prieſthood, or Vow of *Religion*, might be declar'd Void and Unobligatory. This Propoſition was Subſcrib'd by Fifty Three in the Affirmative, and Twenty Two in the Negative. *

* C. C. C. C. *Library* Synodalia.

I ſhall now go on to the Buſineſs of the Parliament, and mention thoſe *Statutes* which relate to Religion. I ſhall begin with the *Act* for repealing ſeveral *Statutes* concerning Treaſon. By this Statute all Acts of Parliament concerning Religion and Opinions, that is to ſay as well the Statute made in the Fifth Year of the Reign of the Kings Noble Progenitor King Richard the Second: And the Statute made in the Second Year of the Reign of King Henry the Fifth: And the Statute alſo made in the Twenty Fifth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, concerning Puniſhment and Reformation of Hereticks and Lollards: And the Statute made for the aboliſhing of Diverſity of Opinions, in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion commonly call'd the Six Articles made in the Thirty Firſt Year of King Henry the Eighth: And alſo the Act of Parliament made in the Thirty Fourth Year of the ſaid King Henry the Eighth, touching or in any way concerning Books of the Old and New Teſtament in Engliſh, and the Printing, ſelling and retaining of Engliſh Books or Writings, and Reading, teaching Preaching or expounding of Scripture. And alſo another Statute made in the Parliament holden at Weſtminiſter in the Thirty Fifth Year of the Reign of the late King Henry the Eighth, concerning the Qualification of the Statute of Six Articles: And all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament concerning Doctrine or Matters of Religion, and all and every Branch, Article, Sentence, and Matter, Pains, and Forfeiture, contain'd in any of the ſame Acts of Parliament, ſhall from henceforth be repeal'd and utterly void, and of none Effect. (*e*)

The Penal Statute, touching Religion, repeal'd.

(e) *Firſt* E. 6. *Cap.* 12.

By this Repeal, *Heylin* obſerves, that all People had the Liberty of reading the *Scriptures*, of being in a manner their own Expoſitors, of forming their Religion, and openly declaring their Opinions as they thought fit. (*f*) But here this Learned Hiſtorian is ſomething miſtaken. For notwithſtanding the *Statutes* againſt *Lollardy* and unſound Opinions were null'd, the Rigours of the Common Law were ſtill in Force. Now by the Common Law, as the Learned *Fitzherbert* affirms, the Puniſhment for Hereſie was *Burning*. (*g*) And of Executions of this Kind we ſhall have ſeveral Inſtances in this Reign.

(f) Heylin's *Hiſtory Ref. p.* 48.

(g) De [illegible]. Brev.

Farther, by this *Statute* laſt mention'd, an *Act* made in the Thirty Firſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, by Virtue of which the King's *Proclamations* ſet forth by the Advice of his *Privy Council*, were to be obey'd as tho' they had been made by Authority of Parliament. And another *Act* made in the Thirty Fourth Year of the late Reign, to fortifie the *Statute* of the Thirty Firſt, were both repeal'd. (*h*) From whence it appears our Learned Church Hiſtorians Obſervation will not hold; where he ſays *the great Changes of Religion in the Nonage of King* Edward *the Sixth were grounded* on the Authority of this Thirty Firſt of King *Henry* the Eighth: For this Act we ſee was repeal'd before the great Alterations in Doctrine and Worſhip were eſtabliſh'd. (*i*)

A Repeat of 31. H. 8. *Cap.* 8. *and* 34. *H.* 8. *Cap.* 23.

(h) 1 Edward *VI. Cap.* 12.

(i) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 1. *p.* 264. *pt.* 2. *p.* 40.

The next remarkable *Act* relating to the Church is a Penal *Statute* againſt irreverent ſpeaking of the *Sacrament* of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. The *Preamble* in all Likely hood drawn up by ſome of the Biſhops, after having mention'd the Solemnity of the Inſtitution of this Sacrament, ſets forth that ſome arrogant and contentious People, have either out of Wickedneſs, or Want of Learning, becauſe of certain Abuſes heretofore committed of ſome in miſuſing thereof, condemn'd in their Hearts and Speech the whole Thing, and contemptuoſly deprav'd, deſpis'd, or revil'd the ſame moſt Holy and Bleſſed Sacrament, and not only diſputed and reaſon'd unreverently of that moſt High Myſtery, but alſo in their Sermons, Preachings, Readings, Lectures, Communications, Arguments, Rhymes, Songs, Plays or Jeſts, name and call it by ſuch vile and unſeemly Words, as Chriſtian Ears do abhor to hear Rehears'd. For Reformation whereof 'tis Enacted by the King's Highneſs, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that whatſoever Perſon or Perſons, from, and after the firſt Day of May next coming, ſhall deprave, deſpiſe, or contemn, the ſaid moſt Bleſſed Sacrament by any contemptuous Words, or by any Words of depraving, deſpiſing, or reviling; Or whatſoever Perſon or Perſons ſhall adviſedly in any other way contemn, deſpiſe, or revile the ſaid moſt Bleſſed Sacrament, contrary to the Effects and Declaration aboveſaid, that then he and they ſhall ſuffer Impriſonment of their Bodies, and ſhall make Fine and Ranſom at the King's Will and Pleaſure. (*k*)

A Statute againſt Irreverent ſpeaking of the Holy Sacrament.

(k) 1 Ed. *VI. Cap.* 1.

Thus we ſee an intemperate Zeal againſt Popery, carried ſome People to an Exceſs of Profaneneſs: They run from one Extreme of *Adoration*, to another of Contempt and Frenzy, and abus'd the Holy Sacrament in Language not fit to repeat. (*l*) Biſhop *Ridley* frequently reprov'd theſe ungodly Sallies; but it ſeems the People were ungovernable, and the Diſeaſe grown too ſtrong for a Church Remedy; And therefore 'twas thought fit to apply to the Aſſiſtance of the *Civil Legiſlature*.

(l) *See* Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 49.

Now conſidering the Inſolence of theſe People was ſo rampant and intolerable, 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, the Penalty of the *Act* ſhould be ſo long defer'd. The Bill paſs'd both Houſes on the Twentieth of *December*. (*m*) But the *Statute* was not to inure till the Firſt of *May* following; ſo that they had Four Months before the Act could reach them. 'Tis true the King iſſued out a *Proclamation* to check the Licentiouſneſs of theſe New Bigots, but the Force

(m) *Journal of the Houſe of Lords.* December 27. An. Dom. 1547.

of *Proclamations* we ſee, were in a great Meaſure diſabled by the *Statute* of Repeal.

The Biſhop or Chancellor, &c. to aſſiſt at the Tryal of ſuch Offenders.

The Offenders againſt this *Statute* touching the *Holy Sacrament* were to be try'd before the Juſtices of Peace at the *Quarter Seſſions*. And here the Juſtices are order'd to direct a *Writ* in the King's Name, to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, in which the Offence was committed, that either himſelf, his Chancellor, or ſome other Learned Perſon deputed by him, might be preſent at the Tryal, ſit upon the Bench, and make Part of the Court.

The Holy Eucharist to be given in both kinds, excepting in Caſes of neceſſity.

By the laſt Branch of the Statute 'tis declar'd that the miniſtring the Bleſſed Sacrament unto all Chriſtian People under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, is more agreeable both to the firſt Inſtitution of the ſaid Sacrament of the moſt precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo more conformable to the common Uſe and Practice both of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Church, by the ſpace of Five Hundred Years and more after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, than the receiving under the Form of Bread only: And alſo that 'tis more agreeable to the Firſt Inſtitution of Chriſt, and to the Uſage of the Apoſtles, and the Primitive Church, that the People being preſent ſhould receive the ſame with the Prieſt, than that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone: It is therefore enacted, that the ſaid moſt Bleſſed Sacrament ſhall be commonly deliver'd and miniſtred unto the People within the Churches of England and Ireland, and other the King's Dominions under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, except Neceſſity otherwiſe requires.

By the *Caſe of Neceſſity* we are to underſtand, ſudden and dangerous Sickneſs, when Wine can't be provided, nor the Sick Perſon paſs comfortably into the other World without receiving the Sacrament. Laſtly,

'Tis enacted that Day before the Celebration of the Sacrament, *the Prieſt ſhould exhort the Congregation to prepare themſelves; and at Divine Service before the Adminiſtration declare the great Benefits promis'd to worthy Receivers, and the Danger of preſuming to come unqualified.*

The Statute concludes that this reſtoring the antient Practice with Reference to the Holy Sacrament ſhould not be interpreted to the condemning the Uſage of any Church out of his Majeſty's Dominions.

1 E. 6. *cap.* 2. *The Biſhops to be nominated by the King's Letters Patent, without* Congé déeſlire.

The next *Statute* makes a Change in the manner of chuſing Biſhops, and transfers the Election wholly from the Deans and *Chapters* to the *Crown*. The *Preamble*, in the firſt Place, alledges the Inconveniences of the former *Elections*, from the Circumſtances of *Delay* and *Expence*. After this 'tis ſaid in the *Preamble*, that the ſaid Elections are in very *deed no Elections, but only by a Writ of congè d'eſlire have Colours, Shadows, and Pretences of Election: That they ſerve to no Purpoſe, and ſeem derogatory and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, to whom only appertains, the Collation and Gift of all Archbiſhopricks, and Biſhopricks, and Suffragan Biſhops within his Highneſs his Dominions.* 'Tis therefore enacted, *that for the Future, no* Congé d'eſlire *ſhall be granted, nor any Election be made by the Dean and Chapter, but that the Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick ſhall be confer'd by the King's Nomination in his Letters Patents.*

I have had occaſion to obſerve already that thoſe who draw the Parliament *Bills* are ſometimes miſtaken in matter of Fact. And of this we have an Inſtance in the Parliament before us: For in the *Statute* of Repeal (*n*) King *Richard* the Second is ſtil'd the Progenitor of the preſent King, whereas 'tis certain King *Richard* left no Iſſue. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe that the Cuſtomary Choice of Biſhops by the Chapters were in Reality *no Elections*. The *Preamble* we muſt ſuppoſe means they were in a manner thus inſignificant ſince the Twenty Fifth of *Henry* the Eighth, Cap. 20. For by this *Statute* in Caſe the Dean and Chapter refus'd to Elect, the King was impower'd to nominate a Perſon for the *See* by his Letters *Patent*. But before this *Act* the Election of Biſhops in the Engliſh Church was lodg'd in great Meaſure in the Hands of the Chapters. For proof of this I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the firſt Volume of this Work. (*o*) And to what has been there deliver'd, I ſhall now ſubjoyn a more particular Account of the Antient Method of electing Biſhops in the Engliſh Church.

The Antient Method of electing Biſhops.

Upon the Vacancy of the See the *Canons* or *Chapter* fix'd a Day for the *Election*. To this purpoſe an Inſtrument was drawn up, ſetting forth the Day when the Biſhoprick became void, together with the manner of its being ſo, whether by Death or otherwiſe. If by Death, then after the late Biſhop was buried, thoſe of the *Chapter* upon the Spot, appointed the time, and gave notice to their abſent Members to appear at the *Election*. When the Day was come the *Chapter* put it to the Queſtion, whether they ſhould elect by Majority of Votes, or refer the Choice to a Committee? When this Point was ſettled, they proceeded to the Election, purſuant to the Antient Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church.

When the Election was made, 'twas publickly declar'd to the People, and the Hymn *Te Deum* was ſung, and the Perſon Elected carried in a Chair to the High Altar. And ſometime after this the Queſtion was put to him whether he conſented to the Choice. Upon his anſwering in the Affirmative, he was preſented to the Metropolitan with the Inſtrument of his *Election*. There was likewiſe Letters of *Proxy*, ſigned by the *Chapter* or *Convent* to be deliver'd to the Archbiſhop to ſatisfy him the Perſons who came to requeſt the Conſecration of the Elect were duly authoriz'd. (*p*)

No mention of the Congé de eſlire.

In this Record there is no mention of any Conge d'eſlire, which in the modern Applications of the *Chapter* for Confirmation and Conſecration, is never omitted.

Beſides, by the *Inſtruments* ſuggeſting that according to the Holy Canons the *See* ought not to be vacant above Three Months, and that the Time of the *Election* was govern'd by this Appointment. From hence 'tis pretty evident the *Chapters* in thoſe Days did not think themſelves under a Neceſſity of electing by a Conge d'eſlire; and of this I have given an Inſtance in the former Part of my *Hiſtory*.

To return to the *Statute*, in which there is a *Proviſo*, for ſecuring the Fees cuſtomarily paid by the Biſhops to the King, the Archbiſhops and their Officers and Servants; what theſe Fees and Expences were formerly, I ſhall not examine. But how they ſtand at preſent the *Reader* may ſee in the following Account. (*q*)

Fees to be paid by a Biſhop.

Fees to be paid by a Biſhop without a *Commendam*.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis, for the Signet, Privy Seal, Great Seal, for the Conge d'eſlire.	11	0	0
Item, for the Royal Aſſent.	11	0	0
Item, the Confirmation Dinner, *&c.*	5	0	0

Item,

(n) 1 E. 6. *cap.* 12.

(o) *Church Hiſt. p.* 213, 306. 328. *and Records Num.* 37.

(p) Biblioth. Cotton E. *VI. Fol.* 142. *ſee Records Num.* 57.

(q) *Paper Office.*

Item, Fees at *Bow Church* at the Confirmation.	0	10	0
Item, For the Conſecration Dinner at *Lambeth,* and Fees to the Archbiſhops Servants.	110	0	0
Item, Gloves for the Conſecration.	48	0	0
Item, Fees to be paid to the Regiſter of the Vicar General belonging to ſundry Perſons.	42	10	0
Item, Fees to be paid at Court at the doing of Homage.	51	0	0
Item, To the Gentlemen of the Chappel.	02	0	0
Item, Fees of Reſtitution to the Temporalties of the Biſhoprick.	27	0	0
Item, To be given to him that ſolliciteth theſe Suits to his Majeſty.	20	0	0
Item, Fees for a Teſtimonial of the Election and Conſecration, and a Proxy to be inſtalled.	02	0	0
Item, To the King's Trumpeters.	01	0	0
	331	0	0

Powers and Privileges of a Biſhop.

What Functions, what Extent of Privilege and Juriſdiction were comprehended in the Epiſcopal Character before the Reſtraints from the *Regale* begun in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, may be collected by an Extract out of *Sprozzius*, which I tranſcrib'd from the *Paper Office* (r)

(r) See Records Num. 58.

To go on with the *Statute*. 'Tis enacted that *all Summons, Citations, and other Proceſſes of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which uſed to be ſent out in their own Names, ſhall be made in the Name, and with the Style of the King, as it is in Writs Original, or Judicial at the Common Law: And that the Teſte thereof be in the Name of the Archbiſhop or Biſhop. And that every Biſhop or Perſon exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall have the King's Arms engraven on their Seals of Office. The Penalty for contravening the Statute is Impriſonment at the King's Will and Pleaſure.* (s)

Proceſs in Spiritual Courts to be made in the King's Name.

(s) 1 E. 6. *c.* 2.

This Act was repeal'd in the Firſt of *Mary Seſſ.* 2. *cap.* 2. After which time the Biſhops form'd their Proceſs in their own Name, and under their own Seals, according to Antient Uſage. But by the 1. *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 25. the aforeſaid *Statute* of *Mary* 1. *cap.* 2. is expreſly repeal'd: Whereupon 'twas infer'd and objected in Parliament, 4. *Jac.* 1. that immediately from and ever ſince the making the Acts of 1 *Jac. cap.* 25. the *Act* of 1 *Mar. cap.* 2. was repeal'd. Thus the Repeal being repeal'd, the *Act* firſt repeal'd was in force. And therefore that all the Biſhops which after the *Act* of the 1 *Jac.* had uſed their own Names and Seals and not the King's Arms and the King's Name, were within the Danger of the Firſt *Edward* 6. *cap.* 2.

The Biſhops not under the Penalty of 1. Edw. 6. cap. 2.

To this Objection the following Anſwer, which gave Satiſfaction, was return'd, *viz.* By 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. Intitled, an Act for reſtraining Annates and Firſt Fruits, &c. and Election of Biſhops, &c. 'Twas enacted in the laſt Clauſe but one, *that Biſhops ſhould be obey'd according to their Names, Titles, Degree and Dignity, and do and execute in every thing as they might heretofore at any time have done.* Now this Clauſe is directly contrary to the ſaid Act of 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. and therefore by making the *Act* of the 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. this Clauſe of 25. *H.* 8. was repeal'd. But afterwards by the 1. *Eliz. cap.* 1. the ſaid Act of 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. is reviv'd with all Clauſes and Sentences thereof; ſo as before the making the 1 *Jac. cap.* 25. the Statute of 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. had two Bars and Repeals. The firſt was the *Act* of 1 *Mar. cap.* 2. The Second was the reviving of 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. which was done by the 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. The firſt Bar and Repeal which was the *Act* of Queen *Mary* was taken away by 1 *Jac. cap.* 25. But the Second Bar and Repeal which was the *Act* of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. which revived the *Act* of 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. ſtands ſtill in force. And the *Act* of 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. being in force, the *Act* of 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. which in the forementiond Clauſe is directly contrary to 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. cannot be in force. To which may be added that this *Statute* of 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. for ſo much as concerns a *Præmunire* is repeal'd by 1 *Mar. Seſſ.* 1. (t)

(t) Biblioth. Cotton Cleop. VI. F. *Fol* 96. November *the* 5. Anno Dom 1547.

This *Bill* concerning the making Biſhops by the King's Letters Patent abovemention'd was committed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Upon the Second Reading 'twas committed to ſome of the Judges. Before it had gone thro' both Houſes, another *Bill* concerning the Style and Terms to be us'd in Eccleſiaſtical Courts was brought into the Houſe of Lords, paſs'd and ſent down to the Houſe of Commons on the Thirteenth of *December*. (u) At laſt both theſe Bills were drawn into one, and ſent up by the Commons on the Twentieth of the ſame Month, and ſign'd by the King. The Act, beſides what has been already obſerv'd, ſets forth that *all Authority of Juriſdiction Spiritual and Temporal is deriv'd from the King's Majeſty as ſupreme Head of theſe Churches, and that all Courts Eccleſiaſtical within the Two Realms are kept by no other Power and Authority either foreign or within the Realm, but by the Authority of his Excellent Majeſty.* (w)

(u) *Journal of the Houſe of Lords.*

Proviſo *in Favour of the Biſhops.*

(w) 1 Edw. 6. Cap. 2.

Upon this Ground, 'tis enacted that all Proceſſes in Eccleſiaſtical Courts are to be formed in the King's Name, as hath been already related. However there is a *Proviſo* in the *Statute* for Faculties and Diſpenſations granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and for all Collations, Inſtitutions, Inductions, Letters of Order, or Dimiſſories, which were to paſs under the Archbiſhop and Biſhops own Names and Seals, as they had formerly done.

By this *Act* great Advantages were taken to diſparage the *Reformation* as ſubjecting the Biſhops wholly to the Pleaſure of the Court. (*x*) " And as our Learned Church Hiſtorian farther " obſerves, the Extreme of raiſing the Eccleſia- " ſtical Power too high in the Times of Popery, " had now produced another of depreſſing " it too much. For ſeldom is the Counterpoiſe " ſo juſtly balanc'd, that Extremes are reduc'd " to a well temper'd Mediocrity. (*y*)

(x) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 43.

(y) Id. p. 49.

This Parliament made a Statute againſt Vagabonds, by which 'tis enacted, that any Man, or Woman, " not being diſabled by Age, Ac- " cident, or Sickneſs, and not having Lands or " other means ſufficient to maintain them, who " wander'd up and down idly for Three Days " together without offering themſelves to La- " bour and Employment, ſuch Perſons being " brought before Two Juſtices of Peace, were " to be Slaves Two Years to the Perſon that " brought them, and be mark'd with the Let- " ter *V*. Now by the ſeveral *Proviſo*'s againſt Clerk's Convict of this Offence, 'tis plain the *Act* was levell'd againſt Monks and Friers who went about the Country to get Entertainment, and furniſh themſelves with Conveniencies.

The Statutes againſt Vagabonds levell'd againſt the Monks.

1. Ed. 6. cap. 3. *Statutes at large.*

(z) Fuller *Church* Hiſt. *p.* 387. September *the* 10. Anno Dom. 1547.

Many of theſe *Religions* had but narrow Penſions, and thoſe of late not well paid, as appears by a *Proclamation* iſſued out for ſatisfying their Demands this way. (z) Now 'twas thought a Hardſhip, by ſome People, that the Monks who had a creditable Education, were bred to Learning, and many of them Perſons of Condition, ſhould be tied to the Labour, and come under the Penalties of common Servants, and be treated no better than the loweſt of the People. And this Uſage ſeem'd the more particular, becauſe they had been lately thrown out of plentiful Eſtates, and made a conſiderable Figure in the Kingdom. Beſides, ſome of them came to *London* to ſollicit for their Penſions. It is ſaid that ſuch Journeys were only a Colour: And that their Buſineſs was to give the People ill Impreſſions, and Practice againſt the *State.* (*a*) To this it may be anſwer'd, that there were *Acts* already in Being for the puniſhing ſuch Misbehaviour.

(a) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 45.

An Act for uniting Pariſhes and pulling down Churches in the City of York.

Another *Act* made this *Seſſion* takes notice in the *Preamble*, that the City of *York* formerly well inhabited, and furniſhed with good Livings for Learned Incumbents, was now much decay'd: Inſomuch that many of the Cures could not afford a competent Maintenance. To remedy this Inconvenience the Mayor and Recorder, the Ordinary and Six Juſtices of Peace are impower'd to unite as many Pariſhes, and pull down as many Churches, as they ſhall think convenient: And here the Materials of theſe *ſuperfluous* Churches, as they are call'd, are to be employ'd for the repairing other Churches and Bridges, and for the Relief of the Poor. (*b*)

(b) 1 Ed. 6. Cap. 9.

If 'tis enquir'd by what means the City of *York* ſunk thus low from its former Condition; the moſt probable way of accounting for this Declenſion is the late Diſſolution of the *Monaſteries.* For theſe Eſtates being parcell'd amongſt a great many People who liv'd elſewhere, the Trade of the Town muſt fail of Courſe; the Inhabitants grow leſs numerous, and by Conſequence the Livings which conſiſted, as the *Statute* takes notice, in Perſonal Tythes and Offerings, be proportionably leſſen'd.

December 6. Ann. Dom. 1547.

An Act for the Diſſolution of Chauntrys,&c.

Biſhop Burnet *pt. 2d. p.* 45.

The laſt *Act* I ſhall mention is that which gave the *Chauntry's*, Colleges, &c. to the *Crown.* This *Bill* began in the Houſe of Lords, where the paſſing it was conteſted, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, voting againſt it. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* inſiſted ſtrongly that the diſſolving theſe *Chauntry's*, Colleges, &c. might be poſtpon'd till the King came of Age: That by this Delay the Reaſons of the Diſſolution would be better anſwer'd, and the Lands preſerv'd, for the Improvement of the Royal Revenues: That during his Majeſty's Minority, there would be danger of alienating the Eſtates, and waſting the Treaſure ariſing from theſe Endowments. The Archbiſhop had likewiſe a farther View for the Befit of the Church. The Clergy were much impoveriſh'd by impropriated Tythes falling amongſt the *Laity*, which ſhould in all Reaſon have been return'd to the Church; (*c*) Things ſtanding thus, *Cranmer* had no Proſpect of retrieving the Misfortune, but by reſpiting the Diſſolution of the *Chauntry*'s 'till the King was a Major. Provided he could make the matter reſt till that time, he did not queſtion the pious Diſpoſition of this Prince might be prevail'd on to beſtow theſe Foundations upon the Parochial Clergy, who were now lamentably reduc'd: And thus far without Queſtion the reſt of the above-mention'd Biſhops concurr'd with him. But the Courtiers who puſh'd the *Bill* were acted by different Motives; they wanted Eſtates to their new Titles, and had no other way of ſatisfying their Pretenſions than by ſeizing the Opportunity, and ſharing the *Chauntry* Lands amongſt them, while the Government was in their Hands. (*d*) When the *Bill* was ſent down to the lower Houſe, 'twas ſtrongly oppos'd by ſome of the *Members.* 'Twas urg'd that the Burroughs could not maintain their Churches, nor defray the other Expences of the *Guilds* and *Fraternity's*, if the Eſtates belonging to them were granted to the *Crown.* The Arguments upon this Head ſway'd the Houſe, and brought them towards a Vote againſt paſſing that Part of the *Bill* in which the *Guilds* were concern'd. The Burgeſſes for *Linn* and *Coventry* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves moſt upon this Occaſion. But theſe active Members were taken off by the Court Party, upon an Aſſurance given that their *Guild* Lands ſhould be reſtor'd. Thus dropping their Oppoſition, the *Bill* paſs'd, and the Promiſe is ſaid to have been made good by the *Protector.*

This Bill oppos'd by Cranmer *and other Biſhops.*

(d) Heylin *Biſhop* Burnet.

It hath been already obſerv'd theſe *Chauntry* Lands, Colleges, *&c.* had been granted to the late King, his Heirs and Succeſſors. (*e*) By the Act* in the late Reign Commiſſioners are named for giving the King Poſſeſſion: Who when they had entred upon any Part of the Lands within their Commiſſion, the *Statute* from that Inſtant veſts the King and his Heirs in thoſe Eſtates. But as it happen'd, the Commiſſioners did not enter into a great Part of the *Chauntry* Lands in the late King's time, which was the Reaſon of making a new *Act* for this Purpoſe in the Reign before us.

(e) 37. H. 8. Cap. 4.

The Intention of the Founders of theſe Houſes.

The Reaſons for diſſolving them.

And here it may not be improper to acquaint the *Reader*, that the Endowment of theſe *Chauntry* Lands was for the Maintenance of one or more Prieſts, to Pray for the Souls of their Founders. Of theſe *Chauntry's* and free Chappels, there were Two Thouſand Three Hundred and Seventy Four. They were commonly united to ſome Parochial, Collegiate, or Cathedral Church. The free *Chappels*, tho' deſign'd for the ſame purpoſe, were independent in their Conſtitution, ſtood without being annex'd, and were better Endow'd. The Colledges exceeded theſe laſt Foundations, both in the Beauty of their Building, the Number of Prieſts, and the largeneſs of their Revenues. But now their Fate was determin'd, and to make the ſeizing their Eſtates better underſtood, the *Statute* ſets forth in the *Preamble*, that a great part of Superſtition and Errors in Chriſtian Religion, has been brought in the Minds and Eſtimation of Men, by reaſon of the Ignorance of their very true and perfect Salvation, through the Death of Jeſus Chriſt, and by deviſing and Phantaſyng vain Opinions of Purgatory, and Maſſes ſatiſfactory to be done for them which be departed: The which Doctrine and vain Opinion, by nothing more is maintain'd and upholden, then by the abuſe of Trentalls, Chauntry's, and other Proviſion made for the Continuance of the ſaid Blindneſs and Ignorance. (*f*)

(f) 1. Ed. VI. Cap. 14.

By the Way, the Miſperſwaſion, with reſpect to the Aſſiſtances deſign'd for thoſe *Deceas'd*, ſeems in a great Meaſure rectified, by the *Inſtitution* and *neceſſary Erudition*, ſet forth in the late Reign. In both thoſe *Books*, Diſputes about the Pains ſuffer'd by thoſe who dyed under imperfect Qualifications, is forbidden, neither, is the Name of *Purgatory* to be ſo much as mention'd. And as for praying for the *Dead*, 'twas not only part of the *Divine Service* at the making of this *Statute*, but continued ſo in the firſt *Reform'd Liturgy* for ſometime after.

By the ſettlement of Collegiate Churches and Chauntry's, there was a Proviſion made for a certain Number of poor People; the Alms was diſtributed on the Anniverſary Day of the Founders: This *Charity* was ſecur'd by a *Clauſe* in the *Act*: And the Commiſſioners were order'd to Aſſign Lands, parcel of the Premiſes, for the Maintenance of the Diſtribution.

To proceed; the *Act* promiſes the Eſtates of theſe Foundations, ſhould be converted to **Good and Godly Uſes, in Erecting Grammar Schools, in farther Augmenting the Univerſities, and better Proviſion for the Poor and Needy.** But theſe Lands being moſtly ſhar'd amongſt the Courtiers, and others of the rich *Laity*, the Promiſe in the *Preamble* was in a great meaſure Impracticable. To proceed to the *Body* of the *Statute*, in which 'tis Enacted, **that all and ſingular Colleges, free Chappels, Chauntry's, Hoſpitals, Fraternity's, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and other Promotions, mention'd in the 37th H. 8. cap. 4. with all their Manſion Houſes, Mannors, Rents, Tythes, Churches, Patronages, &c. which were not in actual Poſſeſſion of the late King, are granted to his preſent Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, for ever.** All Lands, Rents, *&c.* Settled for the Maintenance of any *Anniverſary* and *Obit* are likewiſe given the *Crown* by this *Statute*. The Colleges in both the Univerſities, the Chappel of St. *George* at *Windſor*, the Colleges of *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*, together with the Cathedral Churches are expreſly excepted, and ſecur'd in this *Statute*. However, the *Chauntries*, *Obits*, and Settlements, for Lights and Lamps in any of the Cathedrals, were to fall within the compaſs of the *Act*. By this *Statute*, the Commiſſioners are Impower'd to allow what Penſion they thought convenient, to thoſe who were turn'd out of theſe *Foundations*. By another *Clauſe*, all Alienations of the Lands, of Biſhopricks, Deaneries, Colleges, Archdeaconries, Prebends, *&c.* made to the *Crown* in the late and preſent Reign, are confirm'd.

And laſtly, **All Goods, Chattels, Jewels, Plate, Ornaments, and other Moveables, being the common Goods of ſuch Colleges, free Chappels, Chauntry's, or ſtipendiary Prieſts, are convey'd to the King.**

Orders of the Privy Council for this Year.

Having now given an Acconnt of the *Parliament* and *Convocation*, I ſhall proceed to the *Privy Council*, who were not altogether unactive in Church Affairs. I ſhall ſet down the Orders of the *Board* for this Year, as they ſtand in the *Council* Book.

Anno Dom. 1547. July 16.

“ An Order to the Dean and Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, to deliver a Silver Table, that ſtood upon the high Altar, by Indenture, containing the Weight of the ſame, to Sir *Anthony Aucher*. (g)

July 29. Council Book.

“ An Order to Mr. *Aucher*, to receive of the Chapter of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*, all ſuch Jewels and Plate of Gold and Silver, as they have by our Sovereign Lords Permiſſion, in their Poſſeſſion, to their Churches uſe; And forthwith to deliver the ſame by a Bill, indented to the Officers of the *Mint*, there expreſſing the ſeveral *Pois* and value of the ſame therein.

It would be difficult, to find a Law to Warrant this extraordinary Demand, but the Church and the *Exchequer* were Low, and the Court had occaſion for Mony. To go on,

Septemb. 26 *Council Book.*

“ A Letter was ſent by the *Council* to the Lord Admiral, acquainting him, that whereas 'twas Reſolv'd, the Lord great Maſter at his next repair to *London*, ſhould take Order for the puniſhing thoſe that had taken down Images, having no Authority ſo to do, and cauſe thoſe ſo taken down, having not been Abus'd, to be Erected again, that foraſmuch it is now conſider'd, that if thoſe ſhould be Erected again, it might engender Contention amongſt the People upon the Point, whether they were Abus'd or no; that the ſaid Lord Admiral now repairing to *London*, ſhould declare to the ſaid Lord great Maſter, it were beſt not to meddle in the Erection of thoſe taken down, until the return of the Lord Protector. And yet that it ſhould be proceeded to the Puniſhment of the takers down without Authority, as it was Order'd.

This Year, the *London* Apprentices, and the *Lollard-mob*, over-run their Bounds, *Reform'd* to diſorder, and inſulted the Clergy in the Streets. To check this Licenſe, an Order was ſet forth by the King and *Council*, in the Form following.

Novemb. 12. 1547. *Council Book.*

“ Foraſmuch as the Miſorders by the ſerving Men, and other young and light Perſons, and Apprentices of *London*, towards Prieſts, and thoſe that go in Scholars Gowns like Prieſts, hath of late, both in *Weſtminſter-hall*, and other Places of the City of *London* been ſo great, that not only it hath offended many Men, but alſo hath given great Occaſion (if on the Parties of the ſaid Prieſts, more Wiſdom and Diſcretion had not been ſhew'd, than of the other,) of Sedition and Murder, or at the leaſt, of ſuch Inconveniencies as are not to be ſuffer'd in a Common-wealth.---- For Reformation whereof, the King's Highneſs, by the Advice of his Dear Uncle, and other his Majeſty's *Council*, Willeth, and ſtraightly Commandeth, that no ſerving Man or Apprentice, or any other Perſon whatſoever, he or they be, ſhall uſe hereafter ſuch Inſolency and evil Demeanor towards Prieſts, as Revelling, toſſing of 'em, taking violently their Caps and Tippets from them, without juſt Title or Cauſe, nor otherways to uſe them, then as becomes the King's moſt loving Subjects one to do towards another.----Upon Pain to ſuffer Impriſonment, or other Corporal Pain, to the Example of all others, as to the Diſcretion of the Lord Protector, King's Majeſty's Council, or of the Judges, before whom the ſame is prov'd, ſeem Convenient.

God Save the King.

May 14. 1547. *Council Book.*

“ The Lords of the *Council* receiv'd Advice by the Ambaſſador in the *Regents* Court in *Flanders*, in how Honourable, Expenſive, and Friendly a manner, the Lady Regent there, had cauſed the Obſequies of the late King *Henry*, (God Pardon him) to be perform'd at *Ghent*. And likewiſe how very much diſpleas'd her Grace was at the ſcandalous Sermon of a *Friar*, who had treated King

“ *Henry's*

(g) Council Book Ex Biblioth. Rob. Harley Armig.

“ *Henry*'s Memory with a great deal of Satyr, and black Imputation.

A Letter of the Privy *Council* to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, takes notice that ſome People, had either upon a Preſumption of leave, or the Suggeſtions of their own Fancy‘ ventur'd to Sell the Bells, Plate, and Jewels, of ſeveral Churches. This Liberty is blam'd by the Privy *Council*, and ſaid to be of ill Example. And the Biſhop is commanded to enquire what Ornaments and things of value have been thus Seiz'd and Sold, and by whom, and to what Uſe the Mony has been employ'd. *

* Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 111.

Dec. 17. *Council Book.*

“ The Pariſhioners of *Penwith* in *Cornwall*, roſe in Tumults againſt the Commiſſioners, appointed to take an Inventory of the Church Jewels. To pacify this Mutiny, the *Council* Wrote a Letter, to acquaint them, that the intent of this Commiſſion, was rather to preſerve the Jewels to the uſe of the Church, and to prevent their being Imbezled, then otherwiſe.

“ By Letters from the *Privy Council* to the Lord *Wharton*, and the Commiſſioners appointed for the ſurrender of *Kirke*'s Wall, it appears the Maſter and Fellows of that *Society* had been before the *Council*. 'Tis likewiſe intimated this College had formerly refus'd to ſurrender their *Houſe*. And that the *Council* had once reſolv'd to have puniſh'd their Diſobedience to the King's Commiſſioners, and made them an Example, for Terror to others. But now they were grown more manageable, bent to a Compliance, and ſeem'd ſorry for their former ſtubborneſs. Upon theſe Conſiderations, the *Council* thought fit to continue them upon the Premiſes, till farther Orders ſhould be taken for their *Penſions*, and diſpoſal of their College. However, in the mean time, an *Inventory* was taken of their Goods.

Theſe Orders of the *Privy Council* were ſome of them diſpatch'd before the ſitting of the Parliament: However, I thought it better to lay them altogether before the *Reader*, then break the Thread of the Hiſtory, by keeping too cloſe to the exactneſs of Time.

In *January* this Year, there was an Order of *Council*, relating to the Marriage of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*. This Nobleman, who was Brother to the Queen Dowager, had Married *Anne Bourchier*, Daughter and Sole Heir to the Earl of *Eſſex*. This Lady being convicted of Adultery, a Divorce follow'd. And to ſettle the matter more ſolemnly, and make the Marqueſs a farther Reparation, a Commiſſion was granted in the beginning of laſt Summer, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, (which was then *Holbeke*) to Dr. *Ridley* and others, to the Number of Ten, of whom Six were to be a *Quorum*: Their Buſineſs was to Examine, whether the Matrimonial Relation between the Marqueſs and the Lady *Anne*, was not perfectly extinguiſh'd: And if ſo, whether he might not lawfully Marry another Wife. This liberty was not allow'd by the *Canon Laws*. And therefore the Eccleſiaſtical Courts gave no farther relief than Separation from Bed and Board.

May 7. Anno Dom. 1547.

A Committe of Biſhops, &c. for examining the Divorce of the Marqueſs of Northampton, *and whether 'twas lawful to Marry again?*

The Caſe being New, and of great Conſequence, *Cranmer* reſolv'd to examine it with the utmoſt Care, and go to the bottom of the Queſtion: to this purpoſe he drew a large *Collection* out of the *Fathers* and other Divines. (*h*) The reading a great many Books, forming Arguments, and coming to a Reſolution, requir'd longer Time than the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was willing to wait. He preſum'd his Intereſt would carry him thro', and therefore without ſtaying for Judgment, he publickly Married *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham*. This was look'd on as an irregular Step, by the *Privy Council*, in regard his firſt Marriage ſtood firm in Law. Upon his appearing before the *Board*, he alledg'd that he thought himſelf diſcharg'd by the Law of God: That the Indiſſolubleneſs of Marriages depended on the ſuppoſition of it's being a Sacrament: That this reſtraint was only a Branch of the Papal Conſtitutions. That the Court of *Rome* being Apprehenſive ſuch Impoſitions would not eaſily be born, had given way to the diſtinctions of the *Canoniſts*: And that by theſe Allowances 'twas no difficult matter to void the Matrimonial Ingagement. That the confinements of the Engliſh Church were great hardſhips, if upon the proof of ſcandalous Commerce, the Innocent Perſon muſt either live with the Guilty, or be expos'd to Hazard and Temptation: And that one of theſe Circumſtances muſt neceſſarily follow, if the Tie of the Marriage continued, and *Separation* was the fartheſt Remedy.

(h) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *Ex Mſs. Dr.* Stillingfleet.

However, ſince the Marqueſs had precipitated Matters, and made his own Choice before Judgment given, 'twas order'd that he and his New Wife ſhould be parted. Thus the Lady was put into the Queen *Dowagers* Hands, till the Delegates ſhould pronounce upon the Caſe.

The Arguments on which they founded their Sentence, were drawn from Scripture, the *Fathers*, and the *Civil* Law. They argue that our Saviour condemn'd all Marriage upon Divorce *excepting in the Caſe of Adultery.* (*i*) That this Exception is a plain Allowance of the Caſe reſerv'd: That our Saviour pronouncing married Perſons *to be no more two, but one Fleſh*, from hence it follows, that when either of the Parties have broken that Union by becoming one with another Perſon, the Marriage muſt by Conſequence be diſſolv'd. Beſides, Separation without voiding the Engagement is not to be reconcil'd, to what the Apoſtle writes to the *Corinthians.* (*k*) Farther, St. *Paul* putting the Caſe of an Unbeliever going off, and relinquiſhing the Marriage, determines that a *Brother or Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes.* Now if ſingle Deſertion amounts to a Diſcharge, which ſeems to be the Apoſtles Meaning, the Reaſoning from Adultery will be ſtill more Concluſive.

(i) *St.* Mat. 19. *v.* 9.

(k) Cor. 7. 3. *and* 4. Ibid. *v.* 15.

To this 'twas replied on the other ſide, that our Saviour allowing Divorce in the Caſe of Adultery, was a Privilege particular to the Jews. That this Indulgence was allow'd to ſoften the Rigour of the Moſaick Law, by which this Crime was capitally puniſh'd in the Woman. To prove this Liberty peculiar to the Jews, 'twas obſerv'd that the Apoſtle writing to the *Gentile* Chriſtians at *Rome* and *Corinth*, declares the Wife *bound by the Law to her Husband, as long as he lives,* (*l*) without any Exception of Caſes: And that other General Rule pronounc'd by our Saviour, *whom God has join'd together, let no Man put aſunder*, was alledg'd to prove the Matrimonial Tie indiſſoluble. To this 'twas anſwer'd, that theſe Texts thus interpreted, prov'd too much, and condemn'd Separation from Bed and Board, no leſs than diſſolving the

(*l*) Rom. 7. v. 2. *St.* Matthew 19. *v.* 6.

the Relation. That our Saviour left the Wife at Liberty to part with her Husband for Adultery, tho' by the Law of *Moſes*, only the adulterous Wife and the Perſon who debauch'd her were to ſuffer Death; but the Husband guilty of ſuch an Offence, was not capitally puniſh'd: By this Proviſion of our Saviour therefore with Reſpect to the Woman, they inferr'd the Marriage was evidently diſſolv'd by Adultery.

From hence they proceed to the Teſtimony of the *Fathers*, which becauſe there is no Reference to examine the Citations, I ſhall forbear to mention.

By the *Civil Law*, if the Man could prove his Wife a Strumpet, a Poiſoner, or Procureſs, he might have Judgment for a Divorce. And if a Woman could convict her Husband of Murder, Poiſoning, of breaking up, or robbing of Graves, ſhe had the ſame Remedy: And after the Divorce was once pronounc'd, either of the injur'd Perſons were at Liberty to marry. (*m*) And thus by the Conſtitutions drawn up for the Eccleſiaſtical Courts in this Reign, when Adultery was prov'd upon either of the Parties, the Innocent Perſon was not barr'd from Marrying at Diſcretion. (*n*)

(m) III. Cod. Theod. Tit. 16. Lex. 1.

(n) Ref. Eccleſ. Leg. *p.* 25.

Judgment given for the Marqueſs.

To return, the Queſtion was divided into Eight Branches, and put to ſome Learned Men, who return'd their Anſwer in Favour of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*'s Second Marriage. (*o*) Purſuant to this Reſolution Sentence was given for this Lord, and his Second Lady permitted to cohabit with him. However, Four Years after, he was adviſ'd to bring in a Bill into the Parliament Houſe for confirming this Judgment, of which more afterwards.

(o) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 58. *and Records Book* 1. *p.* 125.

In the latter End of *January*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* wrote to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, to forbid the Uſe of ſome Ceremonies formerly practic'd. The Letter is in theſe Words.

An Order of Council againſt bearing of Candles Palmes &c.

" This is to advertiſe your Lordſhip, that
" my Lord Protectors Grace, with Advice of
" others the King's Majeſties Council, for
" certain Conſiderations then thereunto mo-
" ving, hath fully reſolv'd that no Candles
" ſhould be born upon Candlemas Day, nor
" alſo from henceforth Aſhes or Palmes uſed
" any longer. Wherefore I beſeech your Lord-
" ſhip to cauſe Admonition thereof to be given
" in all Pariſh Churches throughout your Dio-
" ceſe with all Celerity: And likewiſe unto
" all other Biſhops that be here abouts, that
" they may do the ſemblable in their Dioceſes
" before Candlemas Day. And as for other
" Biſhops that cannot have Knowledge ſo ſoon,
" you may give them Knowledge hereof at
" more Leiſure, ſo that it be done before Aſh-
" wedneſday. Thus fare your Lordſhip well,
" your Loving Friend *T. Cantuar.* (*p*)

Lambeth Jan. 27. 1547.

(p) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 110.

Cranmers Mandate to Bonner.

The Reaſon of the Archbiſhops requiring *Bonner* to acquaint the Provincial Biſhops is, becauſe the Biſhops of *London* being Deans of the Epiſcopal College are oblig'd to execute the *Mandates* of their Metropolitan, and tranſmit his Orders to the *Suffragans* of the *Province*. And therefore tho' *Bonner* had no Inclination for Services of this kind, he could not decline them without entangling himſelf, and falling under Cenſure.

However, he ventur'd to demur a little to the Execution; Upon which the Archbiſhop writes another Letter to remind him that 'twas not ſo much his Order, as that of the Privy Council. Neither was there any Inconſiſtency, (as it ſeems *Bonner* had objected) between this Injunction, and the King's Proclamation lately ſet forth. (*q*)

(q) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 111.

The Purport of the Proclamation was to forbid all Perſons making any Alterations in the Rites and Practice of the Church, either by putting down the Old, or bringing in any new Ceremonies without publick Warrant. That all ſuch Singularities, all ſuch private and unauthoriz'd Fancies, were Arguments of Pride, diſpleaſing to God Almighty, and tended to the Diſturbance of Church and State. All Clergy Men are likewiſe forbidden to preach in any Place excepting their own Cures, unleſs licens'd by the King, his Highneſſes Viſitors, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. But notwithſtanding all innovating is forbidden, there is a Clauſe in the *Proclamation* to ſcreen thoſe from Puniſhment, who ſhould omit or refuſe the *bearing of Candles on Candlemas Day, taking Aſhes on Aſhwedneſday, creeping to the Croſs, bearing Palmes, or taking Holy Bread or Holy Water, or omitting ſuch other Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, which the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *by his Majeſties Command, with the Advice of the Privy Council has declar'd, or ſhall hereafter declare to the other Biſhops by his Writing under Seal, to be omitted or chang'd.*

An Order of Council for removing all Images out of Churches.

Feb. 6. Anno Dom. 1547.

Before this Order could reach the remote Parts of the Kingdom, 'twas follow'd with another concerning Images. Theſe it ſeems had either not been remov'd ſo far as the *Injunctions* requir'd, or which is more likely, the Council, advanc'd to a Reſolve of throwing them all out, (whether abus'd or not,) without Diſtinction. Their Letter to the Archbiſhop is to this Effect. They take notice that by one Article of the King's *Injunctions* all Images which at any Time had been abus'd, with Pilgrimages, Offerings or Cenſings, ſhould be taken away. " That
" the Execution was conteſted in ſeveral Parts
" of the Kingdom. That ſome People were
" ſo poſitive in their Superſtition, that the evi-
" dent Abuſe of Images was not thought a ſuf-
" ficient Motive to part with them: That the
" matter of Fact was likewiſe queſtion'd, and
" a great deal of ſquabbling in many Places,
" whether Images had been abus'd, or not.
" That Diſputes of this kind, unleſs obviated
" in time, would probably proceed to farther
" Inconveniencies: And that the Kingdom is
" ſcarcely any where quiet, excepting where
" theſe Occaſions of Diſturbance are wholly
" taken away. That the Catholick Church
" made uſe of no Repreſentations of this kind
" for many years: And that by no means 'tis
" convenient the living Images of Chriſt ſhould
" fall into Miſunderſtandings, about thoſe
" which are inanimate; eſpecially ſince they
" can't be ſaid to be any neceſſary Circumſtan-
" ces in Divine Service. For theſe Reaſons
" the Archbiſhop is requir'd to iſſue out his
" *Mandate* for the taking them down every
" where with all Expedition. The Letter is ſubſcrib'd by,

Edward Somerſet. *Anthony Wingfield.*
Henry Arundel. *John Ruſſel.*
Thomas Seymour. *William Paget.*

The Viſitors Injunctions to the Dean'ry of Doncaſter.

The King's Commiſſioners in their late *Viſitation* were ſomewhat particular in their Directions to the Clergy and Laity within the Dean'ry of *Doncaſter*. By their exceeding the *Injunctions* it ſeems they had ſomewhat of a Diſcretionary

Commiſſion. I ſhall mention ſome of their Orders to the Clergy. They injoin them to teach their Pariſhioners that Faſting in *Lent*, and at other Times of Abſtinence is no more than a mere poſitive, or human Law: That the Civil Magiſtrate may change the Times, or diſpence with the Auſterities: And therefore that all Perſons who have either Sickneſs, other Neceſſity, or Licenſe, may within the Bounds of Temperance, eat what they pleaſe without ſcruple of Conſcience.

Item. Before High *Maſs* is ſaid or ſung at the High Altar, the Engliſh *Suffrages* for the Proſperity of the King's Affairs, and the recommending his Subjects to the Divine Protection, was audibly to be read. (*q*)

(q) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. Record p.* 126.

Item. Every Sunday at the Time of the Prieſts going about the Church with Holy Water, he was to ſpeak the following Sentence in Three or Four Places where he might be beſt heard by the Congregation.

> *Remember Chriſt's Blood ſhedding, by the which moſt Holy ſprinkling, of all your Sins you have free Pardon.*

In like manner before the Diſtribution of the Holy Bread * he was to pronounce theſe Words.

* *This Holy Bread was not conſecrated.*

> *Of Chriſt's Body this is a Token; which on the Croſs for our Sins was broken; wherefore of his Death if ye will be Partakers, of Vice and Sins you muſt be Forſakers.*

The Clerk in like manner is order'd to bring down the *Pax*, and ſtanding without the Church Door, ſay theſe Words aloud to the People.

> *This is a Token of joyful Peace which is betwixt God and Mens Conſcience: Chriſt is alone the Peace Maker which ſtraitly commands Peace between Brother and Brother.*

By the way, the *Pax* was a Piece of Wood, or Metal, with the Figure of our Saviour upon it: When the *Holy Kiſs* mention'd by St. *Paul* (*r*) was left off upon prudential Motives; the Uſe of the *Pax* was brought in, carried about the Church, and offer'd all the People to Kiſs.

(r) 1 Cor. 16. 20.

Anno Dom. 154$\frac{7}{8}$.

This Firſt Year of the King's Reign Biſhop *Latimer* appear'd publickly, and exercis'd Part of his Function. He preach'd in *January* at *Pauls Croſs*, and the *Lent* after, before the King in the *Privy Garden*. (*s*) “In ſome of his Printed Sermons he complains the Holy Revenues were ſeiz'd by the Rich Laity; that the Incumbent was only a Proprietor in Title: That Chauntry Prieſts were preſented to ſeveral Cures, to excuſe the Patrons from paying their Penſions: That many Benefices were let out in Fee Farms by ſecular Men, or elſe given to their Servants as a Conſideration for keeping their Hounds, Hawks, and Horſes: And laſtly, that the Poor Clergy were reduced to ſuch ſhort Allowance, that they were forc'd to go to Service: To turn Clerks of the Kitchen, Surveyors, Receivers, *&c.* (*t*) Thus God was diſhonour'd in his Miniſters, the Church diſſerv'd, and Religion diſgrac'd. However, there was no Redreſs to be had: All this Outrage and Injuſtice was generally conniv'd at by the great Men: For as the Learned *Heylin* obſerves, which way could they go about to rectifie theſe Diſorders without condemning themſelves? (*u*)

(s) *Stow* Annal.

Biſhop Latimers *Complaint of the Invaſion of the Patrimony of the Church.*

(t) Latimers *Sermons p.* 38. 71. 91. 114. 241.

(u) Heylin. Hiſt.Ref.p.61.

The Declenſion of the Univerſities.

Neither were the *Univerſities* in any better Condition: They lay under the laſt Degree of Diſcouragement, as appears by *Aſchams* Letter to the Marqueſs of *Northampton*. He complains there was ſcarce any Sort of Motive left for Study: That Learning had neither Wealth nor Reſpect to draw the Fancy: That for theſe Reaſons, Improvement in Science was impracticable to Poor People: And as for the Wealthy,they had no Stomach to drudge for Attainments ſo little regarded: That unleſs Men's Hopes were reviv'd by Conſiderations of Intereſt and Figure, the moſt promiſing Genius's would miſcarry, and the Country ſink to the laſt Degree of Ignorance. (*w*)

(w) Aſchams Epiſt. lib. 1. p. 406.

One *Leaver* a Learned Man of *Cambridge* makes a reſembling Remonſtrance at St. *Pauls Croſs*. He applies himſelf boldly to the Courtiers; tells them the *Univerſity* was not much the better for the Five *Lectures* founded by the late King: That they had been falſe to their Truſt, and inrich'd themſelves with Revenues ſettled upon that Learned Society: That before they had the Diſpoſal of the King's Bounty, there was in *Cambridge* Two Hundred that ſtudied *Divinity* to conſiderable Improvement; but that now the Univerſity was lamentably thin, and diſpirited. (*x*)

(x) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. *p.* 266.

The Chauntry Lands miſemploy'd.

The Univerſity of *Oxford* had no better Fortune: The Chauntry Lands deſign'd by the *Act* for Proviſion for Poor Scholars, were divided amongſt the Courtiers, and the Salaries ſettled upon the *Lectures* unpaid. In ſhort, moſt of the Religious Foundations which at the Diſſolution of their Houſes ſhould have been employ'd for the Augmentation of the King's Revenues, the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Encouragement of Learning, was ſwallow'd by Men of a very uncommendable Character. Who as the *Hiſtorian* ſpeaks, ſeem to have been born for the Deſtruction of Senſe and Conſcience; who in regard they were *Lay-men* could have no Pretences to the Endowments of the Church: For ſince they were incapable of performing the Sacerdotal Office, with what Juſtice could they lay Hands on the Eſtates ſettled on that Function? However, all the Reaſon and Remonſtrance of good Men could not prevail with them to baulk their Avarice, nor hinder them from ſettling their Sacrilege upon their Poſterity.

Ibid.

And having mention'd *Aſchams* Report of the Condition of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, I ſhall add ſomething in general concerning the Courſe of their Studies, as 'tis repreſented by the ſame Hand. In one of his Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* he takes notice that the Study of the *Canon Law*, and *School Men*, began to be diſus'd: That they form'd their Syſtem of *Divinity* upon the *Holy Scriptures* and the Writings of St. *Auſtin*: That Languages and the *Belles Lettres*, began to be in vogue: That *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Tully*, *Herodotus*, *Thucidides*, and *Xenophon*, together with the Greek Poets of the firſt Claſſe, were much their Inclination. Afterwards, he complains in general of the Diſcouragements the *Univerſity* lay under. That the Men of *Long ſtanding* were moſtly gone off; and that Parts and Learning were generally overweigh'd by Favour, and Recommendations from great Men. (*y*)

(y) Aſcham Epiſt. lib. 2.

The latter End of this Winter a Committee of Divines were commanded by the King to draw

A Committee of Biſhops, &c. draw up an Order for adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt under both kinds.

draw up an Order for adminiſtring the *Holy Euchariſt* in Engliſh under both Kinds, purſuant to the late *Act* of Parliament. The Commiſſion was directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, *Weſtminſter*, *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Cox* Almoner to the King, and Dean of *Chriſt Church*; Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, Dr. *Taylour* or *Tyler* Dean of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Heynes* Dean of *Exeter*, Dr. *Robertſon* afterwards Dean of *Durham*, and Dr. *Redmayne* Maſter of Trinity College in *Cambridge*. Theſe were the Perſons who afterwards made the firſt *Liturgy*: And therefore *Heylin* is of Opinion they were now employ'd for the Buſineſs above mention'd. (z) The Learned Biſhop *Burnet* from a Manuſcript of Dr. *Stillingfleet* gives a different Liſt, on which we ought rather to rely, for *Heylin* ſpeaks only upon Conjecture: The Names are theſe, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, *St. Aſaph*, *Salisbury*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carliſle*, *Briſtol*, St. *Davids*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, *Weſtminſter*, *Rocheſter*, together with all the Doctors abovementioned.

These Prelates and Divines before they came to a Reſolution concerning the Form for the Adminiſtration in both Kinds, conſider'd the preſent Practice of the Church, and broke the Queſtion into ſeveral Diviſions. And here 'twas ſettled, that every one in the Commiſſion ſhould give his Anſwer in Writing. (*a*)

Their Anſwer to ſeveral Queſtions relating to the Holy Euchariſt.

Queſtion I.

Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted to be receiv'd of one Man for another, or to be receiv'd of every Man for himſelf?

Upon this Queſtion, they are all agreed that this Holy Sacrament was inſtituted to be receiv'd of every Man for himſelf, and not of one Man for another: But here it muſt be ſaid the Biſhop of *Durham* is not quite ſo clear as the reſt for the latter Part of the Queſtion.

Queſtion II.

Whether the receiving the ſaid Sacrament of one Man does avail and profit any other?

Here *Canterbury* and St. *Davids*, and the Two Drs. *Cox*, and *Taylour*, hold the Negative Part of the Queſtion. The reſt, excepting *Carliſle* and *Briſtol*, agree in a middle Senſe: They affirm the receiving this Holy Sacrament ſignifies nothing as to another Perſon, any farther than that all good Works done by any Member of the Catholick Church are in ſome Meaſure ſerviceable to the whole Body, by Virtue of the Union and Communication which runs thro' this *Spiritual Society*. I obſerv'd *Carliſle* and *Briſtol* were more expreſs: The firſt (whoſe Name was *Aldrich*) diſtinguiſhes between the Act of the Receiver, and the Oblation of the Sacrifice made by the Prieſt: If the Receiver comes unqualified, he hurts himſelf, and it may be, does no Service to any other Perſon. But the Offering and Diſtribution of the Holy Sacrament by the *common Miniſter* is Beneficial to preſent and abſent, Living and Dead.

Ann. Dom. 1547.-8.

Buſh Biſhop of *Briſtol* endeavours to prove the Celebration of the Holy Sacrament ſerviceable not only to the Receivers, but the whole Church. To this Purpoſe he quotes theſe Words of St. *Cyprian*. (*b*) *Quanquam fideliſſimus & devotiſſimus Frater noſter, inter cætera ſolicitudinem & curam ſuam cum Fratribus in omni Obſequio Operationis impertitur, qui nec illic curam corporum —— ſcripſerit ac ſcribit ac ſignificat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati Fratres noſtri ad Immortalitatem glorioſæ mortis exitu tranſeant & celebrentur, hic à nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiſcum, Domino proſperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apoſtolus Chriſti unus Panis & unum corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de uno pane, & de uno calice participamus. Nec loquitur de his Solis, qui eo tempore Corinthi conveniebant, & Sacramentum ab unius Sacerdotis manu recipiebant, verum potius de ſeipſo tunc procul à Corintho agente, & Corinthiis ipſis omnibuſque in Chriſtum credentibus, ubi tandem conſtituti eſſent, quos omnes ſignificat unum eſſe corpus qui toto Orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent.*

Queſtion III.

What is the Oblation aud Sacrifice of Chriſt in the Maſs,

The Reader ſhall have *Canterbury*'s Anſwer in his own Words, *viz.*

“ The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs* is not ſo called becauſe Chriſt indeed is there offer'd and ſacrific'd by the Prieſt and the People; (for that was done but once by himſelf upon the Croſs) but it is ſo called, becauſe it is a Memory and Repreſentation of that very true Sacrifice and Immolation which before was made upon the Croſs.

Holbeck and *Ridley* and *Ferrars*, Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *Davids*, declar'd themſelves much to the ſame Effect: The Drs. *Cox* and *Tyler* ſeem'd to go ſomewhat lower, and make the Oblation in the Holy Euchariſt mean nothing more than Prayer, Thankſgiving, and the Remembrance of our Saviours Paſſion. The reſt, that is *Holgate* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Reps* of *Norwich*, *Parfew* of St. *Aſaph*, *Tunſtal* of *Durham*, *Salcot alias Capon* of *Salisbury*, *Gooderick* of *Ely*, *Sampſon* of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *Day* of *Chicheſter*, and *Skip* of *Hereford*, together with *Lincoln* and *Carliſle*, agree in a Counter Senſe. “ They affirm the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the preſenting the very Body and Blood of Chriſt to God the Father, under the Form of Bread and Wine. That theſe Euchariſtick Elements are Conſecrated with Prayer and Thankſgiving for the univerſal Church, and in Remembrance of our Saviour's Paſſion. And here the Biſhop of *Carliſle* is ſomewhat more ſtrong and ſingular; his Words are theſe.

“ The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is even the ſame which was offer'd by Chriſt on the Croſs, ever and every where abiding and enduring of like Strength, Virtue, and Power. The Difference is, that on the Croſs, Chriſt being there both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offer'd himſelf viſibly; and in the *Maſs* being likewiſe both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offers himſelf inviſibly by the Common Miniſter of the Church, who in the Name and Stead of the whole faithful Congregation, offers and preſents as he is commanded by Chriſt.

Queſtion IV.

Wherein conſiſts the Maſs by Chriſt's Inſtitution?

Here *Canterbury*, *Salisbury*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*,

---

(z) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 57.

(a) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d.* *p.* 61. *Biſhop* Burnet ex Mſs. *Dr.* Stillingfleet.

(b) Epiſt. 6. lib. 3.

cheſter, *Briſtol* and St. *David's* are of the ſame Opinion: They affirm the *Maſs* by Chriſt's Inſtitution conſiſts in thoſe Things which are mention'd in the Evangeliſt, *Mat.* 26. *Mark*, 14. *Luke*, 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, and 11. *Acts* 2. *York* adds *John* the Sixth to the former Texts, but ſeems to come towards the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation, *Cox* and *Tyler* are ſomewhat more explicite, and make the *Maſs* conſiſt in the Diſtribution of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in Memory of his Paſſion.

Queſtion V.

What Time the accuſtom'd Order began firſt in the Church, that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament?

To this *Canterbury* anſwers thus, "I think the Uſe that the Prieſt alone did receive the Sacrament without the People, began not within Six or Seven Hundred Years after Chriſt. *Lincolns* Anſwer is much the ſame, only he gives Reaſons and Dilates a little. *Rocheſter* differs from theſe two only as to the Time, and ſeems to grant ſomewhat more of Antiquity to the Cuſtom.

York is ſomewhat ſingular in his Anſwer, and relies upon a forg'd *decretal* Epiſtle.

He affirms, "the Cuſtomary Order that Prieſts ſhould receive the Sacrament alone began about the Time of *Zepherinus*, who when the Common People had left their daily and frequent Communion, ordain'd that they ſhould communicate at the leaſt once a year, which was at *Eaſter*; which Ordinance was confirm'd by *Innocent* the Third. *Rocheſter* alledges ſome of theſe ſpurious Authorities for a contrary Purpoſe. *London*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Chicheſter*, St. *Aſaph* and *Durham* are uniform in their Sentiment, they don't pretend to found the Practice upon any Conſtitution, but refer it to the Decay of the Primitive Fervour, and the Abatement of Devotion in the People, who when they abſented themſelves from the Sacrament, the Prieſts were forced to receive it alone. The Biſhop of *Durham* explains himſelf farther, and obſerves that at firſt the People receiv'd the Holy Euchariſt every Day; afterwards thrice a week, then on Sundays only: And Devotion growing more languid upon the Courſe of Time, the Intervals of the Solemnity were ſtill more diſtant, and the People receiv'd no oftner than thrice a year, that is at the Feſtivals of Chriſtmaſs, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide.

Queſtion VI.

Whether it be convenient that the ſame Cuſtom continue ſtill within this Realm?

Here *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter* are for reviving the Primitive Uſage, as founded upon *Scripture*, and declare againſt ſolitary Communion. The reſt of the Biſhops determine the other Way: They wiſh the Prieſt might have ſome of the Congregation to receive with him at every *Maſs*; however if the Coldneſs of their Devotion makes them decline communicating, they think it both lawful and convenient, that the Prieſt ſhould ſay *Maſs* and receive the Sacrament alone. Dr. *Cox* ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion in Caſe the People cannot be prevail'd with to communicate with the Prieſt.

Queſtion VII.

Whether it is convenient that Maſſes ſatisfactory ſhould continue, that is, Prieſts hir'd to Sing Maſs for Souls departed?

Canterbury anſwers, he thinks it not convenient that ſatisfactory *Maſſes* ſhould continue. *Rocheſter* and Dr. *Cox*, agree with the Archbiſhop. *London*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, *Chicheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*, joyn in the ſame Anſwer. They Affirm the Queſtion before them is not couch'd in the Language of the *Schoolmen*; however, they believe the Prieſt praying in the *Maſs* for the Quick and Dead, and officiating in other Circumſtances of the Sacrament, may lawfully receive a maintenance upon this Score.

Durham affirms, all Prieſts when they ſay *Maſs*, are bound to Pray for the whole Catholick Church, both in this World and in the other, tho' they are not under Promiſe or Agreement, of receiving Mony for this purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *ſince the People are made Partakers of their ſpiritual things, their Duty is alſo to Miniſter unto them in carnal Things.* (*b*)

Lincoln goes a middle way, and argues for his Opinion; He cites the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* to maintain the full ſatisfaction of the Sacrifice upon the Croſs: *That Chriſt by his own Blood entred in once into the holy Place, having obtain'd eternal Redemption for us: And that by one Offering he hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified.* (*c*) That the keeping up ſatisfactory *Maſſes* in the Notion receiv'd, ſeems to Import a Deficiency in the Redemption upon the *Croſs*; and that the Apoſtles wanted either Learning, or Benevolence in their Inſtructions. 'Tis true, ſays he, *Nauclerus* Informs us, *Gregory* the Third order'd the Prieſts to Pray and Offer for the Dead: But tho' Antient Writers mention this as part of the Prieſts Office, yet they never allow of Contracts, and Mony Conſiderations for this purpoſe.

The Biſhop of *Ely* delivers himſelf to this Senſe: He owns Praying for the Dead is a Commendable, Primitive, and uninterrupted Cuſtom, and ſeems to have ſome Ground in *Scripture*; and for this he Appeals to the Teſtimonies of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Auſtin*, and others. But to ſay *Maſs* for Mony, by way of Commerce and Exchange, as if there was a juſt Proportion between the Prayer and the Mony, between the Performance and the Reward: Managing thus, as it were, by way of Articles, looks, he thinks, like Simoniacal Covetouſneſs. And yet all this muſt be underſtood within a due Reſerve for thoſe *Texts* of *Scripture*, where the *Labourer* is ſaid, *to be worthy of his Hire,* (*d*) *and the Lord has Ordain'd, that they that Preach the Goſpel ſhould Live of the Goſpel.*

The Biſhop of *Carliſle* Affirms, that if any Thing, or Action of the Prieſt, is interpreted to a full ſatisfaction of Sins Venial or Mortal, he knows no Authority in Proof of ſuch an Aſſertion: Neither is he willing to grant that Prieſts are hired by way of Bargain to ſay *Maſs* for Souls departed. He would rather have it that the Praying for the Living and Dead, is part of the *Church Service*; that 'tis perform'd by the Prieſt as a Branch of his Function, without any regard to the Advantage of his Pocket: However, he thinks the Clergy ought to be conſidered for theſe Miniſtrations. Then as to

---

(b) Rom. 15. v. 27.

(c) Heb. 9. 12. & 10. 14.

(d) Luke 10. 7. 1 Cor. 9. 14.

to the perfect and plenary ſatisfaction for all Sins, that is only to be attributed to our Saviours Paſſion: However, thoſe who go into the other World, charg'd only with ſome leſſer Faults unrepented, he hopes may be reliev'd by the Euchariſtick Sacrifice, and the Prayers of the Church, and for this he cites St. *Auſtin.* St. *Jerome*, &c. *Pro non valdè malis Propitiationes fiant, & de levioribus Peccatis, cum quibus Obligati Defuncti ſunt, poſſunt poſt mortem Abſolvi*, &c.

Queſtion VIII.

Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught at the Time of the Maſs, to the underſtanding of the People being preſent,

Here *London* and *Durham* are of one Opinion. They don't think it neceſſary a Sermon ſhould be Preach'd at every *Maſs*, tho' they grant the frequent Uſe of ſuch Inſtruction is very commendable. The reſt ſpeak ſomewhat higher for this Practice, and ſeem to make it in a manner neceſſary.

Queſtion IX.

Whether in the Maſs it were convenient to uſe ſuch Speech as the People may underſtand?

To this *Canterbury* Anſwers, he thinks it convenient to uſe the vulgar Tongue in the *Maſs*, excepting in certain ſecret Myſteries, concerning which he is unreſolv'd at preſent. *York* agrees with him, but without any Heſitation concerning the Myſteries.

London, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, and St. *Aſaph*, pronounce they think it not convenient the whole *Maſs* ſhould be in Engliſh.

Durham's Anſwer looks the ſame Way; He Affirms that *Latin* being the common Language of the Weſtern *Liturgies*, he thinks the continuance of it ought to be kept on, eſpecially as to the more Myſterious Part of the *Service*: He conceives the Majeſty of Religion would ſuffer and grow Cheap, if the moſt Solemn Part of it ſhould be underſtood by the *Audience*. Notwithſtanding this ſingularity, he believes the tranſlating ſeveral Prayers, for informing the Underſtanding, and exciting the Devotion of the People, might be a ſerviceable Expedient.

Lincoln's Anſwer diſagrees with *Durham*. This Biſhop inſiſts upon the Apoſtles Authority and Reaſoning. *(e)* To prove the *publick Service* ought to be in a Tongue the People Underſtand, without which they are not in a condition to ſay *Amen*: He adds that long after the Apoſtles Times, the *Liturgies* continued in the Language of the Country.

(e) 1 Cor. 14.

Ely reinforces *Lincoln*, by producing Inſtances. This was the Cuſtom, ſays he, in *Dalmatia*, in St. *Jerome*'s Time. And afterwards when *Cyril* applied to the Court of *Rome*, for the ſame Uſage in *Sclavonia*, the Caſe being debated in the Conſiſtory, and the Motion oppoſed by a ſtrong Party, a Voice was heard as it were from Heaven. *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis Lingua confiteatur ei*: And thus the Deciſion was made in favor of *Cyril*, however *Ely* concludes with a Proviſo for altering his Mind upon better Information.

Carliſle Obſerves, that the Publiſhing the holy *Scriptures* in Engliſh, in the late Reign, were firſt thought Inconvenient, and afterwards allow'd by the Advice of the Clergy: And that for his Part he was ready to follow Authority, and ſubmit his Underſtanding to his Superiors.

Rocheſter declares for the *Maſs* in the vulgar Language, and that the People have a Right to underſtand the *Church Service*: Which way elſe can they Anſwer the Prieſt, as they did in St. *Cyprian*'s Time, *Habemus ad Dominum*; *that is, we lift them up unto the Lord.* However, upon the Authority of St. *Baſil* and the Counterfeit St. *Dennis*, he thinks 'twould not be Inconvenient if the Words of Conſecration were *ſecreted* or ſpoken low.

Briſtol is of Opinion, that ſaying the whole *Maſs* in Engliſh, would bring a Singularity upon the Engliſh Church, and make her differ from the reſt of Chriſtendom.

Queſtion X.

When the Reſervation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the ſame firſt began,

To this Queſtion we have only the Anſwers of *Canterbury* and *Lincoln*. The firſt believes the Reſervation of the Sacrament began Six or Seven Hundred Years after Chriſt, and that the Hanging it up hath ſtill leſs Antiquity. The latter Cites *Polydore Virgil*, for a Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Third, in which the reſerving the Sacrament was Order'd, that it might be always ready for the Benefit of Sick Perſons. This Decree was confirm'd by *Honorius* the Third, who added a Clauſe for keeping it in *loco ſingulari, Mundo, & ſignato*: He likewiſe commanded the Prieſt to inſtruct the People, to make a low Reverence at the *Elevation*, and when 'twas carried to the Sick. As for the Hanging the Sacrament over the Altar, this Biſhop of *Lincoln* Affirms it a Cuſtom of a later time, and not yet univerſally received *(f)*

(f) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. Records p.* 133. & deinc ex *Mſs. Dr.* Stillingfleet.

Whether theſe Queſtions were debated before the late *Statute*, for communicating under both kinds, is ſomewhat uncertain, for by that *Act* the Prieſts are not reſtrain'd from Conſecrating, tho' none of the Congregation Communicated with them.

A Form drawn up by the Biſhops for communicating in both Kinds.

This Committee of Biſhops and Divines, mov'd gently in the *Reformation*. They were willing to ſatisfy the Court and the *Act* of Parliament; and at the ſame Time find out ſuch a Temper, as might not be ſhocking to thoſe of the Old Perſwaſion. Thus by the Form they drew up, the *Office of the Maſs* continued as formerly in the Latin Tongue, to the End of the *Canon*: After this an Exhortation in Engliſh was made to thoſe who intended to receive the holy Euchariſt. It began with theſe Words: *Dearly Beloved in the Lord, the coming to this holy Communion*, &c. then followed the *Invitation*: *You that do truly and earneſtly Repent you of your Sins*, &c. From hence the Office proceeds to a *general Confeſſion, to the Abſolution, and the comfortable Sentences out of holy Scripture*: And from thence to the Prayer, *we do not preſume to come to this Table.* Theſe Prayers were the ſame which are ſtill us'd by the Church of *England*. After this the *Holy Euchariſt* was given in both kinds, firſt to the Clergy, then to the People, with theſe Words, *the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body into everlaſting Life*: *The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Soul into everlaſting Life.* The Congregation receiv'd kneeling, and were diſmiſs'd with a Bleſſing. (*g*)

The Day before the receiving the *Communion*, the Prieſt made an Exhortation to prepare the People for the Solemnity: 'Tis much the ſame with that now in our *Liturgy*. Only after the Direction concerning Confeſſion, 'tis added that ſuch as made choice of the cuſtomary Confeſſion to the Prieſt, ſhould not Cenſure thoſe who thought a general Confeſſion to God ſufficient: And that thoſe who Confeſs'd only to God, ſhould not be ſhock'd with thoſe who applied to Auricular Confeſſion: That in things not preſcrib'd in holy Scripture or ſettled by Authority, every Man ought to follow his own Conſcience, without condemning a different Practice in others. The Bread was ſuch as had been formerly uſed, and broken into Two or more Pieces, and the People were taught the Quantity, whether more or leſs, made no difference as to the Benefit: And laſtly, there was no *Elevation* after Conſecration.

A Proclamation for Conformity to the Office.

This Form being approv'd by the Privy *Council*, was Publiſh'd with the King's *Proclamation* on the Eighth of *March*. "The Proclamation ſets forth that the *Office* was drawn up to preſerve a due regard for the holy Sacrament: That ſuch *high Myſteries* might not be approach'd with undue Qualifications, diſhonour'd by diverſity of Uſage, or profan'd by undecent Addreſs. The Subjects are commanded to conform to this Order, that the King may be encourag'd to proceed in the Progreſs of the *Reformation*: And here they are Injoin'd to wait the publick Direction, and not to over-run Authority. That ſuch unwarrantable Forwardneſs was the way to retard their Wiſhes, and diſappoint them in what they expected.

The next Clauſe is ſomewhat extraordinary, and therefore I ſhall give it in the Words of the *Proclamation*. *We would not*, ſays the King, *have our Subjects ſo much to miſtake our Judgment, ſo much to miſtruſt our Zeal; as tho' we either could not diſcern what was to be done, or would not do all things in due Time: God be prais'd, we know both what by his Word is meet to be redreſs'd, and have an earneſt Mind with all diligence and convenient ſpeed, to ſet forth the ſame*, &c.

The King was but Ten Years Old in *October* laſt, and therefore to ſuppoſe him a Judge in Controverſy thus early, and make him ſay he knew what was fit to be done was ſomewhat extraordinary. People would not eaſily believe, that a Prince ſo much within his Childhood, ſhould be furniſh'd with Learning, and grown up to that Maturity of Judgment, as to be in a condition to pronounce upon Articles of Faith, and to ſettle the Diſcipline and Worſhip of the Church: This is a Performance which requires a very penetrating and enlightn'd Underſtanding. To determine theſe Points, all the Advantages of Age and Improvement, are no more than neceſſary. Farther; by the Proclamation it appears, the People in many Places were very ungovernable and tumultuary; and thought themſelves Wiſe enough to ſtrike out a Scheme of Religion: And thus preſuming on their Abilities, they practis'd upon their private Fancies, and had not Patience to ſtay the leiſure either of Church or *State*. To prevent this Diſorder, to make the Devotions of the People Uniform, and recommend theſe beginnings of the *Reformation*, a ſufficient Number of Copies, of the *Office* above-mention'd, was tranſmitted to the Biſhops, with a Letter of direction for the diſpoſal. The *Councils* Letter, (*h*) drawn up by Archbiſhop *Cranmer* runs thus.

A Letter of the Privy Council to all the Biſhops for the ſame purpoſe.

March 15. Anno Dom. 154$\frac{7}{8}$.

" After our moſt hearty Commendations unto your Lordſhips, where in the Parliament late holden at *Weſtminſter*, it was amongſt other things moſt Godly Eſtabliſh'd, that according to the firſt Inſtitution and uſe of the Primitive Church, the moſt holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould be diſtributed to the People, under the kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the Effect whereof, the King's Majeſty minding, with the Advice and Conſent of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the reſt of the *Council*, to have the ſaid *Statute* well executed in ſuch ſort, as like as it is agreeable with the Word of God, ſo the ſame may alſo be faithfully and reverently receiv'd of his moſt loving Subjects, to their Comforts and Wealths, hath caus'd ſundry of his Majeſty's moſt Grave and well learned Prelates, and others. learned Men in the *Scriptures*, to Aſſemble themſelves for this matter, who after long Conference together, have with deliberate Advice, finally agreed upon ſuch an Order, to be us'd in all Places of the King's Majeſty's Dominions, in the diſtribution of the ſaid moſt Bleſſed Sacrament, as may appear unto you by the *Book* thereof, which we ſend herewith unto you; albeit knowing your Lordſhips Knowledge in the *Scriptures*, and earneſt good Will and Zeal to the ſetting forth of all things, according to the Truth thereof, we be well aſſured, you will of your own good Will, and upon reſpect to your Duty, diligently ſet forth this moſt godly *Order* here agreed upon, and commanded to be uſed by the Authority of the King's Majeſty, yet remembring with all, the Crafty Practices of the Devil, who ceaſeth not by his Members, to work by all ways and means the hindrance of all Godlineſs, and conſidering farther, that a great number of the Curates of the Realm, either for lack of Knowlege cannot, or for want of good Mind, will not be ſo ready to ſet forth the ſame as we could wiſh, and as the Importance of the matter, and their own bounden Duty requireth; we have thought good to Pray and Require your Lordſhips, and nevertheleſs in the King's Majeſty, our moſt dread Sovereign Lord's Name, to command you, to have an earneſt, careful, and diligent reſpect, both in your own Perſon, and by all your Officers, and Miniſters alſo, to cauſe theſe *Books* to be deliver'd to every Parſon, Vicar, and other Curate within your Dioceſe, with ſuch diligence as they may have ſufficient time well to Adviſe, and inſtruct themſelves for the diſtribution of the moſt holy Communion, according to the Order of this *Book*, before this and *Eaſter* Time, and alſo that they may be by your good means well directed to uſe ſuch good, Gentle, and Charitable Inſtruction, of their weak, ſimple, and unlearned Pariſhioners, as may be to all their good Satisfaction, as much as may be; praying you to conſider that this Order is ſet forth, to the intent there ſhould be in all Parts of the Realm, and amongſt all Men, one uniform manner quietly uſed: The well executing whereof, like as it ſhall ſtand very

---

(g) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.* p. 58. L'Eſtrange's *Allyance of Divine Offices*, p. 339. & dinc.

(h) *Paper Office.*

“ very much in the diligence of your and others “ of your Vocation, ſo we Eſtſounds require “ you, to have an earneſt reſpect thereunto, “ as you tender the King's Majeſty's Pleaſure, “ and will anſwer for the contrary.

T. Cant. R. Ryche Cancell. Wm. St. John, J. Ruſſell, H. Arundell, Wm. Petre, Ed. North, Edward Wotton.

Thoſe who adher'd to the Doctrines and Practices *receiv'd*, were diſguſted at this *Order*: They were diſturb'd to find *Confeſſion* left indifferent; and Apprehenſive the People would go too far in this Liberty, and avoid the Mortification of diſcovering their Conſcience. They obſerv'd our Saviour had given the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, the Power of *binding and looſing*; and that St. *James* Exhorts Chriſtians, *to confeſs their Faults one to another*. However, our learned *Church Hiſtorian* (i) Affirms, *'tis certain that Confeſſion to a Prieſt, is no where injoin'd in the Scripture*. But the famous Dr. *Hammond* ſeems of a different Sentiment: And to prove that by *confeſſing one to another*, (k) is meant Confeſſion to a Prieſt, he Obſerves that the King's *MSſ.* has the Particle οὖν *therefore*. That this plainly refers the Exhortation to the Fourteenth Verſe, where the Sick Perſon is directed to call for the *Elders of the Church*, that they may *Pray over* him, and Anoint him with Oyl, in order to his Recovery. This the moſt learned Dr. *Hammond* proves farther from the *Context*, and nature of the Matter. To warrant this Conſtruction, we have a Parallel Place in St. *Peter*, (l) where the Apoſtle commands us to *be all ſubject one to another*. Now to ſtrain this up to the Letter, muſt deſtroy all Government and diſtinction in the Church: And which is more; 'tis big with Inconſiſtency and Contradiction, for it makes every Body both a Subject and Superior, with reſpect to the ſame Perſon, and at the ſame Time: But God, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *is not the Author of ſuch Confuſion*. (m) To be ſubject therefore *one to another*, can mean nothing elſe, then that Perſons who are plac'd in a private and inferior Station, ought not to affect a levelling Humour, but ſubmit to Order and Authority. And thus by Parity of Reaſon, the Text in St. *James of confeſſing one to another*, muſt be underſtood. And to fortify this Expoſition, and bring it up to the Caſe in Hand, he obſerves, that by the *Elders of the Church*, to whom this Confeſſion is to be made, the Antients underſtand Biſhops or Prieſts. (n) However, it does not follow 'tis always neceſſary: In ſome Caſes, it may only be *Councel* and not reach to *Precept*.

That *Auricular Confeſſion* is attended with Advantage ſeems not ill prov'd by *Eraſmus*: (o) I ſhall mention a little of his reaſoning upon this Subject. In the firſt Place he takes notice, that Pride is the main Principle of Revolt and Diſobedience. By this unhappy Quality a Man is apt to reſt his Conduct wholly on his own Strength, and depend upon himſelf for his Happineſs: Humility therefore which makes him diſtruſt his Abilities, and reſign to the divine Appointments, is the firſt ſtep towards a Recovery: Now the making a diſcovery of our Lives, opening our Minds, and laying even our Thoughts before a Prieſt, muſt be a mortifying Exerciſe, and can't be done without ſome Conqueſt upon Pride. Now the ſhame of repeating this Diſcipline makes a Man more Guarding in his Practice, and is a ſort of Preſervative againſt a Relapſe. Beſides, the Penitent by laying the State of his Conſcience before a Prieſt, is better acquainted with the degrees of his Guilt, and the danger of his Miſcarriage. To this he adds, when the Diſeaſe is known, the Cure is more Practicable, and the Remedies may be better directed.

To proceed; 'tis ſaid, that in the Primitive Church *there was no Obligation to confeſs ſecret Sins*, (p) *ſince all the Canons were about publick Scandal*. But this Reaſon doth not ſeem ſtrong enough to ſupport the Aſſertion; for 'tis certain publick Pennance was ſometime Aſſign'd to private Confeſſion. That thoſe who confeſs'd privately, were order'd to do open Pennance, without being oblig'd to Publiſh their particular Miſcarriage, appears from St. *Baſil*. (q) *Adulterio Pollutas Mulieres & Confitentes ob Pietatem —— publicare quidem Patres noſtri Prohibuerunt, eas autem* Stare *ſine Communione juſſerunt donec Impleretur Tempus Pœnitentiæ*. And from the Fifty Eighth *Canon* of this Father, 'tis plain that theſe Women were diſpens'd with in the Three firſt Stages of Pennance: They were excus'd the diſcipline of the *Flentes*, *Audientes*, *& Subſtrati*; and immediately rang'd amongſt the Conſiſtentes, to prevent the diſcovery of their Crime. (r) Farther; 'Tis well known that before the Time of *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, publick Pennance was uſed in the *Eaſtern* as well as the *Weſtern* Churches. For the better regulation of this Diſcipline, a Perſon was Choſen to inſpect the State of the Penitents, and receive their Confeſſions. (s) To this Office *Sozomen* tells us, 'twas Cuſtomary to appoint ſome Prieſt Eminent for his Prudence and regular Behavior; but eſpecially one who was remarkable for his *Secrecy*. (t) Now to what purpoſe ſhould this latter Qualification be thought ſo neceſſary in a *Pœnitentiary*, if Confeſſions were not deliver'd as Secrets? And accordingly we find that Perſon of Quality, who occaſion'd the Change of Diſcipline in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, Confeſs'd to none but the Prieſt, tho' ſhe was at the ſame time *openly Penitent*. Now ſince private Confeſſion was thus Cuſtomary in the *Antient Church*, ſince there was a Perſon particularly appointed for this purpoſe, we muſt conclude 'twas then thought a very ſerviceable Expedient. As to the manner of Pennance for great Crimes, the Perſons injoin'd it, applied themſelves to the Archprieſt and *Penitentiary*, (u) who took their Names in Writing: After this, on the firſt Day of *Lent*, they appear'd at the Church Door, in a poor torn Habit, for this was then their Mourning Dreſs. Being entred the Church the Biſhops ſtrew'd Aſhes on their Head, and gave them Sackcloath to wear, then putting themſelves in a poſture of Proſtration, the Biſhop, with the Clergy and People, kneel'd down and Pray'd for them: (w) Then the Biſhop making an Exhortation, to affect them with a due ſenſe of their Crime, and preſerve them from Deſpair, drove them out of the Church, and ſhut the Door. In ſhort, they were not in many Caſes admitted to Communion, without running thro' a long Courſe of extraordinary Abſtinence, and a great many other Inſtances of Diſcipline and Mortification. They were abridg'd in almoſt all the Entertainments and Conveniencies of Life, and paſs'd their time worſe then common Poverty could

have

Private Confeſſion Examin'd.

Dr. Hammonds Senſe upon this ſubject.

Eraſmus recommends auricular Confeſſion.

Publick Pennance done in the Antient Church for Crimes confeſs'd only to the Prieſt.

The Manner of Pennance.

(i) Bp. Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 6.

(k) James 5. 16.

(l) 1 Peter 5. 5.

(m) 1 Cor. 14. 33.

(n) Hammond in loc.

(o) Eraſm. Exomologeſis ſeu Modus confitendi.

(p) Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 2*d.* *p.* 65.

(q) 34. Can. ad Amphiloc.

(r) Morinus de Penitent. lib. 2. cap. 19.

(s) Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 19.

(t) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16.

(u) Hieron. Epitaph. Fabiolæ.

(w) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16. Tertull. de Pænitent. Cyprian. paſſim.

have uſed them. Their Habits and Devotions, their Retirement and publick Appearances, were all of them Apparent Signs of unuſual Severity, of Sorrow and Submiſſion. And theſe Exerciſes of Humiliation were ſometimes continued for ſeveral Years. For Inſtance, St. *Baſil* aſſigns Two Years Pennance for Theft, Seven for Fornication, Eleven for Perjury, Fifteen for Adultery, Twenty for Murther, and the whole Life for Apoſtacy. (*x*) Theſe Humiliations had an admirable Effect upon the Chriſtians of thoſe Times. And as the Apoſtle ſpeaks in a like Caſe, *what carefulneſs did it work in them? What clearing of themſelves? What Indignation? What Fear,* &c. (z)

(x) Baſil Ep. 3. Can. ad Amphiloch. c. 56. 58. 59. 61. 64. 73.

(z) 2 Cor. 7. 11.

In after Ages, when the Primitive Fervor went off, when People were more ready to Run Riot, and grew leſs Governable under Miſcarriage, the Diſcipline of the Church was relax'd, and too much Indulgence allow'd to *Pilgrimages* and *Cruiſades.* However, misbehaviour was remarkably call'd to an Account in the Engliſh Church, as appears by the *Penitentials* of the Archbiſhops *Theodore*, and *Egbert*, (*a*) and by that other drawn up in the Tenth Century. (*b*)

(a) Spelman de Concil. vol. 1. Hittorpius de Offic. Divin. Morin. de Pœniten.

Our learned Church Hiſtorian obſerves, *the not reſtoring publick Pennance, when private Confeſſion was left in a manner indifferent, was Cenſur'd as a great defect. That this was to diſcharge the World of all outward* Reſtraints. *That endeavors were uſed to revive the Antient Diſcipline, tho' without Succeſs:* (*c*) That which made this matter Impracticable, without the Concurrence of the *Civil* Authority, was the total diſuſe, as he continues, of all publick *Cenſure.* But this, under Favor, is ſomewhat miſtaking matter of Fact. For we have ſeveral remarkable Inſtances to perſwade us, that publick Diſcipline was all along kept on Foot in the *Engliſh* Church: For the purpoſe; St. *Dunſtan* excommunicated a licentious Count, and refus'd to admit him to Communion, tho' Abſolv'd by the Pope, till he had made his Submiſſion, and gone thro' the Pennance preſcrib'd. For the detail of this Caſe, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the former part of this Work. (*d*) Farther, Archbiſhop *Chichley* in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, oblig'd the Lord *Strange* and his Lady to publick Pennance, for countenancing a Quarrel in the Church. To this I may add the Inſtance of *Jane Shoar*, in *Richard* the Thirds Time: (*e*) And *Cambden* in his *Remains*, mentions a Prieſt, who carrying a *Taper* in his Hand upon the ſame Occaſion, had the Text; *Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men,* profanely apply'd to him. Now if *Quality* and Prieſts, were thus expos'd for their Crimes, and put upon theſe unacceptable Exerciſes, we can't conclude that *publick Cenſure* was ſo much diſus'd, as to make it a practice perfectly New to the Nation, as our learned Hiſtorian ſuppoſes it. As for the Power of *binding and loſing*, he ſays, *'twas thought by many to be only declarative.* (*f*) If by *declarative* he means the Prieſts have no force in their Commiſſion to Abſolve a Penitent, and that the Abſolution pronounc'd by a Lay-man, is of the ſame Significancy; if this is the meaning, what Conſtruction can we make of our Saviours Words to the Apoſtles; *As my Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you, whoſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whoſeſoever Sins ye retain they are retain'd.* (g) And can we imagine that Words ſo plain in the Expreſſion, and ſo ſolemn in the Occaſion, are void of Weight and Signification? Not to mention the Right they imply of admitting into the Church, and excluding from it; not to mention this, they muſt amount to this meaning at the loweſt, that thoſe who neglect this Ordinance of God, and refuſe to apply for Abſolution to Perſons thus Authoriz'd, ſhall not have their Sins forgiven them, tho' otherwiſe not unqualified. And thus to put a reſembling Caſe, a Malefactor can't have the Benefit of the Princes Pardon, unleſs it paſſes the *Seals*, and runs thro' the Forms of Law. 'Tis granted the Form was Antiently *Deprecatory*, both in the Latin and the Greek Churches, as appears by the *Ordo Romanus*, the *Penitential* of *Egbert*, and the *Euchologion*, (*h*) But all theſe Forms, ſuppoſe the Power of the *Keys*, and that Biſhops and Prieſts are particularly commiſſion'd for this purpoſe.

(b) *My Eccleſ. Hiſt. p.* 188.

Not reſtoring publick Pennance a miſfortune upon the Church.

(c) *Bp.* Burnet, *pt.* 2. *p.* 67.

This Diſcipline not altogether diſus'd before the Reformation.

(d) Eccleſ. *Hiſt. p.* 197.

Id. *p.* 646.

(e) Stow Annal. *p.* 449.

(f) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 67.

The power of the Keys more than Declarative.

(g) *St.* Joh. v. 21. 23.

(h) Hittorpius. Morenus de Pænitent.

" Our learned Church Hiſtorian takes notice " that the formal Abſolution, given by the " Prieſt in his own Name, *I Abſolve thee*, was " a late Invention to raiſe their Authority " higher: But this Remark ſeems ſomewhat too ſevere, for the Forms of Abſolution, tho' never ſo *Indicative* and Abſolute, are always to be conſtrued in a *deprecatory* Senſe: Indeed the thing is pretty plain in it ſelf, for no Prieſt ever pretended to Abſolve in his own Name, and by virtue of an Independent Authority. No; the Power is ſuppos'd to be borrow'd, and the Office Exerciz'd by a delegated Juriſdiction. Had the Church of *England* been of this Gentleman's Opinion, that the Form, *I Abſolve thee*, had any thing of Intereſt and unwarrantable Deſign in it, ſhe would not have Preſcrib'd it in her *Viſitation of the Sick.*

Id lib. 8. *cap.* 22.

To proceed; Notwithſtanding the difference of Opinions, the New *Communion Book* was receiv'd over *England*, without any Oppoſition. " Thus Biſhop *Burnet.* (*i*) But *Heylin* Reports the matter ſomewhat differently: He acquaints us the Biſhops were not equally diſpos'd to a Compliance: That *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Voyeſie* of *Exeter*, and *Sampſon* of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, were more backward than the reſt: That many of the Parochial Clergy were no leſs diſenclin'd to the *Order*; that they endeavor'd to draw an Odium upon the Government, miſreported the King, and Alarm'd the People with the Apprehenſion of unpreſidented Impoſitions: And that no leſs than half a Crown would be exacted for every Marriage, Chriſtning, and Burial. To prevent ill Impreſſions of this kind, a *Proclamation* was Publiſh'd, that none ſhould be allow'd to Preach, but thoſe who were Licens'd under the Seals of the Lord Protector, or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* (*k*)

(i) *Part* 2. *p.* 68.

Id.

April 24. An. Dom. 1548.

(k) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 59.

In the beginning of *March* laſt, the King's Commiſſioners were diſpatch'd into all the Counties, to take a *Survey* of all Colleges, free Chappels, Chauntry's, *&c.* within the compaſs of the late Statute. And now the *free Chappel Royal* of St. *Stephen's Weſtminſter* was diſincorporated. 'Twas founded for Thirty Eight Perſons, a Dean, Twelve Canons, Thirteen Vicars, *&c.* The Rents were then valued at a Thouſand Eighty Five Pounds, Ten Shillings and Five Pence *per Annum.* The Chappel was afterwards turn'd to a Houſe for the *Commons* in Parliament.

The Commiſſioners diſpatch'd to ſeize the Chauntry's for the King.

The College of St. *Martin's Le Grand*, near *Alderſgate* in *London*, fell at the ſame Time. 'Twas

(l) Stow's *Survey of* London.

'Twas founded in the Conquerors Reign for a Dean, and Secular Canons, (*l*) and had the Privilege of a Sanctuary. The preſent King granted the Liberties and Precincts of this Foundation to the Church of *Weſtminſter*. The Dean and Chapter, it ſeems, miſbehav'd themſelves under the King's Bounty: They pull'd down the Church, Sold the Materials, and Leaſ'd out the Ground for Five Mark's a Year to one *Keble* of *London*. The ſite is exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and Govern'd by Officers Aſſign'd by the *Chapter* of *Weſtminſter*. (*m*)

(m) Id.

The Diſſolution of St. *Stephen's Chappel, and St.* Martin's Le-Grand.

(n) *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 60.

For this Sacrilege the Church of *Weſtminſter*, as *Heylin* reports, was quickly call'd to a ſevere Reck'ning. (*n*) The Lord *Protector*, thought there was no neceſſity of having Two Cathedrals ſo near one another as thoſe of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. He fancied the diſſolution of the latter, as being lately Founded, would be leaſt regretted. Now the Revenues and Buildings of *Weſtminſter* were vaſt and magnificent. The diſſolution gave a tempting Proſpect to the *Protector*. This Nobleman, it ſeems had a Project of Building a Palace with the Materials of the Abbey. *Benſon* the firſt Dean of the Church, being appriz'd of the *Protectors* Fancy, was glad to compound, to preſerve the *Society*. To this purpoſe, a Leaſe of Seventeen Mannors in the County of *Glouceſter* for Ninety Nine Years, was made to *Thomas* Lord *Seymour*, the Protectors Brother. And to ſecure their Intereſt farther, and Purchaſe Protection and good Humour, another Preſent of almoſt as many Mannors and Farms, was paſs'd in a Leaſe of the ſame Length, to Sir *John Maſon*, for the *Protectors* Uſe. Thus *Benſon* preſerv'd the Dean'ry, with ſome remains of Revenue. However, he was by no means pleas'd with his Conduct in the Expedient. He had in the laſt Reign been Inſtrumental in the ſurrender of the Abbey, and had now Impoveriſh'd the Foundation to a very remarkable Degree: Theſe Conſiderations ſate heavy upon his Spirits, and occaſion'd his Death ſoon after: He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Cox*, the King's Almoner, Dean of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, and Chancellor of that Univerſity. Theſe Foundations of St. *Martin*, and St. *Stephen*, being richer, and ſomething more remarkable in their Story than the reſt, I thought it not improper to Inſiſt a little upon them.

The Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter *alienate more than half of their Lands.*

Id.

About this Time Complaints were brought to Court, of Biſhop *Gardiners* diſaffection to the King's Proceedings. That ſince his being diſcharg'd from the *Fleet* in *January* laſt, he had fail'd in his Promiſe of Compliance, and had ſhewn himſelf particularly troubleſome in the Caſe of Images. The *Council* were inform'd that he had Order'd all his Servants to be privately Arm'd: That he had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the Preachers ſent down by the *Protector* and the reſt of the *Board*: That he had caution'd the People to avoid theſe New Divines, and adhere to the Doctrines formerly receiv'd. That being again ſent for by the *Council*, and charg'd with ſeveral Articles, he was diſmiſs'd a Second Time upon promiſe of Inoffenſive Behaviour. However, this was no full Diſcharge, for he was confin'd to his Houſe in *London*. And here he fell into another Relapſe, exceeded his Bounds, and tamper'd in publick Buſineſs without Authority. (*o*) And now receiving another Reprimand from the Protector and *Council*, he promiſ'd Compliance once more, and becauſe he underſtood he had been repreſented to diſadvantage, he offer'd to declare his Sentiment in the *Pulpit*, and purge himſelf upon the Points Objected. In ſhort, St. *Peter*'s Day was Aſſign'd him to Preach before the King. The *Protector* ſuſpecting he might go too far in Controverſy, occaſion new Scruples, and unſettle the *Audience*, ſent his *Secretary Cecil* to him on the Twenty Seventh of *June*, and the Day after wrote to him himſelf. "In this Letter he acquaints him he had Order'd *Cecil* to let him know he was to forbear inſiſting on the controverted Points, relating to the Sacrament of the Altar and the Maſs. To this *Wincheſter*'s Anſwer to *Cecil*, was, that he could by no means wave the mention of theſe Articles: That the Holy Euchariſt and the Maſs, were the principal Parts of the Chriſtian Religion: That theſe things have been already ſo publickly diſcours'd, the Biſhops Silence would be interpreted to Cowardice, and Indifferency: That he was reſolv'd to ſpeak the Truth, and Queſtion'd not giving the *Protector* Satisfaction. And that he could have wiſh'd his *Grace* would not have Interpos'd in matters of Religion: That the Conduct of this Affair was intruſted with the Biſhop's, and that in Caſe of Miſcarriage, the Blame ought to lie upon them.

Biſhop Gardiner's *Affairs farther embroil'd.*

(o) Fox *vol.* 2. *p.* 711.

The Protector preſcribes him the Heads of his Sermon.

The *Protector* being diſguſted with this Anſwer, Charges *Wincheſter* in the King's Name, not to Preach upon the Controverſy abovemention'd; but to ſpend his Diſcourſe upon the Articles Preſcrib'd; to preſs Obedience to the Government, and dilate upon the Motives, to Virtue and good Living. As for the Points of Controverſy, they were to be reſerv'd for a publick Conſultation. The *Protector* goes on, that his directing the Biſhop, pointing out his Subject, and limiting his Diſcourſe, is no more than he can Anſwer from his Character: That his intermedling with Buſineſs of Religion, and endeavoring to retrieve the People from Superſtition, is no ſmall part of his Office: That ſince he had the Concurrence of the Majority of Biſhops, and other learned Men, he ſhould not ſuffer *Gardiner*, and ſome few of his Sentiment, to diſturb the publick Harmony: And tho' he did not preſume to pronounce upon Points of Faith, yet when Truth was once diſcover'd and ſettled, he was reſolv'd to appear againſt thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it. (*p*)

He refuſes to comply, and is ſent to the Tower.

The Biſhop it ſeems, did not take the *Protector* for his *Ordinary* in theſe matters. He ventur'd to ſpeak of the Sacrament of the Altar before the King: This gave great diſguſt: He gave no better Satisfaction, in diſcourſing upon the Heads of Obedience and Government: Here, he is ſaid to have Miſbehav'd himſelf remarkably, and diſcover'd a very ſeditious Temper. (*q*) The *Council* therefore deſpairing of working upon his humour, and breaking his Reſolution, committed him to the *Tower*, and order'd the Doors of ſuch Rooms in his Houſe as they thought fit, ſhould be Seal'd up.

(p) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *Records p.* 154. Ex MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant.

(q) Fox. *p.* 712.

His Apology.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Endeavors to juſtify himſelf in the following Account. He reports that being diſcharg'd upon the Act of Pardon, he was requir'd to declare his Opinion on the Article of *Juſtification* in the *Homilies*: That having taken a Week's Time to conſider the Point, he told the *Council* his Conſcience would not give him leave to Subſcribe; upon which he was Confin'd to his Houſe. Afterwards

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

Id. *p.* 726.
* *To repreſent our Saviour's Burial.*

wards he was ſent for to the *Council*, Charg'd with bearing *Palms*, creeping to the *Croſs*, having a Solemn Sepulchre * in the Church at *Eaſter*, and practiſing ſome other Ceremonies lately Aboliſh'd. To this he anſwer'd, their Lordſhips were Miſinform'd: That he had complied with the publick Direction, and made uſe of no other Ceremonies than what were allow'd by the King's Proclamation.

The manner of his Preaching upon the Holy Euchariſt was farther objected: And here he was blam'd for affirming the Body of Chriſt was *really* preſent; The word *Really*, being an Unſcriptural Term. To this he anſwer'd, that he did not think there was any Occaſion for that Term, and therefore forebore the Uſe of it: That he aſſerted the *Preſence* no farther than the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had done at *Lambert*'s Tryal in the late Reign.

That he declar'd his Mind fully before the *Council*, upon the Duty of Obedience. Told the *Board*, he had Preach'd in his Dioceſe, that the Life of a Chriſtian obliges to a State of Suffering: That we are to reſign to God Almighty; and as to *Civil* Governors, we muſt either Execute their Will, or ſubmit to their Power. Upon this the *Protector* told him he muſt ſtay in Town. He was willing to ſatisfy the Pleaſure of the *Council* in this particular; but deſir'd the manner might be Free and Honourable, and that he might not be treated like a Malefactor: He complains that one *Philpot* of *Weſtminſter* had miſreported him, and that he had been ridicul'd and rail'd on, in Plays, Ballads, and Lampoons.

He relates, that Mr. *Cecil* came to him, from the Duke of *Somerſet*, and deſir'd him to write the Sermon he intended to Preach before the King. This he refuſ'd, becauſe 'twas out of Cuſtom, and look'd like an Offender.

And whereas he was Charg'd with giving an ill Example, he declares he had never done any thing againſt any Statute or Proclamation, nor denied any due Obedience to the King's Pleaſure, in any Inſtance whatſoever.

Upon his refuſing to Pen his Sermon, and deliver it upon Demand in Writing, *Cecil* put Two Papers into his Hand, containing the Heads he was to Diſcourſe on. 'Twas at his Choice either to dilate upon them in his own Words, or Preach them as they were Pen'd, for his own Compoſition. This the Biſhop thought a very harſh Appointment, and Inconſiſtent both with Conſcience and Honour. He was then brought privately to the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Appartment, where he found no Body but his *Grace* and the Lord *Wiltſhire*. Here the *Protector* produc'd a Paper, in which ſeveral Lawyers had given their Opinion under their Hands, concerning the Extent of the Regal and Epiſcopal Authority, together with the Penalties of Diſobedience. The Biſhop anſwer'd, the Opinions of theſe Lawyers could not juſtify the Commanding him to deliver another Man's Diſcourſe for his own. That if he might ſpeak with thoſe Lawyers, he did not Queſtion their agreeing with him upon this Point. The *Protector* told him, he ſhould ſpeak with no Body, diſmiſs'd him with Threatning, to the Lord Great Maſter's Lodging, and gave him Time to conſider only 'till Dinner was over. In the Afternoon Secretary *Smith* was ſent to him: He told him he was not tied up preciſely to the Words of the Papers: And that treating upon the matter in general might give Satiſfaction. This way of managing his Sermon was likewiſe agreed to by the Duke of *Somerſet*. To this the Biſhop conſented as to the main.

Edw. VI. K.

Matth. 16. 16.

In ſhort, he took his *Text* out of the *Goſpel* for the Day, *Thou art Chriſt*, &c. And here he expreſs'd himſelf very fully upon the Abolition of the Pope's Supremacy: He commended the diſſolution of Monaſteries and Chauntry's, he approv'd the King's Proceedings: He thought Images might have been Inoffenſively uſed, and yet that the removing them was juſtifiable enough. He approv'd the receiving the Sacrament in both kinds by the *Laity*, and the taking away that great number of Maſſes Satisfactory: And was well pleas'd with the new *Order* for the Communion. But then he maintains the real Preſence in ſtrong Language, *and that the very ſame Body and Blood was preſent in the Sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us.* (q) But of the King's Authority when under Age, and of the Power of the *Council* during that Interval, he is ſaid to deliver nothing.

(q) Parker's Mſs. Ex. C. Ch. Coll. Cant. Fox. Vol. 2. *p.* 730.

To this the Biſhop Anſwers, and he Anſwers all along upon Oath, that *Cecil* ſeem'd much pleas'd with one ſaying of his; that is, the Biſhop had ſaid, the King was as much a King at one Year Old, as at an Hundred. If you touch upon this in your *Sermon*, ſays *Cecil*, it will be well taken. The Biſhop told him every Body knew that, but made him no Promiſe. *Cecil* put him farther in Mind, that when he ſpoke of a King, he muſt join the Concurrence *of the Council*. To this *Wincheſter* return'd no Anſwer, but ſtruck off to other Diſcourſe. His Reaſon for declining Compliance in this Point, was becauſe he did not find the *Scripture* had bound up the King to the Advice of his *Council*. Beſides, he had heard a report of ſome ſecret Matter, which gave him farther Diſcouragement: But as to Obedience due to the King in his Minority, he was always of the Affirmative ſide of the Queſtion: He pointed to the King in his Sermon, and ſaid, *He was only to be Obey'd*, with other Words to that Purpoſe. As to the Omiſſions objected againſt him, he Replies, that if there were any ſuch, they muſt either proceed from defect of Memory, or Deſign. That where the Caſe is doubtful, Charity ought to make the moſt favorable Conſtruction. And here he Appeals to God, that he intended to deliver himſelf with all the Perſpicuity Imaginable: That in ſuch Caſes, Ambiguities and Reſerve are not to be endur'd: That he had declar'd in his *Sermon*, that he agreed with every thing that was legally done, and had nothing to object againſt the *Proceedings* of Authority: And that 'twas only private and unauthoriz'd Innovation, which he did not underſtand. And laſtly, when he was charg'd with diſcourſing upon the *Maſs* and the Communion, he anſwers that when Mr. *Cecil* adviſ'd him from the Duke of *Somerſet*, not to enter upon that Controverſy, he told him he ſhould forbear diſcourſing upon the Modus of the Myſtery, or mentioning the Term *Tranſubſtantiation*; But *of the very Preſence of Chriſt's moſt precious Body and Blood in the Sacrament*, which was no diſputable Matter, he was reſolv'd to Preach; he thought himſelf likewiſe oblig'd to treat of the *Maſs*: That theſe were Articles of ſuch Importance, and ſo neceſſary for the King to know, that he would not forbear

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

(r) Id. *p.* 729. 730.

bear diſcourſing upon them, tho' he was ſure to be Executed when he came down from the *Pulpit*. (r)

However all this was look'd on as a lame Defence, and *Wincheſter* was ſent to the *Tower*, as hath been already obſerv'd. His refuſing to ſet forth the Authority of the *Council* during the King's Minority, was that which diſguſted the *Board* moſt, and occaſion'd his Confinement. It ſeems 'twas the Opinion of ſome People that the *Council* could only Execute the Laws in Being: But that the making New *Orders* was not within their Privilege: And that the *Supremacy* was to Sleep 'till the King, in whoſe Perſon 'twas Lodg'd, was grown a *Major*, and capable of exerciſing the Function. The *Council* would have had *Gardiner* Combated this miſtake in the *Pulpit*, but he refuſ'd to be Explicite in the matter, and was therefore committed. However, he ſeems by Implication to have come up to the Demands of the *Council*: For by maintaining the King had all his Royalty in the *Cradle*, and that Obedience to him was the preſent Duty of the Subject; This by direct Conſequence was to Aſſert the Authority of the *Council*, becauſe all their *Orders* were Publiſh'd in his Majeſty's Name. Theſe things conſider'd, made *Wincheſter*'s Committment look ſomewhat Severe, and be Cenſur'd as a ſtretch of Law.

Diſputes and Diverſity of Practice in the Ceremonies of the Church.

The rugged Uſage of this great Prelate, had not altogether the projected Effect: The Terror of the Example did not work every where: On the contrary, ſome were rather Animated by the Biſhops Reſolution to adhere to the former Uſages: Tho' it can't be ſaid they had *Gardiner*'s Preſident for this Nonconformity. However, there was a great deal of Claſhing about the Ceremonies of the Church, and diſagreement of Practice in Adminiſtring the Sacrament. Some were full and exact in their Obedience to Authority, others Comply'd by halves: And ſome were ſo Obſtinate as to continue in their old Cuſtoms. In ſome Places they ran from the extreme of Superſtition to that of Profaneneſs: The Holy Euchariſt was mention'd with diſregard: The conſecrated Elements thrown out of the Church, together with many other Inſtances of Irreligious Outrage. (s)

(s) *Regiſter* Petworth. Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 63. *A Catechiſm ſet forth by* Cranmer. (t) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 71. *Memoir* Cranmer, *p.* 159.

I ſhall now mention Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s *Catechiſm*, Intitled *a ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular Profit of Children and Young People*. Whether 'twas made this Year or the laſt, is not very Material. (t) There is another Queſtion about the Author: Biſhop *Burnet* Affirms it to be wholy *Cranmer*'s Work. Mr. *Stripe* relates it a German Compoſition; that 'twas originally writ in high Dutch, turn'd into Latin by *Juſtus Jonas Junior*, and that 'twas only tranſlated into Engliſh by the Archbiſhop. But by ſome things which occur, 'tis very likely the Archbiſhop took the Liberty of throwing in ſome Supplemental Paſſages. For in the Title to the Preface, it is ſaid to be *Overſeen* and *Corrected* by the Archbiſhop. To give the *Reader* part of it. The *Catechiſm* declaims ſtrongly againſt Images, and argues againſt the Uſe from the Abuſe. Beſides the Two Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, that of reconciling Sinners to God, or *Penance*, is added as a Third. The *Book* is full in Acknowledging the Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts, and wiſhes the *Canons* for publick Diſcipline were reſtor'd. People are ſtrongly exhorted to private Confeſſion; the Reaſon is, becauſe their Spiritual Guides being Inform'd of the Penitents Condition, may be better directed in the Exerciſe of the *Keys*. To be ſomewhat particular: He Inſiſts upon the Authority of the Church: His Words are; *We muſt ſeek Remiſſion of Sins in the Church of Chriſt, and deſire Abſolution. That when the true Church by their Miniſters, doth promiſe us Remiſſion of our Sins, and here in Earth doth Abſolve us, we may ſurely truſt that in Heaven alſo before God we be Abſolv'd and Pardon'd.* * And elſewhere he ſpeaks thus: *Wherefore when your Sins do make you afraid and Sad, then ſeek and deſire Abſolution and forgiveneſs of your Sins of the Miniſters, which have receiv'd a Commiſſion and Commandment from Chriſt himſelf, to forgive Men their Sins, and your Conſciences ſhall have Peace, Tranquillity, and Quietneſs.*

Edw. VI. K.

* *Fol.* 141.

† And having prov'd the Prieſts Commiſſion, from the Twentieth of St. *John*'s Goſpel, he makes no Scruple to infer, *that whatſoever God's Miniſters do to us, by God's Commandment, are as much available as if God himſelf ſhould do the ſame.* * And elſewhere upon the ſame Subject, he delivers himſelf thus: *God has given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Authority of forgiving Sin to the Miniſters of the Church. Wherefore let him that is a Sinner go to one of them, let him knowledge and confeſs his Sin, and pray him, that according to God's Commandment, he will give him Abſolution.——And when the Miniſter doth ſo, then I ought ſtedfaſtly to believe, that my Sins are truly forgiven me in Heaven.* † And here the Archbiſhop deſerves Commendation, for preſſing the Revival of the *Pœnitentiary Canons*, and ſetting the Authority of the Hierarchy upon the right Foot; from whence it ſeems plain, he had recover'd himſelf from his *Eraſtian* Notions, as they are now call'd. But after all; might he not hold theſe Offices Divine in the Inſtitution; but *Secular* in the Conveyance? that the power of the *Keys* is from our Saviour, but the *Exerciſe* from the *Civil* Magiſtrate? 'Tis granted this is poſſible, but ſince the Archbiſhop does not dilute his Aſſertion in this manner, we ought to Interpret him to the faireſt Senſe; to let down his Words to ſo low a meaning as the Objection ſuppoſes, is to make him give up the Authority he appears to maintain. For upon this Principle what does the Divine Inſtitution of the Sacerdotal Function ſignify, if it lies wholly under the Control of the *State*? What ſignifies a Commiſſion, if a Man can't Act upon it without Leave from a Third Hand? What is a Man the better for having a Key, if he has no liberty to turn it; to Lock or Unlock, without a Foreign Permiſſion? Power without a Right to uſe it, looks like a Contradiction, and is at beſt but a Notional Advantage. 'Tis a precarious Privilege; And as to Practice, lies perfectly at the Pleaſure of another. For the purpoſe. If the Hierarchy can't execute their Divine Commiſſion without a Licence from the *Civil* Magiſtrate: Then the Magiſtrate may lay an Imbargo upon their Function; and ſtop the Exerciſe of their Character, as long as he thinks fit. Thus the Deſign of their *Miſſion*, and their Authority from our Saviour, may be wholly defeated, and turn to no Account. To proceed; *Cranmer* in his Dedication to the King complains of the neglect of *Catechiſing*: That *Confirmation* had formerly been Adminiſtred too ſoon: And that People ought to underſtand the Principles of Chriſtianity, before they are brought to the Biſhop to renew their Baptiſmal Vow. (u)

† *Page* 228.

* *Fol.* 229.

† Id. *Fol.* 228.

(u) *Biſhop* Burnet Ibid.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

Notwithſtanding theſe Proviſions, there was great Contrariety in Belief and Practice. Even ſome of the Licenſ'd Preachers did not Anſwer Expectation, but declaim'd againſt the King's *Proceedings* no leſs than the reſt. To remedy this Inconvenience the King and *Council* reſolv'd upon the drawing up a *publick Liturgy*. This *Service Book* when Confirm'd in Parliament, 'twas ſuppos'd would Effect a more general Compliance. For then the Pretences of defective Authority in a Privy *Council*, would be all out of Doors. To this purpoſe the Committee of Biſhops and Divines above-mention'd, were Order'd to attend the King on the firſt of *September*. When they appear'd, the King acquainted them with the general Scheme and Extent of their Buſineſs: And that he expected the *Book* ſhould comprehend *an Order for Morning and Evening Prayer*, together with *a Form of Miniſtring the Sacraments and Sacramentals, and for the celebrating all other publick Offices.* (w) The Biſhops, &c. who were well inclin'd to the undertaking, inſpected the *Liturgick* Books then uſed in *England*. The Statute Book mentions Four different Forms; That is *the uſe of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln,* (x) *beſides other diverſities in ſome Parts of the Service.* All theſe Varieties were now to be laid aſide, and an uniform *Office* provided for the whole Kingdom.

Ann. Dom. 1548.

(w) Heylin. *p.* 64.

Orders for drawing up a Book for Divine Service.

(x) 2. & 3. Ed. 6. cap. 1.

The Uſe of ſtated Forms for Divine Service has been all along the Practice of the Univerſal Church. There are Liturgies which go under the Name of St. *Peter*, St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark*: But as for that of St. *Peter* 'twas never heard off for the Firſt Fifteen Hundred Years. Beſides 'tis plainly patch'd up out of the Roman *Miſſal*, and the *Liturgies* of St. *James*, St. *Baſil*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*. (y) The Liturgy of St. *Mathew* ſaid to be uſed by the Ethiopians, is of a very obſcure and unprov'd Original. And that of St. *Mark*, ſaid to be compos'd for the Church of *Alexandria*, is rejected as a ſpurious Piece by *Theodorus Balſamon*, who liv'd in the Twelfth Century.

(y) *Cardinal* Bona Rer. Liturg. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

Remarks upon the Antient Liturgies.

The *Liturgy* of St. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* is much better atteſted. For the Greek Church has all along receiv'd it for Genuine: And beſides there are very Antient Copies of it. The General Council in *Trullo* cites it as an Authority to confute thoſe Hereticks who Conſecrated the Euchariſt only in Water. *Manuel Malaxus* in his *Nomo canon* (z) affirms 'twas uſed till St. *Baſils* Time. 'Tis mention'd by *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and by St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who has tranſcrib'd a great deal of it in his Fifth *Katecheſis Myſtagogica*. However, there lie ſeveral Objections againſt it. Firſt, the Terms *Homoouſion*, and *Theotokos* are found in it: The Firſt of theſe Terms is ſaid to be unknown till the Nicene Council, and the Second not us'd till the Council of *Epheſus*. (a) But theſe are unſupported Aſſertions. For *Athanaſius* produces ſeveral Authors to prove that *Homoouſios* or *Conſubſtantial*, was us'd before the Council of Nice. The Famous *Euſebius Cæſarienſis* is of the ſame Opinion, as appears from the Teſtimony of *Socrates*, and *Theodoret*. (b) And that the Bleſſed Virgin was call'd *Theotokos*, or the Mother of God, before the Epheſine Council, is plain from the Authority of *Evagrius*, (c) who condemns *Neſtorius* for his Singularity, and affirms the Word *Theotokos* had been us'd by many of the Antients of the beſt Character. To this I ſhall add the *Liturgy* reckon'd to St. *Clement*, and extant in the *Conſtitutiones Apoſtolicæ*. *Proclus*, St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Succeſſor in the See of *Conſtantinople*, will have it that *Clemens Romanus* had this Office dictated to him by the Apoſtles. *Bellarmine Baronius* and others, (d) think it genuine as to the firſt Form, but not without Addition by after Ages. That as the Apoſtles Creed was inlarg'd by the Fathers, to guard the Articles of Faith with a fuller Explanation, ſo, as the Circumſtance of Time requir'd, the *Liturgies* had ſupplemental Prayers and Ceremonies put to them. Other Learned Writers with more Probability will not allow the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* ſo great an Original. (e) *Epiphanius* gives this *Book* a high Character, tho' with ſome Abatement as to the Author. (f) He affirms *tho' the Book is a ſuſpected Authority by ſome People, yet 'tis by no means to be cenſur'd or rejected: For it gives us a full view of the Antient Diſcipline; neither does it contain any thing that is Heterodox or Singular, or which carries a Repugnancy to the Belief or Practice of the Church.* But then *Petavius* in his *Notes* obſerves, that the Conſtitutions cited by *Epiphanius* are different from thoſe Eight Books now extant. That the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions handed down to us, want ſome of the Paſſages cited by *Epiphanius*. Notwithſtanding this Objection of *Petavius*, the Learned Cardinal *Bona* is of Opinion they are the ſame with thoſe mention'd by that *Father*. The Cardinal grants notwithſtanding they may probably have been interpolated, either by the Negligence of Tranſcribers, or the foul Play of Hereticks. But as he continues who ever was the Author of theſe Conſtitutions, 'tis certain they are of greater Antiquity than the Council of Nice, and that they comprehend the Uſages and Diſcipline of the *Eaſtern* Church, *prior* to the Reign of *Conſtantine* the firſt Chriſtian Emperor. (g) And *Peter de Marca* gives the Author of theſe Conſtitutions the Age of the Third Century at the loweſt. (h)

(z) *Cap.* 220. St. James's *Liturgy.*

(a) Bona Ibid.

(b) Socrat. Lib. 1. Cap. 5. Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

(c) Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Edw. VI. K.

The Liturgy ſuppos'd written by Clemens Romanus.

(d) Bellar. Lib. de Scrip. Eccleſ. Bar. Annal. 102.

(e) Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. Cap. 8.

(f) Epiphan. Hæreſ. 70. no. 10.

(g) Morinus de ſacris ordinat. *pt.* 2d. *p.* 20.

(h) Lib. 3. de Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. Cap. 2.

The next *Miſſal* I ſhall ſpeak to, is that of St. *Baſil*. 'Tis mention'd with Commendation by *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, (i) by the General Council in *Trullo*, (k) and by a great many of the Greek *Fathers*. The Occaſion of compoſing it was this: That upon the Abatement of Devotion the People grew tir'd with the Length of St. *James* his *Liturgy* then uſed in that Church. To remedy this Inconvenience, and comply a little with the Infirmity of the Age, St. *Baſil* abſtracted St *James* his *Liturgy*, and threw it into a leſs Compaſs. The Learned *Goar* is of Opinion St. *Baſil* drew up Two *Liturgies*, and that the ſhorter of theſe Two was made for publick Uſe, receiv'd in the Church, and carried down to Poſterity. (l) This *Miſſal* of St. *Baſil* is ſtill read in the *Greek* Church in all the Sundays of Lent, excepting Palm Sunday. 'Tis likewiſe read there on Maundy Thurſday, on Eaſter Eve, and on the Eves of Chriſtmaſs and Epiphany, and on St. *Baſils* Anniverſary: The reſt of the Year the Greek Church makes Uſe of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Liturgy.

St. Baſils Liturgy.

(i) De Traditione Divinæ miſſæ.

(k) Can. 32.

(l) Euchelog. *p.* 185.

This Father, as *Proclus* obſerves, drew up another: His Reaſons were much the ſame with St. *Baſils*. To make ſome Allowance for the Declenſions of Chriſtianity; to relieve the Wearineſs of the People, and recommend the Church Service, He drew in the Office, and threw it into a new Form; and tranſcrib'd ſeveral Paſſages from St. *Baſils* Liturgy. And here the *Reader* may pleaſe to take notice, that theſe Liturgies of St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom* are not convey'd

St. Chryſoſtome's *Liturgy.*

convey'd down without Interpolations. *(m)*

(m) Bona Ibid. Lib. 9.

The Roman Miſſal.

A Word or Two of the *Roman Miſſal*, may not be amiſs. Now by *Miſſals* and *Liturgies* is properly underſtood nothing more than the *Communion Service*. As to the Author of the *Roman Miſſal* Pope *Innocent* the Firſt attributes the Uſages of the Roman Church to Apoſtolical Tradition. *(n)* *Walafridus Strabo* affirms the Liturgies in the Apoſtles Times were much ſhorter than afterwards. *(o)*

(n) Id. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(o) Lib. de Reb. Eccleſ.

And here he gives ſome Inſtances that the *Angelick Hymn* was added by *Teleſphorus*, and the *Introitus* by Pope *Celeſtin*.

The Church of *Milan* has a *Liturgy* compos'd by St. *Ambroſe*. 'Tis different from the *Roman* in ſeveral Particulars, too long to remark. Neither is it now in the ſame Form in which St. *Ambroſe* left it. *(p)*

(p) Bona Ibid. Lib. 7. *p.* 46. & Lib. 10. *p.* 65.

The Mozarabick and Gallican Liturgies.

There is another Liturgy call'd the *Mozarabick*, formerly us'd in *Spain*: 'Tis call'd the *Mozarabick* by a wrong Pronunciation of mixt Arabick, becauſe when the Moors had conquer'd the greateſt Part of *Spain*, the Native Spaniards were mix'd and incorporated with them. This *Liturgy* is of conſiderable Antiquity. Who drew it up firſt is not certainly known: Cardinal *Bona* produces a Paſſage out of it, which runs it up to the Age of St. *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours*, who died in the Beginning of the Fifth Century. *(q)* Others believe it compos'd by *Leander* Biſhop of *Sevil*, or his Brother and Succeſſor *Iſidore* who liv'd in the Seventh Century. Cardinal *Bona* ſeems to believe, 'twas only drawn out to a farther Length by *Leander* and *Iſidore*, and that upon the Progreſs of Time it receiv'd more Additions from others. This *Mozarabick Liturgy* was generally us'd in *Spain*, and in Gallia *Narbonenſis*, till *Gregory* the Seventh's Time: This Pope wrote to *Alphonſus* and *Sancho*, Kings of *Caſtille* and *Arragon*, and to the Biſhops in their Dominions, to recommend the *Roman Service*. To this Purpoſe he tells them the Roman and Spaniſh *Miſſals* were the ſame at firſt: That the Priſcillian and Arian Hereſies, together with the Irruption of the Goths and Saracens, had occaſion'd the preſent Diverſity; in ſhort, he prevail'd for the introducing of the *Roman Miſſal*: However, the Famous Cardinal *Ximenes* has taken effectual Care to preſerve the *Mozarabick Rites*. He order'd the *Miſſal* to be fairly tranſcrib'd, and founded a College of Prieſts, who are bound by their Conſtitution to ſay the *Mozarabick Service* every Day in a Chappel belonging to the Cathedral at *Toledo*. The ſame Practice is continued in ſeveral Pariſhes in that City, and in a Chappel at *Salamanca*. *(r)*

(q) Id cap. 11.

(r) Id. *p.* 71.

The *Gallican Liturgy* is probably more Antient, than the *Mozarabick*: There is a Copy of it belonging to *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* more than Nine Hundred Years Old, as appears by the Character: And another in the Vatican almoſt of the ſame Age. *(s)* The Learned *Mabillon* produce[illegible]ood Authority to prove that *Muſæus* a Prieſt [illegible] *Marſeilles* at the Inſtance of his Biſhop *Veneri*[illegible] drew up Leſſons and *Antiphonæ*, and that *S*[illegible]*nius* Biſhop of *Auvergne*, and the Famous St. [illegible]*ary* of *Poictiers*, had a Share in compoſing t[illegible] Liturgy. That the *Gallican Service* was dif[illegible]nt from the Roman, and much the ſame [illegible]th the Mozarabick, I have obſerv'd alread[illegible]) And this, were it farther neceſſary, [illegible] mig[illegible] prov'd more at large. *(u)*

(s) Id. Cap. 12. *p.* 85.

(t) Eccleſ. Hiſt. *pt.* 1.

(u) Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. & cap. 6.

Thoſe who drew up the Engliſh Liturgy, had regard to Primitive Practice, and declin'd unneceſſary Innovation.

I hope this [illegible] Diſcourſe concerning *Liturgies*, is no [illegible]ſonable Digreſſion. Thus we ſee ſtated [illegible]poſitions for *Divine Service* has always been the Cuſtom of the Univerſal Church. The Apoſtles themſelves had a Prayer preſcrib'd them by our Saviour. Miraculous Effuſions did not wholly ſuperſede the Uſe of a *Form*: But when theſe extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were recall'd, there was much more occaſion for ſettling the Parts of *Divine Service*, and bringing the publick Performance under a Rule. For this we have the concurrent Practice of the Church for the Firſt Fifteen Hundred Years.

We don't find the *Committee* of Engliſh Biſhops demurr'd upon this Subject: Or that the Queſtion was ever put, whether there ſhould be a Form or not? They never thought praying by a Book was flat and unaffecting, and no better than ſtinting the Spirit.

To leave all to the Liberty of the Prieſt, would have been not only a ſingular, but dangerous Expedient. To truſt to an extemporary Faculty in our ſolemn Addreſſes to God, looks like Negligence and Preſumption. What Uniformity can there be in the Church upon this Liberty? What Security is there againſt Irreverence and Indiſcretion? Againſt failing in Orthodoxy or Senſe? And how can the People joyn in the publick Devotion, when they have no Opportunity of knowing before-hand what it is? To reſolve to ſay *Amen* to ſudden Impulſe, and unpremeditated Expreſſion, is too implicite a Reſignation.

This Committee of Biſhops and Divines ſet down this, (as is very well obſerv'd) *(w)* for a General Rule, not to change any thing for the Sake of Novelty. In this Performance they reſolv'd to govern themſelves by the Word of God, and the Preſident of the Primitive Church. They conſider'd our Saviour himſelf form'd his Inſtitutions of Baptiſm and the Holy Euchariſt, upon a Reſemblance to the Jewiſh Rites. That this Conformity of Practice was ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering our Saviour was then founding a new Church, and introducing a Religion very different from the *Moſaick Law*. That the Engliſh Biſhops who had no Pretence to the Extent of our Saviours Authority, nor any Deſign to erect a new Church, were ſtill more oblig'd to work by the Plan of the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. Their Buſineſs was only to brighten what had been ruſted by Time, to diſcharge the Innovations of latter Ages, and bring Things up to the Primitive Standard. To this Purpoſe, 'twas very prudently agreed to make Uſe of none but Engliſh Help. When *Calvin* heard of the farther Advances of *Reformation*, he offer'd *Cranmer* his Aſſiſtance, but was happily refuſ'd by the Archbiſhop. 'Tis true he gave *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, Two Eminent Divines an Invitation to our *Univerſities*, but the *Liturgy*, as *Heylin* proves, was finiſh'd before their *Arrival*. *(x)*

(w) *Biſhop* Burnet. *pt.* 2*d. p.* 73.

(x) Heylin. Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 65.

The *Old Service*, as has been obſerv'd, was all in Latin, excepting the late *Office* for the Communion. This was juſtly look'd on as an indefenſible Practice, and therefore all the *Offices* were drawn up in Engliſh. That Divine Service was antiently perform'd in the Language of each Country is confeſs'd by the Famous Father *Simon*, in his *critical Hiſtory* of the *New Teſtament*. *(y)* And the Learned Dr. *Lightfoot* obſerves from the Rabbies that one or two of the publick ſynagogal Prayers were pen'd in the Mother Tongue, particularly that after Sermon, becauſe the Common People were then preſent: For this Reaſon this Prayer

(y) *Pt.* 2*d. p.* 3.

Divine Service in the Language of the Country, the Cuſtom of the antient Church

Prayer was compos'd in *Chalde* that all might underſtand it. (z) To this Father *Simon* agrees, and acknowledges thoſe Prayers which were made in *Hebrew*, were always interpreted to the People in the vulgar Language.

(z) Lightfoot Exerc. *on* 1 Cor. 14 *p.* 784.

Father *Simon* grants farther, that upon the Converſion of the Italians and other Roman Colonies to the Chriſtian Religion, (which was effected in the Apoſtles Time) was neceſſary to tranſlate the Bible into Latin, that the People might underſtand it: And that it was read in the vulgar Tongue at their Religious Aſſemblies. That the *Aſſyrians*, *Ægyptians*, *Æthiopians*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*; and in ſhort all other Nations that receiv'd the Goſpel, took the ſame Care for the Common Inſtruction. (*a*) And if they had the *Scriptures* in the vulgar Language at their Religious Aſſemblies, we may reaſonably conclude they were allow'd to underſtand the other Parts of the *Service*. That when the firſt *Liturgies* were compos'd, for the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches, 'tis well known that *Greek* was generally ſpoken in the one, and *Latin* in the other. And thus we find the Antient *Liturgies* pen'd in *Greek* in the *Eaſtern*, and in *Latin* in the *Weſtern* Churches. This very reaſonable Cuſtom continued amongſt other Nations afterwards converted. Thus as Cardinal *Bona* obſerves, the *Muſcovites* and *Moravians* have their *Liturgick* Books in the *Sclavonian*, that is the Language commonly ſpoken. To this Purpoſe he cites *Johannes Faber* Biſhop of *Vienne*, who affirms the Chriſtians in ſome Parts of *Tartary*, the *Circaſſians*, and in ſeveral Places of *Pontus*; the Chriſtians in *Servia*, *Myſſia*, *Boſnia*, *Bulgaria*, *Volhinia*, *Podolia*, &c. where the *Sclavonian* Tongue is ſpoken, have the *Divine Service* in that Language. The Cardinal goes on and relates that the *Mengrelians*, and *Georgians*, who live between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine*, and adhere to the *Greek* Communion, officiate in the Language of the Country: And that the *Europæan Albanians* of the *Greek* Church who confine upon *Dalmatia*, have *Divine Service* in their Mother Tongue. The *Copti* and *Armenians*, to mention no more, officiate in the Language of their reſpective Country's. (*b*)

(a) F. Simon Ibid. *p.* 2.

(b) Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

Notwithſtanding all this Authority, and the 14 Chapter of the firſt of the *Corinthians*, Father *Simon* endeavours to defend the Practice of his own Communion. And foreſeeing the Apoſtles Reaſoning in this Chapter, would preſs very cloſe, he attempts to prove St. *Paul does not forbid the uſe of foreign Languages in the Church, but only preſcribes a Rule, for the due Management of them.* (*c*)

Father Simon *conſider'd upon this Argument.*

Father Simon Ibid. *p.* 11. & 14.

In Anſwer to this I ſhall briefly endeavour as I go along, to prove Three Things.

Firſt, That St. *Paul* ſhews a General Diſlike of a ſtrange Language in the Church.

Secondly, That there were particular Reaſons for the Permiſſion of foreign Languages in the Apoſtles Times, which do not reach the latter Ages of Chriſtianity. Thirdly, that Father *Simons* Explication of the Apoſtles Senſe, tho allow'd, is not ſufficient to juſtifie his own Communion.

Firſt, St. *Paul* ſhews a General Diſlike of a ſtrange Language in the Church, and appeals as it were to common Senſe againſt it. To cite all the Places to this purpoſe, would be to tranſcribe the greateſt Part of this Fourteenth Chapter. I ſhall only mention ſome of them. In the Second and Fifth Verſes, the Apoſtle tells us, *that he that ſpeaks in an unkown Tongue, ſpeaks not to Men but to God, that he edifies* (only) *himſelf*, i. e. the Church receives no Advantage by ſuch Practice. And *v.* 9. He adds, *except ye utter by the Tongue Things eaſie to be underſtood, ye ſhall ſpeak into the Air*; and *v.* 11. *If I know not the Meaning of the Voice, I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaks a Barbarian, and he that ſpeaks will be a Barbarian unto me*; ſo that in the Apoſtles Senſe we do but throw away our Words, talk to no Purpoſe, and loſe the Benefit of Speech, when we don't expreſs our Thoughts in intelligible Language. And if this be abſurd and improper in common Converſation, it muſt be much more ſo in Religious Aſſemblies, where if any where, the Uſe of Speech ought to be rational and inſtructive.

Farther, *v.* 18, 19. He continues that he ſpoke with Tongues more than all of them, and yet profeſſeth, *that he had rather ſpeak Five Words which were generally underſtood, than Ten Thouſand in an unknown Tongue*: And tho' the Church of *Rome* ſeems to think otherwiſe, yet the Reaſon of the Apoſtles Judgment is very obvious: For how can the Underſtanding be inform'd, the Affections warm'd and excited, and Attention kept up, when a Man is unacquainted with his Devotions, and for ought he knows the Prieſt may be ſaying ſome odd Thing inſtead of a Prayer?

Secondly, there were particular Reaſons for the Permiſſion of foreign Languages in the Apoſtles Times, which don't reach the latter Ages of Chriſtianity. That the Gift of Tongues was one of the miraculous Effuſions of the Holy Ghoſt is beyond Diſpute: And being an Argument of a Divine Preſence, it was proper to make Uſe of them ſometimes in the Church to conciliate a greater Regard to what they deliver'd in their Interpretations: And eſpecially to convince the Jews and Gentiles, that their Miſſion and Doctrine was from Heaven. Accordingly we may obſerve, that the Apoſtles ſpeaking in Variety of unſtudied Languages, had a mighty Influence upon thoſe who heard them; and without doubt made St. *Peters* Sermon more operative upon their Minds: And therefore St. *Paul* affirms, *That Tongues are a Sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not.* But thoſe who neither converſe with Infidels, nor pretend to Inſpiration, have none of theſe Apoſtolical Reaſons to juſtifie their Uſe of an unknown Language. For to hear a Man ſay his Prayers in Latin, when all the Congregation knows his Skill is the Effect of Study and Education, will raiſe the Character of his Sanctity very little, and is a Sign of nothing more than that for ſome Reaſons he has no Mind to be underſtood.

Acts 2.

Verſe 22.

Thirdly, Admitting *Pere Simons* Explication to be orthodox and full, this is not ſufficient to juſtifie his own Communion. He tells us, St. *Paul* did not blame the *Corinthians* for ſpeaking or praying in a ſtrange Language; *but becauſe they did not tranſlate their Senſe ſo as to make themſelves intelligible to the Congregation.* And by way of Paraphraſe upon *v.* 17. (Thou giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified) He affirms that the Apoſtle urges the *Obſervation of the Cuſtom among the Jews*, i. e. *not to read the Scripture or the Liturgy without the Aſſiſtance of an Interpreter.* For otherwiſe he grants the Apoſtles Expoſtulation takes Place: *How ſhall he that occupyeth the Room of the unlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giving of Thanks?* Now theſe Conceſſions, as

Page 13.

Page 12.

as has been already obſerv'd, condemn the Practice of his own Church. For tho' conſtruing of Prayers, when nothing miraculous is pretended, is but an odd ſort of an Imployment, yet this is more than is done in the Church of *Rome*. Indeed he is pleas'd to ſay, that according to the Deſign of this Fourteenth Chapter every thing which relates to the Inſtruction of the Congregation, is by the Roman Catholicks ſpoken in a Language underſtood by all. Now one would think by this Aſſertion, the whole *Service* was tranſlated Line by Line: But upon Examination we ſhall find, that nothing but their *Sermons* are deliver'd in the vulgar Tongue. So that it ſeems it is not material in our Authors Opinion, whether the People underſtand their Prayers or not: Tho' afterwards he grants they cannot ſay *Amen*, without being better inform'd. Cardinal *Perron* found himſelf very much embaraſſed with this difficulty, and endeavours to diſengage his Church by ſaying, that their *Proſnes and Sermons, and Printed Diſcourſes were ſufficient to acquaint the People with the Meaning of their Devotions.* But afterwards finding this Defence too weak, he does as good as give it up. And advances ſeveral Reaſons to prove the Expediency of promoting Ignorance and keeping the *Scriptures* and *publick Prayers* in a Language not vulgarly underſtood.

Replique ala Reſponſe du Roy &c. p. 953.

Id. page 956.

I ſhall now proceed to a more particular Account of the Liturgy, and point out ſome of the Differences between this Firſt, and the preſent Form.

A brief Account of the firſt Reform'd Liturgy.

To begin, the Morning Service has no Confeſſion, nor Abſolution: The Lord's Prayer ſtands firſt. After the Reſponſes which are the ſame with ours, *Hallelujah* was ſaid or ſung from *Eaſter* to *Whitſuntide*. Then follows the Invitatory, O *come let us ſing unto the Lord*, &c. The Pſalms are next which are appointed to be read thro' every Month, in the ſame Order as now. The *Leſſons* are generally the ſame, tho' ſome of them do not come up exactly on the ſame Day. After the Second Leſſon at Morning Prayer, only *Zachary*'s Hymn *Benedictus*, is appointed. The *Collects* for *Peace* and *Grace* follows that for the Day: But thoſe for the King, the Royal Family, the Clergy and People, were ſince added. The Third *Collect* in *Advent* is different from ours, it ſtands thus.

Lord we beſeech thee give Ear to our Prayers, and by thy gracious Viſitation lighten the Darkneſs of our Hearts, by our Lord, &c.

On *Chriſtmaſs* Day there are Two *Collects*, Two *Epiſtles*, and Two *Goſpels*. The firſt Goſpel is taken out of the Firſt of St. *John*, beginning at the Nineteenth, and ending at the Twenty Ninth Verſe. The Collects upon *Innocents Day*, for the Fourth Sunday after *Epiphany*, and ſome others are different in Expreſſion, but to the ſame Senſe. When there is a Sixth Sunday after *Epiphany*, the ſame Pſalms, Collect, Epiſtle and Goſpel are to be us'd as on the Fifth. In the Morning at *Eaſter* before *Matins* our Firſt Anthem, *Chriſt our Paſſover is ſacrific'd for us*, &c. is wanting. But then after the Third Anthem, the Prieſt ſays, *ſhew forth to all the Nations the Glory of God*, to which the Reſponſe is, *and among all People his wonderful Works*. There are double Collects, Epiſtles, and Goſpels, for *Eaſter Day*. The Collect for St. *Andrews* Day runs thus.

Almighty God which has given ſuch Grace to thy Apoſtle St. Andrew, *that he accounted the ſharp and painful Death of the Croſs to be an high Honour and a great Glory: Grant us to take and eſteem all Troubles and Adverſities which ſhall come unto us for thy Sake, as Things profitable for us, towards the obtaining of Everlaſting Life, thro' Jeſus,* &c.

There is an Holy Day in this Book for St. *Mary Magdalen*. 'Twas kept on the Twenty Firſt of *July*. The *Introite* is the Hundred and Forty Sixth Pſalm: The Collect in theſe Words.

Merciful Father give us Grace that we never preſume to ſin thro' the Example of any Creature, but if it ſhall chance us at any Time to offend thy Divine Majeſty; that then we may truly repent, and lament the ſame after the Example of Mary Magdalen, and by lively Faith obtain Remiſſion of all our Sins, thro' the only Merits of thy Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. The Epiſtle is taken out of the Thirty Firſt of *Proverbs*, beginning at the Tenth Verſe, and taking in the reſt of the Chapter. The Goſpel is taken out of the Seventh of St. *Luke*, it begins at the Thirty Sixth Verſe and ends with the Chapter.

The *Goſpel* for the Firſt Sunday after *Chriſtmaſs* begins St. *Matthew* the Firſt, *v.* 1. and holds on to the length of ours. The Goſpel for the Sunday before *Eaſter*, is St. *Matthew* 26. *v.* 1. Whereas ours begins *Matthew* 27. *v.* 1. The Goſpel for *Tueſday* before *Eaſter*, begins with *Mark* 15. and goes thro', but ours ends at verſe 40. The *Goſpel* for *Thurſday* before *Eaſter* begins with *Luke* 23. *v.* 1. and takes in the whole Chapter, whereas ours breaks off at *v.* 50. The *Goſpel* for *Good Friday* is the 18 and 19 Chapters of St. *John*. The *Goſpel* for *Whitſunday* begins at St. *John* 14. verſe 15. and breaks off at verſe 22. Ours is longer, and goes to the End. On the *Purification* of the Bleſſed Virgin, the Epiſtle is the ſame with that of the foregoing *Sunday*: Ours has one proper for the Day. The *Goſpel* begins with ours, *Luke* 2. *v.* 22. and ends in the middle of *v.* 27. But ours continues to verſe 41.

The Introites

In this Reform'd Liturgy, the Communion Service for every *Sunday* and *Holy Day* begins with an *Introite*, that is a Pſalm which is ſaid or ſung by the Choir, whilſt the Prieſt goes up to the Altar. 'Tis a whole Pſalm, and every *Sunday* and *Holy Day* hath a different one ſuited to Time and Occaſion: It concludes with the Doxology. The *Collect* for the Day follows the *Introite*. On *Chriſtmaſs* and *Eaſter Sundays* there are two *Introites*, the Second comes after the firſt *Goſpel*.

The *Office* for the Communion follows next: And becauſe the *Book* is very ſcarce, and the *Service* well worth the *Readers* Peruſal, I ſhall tranſcribe it at length in the Records. (*d*) I grant it may be met with by Parts in an Author not altogether ſo hard to come at. (*e*) But this Gentleman's Deſign was to compare it with the Second Liturgy and other Alterations, and make Annotations all along upon the Progreſs of the Parallel: Thus by the Scheme of his Undertaking he thought himſelf oblig'd to take it in Pieces, and throw Parcels of the *Rubrick*, of the latter Alterations, and his own *Annotations* between. For this Reaſon the View is broken, the *Liturgy* ſtands as it were diſſected, and by Conſequence muſt give the *Reader* much more Trouble to examine it. To this I may add, that beſides the Significancy of the matter, the Order in which the Prayers ſtand, is no unremarkable Circumſtance.

(d) *See Records no.* 59.

(e) Leſtranges *Alliance of Divine Offices.*

The Form of the Bread to be conſecrated.

By the *Rubrick* at the End of the Office 'tis order'd that the Bread prepar'd for the Communion ſhould be made after one Sort and Faſhion in all Churches of the Kingdom:

That is to ſay 'twas to be unleaven'd, and round as before, but without any Impreſſion, and ſomewhat larger and thicker than formerly, that it might be conveniently broken into ſeveral Pieces: And every Bread was to be divided into Two Pieces or more, according to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter, and ſo diſtributed.

Wafers *conſecrated for the Holy Euchariſt not Antient.*

The Learned Cardinal *Bona* obſerves from *Ernulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter,* who lived in the Eleventh Century, that the Apoſtles uſed to conſecrate the Bread commonly eaten, both as to Form and other Qualities. And afterwards for many Ages the leaſt Proportion for this purpoſe was as much as could be made of a handful of Meal. 'Twas made of the fineſt Flow'r, ſomewhat in the Form of a Crown. This was the Practice in the Time of *Gregory* the Great. So that even after unleaven'd Bread became the Uſage of the Latin Church, 'twas not made ſo ſmall as to be uncapable of being broken in Pieces in proportion to the Number of Communicants. But afterwards in the Eleventh Century the Cuſtom chang'd, and indiviſible Wafers were made, the Figure of them was that of a ſmall Coin or Penny, and like Princes Mony they had our Saviours Effigies with ſome Letters of his Name round the Circumference. This Figure of the Conſecrated Bread was declar'd againſt as an *Innovation,* as both *Caſſander* and Cardinal *Bona* relate.

* Caſſander Liturgica *&c. page* 66. *Cardinal* Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 23.

“ *The Rubrick continues, that foraſmuch as the Paſtors and Curates within this Realm ſhall continually find at their Coſt and Charges in their Cures ſufficient Bread and Wine for the Holy Communion, it is therefore order'd that in Recompence of ſuch Coſt and Charges the Pariſhioners of every Pariſh ſhall offer every Sunday at the Time of the Offertory, the juſt Valour and Price of the Holy Loaf (with all ſuch Mony and Things which were wont to be offer'd with the ſame) to the Uſe of their Paſtors and Curates, and that in ſuch Order and Courſe as they were wont to pay the ſaid Holy Loaf. By the next Paragraph the Rubrick appoints that both in all Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, and likewiſe in all Pariſhes in the Country, that ſome of the People ſhould always communicate with the Prieſt, and therefore one at leaſt of every Family in the Pariſh. Who according to Cuſtom, as their Turn came up, were oblig'd to offer for defraying the Expence of the Communion, were bound to communicate, or if they provided ſome other Perſon to offer for them, the Perſon ſo deputed was to receive the Holy Euchariſt, and by this means, as the Rubrick continues, the Miniſter having always ſome one to communicate with him, may accordingly ſolemnize ſo High and Holy Myſteries with all the Suffrages and due Order appointed for the ſame, and the Prieſt on the Week Day ſhall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have ſome that will communicate with him.*

The laſt Paragraph in the *Rubrick* ſtand thus. “ *Altho' it be read in Antient Writers that the People many years paſt receiv'd at the Prieſts Hands the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt in their own Hands, and no Commandment of Chriſt to the contrary: Yet foraſmuch as they many times convey'd the ſame ſecretly away, kept it with them, and diverſly abus'd it to Superſtition and Wickedneſs; leaſt any ſuch Thing hereafter ſhould be attempted, and that an Uniformity might be us'd throughout the whole Realm; it is thought convenient, the People commonly receive the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body in their Mouths at the Prieſts Hands.* *

* Vid Sozom. Lib. 8. c. 5.

The *Litany* ſtands next to the Communion *Office.* 'Tis order'd to be ſung or ſaid upon Wedneſdays and Fridays, in the manner mention'd in the late *Injunctions.* 'Tis the ſame with our Litany, excepting one Clauſe, in which they pray to be deliver'd *from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities.*

To proceed to the Remainder of this *Common Prayer Book.* And here the *Reader* may pleaſe to remember, that I ſhall take notice of nothing, but what is either omitted or alter'd in our later *Liturgies.*

Publick Baptiſm.

In publick Baptiſm a Croſs was made on the Childs Forehead and Breaſt: The Devil was exorciz'd to go out, and enter no more into him. The Child (if not weak) was thrice dip'd, then anointed, and a Chriſome or white Coat put upon it. This Cuſtom of exorcizing Children, how ſingular ſoever it may look to ſome People now, was the Practice of the Antient Church. For this, the Teſtimony of St. *Auſtin,* to cite no more Authority is ſufficient Proof. *Si Diabolus,* ſays this Father, *non dominatur Infantibus, quid reſpondebunt Pelagiani quod illi exorcizantur?* (f)

That anointing the Perſon baptiz'd was likewiſe an Antient Cuſtom appears from *Tertullian,* (g) St. *Cyprian,* and the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.*

Private Baptiſm.

By the *Rubrick* before private Baptiſm, the Prieſt is injoin'd to *warn the People that without great Cauſe and Neceſſity they baptiz'd not Children at Home in their Houſes.*

This was no more than a neceſſary Caution. And here I can't forbear to mention Biſhop *Burnets* very ſeaſonable Reflection: He juſtly complains of the great Abuſe with Reſpect to this matter, that many think it *a Piece of State to have Children baptiz'd in their Houſes, and ſo bring their Pride with them even into the moſt Sacred Performances.* To which I ſhall add, that were it not for the Mercenarineſs, or Want of Reſolution in ſome of the Clergy, this ill Cuſtom might eaſily be broken. (*h*)

The Catechiſm.

The Catechiſm is the ſame with ours, as far as it reaches: I ſay as far as it reaches, for it ends with the Anſwer to the Queſtion, *what deſireſt thou of God in this Prayer?*

Anointing at Baptiſm and Confirmation.

In *Confirmation,* immediately before the Biſhop makes a Croſs upon the Forehead of the Perſon Confirm'd, he uſes this Prayer.

Sign them O Lord, and mark them to be thine for ever by the Virtue of thy Holy Croſs, and Paſſion: confirm and ſtrengthen them with the inward Unction of thy Holy Ghoſt mercifully to Everlaſting Life, Amen.

After the Croſs made on the Forehead theſe Words are ſpoken by the Biſhop. *I ſign thee with the Sign of the Croſs, and lay my Hand upon thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt,* Amen.

This *Unction* was another Primitive Cuſtom, and in the firſt Ages of the Church us'd to follow *Baptiſm,* at a much nearer Diſtance than afterwards. (*i*)

In the Office of *Matrimony* the Ring *and other Tokens of Spouſage, as Gold or Silver are deliver'd,* and at the Prieſt's Bleſſing the Perſons married, the Sign of the Croſs is made. The Sign of the Croſs is likewiſe a very antient Uſage. *Tertullian* obſerves, that in his time it was a General Cuſtom for Chriſtians to make a Croſs on their Foreheads upon every the leaſt remarkable Occaſion. *Ad omnem Aditum & Promotum* &c. (*k*) Thus the Heathen *Cæcilius* in *Minutius*

(f) Auguſt. Epiſt. 105.

(g) Tertull. de Baptiſm. Cypr. Epiſt. ad Januar. Conſtitut. Apoſtol. lib. 3. cap. 15, 16, 17. & lib. 7. cap. 23.

(h) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. p.* 78.

(i) Tertull. de Baptiſm. Ambroſe de iis qui initiantur.

(k) Tertull. de Coron. Milit.

nutius Fœlix rallies the Chriſtians for worſhipping the Croſs. This ſuppoſes the Uſe of it. But then as to the Charge *Octavius* denies the Fact, *nec crucem colimus, nec optamus.*

The Viſitation of the Sick.

To go on in the *Viſitation of the Sick*, when the Prieſt came into the Sick Perſons Room he was to ſay the Hundred and Forty Third Pſalm. The Form of *Abſolution* in this *Office* was to be uſed in all private Confeſſions. At the *Communion of the Sick* there is no neceſſity by the *Rubrick* of any Communicants to *receive* with the Prieſt and Patient. However, the Sick Perſon was exhorted to deſire ſome of his Family or Neighbours to Communicate with him.

If the Sick Perſon deſired to be Anointed, the Prieſt did it upon the Forehead or Breaſt only, making the Sign of the Croſs with this Prayer.

Anointing the Sick Perſon.

“ As with this viſible Oyl thy Body outwardly is anointed: So our Heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his Infinite Goodneſs, that thy Soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghoſt, who is the Spirit of all Strength, Comfort, Relief, and Gladneſs. And vouchſafe for his great Mercy (if it be his Bleſſed Will) to reſtore unto thee thy Bodily Health, and Strength to ſerve him, and ſend thee Releaſe of all thy Pains, Troubles, and Diſeaſes, both in Body and Mind. And howſoever his Goodneſs (by his Divine and unſearcheable Providence) ſhall diſpoſe of thee, we his unworthy Miniſters and Servants, humbly beſeech the Eternal Majeſty, to do with thee, according to the multitude of his innumerable Mercies, and to pardon thee all thy Sins, and Offences, committed by all thy Bodily Senſes, Paſſions, and Carnal Affections, who alſo vouchſafe mercifully to grant unto thee Ghoſtly Strength, by his Holy Spirit, to withſtand and overcome all Temptations and Aſſaults of thine Adverſary, that in no wiſe he prevail againſt thee, but that thou mayſt have perfect Victory and Triumph againſt the Devil, Sin, and Death thro' Chriſt our Lord; who by his Death hath overcomed the Prince of Death, and with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, evermore liveth and reigneth God, World without End, *Amen.*

Anointing the Sick with Oyl in Order to his Recovery was another Antient Cuſtom, and for this, to mention nothing farther, we have the Authority of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who cites the Fifth of St. *James*, *v.* 14. for this purpoſe.*

The Burial of the Dead.

In the Office for Burial of the Dead, when the Prieſt throws Earth upon the Corps, he ſays, *I commend thy Soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy Body to the Ground*, &c.

And the next Pray'r begins thus. *We commend into thy Hands of Mercy (moſt Merciful Father) the Soul of this our Brother departed —— that when the Judgment ſhall come which thou haſt committed to thy well beloved Son, both this our Brother, and we may be found acceptable in thy ſight, and we may receive that Bleſſing*, &c.

“ The next Prayer ſtands thus.

“ Almighty God, we give thee Hearty Thanks for this thy Servant, whom thou haſt deliver'd from the Miſeries of this wretched World, from the Body of Death, and all Temptation. And as we truſt, haſt brought his Soul, which he committed into thy Holy Hands, into ſure Conſolation and Reſt. Grant we beſeech thee, that at the Day of Judgment, his Soul and all the Souls of thy Elect, departed out of this Life, may with us and we with them fully receive thy Promiſes, and be made perfect altogether, through the Glorious Reſurrection of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

After the Second Leſſon, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, &c. and the Lord's Prayer, the Prieſt ſays.

Enter not (O Lord) into Judgment with thy Servant.

Anſwer.

For in thy Sight no Living Creature ſhall be juſtified.

Prieſt.

From the Gates of Hell.

Anſwer.

Deliver their Souls, O Lord.

Prieſt.

I believe to ſee the Goodneſs of the Lord.

Anſwer.

In the Land of the Living.

Prieſt.

O Lord graciouſly hear my Prayer.

Anſwer.

And let my Cry come unto thee.

Then follows this Prayer.

“ O Lord, with whom do live the Spirits of them that be Dead, and in whom the Souls of them that be elected after they be delivered from the Burthen of the Fleſh, be in Joy and Felicity: Grant unto this thy Servant, that the Sins which he committed in this World, be not imputed unto him, but that he, eſcaping the Gates of Hell, and Pains of Eternal Darkneſs, may ever dwell in the Region of Light, with *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, in the Place where is no Weeping, Sorrow, nor Heavineſs, and when that Dreadful Day of the Reſurrection ſhall come, make him to riſe alſo with the Juſt and Righteous, and receive this Body again to Glory, then made pure and incorruptible: Set him on the Right Hand of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, among thy Holy and Elect, that then he may hear with them theſe moſt ſweet and comfortable Words: Come to me ye Bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs the Kingdom which has been prepared for you, from the beginning of the World: Grant this, we beſeech thee, O Merciful Father, through Jeſus Chriſt our Mediatour and Redeemer, *Amen.*

Prayer for the Dead a General Cuſtom of the Primitive Church.

This recommending the Dead to the Mercy of God, is no Innovation of the Court of *Rome*, but a conſtant Uſage of the Primitive Church. To juſtifie this Reform'd Liturgy in this Point, I ſhall produce unexceptionable Authority. To begin with *Tertullian*. *Oblationes pro defunctis, pro Natalitiis, annuo Die facimus*, that is, they mention'd the Names of the Deceas'd on the Anniverſary of their Death in the Prayers of the Euchariſtick Sacrifice. And here this Father recounting the Uſe of the Croſs, the Ceremonies in Baptiſm, *&c.* He adds, *Harum & aliarum hujuſmodi Diſciplinarum, ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam invenies: Traditio tibi prætendetur Auctrix, Conſuetudo Confirmatrix, & Fides Obſervatrix.* That is, *If you demand a Text of Scripture for theſe Uſages, you will find none: The Practiſe ſtands upon a Bottom of Tradition, 'tis confirm'd,*

---

* De Sacerdot. lib. 3.

confirm'd by Cuſtom, and one Generation follows it upon the Credit of that which went before. (*l*)

Authorities for this Point.

The Famous Biſhop and Martyr St. *Cyprian* acquaints us, that one *Victor* had made *Geminius Fauſtinus* a Prieſt, a Guardian in his Will. For this Reaſon St. *Cyprian* gives Order there ſhould be no Prayer made for him at the Solemnity of the Euchariſt.

(*m*) And here he lays down this for a Rule, that if any of the Faithful ſhould nominate a Clergyman in their laſt Will and Teſtament for any Guardianſhip or Civil Truſt, his Name ſhould not be mention'd at the Euchariſtick Sacrifice, nor any Recommendatory Prayer for his *Repoſe*, put up for him at God's Altar. His Words are theſe, *non offeretur pro eo, nec Sacrificium pro Dormitione ejus celebraretur, neque enim apud Altare Dei meretur nominari in Sacerdotum Prece, qui ab Altari, Sacerdotes & Miniſtros voluit avocari.*

The *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, an Authority of the Third Century, as hath been obſerv'd, ſhall appear next. Amongſt theſe Conſtitutions this Prayer occurrs.

Let us pray for our Brethren departed in the Faith of Chriſt. *That the moſt Merciful God who has receiv'd the Spirits of the* Deceas'd, *would forgive all their voluntary and involuntary Failings, and that being reſtor'd to the Divine Favour they may have a Place aſſign'd them in the Region of the Bleſſed, in the Boſom of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *in the Company of thoſe where Pain and Sorrow and Diſſatisfaction have no Place,* &c.

(*n*) In the next Chapter, there is an Order for ſolemnizing the Funeral of the Dead with *Divine Service*; Pſalms, Prayers, and Leſſons, being appointed for this purpoſe. The Anniverſary of the Deceas'd is likewiſe order'd to be kept, but then all theſe Friendly Offices of the Church are only ſerviceable to *thoſe who lived well, for as to wicked People if charitable Diſtributions were never ſo great on their Account, they would receive no Benefit by them.* (*o*)

To proceed, St. *Ambroſe* in his Funeral Oration for the Emperor *Valentinian* ſpeaking of this Prince and his Brother *Gratian* * has theſe Words. *Beati ambo, ſi quid meæ Orationes valebunt: Nulla Dies vos ſilentio præteribit: Nulla Inhonoratos vos mea tranſibit Oratio: Nulla Nox non donatos aliquâ Precum mearum Contextione tranſcurret: Omnibus Oblationibus vos frequentabo.* That is, *If my Prayers can prevail, neither of you ſhall be unhappy: No Day ſhall drop you out of my Memory: I ſhall be ſure to give you a Regard in every Addreſs to God Almighty: The* Revolution *of the Night ſhall not be more conſtant than my Devovotion upon your Account: And your Memory ſhall never be omitted in the Euchariſtick Oblation.* (*p*)

And in another Funeral Oration upon the Death of his Brother *Satyrus*, he commends his Brothers Soul to God Almighty in theſe Words. *Tibi nunc Omnipotens Deus, Innoxiam commendo Animam; tibi Hoſtiam meam offero, cape propitius ac ſerenus Fraternum munus, ſacrificium Sacerdotis.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* deſcribing the Qualifications of a Prieſt, and to what degrees of Innocence and Virtue he ought to be furniſh'd, tells us amongſt other things, that *by his Office he is a Mediator for the Univerſe: That he intercedes with the Almighty in behalf of all Mankind, and begs the Divine Favour not only for the Living, but the Dead.* (*q*)

St. *Auſtin* in his Epiſtle *de curâ pro mortuis gerendâ* affirms, 'twas the Cuſtom of the univerſal Church to pray for the Dead, upon this Aſſertion he proceeds to reaſon in Defence of the Uſage. *In the Maccabees,* ſays he, *we read of a Sacrifice offer'd for the dead. But if we had nothing of this kind to plead, the Cuſtom of all Chriſtendom is a conſiderable Authority; and thus to inſiſt on matter of Fact, we find the recommending the dead every where makes Part of the Prieſts Devotions at the Holy Altar.* (*r*)

By the way, tho' we have good reaſon to reject the *Maccabees* from being any Part of the inſpired Writings, yet the Teſtimony of the Author as to matter of Fact, is unexceptionable enough.

To proceed, in the *Liturgies* of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*, in the Old Gallican, and Mozarabick *Miſſals*, in the *Ordo Romanus*, and in almoſt all the reſt cited by *Caſſander*, we meet with Prayer for the Dead: The Form tho' ſomewhat ſhorter is much the ſame, with thoſe in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. (*s*) Theſe Authorities, tho' not ſo unqueſtionably antient as the preceding, are notwithſtanding ſeveral of them printed from Manuſcripts more than Nine Hundred Years Old.

The Inoffenſiveneſs of the Practice.

This Cuſtom neither ſuppoſes the *Modern Purgatory*, nor gives any Encouragement to Libertiniſm and Vice: Not to the latter, for St. *Auſtin* with the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions affirms, that unleſs a Man dies qualified, that is, unleſs he has liv'd tolerably well, he can't receive any Aſſiſtance from the Prayers of the Living. (*t*) That the Antient Church believ'd the recommending the Dead a ſerviceable Office we need not queſtion; otherwiſe, to what purpoſe was it ſo generally practis'd? The Cuſtom ſeems to have gone upon this Principle, that ſupreme Happineſs is not to be expected till the Reſurrection: And that the Interval between Death and the End of the World, is a State of imperfect Bliſs. The Church might therefore believe her Prayers for good People departed, might improve their Condition, and raiſe the Satisfactions of this *Period.*

'Tis probable likewiſe the Antients believ'd, that where a Man was Regular and Pious in the main, ſome leſſer Failings might not be accounted for; upon this Score, and that ſome of the Rigors of the laſt Judgment might be abated: And ſome Faults, for which they might otherwiſe ſuffer in the *Conflagration*, be paſs'd over: Upon theſe Grounds, I ſay, this Uſage ſeems to be founded.

Bucers *Objections conſider'd.*

Bucer's Objections againſt this Practice ſeems ſhort of Satisfaction. He urges this Text of St. *John*, *he that hears my Word, and believes on him that ſent me, has everlaſting Life, and ſhall not come into Condemnation.* (*u*) He likewiſe cites a Paſſage from the *Romans*, where 'tis ſaid *whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin.* (*w*) But neither of theſe Texts Affect the Primitive Practice. For firſt, the Antients ſuppoſe thoſe, whom they remembred in their Devotions, in a ſafe Condition, and that *they were paſs'd from Death to Life*, and were in no danger of *coming into Condemnation.* His other Text, *That whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin*, is no more ſerviceable than the former. However he argues from it thus, that nothing can be done *in Faith*, without an Expreſs Warrant from *Scripture*, or what ſtands upon a Concluſion evidently Inferr'd from ſome Inſpir'd *Text*; but Prayer for the Dead, ſtands upon neither of theſe Grounds, and therefore ought to be waved. (*x*)

But the Argument ſeems to proceed ſtronger the other way: For ſince Prayer for the Dead is no where Condemn'd in *Scripture*, the Authority

---

(l) Tertull. de Coron. Milit.

Non eſt quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur.

(m) Cyprian. Epiſt. 66. Edit. Pamel.

(n) Conſtit. Apoſtol. lib. 8. cap. 41.

(o) Ibid. cap. 42. 43.

* Gratian *was then dead.*

(p) Orat. Funeb. de Obit. Valentin. Imp. Edit. Eraſm.

(q) De Sacerdot. lib. 6.

(r) Univerſa pro Defunctis Eccleſia ſupplicare conſuevit, &c. Auguſt. de curâ pro mortuis gerend. Edit. Baſil.

(s) Goar Euchologion Hittorpius. Caſſander Liturgica. &c. Bona. Rer. Liturg. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican. Thomaſius Codic. Sacrament.

(t) De Cura pro mort. gerend.

(u) John 5. v. 24.

(w) Rom. 14. v. 23.

(x) Bucer Scripta. Anglican. p. 467, 8.

thority of the Church appears a very good reaſon to remove Scruples, and ſettle the Perſwaſion of the Lawfulneſs of the thing; which is the meaning of that Place in St. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Romans.* To this purpoſe St. *Auſtin* tells us, *quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia nec Conſiliis Inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ traditum, rectiſſimè creditur.* (x) That is, *whatever is held by the univerſal Church, and always obſerv'd without being ſettled by any Conciliary Decree, is rightly believ'd an Apoſtolical Tradition.* And when we have *Bucer, Luther,* and *Calvin* of one ſide of the Queſtion, and St. *Auſtin* and the Univerſal Church on the other, 'tis no great difficulty to diſcover the caſting of the Ballance.

(x) De Baptiſm. contra Donatiſt. lib. 4. cap. 15.

There is another *Text* urg'd in Favour of *Bucer's* Opinion, *Bleſſed are the Dead which die in the Lord from henceforth:* Yea, *ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their Labours, and their Works do follow them.* (y) But this Place amounts to no Cenſure, either of the Primitive Practice, or the *Reform'd Common-Prayer-Book* before us, for 'tis ſuppos'd both by the Antients, and the *Office* laſt mention'd, that the Dead are diſcharg'd from the Fatigues of this Life, that their *Works follow* them, and that they are happy as to the main; however it doth not follow from hence, but that their Condition may be Improv'd, and that they may be ſerv'd in ſome meaſure by the Aſſiſtance of the Living. And thus far I have Endeavor'd to Vindicate our firſt *Reformers,* in retaining the uſage of *Praying for the Dead.*

(y) Revel. 14. v. 13.

I have already obſerv'd, Prayer for the Dead, does not imply *Purgatory,* from whence it follows, that tho' the Church of *England* Condemns the *Romiſh Doctrine* of *Purgatory,* * we can't from thence infer her diſlike of Prayer for the Dead. Whether or no the Petition in the preſent *Litany, Remember not Lord our Offences, nor the Offences of our Fore-Fathers,* &c. does not reach the *Deceas'd,* is a Queſtion: There is likewiſe a Prayer in the *Burial Office,* which ſeems to ſound to this Senſe. Now where the *Church* of *England* has left her meaning doubtful, I humbly conceive the greateſt Honour we can do Her, is to interpret her to a Conformity to the Primitive Practice.

* *Article* 22.

If 'tis ſaid the Second Book of *Homilies* declares againſt Praying for the Dead: † That theſe *Homilies* are mention'd with Commendation, in the Thirty Fifth *Article*: The *Church* therefore by Implication, ſeems to Condemn Prayer for the Dead. To this it may be anſwer'd,

† *Homilies concerning Prayer pt. 3d.*

Firſt, That this *Homily* is principally levell'd againſt the Doctrine of *Purgatory,* maintain'd in the Church of *Rome.* And to make the moſt of this *Diſcourſe,* the Arguments pretend to go no farther than the Inſignificancy of ſuch Applications; the *Homily* does no where aſſert them dangerous, or unlawful.

Secondly, The Church of *England's* Affirming the *Homilies contain* a *Godly* and *Wholeſome Doctrine;* * falls ſhort of vouching every Paſſage in this *Collection.* The *Homilies* may be a good Body of Inſtruction as to the main; without being every where exact in the Argument, and demonſtrative throughout the whole *Book.* And how happy this *Homily concerning Prayer* has been in repreſenting St. *Cyprian,* St. *Chryſoſtom,* and St. *Auguſtine,* upon this Subject, I ſhall leave the learned *Reader* to conſider.

* *Article* 35.

If 'tis objected on the other ſide; that ſince the Church of *England* has not thought fit to ſpeak out, but left her meaning queſtionable upon this Head; therefore 'tis moſt prudential to go over to the Church of *Rome,* where this Part of Primitive Practice is plainly continued. To this I Anſwer,

Firſt, That ſince the Church of *England* has left Her meaning doubtful, does it not follow from hence, that Her Members may conſtrue Her to which ſide of the Queſtion they Pleaſe? Have they not the liberty upon this Ground, to remember their Deceas'd Friends in their Devotions, or not, as their Conſcience ſhall give them leave? Where the Point is undecided, what ſhould hinder them, from extending the **Communion of Saints,** to the State of *Separation?* And enlarging their Charity to the Church in the other World? There's no need therefore of *deſerting* upon this Score.

Secondly, We ſhould conſider the difficulty of the Terms, which will be required. That for Inſtance we muſt own a Supremacy, *Jure Divino,* and founded on Succeſſion from St. *Peter,* we muſt ſubmit to Communion only in one kind for the *Laity;* to Tranſubſtantiation and Adoration of the Hoſt; to Worſhip of Images, extending the Canon of *Scripture,* and taking in part of the *Apocrypha;* now theſe, to mention nothing farther, are ſhocking Conditions: Suppoſing the Church of *England* was chargeable with the Omiſſion of a Primitive Uſage, which is more than I affirm; granting this the Caſe, 'tis much more eligible to adhere to Her, than part with Her Communion upon ſo *remarkable* an *Exchange.*

To go on with the *Common-Prayer-Book;* At the Burial of the Dead, there is an Order for the *Communion,* I ſhall only mention what is particular to the Occaſion. Firſt, the Forty Second *Pſalm* is ſaid by way of *Introite.* The *Collect* is now uſed at Burials: It begins thus; *O merciful God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Reſurrection and the Life,* &c. The Epiſtle is taken out of the firſt of the *Theſſalonians,* Verſe the Thirteenth, and the Goſpel is the Sixth of St. *John,* beginning at the Thirty Seventh Verſe, and ending at the Fortieth.

Communion at Burials.

Receiving the Holy Euchariſt is not without Preſidents in the Primitive Church, as appears by the Forty Fourth Canon of the *Council* of *Carthage.* By the Canon 'tis Decreed, *that the Sacrifice ſhould be Offer'd, that is the Holy Euchariſt receiv'd Faſting, excepting on Maundy Thurſday; that at all other Times of the Year, when Biſhops or any other Perſons were buried in the Afternoon, if the Perſons Officiating, had Eaten any thing that Day, the Deceas'd ſhould be recommended to the Mercy of God only by Prayer, that is, there ſhould be no Communion.* (z)

(z) Bevereg. Pandec. Canon. Vol. 1. p. 567.

Upon this Canon the learned Biſhop *Beverege,* cites a Paſſage of St. *Auſtin,* to prove the Cuſtom of recommending the Dead to God Almighty upon ſuch Occaſions. (a) Part of it is to the ſame Senſe with the Teſtimony already alledg'd from this Father, only here St. *Auſtin* adds, *that the Sacrifice of the Holy Euchariſt was Offer'd in their behalf,* for a more effectual Interceſſion. (b)

(a) Auguſt. de Verb. Apoſt. Serm. 32.

(b) Pandec. Canon. Vol. 2. page 207.

This Office kept up in the Latin Tranſlation of Queen Elizabeths Common Prayer Book.

When Queen *Elizabeth's Common-Prayer-Book* was Tranſlated into Latin, in the Second Year of her Reign, this Order for a *Communion,* is put into that *Burial Office;* and that it was not done by Miſtake or Clandeſtine Practice, appears by her Majeſty's Proclamation: *Peculiaria quædam in Chriſtianorum Funeribus & Exequiis*

Decantanda adjungi præcipimus, Statuto de Ritu Publicarum Precum Anno primo Regni noſtri promulgato, in Contrarium non Obſtante; That is, *ſome particular Obſervances at Funerals we have commanded to be uſed, the* Act *for Uniformity, ſet forth in the firſt Year of our* Reign, *notwithſtanding.* Thus by the way, the Queen even in matters of Religion, makes no difficulty to over-rule the Legiſlature, and diſpence with an Act of Parliament. (c) And by this Proclamation we ſee the Two *Univerſities*, for whom this *Tranſlation* was chiefly intended, had the liberty of a Communion at Burials, if they thought fit.

(c) Leſtrange *Alliance of divine Offices p.* 303.

Diſtributions of Charity at Funerals. Id. *page* 304.

Farther, It may not be improper to obſerve, that diſtributions of Charity at Burials, was Cuſtomary thro' all Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. The relief of the Poor, was antiently thought no unſerviceable Office to the Perſon Deceas'd; as the Reader may obſerve from the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* above cited. To this purpoſe we have another Teſtimony from St. *Auſtin*, quoted by the learned Beverege. *Cum verò eorum Commendandorum cauſâ Opera Miſericordiæ celebrentur, quis eos dubitet ſuffragari, pro quibus Orationes deo non Inaniter allegantur.* (d)

(d) Auguſt. de Verb. Apoſt. Serm. 32. Pandec. Canon. Vol. 2. *page* 207.

The *Purification* of Women ſtands next to the *Burial Office*. The Woman Church'd is to Offer her Chriſom, and other Cuſtomary Offerings.

Before I proceed farther, I ſhall briefly Obſerve that in the *Communion Office* of this firſt *Reform'd Liturgy*, the Conſecration Prayer invokes the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, the Words are theſe, *And with thy Holy Spirit and Word, Vouchſafe to Bleſs and Sanctify theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of* Bread and *Wine, that they may be unto us the* Body *and* Blood, &c.

The Invocation of the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt.

This Prayer for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, upon the Conſecrated Elements, is another Antient Uſage: For the purpoſe, 'tis part of the *Liturgies* of St. *Chryſoſtome*, and St. *Baſil*: 'Tis in the Gallican *Liturgy* and the *Ordo Romanus*, and in moſt of the reſt mention'd by *Caſſander*. And to go higher in Antiquity, we find it in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*. The Order in which the Words ſtand is very remarkable: For in the Conſecration Prayer, after the Prieſt has pronounc'd theſe Words, *This is my Body which is broken for many, for the Remiſſion of Sins.* —— *This is my* Blood *which is ſhed for many, for the Remiſſion of Sins*: After theſe Words, which the Church of *Rome* ſuppoſes, make ſuch a Myſterious Change in the *Elements*; After theſe Words at ſome diſtance, this Prayer follows. *We beſeech thee that thou would'ſt favorably look upon theſe Gifts, and ſend thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, that this Bread may be made the Body of thy Chriſt, and this Cup the Blood of thy Chriſt, that thoſe who partake of it may be ſtrengthn'd for good Life*, &c. Now this Invocation of the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, to make the Elements the Body and Blood of Chriſt, being ſpoken at ſome diſtance after the Words, Pronounc'd by our Saviour at the Inſtitution of this Holy Sacrament, 'tis plain the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* did not believe the pronouncing the Words, *This is my Body*, and *this is my Blood* either *Trans*, or *Conſubſtantiated* the Bread and Wine: For if our Saviour had been Corporally preſent, either by changing the Elements into his Body and Blood, or united to them by *Conſubſtantiation*; If this Effect, I ſay, had follow'd, upon pronouncing theſe Words, *this is my Body*, &c. to what purpoſe ſhould the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, been afterwards Invok'd to make the Elements the Body and Blood of Chriſt? When according to the Modern Doctrine they were ſo already in the moſt full, and wonderful Senſe imaginable.

Conſtitut. Apoſtol. lib. 8. cap. 12.

This Prayer for invoking the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, for the purpoſe above-mention'd, ſtands much in the ſame Order in St. *Chryſoſtome*'s, and St. *Baſil*'s Liturgy, (*e*) that is, it follows the Words of Conſecration, *This is my Body*, &c.

(e) Goar. Euch†olog.

To make one Remark farther, the Prayer of Conſecration in this firſt *Reform'd Liturgy*, ſuppoſes the *Holy Euchariſt* a Sacrificial Oblation, as hath been ſufficiently proved in a late learned Tract. (*f*) The calling the Conſecrated Elements a Sacrifice, is altogether agreeable to the Language of the Primitive Church. To cite ſome few Authorities. *Clemens Romanus* in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* ſpeaks thus; All *thoſe* Duties which *our Lord* has *commanded us, ought to be perform'd* in *proper Time, Order and Manner*, and thus our Oblations and Solemn Devotions ought to be Circumſtantiated: τὰς τε προσφορὰς ϗ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι —— And a little after 'tis ſaid, *thoſe who make their Oblations at the Time preſcrib'd by our Lord, are acceptable and happy*: And at ſome diſtance he continues, *We ſhould be Guilty of no ſmall Crime, if we ſhould throw thoſe out of their Epiſcopal Function, who offer the* Gifts *in a holy unexceptionable Manner.* (*g*)

The Holy Euchariſt a Sacrifice.

(*f*) *The Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Euchariſt p.* 93, 4.

(g) Concil. Vol. 1. *page* 148, 9. 152.

Irenæus, who Liv'd in the Second Century, is full to this purpoſe. (*h*) *Our Lord*, ſays he, *reminding his Diſciples to Offer to God firſt Fruits, took* Bread, *and gave thanks, ſaying this is my* Body: *He alſo called the Cup his* Blood, *and ſo taught the New Oblation of the New Teſtament. This Inſtitution, the Church receiving from the Apoſtles, continues the ſame Offering every where*; Then citing the Text of *Malachi* Chap. 1. v. 7. and 12. he infers, the Prophet has plainly ſignified, that *the former People the Jews ſhall ceaſe to Offer, but notwithſtanding this, a Sacrifice ſhall be Offer'd to God in every Place.* And a little forward (*i*) he ſpeaks thus; *The Oblation of the Church*, which the *Lord hath commanded to be Offer'd in all Places of the World, is accepted by God as a pure Sacrifice.* And afterwards in the ſame Chapter, *that not all Sacrifices in general are rejected, for there were Oblations in the Old Teſtament*, and there are now Oblations under the *New*, there were Sacrifices amongſt the *Jews*; and the *Church* has Sacrifices as part of the Service perform'd to God Almighty.

(h) Iren. lib. 4. cap. 32.

(i) Gap. 34.

To proceed; The *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, calls the Holy Euchariſt a Sacrifice in the Place above-mention'd, and to the ſame Senſe 'tis called an *Oblation* by the Nicene, Ancyrane, and Neocæſarean Councils: (*k*) To which we may add thoſe of *Gangra* and *Laodicea*. St. *Chryſoſtome* likewiſe calls it a *Tremendous Sacrifice*, (*l*) and St. *Cyprian* frequently ſpeaks the ſame Language, and in the Liturgies of St. *Baſil*, and St. *Chryſoſtome* in Conformity, to the manner of Expreſſion us'd by the Fathers, the Holy Euchariſt is call'd an *Unbloody* Sacrifice, which looks like ſtrong Evidence againſt the Doctrines of *Trans*, or *Conſubſtantiation*. (*m*)

(k) Concil. Nicen. Can. 14. Concil. Ancyran. Can. 8. Concil. Neocæſar. Can. 13. Concil. Gang. Can. 4. Concil. Laodicen. Can. 19. Pandec. Canon.

(l) De Sacerdot. lib. 6.

(m) Goar Euch’olog.

To return; Thoſe Biſhops, *&c.* who drew up the firſt *Reform'd Liturgy*, thought fit to give an Account, why ſome Ceremonies were laid aſide, and ſome continued. And here they make a Diſtinction between the Ceremonies; ſome they Affirm were well form'd in the *Inſtitution*, tho' upon the Progreſs of Time miſapply'd to Superſtition. Others were no better than

Some Ceremonies ſet aſide, and ſome retain'd, and why?

Anno 1548.

than the Product of Indiſcreet Devotion, and Zeal without Knowledge: Theſe latter in regard they ſerv'd rather to make the Worſhip of God more unintelligible, and as it were overlaid Religion, were thought fit to be Diſcharg'd: Whereas the Ceremonies of the firſt ſort were retain'd, as a Guard and Ornament to *Divine Service*. The *Compilers* Charg'd the Contemptuous neglect of the Church Ceremonies, and breaking in upon the Order of Authority as a great Crime. That the Appointment of things of this kind, belong'd to the Governors of the Church: And that private Men ought not to preſume to draw Models, and make Appointments for this purpoſe. They take notice that ſome People are ſo much Govern'd by Whimſey and Self Conceit, that they are for recoyning every thing, and nothing will Pleaſe them but what is New: But, as they go on, to Condemn any thing, meerly on the Score of its being Old, is a great ſign of Folly. On the other Hand, the Circumſtantials of Religion ought rather to be valued for their Antiquity; And to prevent Miſapprehenſion, they give the People to underſtand, that the Ceremonies Unaboliſh'd were kept on only for Decency and better Edification, and not upon any Opinion of their being equal to God's Law: They had likewiſe ſelected ſuch, that were neither Dark nor unintelligible, but had Light and Perſpicuity enough to diſcover their meaning, to a common Capacity: For this reaſon they were not ſo liable to Abuſe, as others of a more myſterious Appearance: And laſtly, they pretend to preſcribe only to their own People, without any Imputation upon the different Practice of other Country's. And thus this *Common-Prayer-Book* was Finiſh'd, and ſtood prepar'd for the *Civil* Sanction at the next *Seſſion* of *Parliament*. (*n*)

Haddington *beſieg'd.*

And now a Word or Two concerning Occurrences in the *State*. And here I ſhall be very Brief, in regard theſe Reigns afford Matter enough in the *Church* to entertain the *Reader*. This Summer the Engliſh Garriſon of *Haddington* made frequent Excurſions, drove, and burnt the Neighboring Country, and grew very Troubleſome to the Scots. The *Governor* upon his receiving a Reinforcement of Six Thouſand Men from *France*, Levied Eight Thouſand Scots, and joining the Foreign Forces, Compos'd of French and Germans Form'd the Siege of *Haddington*. And here the Scotch Nobility debated the Point of tranſporting the Queen into *France*, and Marrying her to the *Dauphin*. They were divided upon the Queſtion. One Party ſuggeſted, that the taking ſuch Meaſures, was the way to bring them under the French Power, and entail a perpetual War with *England* upon the Scotch Nation. They thought therefore the Terms offer'd by the Engliſh were not to be rejected: That by this Propoſal, they ſhould have the Benefit of a Ten Years Truce, without being Embarraſs'd with any uneaſy Article during that Period: That in caſe either the King of *England*, or their Queen died within this Interval, they were perfectly at Liberty, and might manage as they thought fit: And whatever the Event might be as to this matter, they look'd on Time and Leiſure, as a Circumſtance of Advantage, and that precipitating Matters was moſt likely to make them miſcarry.

Anno Dom. 1548.

The Scottiſh Queen convey'd to France.

The other Party, to which the Earl of *Arran*, who was the Governor, Inclin'd, Oppos'd this Motion, and inſiſted ſtrongly upon conveying the Queen to *France*. This Sentiment prevail'd; to Execute the Reſolution, the French Fleet weighing Anchor at *Leith*, Sail'd round the Iſles of *Orkny*, as if they intended to return Home that way: And thus ſucceeding in their Enterpriſe, and ſtanding clear of the Engliſh Fleet, they put into the Port of *Dunbritton*, took the Queen on *Board*, and landed Her in *Bretagne*; from whence ſhe was Honorably convey'd to the French Court.

Aug. 20.

The Garriſon of *Haddington* being now hard preſs'd, a Reinforcement of Three Hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand Foot were ſent under the Command of Sir *Robert Bows*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*: *Godwin* Mounts theſe Recruits to Two Thouſand. But whatever their Number was they miſcarried in the Attempt, fell into an Ambuſh, and were almoſt cut off to a Man. Notwithſtanding this Misfortune, the Beſieg'd did their Duty with great Reſolution, and defended the Town 'till the Earl of *Shrewsbury* appear'd with a Body of Sixteen Thouſand Men: And now the French quitted the Siege, and drew off in good Order; on the other Hand the Engliſh General, after he had ſupplied the Town with Ammunition and Proviſions, Countermarch'd to *Berwick*. (*o*)

The Engliſh not ſucceſsful in the War with Scotland.

The Enemy perceiving *Haddington* was not to be recover'd by Force, applied to Stratagem. To this purpoſe *Deſſie* the French General, imagining the Garriſon might think themſelves ſecure, upon the Score of the Siege being lately rais'd, made a Night March with ſome detach'd Regiments, and appearing before the Place at break of Day, ſurpriz'd an Outwork, Kill'd the Watch, and had entred the Town, had it not been for the diſcharge of a Cannon; which being Fir'd thro' the Gate, cut off ſeveral of his Men, diſheartn'd the reſt, and made 'em retire. This Cannon is ſaid to have been diſcharg'd by a French Deſſerter, who had reaſon to expect rough Treatment, if his Countrymen had ſucceeded. The Engliſh Garriſons of *Hume*, and *Fas Caſtle*, were not ſo Fortunate as that of *Haddington*.

At *Hume* the Enemy, who underſtood the Ground, Clim'd the Rock on the ſide oppoſite to the Caſtle: And thus Killing the Centinels, (who truſting to the ſtrength of the Place, were negligent in their Duty,) made themſelves Maſter of the Fort. As for *Fas Caſtle* it was loſt in this manner. The Governor Summon'd the Neighboring Peaſants to furniſh him with Corn by ſuch a Day. Upon this Occaſion the Enemy ſurpriz'd the Fort; the Scotch on pretence of ſupplying the Garriſon, ſent their Souldiers in the diſguiſe of Countrymen. Theſe Men throwing down their Burthens at the Gate, Kill'd the Centinels, and giving the Signal to a Reſerve near at Hand, carried the Place.

The Engliſh were likewiſe ſomewhat unfortunate in what was attempted by their Fleet.

The Lord Admiral *Seymour* commanded in the Expedition; he landed firſt at *Fife* at St. *Minins*, and afterwards in the *Mernis* at *Montroſs*, but at both Places he was forc'd to retire, and Re-embark his Men with conſiderable loſs.

In the beginning of Autumn, the Earl of *Rutland* March'd to *Haddington*, with Three Thouſand Germans, together with ſome Engliſh Forces levy'd in the North: This General found the keeping the Town Impracticable, without a conſiderable Army upon the ſpot:

For

(n) *Common Prayer Book Fol.* 156.

(o) Godwin Annal. Stow Annal.

For the Neighboring Country being waſted, there was a neceſſity of Forraging at a great diſtance, and by conſequence there muſt be a ſtrong Convoy to Guard what was gotten.

Octob. 1.

For this reaſon he raz'd the Fortifications, Burnt the Town, and brought off the Garriſon and Artillery to *Berwick*. This is reckn'd to the next Year by *Buchanan*, but *Godwin* Places it to *October* this Year.

An Act to make the Marriage of Prieſts lawful.

To return to *England*, the *Parliament* met on the 24th of *November*. This *Seſſion* had begun on the 15th in *October*, but the Plague being then in *London*, occaſion'd this farther Prorogation. The firſt *Bill* relating to the *Church*, was to make the Marrying of Prieſts Lawful: When 'twas brought into the *Houſe* of Lords, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtol*, *Chicheſter*, *Landaff*; and the Lords *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*, diſſented.

The *Preamble* ſets forth, that 'tis to be wiſh'd the Clergy would Live ſingle, that they might be more at leiſure to attend the Buſineſs of their Function; but ſince 'tis found by Experiment, that there are greater Inconveniences another way, and that they are left at liberty by God's Law; For theſe Reaſons 'tis *Enacted* that all Canons, Conſtitutions, *&c.* which prohibite the Marriage of the Clergy, ſhall be utterly void. And that no Spiritual Perſons ſhall be liable to any Puniſhment or Forfeiture, upon the Account of their Marriage. (p) In this *Statute* there is a Clauſe, that no Perſon ſhould have the liberty of Marrying without conforming to the Ceremonies and Orders, ſet forth in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and *Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, &c. From whence it appears the *Bill* concerning the *Common-Prayer* was paſs'd into a *Statute*, before that relating to the Marriage of Prieſts. (q)

This *Act* concerning the Marriage of the Clergy, went no farther than a Permiſſion.

To make the Proviſion entire, we ſhall meet with another *Act* in this Reign for legitimating their Children, but of that afterwards. That the Clergy had the liberty of Marriage, no leſs than the Laity; and that neither the *Scriptures*, nor the Primitive Church, put them under any particular Reſtraint, I have prov'd at large in the firſt part of this Work. (r)

Many of the Clergy privately Married before the Reformation.

However, for ſeveral *Centuries* before the *Reformation*, the Clergy were oblig'd to *Cælibacy*, and particularly thoſe in *England*, were under a Solemn Engagement. 'Tis therefore a miſtake to affirm, *they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage*, (s) for by a Canon of the *Council* of *Wincheſter* held under *Lanfrank*, thoſe who were Ordain'd Prieſts, or Deacons, had a Form preſcrib'd them for renouncing Matrimony. (t)

As to the Charge of the Licentiouſneſs of the Prieſts, 'tis to be hop'd the Hiſtorian has ſet it too high. (t) The greateſt Blemiſh of this kind drawn upon the Clergy before the *Reformation*, was their entertaining Women under the Character of Concubines: For this Practice, they had a Licenſe from their Biſhop. This liberty had an unreputable Appearance, to Strangers eſpecially, and had the Engagement been no better than the Name, would have deſerv'd the hardeſt Cenſure. But theſe Women notwithſtanding they were ſomewhat caurſly diſtinguiſh'd, were for the moſt part their Wives, tho' the *Canons* which forbad the Clergy to Marry, would not allow them the Credit of being ſo call'd: The Biſhops who were well acquainted with their Conduct gave them Licenſes for this purpoſe, and by conſequence diſpens'd with their Vow. This, 'tis probable, they thought no great ſtretch of Authority, conſidering the Prohibition was only a Point of Eccleſiaſtick Diſcipline, and an Abridgment of latter Ages. That this was the Caſe of the Weſtern Church, we are inform'd by the learned *Caſſander* and others. (u) What reaſon then have we to think the Engliſh Clergy ſhould manage with leſs Senſe or Conſcience, than thoſe of their *Order* in other Country's? We ſhall have no reaſon to faſten this Imputation upon them, if we conſider that ſeveral Conſtitutions of our later Provincial *Councils*, are levell'd againſt the Clandeſtine Marriages of the Clergy. Theſe Conſtitutions were made out of Ceremony to the preſent Diſcipline, and to keep the *Canons* in Countenance, but were ſeldom or never put in Execution. To put this matter beyond doubt, Archbiſhop *Parker*, who has treated this Subject at large, (w) relates, that thoſe call'd *Concubines* to the Engliſh Clergy, were many of them lawfully Married. Thus, to uſe his own Words, *There be no ſmall Arguments that ſome Biſhops, and the beſt of the Clergy living within the Memory of Man did continue; and elſewhere, divers of the Clergy Liv'd ſecretly with Wives, and provided for their Children under the Names of Nephews, and other Mens Children; in which manner Liv'd* Bonifacius *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and other Biſhops of old Days, and ſome alſo of late Days, tho' all the World did not bark at the Matter.*

All Perſons Prohibited Preaching.

To proceed; To Silence the Cavils, and make way for the better reception of the *Common-Prayer*, a Proclamation was iſſued out a little before the ſitting of the *Parliament*, to bar the uſe of the Pulpit throughout the Kingdom: And thus thoſe *Preachers* who were Licens'd before, had an Imbargo laid upon them. Part of the Proclamation runs thus.

> “His Majeſty does Inhibit as well the ſaid Preachers ſo before Licens'd, as all manner of Perſons whoſoever they be, to Preach in open Audience in the Pulpit, or otherwiſe, by any Sought Colour or Fraud, to the diſobeying of this Commandment, to the intent that the whole Clergy in this mean ſpace, might apply themſelves to Prayer to Almighty God, for the better atchieving of the ſame moſt godly Intent and Purpoſe, not doubting but that alſo his loving Subjects in the mean time, will Occupy themſelves to God's Honour, with due Prayer in the Church, and patient hearing of the godly Homilies, heretofore ſet forth by his Highneſs Injunctions unto them, and ſo endeavor themſelves, that they may be the more ready, with thankful Obedience to receive a moſt quiet, godly, and uniform Order, to be had throughout all his ſaid Realms and Dominions, *&c.* (x)

The *Act* for the *Uniformity* of Divine Service, &c. takes notice in the *Preamble*, “that beſides the diſtinct Offices of *Sarum*, *York*, *Bangor*, and *Lincoln*, there had lately been other different Forms of Common-Prayer uſed in Cathedral and Pariſh Churches, and that the Holy Communion, and other Sacraments of the Church, had likewiſe been adminiſtred with diverſity of Ceremonies. That the King and his Council had endeavor'd to put a ſtop to this ununiform manner, but without Succeſs. That therefore to provide a

---

(p) *Statutes at large c.* 21.

(q) Vid. *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *page* 88.

(r) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. p.* 191.

(s) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 92.

(t) Spelman's *Concil. vol.* 2. *p.* 11. *See my Church Hiſt. p.* 248.

(t) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 89.

(u) *Conſultat.* 23.

(w) *Defence of Prieſts Marriages Written by an anonymous Author, and Publiſh'd by Archbiſhop* Parker, *with ſome Inſertions of his own. p.* 329. *p.* 334. Harmar *p.* 78.

(x) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 7. *p.* 388.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

An Act for an Uniformity of Pray'r and Adminiſtration of theSacraments.

“ more effectual Remedy, his Majeſty has appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſeveral others of the moſt learned Biſhops and Divines, to draw up an Office for all the Parts of Divine Service : That in doing this, they were to have a regard to the direction of *Holy Scripture*, and the Uſages of the Primitive Church : That the Performance injoin'd the ſaid Biſhops and Divines, was now finiſh'd by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt, and deliver'd to his Highneſs. It is therefore Enacted, *&c.* that no other Book of *Divine Service* ſhall be us'd in any Cathedral or Pariſh Church, or other Place within his Majeſty's Dominions. And if any Parſon, Vicar, or other Spiritual Perſon, ſhall refuſe to uſe this Common-Prayer-Book, or Officiate with any other Form or Ceremonies, or ſhall Preach or Speak any thing in Derogation of the ſaid Book, he was to Forfeit a Years Profit of one of his Preferments, and ſuffer Six Months Impriſonment for his firſt Offence. To ſuffer Impriſonment for a whole Year, and be depriv'd *ipſo facto*, of all his Spiritual Promotions for the Second ; And for the Third Offence, to be Impriſon'd during Life.

“ The *Statute* ſets forth farther ; That if after the Feaſt of Pentecoſt next coming, when the *Act* was to Inure ; If after this Period, the *Common-Prayer-Book* ſhould be Ridicul'd or Burleſqu'd in any Plays, Ballads, or Lampoons, or any Parſon, Vicar, or other Miniſter Menac'd, or otherwiſe prevail'd with, to Officiate in any manner different from the *Rubrick* or Form Preſcrib'd by the ſaid Book, that then every ſuch Offender ſhall Forfeit Ten Pounds for the firſt Time, Twenty for the Second, and all his Goods and Chattels for the Third, and ſuffer Impriſonment during Life. And here 'tis provided, that every Archbiſhop and Biſhop, may at their Pleaſure ſit upon the *Bench*, and joyn with the Judges in the Trial of ſuch Offences.

“ For the Incouragement of Learning, 'tis farther provided, that the *Univerſities* may uſe a Latin, Greek, or Hebrew Tranſlation of the ſaid Common-Prayer-Book, at Diſcretion, the *Communion-Office* only excepted.

A Proviſo for the Univerſities.

'Tis likewiſe provided, *that all and ſingular Lords of the Parliament for the Third Offence abovemention'd, ſhall be Try'd by their Peers.* Since therefore Biſhops, as Sir *Edward Coke* makes no Scruple to grant, are Lords of Parliament, (*y*) they are evidently by this *Statute* to be Try'd by their Peers.

(y) Coke Inſtit. pt. 1. Fol. 97.

The laſt *Proviſo* I ſhall mention, *makes it Lawful for all Men, as well in Churches, Chappels, Oratories or other Places,* to uſe openly any *Pſalms*, or Prayer taken out of the Bible at any due Time, not letting or omitting thereby the Service or any part thereof mention'd in the ſaid Book. (z)

(z) 2 and 3 Edw. 6. c. 1.

Another for the uſe of the Pſalms in Metre.

This *Proviſo* was thrown in as 'tis thought, to Countenance the *Pſalms* projected, to be turn'd into Verſe, and to allow the Uſe of them in Churches, for we are to obſerve, theſe *Singing Pſalms*, as they are call'd, were very much the Inclination of the *Reform'd*.

Singing of Pſalms and Hymns, we find recommended by the Apoſtles St. *Paul*, and St *James*, (*a*) and was Practis'd both privately, and at Church, in the earlieſt Ages of Chriſtianity. Thus *Pliny* in his Account he gives of the Chriſtians to the Emperor, *Trajan* relates, they us'd to meet early at the Day appointed, and Sing a Hymn to Chriſt. This Hymn he obſerves they Sung *Secum Invicèm*: The meaning of which Phraſe may be underſtood by the way of Pſalmody in St. *Baſil's* Time. This Father tells us, that 'twas every Week the common Cuſtom for the People to go to Church before Day ; where after having begun the *Service* with Confeſſion, they proceeded to Singing of Pſalms. And here the Congregation dividing into Two Parts, Sung by turns. (*b*) Sometimes one of them whoſe Office it was, ſet the Pſalm, as we call it, and the reſt Sung after him.

(a) Epheſ. 5. James 5.

Pſalmody a Primitive and General Cuſtom.

(b) Baſil. *Epiſt.* 63. *ad* Cler. Eccleſ. Neocæs.

Socrates will have it, that the famous St. *Ignatius* brought in the Alternate way of Singing. This Father, as the Hiſtorian reports, (*c*) had ſeen a Viſion of Angels Sing a Hymn to the Bleſſed Trinity, which was the reaſon of his recommending this Manner to his Church of *Antioch*.

(c) Socrat. *lib.* 6. *c.* 8.

And thus the Preſident of this celebrated Martyr, grew up to a general Uſage. *Socrates* obſerves farther, that St. *Chryſoſtome* introduc'd this way of Singing Pſalms by turns, into *Conſtantinople*: that he did it to Counterwork the Arrians, who endeavor'd to recommend their Hereſy by Compoſitions Sung in this manner.

The learned *Valeſius* in his *Notes* upon *Socrates*, ſeems to be at a loſs where this Hiſtorian had his Authority, with reſpect to *Ignatius*. For 'tis certain, ſays he, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, who Liv'd in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, were the firſt who broke the Choir into Two Diviſions, for Singing the Pſalms by way of Antiphony, and that the Cuſtom beginning here, ſpread to all other Parts of Chriſtendom. (*d*)

(d) Theodoret. *Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *c.* 24.

Thus the Pſalms were Sung by turns, by all the People in the Church of *Milan*, when St. *Ambroſe* was Biſhop, as we may learn from this Fathers Expoſition upon the firſt Pſalm. (*e*)

(e) Mabillon diſquiſit. de curſu Gallican. *p.* 388.

Walafridus Strabo obſerves, that the famous *Hilarie* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, Compos'd ſeveral Hymns: That Pope *Gelaſius* did the ſame in Imitation of St. *Ambroſe*: And that *Damaſus* order'd the Pſalms ſhould be Sung in all Churches, and Monaſteries. (*f*)

(f) Hittorp. *p.* 687.

As to the Church of *Milan*, St. *Auſtin* relates, (*g*) that when the Empreſs *Juſtina* drew a Perſecution upon St. *Ambroſe*, becauſe ſhe could not make him bend to the Arrian *Hereſy* ; when this Storm happen'd, the People watch'd all Night in the Church, with a Reſolution to ſuffer Martyrdom with their Biſhop. Now to relieve their Spirits under this Fatigue, and take off the Impreſſion of the Calamity, St. *Ambroſe* order'd the Pſalms ſhould be Sung, according to the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Churches, and that this Method continued, and prevail'd in moſt other Places.

(g) Confeſſion. *l.* 9. *c.* 7.

By a Canon made at a Synod under *Gregory* the Great, it appears the Singing of Pſalms in the Church of *Rome* was very Muſical and Affecting. And here 'tis hinted the Choir did not alway Live ſo well as they Sung. (*h*) St. *Auſtin* tho' he declares his Affections very much raiz'd by the fineſs of Church Muſick, and that they gave him a very rapturous and refin'd Pleaſure : (*i*) Yet in another Place he ſeems almoſt afraid to truſt his Paſſions with ſo moving a Satisfaction, and therefore ſeems to prefer the plainer Method of Singing pra-

(h) Mabillon Ibid. *p.* 387.

(i) Confeſſion. *Lib.* 9. *c.* 4. Confeſſion. *Lib.* 10. *c.* 33.

ctis'd by *Athanaſius* in the Church of *Alexandria*. This Biſhop order'd the Pſalms ſhould be Sung with a moderate bending of the Voice, and ſound ſomewhat near common ſpeaking. However, St. *Auſtin* ſeems to ſay this rather out of exceſs of Scruple then ſetled Judgment; for in the ſame *Chapter* he tells us, Church Muſick is deſign'd for an aſſiſtance to Human Infirmities: That it recommends the Exerciſe of Religion: That the ſweetneſs of the Notes takes hold of the Mind, and makes its way, where the bare repeating of the Words would ſcarcely enter: That Sounds have a great aſcendant over our Paſſions. And that when they are well temper'd, and ſuited to the occaſion, they have a ſerviceable Effect.

In *Africk*, and in all other Churches, excepting *Spain*, the Pſalms were Sung at the ſtated Hours, both for Day and Night: But in the Mozarabick Offices, eſpecially of later Times, there is no Pſalm in the Rubrick either for *Vigil*'s or *Veſper*'s. (*k*)

To return Home. At the beginning of the *Reformation*, *David*'s Pſalms were turn'd into Verſe, but extremely to the diſadvantage of the Original. *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* were much better Men than Poets. Their Zeal made them over graſp their Buſineſs, and venture without Skill or Genius. However; the Taſt of that Age was not very nice, which made them paſs the better. But notwithſtanding this Allowance, the Management was thought defective in another Circumſtance; That is, ſince many of the Pſalms have a particular relation to *David*'s Succeſſes, and allude to Cuſtoms and Parts of Hiſtory not commonly underſtood, ſince this is the Caſe: Some Criticks would have had theſe omitted; becauſe where the meaning was either dark, or the matter did not reach down to Chriſtianity, they could not be ſo ſerviceable to Devotion.

To conclude with this *Statute*; ſome Cenſur'd this Proviſion of a *Common-Prayer*, becauſe 'tis ſaid to have been Compos'd with one Uniform Agreement, and yet Four of the Biſhops who were in the Committee for drawing it, proteſted againſt the *Bill*. Theſe were the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, and *Weſtminſter*. 'Tis true theſe Prelates were not ſatisfied with every particular of the Draught, but as to the main they agreed with the reſt; However, the few Exceptions they could not get over, made them diſſent from the whole.

An Act for the true Payment of Tythes.

The next *Statute* relating to the Church, is an *Act* for the true Payment of *Tythes*. The *Preamble* takes notice, that the Two *Statutes* made in the late Reign (*l*) for this purpoſe, were ſhort and defective. To ſupply theſe Omiſſions, 'tis Enacted, “*that all manner of Predial Tythes ſhall be juſtly ſet out, as of right they have, and ought to have been Pay'd. And that no Perſon ſhall from henceforth carry away any ſuch or like Tythes, which have been Pay'd within the ſaid Term of Forty Years, before he has juſtly divided and ſet forth the Tythe, or otherwiſe agreed for the ſame Tythes with the Parſon, Vicar, or other Owner, Proprietor, or Farmer of the ſame Tythes, under the Pain of Forfeiture of treble value of the Tythes ſo taken and carried away.*

'Tis alſo Enacted, that any Perſon to whom Predial Tythes are due, may lawfully, either by himſelf, or his Servant, view and ſee the ſaid Tythes truly ſet forth, and carry them off without Moleſtation.

'Tis farther Enacted, that all Perſons that have Beaſts, or any Cattle Tythable, Feeding in any Waſt or Common, where the Pariſh is not certainly known, ſhall pay their Tythes for the Increaſe of the ſaid Cattle, to the Parſon, Vicar, Proprietor, or Farmers of the Pariſh, where the Owners of the ſaid Cattle dwell.

And that all Barren Heaths, or Waſt Ground, (unleſs diſcharg'd for the Payment of Tythes by Act of Parliament) which ſhall be hereafter improved and turn'd into Arable Ground or Meadow, ſhall after the end of Seven Years, pay Tythe for the Corn and Hay, growing upon the ſame.

There is likewiſe a Clauſe for the Payment of Perſonal Tythes. *And here 'tis Enacted that every Perſon exerciſing Merchandize, bargaining, and ſelling, cloathing, handicraft, or other Art and Faculty, being ſuch kind of Perſons, and in ſuch Places as heretofore, within theſe Forty Years, have accuſtomably uſed to pay ſuch Perſonal Tythes, or of right ought to pay, (other than ſuch as been common Day-Laborers) ſhall Yearly at, or before the Feaſt of Eaſter, pay for his Perſonal Tythes the Tenth part of his Gains, his Charges and Expences according to his Eſtate, Condition or Degree, to be therein abated, allow'd, or deducted.*

Then follows a Proviſo, *That Tythe Fiſh ſhall be pay'd as formerly*; And likewiſe that the *Act* ſhall not Extend to London *and* Canterbury, *or any other Town, that uſed to pay their Tythes by their Houſes.*

As for the Remedy, *The Perſons withdrawing their Tythes, were to be Sued in the King's Eccleſiaſtical Court, and the Proceſs Govern'd by the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and in caſe the Party Condemn'd, does not Obey the Sentence, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge is impower'd to Excommunicate him, and after Forty Days, to Certify the Excommunication to the King, in his Court of Chancery.*

And if any Party, after his being caſt in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, ſhall ſue for a Prohibition, and the Suggeſtion proves falſe by Two Witneſſes, that then the Party againſt whom the Prohibition is brought, ſhall within Six Months, after the granting the Prohibition, have a Conſultation awarded by the King's Judges, and recover double Coſts and Damages to be aſſeſs'd by the Court, where the Conſultation was granted, for recovery of which Coſts and Damages, the Party to whom they ſhall be awarded, may have an Action of Debt, by Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of the King's Courts of Record. (*m*)

A Dark and Ambiguous Clauſe.

As to Predial Tythes, the *Bill* ſeems drawn in Terms ſufficiently Plain and Deciſive: But the Clauſe for thoſe which are *Perſonal*, looks dark and embarras'd. *The deducting the Expences according to the Eſtate, Condition, and Degree, of the Party*, lies open to cavil and exception.

Thus by the Ambiguity of the Terms, and the declenſion of the *Spiritual Courts*, this laſt Clauſe prov'd little Beneficial. Thus, the Clergy in Market Towns, where there are no Predial Tythes, have oftentimes but a precarious Subſiſtence. And thus they lie under an unhappy Temptation of *ſpeaking ſmooth things*, and complying too far with the humour of the People.

There is another *Act* paſs'd this Parliament for the abſtinence *from eating Fleſh, upon any Friday or Saturday, or the Embering Days, or in any Day in the Time commonly called Lent, or on any other Day as is, or ſhall be at any Time hereafter commonly reputed a Faſt Day.* (*n*)

The *Preamble*, in all probability drawn by ſome of the Biſhops, “ſets forth that Days and Meats are, in themſelves, all of the ſame Nature and Quality as to moral Conſideration, and that one has no Inherent Holineſs

---

(k) Mabill. Id. *p.* 391.

(l) 27. H. 8. *Cap.* 20. 32 H. 8. *Cap.* 7.

(m) 2 *and* 3 Edw. 6. *c.* 13.

(n) 2 *and* 3 Edw. 6. *c.* 19.

An Act for Abſtinence from eating Fleſh upon Vigil's and other Faſting Days.

“above another. That the diſtinction of *clean and unclean Meats* determin'd with the Moſaick Law. And that all ſorts of Diet may be lawfully us'd by Chriſtians, provided this liberty is taken without running into Exceſs and Contempt of Authority. However, ſince *divers of the King's Subjects*, have abuſed their Improvement in Knowledge, turn'd Epicures under better Inſtruction, and broken the Faſting Days of the Church, with an uncuſtomary Licenſe, conſidering likewiſe that Abſtinence, is ſerviceable to Virtue, and helps to ſubdue the Body to the Mind, 'tis therefore Enacted, *&c.* Beſides theſe Motives drawn from Religion, there is a politick conſideration thrown in: That is by ſuch Abſtinence from Fleſh, the Breed of Cattle would be Increas'd, and Fiſhery and Navigation Encourag'd. For

“The firſt Offence againſt this *Act*, the Forfeiture is Ten Shillings, and Ten Day's Impriſonment, during which Impriſonment, the Criminals are not allow'd the eating any Fleſh. The Penalty for the Second Offence, is the Forfeiture of Twenty Shillings; and Twenty Days Impriſonment, and ſo *totiès quotiès*, with Abſtinence from Fleſh all the time of their Confinement.

This *Act* is not to extend to any Perſons who either had or ſhould have a Licenſe from the Crown. Thoſe Perſons likewiſe of infirm Conſtitutions, either upon the Score of Age or Sickneſs, Women with Child, or lying in, and all Soldiers are likewiſe excepted. Thoſe who eat Fleſh on St. *Lawrence* or St. *Marks Eve*, and ſuch as have heretofore been licens'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, are exempted from the Penalty of the Statute.

Since the Abſtinence injoin'd by this *Act* goes chiefly upon Religious Motives, it may not be improper juſt to obſerve that Faſting has a natural Tendency to reduce the Senſes, and maintain the Government of Reaſon. The Experiment of Hunger is a good Expedient, to refreſh our Compaſſion, and make us more friendly to the Indigent.

Abſtinence is likewiſe a good Sign of Humiliation, and a ſuitable Penance for Exceſs and Misbehaviour. 'Tis an Aſſiſtant of Devotion, and proper for Times of Solemnity and Diſtreſs. Thus the Jews and Ninevites faſted to avert publick Calamities, and make their Applications more acceptable to God Almighty. Thus in the *New Teſtament* our Saviour foretold his Diſciples ſhould faſt *when he was taken from them*; And elſewhere he lays down Rules for this Duty, and promiſes a Reward when 'tis rightly perform'd. (o) Thus the Apoſtle premis'd Faſting to their Impoſition of Hands upon St. *Paul* and *Barnabas*. (p)

The Antiquity of the Lenten Faſt.

As to the *Lent* Faſt mention'd in the *Statute* 'tis in all Likelyhood an Apoſtolical Uſage. 'Tis mention'd as a General Cuſtom by *Irenæus*, (q) Tho' as to the length of the time, whether this Father meant Forty Days or Forty Hours is a Queſtion amongſt the Learned. However, in his Letter to *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, he acquaints this Prelate all the Churches were not agreed about the length of the time. That ſome believ'd themſelves bound to faſt only one Day, ſome two Days, and ſome more. And thus far he is plainly intelligible. *Tertullian* is full for the Point, and tells us that *Good Friday* was a publick and general Faſt, for which Reaſon the *Holy Kiſs* was omitted at the Religious Aſſemblies. (r)

In another Tract he obſerves, (s) that the *Pſychici* or Catholicks held the Interval between our Saviours Crucifixion and Reſurrection as a time of neceſſary Abſtinence. Theſe they interpreted the Days *in which the Bridegroom was taken from them*, and thought themſelves oblig'd to faſt upon their Annual Revolution. (t) Thus the Primitive Chriſtians, as *Tertullian* repreſents them, thought themſelves indiſpenſably bound to faſt on *Friday* and *Saturday* in the *Holy Week*. But their Piety made them go beyond this Neceſſity of Precept: For as the ſame Author obſerves, they extended their *Lent* by voluntary Diſcipline, and faſted ſome Days before *the Bridegroom was taken from them*. (u) Thus *Origen* mentioning the Self-Denial and Abſtinence of the Chriſtians, affirms the Chriſtians ſpent Forty Days in their *Lenten* Faſts. (w)

By the Fiſtieth Canon of the *Laodicean* Council held in the Fourth Century 'tis decreed, that People ſhould be confin'd to dry Diet during the whole time of *Lent*. And this Xerophagy or dry Diet, which was no better than Bread, Salt, and Water, as *Epiphanius* relates, (x) was not to be taken till the Evening. However, the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions relax a little, and allow the Eating of Sallad. (y).

But all Churches did not think themſelves oblig'd to the ſame Rule, and therefore we find a conſiderable Diverſity both as to Time and Degrees of Abſtinence. *Socrates* who liv'd in the Fifth Century, tells us that at *Rome* they faſted three Weeks before *Eaſter*, excepting *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. That the Chriſtians in *Illyricum*, *Greece*, and *Alexandria*, began their *Lent* Six Weeks before *Eaſter*, and call'd it a *Quadrageſimal* Faſt. That others had a Cuſtom different from both the former: They began their Abſtinence Seven Weeks before *Eaſter*, but then during this Period they had Abſtinence and Liberty by Intervals, and upon the whole faſted only Five Days in three of the Weeks. And here the Hiſtorian wonders, that ſince there was ſuch Variety in the length of their Abſtinence, they ſhould all of them agree in calling it a *Quadrageſimal Faſt*. (z)

He continues to take notice that they did not only vary in the Number of the Days, but in other Circumſtances of the Diſcipline. Thus ſome forbore eating any thing that had Life; others fed upon no Animals excepting Fiſh; ſome indulg'd themſelves farther, and furniſh'd their Table with Fowl as well as Fiſh: They juſtified their Practice by pleading, both theſe kinds of Animals were extracted from the ſame *Element*, and created out of the *Water*. (a) Other Chriſtians manag'd with greater Reſtraints, and would not ſo much as allow themſelves any Fruit or Eggs. Some went ſtill farther, and fed upon nothing but dry Bread, and ſome even thought this too much. And laſtly, ſome having faſted till three of the Clock, eat any thing that comes in the way without Scruple and Diſtinction. From this Diverſity of Uſage the Hiſtorian infers there is no Divine Precept to ſtate and determine the Circumſtances: But that as to theſe particulars, the Apoſtles left every Church to its Liberty, that the Merit of the Diſcipline might be rais'd by having more of Choice and Inclination.

Socrat. Ibid.

(o) Matth. 6.

(p) Acts 13.

(q) Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccl. Lib.* 5. *c.* 24.

(r) Tertull. de orat. *c.* 14.

(s) Adverſ. Pſych. *c.* 14.

(t) Id. *c.* 2.

(u) Id. c. 13.

(w) Orig. *in* Levit. Hom. 10.

(x) Epiph. expoſ. Fid. n°. 22.

(y) *Conſtit. Apoſtol. Lib.* 5. *c.* 17.

(z) Socrat. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 22.

(a) Gen. 1.

A Bill for reviving Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions thrown out.

This *Seſſion* a Bill was put in for reinforcing the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. The ſetting up the *Regale* to an unuſual Pitch, in the late and preſent Reign, had very much weaken'd the Authority of the *Ordinary's*. People took Advantage of this Declenſion in Diſcipline, and broke out into Libertiniſm and Diſorder. Great Complaints were made of the general Diſſolution of manners; but the Clergy were diſabled from giving a check to this miſchief: They had nothing left them in a manner, but their Rhetorick in the Pulpit: And here they are ſaid to have declaim'd againſt Vice with great Courage and Impartiality. They told the People that unleſs they reform'd, ſome terrible Vengeance would quickly overtake them. But theſe Diſcourſes had little Effect: For the Nation was grown almoſt incorrigible. The Temporal Lords were jealous of reviving the Juriſdiction of the Church: They were unwilling to put the Biſhops in a Condition to ſuppreſs Immorality, for fear it may be, they might be brought under Diſcipline, and abridg'd in their Exceſſes. (*b*) The Colour for laying the Bill aſide was, that the Majority of the Biſhops and Clergy were ſtill popiſhly affected: That if Power were put into ſuch Mens Hands, they might probably turn it upon thoſe who abetted the *Reformation*: And to make their Severity paſs the better, diſguiſe it under other Pretences.

To go back a little; this year one *John Champneys* of *Stratford* on the *Bow*, was convented before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Richard Cox*, *Hugh Latimer*, Doctors of Divinity, and ſeveral other Perſons Commiſſion'd by the King, to examin and try the ſaid *Champney*. He was prevail'd with to recant his Tenents in the Form following.

Champney's *Recantation.*

" I *John Champney* of *Stratford* in the County of *Middleſex* of my pure Heart and free Will voluntarily, and ſincerely knowledge, confeſs and openly recognize, that in times paſt I thought, believ'd, held, wrote, and taught, and preſumptuouſly in my Books ſet forth in my Name theſe Errors, Hereſies, and damnable Opinions following.

" Firſt, That after a Man is regenerate in Chriſt he cannot ſin. *Item*, Secondly, that I have defended the firſt ſaid Article, granting that the outward Man might ſin, and the inward Man could not ſin. Thirdly, that the Goſpel hath been ſo much perſecuted and hated ever ſince the Apoſtles times, that no Man might be ſuffer'd to follow it. Fourthly, that Godly Love never falls away from them which be regenerate in Chriſt, wherefore they cannot do contrary to the Commandment of Chriſt. Fifthly, that that was the moſt Principal of our mark'd Mens Doctrine to make the People believe, that there was no ſuch Spirit given to Man, whereby he ſhould remain Righteous always in Chriſt, which is a moſt div'liſh Error. Sixthly, That God does permit to all his Elect People their Bodily Neceſſities of all Worldly things. That is, thoſe who call themſelves Gods Elect, might quarter upon their Neighbours Fortune, and take any thing from him they thought they had need on. (*c*)

This Recantation was ſworn by *Champneys*, after which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with the reſt of the Commiſſioners Conſent, oblig'd him to ſware to the Conditions and Penance following.

*

" Firſt, That the ſaid *Champneys* ſhall not by any means hereafter teach or preach, nor ſet forth in any kind, in Print, or otherwiſe, any ſuch Books that ſhould contain any manner of Doctrine without a ſpecial Licenſe thereunto of the King's Majeſty, or ſome of his Graces Privy Council, firſt had, and obtain'd. Secondly, that the ſaid *Champneys* with all ſpeed convenient, and with all his Diligence ſhall procure as many of his Books as have paſs'd forth in his Name, to be call'd in again and utterly deſtroy'd, as much as in him ſhall lie. Thirdly, that the ſaid *Champneys* on *Sunday* next ſhall attend upon the Preacher at St. *Paul's* Croſs all the time of the Sermon, and there penitently ſtand before the ſaid Preacher with a Fagot on his Shoulder.

Deinde dictus Johannes Champneys, *Reginaldus Mohun de Cornubiâ Generoſus, & Laurentius* Clerke *de Parochiâ* White Chappel *Civitat.* London Barber, *recognoverunt ſe debere Domino noſtro Regi quingentas libras currentis Monetæ Angliæ, ſub Conditione ſequenti.* viz If the ſaid *Champneys* ſhall perform the ſaid Penance injoyn'd as is aforeſaid, to be done on *Sunday* next in manner and form before declar'd, that then this Recognizance to be void *&c.* or elſe to remain, *&c.*

Ibid. Ann. Dom. 1548.

On the Eighteenth of *December* this year *John Aſhton* Prieſt being convented before Archbiſhop *Cranmer* abjur'd the following Hereſies. (*d*)

Aſhtons Recantation.

Firſt, that the Trinity of Perſons was eſtabliſh'd (he means firſt made an Article of Belief) by the Confeſſion of *Athanaſius*, declar'd by the Pſalm (as he calls it) *quicunque vult* &c. *id eſt. Whoſoever will be ſav'd*, &c. " And that the Holy Ghoſt is not God but only a certain Power of the Father. *Item*, that Jeſus Chriſt that was conceiv'd of the Virgin *Mary*, was a Holy Prophet, and belov'd eſpecially of God the Father. But that he was not the true and living God, foraſmuch as he was ſeen, and liv'd, hunger'd, and thirſted. *Item*, that this only is the Fruit of Jeſus Chriſt's Paſſion, that as we were Strangers from God, and had no knowledge of his Teſtament, it pleas'd God by Chriſt to bring us to the knowledging of his Holy Power by the Teſtament.

After this Recantation he took an Oath to ſtand to the Orders and Appointment of the Church, and to ſubmit to whatever Penance was injoin'd.

This year in *September* laſt *Robert Farrar* Doctor of Divinity, was conſecrated Biſhop of St. *Davids* by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, aſſiſted by *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. (*e*) The Ceremony was not altogether perform'd after the old Form. This *Farrar*, as the *Regiſter* informs us, was the firſt Biſhop that was conſecrated upon the King's *Letters Patent* without Congé d'eſlire or Capitular Election.

Cranmer entertains foreign Divines.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* being inform'd, that ſeveral Learned Men of the *Reformation* were ruggedly treated in *Germany*, gave them an Invitation into *England*. Amongſt thoſe who were hoſpitably entertain'd, and encourag'd by him, were *John Alaſco* a Poliſh Noble Man, *Martin Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *Paulus Fagius*, *Peter Alexander*, and ſome others.

Soon after their coming over, *Fagius* was made *Hebrew Profeſſor* at *Cambridge*, *Peter Martyr*

(b) *Bp.* Burnet *p.* 96.

(c) Regiſt. Cranmer. Fol. 71.

(d) Regiſt. Cranmer Fol. 73.

(e) Regiſt. Cranmer Fol. 327.

tyr had the Divinity Chair at *Oxford*, and *Bucer* that at *Cambridge*. *Bucer* was a Divine of Eminence in his Country, but being embaraſs'd by the *interim*, he quitted *Germany*, and comply'd with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Offer. And here a Word or two of the *interim* may not be amiſs.

A brief Account of the Interim.

Upon the Tranſlation of the Council from *Trent* to *Bolonia*, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth attempted the Settlement of Religion by his own Authority. To make the Motion more ſmooth, a Propoſal for this purpoſe was made at the Diet at *Augsberge*. The Choice of Perſons to manage this Undertaking being refer'd to the Emperor, he pitch'd upon *Julius Flugius*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Johannes Iſlebius*. This Committee after long Conſultation drew up a reconciling Syſtem. This accommodating Scheme was ſeveral times revew'd, and alter'd; ſome of the chief of the Proteſtant Divines being call'd in for their Approbation. 'Twas call'd the *interim*, becauſe 'twas to continue in force till matters were more fully and finally determin'd by a general Council. The Heads treated of are theſe. (*f*)

“The Book begins with the Mention of the State of Mankind before, and after the Fall, of Redemption by Chriſt: From hence it proceeds to diſcourſe of Charity and good Works, of a Man's Aſſurance his Sins are forgiven him. The Caſe of Vows, the Power of the Pope, the other Miniſters of the Church, the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Commemoration, Invocation, and Interceſſion of the Saints, recommending the Dead to the Mercy of God, the turning the Maſs into a Communion, the Point of Ceremonies, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments, were likewiſe handled. And here amongſt other things 'tis determin'd that thoſe Performances which go beyond ſtrict Duty, and are commonly call'd Works of Supererogation are particularly valuable: That a Man can have no infallible Aſſurance of the Pardon of his Sins; and that the Conſciouſneſs of his own Imperfections ought to make him ſomewhat doubtful in this matter. That the Church has Authority to interpret the Holy Scriptures, to explain Difficulties, and draw Concluſions of Belief from thence: To exerciſe Juriſdiction, to make Conſtitutions, and determine Points of Controverſy in a Synodical way: (*g*) That there was one Biſhop appointed to preſide over the reſt, in Virtue of the Privilege granted to St. *Peter*: that the Government of the whole Church was intruſted by Chriſt with this ſingle Perſon, but with a Reſervation of Juriſdiction to the other Biſhops within their reſpective Dioceſſes: That the Divine Aſſiſtance was convey'd by Confirmation and Chriſm, to reſiſt the Temptations of the World, the Fleſh and the Devil: That this Sacrament ought to be adminiſtred by none but the Biſhop: That the Penitent ought to diſcover his Conſcience to the Prieſt, as far as his Memory could reach: That Faſting, Prayer, and Alms, are ſerviceable Applications, to diſengage People from ill Habits, and remove the Cauſes of Miſbehaviour; and that they either prevented Temporal Puniſhment, or leſſened the degrees of it: That anointing was a Ceremony practis'd all along from the Age of the Apoſtles: That the Deſign of it was either to reſtore Health, or throw new Force and Virtue into the Mind: And that therefore it was to be us'd when the Patients Life ſeem'd very much in danger: That Matrimony, without Conſent of Parents, ought to be accounted firm and valid: However, Children ſhould be publickly precaution'd to take their Parents Advice in this matter: That Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at his laſt Supper: Firſt, that the Faithful might receive it, as a ſalutary Refreſhment to the Soul: Secondly, that it might be offer'd to God the Father as a Memorial of his Death: For our Saviour offer'd two Sacrifices, one upon the Croſs, where he ſhed his Blood, the other, when under the Species of Bread and Wine, he offer'd his Body and Blood to the Father, and afterwards commanded his Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to continue that Repreſentation in Memory of him to the Worlds End: That the great Propitiation for the Sins of Mankind was made upon the Croſs: But that by the other unbloody Oblation, the Sufferings of Chriſt were repreſented to God the Father, not with an Intent to gain another Remiſſion of Sins, but that our Faith may be rais'd and the Reconciliation already procur'd by the Death of Chriſt, better applied to us. At this repreſenting Sacrifice there ought to be joyn'd an honourable Commememoration of the Saints, that they may intercede for us, and aſſiſt us with their Merit: We ought likewiſe to mention the dead of lower Diſtinctions, and recommend them to the Mercy of God.

“'Tis farther order'd by the *interim*, that the old Ceremonies ſhould be retain'd in Baptiſm, ſuch as exorciſing the evil Spirit, the renouncing Form, and Chriſm: And likewiſe that no Cuſtomary Rites ſhould be alter'd in the celebrating the *Maſs*: That in great Towns Two *Maſſes* at leaſt, ſhould be ſaid every Day in all the Churches: But that in Villages no more than one upon Holy Days ſhould be requir'd: That the Canon of the *Maſs* ſhould remain unalter'd, and the other Offices manag'd purſuant to the old *Rubricks*: However, if any thing which might give a handle to Superſtition, had indiſcernably crept in, it was to be taken away. The Sacerdotal Veſtments, the Holy Plate, Croſſes, Altars, Candles and Images, and other Ornaments of the Church, were to be continued, in Reſpect to Antiquity. The *Breviary* Prayers, and the Cuſtomary Uſage of ſinging Pſalms, kept on, and reviv'd, where taken away: The Office for the dead was to be perform'd agreeably to Antient Uſages, and the Saints Days kept. That the Day before *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, the Water for the *Font* ſhould be ſolemnly conſecrated: That in order to govern the Appetite, to give a check to Luxury, and diſpoſe the Mind for the Exerciſes of Piety, Abſtinence from Fleſh, and Faſting, ſhould be practic'd on certain Days. Laſtly, tho' 'twere to be wiſh'd the Clergy would live ſingle, yet ſince a great many of them are married, and can't be prevail'd with to part with their Wives, they were willing to wave Compulſion, and wait the Determination of a Council: And thus thoſe were likewiſe tolerated who receiv'd the *Lord*'s *Supper* under both kinds: Only a Caution

(f) *Father* Paul Hiſt. *Council of* Trent.

(g) Sleidan. Comment. ad ann. 1548.

“ was thrown in againſt cenſuring others of a different Practice: For as 'tis added, the Body and Blood of Chriſt is wholly contain'd under each Species.

In this Form the *Interim* was publiſh'd, after it had been ſeveral times re-examin'd and touch'd over again: And thus *Bucer* had it in its moſt inoffenſive Condition. And tho' it did not go a juſt length in Conceſſions and Abatements; yet there are ſeveral material Points wav'd, granted, and explain'd. There's no mention of Tranſubſtantiation; Images are only retain'd for Ornament and Memory: The Biſhops no leſs than the Pope, are ſaid to have their Power from Chriſt for governing their Churches: The Clergy are allow'd Marriage, and the Cup not denied to the Laity. Neither the Court of *Rome* nor the Proteſtants were perfectly pleas'd with this reconciling Expedient. The one thought it too much, and the other too little. *John* Brother to *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenbourg* addreſs'd the Emperor, deſir'd he might be excus'd Complyance, recounted his Services to his Imperial Majeſty, and that he ſerv'd him in the Field upon Condition of Liberty of Conſcience. The Emperor replied, the *Interim* was publiſh'd by the Conſent and Authority of the *Diet*, and therefore there was no room for Indulgence; but this Anſwer made no Impreſſion upon that Prince. His Brother the Elector was either better ſatisfied, or more flexible, and ſo was the Elector *Palatine*. The Deputies of the Cities of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* deſir'd they might conſult their Principals before they gave in their Anſwer, which was granted them. *Woolfgangus Muſculus* a Divine, finding his Conſcience in no Condition to ſubſcribe the *Interim*, retir'd to the *Canton* of *Bern*. *Brentius* another eminent Divine at *Hall* in *Suabia* declar'd an Inconſiſtency between the *Interim* and the Holy Scripture. He publiſh'd a Tract for this purpoſe; this was look'd on as a great Provocation: And therefore *Granvell* order'd him to be ſeiz'd, and brought to *Augsburg*. But *Brentius*, by the Advice of his Friends, withdrew, and made his Eſcape, *Andrew Oſiander* quitted *Nurenburg*, and retir'd into *Pruſſia*. *Bucer* was ſent for to *Augsburg*, and entertain'd at the Elector of *Brandenbourg*'s Palace. This Prince gave him the *Interim*, and deſir'd him to ſubſcribe it. *Bucer*, after the Peruſal told the Elector there was too much Popery in it for his Conſcience. This Anſwer diſguſted his Electoral Highneſs: He had a good Opinion of the Scheme, and thought 'twas drawn up with Temper and Moderation, for under this Character it had been repreſented to him by *Iſlebius*. *Granvell* ſent ſome Gentlemen to *Bucer* to bring *Luther* to a Compliance, with a Promiſe of conſiderable Preferment: But when this Chancellor found his Offers rejected, he began to menace; ſo that in ſhort *Bucer* got home to *Strasbourg* not without ſome Hazard. And here the Biſhop preſſing Conformity to the Emperors Edict concerning the *Interim*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* thought fit to withdraw, and come into *England* upon the Invitations above-mentioned.

The Lord Admiral Seymour attainted of High Treaſon.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* Admiral of *England* was attainted of High Treaſon. There had been a Miſunderſtanding for ſome time between the *Protector* and this Nobleman. This Turn of Humour is ſuppos'd to have riſen on a ſlight occaſion; and that a Conteſt about Precedency between their Ladies, ſet the two Brothers at ſo fatal a diſtance. And tho' our Learned Church Hiſtorian takes this Report for a Fiction, (*h*) yet ſome Writers of the firſt Claſs affirm it matter of Fact. This Diſaffection was heighten'd, and the Breach made wider by the Artifice of the Earl of *Warwick*. This Nobleman thought the *Seymours* ſtop'd the Progreſs of his Ambition, and therefore was willing to remove the Obſtacle.

In *September* laſt, the Queen Dowager married to the Admiral, died in Childbirth. 'Twas to this Queen Dowager, and not to Queen *Jane Seymour*, that the Lady *Elizabeth* wrote the Letter mention'd in the firſt Part of Biſhop *Burnets* Hiſtory of the *Reformation*. 'Twas written in *July* One Thouſand Five Hundred and Forty Eight, and not in One Thouſand Five Hundred Thirty Seven, as the Hiſtorian ſuppoſes. To place it to this year, and report it for the Performance of a Child not Four years old, is to ſet it beyond all Belief, and make it no better than Romance. There are ſeveral lively turns in the Letter, and yet not above the Capacity of a Princeſs ſixteen years old, which was then the Age of the Lady *Elizabeth*. Beſides, there is more than one Expreſſion in it, which ſhew plainly the Queen, to whom the Letter is addreſs'd, was not then married to a King. *

The Admiral being now at Liberty, addreſs'd the Lady *Elizabeth* for Marriage, but to no purpoſe. By the way, he was a Perſon of a mounting Imagination, ſtrain'd above the reach of his Stature, and carried his Hopes much farther than a Reaſonable Pretenſion. In ſhort, he is ſent to the *Tower* by the *Council*, for practiſing againſt the State: I ſhall mention ſome of the Principal Articles drawn up againſt him. “ He is charg'd with attempting to get the King into his Cuſtody, and procure the Government of his Perſon. And that he had ſollicited his Majeſty to agree to this dangerous Motion. That he had pretended he could govern the Kings Marriage, and diſpoſe of his Highneſs at Pleaſure. That he had engag'd ſeveral of the Nobility in his Faction, and put himſelf in a Condition to raiſe Ten Thouſand Men of his Friends and Dependents. That he had courted the Lady *Elizabeth* during the Queen Dowagers Life, and after her Death: That he gave Countenance to Pirates, and had a ſhare in the Prizes taken from Engliſh Merchants: That he had diſcharg'd ſeveral of the Principal Pirates put into his Hands, and made no Reſtitution to the Owners of Ships and Goods, when 'twas in his Power. (*i*)

“ On the Twenty Fifth of *February* the *Bill* was read for attainting him, and paſs'd without any ſtruggle. All the Judges it ſeems, delivering their Opinion that the Articles were Treaſon. (*k*) This way of proſecuting the Admiral by Attainder, looks as if they could not reach him by a common Tryal. Why elſe were the Cuſtomary Forms of Juſtice denied, and the Priſoner refus'd to confront the Evidence, to diſprove their Teſtimony, and make the moſt of his Defence? For this Reaſon the *Bill* ſtuck in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and ſeveral of the Members mov'd, the Admiral might be brought to the Bar, and plead for himſelf. But on the 4th of *March*, a Meſſage was ſent them from the King, that he thought it

---

(h) *Sir* John Haywoods *Life of* Edw. VI. Cambden Eliz. Ann. 1587. *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2d. *p.* 54.

* *See Records* Numb. 60.

(i) *Council Book Fol.* 236. *Biſhop* Burnets *Records no.* 31. *Book* 1.

(k) Journal Procer.

it not neceſſary to ſend for the Admiral: And that the Lords ſhould come to them, and report the Evidence they had given in the upper Houſe. Upon this the *Bill* paſs'd by a great Majority in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſign'd the next Day by the King. When the Council ſollicited his Majeſty that Juſtice might be done upon the Admiral; he thank'd them for their great Care, and commanded them to proceed, without giving him or the *Protector* any farther trouble. The *Protector* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſign'd the Warrant for the Execution with the reſt of the Council. (*l*) He was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. He declar'd his Innocency upon the Scaffold, as to any thing of Treaſon either acted, or intended, againſt the King. This look'd like a ſtrong Purgation conſidering the Solemnity of the occaſion, however it ſeems Biſhop *Latimer* had no Opinion of this Lords Integrity, for in a Sermon preach'd before the King at *Weſtminſter* ſoon after; he went ſome length of Invective againſt the Admiral, and affirm'd, that during this Lords being Priſoner in the *Tower*, he wrote to the Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, to procure the bringing in a charge againſt the Protector, and to revenge his Death. (*m*) But whether *Latimer* was rightly inform'd in this matter, will bear a Queſtion. *Cranmer*'s ſigning the Execution may look like ſomething of a Singularity, conſidering Biſhops were prohibited to ſit in Judgment upon any Perſon either to the Loſs of Life or Limb: But this being only a Reſtraint of the Canon Law, 'tis likely the Archbiſhop did not think himſelf oblig'd by it. But having had occaſion to diſcourſe of this matter in the former Part of this *Work*, I ſhall refer the *Reader* thither. (*n*)

(l) Council Book. *See Biſhop* Burnet's *Collect. Records Book* 1. *no.* 32. *He denies the Charge at his Death.* March 20. Ann. Dom. 1548, 9. March 29. 1549.

(m) Stow Annal.

(n) Eccleſ. Hiſt. *p.* 245. 548.

Heylin draws a ſhort Parallel between the Two Brothers. The Admiral was a Man of Addreſs, well made, and brave in his Perſon, but not without an Allay of Haughtineſs and Ambition. The Duke was of a more mild and condeſcenſive Temper, more ſuſceptible of Impreſſions, and open in diſcovering his mind. The Hiſtorian concludes if their good Qualities had been join'd, and their Defects diſcharg'd, they would both have made an admirable Man. (*o*)

(o) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 72.

Soon after the Execution of the Admiral, the Protector began the building a magnificent Palace. To make Room for the Structure, he pull'd down the Houſes belonging to the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Lichfield*, and *Landaff*, together with the Pariſh Church dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin. The Biſhops, it ſeem, were glad to reſign to the Dukes Pleaſure, for fear of ſuffering deeper ſome other way. The Place being thus clear'd, the Workmen inform'd him the Churches and Houſes above mention'd would not afford ſufficient Materials to build up to the Model. Upon this the Protector reſolves to furniſh himſelf farther, by pulling down St. *Margarets* Church in *Weſtminſter*. And that the Pariſh might not be unprovided with a Place for divine Service, he deſign'd the Body of the Abbey Church ſhould be given them for that purpoſe. But this pulling down Churches for Palaces was a way of reforming the Pariſhioners of St. *Margarets*, did not underſtand. And therefore when the Scaffolds came to be rais'd for ſo barbarous a purpoſe, they thought they might fairly defend their Church againſt ſuch illegal and ſacrilegious Attempts. And thus by appearing in a Poſture of Reſiſtance, they frighted the Work-men, and diſcourag'd the Enterprize.

Stow *Survey of* London.

Somerſet *Houſe built.*

Haywoods *Life of King* Edward VI.

But tho' the *Protector* was baulk'd at *Weſtminſter*, he ſucceeded at St. *Pauls*. Here he took down a ſtately Cloyſter, ſurrounding a Piece of Ground call'd *Pardon Church-yard*; within this Incloſure there were two Chappels with a a Charnel Houſe; one of theſe Chappels was famous for a curious Piece of Sculpture call'd *the Dance of Death*. But the Stone, Timber, Lead, and Iron, it ſeems, fell ſhort of the Plan for *Somerſet Houſe*. And therefore for a farther Supply, moſt Part of the Church of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* near *Smithfield*, was blown up with Gunpowder, and all the Stone carried off to the *Strand*.

The new Liturgy moſtly comply'd with

Soon after paſſing the *Act* of Uniformity, a new *Viſitation* was ſet on foot. The Articles given in Charge were to this Effect.

(p) Id. *p.* 73. Stow Annal.

Firſt, that all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates in reading the Kings Injunctions omit ſuch Paſſages as make mention of the Popiſh Maſs, of Chauntries, and Candles upon the Altar.

Secondly, that the Communion ſhould not be celebrated with the Geſtures and Ceremonies of the *Latin Service*, ſuch as the Prieſt kiſſing the Lords Table, waſhing his Fingers at every time in the Communion; bleſſing his Eyes with the Patten or Sudary, croſſing his Head with the Patten; holding up his Finger, Hands, or Thumbs, join'd towards his Temples; breathing upon the Bread or Chalice; ſhewing the Sacrament openly before the Diſtribution of the Chalice; ſetting any Tapers or Lights upon the Lords Board, &c.

Thirdly, That none buy or ſell the Holy Communion as in Trentals, &c.

Fourthly, that none be ſuffer'd to pray upon Beads.

Fifthly, that after the Homily every Sunday, the Prieſt ſhould exhort the People, eſpecially the Communicants, to remember the Poor Mans Box.

Sixthly, that the Common Prayer be read in the Churches on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, and the People exhorted to come thither.

Seventhly, that the Curates every Six weeks at leaſt teach and expound the Catechiſm.

Eighthly, that no Man maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, Bead Rolles, Images, Relicks, Lights, Holy Bells, Holy Water, Palms, Sepulchers, Paſchal Aſhes, Candles, Creeping to the Croſs, Hallowing the Font after the Popiſh manner.

Ninthly, that in no Church or Chappel there ſhould be more than one Communion, excepting upon *Chriſtmaſs* and *Eaſter* Days.

Tenthly, that the Church Wardens ſuffer no buying and ſelling, Sports, and improper Behaviours, in Churches or Church-yards, eſpecially during the time of divine Service or Sermon. That the Prieſt going to the Sick with the Holy Euchariſt ſhall not bring either Light, or Bell with him. The three other Articles are not material. *

* *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. Records Book* 1. *Numb.* 33.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had a *Viſitation* about the ſame time, and proceeded all along upon the King's Injunctions.

At *Eaſter* this Year, they began to Officiate by the *New Liturgy* in ſome Places. This was a *free Will Offering*, and diſcover'd Inclination to the *Engliſh Service*. For the *Act* did not inure till Whitſuntide; at which Time, by the order of Dean *Moy*, 'twas Solemnly made uſe of in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral. This *Common-Prayer-Book* paſt the Kingdom without much Oppoſition. 'Twas drawn up with that Judgment and Temper, that 'twas hard to find a ſenſible Objection againſt it. And thus being form'd upon common Principles of Chriſtianity, many of the Roman Catholicks comply'd with it: For as to the main, it differ'd not much from the *Latin Service.* However, ſeveral Biſhops and Prieſts continued bigotted to their old Form. 'Tis true they officiated publickly with the *Engliſh Book*, to fence againſt the Penalty of the Law, but then they had *Maſſes* in Private, where their Practices were not eaſily diſcover'd: But in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral the uſual *Maſſes* were kept on with more Aſſurance. Thus our *Lady's Maſs*, the *Apoſtles Maſs*, &c. were celebrated in *Latin* by the Biſhops Connivance, and under the Engliſh diſguiſe of the *Apoſtles Communion*, and our *Lady's Communion.*

June 24.

The Lords of the *Council* being inform'd of this Prevarication, directed an Order to *Bonner*, not to ſuffer the *Maſs* any longer in *Latin*; and that the Holy Communion ſhould be adminiſtred at the High Altar, and in no other Place of the Church: And only at ſuch Times as they us'd to Officiate at High Maſs: Unleſs ſome Number of People deſire a Communion in the Morning. In ſhort, they put him in mind he had been complain'd off not without Reaſon, and require him to Govern himſelf by the *Rubrick* of the Common Prayer. (q)

(q) Heylin *page* 74.

Bonner put this Letter of the Privy *Council* into the Hands of the Dean and *Chapter*, and referr'd the Execution of it to them. He had no Inclination for theſe Compliances, and therefore mov'd no farther than was neceſſary to preſerve himſelf. Beſides; 'tis likely he might have ſome proſpect of Relief from the preſent Juncture: For now the Commons began to grow mutinous, and fly in the Face of the Government. The Occaſion was this; ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry being willing to make the moſt of their Abbey Lands, had Incloſ'd a great deal of waſt Ground: This tho' a real Improvement of the Country, yet being an Improvement only to the Proprietors, was loudly complain'd of. For thus the Poor loſt the Benefit of Paſtorage, and other Conveniencies. When the Court were Inform'd the Peaſantry were ready to break out into Rebellion, they diſpatch'd Commiſſioners into the Country, to Examine the Grievances of the *Commons*; they had Inſtructions to Command the Proprietors to throw open their Incloſures, and put things in their former Condition.

An Inſurrection of the Commons in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom.

Theſe Orders being not every where executed with that Expedition the Peaſantry expected, they reſolv'd to do themſelves Juſtice. Thus the Ditches were Levell'd, and the Fences pluck'd up every where in a tumultuous manner. Their Numbers increaſing, put them upon bolder Motions; ſo that now they began to Plunder, Remonſtrate againſt the Government, and carry their Diſorders to the laſt degree of Outrage. This Inſurrection was quickly ſuppreſs'd in *Kent*, *Oxfordſhire*, and *Suſſex*; but in *Norfolk* and *Devonſhire*, the Succeſs was otherwiſe. Here the Number of the Rebels was formidable, and mov'd in the Figure of a regular Army. And notwithſtanding the diſtance of the Counties, they ſeem'd to Act by Concert: The *Devonſhire* and *Corniſh* Rebels were headed by *Humphrey Arundel* and ſome other Gentlemen.

The Countenance of theſe Perſons of Condition, Imboldn'd the Rebels to undertake the Siege of *Exeter*, and make Demands upon the Government. The Articles they ſent to the King are theſe.

The Demands of the Devonſhire Rebels.

“ First, They inſiſt upon having their Children Baptiz'd, as well on Week-days, as Holy-days.

“ Secondly, That their Children may be Confirm'd by the Biſhop.

“ Thirdly, They declare ſtrongly for the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and that after the Words of Conſecration, ſpoken by the Prieſt, *there is very really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, and that no Subſtance of Bread and Wine remains after, but the very ſelf ſame Body that was Born of the Virgin* Mary, *and was given upon the Croſs for our Redemption.*

“ They will therefore, as their Language is, have Maſs celebrated as it has been formerly, without any Perſons communicating with the Prieſt, becauſe as the Office is now manag'd, the Myſteries are treated without due Regard, there is no diſtinction made, between the Lord's Body, and other Meat; ſome affirming 'tis Bread after Conſecration, and that 'tis beneficial to none but thoſe who receive, with other Terms of Error and Abuſe.

“ Fourthly, They Inſiſt upon having the *Hoſt* reſerv'd.

“ Fifthly, They demand the uſe of Holy Bread, and Holy Water, in Remembrance of Chriſt's precious Body and Blood.

“ Sixthly, That the Prieſt may Sing or Say Divine Service, and that God's Service in the uſual manner may not be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas Play.

“ Seventhly, That Prieſts may live in *Celibacy* like St. *Paul*, who commanded them to be Followers of him.

“ Eighthly, That the Six Articles Enacted in the late Reign may be reviv'd.

Theſe Demands were Couch'd in Terms of Reſolution and Inſolence. They will, they ſay, have all theſe things. However, they conclude with a Sentence of Reſpect and Submiſſion, pray God ſave King *Edward*, and declare themſelves his, both Body and Goods. (r)

(r) Godwin Annal. Stow Annal. Holingſhead. Heylin.

The King's Anſwer.

To prevent the ravage of the Country, and the Effuſion of Blood, the *Council* thought fit to treat with the Rebels, and try to undeceive them. To this purpoſe a Meſſage was ſent them in the King's Name, by way of Anſwer to their Articles.

As to the firſt Article, concerning Baptiſm, the King tells them they are “ impos'd on by ſome of the Incendiaries, and that in caſe of neceſſity, the Common-Prayer-Book gives them the liberty of Chriſtning their Children at any Time of the Week.

And as to what they ſuggeſt touching the Holy Euchariſt, “ his Highneſs tells them the Court and Kingdom is miſrepreſented in their complaint: That by the Laws of Church and State, that *Sacrament* is religiouſly guarded from Contempt, and widely diſtinguiſh'd from common Bread. As to their Exceptions againſt the New *Common-Prayer-Book*, 'twas drawn up by Biſhops and other learned Men, and that properly ſpeaking, 'tis no *New Service*, for abating a few particulars, which would not ſtand the Teſt, the ſubſtance continues the ſame; and ſince the alteration conſiſts moſtly in Language, what Ground can there be for any reaſonable Objection? If the Divine Service was unexceptionable in *Latin*, what ſhould hinder it from being ſo in Engliſh? Is Igno-

“rance a circumſtance of Advantage? Or are the Prayers the worſe becauſe the People underſtand them?

“As to the *Maſs*, the King aſſures them the learned Clergy have taken a great deal of Pains to ſettle that Point, to ſtrike off Innovations, and bring it back to our Saviour's Inſtitution.

“To the Article of *Confirmation*, the King bids them aſk their Prompters one Queſtion. Whether they think an Infant Baptiz'd is Damn'd, if he happens to die before he is *Confirm'd* by the Biſhop? Conſider, ſays the King, the Abſurdity of ſuch an Affirmation: Our Doctrines therefore, continues his Majeſty, is founded upon ſound Divinity, and theirs upon ſcandalous miſtake. (s)

“The King puts them farther in Mind of the rudeneſs of their *Manner*, the Treaſon of their Hoſtile Appearance, and that the riſing upon their Prince makes them liable to everlaſting Damnation.

The Archbiſhops Anſwer.

Theſe *Articles* were afterwards inlarg'd by the Rebels to Fifteen, and deliver'd to the Lord *Ruſſel*, who was ſent down with Forces againſt them. And here I ſhall only mention thoſe which are Supplemental to the former.

“Firſt, They demanded that all the General *Councils*, and the decrees of the Church in former Ages ſhould be obſerv'd. That the Holy Euchariſt ſhould only be given to the People at Eaſter in one kind. That all Preachers in their Sermons, and Prieſts in the Maſs, ſhould Pray for the Souls in Purgatory. That the Engliſh Bible ſhould be call'd in. For that unleſs this was done, the Clergy would have a difficult Task to over-bear the Hereticks. That Dr. *Moorman*, and Dr. *Criſpin*, might be ſafely conducted to them, preferr'd by the King, and ſettled amongſt them to Preach the Catholick Faith. That Cardinal *Pool*, a near Relation of the King's, ſhould not only be Pardon'd, but ſent for Home, and Sworn of the *Privy Council*. That no Gentleman ſhould have more than one Servant for every Hundred Marks *per Annum* of his Eſtate. That half of the Abbey and Chauntry Lands, held by what Title ſoever, ſhould be reſtor'd to Two of the chief Abbey's in every County. And that half the Alms of the Church Box, for the next Seven Years, ſhould be given to thoſe Houſes; and that a Society of *Religious* ſhould be ſettled there, to Pray for the King, and the Commonwealth. And laſtly, that the particular Grievances of the Country might be redreſs'd, as *Humphrey Arundel*, and *Henry Bray* Mayor of *Bodmin* ſhould Petition his Majeſty, for whom they deſir'd a ſafe Conduct under the *Broad Seal*. (t)

Theſe *Articles* were by the Lord *Ruſſel* tranſmitted to the *Council*, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was order'd to draw an Anſwer to them. Where *Cranmer*'s Anſwer is the ſame in ſubſtance with the King's, I ſhall paſs it over. And for the reſt I ſhall touch them very briefly.

“As to General *Councils*, the Archbiſhop told them, they knew nothing of the matter: And that the Practice and Belief of the Church of *England* was agreeable to ſuch Deciſions. As to the *Decrees* they talk'd of, they were ſtretches of the *Court of Rome*, to enſlave the reſt of Chriſtendom: And of this he gave ſeveral Inſtances.

“For the *Six Articles* he told them, the *Bill* had not paſs'd, if the late King had not over aw'd the *Members*, by going in Perſon to the Parliament.

“As to their demand of *Solitary Maſſes*, he reply'd, the Antient *Canons* requir'd the People to Communicate, and that the Prayers in the *Miſſal*, ſuppos'd the Holy Euchariſt receiv'd by ſome of the Congregation. That the reſerving the *Hoſt* in a *Pyxe*, was but a modern Uſage. That the Laity in the Antient Church, frequently receiv'd the Holy Euchariſt in both kinds.

And whereas the Rebels had moved for the ſetting up Images in Churches, “the Archbiſhop returns, that Images were Inlets to Superſtition, and forbidden in *Scripture*. That they were firſt us'd for Memory, but afterwards made Objects of Worſhip.

“That Purgatory has no Foundation in *Scripture*. and implies a diminution of our Saviours Satisfaction upon the Croſs.

“As for confounding that which is really Hereſy, their having the *Scriptures* in the Mother Tongue, was the beſt expedient for that purpoſe.

“Farther, he tells them their Preachers, *Moorman*, and *Criſpin*, were Men of Deſign without much Knowledge, and very unqualified Guides in matters of Conſcience.

“That Cardinal *Pool* was likely to prove a very dangerous Perſon to this Kingdom: That the Archbiſhop had peruſ'd a Book Written by his *Eminence*, in which he miſbehaves himſelf very groſly towards the late King; and lays out all his Rhetorick, to perſwade the Princes of Chriſtendom, to draw a *Cruiſade* upon his Soveraign, and Invade theſe Kingdoms. That their confining the Gentry in the Number of their Servants, was an Abſurd Propoſal. That 'twould be impracticable upon the Tryal. And that by this means many poor People would ſuffer for want of Buſineſs.

“That their demand of the Reſtitution of Abbey Lands, was in Effect no better than down right quarrelling the *Conſtitution*, ſeizing the Patrimony of the *Crown*, perplexing Property, and ouſting the Subjects of thoſe Eſtates convey'd to them by Gift, Sale, Exchange, and other legal Methods. And beſides all this, they would make a Merit of their Inſurrection, keep up the Memory of their Rebellion as a Glorious Undertaking, and ſettle a Body of *Religious*, to Pray for them as their Benefactors.

But neither the Archbiſhops, nor the King's Anſwer, gave the Rebels Satisfaction. Tho' the King endeavor'd to diſentangle them from one great Prejudice, which ſeems to have had a weight in their Revolt. They were made to believe, that during the King's Minority, the State had no Authority to make Laws, but that the Conſtitution was to continue upon the old Foot. To this the King Anſwers, that 'twas his Birth, not his Age, which made him their Prince; that the Powers of Government muſt be always of the ſame Force and Extent: That without this Advantage the Protection of the People, and Proviſion for the publick Intereſt would be impracticable. In ſhort, the King ſpeaks in a Style of Majeſty, offers Pardon upon Submiſſion, but threatens the utmoſt Severity, in caſe they continued Obſtinate.

However, the Rebels believing themſelves Superior to the King's Forces, went on with the Siege of *Exeter*: The Town prov'd very Loyal,

---

(s) Hollingſhead.

(t) Mſs. C. C. C. Miſcelan. D.

The Siege of Exeter *rais'd.* Auguſt. 5.

Loyal, and made a brave Defence. After having held out Six Weeks, they were preſs'd very cloſe, and had they not been ſeaſonably reliev'd by the Lord *Ruſſel*, would have been Starv'd to a ſurrender. But this Nobleman being reinforc'd by the Lord *Grey*, with a Body of Cavalry, advanc'd towards the Rebels, attack'd their Camp, and oblig'd them to raiſe the Siege, and diſperſe. In this Action there was four Thouſand of the Rebels kill'd and taken. And thus the City of *Exeter* was preſerv'd, and the Commotion quieted in that Country. (*u*)

The Remonſtrance of the Norfolk *Rebels.*

The *Norfolk* Peaſants went on with their Inſurrection, doubled the Number of thoſe in the *Weſt*, and made a Body of Twenty Thouſand Men. They were commanded by *Robert Ket*, a rich Tanner of *Windham*. At firſt they inſiſted upon nothing more than throwing open the late Incloſures of Common: But when they found the Mutiny ſtrongly abetted, and their Numbers riſe to a conſiderable Army, they Inlarg'd their Remonſtrance, and open'd new matter of complaint. "They ſet forth that the Free-born Commonalty, were every where Oppreſs'd, and trampled on, by a ſmall Number of the Nobility and Gentry: That they were harras'd with perpetual drudging, to ſupport the Pomp and Luxury of theſe Men: That they drag'd a wretched Life, and were treated little better than Beaſts of Burthen.

"However; the Miſeries of this World would not laſt always, and therefore ought to be born with Patience, if that was the worſt of the Caſe. But when the loſs of their Souls was the Queſtion, the ruin from that Quarter ought to be prevented at the utmoſt Hazard. Now here, they had the unhappineſs to be concern'd: For the Holy Ceremonies of Antiquity were Aboliſh'd, and a new Face and Form of Religion forc'd upon them. That by compliance with theſe Innovations, they ſhould fall under the Terrors of the other World: And the hardſhips of this Life, would be ſucceeded by the inſupportable Puniſhment of the Damn'd. (*w*) As things ſtood therefore, they had no Remedy left them, but marching up to the *Court*, and reſcuing the King from evil *Counſellors*. From Men, who make their Advantage of his Minority. Who under the covert of the Royal Authority, plunder the Church, and ruin the Kingdom: Who have no other Aim but Wealth and Dominion, and making their Fortunes out of the publick Calamity.

The Marqueſs of Northampton *goes againſt them without Succeſs.*

To ſuppreſs this Rebellion, *Parr*, Marqueſs of *Northampton*, was order'd to March againſt them, with Fifteen Hundred Men. This Nobleman entred *Norwich*, but was not in a condition to preſerve the Place; for the Peaſants under *Ket* attack'd the Marqueſs, and after a diſpute for ſome Time, broke his Forces, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town: In this Action the Lord *Sheffield* was loſt. Thus the Marqueſs was oblig'd to retire, and return Ingloriouſly to *London*.

This rebuke given the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, gave a new Alarm to the *Council*, who immediately diſpatch'd *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, with a more conſiderable Body. In the mean Time the Rebels grew very Inſolent and Formidable. *Ket* Incamp'd his Army upon *Mouſehold Hill* near the City of *Norwich*. And here under a large Oak call'd the *Ooak of Reformation*, *Ket* kept his Courts of *Chancery*, *King's-bench*, &c. forc'd the Neighboring Gentry to ſubmit to his Orders, and under pretence of redreſſing Grievances, inſulted the Country at a barbarous Rate.

Dr. Parker *preaches Loyalty to them.*

Dr. *Parker*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went to the Rebels Camp, and endeavor'd to bring them ſomewhat towards Sobriety and Recollection: And finding one *Conyers* officiating in the Camp, he made uſe of the opportunity, mounted the *Reformation-Oak*, and Preach'd to the Rebels. Firſt he exhorted them to be frugal in the uſe of their Proviſions, and not harraſs the Country in forraging beyond neceſſity.

Secondly, He diſſwaded them from executing Revenge, gratifying their private Animoſities, and treating thoſe Gentlemen with Rigor, who were now in their Hands. And laſtly, he wiſh'd them to conſider their own Intereſt farther, to drop their enterprize, and cloſe with the King's Pardon. While he was inlarging upon theſe Heads, one of the Peaſants cry'd out the Doctor was retain'd by the Gentry: That he came to break their Meaſures, and betray them to Slavery. Upon this the Rabble took Fire, and began to Menace the Doctor with their Weapons: But *Conyers* going on with the *Service*, and Singing *Te Deum*, the Rebels were diverted for the preſent, and forgot the unacceptable Sermon. *Parker* ſeiz'd the Juncture, and got into the Town.

The Rebels to ſcreen their Revolt, and give a better Face to their Diſtraction, iſſued out their Orders in the King's Name. To make the diſguiſe paſs more undiſcover'd, they ſeiz'd ſeveral of the Commiſſions directed to Gentlemen of the Country, pull'd off the Seals, and clap'd them to Inſtruments of their own. (*x*) For this Forgery they are laſh'd ſeverely by Sir *John Cheek*. This Gentleman was the King's Preceptor, and Publiſh'd a ſeaſonable and well written Diſcourſe, while the *Norfolk*, and *Devonſhire* Inſurrections were on Foot. (*y*) This Author tells them *'twas a flaming Inſtance of Treaſon to give out Precepts in the King's Name, without his Authority. That no Perſon has any Right to Execute Laws, to redreſs Grievances, to Iſſue out Orders, but only the King, and thoſe commiſſionated by him. You having therefore, ſays he, no Authority from the King, what Plea can you have to juſtify your ſelves? Since you have no Warrant from the Conſtitution, no legal ſhare in the Adminiſtration, you can't pretend to be Miniſters, either of State or Juſtice. To deal plainly, you repreſent no better Soveraign with your ſham Commiſſions, than the Prince of Darkneſs; and are Officers to none but the Devil, for he is the Author of Sedition.* (*z*)

They are routed by the Earl of Warwick. Auguſt. 27.

To proceed, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was a Perſon of great Conduct and Courage, Skirmiſh'd with the Rebels in the Town, and forc'd them to retreat to their Camp. His next ſtep was to ſtraiten their Quarters, and cut off their Communication with the Country. Thus the Rebels being diſtreſs'd for want of Forrage, were oblig'd to Decamp, and venture a Battel. They drew up in a Place call'd *Duſſing-dale*, where for a good while they maintained the Fight with Obſtinacy: But being Charg'd with great Bravery by the Earls Forces, they quitted the *Field*, after the Loſs of Two Thouſand Men. However, their whole Army was not routed: A conſiderable Body remain'd ſtill unbroken, and Barricadoed with their Waggons,

---

(u) Stow Annal.

(w) Godwin Annal.

(x) Hollingſhead *p.* 1031.

(y) Cheeks *Hurt of Sedition, &c. Sir* John Cheeks *Diſcourſe to the Rebels.*

(z) Hollingſhead *p.* 1045.

gons. But upon the Earl of *Warwick*'s riding to them, and ordering the King's Pardon to be Read, they threw down their Arms and ſubmitted. Thus this Inſurrection was happily ſuppreſs'd, and only *Ket*, his Brother, and ſome few of the chief Incendiaries Executed. (*a*)

About this Time there was another Riſing in *Yorkſhire*, to the Number of about Three Thouſand: But theſe diſpers'd upon Proclaiming the King's Pardon. *Ombler*, *Dale*, and ſome few others, who refus'd theſe Terms of Mercy, were taken, and Executed.

Auguſt 8. *The French attack'd the Engliſh.*

The French perceiving the Government thus Embroil'd, took Advantage of the Juncture, attack'd the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, but were beaten off with the loſs of a Thouſand Men, beſides what they ſuffer'd in their Ships.

But the Enemy ſucceeded better upon the Continent, and took *Blackneſſe* and *Newhaven* by *Boulogn*: The Garriſons were put to the Sword, and a great Train of Artillery loſt. Upon this Captain *Bark*, Governor of *Boulogn*, convey'd all the Ammunition, Proviſions, and Effects, from the *Baſſe-ville* to the upper Town, and blew up the Fort of the former.

Stow Annal.

To return to the Hiſtory of the Church: *Peter Martyr* being made Divinity Profeſſor at *Oxford*, as hath been obſerv'd, his *Lectures* were not well receiv'd by ſome Perſons of Character in that Univerſity. He began to read upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, levell'd his Diſcourſes againſt Errors, and Innovations, and went on without diſturbance, 'till he came to the Eleventh *Chapter*.

But here expounding upon the Holy Euchariſt, one Dr. *Smith*, and ſome of his Party, were highly diſguſted; cried out againſt him as one that deſerted Antiquity, threw off the Cuſtoms of the Church; and prophan'd the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

Peter Martyr *diſputes publickly at Oxford.*

Soon after this they poſted up Papers at ſeveral Church Doors, and *Smith* ſent *Martyr* a Challenge for a formal Diſpute: *Martyr* went on with his *Lectures* with great Reſolution, and rebuk'd, the irregular forwardneſs of his Adverſary in a *Speech*. He told *Smith* that notwithſtanding, he was willing to Engage him upon that Subject, yet a debate of this nature could not be undertaken without leave from the King. To this *Smith* Anſwer'd, that provided the Queſtions were given out according to Cuſtom, Moderators fix'd, and Notaries appointed, to ſet down the Arguments and Anſwers on both ſides, the Diſpute would be regular enough. *Peter Martyr* did not diſlike the Conditions, but objected they had not time to adjuſt theſe Circumſtances, and therefore refus'd to enter upon the Controverſy at preſent.

Having debated ſome little Time, about ſetling the method of the Diſpute, and the *Terms* they were to make uſe on: At laſt they agreed to refer the whole matter to the Privy *Council*, who gave them leave to proceed, and promis'd to ſend down Commiſſioners; But *Smith*, whether he was Apprehenſive the *Moderators* and Magiſtracy, were prepoſſeſs'd in Favor of the *Reform'd*, or whether his Courage flag'd for ſome other reaſon, is more than can be known. This is certain, he refus'd to enter the *Liſts*, and retir'd firſt to St. *Andrew*'s in *Scotland*, and afterwards to *Lovain*. (*b*)

Thus the matter reſted, 'till the latter end of *May* this Year: When at the Inſtance of Dr. *Cox*, Dean of *Chriſt Church*, and ſome other *Viſitors* of the Univerſity, *Peter Martyr* gave a publick Challenge to the Roman Catholicks, to diſpute upon the ſubject propos'd by *Smith*. Dr. *William Treſham* Canon of *Chriſt Church*, undertook to oppoſe him. The diſpute was held in the Divinity Schools, *Cox* Chancellor of *Oxford*, *Holbech* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*, *Nevenſon* Doctor of Law, and *Richard Morryſon* Eſq; all *Viſitors* of the Univerſity, preſiding at the Solemnity.

May 28. An. Dom. 1549. *His Queſtions.*

The Queſtions maintain'd by *Peter Martyr*, were theſe Three.

“ Firſt, In the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, the Bread and Wine are not Tranſubſtantiated into the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

“ Secondly, The Body and Blood of Chriſt is not corporally or carnally in the Bread and Wine, or as ſome expreſs themſelves, under the Species of Bread and Wine.

“ Thirdly, The Body and Blood of Chriſt are Sacramentally united to the Bread and Wine.

The diſpute laſted Three Days, and was manag'd againſt *Martyr* by *Treſham*, *Cheadcey*, and *Morgan*, reſponding and oppoſing in their turns.

But on which ſide the Victory lay, is hard to determine, unleſs the Conference was Extant. The *Oxford* Hiſtorian obſerves, that *Treſham*, *Smith*, *Cheadcey*, and *Morgan*, were all extraordinary Men. And here he laments the Miſmanagement of ſome of the *Reform'd* Divines of this *Univerſity*: That they went the laſt lengths of Indiſcretion and Scandal: That both in their Sermons and at Diſputations, they treated the *Holy Myſteries* in a very unbecoming manner: And thus the common People were encourag'd to make a jeſt of the moſt ſolemn part of Religion. When the Privy *Council* were Inform'd of theſe diſorders, they ſent a reprimanding Letter to the *Univerſity*, commanded a ſtricter Diſcipline, and threatned the Penalties of the Law.

Id. *p.* 268. Martyr's *Letter to Bucer, concerning his Diſputation at Oxford.*

About a Fortnight after the diſputation was over, *Peter Martyr* ſent a Friend to *Bucer* with a Letter and Copy of the *Conference*. In the Letter, *Martyr* takes notice of his being Apprehenſive of differing ſomewhat from *Bucer*, tho' he hopes not much, upon this Argument; “ ſince he grants the Body of Chriſt is preſent with us thro' Faith, in the Holy Euchariſt, that we are incorporated with him by the Act of receiving, and in *Illud tranſmutatos*, and tranſmuted by it, (as he ſpeaks) into his Body.

“ He confeſſes that we truly or really, receive the Body and Blood of Chriſt in this Holy Sacrament: * But then this is done by mental Perception, or the force of Faith: However, he grants, the Holy Spirit operates effectually in the *Sacraments*, by virtue of our Saviours Inſtitution. He mentions the condition of Faith, to oppoſe the ſuperſtitious Belief of *Trans*, or *Conſubſtantiation*. He does not doubt but that this *Sacrament* is Inſtrumental to a real Union with Chriſt; neither has he any Intention to throw the conſecrated Elements out of Honor and Regard. One thing ſays he, 'tis poſſible may ſhock you, and that is my affirming its being Inconſiſtent with the Properties of Chriſt's Body, tho' glorified, to be in many Places: But if you pleaſe to conſider you will find the *Scripture* will not allow me to believe otherwiſe. The nature of human Bodies is another ſtrong reaſon; And the Fathers are

June 15. An. Dom. 1549.

(a) Stow Holingſhead Godwin Annal.

(b) Wood's *Hiſtor. Univerſ.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 267.

* Fateor nos verè percipere.

“ deciſive, that the Quality of Ubiquity or Omnipreſence is not to be attributed to any Being, excepting God Almighty: Neither does the contrary Opinion, if it were true, ſignify any thing as to matter of Benefit. Upon the peruſal of my Papers, you will ſee I Aſſign as much Force and Veneration to the Sacraments as the *Scriptures* will give me leave.

Bucer's *Anſwer.*

Bucer, after ſome Introductive Expreſſions of Friendſhip and Reſpect, “ acquaints *Peter Martyr*, that he was not altogether ſatisfied with the Terms, in which the Queſtions were propoſed: That he wiſh'd the firſt Propoſition had been couch'd in theſe Words, or to the ſame Effect. *viz.* That *the Body of Chriſt is not locally contain'd in the Bread and Wine: Nec iis Rebus affixum aut adjunctum eſt ullâ hujus mundi ratione: That is, the Body of Chriſt is not join'd to the Sacramental Elements, by any Phyſical or Corporeal Union.* To *Peter Martyr*'s Third Propoſition, where he Affirms, *the Body and Blood of Chriſt Sacramentally united to the Bread and Wine*, *Bucer* wiſhes he had ſubjoyn'd this ſupplemental Clauſe, *united to ſuch an Intimacy, that Chriſt is really here exhibited to thoſe that believe.* But then this Bleſſing *is convey'd by Faith: 'Tis not the object of Senſe, or tranſmitted by Corporeal Intervention.* *

In maintaining his Amendment of *Peter Martyr*'s Second Propoſition, “ tho' he denies a Corporal or Local Preſence in the Holy Euchariſt, yet he thinks we ought to keep cloſe to the Terms of Scripture, and the manner of Expreſſion uſed by the Antient Church. Now in the Language of the *New Teſtament* and the Fathers, the *Exhibiting* of Chriſt is fully expreſs'd. By which we are to underſtand the Preſence of our Lord, and not any mark of Remembrance which ſuppoſes him Abſent. 'Tis True, the Bread and Wine are properly called Signs, with relation to ſomething farther, and ſo is the whole Solemnity. But then theſe Signs or References to ſomething paſt, are not the principal Things in this Holy Sacrament: The *Exhibiting* and Spiritual Manducation of Chriſt, is the moſt beneficial and glorious part of the Communion: And therefore the Fathers choſe rather to expreſs the Myſtery, by the Term of *repreſenting*, than that of *ſignifying*. †

“ He obſerves farther that all the Orthodox *Reform'd* in *Germany*, are agreed that Chriſt is truly preſent to us by Faith in this Sacrament: And that this Preſence is not Nominal and Imaginary, but Subſtantial and Real; and therefore I can't, ſays he, comprehend how it can be maintain'd as a Catholick Tenent, *that Chriſt is not really, and ſubſtantially given and receiv'd in the Holy Euchariſt*.

“ For theſe reaſons, continues *Bucer*, I would not have it affirm'd that Chriſt is not really in the Holy Euchariſt: Neither would I have the Proof of the Propoſition maintain'd againſt our Adverſaries in this manner: That is I would not have us Aſſert, that ſince Chriſt is in Heaven Circumſcrib'd, within a determinate Place, therefore he is not really or *Re ipſa* in the *Holy Euchariſt*: We ought rather to conclude thus from the Premiſes, therefore he is not *locally* in this Holy Sacrament. And for this reaſon, that is to avoid miſconſtruction and perplexing the Argument, I had rather the *Terms Really, Subſtantially, Carnally*, and *Corporally*, had been omitted.

The reaſon why *Bucer* would have had *Peter Martyr* more full in expreſſing the *Exhibiting* or Preſentiating of Chriſt in the *Holy Euchariſt*, is “ becauſe if the *Conference* ſhould be made publick; he is afraid the *Reader* might take him in an unorthodox Senſe; and conclude *Martyr*'s Aſſertion implied our Saviour wholy abſent from the *Holy Euchariſt*. That the benefit of communicating, reach'd no farther than the refreſhing our Faith, and bringing our Saviour more ſtrongly upon the Memory: And that it ſerves only to give a livelier and more affecting Idea of the Bleſſing of our Redemption: And that theſe pious thoughts are cheriſh'd and improv'd by the Holy Spirit. The *Reader* I am afraid, continues *Bucer*, will interpret you to no higher meaning than this: He will not imagine you aſſert that as Chriſt firſt communicated himſelf to his Members in Baptiſm; ſo he *exhibites* himſelf *more* and *more preſent* * in the Holy Euchariſt, and communicates himſelf to ſuch a degree of Intimacy and Union, that they really ſubſiſt and remain in him, and receive him reciprocally into themſelves. † In ſhort, I am afraid, ſays he, People will think you don't hold the Preſence of Chriſt, but only the preſence of the Spirit of Chriſt, and the Efficacy conſequent upon it; whereas I am ſatisfied you grant Chriſt exhibits *himſelf* preſent to the Faith of the Receiver.

“ And whereas *Peter Martyr* had ask'd *Bucer*'s Opinion about publiſhing the *Conference*, he tells him, that in Caſe he reſolv'd upon Printing, he would adviſe him to ſhew the Copy to his Antagoniſt, in the firſt Place; that if there happen'd to be any Miſtakes or Omiſſions, they might add, alter, or expunge. He adviſ'd him likewiſe to explain himſelf fuller upon the Points above-mention'd, and guard againſt Miſinterpretation.

Towards the cloſe of the Letter, he “ acquaints *Peter Martyr* that theſe Diſputes about the *Sacraments* had prov'd very unfortunate in *Germany*: That the miſmanagement of the Conteſts of this nature had weakn'd the Veneration for the Holy Myſteries, made People break out into Animoſities and Parties, and expoſed Religion to Contempt. (c)

Bucer's *Definition of the Holy Euchariſt.*

“ In *Bucers* Definition of the *Holy Euchariſt*, he ſpeaks to the ſame Senſe deliver'd in his Letter. He defines the *Euchariſt* a Holy Ceremony, Inſtituted by our Saviour: That he honors the Receivers with his Preſence at the Celebration: That he excites their Devotion and Charity, and puts them in a diſpoſition to offer their thanks more acceptably to God the Father. And upon the pronouncing the Words of the *Inſtitution* by his *Miniſter*, he gives his Body and Blood, to nouriſh thoſe to Eternal Life who ſincerely deſire it, and that this Bleſſing is convey'd thro' the Symbols of Bread and Wine. The reſt of his Definition is not material to the preſent purpoſe.

Id. *p.* 551.

Thus we ſee *Bucer* is ſomewhat Intricate and involv'd upon this Subject: Whether he was loſt in the Myſtery; whether he had not the Faculty of writing clear, or avoided Perſpicuity on purpoſe, I ſhall not determine.

---

* Fide tamen nullo vel ſenſu, vel ratione hujus Sæculi intuendus, recipiendus, fruendus.

† Repræſentandi (quod idem eſt cum verbo exhibendi) quam ſignificandi verbo.

* Amplius & Amplius exhibeat præſentem.

† Et ipſum habeant exiſtentem & manentem in ſe.

(c) Bucer Scrip. Anglican. *p.* 545. & deinc.

Calvins, *Farrels*, and *Viretus* his Confeſſion of Faith upon this Article, to which *Bucer*, *Wolfgangus Capito*, and ſome others of their Perſwaſion ſubſcrib'd, is more intelligible: And ſince 'tis couch'd in Terms of Magnificence and higheſt Regard, I ſhall tranſlate it for the *Reader*. It begins thus.

Calvin's *Confeſſion of Faith with Reference to the Holy Euchariſt ſubſcrib'd by* Bucer *and others.*

“We confeſs that the Spiritual Life vouchſafed us by Chriſt in this *Sacrament* does not only conſiſt in his quickning us by his Spirit: But over and above this Bleſſing by Virtue of his Spirit, he makes us Partakers of that Principle of Life his Fleſh. * By which Participation we are nouriſh'd to Immortal Life. Therefore when we mention the Communion with the Faithful with Chriſt, we underſtand their communicating with his Body and Blood, no leſs than with his Spirit; that thus they may be in Poſſeſſion of their whole Saviour. † For the *Scripture* plainly declares, that *his Fleſh is Meat to us indeed, and his Blood is Drink indeed:* And if we expect a Life by Chriſt, we ought to grow and ſupport our ſelves by ſuch Nouriſhment. Thus the Apoſtle had no common meaning, when he tells us, *we are Fleſh of Chriſts Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone:* No; By this Language he inſinuates our Communion or Communication with his Body: A Myſtery ſo ſublime that no Words are able to reach the Dignity of the Thing. Neither does our Saviours Aſcenſion, nor the Abſence of the local Preſence of his Body, infer any Inconſiſtency with this Privilege. For notwithſtanding in this State of Mortality we live at a diſtance, and are not in the ſame Place with him, yet the Force of his Spirit is not confin'd by any corporeal Interpoſitions, nor hinder'd from uniting things, tho' at the remoteſt Intervals of ſpace: We acknowledge therefore his Spirit is the Principle of Union, and the Band as it were of Communication with himſelf: But then we deſire to be underſtood in this Senſe, that this Holy Spirit does really feed us with the Subſtance of our Lords Fleſh and Blood, and quickens us with the Participation of them for the glorious Purpoſes of Immortality. And that Chriſt offers and exhibits this Communion of his Fleſh and Blood, under the Symbols of Bread and Wine, to thoſe who celebrate the Holy Euchariſt purſuant to his Inſtitution. (*d*)

* Carnis ſuæ vivificæ.

† Ut ita totumChriſtum poſſideant.

(d) Calvin Epiſt. *p.* 396.

I have been the longer upon this Argument to ſhew the *Reader* in what Terms of Myſtery and Reverence, *Bucer* and *Calvin* diſcourſe upon the *Holy Euchariſt*. Thus the Fathers of the Primitive Church expreſs'd themſelves with the utmoſt Veneration and Solemnity upon this Subject. For inſtance, *Juſtin Martyr* tells the Emperor “*Antoninus Pius*, that the Chriſtians did not receive the conſecrated Elements as common Bread and Wine, but as Jeſus Chriſt was made Fleſh by the *Logos* of God, and real Fleſh and Blood for our Salvation, ſo we are taught that this Food which the ſame *Logos* bleſs'd by Prayer and Thankſgiving, is turn'd into the Nouriſhment and Subſtance of our Fleſh and Blood, and is the Fleſh and Blood of the Incarnate Jeſus. But notwithſtanding the ſtrength of Expreſſion in this laſt Clauſe, 'tis plain this Father had no meaning of Tranſubſtantiation: For in the beginning of this Paſſage, *he affirms our Bodies are nouriſh'd by this Food, and that the Bread and Wine are turn'd into the Subſtance of our Bodies.* (*e*) Now this cannot with any Conſiſtency of Truth or Regard, be affirm'd of our Saviours Glorified Body.

How the Fathers expreſs'd themſelves upon this Subject.

(e) Juſtin Martyr. Apoll. 2*d*.

Irenæus was of Opinion that by receiving the Holy Euchariſt, our Bodies had a Principle of Immortality convey'd to them, and that by Virtue of this *Sacrament*, they would be rais'd to Glory at the laſt Day. St. *Chryſoſtom*, to mention (*f*) no more, ſpeaks of the Holy Euchariſt in Language of the higheſt Reverence and Admiration; calls it a tremendous Sacrifice, and carries the Idea to the laſt degree of Solemnity: And tho' I think I have made it ſufficiently appear, that neither this Father, nor any of the reſt believ'd Tranſubſtantiation, yet on the other ſide, 'tis evident, the Antients thought this *Sacrament* the moſt Auguſt Myſtery in the Chriſtian Worſhip, that a peculiar divine Virtue was annex'd to the conſecrated Elements, and that they were to be receiv'd with a diſtinguiſhing Veneration.

(f) De Sacerdot. *lib.* 6.

Peter Martyr notwithſtanding *Bucer*'s Caution, gave out ſeveral Copies of his Diſputation at *Oxford*: Upon this his Adverſary *Treſham* ſends a Tranſcript to Court with a Dedication to the Privy Council. In this Addreſs he acquaints the Council that *Peter Martyr* had publiſh'd the Conference, but whether he means 'twas printed, is uncertain, for now 'tis only to be ſeen amongſt *Fox* his Manuſcripts.

“In this Dedication, *Treſham* complains of *Peter Martyr* for miſreporting the Caſe; charges him with wreſting the Scripture; with haling the Fathers into his Cauſe againſt their Sentiment; with precarious Principles, and lying expos'd to have his own Arguments turn'd upon him. He pretends he has put a fair Copy into their Hands; that it was taken *verbatim* from the Clerks who were order'd to write, and that there was nothing in it but what was contain'd in *Peter Martyrs* Copy.

By the way if *Peter Martyrs* Copy agreed with *Treſhams*, I can't imagin why *Treſham* ſhould charge the other with miſreporting the matter.

Treſham confeſſes, he hath added ſome ſupplemental Paſſages which ſlip'd his Memory in the Diſputation, and hopes 'tis defenſible enough to make uſe of Recollection, and fortifie the Argument.

In the cloſe he lays the Papers before the Lords of the Council with all imaginable Reſpect, and deſires it may be printed with the King's Privilege. *

Stripes *Appen. to Memorials of* Cranmer *page* 122.

In *June* this Year a Diſputation was held at *Cambridge* upon the ſame Subject. 'Twas manag'd before the King's Commiſſioners, *Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Gooderick* Biſhop of *Eli*, Dr. *May* Dean of *Pauls*, Dr. *Wendy* the Kings Phyſician, and Mr *Cheek* his *Præceptor*.

The firſt Queſtion was, that Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by Scripture, neither is this Doctrine ſupported by the Authority of the Fathers for the firſt Thouſand Years.

Foxii Mſs. Biblioth. R. Harley armig.

Secondly, that in the Lords Supper there is no Oblation or Sacrifice, excepting by way of Remembrance of Chriſt's Death.

The Queſtions were publickly argued three Days. The firſt Day they were defended by Dr. *Madew*; *Glyn*, *Langdale*, *Segwick*, and *Young* being Opponents. The Second Day Dr. *Glyn* defended the other ſide of the Queſtions, and was oppos'd by *Perne*, *Grindal*, *Gueſt*, and

and *Pilkington*. The Third Day Dr. *Perne* was Reſpondent, *Parker*, *Pollard*, *Vavaſor*, and *Young*, arguing againſt him: And to conclude, the Determination was made by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. † The Diſputation may be ſeen at length in *Fox*.

† *Biſhop* Burnet *part.* 2d. *page* 107. Fox *Vol.* 2.

'Tis no Wonder to find the Doctrine of the Holy Euchariſt thus ſolemnly argued in both Univerſities, ſince as the King obſerves this Queſtion had been warmly debated in the Parliament Houſe at the beginning of the laſt Seſſion. *

King Edward *Journal p.* 6.

To proceed, *Bonner* notwithſtanding the Flexibleneſs of his Humour was not compliant with the *Liturgy* to a full Satisfaction. It ſeems he had either not diſpers'd Copies of the New Common Prayer, or not preſs'd the Uſe of them in his Dioceſe, as might reaſonably be expected: The Council therefore thought it adviſeable the King ſhould write to quicken him in his Duty.

The King's Letter to Bonner. July 23. Anno Dom. 1549.

The *Letter* ſets forth that this *Common-Prayer-Book* was not only agreed to by the unanimous Conſent of both *Houſes* of Parliament, but that 'twas ſettled by the like Aſſent of the Biſhops in the ſame Parliament, and of all other Learned Men of this Realm, in their Synods and Convocations Provincial. After ſome Sentences of high Commendation on this Book, the Biſhop is commanded to advertize his Chancellor and Archdeacons of their Neglect, and to preſs frequent Communion and Conformity to the *Service*.

Bonner finding the King's Command preciſe and peremptory, and perceiving himſelf tax'd with Remiſsneſs, made no ſcruple to execute the Order. (g)

(g) Bonner Regiſt. Fol. 219.

In ſhort, we do not find any Complaints of Noncompliance with the *Service* eſtabliſh'd excepting in the Lady *Mary*'s Family. This Princeſs ſtill continued the Uſe of the *Maſs*, and to juſtifie her Conduct ſent her Reaſons in a Letter to the *Privy Council*. By her Letter it appears the *Council* had written to her, and complain'd of her Nonconformity to the Conſtitution. In Defence of her Practiſe, “ſhe tells them, ſhe was guilty of the breach of no Law, excepting one of their own making, meaning the Act of Uniformity: And this ſhe believes in her Conſcience does not deſerve the Name of a Law. She puts them in mind that as the late King's Executors, they were all ſworn to fulfill his Will and maintain his Laws. That the Conſtitution, as her Father left it, ſhould be the Rule of her Obedience till the King her Brother was of Age: And beſides all this, ſhe could by no means ſatisfie her Conſcience in the late Alterations in Religion.

June 22. Anno Dom. 1549.

The Lady Mary *writes to the Council for Liberty of Conſcience.*

In Anſwer to this, the *Council* order'd her Chaplain Dr. *Hopkins* to acquaint her with the Inſufficiency of her Objections. “For the purpoſe, he was to repreſent to her that the *Act* concerning Religion was previouſly debated and agreed to, by the whole Clergy. That 'tis a great Fault in any Subject to remonſtrate againſt the King's Laws, and renounce the Authority of the Legiſlature. That this Fault is heighten'd in her Grace, upon the ſcore of her Birth and near Relation to the King: That Diſobedience to the King her Brothers Government implies particular Unkindneſs, Diſregard to the *Crown*, and overlooking her own Intereſt; for her Grace ſtands next in the legal Settlement. And that her Example of Incompliance would be remarkably dangerous at this Juncture.

Their Anſwer.

“As to her Graces reminding them, they were ſworn to obſerve the late King's Laws, they grant the Suggeſtion, but reply withal, that when a Law is repeal'd by the ſame Authority it was enacted, it loſes its Force and Denomination. And for her Grace to affirm that no Law can be diſcharg'd during the King her Brothers Minority, is to throw a Blemiſh upon his Majeſties Authority, ſuppoſes the Government maim'd and diſabled, and opens the Way to great Diſorder and Inconvenience:

“And therefore her Graces inſiſting upon ſuſpending her Obedience till the King comes of Age, is by no means to be allow'd. For the King as to the Functions of Government, is always a *Major*. He is King by the Ordinance of God: His Title is founded upon Royal Deſcent, upon Proximity of Blood, and Computation of Years comes not within the Queſtion. They reinforce their Reaſoning from *Scripture* Preſidents, and obſerve to her Grace, that young Children have been recogniz'd Kings by Gods Appointment: That he has bleſt their Reigns with extraordinary Succeſs, and that they have been remarkable for reforming Religion during their Minority.

Her Reſolution of not hearing the Points of Religion argued any farther, is diſliked by the *Council*: “They tell her there is more Will than Reaſon in pitching upon ſuch meaſures. That 'tis not ſafe for her Grace to truſt her own Opinion in matters of ſuch Conſequence. That the Grounds of Religion ought to be brought to the Teſt, and throughly examin'd: That if her Opinion is ſound and orthodox, 'twill be no harm to find it proof againſt Argument and Oppoſition. If there are any Flaws in it, the Diſcovery will be of Service. The bare debating of the Subject therefore can make no Change in her Faith, unleſs ſhe finds herſelf convinc'd by an Over-ballance of Argument. And to make the Propoſal more acceptable, they deſire her Grace would nominate the Perſons for managing the Diſpute, promiſing her withal, that they ſhould never deſire her Grace to move a Step farther than good Anthority, and Dint of Reaſon ſhall carry her. (h)

June 1549.

(h) Fox *Vol.* 2. *p.* 700.

This Princeſs being apprehenſive of Compulſion in matters of Conſcience, ſent a Gentleman to the Emperor to interpoſe for her.

There was a Complaint at this time at the Emperors Court againſt the Engliſh Embaſſadour Sir *Philip Hobby* for uſing the new *Common-Prayer-Book*. The Embaſſadour anſwer'd, he was oblig'd to govern himſelf by the Laws of his own Country: That the Emperors Embaſſadour had *Maſs* at his Chappel in *London*: That notwithſtanding this *Service* was contrary to the Laws of *England*, there was no Diſturbance given foreign Embaſſadours upon this Score: And that he had reaſon to expect the ſame Liberty, allow'd by his Maſter to thoſe of a publick Character.

The Emperor appears in her behalf.

As to the Lady *Mary*, the Emperor undertook her Intereſt. To prevent a Rupture therefore *Hobby* and *Paget* another Engliſh Embaſſadour promis'd in the King's Name that ſhe ſhould be diſpens'd with for ſome time. This Qualification they afterwards declar'd upon their Honour was thrown in. But the Emperor and his *Miniſters* averr'd the Promiſe was abſolute, without any Abatement with Reſpect to Time. The Emperor ſent the Protector and *Council* the Propoſal of a Marriage between the Lady *Mary* and *Alphonſo* Brother to the King of *Portugal*. The *Council* entertain'd the Motion, and tho' the late King had left his Daughters but Ten Thouſand Pounds a piece, they offer'd to raiſe her Fortune to a Hundred Thouſand Crowns in Mony, beſides Five Thouſand Pounds in Jewels. This *Portugueſe* Prince was about her own Age, and offer'd Twenty Thouſand Crowns *per Annum* Joynture, but this Overture came to nothing. (*i*)

(i) Biblioth. Cotton Galba B. 12. *Biſhop* Burnet. *pt.* 2. *page* 103.

Auguſt. 6. *A Proclamation againſt Plays.*

This Summer a *Proclamation* was publiſh'd againſt acting of *Plays*. It ſets forth that the Arguments of theſe Entertainments of the Stage went upon ſeditious Subjects: Arraign'd the Government, and expos'd the Conſtitution to Contempt: That a great many Tumults and Diſorders had been occaſion'd by this Liberty; that therefore from the Ninth Day of the preſent *Auguſt*, till the Feaſt of all Saints next coming, no Perſon was to act any Stage Performance in Engliſh, in any Part of the Realm. The Penalty was Impriſonment, and farther Puniſhment at the King's Pleaſure. (*k*)

(k) Fuller *Church Hiſt. Book* 7.

It ſeems ſome indiſcreet People of both Religions had applied to the Aſſiſtance of the *Stage*, and played their Farces againſt each other: This was a fooliſh and prophane Expedient, and tended only to diſſerve Chriſtianity in general, and make it the Sport of Libertines and Atheiſts.

Injunctions ſent by the King to Bonner.

About this time *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* receiv'd farther Orders from the King. The Letter ſets forth the Biſhops Negligence and Miſbehaviour in his Paſtoral Office: That many People of *London*, and other Places of that Dioceſe abſented themſelves from the publick Prayers and Communion: That the Cenſures of the Church were not exerted upon Fornication and Adultery. After this Præfatory Reprimand, the Biſhop is oblig'd to obſerve the following Injunctions.

Firſt, to preach a Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs upon the next Sunday, after Three Weeks of the Date of this Letter, and once every Quarter, and to be preſent at every Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs, unleſs prevented by Sickneſs, or other reaſonable Excuſe.

Aug. 7.

Secondly, Upon every Day which were heretofore accounted Principal Feaſts, or *Majus Duplex*, and at all ſuch times as the Biſhops of *London* us'd to celebrate and ſing high Maſs, he was to adminiſter the Holy Communion at St. *Pauls*, for the better Example of others, unleſs diſabled by Sickneſs.

Thirdly, he was bound to cite all ſuch Perſons before him as do not frequent the Common Prayer, or receive the Sacrament at leaſt once a year: He was likewiſe to cite ſuch Perſons as frequent Places where other *Rites* or *Services* are uſed different from the eſtabliſh'd *Liturgy*: Such Offences and Noncompliance was to be puniſh'd by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. He was likewiſe to be particularly careful in puniſhing Adultery and Fornication purſuant to the Laws of the Church.

And laſtly, he was to take care that thoſe who refuſe to pay their Tythes to the *London* Clergy, might be compell'd to Juſtice. (*l*)

(l) Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 220.

The Matter of the Sermon preſcrib'd this Biſhop.

Farther, for his firſt Sermon at St. *Pauls* the Matter was preſcrib'd him by the King, in the Words following. *viz.*

“That all ſuch as rebel againſt their Prince get unto them Damnation. And thoſe that reſiſt the high Power, reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and he that dies therefore in Rebellion by the Words of God, is utterly damn'd, and ſo loſes both Body and Soul. And therefore thoſe Rebels in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, in *Norfolk* or elſewhere, who take upon them to aſſemble a Power and Force againſt their Prince, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and go about to ſubvert the State and Order of the Commonwealth, not only do deſerve Death as Traytors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves Eternal Damnation, ever to be in the burning Fire of Hell, with *Lucifer* the Father and firſt Author of Pride, Diſobedience, and Rebellion. What Maſſes or Holy Water ſoever they pretend to, or what Pretence ſoever they have, they are in the ſame Guilt with *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, who for rebelling againſt *Moſes* were ſwallow'd down alive into Hell, altho' they pretended to ſacrifice unto God. And thus *Saul* was rejected for ſaving the fat Sheep, and *Agag* for Sacrifice. For, as the *Scripture* ſaith, Obedience is better than Sacrifice. In Diſobedience, Pride, Diſorder, and Rebellion, nothing can pleaſe God.

The Devonſhire *and* Norfolk *Rebellions not ſuppreſs'd when this Order was ſent:*

“Likewiſe in the Order of the Church, and extern Rites and Ceremonies of *Divine Service*, for ſo much as God requires Humility of Heart, Innocency of living, knowing of him, Charity and Love to our Neighbour, and Obedience to his Word, and to his Miniſters, and ſuperior Powers; theſe we muſt bring to all our Prayers, to all our Service, and this is the Sacrifice that God requires, and theſe be thoſe that make all Things pleaſant to God. The extern Rites and Ceremonies be but Exerciſes of our Religion, and appointable by Superior Powers: In chooſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates, the which Things we do alſo ſee ever hath been and ſhall be as the Time and Place is, divers; and yet all hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before ſpoken inward Things be there. If any Man ſhall uſe the old Rites, and thereby diſobey the Superior Power, the Devotion of his Ceremony is made nought by his Diſobedience: So that which elſe, ſo long as the ſame did ſo ſtand, might be good, by Pride and Diſobedience is now made nought, as *Sauls* Sacrifice, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *Aarons* Two Children was, but who that joineth to Devotion, Obedience, he wins the Garland; for elſe it is a Zeal, *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, a Will, Deſire, Zeal and Devotion, but not after Wiſdom, that is a fooliſh Devotion, &c.

Id. Fol. 221.

“Further, ye ſhall for Example on Sunday come Seven-night celebrate the Communion at *Pauls* Church. Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in the Sermon, that our Authority of our Royal Power is (as of Truth it is) of no leſs Authority and Force in this our young Age, than is or was of any of our Predeceſſors, tho' the ſame were much Elder, as may ap-

“ pear by Example of *Joſias*, and other younger Kings in *Scripture*, and therefore all our Subjects be no leſs bound to the Obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes than if we were of Thirty or Forty Years of Age.

Ridley *blam'd by the Protector for his Incompliance at* Cambridge.

Before I proceed farther to *Bonners* Buſineſs, I ſhall add ſomething concerning the Kings Commiſſioners at *Cambridge*. *Ridley* was appointed one of the *Viſitors*, as hath been obſerv'd, and order'd to open the *Viſitation* with a Sermon. Upon this he wrote to *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to inform him of what was to be done: He receiv'd Anſwer the *Viſitors* were only to diſcharge ſome ſuperſtitious Practices and Rites, and to make ſuch Statutes as ſhould be found needful. But when he came to *Cambridge*, he perceiv'd the Inſtructions went farther. The Commiſſioners were order'd to procure a Reſignation of ſome Colleges, and to convert ſome Divinity Fellowſhips to the Study of the Civil Law. Particularly, *Clare Hall* was to be ſuppreſs'd. But the Maſter and Fellows tho' ſtrongly ſollicited, would not be prevail'd with to reſign.

He juſtifies his Conduct.

Upon this *Ridley* declar'd he could not proceed farther with a good Conſcience. The Church to uſe the Words of our Learned Hiſtorian (m) *was already ſo rob'd and ſtrip'd, that it ſeem'd there was a Deſign laid down by ſome to drive all Civility, Learning, and Religion out of the Nation: Therefore the Biſhop declar'd he would not concur in ſuch Things, and deſir'd Leave to be gone.* The other *Viſitors* ſent a Complaint againſt him to the Protector, charged him with throwing in unneceſſary Scruples, and barking as they call it, againſt their Proceedings.

June 1. Ann. Dom. 1549.

He wrote a Letter of Excuſe to the Protector, acquaints him he was extremely deſirous to ſtand fair in his Graces Opinion: But that his Conſcience forbad him farther lengths of Compliance: And that notwithſtanding no Perſon was more inclin'd to ſatisfy the Commands of his Prince, yet in ſome Caſes he was bound to make a ſtand, and deliver unacceptable Truths. That a Chriſtian ought not to decline his Duty for the *Fear* or *Favour* of any Mortal Man. For our Saviour has forewarn'd us, *not to fear thoſe who can kill the Body*: And elſewhere the Apoſtle tells us, *'tis a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.*

The *Protector* return'd the Biſhop an Anſwer, blames him for going too far in his ſcruples, and diſagreeing with the reſt of the *Viſitors*, tells him the King's Buſineſs would be check'd by his Incompliance; however, at laſt he is contented to leave him to the Direction of his Conſcience.

Id. *Records Book.* 1. *Num.* 59, 60.

To return to *Bonner*, who purſuant to the Kings *Orders* preach'd upon the firſt of *September* at St. *Pauls* Croſs. He inſiſted upon the Heads preſcrib'd him, but did not dilate upon ſome things, it ſeems to the Satisfaction of the Audience. He is ſaid to ſpend moſt Part of his Sermon about the manner of our Saviours being preſent in the Holy Euchariſt, and plainly aſſerted the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. When *William Latimer* Batchellor of Divinity, and *John Hooper* afterwards Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, prefer'd an Information againſt him; They depos'd themſelves preſent at the Sermon, and that the Biſhop had fail'd in his Performance, and not anſwer'd his Majeſties Injunctions. That he wholly omitted the Article of the Kings *Minority*, and manag'd the reſt of his Diſcourſe in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to create Jealouſies, and make People diſaffected to the Government. (n)

Bonner *cited before the Commiſſioners.*

Upon this a Commiſſion was iſſued out to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, *Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *William Petre*, and Sir *Thomas Smith* Secretaries of State, and to Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Paul's*, to examine the matter. The *Commiſſioners* are Impower'd to ſuſpend, Excommunicate, or deprive Biſhop *Bonner*, or uſe any other Cenſure Eccleſiaſtical. (o) Any Three of them are likewiſe Authoriz'd to pronounce Sentence. From whence it follows, that in Caſe of diverſity of Opinions, *Petre*, *Smith*, and *May*, Doctor of Civil Law, might have over-rul'd Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and *Ridley*.

On the Tenth of *September*, *Bonner* was Summon'd to appear before the Commiſſioners at *Lambeth*. When he came into the Room where they ſate, he behav'd himſelf as if he had not ſeen them, and being put in mind to pay his Reſpects, he ſmil'd on the Archbiſhop, and proteſted he did not ſee him. (p) *Cranmer* let him know they ſate by the King's Authority, to call him to an Account for his *Sermon*. *Bonner* being willing, it may be, to have it thought he was queſtion'd about matters of Faith, wav'd a direct Anſwer, began to diſcourſe about the *Maſs*, and wiſh'd it more Reverenc'd. He told the Archbiſhop he had written very well upon this *Sacrament*, and was ſurpriz'd to find his Practice not Anſwerable.

When the Witneſſes were call'd, he is ſaid to have treated them with Contempt and odd Language. One of them he ſaid talk'd like a *Gooſe*, and the other like a *Woodcock*, and that there was no Truth in their Evidence. Thus *Fox* reports the matter, and charges him with Swearing frequently upon the Courſe of the Tryal. If this is True, he miſbehav'd himſelf extremely, forfeited his Gravity, and talk'd out of Character. But upon inſpecting the *Regiſter*, I find no mention of this Intemperate Carriage, excepting his Swearing once in Anſwer to Sir *Thomas Smith*.

The Archbiſhop proceeded to open the Charge, and had the Bill of Complaint read in Court. *Bonner* came prepar'd with a *Proteſtation*, in which he ſets forth, that ſince he had not receiv'd a Copy of the Commiſſion, he reſerv'd himſelf the liberty of excepting, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the Commiſſion, as occaſion ſhould require. He called the Inſtrument a pretended Commiſſion, which being objected as a failure of Regard, he excus'd this Freedom by alledging theſe were Terms of Law, and cuſtomary Methods of Defence, which he was oblig'd to make uſe off.

After this he deſir'd to ſee the Bill of Complaint: Which being put into his Hands and perus'd, he told the Commiſſioners the Charge was couch'd in ſuch general Terms, that 'twas Impracticable to diſengage himſelf by a particular Anſwer. The Archbiſhop replied, the main Article was his Omiſſion, in ſetting forth the King's Authority during his *Nonage*. And for the Proof of this, *Hooper* and *Latimer* were produced as Witneſſes.

Id.

Bonner to diſable their Teſtimony, objected Hereſy, and diſaffection to his Perſon againſt them. He ſaid the motive to their *Information*, was not any failure of his, with reſpect to the Government: Their Quarrel againſt him was difference in Belief: His aſſerting the true Pre-

(m) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. page* 120.

(n) Fox *vol.* 2. *p.* 673. & deinceps.

(o) Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 222.

(p) Fox *p.* 675.

Preſence of our Saviours Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, was that which provok'd them to Spleen and Calumny: And that *Hooper* had denied this Doctrine the Day that *Bonner* Preach'd, and miſreported his Diſcourſe.

The Archbiſhop perceiving *Bonner* inſiſt ſo much upon the true *Preſence* in the Holy Euchariſt, asked him what preſence he meant: And whether he thought Chriſt was in the Sacrament with Face, Noſe, Mouth, Eyes, and other Lineaments of his Body? Upon which, *Bonner* ſhaking his Head, replied, he was extremely ſorry to hear his *Grace* deliver himſelf in that manner, and urg'd *him* to declare his Belief preciſely. The Archbiſhop let him know this was not a Time to diſpute that Point: That their Buſineſs now was to Execute the King's Commiſſion.

Upon *Friday* the Thirteenth of *September*, *Secretary Smith* ſate with the reſt, which he had not done before, altho' his Name was in the *Commiſſion*. Upon this, *Bonner* proteſted, that according to Law, (meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Canon Law) *Secretary Smith*, by not acting at firſt, had diſabled himſelf from the Function of a Commiſſioner. The Archbiſhop own'd himſelf no Lawyer, but thought the Objection an unreaſonable Bar. *Secretary Petres* and *Smith*, told him the conſtant Practice of the Kingdom had been otherwiſe: That all thoſe whoſe Names were in any Commiſſion, might ſit and make part of the *Court*, tho' they had not been preſent at the firſt opening.

His *Proteſtation* being thus ſet aſide, he read his Anſwer to the *Articles*. Firſt, as to thoſe who inform'd againſt him, he Charg'd them with Hereſy, in Reference to the Holy Euchariſt: That lying under this Character of Infamy, they ſtood Excommunicated by the Church, and by Conſequence ought not to be admitted, as *Informers* againſt their Biſhop.

Id. p. 678.

He defends himſelf againſt the main Article of the Charge.

From hence he proceeded to the Injunctions ſent him, and denied their being Sign'd, either with the King's Hand, or Signet, or any of the Council, and then coming to the main *Article*, he alledg'd he had fully ſet forth the King's Authority in his *Sermon*, and Preach'd againſt the Rebels in *Devonſhire* and *Norfolk*, to the full meaning and extent of the King's *Letter*: Particularly, that he was ſo far from the abetting the Inſurrection, or giving Countenance to any *Malecontents*, that he declar'd in the Pulpit, that all thoſe who rebel againſt their Prince, reſiſted the Ordinance of God, and brought Damnation upon themſelves. (q) That the Rebels in *Devonſhire* and *Norfolk*, being bound to Obey their Prince, lay under this Imputation; and that no pretence whatſoever could juſtify their taking Arms againſt their Sovereign. From hence he inferr'd, that ſince he ſpoke ſo fully againſt the Inſurrections above-mention'd, and preſs'd Obedience to the King, it muſt follow of courſe, that he plainly maintain'd the King's Authority during his Nonage, for all the Nation knew the King was a Minor when he Preach'd the *Sermon*: (r) And therefore he hop'd no little ſlips of Memory, or failing in Punctuality of Expreſſion, would be conſtrued to his Diſadvantage.

(q) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 221.

(r) Fox p. 681.

The *Court* replied his Exceptions againſt the *Informers* were inſufficient, unleſs their Evidence could be diſprov'd. He was told the *Injunctions* were read to him in *Council*, by one of the *Secretaries*, and given him by the *Protector* himſelf: That afterwards they were called for, and the Article concerning the King's Power of governing in his Minority, being added, they were put into his Hands again by *Secretary Smith*, and that he promiſ'd to Preach purſuant to theſe Inſtructions. They let him know his maintaining the King's Authority by Inference and Implication, did not come up to explicit Aſſertion, and the Orders he receiv'd; and that 'twas a ſlender defence to pretend his want of Memory.

The Witneſſes Purge themſelves from the Charge of Confederacy.

After Three Days Adjourning the *Court* met again, and then *Latimer* and *Hooper* deſir'd to purge themſelves of the Imputation of Hereſy. They affirm'd they had never advanc'd any thing concerning the Bleſſed Sacrament, but what was agreeable to the *Scriptures*, and the true Catholick Faith: That they offer'd to be Try'd upon this *Article* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or by any other learned Men, the King or the *Commiſſioners* ſhould appoint. And whereas they had been charg'd by *Bonner*, with meeting on the firſt Day of *September*, and concerting falſe Evidence againſt him, *Latimer* declar'd, that he had never ſpoken with *Hooper*, either before the firſt of *September* that Day, nor till ſome time after.

Bonner's farther Defence with reſpect to the King's Authority in his Nonage.

Bonner being called on to juſtify himſelf more fully, with Reference to the King's Power during his Minority; anſwer'd that for the ſatisfaction of the *Council*, and the better diſcharging his Duty, he had prepar'd *Notes* upon this Head; that he had collected ſeveral Inſtances from Scripture and other Hiſtories, to prove, that the Minority of Kings was no diminution of the Royal Character: And that they were to be no leſs Honour'd and Obey'd, than at any other Time of their Age. To this purpoſe he had obſerv'd from our Engliſh *Chronicles*, that *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fifth, were none of them of Age, and moſt of them deep in their *Minority*, at their Acceſſion to the Throne: And yet they were all Obey'd as compleat Soveraigns, and the Allegiance due to them, never ſo much as queſtion'd. He mention'd likewiſe ſeveral Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*: That *Uzziah* and *Ahaz* were but Sixteen, *Manaſſes* but Twelve; *Joaſh*, and *Joſiah*, but Eight Years Old, when they began to Reign; to which he added that the late King was no more than Eighteen when he ſucceeded to his Father. That he intended to Preach out all theſe *Notes*, but that his Memory fail'd him. That this Accident happen'd, partly by his diſuſe of the *Pulpit*, and partly by a long *Bill* ſent him by the *Council* to give notice of the defeat of the Rebels. That by the length of this Paper his Memory was broken. And beſides his Book where his *Notes* were laid, fell out of his Hand in his *Sermon*. Upon theſe Accounts he was diſabled from delivering himſelf ſo fully, and with that Advantage as he intended: However, he did not omit the citing ſeveral Texts of Scripture, to put the People in mind of their Obedience to Governors, with particular Application to his Majeſty's Caſe.

As to the other *Injunctions*, he Anſwer'd he had done his Part, and given Orders to his Archdeacon to ſee them Executed. That he knew of no *Maſſes*, or Latin *Service* within his Dioceſe, excepting in the Lady *Mary*'s Family, or the Chappels of Ambaſſadors. The *Commiſſioners* requir'd him to Anſwer more directly to the Point of the King's Authority. That hitherto they thought his defence ſhort: That without farther ſatisfaction they muſt pronounce him Guilty: But in caſe he denied the Fact, they would go on farther to Examine the Witneſſes. The Biſhop giving no farther Anſwer, the Witneſſes were called: And here Sir *John Cheek*, and Four more had their Oaths given them. *Bonner* deſir'd time to prepare his Interrogatories, which was granted him. He drew a Paper of Twenty Queſtions, conſiſting of ſeveral Parts, and couch'd Artificially enough. To give a Proof in one of them. The Third Interrogatory then was this. "Whether they, "or any of them were preſent at his *Sermon*? "Where they ſtood, and near whom? When "they came to it, and at what part of his *Sermon*? How long they tarried, and at what "part they were Offended? What were the "Form and Words, or ſubſtance of it? Who "heard it in their Company? Where the other "Witneſſes ſtood? How long they tarried, "or when they went away?

Id. *p.* 686.

Upon *Wedneſday September* the Eighteenth, *Bonner* appear'd the Fourth Time before the *Delegates*: And here becauſe ſome Objections were made againſt the Extent of their Authority, the King ſent them a Declaration in Writing, to try the Cauſe and give final Judgment: And proceed either by way of *Denunciation ex Officio*, or according to their Diſcretion, as the matter ſhould require. And by virtue of this *Inſtrument* they are impower'd to wave all ſuperfluous delays, and diſpenc'd with in Caſe there ſhould be any Omiſſion in the Formalities of the Law.

Id. *p.* 688. *His farther exceptions.*

Biſhop *Bonner* produc'd an *Inſtrument*, to prove himſelf not Oblig'd to make any farther Anſwer to the Charge brought againſt him: And here according to his cuſtomary Language, he called the Proceſs and Commiſſioners *Unjuſt and Pretenced.* He inſiſted principally, that the Article concerning the King's Authority in his Nonage, was not in the Paper given him by the *Protector*, but that *Secretary Smith* inſerted it after the *Protector* and the reſt of the *Council* were gone.

He objected likewiſe that the *Delegates* Proceedings were altogether Irregular, and contrary to the Methods of Law: That ſometimes they proceeded *ad Denunciandum*, ſometimes *ex Officio mero*, and ſometimes *ex Officio mixto*. That this Confuſion and Uncertainty, was altogether unpreſidented, and contrary to the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and more than their Commiſſion would juſtify.

The *Commiſſioners* to intangle him farther, and drive him from his Defence, gave him new *Articles*, tho' much of the Tenor with the former, and made him ſware to give a true Anſwer. The Biſhop premiſing his cuſtomary *Proteſtation*, deſir'd a Copy of the new Charge, with reaſonable Time, to put in his Anſwer. This being granted, he exhibited an *Information* againſt *Wm. Latimer* Prieſt of St. *Lawrence Poultney*.

He exhibits an Information againſt his Informer Latimer.

This Information ſets forth, that *Latimer* (who inform'd againſt *Bonner*) had heard People ſpeak Irreverently, and Seditiouſly of the King's Majeſty, in Words to this Effect. "That the "preſent King of *England* was but a Babe, and "fitter for a Toaſt and Butter, and a Meſs of "Milk than to make Laws: And that they "were not bound to obey his Authority 'till "he was a *Major*: That the ſaid *William Latimer* declar'd, at the laſt *Seſſion* of the Commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the "Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and "Dr. *May* being preſent, that he had heard "ſuch Words Derogatory to the King's Authority ſpoken, and that the ſaid Commiſſioners did not command the ſaid *William* "*Latimer* to Proſecute the ſaid Perſons that "had ſpoken the ſaid Words: And that the "ſaid *Latimer* has conceal'd the Words aforeſaid, and not diſcover'd them to any Perſon, "as in bounden Duty he ought. (*s*)

This Information not only affected *Latimer*'s Evidence againſt *Bonner*, but came up to an Innuendo of Connivance and Partiality in the *Commiſſioners*.

Fox calls it a *vain Cavillation*, neither does he report any Anſwer given it, but by this Expreſſion he diſcovers himſelf either defective in Judgment, or a Party-Hiſtorian. (*t*)

A farther Declaration of his Loyalty.

On the Twentieth, *Bonner* appears again, and ſpeaks home to the main Article, declares, as he had formerly done, that the King's Authority during his *Nonage*, was perfect and compleate: That his Subjects were bound to obey his Laws no leſs, than if they were made after his coming of Age: And here he expreſly Condemns the contrary Opinion as a rebellious Poſition.

He receives harſh Language from Sir Thomas Smith.

Secretary Smith was particularly lively upon the Biſhop, charg'd him with Dilatory and Evaſive Anſwers, fencing with the Formalities of Law, and treating the *Court* with indefenſible Freedoms: For this reprimanding and unuſual Manner, and ſome coarſe Language given the Biſhop, he entred a *Recuſation* of *Smith*'s Judgment, and Challenges him off the *Bench*. In this *Inſtrument* amongſt other Allegations, he ſets forth, that *Smith* ſaid the Biſhop acted like *Thieves, Murderers, and Traitors, and that unleſs he would Anſwer by Word of Mouth, he ſhould ſmart, and do worſe: And that this Secretary would ſend him to the Tower, to keep Company with the Rebels* Arundel *and* Ket, *with other rough and menacing Expreſſions, quite Forreign to the Character of a Commiſſioner.*

After this *Proteſtation*, we read *Secretary Smith* told the Biſhop he ſhould proceed in his Commiſſion, notwithſtanding his Exceptions. And here he owns his ſaying, that *Bonner* acted like *Thieves, Murderers, and Traytors*, and juſtifies the Language.

And makes a warm Return. Id. *p.* 691.

At this the Biſhop kindles; And it may be, Temper was no ordinary Virtue upon this Occaſion. However he exceeds in his Reſentment, tells *Smith* as he was the King's Commiſſioner, and *Secretary* of *State*, he honour'd him; but as he was only Sir *Thomas Smith*, and outrag'd him with ſo much Calumny and groſs Language, he told him *be lyed*, *defied* him, and bid him do what he could. *Quod facias, fac citius.*

For this Freedom he was reprimanded by the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the *Court*. They told him that for theſe Intemperate Sallies, he deſerv'd to be ſent to Priſon:

Upon this the Biſhop, thinking himſelf not well us'd, reply'd, that *de facto*, they might ſend him whither they pleaſ'd, and he would Obey them, unleſs they mean't to ſend him to the Divel, for thither he would not go at their Command. I have a right in Three things, ſays he, a *few Effects*, a *poor Carcaſs*, and *my Soul*: The Two firſt you may make Prize off, tho' unjuſtly, but I will keep the laſt out of your Power.

Upon this he was order'd to withdraw, and being call'd again into the Court he put in an Appeal from the Commiſſioners to the King. When

(s) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 224.

(t) Fox *p.* 689.

†

When they requir'd him to make a farther Anſwer to ſome of the Articles, he replied he was not bound in Law to give any farther Satisfaction, unleſs the Charge had been drawn in Terms more particular and certain. This Anſwer, together with the Liberties of his Behaviour, were conſtrued a Contempt of the Court, for which he was committed to the *Marſhalſea*. At his going off he told *Cranmer* he was ſorry his Grace ſhould uſe him in this manner. But that which troubled him moſt, was *Cranmers* ſuffering the Hereticks to take their Range, and poiſon the King's Subjects in *London*, and elſewhere. And thus he went off with an Air of Warmth and Diſcompoſure.

He appeals to the King. Sept. 16.

On the Three and Twentieth Inſtant being brought again before the Commiſſioners, he ſticks to his former Appeal, declines the Juriſdiction of the Court, and declares that he not only appeals from them, but that he intends to bring in a Charge againſt them, as by the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and the preſent matter of fact, he lawfully may. At this Seſſion a Letter from *Bonner* to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen was read in Court: The purport of it was to complain, "that ſome Preachers were ſuffer'd in the City to rail, (as he words it) againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and to deny the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood. That theſe Preachers told their Audience, that Faith muſt not be forc'd, and that they might believe what they pleas'd. The Biſhop requeſts and requires the Mayor and Aldermen not to connive at theſe Heterodoxes, nor ſuffer the People to be any longer miſled.

Id. *Page* 695.

Secretary *Smith* ask'd the Biſhop whether this was his Letter. *Bonner* replied, he was reſolv'd to abide by his Appeal. Upon this he was remanded to Priſon, and order'd to appear on *Friday* next, to receive the Judgment of the Court, for they acquainted him, they ſhould proceed to final Sentence, notwithſtanding his Appeal, unleſs he could procure a *Superſedeas*. And here the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* quoted a Text out of St. *John* againſt *Bonner*, *he that does Evil, hates the Light*. (*u*)

(u) Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 241.

As it happen'd the Commiſſioners did not ſit till *Tueſday* the firſt of *October*. In the Morning before the Court ſate, the Delegates ſent their Articles privately to the Biſhop in Priſon: They requir'd him to confeſs the Charge contain'd in this Draught. The Articles are in Subſtance the ſame with what had been objected to him before, with ſome additional Clauſes of his Miſbehaviour at his Tryal. Had the Biſhop ſign'd this Paper he had prevented his being deprived.

Id. *Fol.* 253.

At his appearing before them, they continued to preſs him to an Acknowledgment of Miſbehaviour: And that provided he own'd his Fault, and made his Submiſſion, gave large Promiſes of Favour. But *Bonner* inſtead of Compliance inſiſted ſtrongly on his Juſtification, and reading a new *Proteſtation*; diſowns their Authority, calls them *pretenſed Judges*, and declares that his appearing before them at this time was altogether forced and involuntary: And here by appealing to the King in his Minority, he declares he owns his Majeſties Authority more fully than the Commiſſioners, who refus'd to take notice of ſuch an Application.

The Commiſſioners finding the Biſhop wholly unmanageable proceeded to Judgment, and pronounc'd him depriv'd of his Biſhoprick. The Sentence runs in the Name of all the Five Commiſſioners, tho' Secretary *Petre* never ſate after the firſt Day. (*w*)

(w) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 127.

He is depriv'd.

The Inſtrument of Deprivation ſets forth, that the Biſhop had been negligent in making Inquiry after Polygamiſts, "and thoſe who either officiated or were preſent at any Forms of Divine Service not allow'd by the Government. That inſtead of going to the Sermons at *Pauls* Croſs, and countenancing them with his Preſence purſuant to his Majeſties Order; he the ſaid Biſhop not only went away at the beginning of the Diſcourſe, but wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen to perſwade them to the ſame Practice.

The Grounds of the Sentence.

From hence the *Inſtrument* proceeds to the Biſhops Omiſſion in his *Sermon* with Reference to the King's Power in his Minority: And then makes mention of his Contumacy and Miſbehaviour before the Commiſſioners. And theſe are the Grounds upon which the Deprivation is founded. (*x*)

(x) Fox *p.* 697.

Bonner excepts againſt this *Sentence* as null in the Authority, and unjuſt in the matter, and appeals once more from the *Delegates* to the King's Perſon.

And being thus depriv'd, he moved for a Diſcharge from the *Marſhalſea*, and for Liberty to proſecute his *Appeal*. To this *Cranmer* replied, that upon farther Enquiry they found his Cauſe worſe, and himſelf more dip'd in Rebellion, than at firſt they were aware of: And the reſt of the Commiſſioners concurring with the Archbiſhop, he was recommitted.

This Uſage of *Bonner* was by ſome thought overſevere. 'Twas likewiſe cenſur'd, as our *Learned Church Hiſtorian* obſerves, *as not canoninal, ſince 'twas by a Commiſſion from the King, and ſince Secular Men were mix'd with Clergymen in the Cenſure of a Biſhop. To this it was anſwer'd*, (as this Gentleman goes on) *that the Sentence being only of Deprivation from the See of* London, *it was not ſo entirely an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, but was of a mix'd Nature, ſo that Lay-men may join in it. And ſince he had taken a Commiſſion from the King for his Biſhoprick, by which he held it only during the King's Pleaſure, he could not complain of this Deprivation, which was done by the King's Authority*. (*y*)

Remarks upon his Deprivation.

(y) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 127.

But this Anſwer ſeems ſhort of Satisfaction. For which way is a Deprivation from the *See* of *London not entirely an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure*? Is not the Epiſcopal Office an Eccleſiaſtical Charge? Is not the Biſhops Juriſdiction over his Dioceſe a Spiritual Authority? By being depriv'd therefore of his *See*, he is depriv'd of his Spiritual Juriſdiction, and by conſequence, the Cenſure muſt be properly Eccleſiaſtical. *But he took out a Commiſſion from the King, for the Exerciſe of his Function*. That is true: But what can be infer'd from this extraordinary Conduct? Nothing, but that the King may take away thoſe Powers which were granted with a Clauſe of Revocation, provided 'twas within the King's Prerogative to make a Grant of ſuch Powers. But not to inquire farther into this matter, there is a Clauſe in the Commiſſion taken out by *Bonner* and the reſt of the Biſhops, which ſuppoſes ſome Branches of Authority ſettled by Divine Right, convey'd by Conſecration, and Independent of the Regal Supremacy. Now what can this be but a

The Biſhops not depriv'd by the Emperors in the Caſes propos'd.

Power to exerciſe Diſcipline, to govern their Flocks, and preſide in their *See* in matters purely Spiritual?

Our Learned Church Hiſtorian continues and obſerves, that *others who look'd farther back remembred, that* Conſtantine *the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to inquire into ſome Things objected to Biſhops: And that ſuch had examin'd the Buſineſs of* Cæcilian *Biſhop of* Carthage, *even upon an Appeal, after it had been tryed in ſeveral Synods; and given Judgment againſt* Donatus *and his Party. The ſame* Conſtantine *had alſo by his Authority put* Euſtathius *out of* Antioch, *and* Athanaſius *out of* Alexandria: —— *Afterwards the Emperors us'd to have ſome* Biſhops *attending on them in their* Comitatus, *or Court, to whoſe Judgment they left moſt Cauſes, who acted only by Commiſſion from the Emperor. So* Epiphanius *was brought to condemn* Chryſoſtom *at* Conſtantinople, *who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons.*

To this it may be anſwer'd, that this Account of the Emperors Proceedings againſt Biſhops, miſreports matter of Fact; For the purpoſe, *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch* was not depos'd by *Conſtantine* the Great, but by the Council of *Antioch.* (z) As to the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, he was baniſh'd by *Conſtantine* upon a falſe Suggeſtion of diſloyal Practice: And that he threatn'd to ſtop the importing Corn from *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople.* But for this the Emperor did not pretend to depoſe him: To which I may add that during his Baniſhment, he was all along own'd as Biſhop by the Catholick Church. And as to the inſtance of *Paulus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, he was remov'd by a *Synod*; and that not conven'd by *Conſtantine*, but his Son *Conſtantius.*

(z) Socrat. Hiſt. Lib. Cap. 24. Id. Lib. 1. Cap. 35.

Id. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

Farther, to *Conſtantines* interpoſing in the Caſe between *Cæcilian* and *Majorinus*, upon an Appeal of the latter and his Party; this Anſwer may be given; *Cæcilian* after a fair Election was ordain'd Biſhop of *Carthage* by *Felix Aptungetanus*; *Secundus, Donatus, Purpureus*, and ſome other Biſhops of the oppoſite Party, not being pleas'd with *Cæcilians* Promotion, conſecrated *Majorinus* to the ſame *See.* This Donatiſt Faction pretended *Felix* who ordain'd *Cæcilian* was a *Traditor*, that is, had deliver'd the Holy Scriptures up to the Heathen Perſecutors, and for this crime had loſt his Epiſcopal Character by the Diſcipline of the Church.

This Controverſy was at the Emperors Inſtance firſt examin'd in a Synod at *Rome*, and afterwards at the Council of *Arles*, and Judgment given for *Cæcilian* at both Places. But the *Donatiſts* refuſing to acquieſce, appeal'd to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, who in a Letter to the Council conven'd at *Arles*, blames the Donatiſts extremely for not ſubmitting to the Deciſion of the Biſhops. *Meum Judicium poſtulant, qui ipſe Judicium Chriſti expecto.* For to ſpeak Truth, continues the Emperor, *the Sentence of the Prelates ought to be no leſs regarded than if 'twas pronounc'd by our Saviour himſelf.* (*a*) St. *Auſtin* commends *Conſtantine* for not interpoſing, and ſays plainly, *the Emperor was not ſo hardy as to try the Cauſe of a* Biſhop.

(*b*) However being at laſt either tired with the Importunities of the *Donatiſts*, or prevail'd on by the Flattery of his Courtiers; he conſented the Cauſe ſhould have a rehearing before himſelf at *Milan.* And here after the matter was fully examin'd, the Sentence of the Councils of *Rome* and *Arles* was confirm'd, the Charge of *Felix* his being a *Traditor* declar'd falſe, and Judgment given for *Cæcilian.* Thus it appears the Emperor did no more than ſettle matter of fact, and ſee the *Records* inſpected. If 'tis ſaid he receiv'd the Appeal, review'd the Cauſe determin'd by two *Synods*, and took upon him the Office of a Judge, to this it may be anſwer'd, that Princes are not infallible in their Conduct: 'Tis poſſible for them to be ſurpriz'd into foreign Buſineſs, and carry their Regale too far.

(a) Optat. contra Parmenian. geſta Purgationis Cæciliani & Felicis, *&c.*
(b) Quia Conſtantinus non eſt auſus de Causâ Epiſcopi judicare. Auguſt. Epiſt. 163.

†

That the Antient Church did not allow of Appeals to the Civil Magiſtrate, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, appears from the Council of *Antioch* (*c*) held in the Reign of *Conſtantius.* "This *Synod* decrees that if any Deacon or "Prieſt degraded by their Dioceſan, or any "Biſhop depos'd by a *Synod*, ſhould be ſo hardy "as to give the Emperor Trouble by any Ap"plication, whereas in theſe Caſes Recourſe "ought to be had to a *Synod*, and the matter "determin'd there: If therefore any Perſon "ſhall overlook the Juriſdiction of the Prelates, "and ſollicit the Emperor for Redreſs, he is "not allow'd ſo much as to plead his Cauſe in "a Council, nor ever expect being reſtor'd "to his Promotion.

Can. 12.

(c) *The Senſe of the Councils of* Antioch *and* Calcedon.

Thus the Biſhops in the Council of *Calcedon* determine in the Caſe of *Photius* Metropolitan of *Tyre*: They declare the *Imperial Reſcript* is of no Force againſt the Canons. And yet this Caſe related only to a Conteſt of Juriſdiction between a Metropolitan and one of his Suffragans. Thus at the ſame General Council of *Calcedon*, the Emperor *Martian* makes no difficulty to acknowledge, that he did not come thither to exerciſe any Power in deciding the Controverſy, but only to fortifie the Decrees of the Fathers with the Civil Sanction. (*d*) Not that the Canons and Reſolutions of the Biſhops were not binding before with Reſpect to Conſcience; but ſome People are ſo unhappy as to be govern'd farther by Temporal Penalties, than the Terrors of the other World.

(d) Concil. Labbe. *and* Coſſart.

Farther, The *Court Biſhops* mention'd by our Learned Hiſtorian did not act by the Emperors Commiſſion, tho' they were ſometimes too flexible and complaiſant. Neither does the Inſtance of *Epiphanius* his condemning of *Chryſoſtom* ſupport this Aſſertion. For St. *Chryſoſtom* was depos'd by the Synod *ad Quercum*, neither had *Epiphanius* any ſhare in that *Sentence.* For this Biſhop had quitted *Conſtantinople*, and ſet ſail for *Cyprus* before *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and the reſt of the Biſhops met for the cenſuring of St. *Chryſoſtom.* (*e*)

(e) Socrat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 14. & 15. Theod. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 35.

Bonner's *Caſe farther conſider'd.*

To return to *Bonner.* It muſt be ſaid he made a hardy and plauſible Defence. The Grounds of his Deprivation ſeem ſomewhat ſlender, excepting in one Article relating to the King's Authority. And here the Biſhop prov'd he had touch'd the Point in his Sermon, tho' not in the Form preſcrib'd: And that this Omiſſion was only a Misfortune of his Memory: That this was no feign'd Excuſe appears pretty plainly by his owning the Authority of a *Minor* Prince, ſo fully and ſo often before the *Delegates.* As to his intemperate Behaviour, if *Fox* reports him fairly, he was much to blame. For my Part, the Proceſs being very tedious, and printed by *Fox*, I only examin'd the Regiſter for the Subſtance, and therefore as to the *manner*, excepting his ſwearing once to *Smith*, I ſhall neither affirm or deny the Charge.

And tho' *Bonner* defended himſelf with great Dexterity and Reſolution, yet I ſomewhat queſtion his making the moſt of his Caſe. Had he inſtead of appealing to the King, appeal'd to the upper Houſe in Convocation, he might in all likelyhood have got the Judgment revers'd, and recover'd his *See*. Now that he had this Remedy ſeems pretty plain by Two *Acts* of Parliament. (*f*) By the firſt Statute 'tis expreſly provided, that in any Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes which may touch the King, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, the Party griev'd may appeal to the Spiritual Prelates in the upper Houſe of Convocation: And this Method of appealing is confirm'd by an *Act* in the next year of the ſame Reign. 'Tis true this Proviſion refers to Tryals proſecuted in the Courts of Biſhops or Archbiſhops, but the Reaſon of the Caſe ſeems to hold againſt any other Court, which undertakes the Cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical matters, but I ſhall determine nothing in this point.

(f) 24. H. 8. *Cap.* 12. 25. H. 8. *Cap.* 19.

That *Bonner* had no gentle Uſage appears from the Courſe of this whole Affair. For firſt the King's or Councils preſcribing him the matter, and in ſome meaſure the Words of his *Sermon*, was more than ordinary. The putting ſuch ſingular Terms upon him, muſt by Conſequence leſſen his Character, and make him contemptible: Such unuſual Commands as theſe muſt ſuppoſe the Council believ'd him remarkably defective either in Integrity, or Diſcretion. But *Bonner was look'd on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the Obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the King's Injunctions was thought a Compliance againſt his Conſcience extorted by Fear.* (*h*) This Cenſure ſuppoſes him flexible to the Orders of the Court, and Compliant to whatever was injoin'd him. But 'twas *Fear*, and not *Conſcience*, which *brought him to all theſe lengths*. This is but diving into Thoughts, and amounts to no more than Conjecture. Hypocriſy keeps under Covert, and Mens Hearts lie open to no View but God Almighties. Beſides, human Laws require nothing more than outward Compliance. Courts of Juſtice don't pretend to examine Principles any farther than Practice diſcovers them. I have inſiſted the longer upon this, becauſe I would gladly ſet the matter in a true Light. I believe *Bonner* complied beyond his Opinion in ſeveral Inſtances: I am far from defending the Heat of his Temper, or his ſanguinary Proceedings in the next Reign: But Juſtice ought to be done to every Bodies Memory: And the more exceptionable any Mans Practice is, the leſs he is in a Condition to want any Commendation which belongs to him.

(h) *Biſhop* Burnet *Pt.* 2. *page* 128.

The Duke of Somerſet *ſent to the Tower and impeach'd.*

To proceed to ſome remarkable Occurrences in the State: *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* by ſuppreſſing the *Norfolk* Rebellion had rais'd his Reputation, and fortified his Intereſt to a conſiderable Degree. And his Ambition growing with his Succeſs, he reſolv'd to puſh his Fortune, and ſet himſelf at the Helm. To make way for this Project, the *Protector* was to be remov'd. This was look'd on as no impracticable Enterprize, conſidering the preſent Situation of Affairs. For the *Protector* by abetting the Complaints of the lower Commons, and lately ordering Incloſures to be thrown open, had diſoblig'd the Nobility and Gentry The Earl of *Warwick* therefore finding himſelf ſupported by a ſtrong Party in the Council, reſolv'd to undertake the *Protector*. This Duke being inform'd of their Proceedings, wrote to the *Londoners* to raiſe a Thouſand Men, and march them well arm'd to *Hampton Court* for the King's Security. He likewiſe levied ſome Men in the Neighbour-hood, and convey'd the King to *Windſor* with as many of the Council and Court, as he could prevail with to go with him.

The Lords in the Earl of *Warwicks* Intereſt had now form'd themſelves into a Council at *London*. Their Names are theſe, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. *John* Preſident, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Southampton*, and *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Ruſſel*, and *Wentworth*; to which we may add the chief Juſtice *Mountague*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Secretary *Petres*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony* Brown, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *John Baker* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and Dr. *Wotton*. Theſe Noblemen, Privy Counſellors, and Perſons of Diſtinction, wrote to the City of *London*, to furniſh them with Forces to reſcue his Majeſty out of the Duke of *Somerſets* Hands, whom they ſtiled an Enemy to the King and Kingdom. And that this Complaint might not appear undeſerv'd, they drew up a Charge in Form againſt him. The Principal Articles are theſe following.

The Articles of the Impeachment.

“ That by creating Diſcords and Miſunderſtandings amongſt the King's Subjects, he had Embroil'd the Commonwealth, which was left in a peaceable and good Condition by the late King. That he had countenanc'd Sedition and Treaſon, and occaſion'd the Loſs of ſeveral Thouſand Men in the late Commotions: That either by his Neglect or Perfidiouſneſs, he had been the Cauſe of loſing ſeveral Forts and Places of Importance beyond Sea. That being made *Protector* on condition he ſhould do nothing without the Conſent of the Board, he had not obſerv'd that Condition, but had treated with Embaſſadors, made Biſhops and Lord Lieutenants, by his own Authority: That he had done many things contrary to Law, held a Court of Requeſt in his own Houſe, embas'd the Coin, and publiſh'd Proclamations againſt Incloſures contrary to the Senſe of the whole Council: That he had neglected the Rules and Maxims laid down by the late King for the Government of *Ireland*: That he had arm'd his own Friends and Servants, and left the King's Servants unarm'd. And laſtly, that he had only made it his Buſineſs to aggrandize himſelf, to create Miſunderſtandings amongſt the Nobility; To draw Male-contents into his Intereſt; to laviſh out a vaſt deal of Treaſure in building of Palaces, at a Time of Diſtreſs and publick Calamity.

The Protector finding himſelf deſerted, that the City of *London* had refus'd to aſſiſt him, and engag'd with the Lords of the other Party, reſign'd to his Miſfortune, and put the King and himſelf in their Hands. Upon this he was ſent to the *Tower*, and here I ſhall break off his Story till the Conſideration of Time calls for it. (*i*)

(i) Godwin Annal. Stow Annal.

Calvin's Letter to the Protector.

About the latter End of this Month *Calvin*, who 'tis likely had not heard of the Protectors Declenſion, wrote to him upon the Subject of Religion. The Letter as it ſtands in his *Epiſtles*, is dated in the year 1548, but in the Paper Office the 22*d* of *October* is only put down, without the mention of the year: That it was not written the laſt year I think is pretty plain: Firſt from *Calvin*'s Letter to *Bucer* in which he acquaints him he had written to the *Protector* to carry on the *Reformation*: now *Bucer* did not arrive in *England* 'till the beginning of the Year, 1549. But this Letter of *Calvin*'s, ſuppoſes *Bucer* in *England*. (*k*) Secondly, *Calvin* in his Letter to the *Protector*, makes ſeveral Objections againſt the *Common-Prayer-Book*, which was not Printed till this Year, nor ſo much as drawn up 'till Winter, 1548.

(k) *Epiſt.* Calvin *p.* 108.

To come to the matter in the *Letter*. In the beginning of this Addreſs, *Calvin* commends the *Protector* for the Zeal and Reſolution he had ſhewn in retrieving Religion; and owns the pure Worſhip of God was now reſtor'd in *England*. He reduces the main of his Diſcourſe to Three Heads. Under the firſt, he would have the People rightly inſtructed, and points to the Method: And here he requires *Subſcription* to the Articles of Religion: That all Biſhops and Pariſh Prieſts ſhould be oblig'd to this Condition: And that no Perſon ſhould be admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, without giving ſolemn conſent to the Doctrines receiv'd. He likewiſe highly approves a *Form* of *Common-Prayer*, and looks upon a *ſtated Catechiſm*, as a neceſſary Expedient.

He acquaints the *Protector* with his being inform'd of Two ſorts of troubleſome People in *England*. One of theſe Diviſions were thoſe they called *Goſpellers*: Theſe, ſays *Calvin*, are Men of Whimſey and Enthuſiaſm, and if they might have their Will would quickly confound all Order and publick Settlement. The other Party are ſo far ſmitten with the old Superſtition, that they wont endure the parting with it. Now both the one and the other ought to feel the weight of a ſevere Correction, and have the *Sword* drawn upon them. * For theſe Men are Revolters againſt God as well as the King. †

* Gladio ultore coerceri quem tibi tradidit Dominus.

† *Page* 88.

Thus we ſee *Calvin* had no great tenderneſs for *Diſſenters*: He very heartily recommends Methods of Rigor, and is far from indulging Liberty of *Conſcience*.

His Second *Head* touches upon the throwing out Abuſes. And here he declares againſt all accommodating Schemes, and Methods of Moderation. He allows of no Latitude for Diſcretion, nor gives any deference to Antiquity: And ſeems to confine the Rule of Worſhip to expreſs Declarations in *Scripture*. From theſe narrow Principles he falls upon the Cenſure of the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book*. And as an Inſtance of ſome remaining Corruption, he objects againſt Praying for the Dead in the *Communion Office*. " And here he freely grants this mention of the Dead does not imply any Approbation of the Popiſh Purgatory. He likewiſe owns himſelf ſenſible, that the Commemoration of the Dead was an Antient Cuſtom in the Church: And that this was done to teſtify the Communion of Saints, to ſhew the Correſpondence between the Church Militant and Triumphant, and to declare their Belief, that the Faithful of This, and the other World, were all of the ſame *Society*. But this refreſhing the Ideas of the future State, keeping up a Communication between the Living and the Dead, and giving the laſt Proofs of diſintereſted Charity, will by no means paſs *Calvin*'s Teſt. This Man who thought himſelf wiſer than all the Fathers of the Primitive, or Biſhops of the preſent Church, throws in his Magiſterial Exceptions. He argues that the *Lord*'s *Supper* is ſo Solemn a part of Religion, " that all human Additions do but Pollute the *Service*. That in our Addreſſes to God Almighty, we are not allow'd to indulge our Fancy, and give way to Sympathy and Compaſſion: On the contrary we are rather to be Govern'd by the Apoſtles Rule, and make the Word of God the ground for our Application: But this mention of the Dead which implies either Commendation or religious Regard, does not come up to warrantable Meaſures, nor Anſwer the true directions for Prayer. * And being therefore no better than Supplemental Invention, is not to be endur'd in the *Holy Euchariſt*.

His Cavils againſt the Engliſh Liturgy.

Againſt praying for the Dead.

* Non reſpondet veræ ac legitimæ rectè orandi Inſtitutioni.

" There are ſome other things, as he goes on, which tho' they don't fall under ſuch Degrees of Cenſure, are not to be excus'd; and that is the Ceremonies of Chriſm and Anointing. As for *Chriſm* what is it but the reſult of Weakneſs and Ignorance? The Inſtitution of our Lord wont ſatiſfy ſome People: They muſt have a new Symbol to repreſent the Operations of the Holy Ghoſt in Baptiſm; as if the Water was not ſufficient for this purpoſe. As for Extreme Unction, 'tis the Effect of an inconſiderate Zeal, not ſupported with proportionable Pretentions: People would practice the Cuſtom of the Apoſtles, without Apoſtolick Gifts, to juſtify their Imitation. For when the Apoſtles made uſe of Oyle in the Recovery of the Sick, the meaning of this Ceremony was to ſhew the Supernatural Performance. And therefore when Miracles went off, the Circumſtance of Anointing ought likewiſe to be diſcontinued. 'Tis therefore moſt adviſeable to ſtrike off all theſe, and admit of no Uſages, but ſuch as are Conformable to the Inſpir'd Writings, and tend to Edification. For the Toleration of Peoples Weakneſs ought to be indulg'd only in Order to their better Inſtruction: Neither are we to exceed ſo far in Lenity and Condeſcenſion, as to † continue any fooliſh Cuſtom, meerly for the gratifying Mens Humours, who can give no good reaſon for the ſatiſfying their Demands.

Againſt Chriſm and Extreme Unction.

† Neque intereà ſtultis Immorandum eſt.

Thus *Calvin* has taken great care to avoid the Imputation he precautions *Bucer* againſt, to keep cloſe to the Extremes, to guard againſt a *Temper*, and ſtand off from reconciling Expedients. (*l*)

This the learned *Heylin* calls the Reforming the Church, without Fear or Wit, without regard to Peace at Home, or Correſpondence Abroad. (*m*) Such Lax management ſays *Calvin*; may paſs in *Civil* Government, but the Conduct of the *Church* allows no ſuch prudential Conſiderations. Here we are tied down to the expreſs Will of God, and barr'd all Supplemental Proviſions. (*n*)

(l) Calvin's *Epiſtle p.* 108.

(m) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 80.

(n) Epiſt. ad Protect.

Under his Third Head for ſuppreſſing Immorality, he ſhews a commendable Zeal, and delivers himſelf with Advantage enough. He lets the *Protector* know how much his *Grace* is oblig'd to " diſcountenance Libertiniſm, and puniſh thoſe Crimes which are oftentimes over-look'd by the *State*. That Governors take care to do Juſtice upon Theft, Rapine, and Murther, with Severity enough: And why? Becauſe they find their own Intereſt ſenſibly touch'd: Whereas Intemperance, Whoredom and Blaſphemy are frequently conniv'd at; as if theſe were lawful Sallies, or Faults almoſt below Conſideration. But

Honeſt Zeal againſt Licentiouſneſs.

“God pronounces quite otherwiſe upon theſe Matters: He lets us know how dangerous a thing 'tis, to Inſult his Omnipotence, and not to have his Honour in the higheſt Regard: And that *Senacheribs* prophane Inſolence was purſued with remarkable Vengeance.

“And as to Adulteries, 'tis a ſhame that thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians ſhould be more remiſs than Heathens, in puniſhing this Crime! That a wickedneſs of this Size, ſhould paſs for a Jeſt. Is this all the Regard we have for the engagements of Marriage? For the moſt Solemn Alliance, and Incommunicable Friendſhip? For a Relation which repreſents the Union between Chriſt and his Church? As for Libertines, if we believe the Apoſtles, we ſhall find them charg'd with no leſs than Sacrilege: They prophane the *Temple* of the Holy Ghoſt, (o) Forfeit the Divine Protection, the Privileges of Chriſtianity, and make themſelves obnoxious to Eternal Puniſhment. The *Apoſtle* does not allow us to maintain any Commerce with ſuch Licentious People: They ought not therefore to be ſuffer'd in the Church of God. 'Tis the Winking at ſuch Inſtances of Scandal, which Embroils the World, and draws down the Judgments of Heaven. He therefore very honeſtly ſolicits the *Protector*, “to interpoſe his Authority, in behalf of *Sobriety*: He inſiſts upon Diſcipline, and that the Biſhops and Pariſh Prieſts ſhould be particularly careful, not to admit any of theſe Libertines to the Holy Communion. This is admirable Advice, and very well becoming the Character of a Divine.

(o) 1 Cor. 6.

As for his dictating in matters of Religion, intermedling ſo freely in the ſettling Foreign Churches, and making himſelf an Arbiter of Controverſy; this is not altogether ſo Intelligible; eſpecially ſince he delivers himſelf in ſo deciſive a manner. Beſides, he Addreſſes the *Protector* as if the Government of the Church was almoſt wholly at his diſpoſal: Now this ſuppoſes a vaſt compaſs of *Spiritual* Authority within the *Regale*. But that the *Civil* Magiſtrate was Abſolute in theſe matters, or that the Diſcipline of the Church ought to be over-rul'd by the *State*, was far from *Calvin*'s Opinion. This may be prov'd by his Conteſt with the Senate at *Geneva*. (p) His Commentary on *Amos*, is likewiſe a remarkable Inſtance to this purpoſe. “(q) Where expounding upon theſe Words, *But Propheſy not again any more at* Bethel, he delivers himſelf thus. *Prophecy again no more at* Bethel. Why? Becauſe 'tis the *King's Chappel*. That's one reaſon. Here *Amazias* the Prieſt Endeavors to prove the *Bethel* Worſhip warrantable, becauſe 'twas ſettled by the Royal Authority. The King will have it ſo, he has a Right to Execute his Pleaſure, and no Body ought to contradict it. And at this Day there are a great many within the Pope's Communion, who give Princes an extraordinary Latitude, with reſpect to this Matter.——Thoſe who at firſt gave ſuch large Commendations to *Henry* King of *England*, were no long headed People: Their Complementing him with ſuch a Soveraign Authority in all matters, ſhock'd me extremely. Thoſe who call'd Him the *Supreme Head* of the Church, under Chriſt, were plainly Guilty of *Blaſphemy*. This was extravagantly too much. However, it's being the Effect of an Inconſiderate Zeal is ſome Excuſe, and therefore let us forget it. But that Impoſtor, who was afterwards *Chancellor* to that *Proſerpine*, who now out-does all the Devils in Miſchief; * This ſcandalous Impoſtor the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, when he was at *Ratisbon*, did not offer to ſupport this *Regal Supremacy* by Arguments, nor took any notice of the Counter Evidence in *Scripture*. He thought it ſufficient to affirm the King's Authority unlimited, and that 'twas in his Power to ſet aſide Antient Uſages, and Introduce new ones at his Pleaſure. If the Queſtion relates to Faſting and Abſtinence, it lies at the King's Appointment: His Majeſty may Command the People to Eat Fleſh upon what Days he thinks fit: The King may bar Prieſts the liberty of Marriage: The King may deny the People the uſe of the Cup in the Lord's Supper. Why ſo? Becauſe the King's Prerogative is Abſolute. Now this is exactly *Amaziah* his Doctrine: *'Tis the King*'s *Sanctuary, and 'tis the King*'s *Court*: Let us Examine the Grounds upon which it ſtands. This *Amazias* aſſigns the King a double Function; he maintains it is in his Power to transform Religion into what ſhape he Pleaſes: Thus he Charges *Amos* with diſturbing the publick Repoſe, and encroaching upon the Prerogative Royal. As to the firſt Part, 'tis certain King's, provided they diſcharge their Office, may be ſtiled Protectors of Religion, and *Nurſing Fathers* to the Church, as *Iſaias* calls them. It may therefore be reaſonably expected from Princes, that they ſhould make uſe of their Sword, in defence of God Almighty's Worſhip. But then on the other ſide, thoſe are an unthinking ſort of People, who carry the Royal Character too far into *Spiritual Matters*. * This Extreme is too common in *Germany*. Neither do the Countries about us ſtand clear from this Infection. And now we are ſenſible of the Conſequence of that unhappy Principle, which gives the *Civil Magiſtrate* a Soveraignty in Religion, and diſſolves the Church into the *State*. This Sacrilegious Invaſion rages amongſt us at preſent, by not diſtinguiſhing the Bounds of *Civil* Authority. As things are manag'd, Princes don't think they can Reign, unleſs they ſtrip the Church of her Authority, and make themſelves Supreme both in matters of Faith, and *Spiritual* Government. The Devil prompted *Amaziah* with this Notion. Since 'twas the *King's Chappel*, there muſt be no Propheſying againſt the *Court Belief*. No; the *King's* Religion muſt ſtand, and not be queſtion'd. This is agreeable Doctrine! Theſe ſoft Notes make Muſick in the Ears of Princes: They fall in with the Impoſture, and deſire nothing more than to hear themſelves made Maſters of every thing without Reſerve. Thus, they enter vigorouſly upon the Practice of their Eccleſiaſtick *Supremacy*, and pretend a Zeal for Religion: But the Spring of this Motion is nothing but Ambition: 'Tis only becauſe they would gladly extend their Authority, and knock down every thing with their *Sceptre*. There muſt be a Guard upon this Quarter: For Princes have been always remarkable for this Miſcarriage, and made it their Buſineſs to draw Religion within their Juriſdiction, to bend it to their Humour, and ſometimes to their Intereſt too. For 'tis Do-

“ minion,

(p) Calvin's *Epiſtle p.* 163. 132. 311. & alib.

(q) Prælect. in Amos *c.* 7. *p.* 292.

His Judgment concerning the Regale.

* Hujus Proſerpinæ quæ hodie illic ſuperat omnes Diabolos.

This Proſerpine as Calvin *is ſo bold as to call her, was our Queen* Mary.

Iſai. 49. *v.* 23.

* Qui faciunt Reges nimis Spirituales.

“ minion, and not Conſcience, which frequently governs them in this Affair.

Thus we ſee *Calvin* was no Slave to the *Regale.*

Biſhop Gardiner*'s Letter to the Lords for his Inlargement.*

The Duke of *Somerſet* being now forc'd from the *Adminiſtration,* and confin'd, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had hopes of recovering his Liberty. But finding himſelf over-look'd, he wrote to the Lords of the *Council* for his Inlargment. He complains of being denied the Privilege of his Peerage, and hindred from appearing in Parliament: That his being Arbitrarily excluded the *Houſe* of Lords, might affect the reſt of the *Members,* and prove a dangerous Preſident: However, he declines conteſting his Right any farther, and is willing to ſubmit to the Judgment of the learned in the *Law.* But after all this Reſignation, he ſuggeſts that if a General *Council* were call'd, and any one who had a Right of Voting excluded, this ſingularity would break the Authority, and Invalidate the Decrees of the whole *Synod.* He goes on to complain of the late *Protector*'s Proceedings, and hopes better Uſage from their Lordſhips. He inſiſts boldly upon his Innocence; preſſes to be brought to his Anſwer, in the *Houſe* of Lords, and inſtead of Impriſonment, makes no Queſtion of being commended for what he has done. (*r*)

Cardinal Pool *hinders his own Promotion to the* Popedom.

About this time Pope *Paul* the Third departed this Life. The Cardinals immediately appear'd in the *Conclave* for a new Election. Cardinal *Pool* was not forgotten upon this occaſion. His royal Extraction, the advantage of his Behaviour, and his Acquirements in Learning, were ſtrong Recommendations. However, the Cardinals were divided, part of them were in the French, and part in the Emperors Intereſt: Theſe were the Two biggeſt Diviſions: But ſome there were who ſtood clear of Parties, and altogether unengag'd. The *Imperial* Cardinals voted unanimouſly for *Pool.* This Prelate inſtead of acknowledging their Favour, blam'd their Precipitancy: Earneſtly intreating them not to be ſway'd in the leaſt by Fancy or Regards of Friendſhip, but to make the Honour of God, and the good of the Church the chief Motive to their Reſolves. The ſpeed of *Pool*'s Friends being thus check'd, gave the *French* an opportunity of moving the Poſtponing the *Election,* 'till all the Members of the *College* had time to appear. And here Cardinal *Caraffa,* afterwards *Paul* the Fourth, expecting to gain the *Chair,* if *Pool* could be ſet aſide, applied to Calumny, and diſparaged his Competitor. Thus he endeavor'd to draw a ſuſpicion of Hereſy and Inſobriety upon Cardinal *Pool,* charg'd him with keeping too great a Correſpondence with the Lutherans, and entertaining one *Flaminius* in his Family, who lay under that Imputation. That being Commiſſionated to enquire into Hereſy at *Viterbo,* he diſcharg'd moſt of the Criminals; gave a gentle Correction only to ſome few, but puniſh'd none Capitally. He told them likewiſe that *Pool* had ſent a Young Woman to a Nunnery, which many believ'd was his own Daughter: He was therefore at a loſs to underſtand their Zeal for chuſing this Cardinal: Was *Italy* ſo barren in Learning, Probity and other Qualifications, that they muſt go to the farther end of *Europe,* to furniſh them with a Pope? To what purpoſe is all this Pains? Every Body knows this Cardinal is wholly in the Intereſt of the Court of *Vienna:* Have we a mind the Emperor ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the *Patrimony* of the Church, and plunder *Rome* again by way of Diverſion? And to make his Army an Entertainment? *Pool* defended himſelf ſo handſomely againſt this Invective, that the *Conclave* clearly perceiv'd there was nothing but Envy and Ambition in the Charge: And thus their Inclination to chuſe him was ſtronger than before. Soon after a Majority of the Cardinals came to his Appartment late in the Night, order'd the Servants to wake his Friend *Priuli* a Venetian Gentleman; their Buſineſs was to acquaint him with *Pool*'s Election, and that they came to *Adore* him, as they call it, according to Cuſtom, which Ceremony was to paſs before the Affair could be Finiſh'd. *Priuli* having told *Pool* the News, with an Air of Pleaſure, the other gave him a friendly Check, and refuſ'd to receive the reſpect of the *Conclave.* He told them a Preferment of that Nature, was more to be dreaded than deſir'd, that it ought to be regularly manag'd, and not carried on in a tumultuary manner: That Night was an improper Time to conclude ſo great a Concern: That God was the God of Light and not of Darkneſs. He deſir'd them therefore to defer their Reſolution 'till next Day: And that the matter might then, if God ſo pleas'd, be brought to a better Iſſue. The Italian Cardinals interpreting this Backwardneſs, to a ſleepy Phlegmatick Temper, began to drop their Opinion of *Pool*'s Capacity: And thus recalling their Votes, they Choſe the Cardinal *De Monté,* who took the Name of *Julius* the Third. (*s*)

An Act for calling in the Old Service Books, and deſtroying Images.

Nothing in the firſt Reform'd Common-Prayer-Book, but what is evidently grounded upon the Word of God.

To return to *England:* On the Fourth of *November* the *Parliament* ſate, after a Prorogation. I ſhall mention thoſe *Statutes* which concern the Church. The firſt of this kind Enacts the recalling the old *Liturgick* Books, and taking away Images out of Churches. The Preamble ſets forth, That whereas the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, has of late ſet forth, and Eſtabliſh'd by Authority of Parliament, an uniform, godly, and quiet Order, of common and open Prayer, in a Book Entitled, the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies after the Church of England, to be us'd and obſerv'd in the ſaid Church of England, agreeable to the Order of the Primitive Church, much more comfortable unto his loving Subjects, than other diverſity of Service, as heretofore of long time has been us'd, being in the ſame Book Ordain'd, nothing to be Read but the very pure Word of God, or which is evidently grounded upon the ſame; And in the other, things corrupt, untrue, vain, and ſuperſtitious, and as it were a Preparation to Superſtition. “ That the not calling in and “ defacing theſe Books gave occaſion to the “ depraving, and hindring the reception of “ the ſaid *Common-Prayer-Book,* incourag'd People in their old Superſtitious *Service,* and “ kept up a diverſity of Opinions and Ceremonies. 'Tis therefore Enacted, That all Books called Antiphoners, Miſſales, Grailes, Proceſſionales, Manueles, Legendes, Pies, Portuaſſes, Primers in Latin or Engliſh, Couchers, Journalles, Ordinalles, or other Books or Writings, whatſoever heretofore uſed for Service of the Church, wryten or printed in the Engliſh or Latin Tongue, other than ſuch as are or ſhall be ſet forth by the King's Majeſty; ſhall be by Authority of this preſent Act, clearly and utterly Aboliſh'd, extinguiſh'd, and forbidden for ever to be

---

(r) Stow *Annal. p.* 600.

(s) Godwin's *Annal.* F. Paul *Council of* Trent.

be uſ'd, or kept in this Realm, or Elſewhere, within any of the King's Dominions.

“It is farther Enacted, that all Images, of whatſoever Materials, taken out of Churches or Chappels, or yet ſtanding in any ſuch Places, ſhould be deſtroy'd and defac'd.

“As for the Books they were to be deliver'd to the Mayor, Bailiffs, Conſtables, or Churchwardens, in their reſpective Towns, who within Three Months after they came to their Hands, were to deliver them over to the Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Chancellor, or Commiſſary of the Dioceſe, in order to be by them, either openly Burn'd, or otherwiſe defac'd and deſtroy'd. And that in Caſe any of the Perſons above-mention'd, kept any of the *Books*, and did not bring them in to the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, *&c.* They were for the firſt Offence to Forfeit Ten Shillings, Four Pounds for the Second, and for the Third, to ſuffer Impriſonment at the King's Pleaſure.

“And if the Archbiſhop Biſhops, *&c.* Fail'd to Execute the *Act*, and did not burn, deface, and deſtroy, all the ſaid Books, within Forty Days after they receiv'd them, they were to Forfeit Forty Pounds, half of which Summ was for the King, and the other Moiety for the Informer.

“By this *Statute* 'tis provided firſt, that any Figure, or Picture, upon any Tomb, in Churches or Chappels might ſtand, in Caſe the Perſon repreſented had not the Character of a *Saint*.

Secondly, 'Tis provided, That any Perſon may keep, or uſe, any Primmers in the Engliſh or Latin Tongue, ſet forth by the late King Henry the Eighth, ſo that the Sentences of Invocation, or Prayers to Saints in the ſame Primmer, be blotted, or clearly put out of the ſame. (*t*)

(t) 3 *and* 4 Edw. 6. *c.* 10.

'Tis almoſt Pity there was not a Clauſe in this *Act*, to allow the Biſhops the Liberty of reſerving a Copy of all theſe *Cenſur'd Books*, and lodging them in their Cathedral Libraries. Thus the Form and Diſtinction of the *Old Offices*, might have been better known, and ſome valuable Curioſities remain'd.

On the Fourteenth of *November*, the Biſhops complain'd in the *Houſe*, to the Temporal Lords, of the great Increaſe of Immorality: That their Juriſdiction was ſo check'd and ſtraitned, that they could Summon no Offenders to appear before them, puniſh no Vice, nor exert the Diſcipline of the Church. To prevent theſe diſorders, a *Bill* was brought in, but miſcarried at the firſt Reading, becauſe it ſeem'd to intruſt the Biſhops with too much Power. (*u*) However, the matter was not laid aſide, but a Second *Bill* was drawn by a *Committee*, paſs'd and ſent down to the *Commons*, where it ſunk after the Second Reading. But then, there was an Attempt made in another Form, for reviving the *Spiritual* Juriſdiction. To this purpoſe an *Act* paſs'd, impowering the King to Nominate, by the Advice of his *Council*, Sixteen of the *Clergy*, Four of which were to be Biſhops, and Sixteen of the *Temporalty*, of whom Four were to be Common Lawyers, to Peruſe and Examine the Eccleſiaſtical Laws us'd in *England*, and to make ſuch an Extract, as they ſhould think proper for the uſe of the Realm. This *Committee* had Three Years Time to Finiſh their Buſineſs. And what was either agreed by an Univerſality or Majority of this Number, was to be Publiſh'd by *Proclamation* under the *Broad Seal*, and put in Practice as the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

(u) Journal Procer. Cotton Libr. Tiberius. D. 1. Nov. 18.

The Biſhops complain their Juriſdiction was all taken from them.

'Twas likewiſe provided, that no Perſon ſhould incurr any Forfeiture, or Suit of Premunire for Executing, or making uſe of any Laws, drawn up by the ſaid *Committee*.

Thirty Two Perſons nominated to review the Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

On the other ſide, 'tis provided, that every Eccleſiaſtical Judge and Miniſter, ſhall be bound to obey the King's *Writs* of *Prohibition*, and of *Attachment* upon *Prohibition* and *Indicavit*. And laſtly, 'tis provided, that the ſaid Two and Thirty Perſons, or the greater Number of them, ſhall not have any Authority to Compile, or Publiſh any thing contrary to the Common Law, and *Statutes* of this Realm. (*w*)

(w) 3 *and* 4 Edw. 6. *c.* 11. *Statutes at large.*

At the paſſing this *Bill*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *David*'s, proteſted.

Journal Procerum.

One Reaſon of their Diſſent, I ſuppoſe, was, becauſe only Four Biſhops were appointed to aſſiſt in the Committee of Two and Thirty.

Purſuant to this *Act*, the King directed a Commiſſion to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the reſt whom he thought proper for that Employment. (*x*) The *Reader* may find their Names among the *Records*. The *Liſt* is not drawn exactly upon the Direction of the *Statute*, for there wants one of the Number, and beſides, there are Eight Biſhops, and as many Common Lawyers, which is double the Number allow'd by the *Act*, and yet we have no Reaſon to queſtion the Commiſſions being drawn by the Advice of the *Council*.

(x) *See Records.* N°. 61.

There was a *Subcommittee* of Eight Perſons appointed, to digeſt the matter, to throw it into Form, and prepare it for the Peruſal of the reſt. This was done for quicker diſpatch. The Perſons employ'd were Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, *Thomas Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox* the King's Almoner, *Peter Martyr* Doctor in Divinity, *William May*, and *Rowland Taylor* Doctors of Law, *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick* Eſquires. But this Order for conſtituting a *Subcommittee*, being not given out 'till the Eleventh of *November*, 1551. I ſhall Poſtpone it to that Time, and at preſent, only take notice, that when the *Bill* for conſtituting the Two and Thirty *Commiſſioners*, was paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *David*'s, proteſted againſt it. (*y*)

(y) Journal Procer.

The Submiſſion of the Duke of Somerſet.

Decemb. 23.

The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Buſineſs came before the Lords this *Seſſion*. This Nobleman was ſolicited to make his Submiſſion, and confeſs the Charge. This he was told was the beſt method to diſentangle himſelf, and get gentle uſage. The Duke was ſo flexible as to Comply with this Advice: Thus he Subſcrib'd the *Articles* of Impeachment, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy; and thus the Lords being Furniſh'd with ſufficient matter to ground their Judgment upon, Sentenc'd him to the loſs of his Offices of *Earl Marſhal*, *Lord Treaſurer*, and *Lord Protector*. He was likewiſe adjudg'd to Forfeit all his Goods, and an Eſtate in Lands, of near Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. Being Inform'd of this Judgment paſs'd by the Peers, he ſent a Letter to the Houſe, in which he owns their Lordſhips Goodneſs, in carrying their Sentence no higher than a *Fine*: “Which although his Circumſtances were almoſt Cruſh'd by it, yet he reſolv'd never to diſpute the Point with their Lordſhips, nor

“ juſtify himſelf in any particular. He confeſs'd, that a Man as he was, of no great Penetration, might eaſily miſtake his Way: And that 'twas almoſt Impracticable to manage in ſo high a Station, without falling ſometimes under the Cenſure of the Law. He deſired them to Interpret his Conduct to the moſt favourable Senſe, and believe his Failings proceeded more from want of Judgment, than Deſign. That he was ready to Act, or Suffer, as their Lordſhips ſhould think fit to appoint. And laſtly, he humbly Intreats their Pardon, and Promiſes ſuch an Abſolute Obedience to their Orders, as he hopes might make amends for his former Folly. (z)

By this remarkable Submiſſion he gain'd his Liberty, was diſcharg'd of his Fine, and not long after ſworn of the *Privy Council*: But his waving his Defence, and reſigning with ſo much Paſſiveneſs, weaken'd his Character, and made him little conſider'd.

Bonner petitions his Appeal may be admitted but without Succeſs.

The Fall of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Warwick* having the Aſcendant in the Miniſtry, gave *Bonner* ſome hopes of retrieving his Affairs. He petition'd the King therefore for a *Superſedeas* againſt the Commiſſioners, and deſir'd his Proceſs might be review'd, and that he might be heard before the *Privy Council*, where he did not queſtion acquitting himſelf to the Satisfaction of the Board. The King upon this Application order'd the Lord Chancellor, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Two of the Judges, and ſeveral other Members of the *Privy Council*, with ſome common Lawyers and Civilians to examine his Petition and Appeal. This Committee after inſpecting the Proceſs, and debating upon the Courſe of the Tryal, came to a Reſolution that the Appeal having no Weight in it, the Judgment ought to ſtand in Force. (a)

The Earl of Warwick *declares for the Reformation.*

Thoſe who were averſe to the *Reformation* made their Court to the Earl of *Warwick*, expecting his Inclination lay for their purpoſe: But this Nobleman being more concern'd for his own Greatneſs, than any Syſtems of Religion, diſappointed their Hopes. He found the abetting the *Reformation* was the moſt effectual way to recommend him to the King. Thus he put on a new Diſguiſe, and appear'd ſtrongly in his Maſters Sentiment. The Earl of *Southampton* who was heartily of the Popiſh Party, was in no Condition to exert himſelf, for he was neither reſtor'd to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treaſurer, nor ſo much as admitted into the Number of thoſe who had the Care of the King's Perſon: 'Tis ſaid he attempted to heave at the Earl of *Warwick*, but his Deſign being diſcover'd before he could make it bear, he retir'd ſuddenly from the Court, fell into a deep Melancholly, and died in *July* following.

To return to the *Parliament* in which an *Act* paſs'd for drawing up an *Ordinal*. The *Act* being ſhort, and not printed except in the Statutes at large, I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Reader.

VI. Edw. K.

An Act to empower a Committee of Biſhops, &c. to draw up an Ordinal.

Forasmuch as Concord and Unity to be had within the Kings Majeſties Dominions, it is requiſite to have one uniform Faſhion and Manner, for making and conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, or Miniſters of the Church. Be it therefore enacted by the Kings Highneſs, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that ſuch Form and Manner of making and conſecrating of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and other Miniſters of the Church, as by Six Prelates, and Six other Men of this Realm, Learned in Gods Law, by the Kings Majeſty to be appointed and aſſign'd, or by the moſt Number of them ſhall be deviſed for that purpoſe; and ſet forth under the great Seal of England, before the Firſt Day of April next coming, ſhall by Virtue of this preſent Act be lawfully exerciſ'd and uſed, and none other, any Statute, or Law or Uſage to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. (*b*)

When this *Act* paſs'd, the Houſe of Lords the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter*, proteſted againſt it. (*c*)

Heath Biſhop of *Worceſter* was one of the Six Prelates appointed by the King, but refuſing to conſent to the Alterations propos'd, he was called before the Council, on the Eighth of *February*, and on the Eighth of *March* committed to the *Fleet* for perſiſting in his Incompliance. This Uſage look'd like a Strain of Juſtice, but *Heath* having been obſerv'd to diſſent from all the *Bills* which promoted the *Reformation*, he was probably upon this Score more rigorouſly treated.

The *Committee* appointed for compiling the Ordination Book ſtruck off the Additions of later Ages, and govern'd themſelves by the Forms of the Antient Church. Thus in the Conſecration of Biſhops, the Gloves and Sandals, the Mitre, Ring, and Croſier were omitted: Neither in the ordaining of Prieſts was there any anointing, or delivering the conſecrated Plate. (*d*)

That the Office was not maim'd by leaving out theſe Ceremonies, I ſhall prove from the Forms of Ordination in the Primitive Church, and the Conceſſions of the famous *Morinus*.

The Forms of Ordination in the Antient Church.

To begin with the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, who is ſuppos'd to have written before the Council of *Nice*. By theſe Conſtitutions when a Prieſt is to be ordain'd, the Biſhop was to lay his Hand upon his Head, the Prieſts and Deacons ſtanding by, whilſt the Biſhop was to ſay the Prayer following.

The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

Almighty God who has created all Things by Jeſus Chriſt, and by him do'ſt govern the Univerſe ſuitably to the reſpective Nature of Things. For the ſame Power which is able to produce different Beings, can likewiſe govern them by different Laws and Meaſures. Thus thoſe Beings which are Immortal are ſupported by the Conſervation of the Individual, and thoſe which are Mortal by Succeſſion. Thou provideſt for the Mind by Precepts and Rules of Life, and for the Body by repairing the Decays of Nature. We beſeech thee therefore to look down upon thy Holy Church, and bleſs her with farther Improvement; increaſe the Number of thoſe who preſide in her, and furniſh them with Strength that they may labour both by Inſtruction and Example for the Edification of thy People; And now we beſeech thee to behold thy Servant Elected by the Suffrage and Conſent of the whole Clergy to the Order of Prieſthood, repleniſh him with Grace and Prudence to aſſiſt and govern thy People with Purity of Intention, vouchſafe him the ſame favourable Regard which thou wer't pleas'd to afford thy peculiar People, when thou commandeſt Moſes *to make choice of the Elders, to whom thou gaveſt a ſupernatural Aſſiſtance. And now, O Lord, let the ſame Bleſſing deſcend upon us, and continue the Operation of thy Holy Spirit, that ſo this Perſon being furniſh'd with the Gifts of healing, and an inſtructive Talent, may teach thy People with Gentle-*

(z) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. Godwin Annal.

(a) Fox p. 698.

(b) 3. & 4. Ed. 6. *Cap.* 12.

(c) Jan. 31. Journal. Procer.

(d) Maſon de Minſt. Anglic. *p.* 214. & 215.

neſs of Temper, and ſerve thee faithfully with a willing and pure Mind, and officiate in behalf of thy People in an unblamable manner for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, to whom, &c. (e)

(e) Conſtitut. Apoſtol. Lib. 8. Cap. 16.

And in the ſame Book a little farther, 'tis ſaid that a Prieſt has no Privilege to Ordain. (f)

(f) Id. Cap. 28.

The Fourth Council of Carthage. Anno Dom. 401.

In the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, the Rules for *Ordination* are thus ſettled. When a Biſhop is to be Conſecrated, Two Biſhops are to hold the *New Teſtament* over his Head, and while one of the Biſhops pronounces the Prayer of Conſecration, the reſt of that Order who are preſent lay their Hands upon his Head.

At the Ordination of a Prieſt the Biſhop pronounces the Bleſſing, or makes the Prayer for conveying the Character. All the Prieſts likewiſe then at Church lay their Hands next the Biſhop on the Head of the Perſon to be ordain'd.

At the Ordination of a Deacon only the Biſhop who gives him the Bleſſing, lays his Hand upon his Head, becauſe the Office of a Deacon is not Sacerdotal, but Miniſterial.

The Forms of the *lower Orders* are likewiſe preſcrib'd, which the Reader may ſee in the Records. (g)

(g) *Records n.* 62.

Before a Biſhop was conſecrated, the *Council* orders he ſhould be examin'd with Reſpect to his Belief, Learning, and Manners.

(h) Morinus de ſacris Ordinationibus *pt.* 2. *page* 51.

The pretended Dionyſius.

"To proceed, the pretended *Dionyſius* the "*Areopagite*, whoſe Works were publiſh'd in the "beginning of the Sixth Century (*h*) gives "this Account of the Ceremonies at Ordina"tion. The Biſhop Elect ſays he, who comes "for Conſecration, is to kneel before the Al"tar, the Goſpels are held over his Head, he "receives Impoſition of Hands from the conſe"crating Biſhop. There is likewiſe a ſolemn "Form of Prayer us'd upon this occaſion. A "Prieſt at his Ordination kneels likewiſe be"fore the Altar, the Biſhop laying his Right "Hand upon his Head, and compleating the "Ordination with ſolemn Prayer. When a "Deacon is ordain'd, he kneels only before "the Altar on one Knee, and then the Biſhop "laying his Hand on his Head, pronounces a "Prayer proper for thoſe of that Order. All "theſe reſpective *Orders* are ſign'd with the "Sign of the Croſs, the Names and Degrees "of the Perſons publiſh'd, and at laſt they are "ſaluted by the Biſhop, and the reſt of the "Clergy.

Id. *page* 57.

The Greek Church.

The Learned *Morinus* from an authentick *Manuſcript* of more than Eight Hundred Years Antiquity, gives us a farther Account of the Forms of *Ordination* practis'd in the *Greek Church*. When a Biſhop was to be conſecrated, the Archbiſhop ſtanding before the Holy Table prays for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Elect, and holding his Hands upon his Head reads the Inſtrument of his Election, then after ſome Prayers the Archbiſhop opening the Goſpels lays them on the Head of the Perſon conſecrated: The Archbiſhop likewiſe makes Three Croſſes on his Head, and then pronounces the Prayers of Conſecration. (*i*) After this one of the Biſhops reads Part of the Litany, then the Archbiſhop with his Hand upon the Head of the Elect makes another Prayer with Reſpect to the *Ordination*, then he takes the Goſpels from the conſecrated Biſhops Head, and puts the *Omophorion*, or *Pallium* upon him. After this the conſecrated Biſhop is ſaluted by the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Biſhops, and conducted to the Biſhops Seat, and then the remaining *Service* is perform'd. (*k*)

(i) *See Records* num. 63.

(k) Morin. *page* 64.

At the Ordination of a Prieſt, the beginning of the Office is much the ſame as that at a Biſhops Conſecration, the Biſhop or Archbiſhop makes Three Croſſes over him, laying his Hand upon his Head; in the Prayer, the Order to which he is ordain'd is mention'd, after this one of the Prieſts of the Church reads Part of the *Litany*. Then the Archbiſhop puts him on a Habit proper to his Character, and ſalutes him, which is likewiſe done by the Prieſts then preſent. Then the conſecrated Elements being uncover'd, the Biſhop puts a Piece of Bread into the Hands of the Perſon ordain'd, and laying his Hand upon his Head bows his Body over the Holy Table. Then the Perſon ordain'd returns the Bread to the Biſhop, and receives the *Euchariſt* before the reſt of the Prieſts.

Id. *page* 66.

Miſſale Francorum.

In the Franks *Miſſal*, a Copy of which may be ſeen in *Morinus* and *Mabillon*, and which the firſt of theſe Learned Men believes to have been written before the Year Five Hundred and Sixty, tho' the latter thinks it ſomewhat later than the Popedom of *Gregory* the Great. However, by the Prayers in it for the *Kings* of *France*, 'tis plain that Country was not govern'd then by a ſingle Perſon, and by conſequence the *Miſſal* muſt reach conſiderably higher than the Reign of *Charles* the Great. (*l*)

(l) Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. in Præfat. Id. *page* 301. *lib.* 3.

The Form of *Ordination* in this *Miſſale Francorum*, is exactly the ſame with that of the Council of *Carthage*, with Reſpect to the Three *Orders*, of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.

Thus we ſee the Antient *Rituals* for *Ordination*, agree with that drawn up in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. There is no anointing the Hands and Head of the Prieſt and Biſhop. No Chalice or Paten deliver'd to the *Second Order*, nor any Ring or Croſier to the *Firſt*.

'Tis true about the Ninth Century, we find the Uſe of theſe Ceremonies. But then as the Learned *Morinus* obſerves, theſe ſupplemental Rites in the Forms of Ordination, were added only upon the ſcore of Solemnity. (*m*)

(m) Morin. de ſacris Ordinat. *pt.* 3. *page* 4.

Ibid. *page* 6.

Id. in Præfat.

The Eſſentials in Ordinations

This Learned Perſon grants the Latin Church has all along own'd the *Orders* of the Greek, after the *Schiſm*, as the *Weſterns* call it: And yet as he takes notice, it neither is, nor was the Cuſtom of the Greek Church to deliver the Chalice and Paten to the Prieſt at their Ordination. He obſerves farther, that *Prayer* and *Impoſition of Hands* are the only Eſſentials in Ordination. He acquaints us that the Antient *Pontificals* are charg'd with feweſt Ceremonies. That *Thomas Aquinas* and other Schoolmen peruſing only the *Rituals* of latter Ages inſer'd the Uſages of Antiquity from thence, which is a wrong way of arguing. That from this Principle they have been led into Miſtakes, made the Delivery of the Holy Veſſels neceſſary to the Conveyance of the Sacerdotal Character, and embaraſs'd themſelves with inexplicable Difficulties in reconciling the Allowance of the Orders of the Greek Church, with the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of their own.

The Rites in the Antient Ordinals.

To proceed, in latter Ages the Ceremonies at *Ordination* grew more numerous: Thus, as *Morinus* obſerves, the *Pontificals* of leſſer Antiquity, tho' they omit none of the Antient Rites, are inlarg'd to conſiderable Additions. Thus for inſtance, the *Sacramentary* tack'd to the End of the Manuſcript of the *Ordo Romanus*, publiſh'd by *Hittorpius*, makes mention of putting

ting the Paten and Chalice into the Prieſts Hands with theſe Words, *receive thou Authority to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Maſs both for the Living and the Dead.* (n) But here we may take notice that *Hittorpius* believ'd the *Ordo Romanus* it ſelf later than our *Alchuinus* who lived in the Ninth Century. Beſides 'tis poſſible, this Manuſcript of the *Pontifical* may not be of the ſame Age with the other Part of the *Ordo Romanus*, neither does *Hittorpius* vouch it ſo far. The *Sacramentary* attributed to *Gelaſius*, tho' it mentions the Offering of Sacrifices, yet we meet with nothing of the delivering the *Holy Veſſels*. (o)

(n) Hittorp. *page* 103. Id. in præfat.

(o) Morinus *page* 267.

The *Pontifical* belonging to the Monaſtery of *Corbey*, publiſh'd by *Morinus*, and ſuppos'd to be at leaſt as Old as the beginning of the Ninth Century, gives an Account of the anointing the Hands of the Prieſt, and his offering Sacrifices for the Sins and Offences of the People, but neither the Paten or Cup are put into his Hands by this Form.

In an Engliſh Saxon *Ordinal* publiſh'd by *Morinus* from a Manuſcript of above Eight Hundred Years Antiquity, the Prieſts Hands are bleſs'd and anointed with Oyl and Chriſm; his Head is likewiſe anointed, and an *officiating Habit* put upon him. The Ordination Prayers likewiſe mentions his offering Sacrifice for the Sins of the People, but there is nothing of the delivering of the Paten and Cup, nor that Sentence ſo much inſiſted of, *to celebrate Maſs, and offer Sacrifice for the Living and Dead.* This *Ordinal* being about Two Hundred Years *prior* to the *Conqueſt*, and belonging to the Engliſh Nation, I ſhall tranſcribe that Part of it which relates to the ordaining and conſecrating of Prieſts and Biſhops. (p)

(p) *See Records n.* 64,

In ſhort, by the Variation in theſe Rituals for *Ordination*, both with reſpect to Age and Country, we may infer the Antient Biſhops did not conceive themſelves bound up to Preſident in theſe Caſes, but, that provided the Eſſentials were retain'd, they were at Liberty to alter or add as they thought fit.

To return Home. The *Act* for authorizing a *Committee* to draw up an *Ordinal*, calls Deacons, *Miniſters*, agreeably to the Language of Antiquity. The *Committee* are impower'd by this *Act* to ordain the *lower Orders*, that is Subdeacons, Readers, Acolyths and the reſt, for all theſe ſeem comprehended in the Clauſe of **other Miniſters of the Church**. But the Biſhops and Divines appointed for this purpoſe, went no farther than the Superior Orders of Biſhop, Prieſt, and Deacon. Their Motive for ſtopping here, as we may reaſonably conclude, was becauſe none but theſe Three, were of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, the reſt being the Proviſion of after Ages.

Remarks on the ſuppos'd Difference in the Engliſh Reform'd Ordinals.

'Tis affirm'd this Form of *ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, is the ſame with that we yet uſe, excepting ſome few Words that have been added ſince in the Ordination of a Prieſt or Biſhop. For there was then no expreſs mention made in the Words of ordaining them, whether it was to the one or other Office: In both it was ſaid,* Receive thou the Holy Ghoſt in the Name of the Father, *&c. But that having been ſince made uſe of to prove both Functions the ſame, it was of late years alter'd as it is now.* (q) This Remark put me upon comparing the Firſt *Ordinal* with that publiſh'd in the Third Edition of *Sparrows* Collection: And here I found them exactly the ſame. But afterwards peruſing this *Office* as it ſtands review'd at the *Savoy*, I perceive the Authors Obſervation is right.

(q) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 144.

The ſame Learned Hiſtorian mentions *another Difference between the Ordination Book ſet out at that Time, and that we now uſe: In the former the Biſhop was to lay his one Hand on the Prieſt's Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, ſaying the Words now ſaid at the Delivery of the Bible. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop, there was nothing more than what is now in Uſe, ſave that a Staff was put into his Hand with this Bleſſing,* **be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.** And in another Part of this Book (r) ſpeaking of Archbiſhop *Parkers* Conſecration, he acquaints us the Office was perform'd *according to the Book of Ordinations made in King* Edwards Time: *Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his Hands was left out of the Office in Queen* Elizabeths *Reign.*

(r) Id. *p.* 403.

But here as it happens, this Learned Hiſtorian has been led into a Miſtake. For the Two firſt Editions of the *Ordinal* made in King *Edwards* Reign, printed with Privilege by *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, have none of the different Rites mention'd by this Gentleman. Neither are they to be found in any Edition ſince: There is nothing of a Chalice and Bread deliver'd to the Prieſt, nor any Rubrick for putting a Staff in the Biſhops Hand, with the Sentence of *being a Shepherd to the Flock of Chriſt*. Farther the Form of *Ordination* uſed in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, was altogether the ſame with that in the Reign of King *Edward*, as *Maſon* informs us. (s)

(s) Maſon de Miniſt. Anglic. *p.* 338. 342. 358.

By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordain'd under One and Twenty Years of Age, nor a Prieſt under Four and Twenty, nor a Biſhop under Thirty. (t)

(t) Edit. Graft. in præf.

The Meaning of being moved by the Holy Ghoſt.

And here it may not be improper to take notice of a remarkable Paſſage in the reform'd Ordinal: 'Tis this, *do you truſt that you are inwardly mov'd by the Holy Ghoſt to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration, to ſerve God,* &c. To this an Affirmative Anſwer is requir'd from the Perſon ordain'd. Now the Meaning of this Queſtion cannot import ſo ſtrong a Senſe as extraordinary Afflation, or prophetick Impulſe. 'Tis not ſuppos'd the Perſon ſhould be under the Privilege of Supernatural Light, and be conſcious of a diſtinguiſhing Operation of Divine Grace. The being *mov'd therefore by the Holy Ghoſt* can imply nothing farther than ſerious Preparation, honeſt Intention, and holy Reſolution of acting ſuitably to the Office. Now ſince all good Motions deſcend from above, he that is thus virtuouſly qualified and reſolv'd, may be in ſome meaſure ſaid to be *mov'd by the Holy Ghoſt*. We may obſerve farther, that this Queſtion in the *Ordinal* is only put to the Deacons: That to which the Prieſts and Biſhops are requir'd to anſwer is couch'd in leſs myſterious Language. It ſtands thus. *Are you perſwaded that you be truly called to this Miniſtration according to the Will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Order of this Realm?* As for previous Recollection, diſintereſted Views, and ſerious Application for the Diſcharge of the Holy Function, nothing is more neceſſary. (u) Theſe Things recommended at large by our Learned Hiſtorian, are admiral Advice.

(u) *Biſhop* Burnet *p.* 2*d. page* 145.

Orders not accounted valid by the Antient Church unleſs receiv'd from a Biſhop.

Before I part with the *Ordinal*, I muſt obſerve that the Three Orders of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are all confer'd by the Authority of the Biſhop. And in this the Engliſh Reformation is exactly conformable to the Practice of the Antient Church, who never allow'd any Ordinations perform'd by Perſons beneath the Epiſcopal Character. To give ſome Inſtances: After the Second General Council of *Conſtantinople* had declar'd *Maximus* no Biſhop, 'tis immediately added, that thoſe ordain'd by him ſhould not be reckon'd amongſt any Diſtinctions of the Clergy, *(w)*

(w) *Can.* 4.

When 'twas objected againſt *Athanaſius*, that *Macarius* one of his Deacons had broken a Chalice, the Synod conven'd at *Alexandria*, examining the Charge, found upon Enquiry, that there was no Prieſt belonging to the Place where the Chalice was broken, excepting one *Iſchyras*, who pretended an Ordination from *Coluthus*: But upon looking into the Character of this *Coluthus*, he was prov'd to be no more than a Prieſt. Upon this the *Synod* decreed *Iſchyras* his Orders to be perfectly null, that he was to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of the Clergy, and paſs for no more than a meer Layman. And the Ground of this Sentence, as the *Synod* continues, was ſo clear and unconteſted, that no body could call it in Queſtion. *(x)*

The *Council* of *Sardica* is full for the ſame point, and declares *Iſchyras* no Prieſt. *(y)* Thus St. *Jerome*, tho' ſetting the Prieſts Character as high as 'twould bear, grants the Privilege of ordaining peculiar to the Biſhop. *Quid facit, exceptâ Ordinatione, Epiſcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* *(z)*

(x) Athanaſ. in Apolog. 2. de fuga ſua *page* 570.
(y) Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.
(z) Hieron. ad Evagrium.

The *Antients*, as they had reaſon, were ſo conſtant in keeping cloſe to this Rule, that when the Second Council of *Sevill* underſtood that at the Ordination of a Prieſt and two Deacons, the Biſhop having ſore Eyes, had only laid his Hands upon them, and that the Prieſt pronounc'd the Prayer for conveying the Character; The Council, I ſay, underſtanding this, cenſur'd the whole Proceſs of the Ordination as ſcandalous and invalid, and gave Sentence that neither of the *Orders* ſhould be allow'd. *(a)*

(a) Concil. Hiſpal. 2. Can. 5.

The firſt Biſhop conſecrated by our Reform'd *Ordinal*, was *Poynet*, prefer'd to the *See* of *Wincheſter* the next Year. *(b)* At the Alteration of the *Common-Prayer-Book* in the Year 1552. this *Ordinal* was annex'd, and confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament. *(c)* This *Ordinal* is likewiſe mentioned in the Church *Articles*, paſs'd in the Convocation *Anno Dom.* 1562; in one of which 'tis declar'd, *(d)* that *whoſoever are conſecrated or order'd according to the Rites of this Book, or hereafter ſhall be conſecrated or order'd according to the ſame Rites, are decreed to be rightly, lawfully, and orderly conſecrated.* This Declaration of the Church was afterwards confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.* *(e)*

(b) Regiſt. Cranmer.

(c) 5 & 6 *Ed.* vi. cap. 1.

(d) *Article* 36.

(e) 8. *Eliz. cap.* 1.

The Objection againſt the Reform'd Ordinal not conſiderable.

The Objection, that the Words for conveying the Biſhops and Prieſts Character, are the ſame in the *Ordinal* ſet forth in King *Edward's* Reign, goes partly upon a Miſtake; For at the Ordination of a Prieſt, the Words runs thus; *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. *Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to miniſter the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation, where thou ſhalt be ſo appointed.* But at the Conſecration of a Biſhop the Form ſtands as follows; *Remember that thou ſtir up the Grace of God, which is in thee by Impoſition of Hands: For God has not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and of Soberneſs.*

I grant there is ſome Reſemblance in theſe Forms, but then there is a plain Diſtinction in other Parts of the *Office*. For inſtance, there is an expreſs Declaration of two Biſhops, that the Perſon preſented is to be conſecrated to their own *Order*. There are more Queſtions put to him by the Archbiſhop, than are mention'd in the Office for ordaining Prieſts; ſome of which ſuppoſe a ſuperior Authority in his Character, and that the Exerciſe of Diſcipline, and the Government of a *Dioceſe*, are Branches of his Function. The Archbiſhop, and two other Biſhops lay their Hands upon the Head of the *Elect*, whereas at the Ordaining of a Prieſt this Ceremony is perform'd only by the *Dioceſan*, with ſome Prieſts aſſiſting. Theſe ſhort Remarks may be ſufficient to diſcover the Weakneſs of the Exception againſt this *Ordinal.*

Towards the End of this Year, there was another Creation of Noblemen: The Lord Privy Seal *Ruſſel*, was made Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *William St. John* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Sir *William Paget* Lord *Paget*. Soon after the receiving theſe Titles, the Lords *Bedford* and *Paget*, with Sir *William Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon*, were diſpatch'd into *France* to treat a Peace. *Paget* had been lately ſent to the Emperor to acquaint him what Diſturbance the Engliſh receiv'd from the Scotch and French, and how much the Kingdom was embroil'd by Inteſtine Commotions: That things being in this Poſture of Diſadvantage, there would, unleſs the Emperor lent his Aſſiſtance, be a Neceſſity of coming to a Peace with the French. This Application meeting with no Succeſs from his Imperial Majeſty, a Peace was concluded upon the following Articles with *France* and *Scotland*. As to the French Part, *Bouloign* with the Dependencies, together with the Train of Artillery, were to be deliver'd to the French. For this the King of *England* was to receive four hundred thouſand Crowns (the Crown being worth Six Shillings and Eight-pence) at two Payments. The Scotch being comprehended in this Treaty *Roxborough* and *Aymouth*, *Lauder* and *Dunglaſſe* were to be raz'd. There was likewiſe to be an open Trade between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. This Treaty was proclaim'd in *London* on the 3d of *March*, and on the 25th of *April*, *Bouloign* was evacuated, and the Engliſh Hoſtages return'd. *(f)*

Jan. 19. An. Dom. 15$\frac{49}{50}$.

A Peace with France *and* Scotland.

(f) Godwin Annal. Stow Annal.

In the beginning of the next Year, *Joan Butcher*, commonly called *Joan* of *Kent*, was burnt in *Smithfield* for Hereſy: She was convented the laſt Year before Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and other Commiſſioners, for reviving Part of the Valentinian Heterodoxy, and denying our Saviour's having taken Fleſh of the Bleſſed Virgin. The Archbiſhop omitted nothing to recover her to a right Belief, but ſhe prov'd incurably obſtinate, and reproach'd *Cranmer* with paſſing Sentence upon *Anne Askew*, for denying the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt. She told him he had condemn'd *Anne Askew* for a Piece of *Bread*, and was now ready to treat her with the ſame Uſage for a Piece of *Fleſh*. Thus their being no Hopes of reclaiming her, ſhe was Convicted, and a Certificate of her Conviction tranſmitted to the *King's-Bench*, for the delivering her over to Secular Juſtice, part of the Form runs thus.

May the 2d Anno Dom. 1550. Joan Butcher *burnt for Hereſy.*

Cum igitur Sancta Mater Eccleſia non habet quod ulterius facere & exequi, contrà tàm putridum

Membrum debeat; Veſtræ regiæ ſublimitati, & potentiæ brachii veſtri ſæcularis dictam Joannam Hæreticam pertinacem relinquimus, & tradimus animadverſione veſtra regia puniendam & plectendam.(*g*)

(*g*) Regiſt. Cranmer. Fol. 79.

The King very unwilling to ſign the Warrant for her Execution.

Thus far the Proceſs was carried on the laſt Year; however her Execution was reſpited till now. In the mean time, nothing was untryed to bring her off from her Hereſy: But all Application proving unſucceſsful, the King was ſolicited to ſign the *Dead* Warrant. The Lords of the *Council* ſuggeſted, that her Perverſneſs, in caſe ſhe was ſpar'd, might encourage Deluſion, and occaſion the ſpreading of ſuch dangerous Opinions: The King not being ſatisfied with what was urg'd by the *Council*, the Archbiſhop was deſired to try his Intereſt: But all *Cranmer*'s Arguments could not remove the King from his Opinion. To execute her under ſo deſperate a Misbelief, was to conſign her, he ſaid, to inevitable Damnation: That therefore 'twas better to correct her with ſome corporal Puniſhment, and leave her her Life for Recollection. At laſt, the King being prevail'd with by *Cranmer*'s Remonſtrance and Importunity, he ſign'd the *Warrant* with Regret, and told the Archbiſhop he ſhould charge him with anſwering what was done to God Almighty. The unhappy Woman was kept a Week after this at the Lord *Chancellor's* Houſe, where *Cranmer* and *Ridley* viſited her every Day, and did their utmoſt to undeceive her, but ſhe prov'd impenetrable to all Arguments. When ſhe was brought to the *Stake*, Dr. *Scory*, afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, preaching to the People in Confutation of her Hereſy, ſhe interrupted him and told him he lyed, with ſome other intemperate Language.

John A-laſco *ſettles in* England, *and has a Church allow'd him with extraordinary Privileges.*

About this time, *John A-laſco* a Poliſh Gentleman ſettled in *England*; He was forced out of his Country by the Rigor of the Roman Catholicks. His firſt Stage was *Embden* in Eaſt *Friezland*, where he was Preacher to a Congregation of the *Reform'd*; But here being no likelyhood of any long Shelter or Repoſe, he embark'd for *England*. He was hoſpitably entertain'd by the Archbiſhop, made an Acquaintance with Sir *John Cheek*, and Sir *William Cecil*, and was by them recommended to the Duke of *Somerſet*. By this means gaining an Intereſt at Court, he mov'd his Congregation might have leave to tranſport themſelves to *London*, with the Privilege of an Independent Church. The Council looking upon them as People in Diſtreſs upon the Score of Conſcience, mov'd the King in their behalf. In ſhort, their Requeſt was granted, and *Auguſtine Friers* Church, aſſign'd them for the Exerciſe of their Religion. And to give them a farther Settlement, the King by his Letters Patent makes them a Corporation, conſiſting of a *Superintendent* and four aſſiſting *Miniſters*. By this *Charter* they are impower'd to fill the Vacancies by Death or otherwiſe; with this Condition however, that the Perſons elected ſhould be approv'd by the King and Council. And to leave them more fully to their Conduct, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London* are commanded not to interpoſe or moleſt them in their Eccleſiaſtical Government. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the other Biſhops are likewiſe forbidden to cite them into their Courts, or call them to an Account for their Diſagreement with the Engliſh Church. This *Inſtrument*, by virtue of which *John A-laſco* is made *Superintendant*, bears Date the 24th of *July*. (*h*)

Anno Dom. 1550.

(h) *See Records Num.* LXV.

This Indulgence, tho' going upon Motives of Generoſity and Compaſſion, prov'd unſerviceable to the Engliſh *Reformation*. For this German Congregation was very remote both in Government and Worſhip from our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. The allowing therefore a Religious *Society*, ſo widely different from that of the Country, and the exempting theſe Foreigners from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, was thought in effect an Encouragement of Schiſm, and ſetting up one *Altar* againſt another. It muſt be ſaid, this Friendſhip and Correſpondence with the *Reform'd* of other Nations, diſturb'd our Harmony at home, and prov'd an Occaſion of Diviſions. And of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in *John Hooper*, nominated about this time to the Biſhoprick of *Glouceſter*. This Clergy-man perceiving himſelf in Danger from the *Six Articles* in the late Reign, withdrew to *Zurich* in *Swiſſerland*. When King *Henry* died, he return'd for *England*, his Acquaintance with *Bullinger*, and frequenting the Zuinglian Churches, made him ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of their Cuſtoms. Being a popular Preacher, and a zealous Antipapiſt, he was taken notice of by the Earl of *Warwick*. By this Nobleman's Intereſt, the King prefer'd him to the *See* of *Glouceſter* lately void by the Death of *Wakeman Abbot* of *Tewkſberry*, and firſt Biſhop of that Dioceſe. When *Hooper* came to the Archbiſhop for Conſecration, he ſcrupled the Epiſcopal *Habit*, for which reaſon *Cranmer* refus'd him. The Earl of *Warwick* wrote to the Archbiſhop, requeſting him to wave the inſiſting upon theſe Ceremonies, and that this was the King's Deſire no leſs than his own. 'Twas likewiſe mov'd, that the Archbiſhop would not charge the Elect of *Glouceſter* with any Oath againſt his Conſcience. For it ſeems, *Hooper* had ſcrupled an Oath, which by the Law he was obliged to take.

July. Hooper *nominated to the See of* Glouceſter.

The Archbiſhop, 'tis likely, having neither Liberty nor Inclination to gratify ſuch Singularities, refus'd to comply. Upon this the Earl of *Warwick* prevail'd with the King to write for a Diſpenſation with *Hooper*, diſcharging *Cranmer* from all Penalties and Forfeitures to which he might otherwiſe be lyable. (*i*) The Archbiſhop not willing to run the Riſque of a *Præmunire*, by obeying the King's private Will, againſt his publick one in the Laws, crav'd leave to be excuſed. And ſince there was no coming at the Epiſcopal Character, without going through the cuſtomary Forms, Endeavors were us'd to ſatisfy *Hooper*'s Conſcience. To this purpoſe, *Ridley* Biſhop of *London* had a Conference with him, and argued the Point at length, but without Succeſs. The Council being apprehenſive theſe Diſputes might ſtart more Queſtions, and grow to farther Inconvenience, ſent for *Hooper*, and adviſ'd him to acquieſce. He intreated the *Board* he might have the Liberty of putting the Reaſons of his Opinion in Writing, which was granted. This Paper was given *Ridley* to anſwer it.

He ſcruples wearing the Epiſcopal Habit.

(i) Heylin, pag. 91.

Hooper to inform himſelf farther, wrote to *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* for their Judgment upon the Controverſy. He receiv'd an Anſwer from both; *Peter Martyr*'s Letter was to this effect. (*k*)

“ He expreſſes his Satisfaction at *Hooper*'s
“ Endeavor to retrieve the antient Purity, and
“ unaffected Plaineſs in Religion: That he
“ found it no ſmall Difficulty to diſengage
“ himſelf from the Cuſtoms at *Straſbourg*,
“ where

(k) Inter P. Mart. Epiſt.

Peter Martyr's *Anſwer to his Objections.*

“where the Diſtinctions of *Habit*, with reſpect to *Holy Miniſtrations* was laid aſide: That in *Religious Rites* he was for keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the Preſidents of Holy *Scripture*, and the moſt uncorrupted Ages of the Church. However, he could not go ſo far in the other Extreme, as to believe the Subſtance of Religion affected by Cloaths: He thought things of this Nature altogether indifferent, and left at Liberty by the Word of God. Had he been of *Hooper*'s Mind, that the cuſtomary Habits for Prieſts and Biſhops had been clearly unlawful, he would never have joyn'd himſelf to the Engliſh Communion. He thought Conformity in theſe Matters at preſent might be a ſerviceable Expedient. That the conteſting Circumſtantials ought to be declin'd till the *Reformation* was better ſettled: That exerting our Zeal upon indefenſible Points, and things of ſmall moment, might loſe the good Opinion of the People, make them queſtion the Judgment of the *Reform'd* Preachers, and give no Credit to what they deliver'd in Matters of the laſt Importance. He proceeds to commend *Hooper* for his great Pains in Preaching: That by his Talent and Application this way, he had gain'd a conſiderable Reputation, and put himſelf in a Condition of doing a great deal of Service. And here he precautions him not to overſhoot in his Zeal, and launch out into Invectives, for that this would be the way to diſappoint his pious Intention. Beſides, by charging theſe indifferent things as altogether unlawful, we ſhall, ſays he, draw an Imputation upon unexceptionable Communions, and condemn the Practice of the moſt celebrated Antiquity.

“And whereas *Hooper* had objected, that the ſacerdotal Habits were Marks of Judaiſm, and would in effect return us to the Aaronical Prieſthood; to this *Peter Martyr* replies, that abſtaining from *Blood* and things ſtrangled, were part of the Judaic Inſtitution; however the Council of *Jeruſalem* commanded the *Gentiles* upon the ſame Obſervance: That this was done out of a Reconciling Principle, and to avoid giving Offence. That Tythes for the Maintenance of the Clergy, were likewiſe a Branch of the Moſaick Law. That it would be difficult to produce a Command in the *New Teſtament* for ſinging Pſalms in publick Aſſemblies. That the Chriſtian Church from the very beginning had gone upon the Imitation of the Jewiſh Oeconomy in ſeveral particulars. That the Feſtivals of *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, are not without ſomething of Ground from the Solemnities of the *Old Law*. Are theſe Holidays therefore to be ſet aſide, becauſe of their Reſemblance with the Jewiſh Practice?

“To proceed; *Hooper* objected farther, that theſe Diſtinctions of *Habit* were Inventions of Antichriſt, and that we ought not only to renounce the Pope's Juriſdiction, but ſtand off from all the Novelties and Cuſtoms of that *See*.

“To this *Martyr* anſwers, That to maintain the Unlawfulneſs of all Rites and Cuſtoms practis'd in the Church of *Rome*, looks like an indefenſible Aſſertion: That to govern by ſuch narrow Maxims would draw a very inconvenient Reſtraint upon the Church of God. Our Anceſtors mov'd much more freely than this comes too. They made no Difficulty of turning Heathen Temples into Chriſtian Churches: They tranſlated the Revenues dedicated to the Support of Idolatry, to pious Uſes, and the Maintenance of the Clergy. Beſides, he thought *Hooper* miſtaken in his Suppoſition: He could not grant, that theſe *Veſtments* for *Officiating*, were brought into the Church by the Pope. For, ſays he, don't we read in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that St. *John* the Apoſtle wore a gold Plate, or Miter? And does not *Pontius* in the Life of St. *Cyprian* acquaint us, that this Saint at his Martyrdom gave Part of his Epiſcopal Robes to his Deacons, and was executed in a Linnen Habit? Thus St. *Chryſoſtome* makes mention of the white Veſtments, in which the Clergy perform'd their Miniſtration: And here he puts *Hooper* in mind, that Perſons at their Baptiſm put on a white Habit.

“On the other ſide, granting theſe Diſtinctions were the Inventions of the *See* of *Rome*, he did not think the Contagion of Popery ſo malignant as to carry Infection to every thing it touch'd, and make it prove mortal to a good Man that made uſe on't. *Hooper* himſelf own'd that every thing in Religion was not to be condemn'd upon the Score of its being a human Conſtitution. For inſtance, to communicate in the Forenoon faſting, ſtands upon no higher Ground than Eccleſiaſtical, that is, human Authority, and yet he conceiv'd *Hooper* would not cenſure this Cuſtom. His Opinion was therefore, the antient Uſage ought to be continued for a time: That the preſſing unſeaſonable Alterations might obſtruct Advantages of a more ſignificant kind. That to prevent any weak Brothers being miſled by the continuance of the cuſtomary *Habits*, the People ought to be reminded of the Indifferency of theſe things, that they don't reach into the Subſtance of Religion, nor make part of the Eſſentials in Divine Worſhips.

“*Hooper* had objected in the third place, that the Particularity and Richneſs of this *Religious Equipage*, would be apt to draw the Eyes of the Congregation, to break their Attention, and turn to an Amuſement; whereas if the *Habit* was plain and unornamented, nothing of this would happen.

“To this *Martyr* replied, that things commonly ſeen, are ſeldom gaz'd at to any Diſorder: And if the People ſhould be affected to any Degree more than ordinary, 'tis to be hoped the Solemnity of the *Habit*, the Holy Pomp might prove ſerviceable to them, that it might awaken their Reſpect, and recollect their Thoughts for the Buſineſs they were about; and this ſeems to be one end of the Inſtitution of the *Sacraments*, that by ſenſible Signs the Mind might be wrought up to proper Meditations.

Hooper argued, that *whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin*; to diſentangle him from the Miſinterpretation of this *Text*, *Martyr* refers him to the *Epiſtles* of *Timothy* and *Titus*, where 'tis ſaid, that *to the clean, all things are clean*, and *that every Creature of God is good*.

Hooper urg'd in the laſt place, that we ought to have an expreſs Warrant from *Scripture* for every thing belonging to Religion. *Martyr* was of a different Sentiment, and believ'd, that provided the Subſtance was ſecur'd, and the

General Rules obſerv'd, the Governors of the Church had a diſcretionary Latitude in leſſer Matters.

This is *Peter Martyrs* Reſolution upon the Queſtion. And *Bucer* in his Anſwer to *Hooper* is of the ſame Opinion: To give the *Reader* part of his *Letter*, he begins with lamenting the Riſe of the Controverſy, and wiſhes it may be ſpeedily taken up. He diſcovers his Inclination for the Removal of the cuſtomary Habits, and tells him that at *Strasbourgh*, *Ulm*, *Augſbourg*, and other Places in *Germany* where he had any Intereſt, he prevail'd that the Sacraments might not be adminiſtred with any ſuch Peculiarity. He complains of the Abuſe of theſe things in *England*, and that the Marks and Support of Antichriſtianiſm were ſcandalouſly common and apparent: To make good this Charge, he offers at ſeveral Inſtances. And here he begins with the Sacrilegious Invaſions of the *Laity*; That they ſeiz'd and plunder'd the beſt Preferments, gave two or three Benefices to their Stewards and Huntſmen, but with Reſervation of part of the Profits to themſelves: Thus they put ſuch Vicars upon the People; not thoſe who were beſt qualified, but ſuch as would engage upon the loweſt Terms, and afford the beſt Bargain. The Univerſities, as he goes on, which were to furniſh the Church with proper Guides, had no ſmall Number of Students either erroneous in their Belief, or licentious in their Practice: And as to the *Service* of the Church, 'twas perform'd in ſuch a cold, lame, and unintelligible manner, that the People were little better edified, than if the Office were ſaid in the Phenician or Indian Language. Neither Baptiſm nor Marriage were celebrated with that Gravity and Solemnity the Buſineſs required: That the People can hardly diſtinguiſh between the Lord's Supper and the Maſs, excepting that the *Liturgy* is in Engliſh. That paſtoral Duties are lamentably neglected, that there are no Catechetical Inſtructions, no private Admonitions, no publick Cenſures of Diſorder: The Diſcipline of the Church is ſo little put in ure, that the Spiritual Authority is in a manner diſregarded, and few Perſons will ſo much as own, that Chriſt gave his Miniſters the Power of *binding* and *looſing*. That People are promiſcuouſly admitted to the Privileges of Communion, without any Proof of being qualified either in Faith or Manners: *That they appear empty before the Lord*, and take little Care of the Poor at their Religious Aſſemblies: That the Churches are made Places for Commerce and Diverſion: And that the Audience are ſo far from obſerving that Plaineſs and Sobriety in Cloaths recommended by the Apoſtles, that the higheſt Solemnities of Religion cannot make them baulk their Vanity, nor come to the *Lord's Table* without Gold and Jewels, without Expence and Gaudineſs in Dreſſing. Alas! as he goes on, the meaning of the Church, the Communion of Saints, and the Kingdom of Chriſt is little underſtood: The want of Diſcipline is the Occaſion of this unhappy Ignorance: Thus the Fear of God, and the Notion of Religion makes a very faint Impreſſion; and hence it is, that Lying, Cheating, Theft, Perjury and Whoredom, are ſo much the Complaint of the Times.

Bucer's *Letter to* Hooper *upon the ſame Subject.*

Theſe Diſorders, he tells *Hooper*, are the main Properties, the Strength and Sinews of Antichriſt: Theſe therefore are the things which ought to be combated in the firſt place, and againſt which our Zeal ought to be principally employ'd.

As to the Diſtinction of Cloaths, he does not think their being formerly abus'd a ſufficient Reaſon not to uſe them, or that there is any Iniquity in the Shape or Colour of what we put on. He would gladly know, what *Text* of *Scripture* there is to prove, that the Devil, or ill Men, have ſuch a Power over God's Creatures, as to make them good for nothing, or unlawful.

'Tis certain, continues *Bucer*, that our Saviour has only preſcrib'd the Subſtance in Matters of Order, and the Adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, and that the Circumſtances are left to the Regulations of thoſe who preſide.

Thus for inſtance, we neither receive the Communion in the Evening, nor in a private Houſe, nor in a Poſture of Diſcumbency, nor yet in a Congregation of Men only. And who could juſtly condemn the Church, if all thoſe who came to receive the Lord's Supper ſhould appear in a white Habit as they formerly did at Baptiſm? To deny a Liberty of Practice within this Compaſs, will bring us upon one of theſe Concluſions; either that the Church has no Power to appoint any thing with reſpect to the Lord's Supper, without expreſs Command from our Saviour: Now this can't be affirmed without charging all Places of Chriſtendom with ſcandalous Prevarication. For what Churches are there that don't vary from the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper in ſeveral Circumſtances? They are ſo far from having their Time, and Place, and Poſture commanded by our Saviour, that on the other ſide his Example is quite different from the general Practice: For our Lord inſtituted his Supper in the Evening, in a private Houſe, after the eating the Paſchal Lamb, in a Poſture different from that now receiv'd, neither were there any Women at the Solemnity. Another Abſurdity is, that the ſtanding clear of the Abuſe of God's Creatures, tho' receiv'd with never ſo much Purity of Intention, is impracticable upon theſe Principles. And laſtly, at this rate wicked Men may in a great meaſure deſtroy the Benefit of the Creation, and make thoſe things they have miſemploy'd a ſort of forbidden Fruit to others.

Theſe Fancies therefore ought to be diſcharg'd by good Men; neither is there any Fear the granting the Church a Liberty in theſe matters, ſhould give our Holy Miniſtrations a Tincture of Superſtition or Paganiſm, or revive the Ceremonial Law.

As to Religious Rites and Externals, the Deſign of them is to recommend the Service of God Almighty. Now we know Diſtinction and Richneſs of Habit in *Civil* Offices, are a Service to the Character. An extraordinary Appearance in theſe Caſes operates upon the Generality, ſtrikes their Mind thro' their Senſes, and awakens a Regard for the Magiſtracy. Now what ſhould hinder its having the ſame good effect upon Religion? As for the *Texts* of *Scripture* againſt human Tradition urg'd by *Hooper*, *Bucer* replies they don't reach the Caſe in hand: The Cenſure of theſe *Traditions* affects only thoſe who make them part of the Vitals of Religion, and prefer them to the Divine Commands. (*l*)

(l) Bucer Script. Anglic. pag. 705. & deinc.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

Hooper *Con-*
-ſ'd to his
Houſe, and
-fterwards ſent
-o the Fleet.
Heylin.

In this *Letter*, we ſee *Bucer* makes a Tragical complaint of the Licentiouſneſs and Diſorder of the Times. If 'tis enquir'd why the Biſhops did not Exert their Character, and apply the uſual Remedy? It may be Anſwer'd, they lay under the Diſcountenance of the *State*. The Cenſure of Excommunications had been diſus'd, ſince the beginning of this Reign: Whether there was any Command laid upon the Biſhops, to forbear the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, or that there was a Project on Foot for drawing the Cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to the *Secular Courts*, or that the Publiſhing the Proceſs, under the King's Authority, weakn'd the Terror of the *Sentence*, is not eaſy to determine. However, 'tis certain this Solemn Part of Diſcipline was, as it were ſuſpended, or of little ſignificancy.

Latimer's *Sermon.*

Thus almoſt every thing grew out of Order, and Prophaneneſs and Immorality had an unlimitted Range. "This made Biſhop *Latimer*, "preſs for the Reſtitution of the Antient "Diſcipline in his Sermon before the King. "The Engliſh ſays he, are Infamous for "Whoredom, beyond any other Part of the "World. Beſides, they glory in their Shame, "and make a diverſion of being Wicked. To "check this outragious Diſorder, he Intreats "the King to reſtore the Diſcipline of Chriſt, "and return the Church the Power of Ex"communication. That excluding Offenders, "from the Benefit of Communion, is our Sa"viours Appointment: Now no Body is able "to make a better Proviſion, than Infinite "Wiſdom: And that the Exerciſe of Diſci"pline was the likelieſt way to ſtop the Pro"greſs of Vice, and avert the Judgments of "Heaven.

But if the Caſe was thus, and the *Regale* lay too hard upon the Church, the Queſtion is, whether it had not been more Adviſeable for the Biſhops to have reſum'd their Spiritual Authority, acted upon our Saviours Commiſſion, and ventur'd the Diſpleaſure of the *State*.

As for *Bucer*, and *Martyr*'s Letters, they had not that Effect upon *Hooper*, which might reaſonably have been expected. He ſtill continued under his former Prejudices, and no Arguments could reach him; and by *Martyr*'s cautioning him againſt unſeaſonable, and cenſorious Declamations, we may Imagine he had play'd his Satyr pretty freely againſt the Cuſtoms of the Church. And from his Conduct in this Diſpute, we may in ſome Meaſure Collect the Strength of his Prepoſſeſſion, and the Condition of his Judgment. For this Incompliance and Liberty in the *Pulpit*, he was firſt Silenc'd, and Confin'd to his Houſe by the *Council*. (*m*)

(m) *Council Book.*

Hooper thought this Uſage ſomewhat ſevere: To miſs his Promotion, 'tis likely was no diſappointment, but to be Puniſh'd becauſe he would not be a Biſhop, to be perſecuted about *Cloaths*, and loſe his Liberty for not being in the *Faſhion*, was poſſibly more than he underſtood. He ventur'd therefore to take no notice of the Order of *Council*, and Printed a Confeſſion of his *Faith*. He was afterwards committed to the Cuſtody of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who tried to bring him off from his Singularities, but without Effect. The Archbiſhop complain'd in a Letter to the *Council*, that *Hooper* was not contented with bare Diſconformity to the Cuſtomary Practice, but offer'd to Preſcribe to the *Publick* on this Head. Upon this *Cranmer* was order'd to ſend him to the *Fleet*, which was done accordingly. (*n*)

Edw. VI. K.

(n) *Council Book* Stripes *Memorial of* Cranmer.

Auguſt 8. An. Dom. 1550.

A Publick diſputation at Cambridge.

In the beginning of *Auguſt* this Year, there was a publick Diſputation at *Cambridge*, where the following Queſtions were defended by *Bucer*.

Firſt, *The Canonical Books of Scripture are abundantly ſufficient to Inſtruct the Regenerate in every thing neceſſary to Salvation.*

Secondly, *There is no Part of the Church Militant, exempt from a Poſſibility in Erring, both in Faith and Manners.*

All good Works which Men ſeem to Perform, before Juſtification, are really Sins, and Merit the Divine Diſpleaſure, but after we are Juſtified, good Actions are neceſſarily done by us. (*o*)

(o) Bucer Script Anglic.

At the entring upon the Diſputation, *Bucer* declares his Opinion, of what Books ought to be receiv'd as *Inſpir'd Writings*: And here he ſettles the Canon agreeably to *the Articles* of the Church of *England*. And for this he has the Suffrage of Antiquity. For the Canonical Books mention'd by *Euſebius*, (*p*) *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, the Council of *Laodicea*, and *John Damaſcen*, to which we may add St. *Jerom*, and *Ruffinus*, go no farther than thoſe Two and Twenty receiv'd by the Jews. And thus the Books of *Maccabees*, the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Judeth*, *Tobit*, &c. are ſtruck out of the Canon: And tho' they were allow'd to be Read in the Church, yet their Authority was not to be vouch'd, for eſtabliſhing any Point of Doctrine. (*q*)

(p) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. *c.* 25.

Some of Bucer's *Principles.*

(q) Athanaſ. in Synopſ. & Epiſt. de Feſtis. Epiphan. de Ponder. & Menſur. Hieron. præf. in Proverb. Solom. & Prolog. Galeat. Ruffin. Expoſ. Fid. Damaſcen. de Orthod. Fid. lib. 4. *c.* 8.

But notwithſtanding his Orthodoxy, in ſetling the Canon, he ſeems ſomewhat Perplex'd about other matters: He makes the Privilege of *ſufficient* Inſtruction, peculiar to the Regenerate: By the Regenerate he means the Predeſtinate, and affirms they cannot Sin finally, ſo as not to recover. He maintains inward Light, and ſupernatural Direction, neceſſary to Judge between the *Canon* and the *Apocrypha*. Now this Aſſertion, to ſpeak ſoftly, ſeems extremely Myſterious. For if we muſt have a new Revelation to underſtand the old one, to what purpoſe were the *Scriptures* Written, and why is the Church of *Rome* blam'd for locking them up in unknown Language? What ſignifies the Tranſlation of the *Bible* into the Mother Tongue, if we can't come at the meaning, without extraordinary Illumination? Are thoſe Books which were Written for general Uſe, which contain matter of the greateſt Concern, leſs Intelligible than Human Compoſitions? Or can't God who made the Underſtanding, proportion his Inſtructions to it? Farther; If we ſet aſide the Authority of the Church, and the concurrent Teſtimony of Succeſſive Ages, what Motives of Credibility can we urge to a *Deiſt*, to prove the *Scripture* the Word of God? What Poſſibility of converting Infidels is there left upon theſe Grounds? To ſay we are Inſpir'd with a certainty of what we Deliver, will look like Enthuſiaſm, unleſs we can make good our Pretenſions by Miracles, as the Apoſtles did.

Bucer Script. Anglic. *p.* 718. 719. 732. 737.

Id. *p.* 715.

Upon the Second *Queſtion* he Infers the Church not Infallible, becauſe ſhe is not Impeccable, as if Sin proceeded more from want of Light in the Underſtanding, than Predominancy of Appetite and wrong Byaſs upon the Will; or that 'twas impoſſible to ſee an important Truth, without being under a neceſſity of Living up to it. He endeavors to prove his Third Queſtion; that whatever is done before Juſtification, tho' with all the advantage of Intention, and the faireſt Appearance Imaginable, is plainly Sinful. His Medium is this; before *Juſtification* no Man can lament his Failings and Miſperformance out of a Principle of *Faith*: But the Apoſtle tells us, *whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin.* And thus by plainly miſtaking the Apoſtles Senſe, he builds upon the *Sand*, and falls into no ordinary Error. Of the Miſconſtruction of this *Text*, I have had occaſion to take notice already: To add ſomething farther to what has been already obſerv'd. Thoſe of *Bucer*'s Opinion, without Queſtion, muſt grant a Man can't be *juſtified*, before he believes the Doctrine of Chriſtianity; but that every Action done under ſuch a State of Ignorance, and defective Perſwaſion, is not Sinful, ſeems plain, from the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. *Cornelius*, before St. *Peter* was ſent to him, was but at the moſt a Jewiſh Proſelyte. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, his Charity and Devotion recommended him to God Almighty. Thus an Angel is ſent to him to applaud his Practice, and acquaint him, that his *Prayers and Alms were come up for a Memorial before God.* Thus we ſee, *Cornelius* is evidently commended for his Piety, and Benevolent Temper, before he could have any thing of *Faith* in *Bucer*'s Notion. He is Honour'd with a Meſſage from Heaven, and an Apoſtle order'd to make him a Viſit, as a reward of his preſent Attainments. Now if *Cornelius* had been in a State of Enmity with God Almighty, and never done any thing but what was *provoking*, which according to *Bucer*, is the condition of a Man unjuſtified; we have no reaſon to believe he would have been thus commended in the Inſpired Writings. Beſides; if this Point wanted farther Confirmation, St. *Peter* in the beginning of his Diſcourſe to this *Centurion*, puts it beyond all Queſtion. The Words are theſe. (r) St. *Peter open'd his Mouth, and ſaid of a Truth, I perceive, that God is no reſpecter of Perſons: But in every Nation, he that Fears him, and Works Righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.* Thus we ſee the Apoſtle makes no difficulty to declare *Cornelius*'s Alms and Prayers, *Works of Righteouſneſs.* And that he was acceptable to God Almighty upon this Score: That the Obſervance of theſe Branches of natural Religion, qualified him for farther Bleſſings, procur'd his Inſtruction from St. *Peter*, and brought him within the *Pale* of the Church.

Rom. 14.

(r) Acts c. 10. v. 34. 35.

Bucer was Oppos'd by *Segwick*, *Pern*, and *Young*. And here by going upon theſe Principles, he is very much Embarras'd in the Diſpute, lies unguarded, and miſcarries not ſeldom in his Defence. To Tranſlate the Diſputation at length, would be Foreign to this *Work*: But what I have already related, may ſhew the *Reader* his *manner* in arguing.

Bucer's Animadverſions upon the Engliſh Common-Prayer.

Towards the latter end of this Year, *Bucer* wrote Animadverſions upon the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book*, which I ſhall mention now, that the Hiſtory of this learned Man may lie more together. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* it ſeems had ſent to *Bucer*, to deſire his Opinion upon this *Book*: And whether ſome things did not require a farther Explanation. *Bucer* to qualify himſelf for a Reſolution of this Caſe, had gotten the *Common-Prayer-Book* tranſlated into Latin, by one *Aleſs* a Scotchman. And writing his *Cenſure*, by way of Letter to the Archbiſhop, he makes this remarkable Confeſſion in the beginning: That upon his Peruſal of the *Service Book*, he thank'd God Almighty for giving the Engliſh Grace to reform their Ceremonies to that degree of Purity; and that he found nothing in them but what was either taken out of the Word of God, or at leaſt not contrary to it, provided it was fairly interpreted. Now if things were in this commendable Condition, to what purpoſe did *Bucer* take ſuch Pains, as we ſhall ſee he has done, to bring on an alteration? Was not this *Divine* ſenſible, that the refining upon what is ſettled, and putting an Eſtabliſhment to a new Teſt, is not to be undertaken without apparent Neceſſity? Inconſtancy of Meaſures, new Draughts, and retouching Things, ſuppos'd to be Finiſh'd, are by no means ſerviceable to the Governors either of Church or State. The People are apt to take Exceptions at ſuch new Appearances: They are apt to Arraign the publick Wiſdom, and queſtion the Conduct of their Directors upon this Score. It has been therefore accounted Prudential, rather to let little defects paſs, than bring them to a rectified Condition, for fear there ſhould be more loſt in the Authority of the Government, then gain'd in the Amendment.

His Conceſſions.

To proceed to *Bucer*'s *Animadverſions*, which are divided into Eight and Twenty Chapters.

CHAP. I.

His Objections.

In his firſt Chapter he allows of the diſpoſition of the Pſalms and Leſſons, and the Doctrine of the *Collects*, and pronounces the management of this matter agreeable to the Word of God, and the uſage of the Antient Church: But then he is diſſatisfied at the Choirs being ſo remote from the reſt of the Church, and affirms the performing the *Service* only in that Place, an Antichriſtian Practice. Why ſo? Becauſe it ſuppoſes the Clergy ſtand in a nearer Relation to God, than the Laity. And what harm is there in this Suppoſition? Don't thoſe who repreſent a Prince, attend his Service, Publiſh his Laws, and Act by his Authority, ſtand cloſer related than other Subjects? And to come to the Caſe in Hand, does not *Moſes* upbraid *Corah*, and the reſt of the Tribe of *Levi*, for miſbehaving themſelves under their Privilege; does he not tell them God had *ſeparated them from the Congregation*, and brought them *near to himſelf*? And are not particular Powers given by our Saviour to the Evangelical Prieſthood? Does not *Clemens Romanus* ſay, that the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, anſwer to the diſtinctions of the High Prieſt, the Second Order, and the Levites under the Jewiſh Law? (s) His Obſervation upon the Figure of the Churches, in the Primitive Times; and that they were almoſt round, is a miſtake. For they were generally Built upon a reſemblance of the Jewiſh Tabernacle and Temple, which anſwer'd to the Modern Form.

(s) Epiſt. ad Corinth.

In his Second *Chapter*, he diſcourſes upon the *officiating Habits*. And here he continues ſo far in his former Opinion, as to declare them not abſolutely ſinful: However, he would willingly have them Reform'd to the Apoſtolick plainneſs: But here he might have conſider'd the diſparity, between the firſt Age of Chriſtianity, and later Centuries. In the Apoſtles Times the Church was Poor, and could not go to the expence of Ornament, and rich Diſtinctions.

Beſides; the Apoſtles could work Miracles, and therefore needed no advantage from Figure to ſupport their Character. To cure Diſeaſes, and raiſe the Dead, was a higher Recommendation, than if they had Officiated in Gold and Purple, and appear'd in the Splendor of the Jewiſh High Prieſt: But ſince the Gifts of Miracles are recalled, ſome Marks of Diſtinction are no leſs neceſſary in the Eccleſiaſtical, then in the *Civil* Government. Another Argument why he would have the *Habit* for Holy Miniſtrations alter'd is, becauſe 'tis much the ſame, uſed with that in the Church of *Rome*, which he generally Salutes by the Name of Antichriſt; ſtanding off from all Conformity with the Roman Catholicks, is a thing he commonly Inſiſts on, but whether this is a good Reaſon or not, I ſhall Examine afterwards.

See Bucer's *Letter to* Hooper.

In his Third *Chapter*, ſpeaking of the *Holy Euchariſt*, he has nothing to eccept againſt the Figure of the Conſecrated Bread, and concludes it indifferent, whether 'tis round or otherwiſe: But then where 'tis ſaid, that no Body ought to ſuppoſe, that there is leſs to be receiv'd in Part, than the whole, but in each of them, the whole Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: This he thinks may be miſinterpreted by ignorant People, as if the Body of Chriſt was locally Circumſcrib'd within the Dimenſions of the Bread. This ſeems an unneceſſary Exception: The Deſign of the *Rubrick*, is rather to prevent ſuch a Conſtruction.

He Objects farther againſt the *Rubrick*, for giving thoſe whoſe Courſe 'tis to offer, towards the Charge of a Communion, and to *Receive*; the liberty of ſometimes Subſtituting another. This Latitude he conceives may make the Wealthy neglect the receiving the Holy Euchariſt themſelves, and put them upon hiring ſome poor People to appear in their Place: This he thinks, differs little from purchaſing of *Maſſes*, excepting in the cheapneſs of the Bargain. But ſince this Indulgence was granted, to keep up frequent Communions, and that the Prieſt might have always ſome Perſons to Communicate with him; for this Reaſon, I ſay, *Bucer* might have given his Animadverſions a more Charitable turn.

He Inſiſts upon having this Sentence, *that every one ſhould Communicate once in the Year at the leaſt*, expung'd in the *Rubrick*, becauſe it ſeems to Imply a Liberty of coming no oftner.

He Declaims in his Fourth *Chapter* very Piouſly, againſt the Prophaning of Churches. The neglect of Religion upon Holy-days, and the Intemperate Abuſe of thoſe Solemn *Anniverſaries*. He conceives the Reaſon aſſign'd by the *Bubrick* for the Prieſt, putting the Conſecrated Bread into the Communicants Mouth, and not into their Hands, Inſufficient. He Fancies this Cuſtom took its Riſe from a ſuperſtitious Opinion, that the *Laity*, not having their Hands Bleſs'd, and Anointed like the Prieſt, were not Holy enough to touch the Conſecrated Elements. Beſides, he rightly Obſerves, 'tis but comparatively a modern Uſage, and that our Bleſſed Saviour gave the Holy Symbols into the Apoſtles Hands. But then, another Diſcourſe of *Bucer's* already related, (*t*) ſeems to overthrow his Reaſoning upon this Head. For there he makes no ſcruple to affirm, that our Saviour Preſcrib'd no farther than the Subſtance in theſe things, and left the Circumſtances to the Churches Regulation. And that the Church has all along Practis'd upon this Latitude, he gives ſeveral Inſtances, with Reſpect to the Lord's Supper.

In his Fourth *Chapter*, he finds fault with the *Rubrick*, for ordering *the Miniſter that is the Deacon*; to take ſo much Bread and Wine, as ſhall ſuffice for the Perſons appointed to receive the Holy Communion. This Appointment he conceives gives occaſion to ſuperſtitious Fancies, and makes ſome People Imagine it a piacular Offence, to put the Conſecrated Elements to common Uſe: As if, ſays he, after the Communion was over, there was ſomething of Divinity, or at leaſt ſome peculiar Holineſs in the Bread and Wine. Now tho' *Juſtin Martyr*, *Iræneus*, *Tertullian*, and the reſt of the Fathers, ſpeak of the Conſecrated Elements in the higheſt Language of Veneration, and ſeem to have a particular Regard for them, even after the ſolemnity of Receiving, yet *Bucer* is of a different Sentiment, and finds fault with the Remainders being Eaten and Drunk by none but the Communicants: Nay he ſays plainly, that after the Act of Communicating, the Conſecrated Elements have no more relative Holineſs in them, than common Bread and Wine.

In the Fifth *Chapter*, he Objects againſt the cuſtomary Geſtures us'd at the publick Devotions, ſuch as *Kneeling*, *Croſſing*, *holding up their Hands*, *knocking upon their Breaſts*; Tho' by the way, theſe Geſtures are left at diſcretion by the *Rubrick*, and may be either uſed or let alone, as every Body thought fit. But what defenſible Exceptions can be made againſt theſe Poſtures? To go thro' the particulars, *Daniel*, and St. *Paul* Kneel'd at their Devotions; making the Croſs upon every occaſion, more remarkable than ordinary, was the general Practice of the Church in *Tertullian*'s Time. (*u*) And the *Publican* Mention'd by our Saviour, *who ſmote upon his Breaſt*, went Home juſtified, rather than the Phariſee, who found fault with him. But theſe Geſtures, ſays *Bucer*, are made uſe of in the *Maſs*, and that 'tis to be fear'd the continuance of them, Confirms ſome People in the good Opinion of that Worſhip.

How can this be reaſonably inferr'd, when the known Doctrines, and Uſages of the Church, are ſo very different?

In his Sixth *Chapter*, he is not ſatisfied with Two *Communions* upon Chriſtmaſs Day. If 'tis ſaid Servants, have a better opportunity of receiving the Holy Euchariſt by this Order, *Bucer*, thinks this Reaſon has not Weight enough in it: That upon this Ground, the ſame direction ſhould reach to every Holyday, and Sunday, for it ſeems, he is not willing to allow our Saviour's Nativity any Preference, to other Days of leſſer Solemnity.

Towards the end of his Remarks, finding a double Communion order'd at *Eaſter*, he recollects himſelf, and recalls his Cenſure.

Cap. 7.

He allows the reading of the *Homilies*, where there are none qualified to make Sermons; In other Caſes he prefers Preaching: He complains the *Homilies* don't take in ſubjects enough, and would have new ones Compos'd upon the following Heads. Firſt, concerning the true Communion with Chriſt. Secondly, Touching the dedicating Places and Times, to the Honour of God Almighty. Thirdly, For frequent coming to Church, and communicating in the Prayers, Hymns, and Sacraments. Fourthly, Touching liberal Diſtributions of Charity to the Poor. Fifthly, Of the worthy receiving the Sacraments, Sixthly, Concerning

(t) Bucer's *Letter to* Hooper.

(u) De Co ron Mil.

ning the Admonition and Correction of private and open Offenders. Seventhly, Concerning barring thoſe the privilege of Communion, who are guilty of notorious and Scandalous Behavior. Eighthly, Of the reconciling thoſe who have ſubmitted to the full length of their Penance. Ninthly, Of reckoning thoſe no better than Heathens and Publicans, who Contemn the Diſcipline of the Church. Tenthly, Touching making proper Proviſion for the Indigent, purſuant to the direction of Holy Scripture. Eleventhly, Of the incouraging Schools, and ſubſiſting poor Children for a learned Education, who diſcover a promiſing Genius. Twelfthly, of Marriage, and that this relation ought to be Ingag'd in with none, but Perſons of Probity and Religion. Thirteenthly, Of Education, proper for the Children of Chriſtians. Fourteenly, Of Honeſt Employment, and avoiding Idleneſs, Fifteenly, Of Uſury. Sixteenly, Touching Fraud, and Circumventing our Neighbor. Seventeenthly, Of all ſort of Rapine, and unjuſt Seizure of Property. Eighteenthly, Concerning Epicuriſm in Eating, and expenſive Vanity in Cloaths.

His Exceptions, againſt recommending the Dead to the Mercy of God, have been conſider'd already. His other Objection againſt theſe Words in the Prayer of Conſecration, *Cap.* 9. And with thy Holy Spirit and Word, vouchſafe to Bleſs and Sanctify theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly Beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt: This Objection has been Obviated elſewhere.

In the Third Preface of the Communion Office, he would have this Sentence alter'd, And command theſe our Prayers and Supplications, by the Miniſtry of thy Holy Angels, to be brought up into thy Holy Tabernacle, before the Sight of thy Divine Majeſty. His firſt Reaſon is, becauſe this Form of Prayer is not deliver'd in Holy Scripture. But then he muſt Condemn a great Part of the Communion Office, which notwithſtanding its being unmention'd in *Scripture*, he is willing to allow.

In the next Place, he ſuppoſes, that this Form of Prayer Extant in the Antient Greek and Latin *Liturgies*, (*w*) was uſed with Reference to the Oblations, made by the Faithful, and plac'd upon the Lord's Table: But now, ſays he, there are no ſuch Gifts and Oblations. To this it may be replied, that the Bread and Wine, are Offer'd to God the Father, as the giver of ſuch Bleſſings, and as a Commemorative Sacrifice, of the Paſſion of our Saviour, and that the Preceding Words, Accept this our bounden Duty and Service, may refer to this Oblation.

Bucer urges in the laſt Place, that the beſeeching God Almighty to Command his Holy Angels, to preſent our Prayers to his Divine Majeſty, ſeems borrow'd from the Apocryphal Book of *Tobit*. (Tobit 12.) That our Saviour Commands us to Addreſs God the Father in his Name; and elſewhere in *Scripture*, he is ſaid to be our Prieſt and Mediator. Thus the Angel that appear'd to *Cornelius*, (Acts 10.) did not tell him, that either himſelſ, or any other Angel, offer'd his Prayers and Alms to God Almighty.

Notwithſtanding this Reaſoning, 'tis certain that Angels have Part of the Adminiſtration of our Saviour's Kingdom Aſſign'd them; and that they are concern'd in the Preſidency, and Guardianſhip of the *Faithful*. (*x*) Thus we are Taught by the Author to the *Hebrews*, that *they are all Miniſtring Spirits, ſent forth to Miniſter for them, who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation.* And may it not be part of their Imployment, to Inſpect the Behaviour, to report the Devotions, and intercede in behalf of their Charge? If 'tis ſaid that God Almighty is Omnipreſent, and needs no Information; to this it may be Anſwer'd, he is Omnipotent too, and therefore has no need of the Miniſtry of Angels to aſſiſt him in his Government, and protect his Church, and yet the *Scripture* acquaints us he is Pleas'd to make uſe of them for this laſt purpoſe. 'Tis hard for us to pronounce upon the Extent of an Angels Commiſſion, or to what charitable Offices their own Benevolence may carry them. 'Tis true St. *Paul* mentions *one Mediator between God and Man*, the *Man Chriſt Jeſus.* (*y*) But then by the next Verſe 'tis plain, he means a Mediator of *Redemption*, and not a Mediator of Interceſſion, ſo far as to exclude all others. For every one who Solicits his Neighbors Happineſs, and recommends him to God in his Devotions, may be ſaid to be a Mediator in a lower Senſe. Now ſuch Inſtances of Charity are not only Lawful; but the Duty of one Chriſtian towards another. And that an Angel is barr'd the liberty of ſuch friendly Applications, is more than *Bucer* has prov'd.

Cap. 9. In the Sacrament of Baptiſm, he would have but few Ceremonies made uſe of, and takes the Freedom to tax the cuſtomary Rites, with indulging the humour of the Vulgar too far; and that theſe things nouriſh Superſtition, and approach too near the Levity of a Theatre. From this general Cenſure, which ſeems to bear hard upon what was the Antient Practice in *Tertullian*'s Time, (Tertull. de Coron. Milit. *Cap.* 10.) he goes on to particulars. Here in the firſt Place he would have the *white Habit* and *Chriſm* laid aſide. He grants both theſe Rites have great Antiquity to Plead, but ſince the religious Ardor of the firſt Ages is gone off, theſe Ceremonies which were Signs of it, ought not to be continued. But here one would have thought he might have concluded the other way: That ſince theſe Ceremonies were us'd to honour and explain the *Sacrament*, they ſhould ſtill have been continued, to retrieve the ſame Regard, and make the deeper Impreſſion.

Cap. 11. In the firſt Prayer at publick Baptiſm, he would have this Sentence expung'd: *Jeſus Chriſt in the River* Jordan, *did Sanctify Water to the Myſtical waſhing away of Sin.* He affirms the *Scripture* does not Teach us thus far; and that this Form is productive of Superſtition, and ſeems to imply the Baptiſm of Chriſt had impreſs'd a ſanctifying Virtue on the Element of Water. And both here, and in other Places he ſeems ſo extravagantly afraid of bordering upon Magick, that ſome Times one would almoſt think him under the Power of it.

He grants the ſign of the *Croſs* a very Antient Uſage, and thinks the Continuance of it may be ſerviceable, provided 'tis rightly underſtood, and recover'd from modern Abuſe. But then when the Child is Sign'd with the Croſs, he does not approve the Words then uſed, ſhould be ſpoken to him, becauſe he can't underſtand them. But may not the ſame reaſon be alledg'd againſt the Promiſe made by the Godfathers in the Child's Name, becauſe he is in no Capacity of knowing the meaning, or giving his conſent to the Stipulation? (*Cap.* 12.) Beſides, I don't find *Bucer* diſlikes theſe Words at Infant Baptiſm, *I Baptize* Thee, &c. Tho' here is a direct Application to the Child himſelf. Afterwards he is ſo

†

(*w*) Supplices te Rogamus Omnipotens Deus jube hæc perferri per Manus Sancti Angeli in Sublime Altare tuum.

(*x*) Acts 12. 15. Heb. 1. 14.

(*y*) Tim. 1. 2. *v.* 5.

ſo full of Scruples, that inſtead of the coming to thy Holy Baptiſm, he would have it put, being brought to thy Holy Baptiſm.

He confeſſes the exorciſing of Perſons baptiz'd, is a Cuſtom of the higheſt Antiquity, but then he is of Opinion, that no Perſon ought to conjure evil Spirits, but thoſe who have a miraculous Power to diſpoſſeſs them: And even here he conceives their Commiſſion did not extend to exorciſe any other Perſons but thoſe who were Dæmoniacks. Now he does not think all Perſons unbaptiz'd in this unhappy Condition; if all People before their Admiſſion into the Church, were thus in the Power of the Devil, he concludes the Miracles of our Saviour and his Apoſtles in caſting out evil Spirits, will fall under a Conſtruction of Diſadvantage. But the Neceſſity of this Inference is more than I can diſcover; for without Queſtion there are Degrees of Juriſdiction and Miſchief in theſe Caſes: Evil Spirits may be ſuffer'd to make a malignant Impreſſion, without having the Liberty of an abſolute Conqueſt, and commanding the Motions of Mind and Body.

Cap 13.

From hence he proceeds to rally the old Objection, and diſapproves of the Godfathers and Godmothers Undertaking for the Child, and anſwering the Queſtions put to him. Inſtead of this he would have them interrogated, whether they would do their Endeavour to make the Child learn his Catechiſm, to renounce the Devil, and profeſs his Belief in the Creed.

As to *Confirmation*, he ſeems to think the *Rubrick* ſomewhat ſhort in the Direction, and that the *ſaying the Articles of the Faith in the vulgar Tongue, the Lords Prayer, and the Ten Commandments and the reſt of the Catechiſm, are not ſufficient Qualifications.* Not ſufficient, unleſs the Children are grown up to ſome Degree of Underſtanding in theſe Principles: And before they are confirm'd he would likewiſe have them diſcover a religious Inclination, ſay their Prayers without Menaces or prompting, ſhew themſelves dutiful to their Parents, reſpectful to their Betters, and compaſſionate to the unfortunate: And that thoſe Children who were backward in theſe Improvements, ſhould be refuſed *Confirmation*, and ſhamed to an Emulation of ſuch as are better diſpoſed.

Cap. 17.

Cap. 21.

He conceives the intermitting Catechiſing for Six Weeks together, too long an Interval, and would have it repeated every Holy Day.

Anointing the Sick, tho' 'tis left at the Patients Liberty, won't paſs *Bucers* Teſt, but this Point has been ſpoken to already.

At the *churching* of Women, he excepts againſt offering the *Chriſome* for his Reaſon abovemention'd.

1 Tim. 5.

In the *Commination*, he ſuggeſts the changing the Order of the Curſes, and would have them ſtand as they are placed in the *Decalogue.* He would likewiſe have the Clergy rebuke thoſe publickly who have been publickly ſcandalous, *that others alſo may fear*; that thoſe who are under Pennance ſhould be oblig'd to Abſtinence and Self Denial; to be more frequent in the Exerciſes of Religion, and exceed the uſual Proportion in charitable Diſtributions: That no Perſons ſhould be readmitted to *Communion* without good Proof of their Repentance, and ſtrong Applications for that Privilege: And here he very piouſly exhorts the Clergy to manage the *Keys* with Reſolution, and not to be govern'd by any Regards of Intereſt or Fear. And in the cloſe of the *Chapter* laments the Calamities of *Germany* occaſion'd by the Neglect of *Diſcipline.*

Cap. 25.

Cap. 26.

In the next *Chapter*, which is the laſt I have occaſion to mention, he moves for the retrenching the Holy Days, and diſapproves of ringing the Bells, unleſs upon publick or religious Accounts. (z)

Peter Martyr concurr'd with *Bucer* in his Animadverſions upon the *Common-Prayer-Book*, as appears by his Letter to him upon that Subject. (a)

However, from what has been obſerv'd the *Reader* may perceive *Bucer* was ſomewhat overcharg'd with ſcruples, and carried his *Cenſure* too far. Neither are his Remarks at all reconcileable with his Conceſſions in the beginning of his Diſcourſe.

And amongſt other Things his ſetting aſide Antiquity with ſo much Eaſe, is particularly remarkable. There is a great Deference without doubt due to the Authority of the firſt *Centuries.* 'Twas then the Apoſtolical Traditions were freſh, Miracles were frequent, and the Church under the Conduct of a diſtinguiſhing Illumination. Then ſecular Views and Projects of Ambition were foreign to Inclination. Under ſuch Opportunities and Qualifications what Room is there for Suſpicion of Ignorance or foul Dealing?

Bucers *Cenſure overſtrein'd.*

To reject the Uſages of the Antient Church, becauſe we don't meet with them in *Scripture*, is no good Logick. 'Tis plainly not the Deſign of the *New Teſtament* to furniſh *Liturgies* and *Rituals.* The Converts to St. *Peter's* Sermon *continued ſtedfaſtly in breaking of Bread*, that is adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt, *and in Prayers.* But what the Prayers were at this Solemnity is no where deliver'd in *Scripture.* Where the extraordinary Effuſions of the Holy Ghoſt were not ſupplied, Things of this Nature were left to the Diſcretion of the Spiritual Directors; who were to govern themſelves by St. *Paul's* General Rule, *let all Things be done decently and in Order.*

Acts 2. v. 42.

1 Cor. 14.

'Tis true, if the religious Cuſtoms of Antiquity were plainly inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of the inſpired Writings, we ought to ſtand off from them: But in other Caſes our Saviours Saying is applicable to the preſent purpoſe, *he that is not againſt us, is for us.* And where the Governors of the Church are under no Reſtraint as to Ceremonies and Compoſitions, what ſhould hinder them from following their Judgments, and directing as they think fit? *For where there is no Law there can be no Tranſgreſſion.* What ſhould hinder them in this Caſe from inlarging the Circumſtances of Worſhip? From aſſiſting the Memory, raiſing the Affections, and explaining the Myſteries, with additional Ceremonies and Devotions?

His Objection againſt Primitive Uſages, becauſe they have been overvalued and miſapplied by the Church of *Rome*, goes upon a miſtaken Ground. For granting, the Allegations hold good, there is no Conſequence in the Reaſoning. To argue from the Abuſe againſt the Uſe of Things, is the way to take our Bibles from us: For what Book has been more abus'd than the *inſpir'd Text*? By this Topick almoſt every thing in Religion and Nature muſt be contra-band, and prohibited. *Bucer* was formerly ſenſible of this Fallacy: He ſaw the danger of diſputing at this rate, and

---

(z) Bucer Script. Anglic. *p.* 456. ad *page* 496.

(a) *Archbiſhop* Parker Mſs. C C. C. C. inter Epiſt. Viror. illuſt. German.

* *See his Letter to* Hooper.

and determines againſt it. * To quit Antiquity in any Cuſtom, becauſe 'tis continued in the Church of *Rome*, has neither Reaſon nor Charity in it. It is a peeviſh Principle, and helps to keep up a Spirit of Diviſion. We ought rather to lament the Breaches in the Church, than make them wider. All reproachful Language, humourſome Diſtance, and unneceſſary Squabbles, ſerve only to exaſperate one Part of Chriſtendom againſt another, and make our common Religion the Jeſt of Infidels and Atheiſts. But notwithſtanding theſe Abatements, I may ſeem to have made him, where the Subject furniſh'd matter, and the Argument would drive, *Bucer* could work the point, and do Juſtice to the Cauſe, with Advantage enough.

Bucers *Book concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt.*

About this Time he wrote a Book, entitled, *concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt*, and dedicated it to the King. To bring Things to the Condition deſired, he propoſes the ſending a conſiderable Number of Preachers to all Parts of the Kingdom, and that People ſhould be recover'd from Superſtition by Perſwaſion rather than Rigour. That the Univerſities ought to be Seminaries for this purpoſe, and that thoſe Fellows of Colleges, who either oppoſe the right Belief, or ſpend their Time inſignificantly, ſhould be turn'd out. He is afterwards more particular in his Scheme for the retrieving of Religion, and propoſes ſeveral Laws to the King's Conſideration. *(b)*

Firſt, he would have Parents oblig'd to inſtruct their Children in the Principles of Religion, and lie under a Civil Penalty in Caſe they miſguide their Conſcience, ſet them an Example of Licentiouſneſs, or ſuffer them to be corrupted by other People.

His Second Law, as he calls it, relates to the ſtrict Obſervance of Holy Days. He is of Opinion that theſe *Feſtivals* ſhould be wholly ſpent in Religious Exerciſes without any Allowance for Recreation.

Thirdly, he ſollicits the King for a Law, that Churches may not be prophan'd with ſecular Buſineſs, nor made Places for Walking and Diverſion.

His Fourth Law points to Methods for the due Exerciſe of the Paſtoral Function: And here he adviſes the Biſhops to apply themſelves wholly to the Buſineſs of their Character, and not liv'd embarraſs'd with Secular Employment: He would have a proper Form of Doctrine and Diſcipline offer'd to them, and that they ſhould take an Oath to govern accordingly: He would not have them manage altogether at Diſcretion, but take in the Advice of their Prieſts. Upon the Progreſs of his Diſcourſe, he recollects and relaxes a little, and believes that Biſhops acting in the Civil Adminiſtration may not only be lawful, but ſerviceable to Religion. But then when they are employ'd in Princes Courts and Buſineſs of the *State*, he adviſes the conſtituting a *Co-adjutor*, to manage their Authority and ſupply their Abſence.

He would have the Biſhops viſit their Dioceſs every year, and oftner upon any particular Emergency. And that the Biſhop may be the better appriz'd of any Diſorder, he adviſes the ſetting *Suffragans* over every Twenty Pariſhes, or thereabouts: And if any thing happens too hard for them within their Diviſion, they ſhould apply to their Dioceſan for a Remedy. He adviſes the Meeting of *Provincial Synods* twice a Year, and would have the King ſend ſome Secular Perſons to repreſent his Majeſty, to preſide with the Metropolitan, and ſecure good Order in their Proceedings.

His Fifth Law ſuggeſts the preſerving the Revenues of the Church, diſpoſing of it to Perſons duly qualified, and preventing Simony.

He precautions the King ſtrongly againſt Sacrilege.

And here he charges the Pope with plain Sacrilege, for exacting *firſt Fruits* and *Tenths* of the Biſhops and Clergy: And puts the King in mind that nothing can be more remote from Piety, than to imitate the Court of *Rome* in this particular. He grants Church Lands ought to pay Taxes, no leſs than the Eſtates of the *Laity*, and for this he quotes the *Juſtinian* and *Theodoſian* Codes: And adds that the Clergy were only excus'd from the Burthen of mean Offices, from quartering Soldiers, or entertaining Perſons belonging to the Court. From hence he proceeds to take notice what large Penſions were paid out of the *Exchecquer* for the Support of the Clergy, and the Poor.

That thoſe Religious Emperors always accounted the Revenues of the Church ſacred and unalienable. That they would never ſo much as exchange them with the Crown Lands, unleſs the Church had ſomething better, or at leaſt equal, in Value. And for this he cites a Law of *Juſtinian*; and another of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, to the ſame purpoſe. *(c)*

From theſe Authorities he proceeds to take the Freedom to adviſe the King to drop the demanding of Firſt Fruits and Tenths: And that unleſs his Majeſty waves this Exaction, he can't avoid the Imputation of *Sacrilege*. He deſires him therefore not to uſe the Church more hardly than the reſt of his Subjects: Nor charge thoſe Eſtates which are ſettled for the Service of God, the Incouragement of Learning, and the Maintenance of the Poor, with heavier Taxes than are requir'd from other People: He ſhould he ſorry to find his Majeſty ſhew leſs Regard to the Intereſt of Religion than his Royal Progenitors. Theſe Princes, ſays he, tho' under the Conduct of a leſs Orthodox Perſwaſion, founded Schools and Hoſpitals. And notwithſtanding the Remarkableneſs of their Bounty, wanted no Fund to keep up the Grandeur of their Court, and furniſh them for Succeſs in the *Field*. And that unleſs his Majeſty governs by theſe Meaſures, he can neither juſtifie his Conduct to God nor Man. And here he cries out againſt the Sacrilege of charging Biſhopricks or Benefices with Penſions to Secular Men, who neither officiate in the Church, nor are really indigent.

Church Lands not to be exchang'd without an equal Value return'd.

He tells the King plainly, that exchanging of Church Lands ought by no means to be allow'd, unleſs any Perſon has a Mind to give the Church the beſt of the Bargain, or at leaſt an undiſputed Equivalent. He complains that Colleges and Churches have been extremely injur'd this way: That good condition'd Eſtates have been wreſted from them, and nothing but *Impropriations*, that is the *Plunder* of the *Parſonages*, given in Return. And here he repeats the Singularity, of laying particular Hardſhips upon the Church. To treat, ſays he, the *Miniſters of Chriſt*, and thoſe who are particularly inſtrumental to make us eternally happy; to treat thoſe worſe than the reſt of Mankind, who have no ſuch Recommendation to

---

(b) Bucer de Regno Chriſti *Cap.* 64.& deinc.

(c) Bucer Ibid. *page* 75.

our Regard, is no better than downright Wickedneſs.

I am inform'd, continues *Bucer*, your Majeſties *Treaſury* is exhauſted by the Expence of a long War. If the Caſe ſtands thus, this Difficulty may be got over by cuſtomary Supplies, without having Recourſe to the ſacrilegious Expedient of the Court of *Rome*. He puts his Majeſty in mind to take care not to be impos'd on by any Miſrepreſentations. That ſome People pretend a great Zeal to improve the Royal Revenues, when nothing but their own Covetouſneſs and Ambition lies at the bottom. That ſome Courtiers, 'tis likely may tell his Majeſty how liberal his Father was to his *Miniſters*, to what Degree of Wealth they were rais'd in that Reign by having Abbey and Church Lands beſtow'd upon them; and why may not the Son be govern'd by the Preſident of his Fathers Bounty? *Tully*, as *Bucer* goes on, ſhall anſwer theſe Men. No Man ought to be liberal beyond his Power, nor exhauſt himſelf for the Character of a kind Maſter. And to come to the Caſe in hand, where has your Majeſty any Abbey Lands now to beſtow upon your Courtiers? But if the Biſhops Revenues and other Wealthy Promotions muſt be ſeiz'd, and put under Contribution for this purpoſe, which way can the Clergy of impropriated Pariſhes be provided with a Competency? How can Learning be encouraged, or the Poor taken care of? But theſe Men will object farther, that the Biſhops and Rich Clergy miſmanage their Fortunes, and don't anſwer theſe Expectations of Charity. They entertain an idle unneceſſary Retinue, Squander away and ſpend their income in making a Figure. And now ſince they are allow'd to marry, the Patrimony of the Church will be ſpent upon their Wives and Children.

A Reproof of the Hypocriſy, &c. of ſome Goſpellers.

To this *Bucer* returns an Anſwer, in the Perſon of our Saviour. “Becauſe pretended and diſorderly Biſhops have formerly miſſpent my Patrimony, does it become you who account it an Honour to profeſs my *Goſpel* to ſeize the Remainder? Is it tolerable in you who complain of thoſe Drones, to practice what you condemn, to rob the Hives, and devour the Honey? Are you willing to receive me for your Soveraign, and come under the Adminiſtration of my Kingdom? If you are thus reſolv'd, I would have you conſider whether there muſt not be ſelect *Officers* to execute my Orders, and repreſent me in my Government? And whether 'tis not neceſſary ſuch Perſons ſhould have a Maintenance ſuitable to their Character and Buſineſs? And that thoſe I have bleſs'd with Genius and Talent, ſhould be ſupplied with Opportunities of Improvement? And ſince the Laws of my Kingdom require General Kindneſs, and Offices of Humanity and Compaſſion. I would have you examine your ſelves, and ſee, whether my Government does not require a ſtanding and well furniſh'd Treaſury? Without ſuch a Proviſion, which way can the Poor be made eaſy, and prove ſerviceable to me, or the Commonwealth? Ought I not to be furniſh'd for that Exerciſe of Beneficence, which even Heathens expected from every Wealthy Perſon? That is to be provided with a Fund for the Redemption of Captives; to engage for an indigent Friend, and to encourage the honeſt and induſtrious.

——What Commonwealth was ever ſo barbarous and wicked, as not to make a Diſtinction between private or publick Property, and thoſe Things which are dedicated to the Maintenance of Religion? Theſe laſt even Heathens look upon as the *Demeans* of the ſupreme Being. For this Reaſon they were accounted Sacred, and above the Claim of any Mortal. And if the *State* was ſometimes ſo far preſs'd as to make uſe of them, they look'd upon the Mony no otherwiſe than borrow'd, and always took care to reſtore it when the Difficulty was over: For they believ'd it Part of the Law of Nature, that no Government could make Seizure of what belong'd to the Gods, or preſcribe againſt them upon any Pretence whatever. Thus who ever made bold with any thing conſecrated to Religious Uſes, was charged with Sacrilege, and puniſh'd with more Severity than if he had rob'd the Commonwealth.

'Tis objected by ſome continues *Bucer*, that the Church Eſtates were in a great meaſure gain'd by Impoſture: That the Weakneſs of the Benefactors was ſurpriz'd with Expectations of being diſcharg'd from *Purgatory*, and convey'd to Heaven: That the Colleges and Abbeys were founded upon the Proſpect of this imaginary Return. Since therefore both the Crown and ſeveral conſiderable Families have ſuffer'd in their Revenues by this Fraud, 'tis but reaſonable to make them Reſtitution: For God allows neither to rob, nor cheat for the furniſhing of his *Altar*.

To this Objection *Bucer* anſwers firſt, that thoſe Eſtates can never be more ſerviceable to the *Publick*, than when they are veſted in God Almighty: 'Tis impoſſible they can be better ſpent than in promoting the Intereſt of Religion. Beſides, as to thoſe Families which have been made a Property, and impos'd on to leſſen their Fortune, I deſire, ſays he, to know how many are remaining? Their Poſterity I believe are not commonly met with. However, thoſe Perſons who have this Advantage of Deſcent, and are ſlenderly provided, ought to be aſſiſted by the *Church*, and have a Preference in her Favour. But then we are to obſerve, that by the *Civil Law* all Settlements upon the Common-wealth, tho' the Uſes happen to be exceptionable, were reckon'd irrevocable. Thus for inſtance, in Caſe any Perſon bequeath a Legacy to a Corporation for diverting the People with any ſcandalous Spectacle or Entertainment. This Town renounces *Paganiſm* and turns Chriſtian. And thus the lewd or idolatrous Entertainment becomes impracticable. (*d*) Notwithſtanding this, the Legacy ſhall not return to the Heirs, but remain in the *Corporation*: In the *Corporation* I ſay who are oblig'd to turn the Legacy to ſome juſtifiable Uſe, and do right to the Memory of the Benefactor ſome other way. And thus it follows by greater Force of Conſequence, that thoſe Eſtates which were given to the Church of God, are to remain in their Poſſeſſion: They ſhould indeed be ſpent to better purpoſes, but then the Property ought not to be transferr'd, tho' they were given at firſt upon miſtaken Motives, and for the Support of that which is by no means defenſible.

After this he puts the King in mind that the Honour of our Saviour and the Intereſt of Chriſtianity ſuffers extremely by the Invaſions upon the Church, and that his Majeſty is

(d) De Uſufructu Legatorum. L. Legatum.

nearly concern'd to put a Stop to this Diſorder: And that provided he protects the Clergy in the Enjoyment of their Eſtates, he needs not queſtion being rewarded for his Piety and Juſtice, and that God will ſupply him with means for Bounty, and encouraging Deſert.

He propoſes a Proviſion for the Poor.

His Sixth *Law* propoſes a Scheme for providing for the Poor. And here he would have the Biſhop and his Clergy particularly concern'd: He ſuggeſts the appointing of Deacons for this purpoſe. That they ſhould enquire into the Number and Neceſſity of the Indigent, and enter their Names in a Book: That charitable Collections ſhould be regiſtred, and intruſted with the *Deacons*: That they ought to give an Account of their Management, to the Biſhop and his *Presbytery*: That the Biſhops in their *Viſitations* ſhould enquire what Lands were ſettled for the maintenance of Hoſpitals, and make their Report to the King. And that then it would be his Majeſties Part to recover them to the Uſes they were firſt intended. That in Caſe any Town is not in a condition to maintain all their Poor, ſome of them ſhould be remov'd to wealthier Pariſhes: That Commiſſions ſhould be given out to the Magiſtracy for this purpoſe: And that no Perſon ſhould be allowed to beg, and for this laſt he cites a Law of the Emperor *Valentinian*. (*e*)

(e) Bucer de Regno Chriſti. *page* 83.

The next *Law* he adviſes, relates to Matrimony, upon which Head he runs out into a long Diſcourſe, and ſpends ſeveral *Chapters*. To touch briefly upon ſome of the more remarkable Particulars. And firſt, he would have matrimonial Cauſes taken out of the Hands of the Church, and put under the Regulations of the *State*. He declares ſtrongly for the Marriage of Couſin Germans. And tho' St. *Auſtin* relates the Marriages within this degree, prohibited in his Time; (*f*) *Bucer* obſerves, this Law was repeal'd in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and that the matter was thus left at Liberty by the Emperor *Juſtinian*. St. *Auſtin* urges that the marrying with Perſons unrelated ſpreads Friendſhip and good Correſpondence to a greater Extent: And that upon this Account Chriſtians ſhould decline marrying where they are of Kin. This Father adds that Modeſty and natural Reſervedneſs is better conſulted this way. *Bucer* is ſo far from thinking either of theſe Reaſons ſufficient, that he prefers the intermarrying with Kindred, as far as the Degree of Couſin German, to remoter Engagements; becauſe People have better Opportunities of being inform'd of the Religion and Temper of their Relations, than they can have commonly elſewhere.

(f) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. *Lib.* 15. *c.* 16.

He complains of the *Canon Law* for allowing a Separation from Bed and Board, without diſſolving the Matrimonial Engagement. That this is an unreaſonable Reſtraint he endeavours to prove from the *Theodoſian Code*. And becauſe his Citations are ſomewhat General, I ſhall point them more particularly to the *Reader*.

Marriage allow'd after Divorce.

By a Law of *Conſtantine* the Great, if a Woman could prove her Husband guilty of Murther, Poiſoning, of breaking up Graves, or defacing Monuments, ſhe might ſue for a Divorce, and recover her Fortune. (*g*) Thus if a Man could prove his Wife falſe to his Bed, a Procureſs, or Poiſoner, he might part with her, and marry again. A Law much of the ſame Tenor was afterwards publiſh'd by the Emperor *Honorius*. (*h*) And here there was ſome Difference of Privilege between the Caſe of the Man and the Woman: For by the Law of *Honorius*, if the Womans Suggeſtions for a Divorce were found juſtifiable, ſhe was to recover her Fortune, and keep what her Husband preſented her with at the Contract, and over and above, ſhe had the Liberty of marrying again at the End of Five Years. If the Husband parted with his Wife upon defenſible Grounds, he was to keep her Fortune, and have his own Preſents and Settlement return'd. And in both theſe Caſes the Husband and Wife have an equal Conſideration. But in another Circumſtance the Man has the Advantage, becauſe he has the Liberty of marrying immediately after the Divorce; whereas the Woman is oblig'd to ſtay Five Years. There is likewiſe ſome Difference made by the Imperial Laws in other Caſes. For inſtance, if a Woman parted with her Husband, and declar'd herſelf diſengag'd, without aſſigning any Reaſons, the Man had the Liberty of marrying another immediately: Whereas if the Woman was thus ill uſed, ſhe was barr'd Marriage for one whole Year. Secondly, if a Woman procur'd a Divorce, and could charge her Husband no higher than Perverſeneſs of Humour, and Miſbehaviour under the Relation; when this happen'd the Woman was condemn'd to live ſingle all her Life time, whereas if the Woman was diſcharg'd upon no ſtronger Imputation, the Husband might marry again at Two Years End: But in one Caſe the Husband and Wife had the ſame Treatment: For if either of them had divorced each other without any Reaſon aſſign'd, they were always to live ſingle, and never permitted to marry elſewhere. (*i*)

(g) III. Cod. Theodoſ. Tit. 16. *l.* 1.

(h) Ibid. *l.* 11.

(i) Ibid. Comment. Gothofred.

To return to *Bucer*, who takes notice that notwithſtanding St. *Jerome* was ſo great an Admirer of Celibacy; he was yet overborn by the Equity of the Caſe to defend the Lady *Fabiola* in her Second Marriage, after ſhe had divorc'd her Husband. (*k*)

(k) Id. de Regno Chriſt. *page* 93.

And after Monaſtick Vows.

He obſerves farther, that the *Fathers* allow'd Marriage in ſome Caſes after Monaſtick Vows. For this purpoſe he produces a famous Paſſage of St. *Cyprian*. (*l*) Where ſpeaking of thoſe who had vow'd ſingle Life, he delivers himſelf thus: If ſays he, they are either diſenclin'd, or unable to make good their Engagement, *they had better marry than burn*: *Si autem perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam in Ignem Deliciis ſuis cadant.* To confirm this Opinion, he cites the Authority of St. *Auſtin* and Pope *Gelaſius* the firſt. (*m*)

(l) Lib. Epiſt. 1. Epiſt. 11.

(m) Bucer Ibid. *p.* 95.

And to juſtifie Marriage after Divorce, he appeals to *Origen* and *Leo* the Firſt. (*n*) The Reſolution of this Pope is ſomewhat remarkable. In his Letter to the *African* Biſhops of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, amongſt other Things, he complains of their Connivance at a Prieſt who had divorc'd his Wife, and married another. However, he only adviſes diſcharging him the Exerciſe of his Function. But he neither declares the Marriage void, nor moves for Excommunication. (*o*)

(n) Leo Epiſt. 85.

(o) Bucer Ibid. *page* 97.

Bucer obſerves, Divorces may be allow'd in other Caſes beſides Adultery: Such as Deſertion, *&c.* And here he offers at anſwering thoſe *Texts* of *Scripture*, which are thought to forbid this Liberty. (*p*) He declares for the puniſhing Adultery with Death both in Man and Woman.

(p) Idem *p.* 1 4. & 122.

Rules for the Education of Youth.

In his *Chapter* concerning the Education of Youth, he would have thoſe excommunicated, who refuſe to Work when they are able. To ſecure Young People from Miſcarriage, in their Manners or Employment, he propoſes the chuſing ſome diſcreet People in every Town and Village, to inſpect their Conduct, to Examine their Genius, and ſuit them with Buſineſs accordingly.

Id.*p.*134.135.

He ſpends one *Chapter* in laying down ſome Rules for the reforming *Merchandizing*. He grants the Merchants have a creditable Imployment, and that the Commonwealth can't go on without them. But then he would have them reſtrain'd from Importing unneceſſary Commodities, and which tend only to the nouriſhing Luxury and Pride. He complains their Gains are much over-proportion'd to their Induſtry or Pretenſions. That their raiſing great Eſtates by indirect Practice, Tempts People of promiſing Parts to ingage that way, who might be more ſerviceable to the *State* and Church by a learned Education.

He adviſes the reforming the Merchants.

He complains their bringing over Curioſities and ſhining Trifles, Tempts the extravagant Gentry to run out in Figure, and purchaſe beyond their *Pocket*. Beſides, the Merchants living at ſuch a rate of Expence and Appearance, puts People of Condition upon a dangerous Emulation. And thus the Nobility and Gentry thinking it beneath them to be out done by Men of ſlender Beginnings, ſtrain beyond their Strength, in their Houſes, Eating, and Equipage: And by this means it often happens, their Fortunes are dip'd, their Families ruin'd, and their *Seats* Sold to the Merchant.

To prevent this Miſchief, he would have none bound to a Merchant, 'till they had paſs'd the Teſt of the Pariſh *Fryars* abovemention'd, and given fair Indications of Induſtry and Conſcience. Then as to their Buſineſs, he would have them barr'd the liberty of Importing any Commodities, which ſerve only for *Fancy*, and unneceſſary Figure: And laſtly, he thinks the Government ſhould ſet a moderate Price upon every thing they Sell. And that *Retailers* ſhould be under the ſame Reſtraints, to put a ſtop to Covetouſneſs and Circumvention. And to give a more effectual check to Vanity and Levelling, he recommends the making *Sumptuary* Laws: That the diſtinctions of Quality, and a reſpect for the Government might be kept up: And that People who are neither in publick Poſts, nor diſtinguiſh'd in their Condition, might not have the liberty to Exhauſt themſelves in Figure, to carry on Extravagance, and diſable themſelves for Charity.

He moves for explaining the Laws, and publiſhing them in Engliſh.

He acquaints the King, the Laws which ſettle Property are much complain'd of, for their Ambiguity and other Defects: That Tenures, and Deſcents, Exchanges, and other Contracts, are perplex'd, and liable to diſpute: That the Laws being Penn'd in a Forreign Language, lie out of common View: That by this means thoſe who profeſs the Law, are put into a Condition to entangle Property, and impoſe upon the Subject. That he is inform'd, his Majeſty's Father being ſenſible of this great Inconvenience, projected a Reformation of the Laws, and Commiſſionated ſeveral Perſons for that Purpoſe; but ſince this Scheme, as it happend, was never executed, he adviſes that the Laws relating to Commerce and Eſtates, may be Publiſh'd in Engliſh, and explain'd in ſuch a Method, that a common Capacity may reach them. For ſince the Laws are every Mans Birth-right, ſince every one is oblig'd to keep them, he thinks it but reaſonable they ſhould lie open in Language and Meaning, that every Body may underſtand them.

From hence he proceeds to lay down ſome Directions for the Regulation of the *Magiſtracy*. He would have every Perſon nicely Examin'd, before he is put into any Office of Truſt and Power. And here he makes *Sobriety* and good Life, a neceſſary Qualification: He would have no Man preferr'd for Favour or Mony, nor ſuffer'd to act by a Deputy: He would have the management of the Inferior Magiſtracy, inſpected by thoſe in a higher Station; And that when the Term of the Office is expir'd, they ſhould give a publick Account of their Adminiſtration; And that every Body ſhould have notice to Inform againſt them. He Remonſtrates againſt tedious Impriſonment, and Cites a Law of *Gratian* and *Valentinian* for ſpeedy Tryals: And that thoſe committed for Malefactors, might be quickly either Puniſh'd or Diſcharg'd; And whereas long Impriſonment is ſometimes part of the Sentence; he thinks condemning them to ſome ſervile Ignominious Buſineſs *Abroad*, might prove a more ſignificant Correction. Becauſe the retirement of a *Goal* keeps People Private, and ſcreens them from Infamy in ſome Meaſure. Beſides, they are commonly uſeleſs, under ſuch Confinements, and left wholly to Idleneſs and ill Company.

And propoſes ſome Regulations of the Magiſtracy.

He proceeds to Diſcourſe, concerning the degrees of Puniſhment: And here he propoſes the *Moſaick* Law for a Rule as to the main. For tho' we are not bound, either to the *Ceremonial* Part, or to all the Circumſtances, even of the *Judicial*: Yet where the Caſes are Parralel, and the Application holds, we ſhould be Govern'd by it. For how can we be ſo certain of Equity, and exact Proportion, as when we proceed by the Meaſures of Infinite Wiſdom? Upon this Ground he would have thoſe Crimes Capitally Puniſh'd in all Commonwealths, which were death by the Law of *Moſes*. For Inſtance, thoſe who Endeavor to make People deſert from the true Religion, and recommend a falſe Worſhip. (by which *Moſes* meant Pagan Idolatry;) (*q*) Thoſe guilty of Blaſphemy, breach of the Sabbath; contumelious Behaviour to Parents; Thoſe who refuſe to ſubmit to the award of the higheſt Court of Juſtice: Thoſe guilty of Murder, Adultery, Inceſt, Stealing of Men, or falſe Witneſs, where the Life of the Perſon is concern'd. Had not theſe Crimes, ſays he, deſerv'd Death, we may be ſure God Almighty would have order'd a gentler Puniſhment. And here he complains of the Partiality and Connivance of human Laws: If you aſk the reaſon, ſays he, why Theft is puniſh'd with Death, and Whoredom, and Adultery over-look'd in ſeveral Kingdoms? The Anſwer is, becauſe the *Legiſlators* value their Property higher than their Religion; 'tis becauſe they are more concern'd for Wealth, and Power, than for the Intereſt of Virtue, the Honour of God, or their own Salvation (*r*)

A Recital of ſome Crimes which deſerve Capital Puniſhment.

This Book of *the Kingdom of Chriſt*, was dedicated to the King, and preſented for a New Years Gift. The Young Prince, it ſeems, was pleas'd with the Performance, began to draw a Plan from ſome part of it, and project a Reformation of the Government. (*s*)

This *Tract* of *Bucer's*, has a great deal of uncommon Thought in't, handſomely ſupported.

The

(q) Deut. 13. and 17.
Levit. 24.
Exod. 31. *and* 35.
Deut. 21.
Deut. 17.
Exod. 22.
Levit. 20.
Deut. 19.
Levit. 20.
Deut. 22.
Deut. 24.
Deut. 19.

(r) Bucer Script. Anglic. *p.* 56. *to p.* 170.

(s) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 157. *and Records* 69.

The whole Diſcourſe appears with a noble Air of Freedom and Integrity. For theſe reaſons, and the ſcarceneſs of the Book, I have been the longer in giving an account of it, which I hope may not be diſagreeable to the *Reader*.

Ridley's *Viſitation.*

(t) *King* Edward's *Remains.*

To go back towards the beginning of this Year. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, made a *Viſitation* about *June*. (t) The Articles may be ſeen in Biſhop *Sparrow*'s Collections. They relate to enquiries concerning the Regularity, Doctrines, and performances of the Clergy. For the purpoſe, whether they declar'd themſelves Abettors of the Popes Uſurpation, obſtructed the Exerciſe of Preaching, or Reading the *Scriptures* in the Engliſh Tongue? Whether they incited Men to Sedition, and admitted any Perſons to Communion before they were ſufficiently inſtructed in the Principles of Religion, and had been Confirm'd by the Biſhop? Whether they Sold the Holy Euchariſt? Preach'd or argued againſt the Common-Prayer-Book? Or had private Maſſes? Whether Anabaptiſts, or any other Sect held Conventicles? Preach'd Heterodoxies, or adminiſtred the Sacrament in a different manner from the publick Eſtabliſhment? Whether any Pariſh Prieſt refuſ'd to make uſe of the Common-Prayer purſuant to the directions of the *Rubrick*? Whether Baptiſm was adminiſtred contrary to the publick Eſtabliſhment, with reſpect either to Time or Language? Whether Infant Baptiſm was impugn'd? Whether the prohibited degrees of Marriage, publiſhing the Banes, and ſome other Circumſtances were duly Obſerv'd? Whether any Perſons affirm the Wickedneſs of the Miniſter, voids the Effect of the Sacrament? Whether the Curates viſit the Sick, bury the Dead, examine the Children, and expound the *Catechiſm* according to Appointment in the *Book* of *Common-Prayer*? Whether the Holy-days and Ceremonies laid aſide, are kept, and made uſe of?

To theſe *Articles* the Biſhop added ſome *Injunctions*. The deſign of them is moſtly to prevent the revival of the old Superſtitions. For Inſtance, the Curates, and Prieſts are forbidden to practice ſeveral Ceremonies preſcrib'd for the *Maſs*; ſuch as waſhing their Hands after the Goſpel, or receiving the Holy Communion, ſhifting the Book from one place to another, bleſſing their Eyes with the Sudary or Paten, Elevation of the conſecrated Elements before Diſtribution. Theſe with ſeveral other Geſtures and Ceremonies, are prohibited too long to rehearſe. (u)

(u) Regiſt. Ridley Fol. 305.

But the main Buſineſs of this *Viſitation*, was the taking down *Altars*, and putting *Tables* in their Room. The leading motive to this Alteration, as the learned *Heylin* Conceives, was the giving in, in ſome meaſure, to the Sentiments of *Calvin*, and thoſe of the Zuinglian Perſwaſion. Some of theſe Forreigners, it ſeems, made it their Buſineſs to bring the Engliſh Church to the Model of *Geneva*, and *Switzerland*.

For this purpoſe *Hooper*, who had no great regard for Antiquity, took occaſion in his Court *Sermon* this Year, to ſuggeſt, "that the Government would do well to turn the *Altars* "into *Tables*, according to the firſt Inſtitution "of Chriſt, that by this Expedient, the People "would be cur'd of a falſe Perſwaſion of the "performing Sacrifices: That as long as the *Altars* continued, both ignorant People, and ignorant Prieſts, would always dream of Sacrifice.

This Diſcourſe was well receiv'd by ſome great *Courtiers*, who practiſ'd upon the Hint; and as it is to be fear'd, not altogether upon religious Conſiderations. That Intereſt had the Aſcendant, ſeems not improbable, by the Enquiry made ſome time after, what Jewels, Gold, and Silver Plate, Hangings, and other rich Ornament and Furniture, belong'd to Cathedral or Parochial Churches; with Orders to leave only a very ſlender Remainder. (w)

(w) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 95.

The King's Letter for changing Altars into Tables.

Nov. 24. An. Dom. 1550.

The alteration abovemention'd being reſolv'd, a Letter in the King's Name was directed to Biſhop *Ridley*; it ſets forth, "that notwithſtanding *Altars* had been taken down upon "good Conſiderations in moſt parts of the "Kingdom, yet they were continued in ſeveral Churches: That this occaſion'd a great "deal of claſhing and diſpute, and therefore "to avoid all Occaſions of Conteſt and Miſunderſtandings, his Majeſty Commands the "Biſhop, that all *Altars* ſhould be taken away "in the Dioceſe of *London*, and *Tables* ſet up "in their Room. And that weak People might "not be ſhock'd at this new Appearance, there "were ſeveral Reaſons digeſted into Form, "and ſent with the Letter, to juſtify what was "done. With theſe Arguments the Biſhop "was to furniſh ſuch Preachers as he thought "diſpoſed for the Service. This *Letter* was Subſcrib'd by the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Bedford*, and *Wiltſhire*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *North*.

The Reaſons for this Alteration.

The Arguments convey'd with the Letter, to reconcile the People to the *Order*, were to this Effect. Firſt 'twas urg'd an *Altar* was for *Sacrifice*, and a *Table* for *Eating*, the latter therefore was more proper for the Solemnity of the *Lord's Supper*. Secondly, That in the Book of *Common-Prayer* the Words, *Altar*, the Lord's *Board*, and *Table*, are promiſcuouſly uſed, without preſcribing any thing, with reſpect to Figure and Form. That 'tis called a *Table*, with Reference to the Lord's Supper: And an *Altar* upon the Score of the Sacrifice of *Praiſe* and Thankſgiving there offer'd to God Almighty. That therefore the changing *Altars* into *Tables*, is no contradiction to the *Rubrick*. The Third Reaſon aims at the reforming the Superſtition of the *Maſs*, and recovering the People from their Miſapprehenſions, concerning the *Sacrifice* offer'd there. Fourthly, 'tis argued that *Altars* were erected for the Sacrifices of the *Moſaick* Inſtitution; that ſince the Obligation of this *Law* was now at an end, the form of the *Altar* ought not to continue. Fifthly, Our Saviour inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at a *Table*, and not at an *Altar*; neither does it appear the Apoſtles made uſe of this latter in their Miniſtrations. Laſtly, 'tis declar'd in the Preface to the *Book of Common-Prayer*, that if any doubt ſhould happen concerning the uſe of that Book, the reſolution of the difficulty ſhould be referr'd to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. How cogent theſe Reaſons were, I ſhall not Examine. However, Biſhop *Ridley*, as far as it appears, comply'd with the *Order*, without any Reluctancy. And afterwards when there happen'd a Conteſt about the Form of the Lord's *Board*: That is, whether 'twas to be made upon the reſemblance of an *Altar*, or like a *Table*, he declar'd for the latter Figure, and gave a Preſident of it in his own Cathedral of St. *Paul's*; where he order'd the Wall ſtanding on the backſide of the *Altar*, to be broken down. However, it ſeems this Change did not make its way thro' all the Kingdom, 'till the *firſt Liturgy* was diſcharg'd by *Act* of Parliament: The firſt Liturgy, I ſay, where by the Rubrick, the Prieſt is order'd to ſtand before the middle of the *Altar*, whereas by the *Second Liturgy*, the Prieſt being appointed *to ſtand on the North ſide of the Table*, put an end to the Diſpute.

June 9.

'Twas now thought fit to try the Temper of Biſhop *Gardiner*, and whether Two Years Impriſonment in the *Tower*, had made him more flexible. To this purpoſe the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *Great Chamberlain*, and Secretary *Petre*, were order'd to go to him. Being ask'd whether he would conform to the Government, he anſwer'd in the Affirmative, and that he was ready to recommend and promote the keeping the King's Laws. Some few Days after, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and others of the *Council*, asking his Opinion of the *Book of Common-Prayer*, his Anſwer was, that notwithſtanding he would not have drawn it up altogether in that manner himſelf; yet he could fairly reconcile it to his Conſcience, and therefore ſhould Officiate by it, and take care to bring others to the ſame Conformity. (x)

Biſhop Gardiner *farther Examin'd.*

This one would think, look'd like reaſonable Satisfaction: But 'tis poſſible ſome great Men were willing to intangle the Biſhop, and prevent his Diſcharge. But let this be as it will, 'tis certain he was put to a ſtricter Teſt. In the firſt Place there were ſeveral *Articles* given him to Subſcribe. By theſe he was to make an Acknowledgment of his Miſbehavior, and own the Juſtice of his Confinement. He was likewiſe to own the King's Supremacy: That the Power of making and diſpenſing with Holydays, was part of the Prerogative: That the Common-Prayer-Book was a godly and commendable Form. That the King was a compleat Sovereign in his Minority: That the *Act* of the *Six Articles* was juſtly repeal'd: And that the King had full Authority to Correct and Reform what was amiſs in the Church: The Biſhop put his hand to all the *Articles*, excepting the firſt: He ſtood upon the Inoffenſiveneſs of his Conduct, and declar'd he could not Subſcribe himſelf guilty of Faults he had never committed.

Articles injoin'd him to Subſcribe.

Upon this, the *Council* order'd new *Articles*, and a fuller Submiſſion ſhould be drawn for the Biſhop to Subſcribe: The Articles were Two and Twenty, and comprehended the greateſt part of the *Reformation* made in the late and preſent Reign. For the purpoſe, that King *Henry* the Eighth, had juſtly diſſolv'd the Monaſteries, and that the Chauntry Lands were defenſibly taken away: That Images in Churches, and *Miſſals*, were likewiſe taken away upon juſtifiable Accounts: That the *Homilies*, and *Ordinal*, are good Books, and ought to be receiv'd: That the lower *Orders* of Subdeacon and downward, are unneceſſary, and that the Omiſſion of them in the late *Ordinal*, is altogether juſtifiable: That all Points neceſſary to Salvation are contain'd in the *Holy Scripture*: That the ſetting up *Eraſmus* his *Paraphraſe* in Churches, was done upon good Grounds. The reſt have been mention'd already. Theſe *Articles* which were put into Form by *Ridley*, *Petre*, *Cecil*, and *Goodericк*, a common Lawyer, the Biſhop was to Subſcribe, and declare himſelf willing, to recommend and Publiſh them from the Pulpit. But *Gardiner* abſolutely refuſ'd the *Article* of Submiſſion, requeſted he might be brought to his Tryal, and deſir'd nothing but Juſtice. As to the other Articles he told the Biſhop of *London*, and Secretary *Petre*, that when he was at Liberty, he would diſcover his Opinion: But did not think it reaſonable to be preſs'd to a Subſcription, during his being in Priſon. This Anſwer being reported to the *Council*, 'twas agreed to ſend for him: And in Caſe he gave no farther Satisfaction, to put his Biſhoprick under *Sequeſtration* for Three Months, and then deprive him, provided his Incompliance continued.

July 19. *His Biſhoprick is ſequeſtred.*

When the Biſhop was brought before the *Board*, and the Queſtion put to him, his Anſwer was, that he would gladly Obey his Majeſty's Commands in every thing: But at preſent his Conſcience not giving him leave to go the length requir'd, he deſir'd they would be pleas'd to excuſe him. Upon this the Council proceeded to the Sentence of Sequeſtration.

December 15.

In *December* following, a Commiſſion was directed to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, to Secretary *Petres*, Sir *James Hales*, and ſome other Lawyers, to call the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* before them, and proceed to Deprivation, in Caſe he continued Obſtinate. When *Gardiner* was brought to *Lambeth*, before the Commiſſioners, he made a Proteſtation againſt his Judges, and excepted to the Legality of their Commiſſion, and deſir'd a Copy of that and the *Articles*, which was granted. (y)

Upon the Fourteenth of *February* following, he was brought again before the Commiſſioners and depriv'd: He appeal'd from them to the King, and deſir'd a Copy of the *Sentence*, to which the Commiſſioners demurr'd, 'till the Pleaſure of the King and *Council* was farther known.

He is Depriv'd

The next Day the *Council* ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, after a debate upon the Biſhops Caſe, came to the following Reſolution. That ſince this Prelate had Miſbehav'd himſelf with reſpect to the King, and reproach'd his Judges with the Names of *Hereticks* and *Sacramentaries*, he ſhould be remov'd to worſe Lodging, and have but one Perſon, of the Lieutenants appointing, to attend him: That he ſhould not be allow'd any Company, nor ſend Letters or Meſſages to any Perſon, or receive any thing from them. His Books and Papers were likewiſe order'd to be taken from him.

And more cloſely Impriſon'd. Council Book.

Theſe Proceedings ſeem'd very Arbitrary, and by no means conſiſtent with the Engliſh Claim of Liberty and Property. 'Twas thought ſomewhat ſingular to Impriſon a Man upon a Complaint, and after Two Years Confinement, to put new *Articles* to him, without farther enquiry into the Reaſons for his Commitment. Beſides, to deny the Biſhop the benefit of the King's *Courts*, and ſtop the Channels of Juſtice, was ſomewhat extraordinary, and came too near the Rigors of the *Inquiſition*, as ſome ventur'd to ſay. (z) To alledge that the *Canon Law was not rectified, and that the King ſtood in the Popes Place*, ſeems an Inſufficient Defence. For by the *Canon* Law, Lay Men had no Authority to make part of the Bench for ſequeſtring, or depriving a Biſhop. Beſides, to bring Liberty and Freehold under the cogniſance of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, is bearing ſomewhat hard upon *Magna Charta*.

Our learned Hiſtorian does not ſtick to Confeſs, that *Cranmer* was carried beyond his ordinary Temper, and ſtretch'd a little in the Proceedings againſt *Gardiner* and *Bonner*.

Bp. Burnet *p.* 163.

(x) Council *Book. King* Edward's *Journal.*

(y) Council *Book.*

(z) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 152. Ibid.

Upon *Gardiner*'s Deprivation, *Poynet* was preferr'd to the *See* of *Wincheſter*.

Nov. 30. An. Dom. 1550. Day *Biſhop of* Chicheſter *committed to the* Fleet.

This Year *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was call'd to an Account, for not complying with the King's *Letter*, for taking down *Altars*; to prevent Proſecution, he came to the Duke of *Somerſet*'s, and deſir'd he might be excus'd upon the Score of Conſcience. The next Day appearing before the *Council*, he declar'd 'twas his Opinion, that the taking down the Altars, and ſetting up Tables, was more than could be juſtified by the *Scriptures*, or the Fathers of the Church; and that the Six Reaſons publiſh'd by the Biſhop of *London*, were ſhort of Satisfaction. (*a*) The *Board* requiring him to alledge his *Scripture* Authorities, he cited a *Text* from *Iſaiah*, (*b*) but this was over-rul'd by *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *&c.* as not pertinent to his Point. The Two Biſhops abovemention'd, argued the Caſe with him, and laid down ſome of the Grounds of their Opinion. To this *Chicheſter* replied, he could not perceive their reaſoning was ſtrong enough to command his Practice: However, he was willing to be farther Inſtructed. The *Council* remitted him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, and gave him Four Days to return his Anſwer. The Biſhop at his next appearing perſiſted in his former Sentiment, and urg'd a Text from the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where 'tis ſaid, *We have an Altar, whereof they have no Right to eat, which ſerve the Tabernacle.* (*c*) But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* told him, this Citation was Forreign to the purpoſe. That Chriſt was meant by the Word *Altar* in this Place as appears by the Context. As to the Authorities of the Primitive Church, the Biſhops urg'd that 'twas clear by *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, that the Chriſtians had no Altars when this Father liv'd. This they think may be concluded by Negative Proof. They added that in regard the Altars had been abuſed, 'twas neceſſary to have them removed. However, they own'd the Lord's *Table* was call'd an Altar by Antient Writers. In fine, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* continued unſatisfied, and was order'd on *Sunday* following to give in his final Anſwer. He appear'd accordingly, and told them, he could by no means prevail with himſelf to act againſt his Conſcience. That if there was no help for it, he thought it a leſs evil to ſuffer the Body to Periſh, than to deſtroy the Soul. This Anſwer being conſtrued Contempt, he was committed to the *Fleet*, by the order of the whole *Board*.

(a) Council Book penes Robert *Harley* Armig.

(b) *Cap.* 19. *v.* 19.

Decemb. 4.

(c) Heb. 13. *v.* 10.

Council Book.

Oct. 7. 1550.

This Biſhops Incompliance, had occaſion'd ſome diſturbance in his Dioceſe, as appears by the *Council*'s Letter to Dr. *Cox*, who was order'd to go into *Suſſex*, to quiet the People, and remove their Scruples, who, as the Letter Words it, were now troubled, by the ſeditious Preaching of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and others. *

* *Council Book.*

To look back a little, in *May* this Year, one *Nixon* pretended to a Spirit of Prophecy, took great Freedoms upon the ſtrength of his Character, and ſpoke ſome things againſt the King and Government, for which he was committed to the Tower. (*d*)

(d) *Council Book.*

The Judges Opinion concerning a Spiritual Office.

In *November* following, the *Juſtices*, *Leiſter*, *Bromley*, and *Portman*, appear'd before the *Council*, where being demanded why they had proceeded in the Premunire againſt the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, contrary to the countermand of that *Board*: They anſwer'd they were Sworn to ſuffer the Laws to have their due Courſe. At laſt this Queſtion was given them to Anſwer upon the Twenty Sixth Inſtant, *viz.* "Whether if a ſpiritual Office was ſurrendered to the King, and afterwards the King by Parliament, newly Erects the ſame Office, whether the ſame be a Spiritual Office or no?

Council Book.

To this the Judges above-mention'd, by the Advice of the reſt of their Brethren, anſwer'd thus in the Affirmative. "That a Spiritual Office ſo ſurrendered to the King, notwithſtanding the new Erection of the ſame by any Act of Parliament, remains ſtill a ſpiritual Office as before.

The See of Exeter *voided.*

Voiſy Biſhop of *Exeter* was depriv'd, or as ſome ſay reſign'd this Year. He was ſuſpected for ſecretly abetting the late Rebellion in *Devonſhire.* This Prelate was no Friend to the *Reformation*, nor yet true to the Intereſt of his *See*: For he convey'd away Fourteen of the beſt Mannors, and made long Leaſes, charg'd with Penſions of the reſt. And thus he betray'd his Church, either out of Covetouſneſs or Cowardiſe. (*e*)

(e) Godwin de Preſul. Angl. Heylin.

Great Alienations of Biſhops Lands.

Kitchen Biſhop of *Landaff*, and *Salcot*, *alias Capon* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, tho' they made ſhift to comply with the Orders for the *Reformation*, yet it ſeems they did it with an ill Grace, and diſcover'd their Diſaffection. Thus lying expos'd to the diſpleaſure of the *Court*, they were forc'd to compound at high Rates, to keep their Station. Thus the Cathedral of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, was ſtrip'd of a great part of its Patrimony, to raiſe a Barons Eſtate for Sir *William Paget*. *Salcot* of *Salisbury*, bought his Peace of ſome great Men, by making long Leaſes of the beſt of his Farms and Mannors. And *Kitchen* Biſhop of *Landaff*, was ſo falſe and poor Spirited, as to convey away almoſt all the Lands of that rich *See*, and let the reſt for a very long Term upon a ſmall Rent reſerv'd. (*f*)

(f) Godwin de Præſul. Angl. Heylin.

The Submiſſions of Dr. Oglethorpe, *and Dr.*Smith.

Towards the latter end of this Year, there was great Complaint made againſt Dr. *Oglethorpe*, Preſident of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. To ſecure himſelf from the Information which related to Religion, he Sign'd a Paper, by way of Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to this Effect. "That he had never Preach'd againſt, nor openly contradicted any Points of Religion, ſet forth by his Majeſty, or Enacted in *Parliament*: That he thought the King's Proceedings in this matter pious and good, if us'd according to the Intendment of his Highneſs his Laws: And that the Form and Order of Religion now ſet forth, was nearer the Practiſe of the Apoſtolical and Primitive Church, then that which was formerly us'd in *England*: And particularly that Communicating the *Laity* under both kinds, that ſome of the People ſhould always receive the Holy Euchariſt with the Prieſt, the Common-Prayer in Engliſh, the *Homilies* lately ſet forth, and many other Alterations, were Commendable and Pious, provided they were rightly uſed. And laſtly, he declares his diſlike of the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, thinks it neither agreeable to the Scripture, nor the Belief of the Antient Church: However, he owns a Myſterious and Incomprehenſible Preſence of Chriſt's Body: That therefore it ought to be Adminiſtred with Solemnity and Reverence, and not receiv'd without great Preparation. (*g*)

(g) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *Records*, *p.* 207.

Dr. *Smith* is another Inſtance of Compliance farther than was expected. He had Written a Book for the *Cælibacy* of the *Clergy*, and appear'd pretty much againſt the Changes in Religion. Complaints being ſent up againſt him from *Oxford*, he was brought to *London* and impriſon'd: But after ſome little time was admitted to Bayl. And growing more inoffenſive in his Behaviour, *Cranmer* got his Sureties diſcharg'd; upon which he writ him a Letter of Thanks. " In this Addreſs he tells the Archbiſhop, he ſhall always be ſenſible of his Favour, he thanks him for his gentle Uſage of thoſe in the *Univerſity* who differ'd from his Graces Opinion in matters of Religion: he deſires to ſee ſome part of *Cranmers* Collection againſt his Book for the *ſingle Life* of the Clergy. He profeſſes he wrote this Diſcourſe only with a Deſign to diſcuſs the Queſtion, and reach the Truth, and that it was afterwards printed againſt his Will: He heartily wiſhes it had never been written, becauſe he found himſelf miſtaken in his main ground: He then believ'd the Engliſh Prieſts were under a Vow of Celibacy after Ordination, but now he was of another Opinion. And laſtly, he wiſhes the Archbiſhop a long Life for the Countenance and Advancement of Piety.

Id. ex Mſs. Coll. C. C. Cant.

Bucers *Death.*

This Year in *February Martin Bucer* departed this Life at *Cambridge*. This Learned Perſon having the Countenance of the Court and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, was buried with all imaginable Reſpect. The Vice Chancellor and all the Graduates, together with the Mayor and Aldermen accompanied the Corps to St. *Maries*, where after Prayers, *Haddon* the Univerſity Orator made a Speech in Commendation of the Deceas'd. After this, his Friend Dr. *Parker* pay'd him the ſame Regard in an Engliſh Sermon, and Sir *John Cheek* in a conſolatory Letter to Dr. *Haddon* laments Bucers Death with a great deal of Rhetorick, and gives him an honourable Character. He was a Perſon of good Learning, and regular Behaviour: And notwithſtanding his Singularity in ſome matters, he ſeems to have been all along acted by a Principle of Conſcience, without popular Humour, or mercenary Deſigns. (*h*)

(h) Inter Script. Anglic. Bucer *page* 867. *to page* 914. Regiſt. Ridley *Fol.* 281.

To the ſame Year we may reckon the *Privy Councils* Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, to forbid the Curates of his Dioceſe preaching on any other Days than thoſe hereafter mention'd. They acquaint the Biſhop with their being inform'd by the Lord Chancellor, that ſeveral Preachers in the County of *Eſſex* got too often into the Pulpit, and preach'd on Working Days: That this over frequent Preaching drew the People from their Buſineſs, and gave occaſion to Idleneſs. To this End they pray the Biſhop to reſtrain theſe Performances only to *Sundays* and *Holydays*, and that on Working Days they ſhould only read the Prayers preſcrib'd.

Feb. 25. 1550. *The Libraries at* Weſtminſter *and at* Oxford *almoſt deſtroy'd.*

About this time the **Council Book** mentions the Kings ſending a Letter for the purging his Library at *Weſtminſter*. " The Perſons are not nam'd, but the Buſineſs was to cull out all ſuperſtitious Books, as *Miſſals*, *Legends*, and ſuch like, and to deliver the Garniture of the Books being either Gold or Silver, to Sir *Anthony Aucher*. Theſe Books were many of them plated with Gold and Silver, and curiouſly emboſſed: This as far as we can collect, was the Superſtition that deſtroyed them. Here Avarice had a very thin Diſguiſe, and the Courtiers diſcover'd *of what Spirit* they were to a remarkable Degree.

The *Oxford* Libraries had much the ſame Quarter this Year from the *Kings Viſitors* as that at *Weſtminſter*. To give ſome Inſtances, *Merton* College had almoſt a Cart load of Manuſcripts carried off, and thrown away to the moſt ſcandalous Uſes: Theſe Books were written upon the Subjects of Divinity, Aſtronomy, and Mathematicks by ſome of the moſt eminent of that *Society*. *Baliol*, *Exeter*, *Queens*, and *Lincoln* Colleges were purg'd of a great Part of the Fathers and Schoolmen; and to ſhew the Diſcretion of ſome People was much of the ſame Size with their Juſtice, and what an Antipathy they had to the Memory of Learned Men; great Heaps of theſe Books were ſet on Fire in the Market Place. This Execution of the *Muſes*, ſome young Members bigotted to Ignorance, called *Scotus* his Funeral. (*i*) The publick Library, made up in a great meaſure of the Books given by *Angerville* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Cobbam* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Humphry* the good Duke of *Glouceſter*, underwent the ſame Fate. The Books mark'd with *Red* were generally condemn'd at a venture for Popery, and where Circles and other Mathematical Figures were found, they were look'd upon as Compoſitions of Magick, and either torn or burnt. And thus an almoſt ineſtimable Collection both for Number and Value, were either ſeiz'd by the *Viſitors*, turn'd into Boneſires, or given to Binders and Taylors, for the Uſe of their Trade. This was a ſtrange *Inquiſition* upon Senſe and Learning. And looks as if the Earl of *Warwick* and ſome others of the *Viſitors* had a farther Project: And that they intended to ſeize the ſuperſtitious Foundations, and Reform them to nothing. That this is no uncharitable Cenſure upon the Earl of *Warwick* will appear afterwards. The *Univerſity* languiſh'd in their Studies the Remainder of this Reign: And were remarkable for nothing but ſome trifling Performances in Poetry, and Grammar. (*k*)

(i) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. *lib.* 1. *p.* 271. 272.

(k) Ibid. *p.* 272. & lib. 2. *p.* 48, 9. & 50.

March 8. An. Dom. 1550. Hooper *gets over his Scruples and is conſecrated.*

Hooper having now overcome his Scruples againſt the Epiſcopal *Habit*, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Glouceſter* by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Rocheſter* aſſiſting at the Solemnity. He was likewiſe diſentangled from the other Difficulty of taking the Oath requir'd: This Oath which he ſtuck at before, was the Oath of Supremacy, and not that of Canonical Obedience, as is commonly ſuppoſed. This Miſtake in *Fullers* Church Hiſtory ſtands thus corrected, in his Worthies of *England*. (*l*) That this was the Caſe, appears by *Cranmers* objecting the Danger of his incurring a *Præmunire*; for the bare diſpenſing with *Hoopers* Oath of Canonical Obedience, had no ſuch Penalty annex'd; but if *Hooper* had been conſecrated without ſwearing the *Supremacy*, this Omiſſion might have brought the Archbiſhop under a *Præmunire*.

(l) Fullers. *Worthies* Somerſetſhire.

This Compliance of *Hooper*, as repreſented by our Learned Hiſtorian, looks ſomewhat remarkable. *He was to be attir'd*, ſays this Author, *in the Veſtments that were preſcrib'd, when he was conſecrated, and when he preach'd before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was diſpenc'd with upon other Occaſions.* * If *Hooper* could conform thus far, one would think there ſhould be little Occaſion for a Diſpenſation. Beſides if he believ'd the Epiſcopal Habit ſinful, which way could he reconcile himſelf to the wearing it at all? If he did not, what made him ſcruple appearing in it upon

* *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d.* *p.* 166.

any cuſtomary Occaſion? Why did he affect a Singularity againſt the Uſages of the Church, and give a Preſident of Exception? * *Fox* is diſpleas'd with *Hooper* for yielding in this point: He rallies him for his Conformity, repreſents him as a Player, and paſſes an aukward jeſt upon his Habit.

* Fox *vol.* 3. *p.* 147.

Upon the Deprivation of *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Hooper* held the *See* in *Commendam* with his own. This gave his Enemies a Handle to report him to Diſadvantage. They wondred a Man that had his Conſcience ſo lately embaraſs'd with little matters, could reconcile himſelf to Two *Sees*; but 'tis thought *Hooper* was not much the Richer for his double Preferment. The Courtiers 'tis likely found him paſſive in parting with the Revenues, and took care to eaſe him of the Imputation of an avaritious Prelate. *Latimer* had preach'd againſt Sacrilege, and therefore little of this Complyance could be expected from him: This 'tis probable, was one Reaſon of his not being reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick upon *Heaths* Removal. But whether *Latimer* was overlook'd upon this Motive, or whether he declin'd the Exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Character, is ſomewhat uncertain.

Endeavours to bring the Princeſs Mary *to the Reformation but without Succeſs.*

Great Endeavours, as has been already obſerv'd, had been uſed to bring the Princeſs *Mary* from the Church of *Rome*, but as it happen'd, no Arguments or Methods of Application could make an Impreſſion. 'Tis likely *Cranmers* pronouncing her Mothers Marriage void, might give her an Averſion to the *Reformation*. As for her Title to the *Crown*, 'twas not concern'd in this Diſpute: Whether the Divorce was lawful or not, ſhe ſtood next upon the *Succeſſion*: The *Crown* was deviſ'd to her by her Fathers *Will*, who by *Act* of Parliament, was impower'd to diſpoſe of it, either by *Letters Patent*, or his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*. However, as her Education had given her a Præpoſſeſſion, ſo 'tis likely her Inclination might ſtand for the *Belief and Ceremonies* formerly receiv'd. Thus ſhe kept up the Roman Religion in her Family, and permitted more than her Servants to be preſent at the *Maſs*. This being conſtrued an Exceſs of Liberty, *Mallet* and *Barclay* her Two Chaplains were committed: She complains of this Uſage in a Letter to the Lords of the *Council*, but receiv'd no ſatisfactory Return.

This Treatment it ſeems, making her willing to quit the Kingdom, a Deſign was laid to convey her into *Flanders*. The *Regent* of the low Countries had hired one *Scipper* to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, to come aſhoar under Pretence of victualling his Ship, and take her on Board: There was likewiſe a Commotion concerted in that County to amuſe the People, and cover her Eſcape. (m) But this Enterprize being diſcover'd by the King of *France* to the Engliſh *Reſident*, proved abortive. For now the King being inform'd of the Practice, order'd the putting out ſome Men of War, marched down ſome Troops under the Command of Sir *John Gates* to ſecure the Coaſt, and ſent for the Princeſs to Court; ſhe complied with great Unwillingneſs: And to give her a farther Mortification, her chief Servants *Inglefield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rocheſter*, were ſent to the *Tower*. When ſhe was brought to the King he told her ſhe had been indulg'd the Liberty of having *Maſs* a great while, in hopes that Time and Argument might recover her to a better Perſwaſion: But now perceiving her reſolv'd to continue in her Errors, he ſhould be oblig'd to take other Meaſures, and recal his Indulgence. The Princeſs replied, *Her Soul was God's*, and that ſhe would neither change her Faith, nor diſſemble in her Practice. The King anſwer'd he did not intend to force her Belief, but only to reſtrain her in the outward Profeſſion: That ſhe ought to be govern'd by Authority, and live like a Subject, and not diſturb the Kingdom by a dangerous Incompliance. After this Diſcourſe ſhe was order'd to continue with the King, but neither *Mallet*, or any other Chaplains were permitted acceſs to her.

(m) Haywards *Life of King* Edward VI. *page* 120.

The King can't be prevail'd with to allow her the Exerciſe of her Religion.

March 1551. *King* Edward *Journal.*

This Reſtraint upon the Princeſs was highly reſented by the Emperor, who ſent an Embaſſador to *England*, and threatned the King with a War, in caſe his Couſin the Princeſs *Mary* was denied Liberty of Conſcience. The Lords of the *Council* were very inclinable to gratify his Imperial Majeſty: They conſider'd a Refuſal might fall heavy upon the Engliſh Intereſt. The Merchants had Effects to a great Value in *Flanders*. The King had Five Hundred Quintals of Powder there, beſides other Proviſion for the War. All this they knew would be ſeiz'd, if a Rupture happen'd. The King therefore was adviſ'd by the whole Board, to relax a little, to diſpenſe with his Siſter, and let the Law ſleep for ſome time, to keep fair with the Emperor. The King being ſtrongly averſe to the Religion formerly receiv'd, and having more Conſcience than Politicks, refuſed the Expedient. Upon this the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London* were appointed to try how far they could work upon his Reſolution. The Point was argued with all the Advantage they could give it, and at laſt to come cloſe to the Queſtion, they told him tho' the licenſing what was ſinful was a Sin, yet a temporary Connivance might be allow'd, where there was hopes of reforming the Party. This Diſtinction was too fine for the King's Conſcience. He expreſs'd himſelf with a great deal of Concern, broke out into Tears, and declar'd he was reſolv'd to run the utmoſt Hazards, rather than give way to ſo ſtrange a Permiſſion. The Biſhops tho' ſorry to find the King ſo unalterable in his Judgment, were not ill pleas'd with ſuch Indications of Piety in ſo young a Perſon.

Hayward.

By the way, this Principle upon which the King denied the Lady *Mary* the Exerciſe of her Religion, makes all Toleration of *Diſſenters* unlawful. For without doubt 'tis a Sin to diſobey our Lawful Spiritual Guides, and continue in a State of Separation from the Church; from the Church I ſay where no exceptionable Terms of Communion are requir'd.

The King being not to be remov'd from his Opinion, the *Council* thought it proper to diſmiſs the Emperors Embaſſador in the moſt obliging manner the Caſe would bear. They acquainted him the King would ſhortly ſend a *Reſident* to the Emperors Court, with full Inſtructions to ſettle a right Underſtanding between both Princes. And not long after Dr. *Wotton* was diſpatch'd into *Germany* upon this Affair. "He was to deſire the Emperor not to concern himſelf ſo deep in this matter, to put him in mind that as the Lady *Mary* was his Imperial Majeſty's Couſin, ſo ſhe was the King's Siſter, and his Subject too: That ſince the King was a Soveraign Prince, 'twas ſomewhat ſingular the Emperor ſhould interpoſe in his Government, over-rule his Laws, and preſcribe to him in

“ the Management of his Subjects. Notwithſtanding the King was willing to practice by the Emperors Preſident, in tolerating a different Religion, and ready to allow the ſame Liberties of Worſhip to the Emperors Subjects, which the Engliſh receiv'd in the Dominions of that Prince.

An Alliance with France.

The King perceiving himſelf upon cold terms with the Emperor, thought it adviſeable to make an Alliance with *France*; and having receiv'd ſome hints at the Treaty of *Boulogne*, that the Overture of a Marriage would not be unacceptable, 'twas reſolv'd to try the Diſpoſition of that Court. To this purpoſe, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Secretary *Smith*, and ſome other Gentlemen of Diſtinction belonging to the Court are furniſh'd with a publick Character. And to make the Embaſſy more ſplendid, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*, the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, *Abergaveny*, *Bray*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Condition, went along with them. The Marqueſs at their firſt Audience, preſented the French King with the Order of the Garter. After this the Biſhop of *Ely* in a ſhort Speech declar'd how deſirous his Maſter was to cultivate his Friendſhip with that Monarch, and that he had ſomething of moment to propoſe relating to that matter.

The French King order'd the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Conſtable *Chaſtillon*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality to manage the Treaty.

The Engliſh began with their old Demand of the Queen of *Scots*. To this the *French* anſwer'd, they had loſt too much Blood and Treaſure to part with her upon any Terms; and beſides, her Marriage with the *Dauphine* had been long ſince concluded. The Engliſh finding this Point impracticable, propoſed a Match between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter of *France*. This Motion was well receiv'd by the French Commiſſioners: However, they threw in this Condition, that neither Party ſhould be bound till the Lady was Twelve Years of Age. The adjuſting the Portion was ſomewhat more difficult. The Engliſh demanding Fifteen Hundred Thouſand, and the French offering no more than Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns. That Summ was at laſt accepted, and an Embaſſy agreed to be ſent into *England*, to ſettle the Joynture, and finiſh the remaining Articles; all which was perform'd, and the Alliance concluded at *London*. The *Council Book* gives a farther Account of the perfecting this Alliance in theſe Words.

Hayward

This Day the Lord Admiral being return'd out of France, *deliver'd to the Lords the Ratification of the Marriage, between the King's Majeſty and the Lady* Elizabeth, *the French King's Daughter, under the Great Seal of* France. *And it was accorded that the ſame Treaty ſhould be deliver'd to the Lord Treaſurer, to be by him repoſ'd, in the Treaſury of the Exchequer, to remain there of Record in ſafe keeping.*

This cloſe Correſpondence with *France*, ſet the Kingdom more at Eaſe, and encourag'd to a farther *Reformation*: For now we were reinforc'd to a balance of Strength againſt any Attack from the Emperor. Notwithſtanding the Advances made in the Engliſh Churches, as to other matters, there was yet no Syſtem of Doctrine form'd for a Standard of Communion. 'Tis true ſomething of this kind might be collected from the *Homilies* and *Common-Prayer-Book*. But this did not diſcover the Churches Senſe in many important Points, nor reach to all the Controverſies then on foot. The ſcrupling the Sacerdotal Habit, and the Privileges granted to *John Alaſco*'s Congregation, awaken'd a diſputing Humour, diſturb'd the publick Harmony, and diſſerv'd the Authority of the Church. 'Tis thought likewiſe the turning the Altars into Tables, abated the Peoples Regard for the Holy Sacrament, and had no good Effect on their Devotion. And to make this ſolemn Myſtery go leſs in the Peoples Eſteem, *John Alaſco*'s Book in Defence of ſitting at the Communion, may be ſuppoſ'd to contribute. While the Altars continued, there was no occaſion to preſcribe the People the Poſture for receiving: They kneel'd of courſe, and as they wanted no Direction, ſo neither was there any Appointment in the *Rubrick* touching this matter. But now *John Alaſco*'s Congregation ſitting, and the Figure of a Table having a leſs Air of Solemnity, made it more neceſſary to ſet them a Rule. Beſides, the Clergy were divided in their Opinions, and ſomewhat unreſolv'd at what Place of the Holy Table they were to officiate. 'Twas thought fit therefore a *Rubrick* ſhould be made to determine this matter.

The Common-Prayer-Book review'd.

But much greater Alterations than this, were now coming forward. The *Common-Prayer-Book* was to be review'd; *Calvin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, by making Exceptions againſt the *Service* eſtabliſh'd, had their ſhare in bringing on this Change. *Calvin*, who thought himſelf wiſer than the Antient Church, and fit to dictate Religion to all Countries in Chriſtendom, had taken no ſmall Pains in this matter. Something of this kind has been obſerv'd already in his Letter to the *Protector*: He continued ſtill to intermeddle, and ſollicit for his own Fancy, as appears by ſeveral other *Epiſtles*. In his Letter to *Bullinger* he takes notice of his interpoſing in *Hoopers* Caſe, and that he did not approve the Rochet and Cap in the Epiſcopal Habit, tho' he would not have had *Hooper* gone quite ſo far in his Oppoſition. (n) In another of his Letters to *Cranmer*, he ſpeaks diſgracefully of the Engliſh *Reformation*: “ That there was ſo much Popery and intolerable Stuff ſtill remaining, that the pure Worſhip of God was not only weaken'd, but in a manner ſtifled, and overlaid with it. * This Letter, tho' there is no Date printed, ſeems to have been written after the Book of *Articles* was drawn, and therefore probably after the *Review* of the *Common-Prayer*. That the Time may be thus reckoned ſeems pretty plain by his congratulating the Engliſh for coming to a State or Settlement in Religion, that by this means the People would not float any longer, nor be at a Loſs about Belief or Practice. The Learned *Heylin* cites another of *Calvins* Letters to the King, in which he acquaints his Highneſs, that a great many Things were ſtill out of Order in *England*, and ſtood in need of a farther Reformation. (o)

(n) Calvin. Epiſt. *p.* 131.

*Quæ non obſcurat modo ſed propemodum obruat verum & genuinum Dei cultum. Id. *page* 135.

And as this Hiſtorian continues, *Calvin* being apprehenſive he might not paſs altogether for an Oracle with the *Council* and Biſhops, tryed his Intereſt in other Places, and puſh'd his Deſign by his Agents in the Court, the Country, and the *Univerſities*. *Bucer* was a ſtrong *Second* to *Calvin*, and what Efforts he made has been ſeen already. *Peter Martyr* agreed

(o) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 107.

agreed to *Bucer*'s Amendments, as appears by his Letter in which there are ſome remarkable Paſſages. For the purpoſe: "He gives God Thanks for making himſelf, and *Bucer*, inſtrumental in putting the Biſhops in mind of the exceptionable Places in the *Common-Prayer*. That Archbiſhop *Cranmer* told him they had met about this Buſineſs, and concluded on a great many Alterations: But what thoſe Corrections were, *Cranmer* did not acquaint him, neither durſt he take the Freedom to enquire: But that which pleaſes me not a little, continues *Martyr*, Sir *John Cheek* acquaints me, that if the Biſhops refuſe to conſent to the altering what's neceſſary, the King is reſolv'd to do it himſelf, and recommend that Affair at the next *Seſſion* of Parliament. (*p*)

Jan. 10, 155$^{0}_{1}$.

Theſe foreign *Divines* had gain'd the Eſteem of ſome of the Engliſh Biſhops ſo far, that in the laſt years *Convocation* there was a Conteſt in the *upper Houſe* concerning ſome controverted Paſſages in the *Common-Prayer-Book*. For inſtance, ſome Queſtions were mov'd concerning the Holy Days abrogated and continued by that *Book*. The Words uſed at the giving the Bread, and ſome other Circumſtances relating to the Holy Euchariſt, came under Debate. The *lower Houſe* had lately receiv'd a Meſſage from the Biſhops to conſider this matter, and when their Anſwer was requir'd, they acquainted the *upper Houſe* by the *Prolocutor*, that they had not as yet ſufficiently conſider'd the Queſtions, but that in the following *Seſſion* they would report the Senſe of the *Houſe* to their Lordſhips. But what Account was return'd does not appear in the Acts of that *Convocation*, there being nothing but the Paſſage already mention'd left upon Record. (*g*)

Some Differences between the Firſt and Second Liturgies.

To proceed, the *Common-Prayer-Book* was brought to a *Review*, and alter'd to the ſame Form in which it ſtands at preſent, ſome little Variations for clearing Ambiguities excepted. The Differences between the firſt and Second *Liturgy* have been partly obſerv'd already, therefore I ſhall be more brief upon this occaſion. However to mention ſomething in the Office of the *Communion*, the Ten Commandments were added in the Beginning. This is ſuppos'd to be done to awaken the Conſciences of the Congregation. There was likewiſe a Confeſſion and Abſolution added in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer. The reſt of the Changes conſiſt moſtly in diſcharging ſeveral Rites and Parts of the *Service* retain'd in the former Book.

For the purpoſe, the Uſe of Oyl and the Sign of the Croſs was thrown out of the Office of *Confirmation*. There is no Liberty left for extreme Unction at the Viſitation of the Sick. The Prayers for Perſons deceas'd in the Communion Service, and the Office of Burial are expung'd. And ſome remarkable Paſſages in the Conſecration of the Euchariſt, together with the Uſe of the Croſs upon that occaſion are omitted. The Introites or Pſalms in that Office are likewiſe left out.

In this new *Common-Prayer-Book*. there was a *Rubrick* inſerted for kneeling at the Holy Euchariſt. By this Direction it was declar'd, that the Poſture of kneeling was retain'd for a Signification of our *humble and grateful Acknowledgment of the Benefits of Chriſt, therein given to all worthy Receivers, and for the avoiding ſuch Profanation and Diſorder in the Holy Communion as might otherwiſe enſue, yet leaſt this Geſture ſhould by any Perſons, either out of Ignorance and Infirmity, or out of Malice and Obſtinacy, be miſconſtrued and deprav'd; it is here declar'd, that thereby no Adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either to the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily receiv'd, or unto any corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural Fleſh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain ſtill in their very natural Subſtances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that were Idolatry to be abhorr'd of all Faithful Chriſtians) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt are in Heaven, and not here; it being againſt the Truth of Chriſt's natural Body, to be at one Time in more Places than in one.*

This *Rubrick* was order'd to be left out of the *Common-Prayer-Book* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent giving Offence to ſome People otherwiſe inclinable to the Communion of the Church of *England*. But ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, ſome People either of weak Judgments, or contentious Humours, excepted to the Poſture of kneeling, as if ſome dangerous Superſtition might be cover'd by it; to ſatisfy theſe Scruples the Church thought fit to condeſcend ſo far as to reſtore the *Rubrick* of King *Edwards* Reign above-mention'd.

There is another material Difference between the Two Books at the Delivery of the conſecrated Elements, the Form in the Firſt Book ſtands thus.

The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto Everlaſting Life. In the Second Book thus. *Take and eat this in Remembrance that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanſgiving.* At the giving the Cup the Words in the firſt Book are theſe. *The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto Everlaſting Life.* The Second Book ſtands thus. *Drink this in Remembrance Chriſt's Blood was ſhed for thee, and be Thankful.* To create a greater Reverence for the Holy *Euchariſt* on the one Hand, and prevent Miſconſtruction on the other, the Church of *England* has now taken in the Firſt and the Second *Book*, and added both the Forms in this Part of the Solemnity.

Archbiſhop Cranmer *draws up a Book of Articles of Religion.*

The ſettling the *Articles* was the next material Occurrence in the Church that happen'd this Year. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* together with *Ridley*, had the Principal Direction in this Affair. For this Year he receiv'd an Order from the King and *Council* to draw a Book of *Articles* for preſerving the Peace and Unity of the Church. The Archbiſhop is ſaid to have executed the Order, and ſtruck out a *Syſtem*. This Draught he put into the Hands of ſeveral Biſhops to be farther examin'd. Thus the matter reſted till the next Year, when the *Council* wrote to the Archbiſhop, to deliver in the *Articles*: They were ſent accordingly, and ſoon after return'd to *Cranmer*, who digeſted them to a better Method, diſtinguiſh'd them with Titles, and threw in ſome ſupplemental Paſſages where they ſeem'd too ſhort. Not long after this, he waited on the King with the *Book*, and deſir'd it might be publiſh'd with the Advantage of his Highneſs his Authority. The *Articles* being left with the King and *Council*, a Letter was directed to *Harley*, *Bill*, *Horn*, *Grindal*, *Perne*, and *Knox*, to conſider certain *Articles* (which without Queſtion muſt be theſe) and make a Report of their Opinion. (*r*)

(p) Ex Bibliot. Coll. C.C.C.

(q) Heylin. Hiſt. Ref. *page* 107.

(r) *Council Book.*

By the way the Firſt Four of theſe Divines were the Kings Chaplains in ordinary. And being eminent for their Talent in the *Pulpit*, were order'd for itinerant Preachers, and to go a Circuit as it were, for the Inſtruction of the People. They wereSix in all, who were ſelected for the Buſineſs of preaching. Two of them were to be always at Court. The other Four were to execute their Charge in the manner following. In the Firſt Year that is One Thouſand Five Hundred Fifty One, two of them were to travel into *Wales*, and the other two into *Lancaſhire*. The next Year, two had the Marches of *Scotland* aſſign'd them, and two went into *Yorkſhire*: The Third Year two of them preach'd in *Devonſhire*, and two in *Hampſhire*: And the Fourth Year, two in *Norfolk*, and two in *Kent* and *Suſſex*. (*s*)

(s) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. p.* 171.

To return to the *Articles*: The Archbiſhop receiv'd the Book from the *Privy Council*, with Orders to examine them farther, and give them the laſt Improvement of his Judgment and Pen: That being in this Condition of Advantage they might paſs the *Convocation*, and come abroad by the Royal Authority. The Archbiſhop having made ſome Remarks upon the Book, incloſed them in a Letter to the Lords of the *Council*. In his Letter he requeſted the Lords to ſollicit the King, that all the Biſhops might be impower'd to oblige their Clergy to ſubſcribe the Book. And that if this Point were gain'd, ſuch a Harmony in Religion he hop'd would follow, as could not otherwiſe be expected in many Years. (*t*)

(t) *Memorials of* Cranmer *in* Append. Num. 64.

The Order to the Archbiſhop for drawing the *Articles* happening in the Time before me, I have added the reſt for the Unity of the Relation: Tho' Part of the matter of fact did not come up till the next Year.

July 9. Ann. Dom. 1551.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

This Summer the *Sweating Sickneſs* return'd in *England*, and rag'd to that degree, that in the City of *London* only, there died Eight Hundred a Week. This Peſtilential Diſtemper appear'd firſt in this Country in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh. It ſeem'd particularly levell'd againſt the Engliſh Conſtitutions, purſued them into other Countries, and diſtinguiſh'd them for the Calamity; which beſides the breaking out of it here, might be one Reaſon of its being call'd *Sudor Anglicus*. The Patients when firſt ſeiz'd, ſweat plentifully. The Malignity proved frequently Mortal within Four and Twenty Hours, and ſometimes in leſs than Twelve. Women, Children, and old Men were ſeldom viſited: People in the Strength and beſt Period of their Life lay moſt expos'd to the Infection; and if they happen'd to ſleep a little after the Diſeaſe had reach'd them, they died immediately. Scarce One in a Hundred eſcap'd at firſt, till Time had farther inform'd the Phyſicians, and directed to a proper Management. The true *Regimen* was this: If a Man happen'd to fall ill in the Day Time, he was to lie down in his Cloaths as the Diſeaſe found him: If in the Night, he was to keep his Bed, and lie without Motion for Four and Twenty Hours. He was not to load himſelf with Cloaths ſo far as to force a Sweat, but to keep it in its natural Courſe, and prevent its being check'd: Nothing of Meat was to be taken during the Time of Danger, if the Patient could poſſibly forbear: As for Drink that which was cuſtomary to the Patient was allow'd, provided 'twas warm'd, and taken in moderate Quantities. He was to be particularly careful to keep his Limbs in the Bed, for the putting out a Hand or a Foot, was certain Death. That which was remarkably ſtrange in this Diſtemper was its hunting out the Engliſh, as it were thro' all Countries, and laying no hold of the Natives. Several Perſons of Condition were carried off with this Sickneſs, and amongſt the reſt *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk* and his Brother. They were Couſin Germans to the King, Sons to the Famous *Charles Brandon*, and of a very promiſing Genius. *Henry* the Eldeſt died firſt, and left the Title to his Brother, who did not enjoy it the length of a whole Day. And thus *Henry Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who married *Frances* Eldeſt Daughter to *Charles Brandon*, had ſome Proſpect of the Honour, and on the Strength of this Pretenſion was ſoon after created Duke of *Suffolk*.

Anno Dom. 1551.

The Lady Mary ſollicits the King and Council for the Exercise of her Religion.

About this Time, there paſſing ſeveral *Letters* between the *Privy Council* and the Lady *Mary*, I ſhall proſecute the Remainder of that Affair. She had ſome Months ſince complained to the *Council* of her Chaplains Dr. *Mallet* and *Barclays* being indicted, and an Attachment awarded againſt them for ſaying *Maſs* in her Houſe: She remonſtrates this Uſage was a Breach of Promiſe made to the Emperors Embaſſadour. To this the *Council* in their Letter to her, reply, that this Engagement was made under Reſtrictions: “ That her Grace “ was only to have private *Maſs* in her Cloſet “ for a little Time: And that this was done “ in hopes ſhe would ſhortly be better informed. “ That during this Interval of Connivance, “ ſhe was only to have a few in cloſe “ Attendance at the *Old Service*. As for the “ reſt of her Family they were to be preſent “ at the Reading of the *Reform'd Liturgy*. “ They acquaint her Grace the Emperors “ Embaſſador preſs'd to have the Promiſe “ above-mention'd under the *Broad Seal*: And “ being denied this, he mov'd for the Kings “ *Letter*, but that was likewiſe refus'd: Not “ that there was any Intention of failing in “ the Promiſe, but that they hop'd the Princeſs “ would quickly be brought over to the Religion “ eſtabliſh'd. As to the Embaſſador, “ he was told that the licenſing any Worſhip “ againſt Orthodoxy, and known Truth, was “ a Sin againſt God. And therefore all that “ the King could do was only to ſuſpend the “ Execution of the Law, provided the Indulgence “ was made uſe of within the Compaſs “ of the Grant. They are inform'd as they “ continue, that her Grace is reſolv'd not to “ admit of any farther Debate in the Controverſy, “ nor to hear any thing offer'd againſt “ the Perſwaſion of her Education: That this “ Management looks as if ſhe was apprehenſive “ her Belief would not ſtand the Teſt of “ a thorough Examination. They add the “ Chriſtian Faith profeſs'd is the ſame in Subſtance “ as before, and that every Article of “ the *Creed* are common to both *Communions*: “ That the Difference lies in the Cermonies “ and Uſe of the Sacraments. That in theſe “ particulars, the Engliſh Reformation had “ recover'd the *Worſhip* to the Directions of “ *Scripture*, and the Uſage of the Primitive “ Church. (*u*)

(u) Fox. *Vol.* 2. *page* 705. & deinc.

“ They commend her for her Reſolution, “ of ſtanding firm to her Faith, provided 'tis “ well grounded: But then they tell her Faith, “ and Opinion, are Two Things. They deſire “ a Proof from *Scripture* of her Grace, why

" the *Common-Prayer* ſhould not be in Engliſh?
" And what Grounds ſhe can produce to juſtify the ſetting up of Images of God in the
" Church?

This *Letter* was Written in the latter end of the Year, one Thouſand Five Hundred and Fifty, when the *firſt Common-Prayer-Book* was us'd and unreview'd. As to that part of the Letter which relates to Religion, 'twas Penn'd in all likelyhood by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, who were then of the *Privy Council*. That 'twas drawn by one, or both of theſe Prelates, may be reaſonably concluded from their arguing ſo much at length from the *Scriptures*, from the Citation of the *Fathers*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. That which I mention this is to ſhew, that the *Council* were then intirely ſatisfied about the firſt *Common-Prayer-Book*: With what Conſcience elſe could they have told the Lady *Mary* that we uſe, to ſpeak in their own Words, the Ceremonies, Obſervations, and Sacraments of our Religion, as the Apoſtles and firſt Fathers in the Primitive Church did? *That the Princeſs* Mary *pleaded for later Cuſtom againſt Truth*, and the *Engliſh Church* for *Truth* againſt *Cuſtom*.

Aug. May 2. 1551. To proceed, The Princeſs *Mary* wrote again to the *Council*, complains of Dr. *Mallet*'s being ſent to the *Tower*, and inſiſts on the Promiſe made to the Emperor formerly mention'd. The *Council* in their Anſwer deny, there was any Promiſe that *Maſs* might be ſaid in her Houſe, when ſhe was not there. That *Mallet* and *Barclay* had broke the Conditions of the Indulgence: Officiated in her Abſence, and fled from Juſtice over and above.

The Princeſs *Mary* not ſucceeding with the *Council*, Addreſs'd the King. In her Letter, ſhe moves in very ſtrong and tender Expreſſions, that the Permiſſion of the Cuſtomary Worſhip, and that which was uſed in the King their Fathers Time, might be allow'd her: She repeats the Promiſe made to the Emperor by the Privy *Council*, and ſeems to charge them pretty plainly with denying their Ingagement, or explaining it to Inſignificancy. She puts the King gently in mind of his *Minority*, and that notwithſtanding his Capacity is much

August 19. greater than could be expected from his Years, yet 'tis Impoſſible he ſhould already be grown up to that pitch of Knowledge and Judgment, as to pronounce upon Matters of Religion. She Intreats therefore ſhe may be permitted to Govern her Practice by her Conſcience in things of the laſt Importance: And that this Reſpite may continue, 'till Age has qualified his Majeſty for a Judge himſelf. If this Requeſt cannot be granted, ſhe reſigns her Life, as ſhe had done once before, to the King's Pleaſure, and declares ſhe had rather Dye than go on at the Expence of a good Conſcience.

About a Week after the King's receiving this Letter, he wrote to the Princeſs, by the Lord Chancellor *Rich*, who with Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Comptroller of the Houſhold, and Sir *William*

August 24. *Petre* Secretary of State, had farther Inſtructions. By the particulars with which they were Charg'd, it appears her Three Servants abovemention'd, *Rocheſter*, *Ingleſield*, and *Walgrave*, were ſent to the *Tower*, for diſobeying the King's Orders, in not prohibiting the Houſhold from ſaying, and hearing *Maſs*.

But in *April* the next Year they were Diſcharg'd, and commanded to return to their Ladies Service.

The Buſineſs of the *Lord Chancellor*, *Wingfield*, and *Petres*, was to diſcharge the *Maſs*, and anſwer the Plea in the Princeſſes Letter. They were to acquaint her that her Requeſt of an Indulgence, with reſpect to Religion, could not be granted upon any Conſideration. And as for her offering her Life, rather than alter her Perſwaſion, The King was extreamly troubled to find her ſo far Confirm'd in a miſtaken Conſcience. However, neither himſelf, nor any of his *Council*, have any Intention of doing the leaſt harm to her Perſon. Theſe Courtiers, after they had ſpoken to the Princeſſes Letter, and acquainted her with the King's Reſolution, were order'd to call the Chaplains, and the reſt of the Houſhold before them, and ſtrictly forbid the firſt to ſay, or the other to hear *Maſs*, under the utmoſt Penalties of the Law.

She is refus'd, Id. *p.* 710.

In *September* this Year, *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were thrown out of their Sees for their Incompliance abovementioned. They were deprived by a Commiſſion, directed to Sir *Robert Cholmley* Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Richard Read*, *Richard Goderick*, *John Goſnold*, *John Oliver*, *Richard Ryal*, all Laymen. After Judgment given, the Council ſent a Letter to the Chancellor of the Court of *Augmentations*, for the Seizing the Temporalities of theſe Biſhopricks to the King's Uſe. It ſeems the loſs of their Sees was not thought Puniſhment enough, therefore they were kept Priſoners in the *Fleet* 'till next Summer, when upon their Petition for more Liberty and Air, *Day* was put into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Heath* was ſent to the Biſhop of *Londons* Cuſtody, who were ordered by the King to Treat theſe Prelates, as Charity and Diſcretion ſhould Suggeſt. *

To proceed to ſomething remarkable relating to the *State*. The Court had been for ſometime divided into Two Factions, the one headed by the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the other by the Earl of *Warwick*. There had been lately an Alliance made between theſe Two great Men, the Lord *Liſle*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Eldeſt Son, being Married to a Daughter of the Duke of *Somerſet*. (*w*) But this Relation was too weak to keep them upon good Terms. The Earl of *Warwick* 'tis ſaid, had projected beyond the Ambition of a Subject, and entertain'd a Fancy of bringing the Crown into his Family. 'Tis ſuppos'd the Illegitimating the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, by *Act* of Parliament, might lead him into this Thought: But to this it may be anſwer'd, that if an *Act* of Parliament could diſable the Two Princeſſes from Inheriting the *Crown*, a ſubſequent *Act* which ſettled them in the Succeſſion, (*x*) muſt give them an unexceptionable Right: However, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Marrying his Fourth Son, the Lord *Guilford*, to the Lady *Jane*, Eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*; This I ſay, together with his Management afterward, confirm'd the Suſpicion. But that he had form'd a Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, (*y*) and entred into a Practiſe to deſtroy him, is no more than Conjecture: For neither the Duke of *Somerſet*, or any of his Party, offer'd to prove any ſuch matter. However 'tis certain the Earl of *Warwick*, being a Man of Reach, and of a puſhing Temper, roſe quickly to an Over-ballance, and gain'd the Aſcendant at Court. He is ſaid to have procur'd a Creation of Honours, in which himſelf and his Friends, were principally conſider'd. *Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet* was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himſelf Duke

A miſunderſtanding between the Duke of Somerſet *and the Earl of* Warwick.

* Stripe *Memor.* Cranmer *p.* 230.

(w) Godwin Annal.

(x) 35 H. 8. *c.* 1.

(y) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 178.

A Creation of Honour.

of *Northumberland*: For *Henry Piercy* the laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, dying without Iſſue, his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, who had been attainted in the laſt Reign for the *Yorkſhire* Rebellion; and thus the Title ſlept, as to that Family. To go on; *Pawlet* Lord Treaſurer and Earl of *Wiltſhire*, was made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *William Herbert* who Married the Marqueſs of *Northampton*'s Siſter, was made Earl of *Pembroke*. At this Solemnity Secretary *Cecil*, and *Cheek* one of the King's Preceptors, were Knighted. (z)

October 15.

(z) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref.* Stow Annal.

October 16.

The Duke of *Somerſet* had made ſome unwarrantable Efforts to recover his former greatneſs, and gone too far in his Meaſures againſt the other Party. And thus his Enemies having Trac'd his Progreſs, and furniſh'd themſelves with Evidence againſt him, he was ſent to the Tower. Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Miles Patridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, *Hammond*, *Newdigate*, and Two Gentlemen of the *Seymour*'s Family, were committed at the ſame Time. *Palmer*, *Vane*, and *Arundel*, were kept in diſtinct Apartments, to prevent concerting their Story, and impoſing upon the *Council*. The next Day the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and *Crane* and his Wife, her Two Favorites, were likewiſe ſent to the *Tower*.

The Duke of Somerſet *ſent to the* Tower.

There was Six Weeks Interval between the Dukes Impriſonment and his Tryal. And thus the King had leaſure to ſound the Deſign, and relieve his Uncle: But whether he had Judgment to diſentangle this matter, or was altogether Governed by the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Creatures, is ſomewhat uncertain. An unſeaſonable Amuſement happen'd to lie in his way, which might poſſibly engage the fancy of a Young Prince ſo far, as not to leave any room for much other Buſineſs.

November 2. *The Queen Regent of* Scotland *Honorably receiv'd.*

The Queen *Regent* of *Scotland*, having made her Daughter a Viſit in *France*, was deſirous to ſhorten her Voyage, and return Home thro' *England*. The King's Leave being granted at her Requeſt, ſhe came a Shore at *Portſmouth*, where ſhe was honourably receiv'd, and convey'd towards *London*. From *Greenwich* ſhe came by Water to St. *Paul's Warf*. From hence ſhe was attended to the Biſhops Palace, with a Cavalcade of Quality of both Sexes. And here ſhe was preſented by the City with Wine, and all other ſorts of Proviſion. After Two Days Repoſe, ſhe came in a Chariot to the Court at *Whitehall*, where ſhe was Entertain'd with the uſual Marks of Solemnity and Regard. The King ſhew'd her every thing that was valuable, either for length of Time, Curioſity, or Expence. And before ſhe took her leave, as *Leſley* reports, he endeavor'd to perſwade her to conſent to the Marriage between her Daughter and Himſelf, purſuant to the Overture made by the Scotch Nobility: That this would be a beneficial Alliance to both Nations: On the contrary, the diſpoſing the Young Queen to the French King's Son, would prove unſerviceable both to the French and Scotch; for he was reſolv'd to be a perpetual Enemy to whatever Prince ſhould Marry her. The Queen Regent replied, that the *Protector Seymour*'s attacking the *Scotch*, and ravaging their Country in ſo unexpected a manner, was the reaſon of the engaging her Daughter to the Houſe of *France*. That this Engliſh General miſtook in the way of Courtſhip: That to make their Addreſſes to a Princeſs with Fire and Sword, was a rough and unuſual way of managing ſuch an Affair. That the Scotch being thus Harraſs'd by the Engliſh, were neceſſitated to apply to the French King, and to ſend the Young Princeſs thither, as it were for an Hoſtage, to gain his Protection: That ſhe was very ſorry the Juncture had almoſt brought this matter to an Iſſue, ſo much different from what his Majeſty deſired. However, ſhe promis'd to uſe her Intereſt at the French Court, to give his Highneſs Satisfaction. (a) If this Hiſtorians Relation holds good, we muſt ſuppoſe the Queen Regents Arrival in *England*, happen'd before the Treaty with *France* abovemention'd. For otherwiſe the King would not have been at Liberty to make this Motion. However, by *Stow*'s Account, the French Treaty ſeems to have been prior to this Interview. To conclude this matter, after a very honourable Reception, this Queen was attended by Perſons of Quality the whole length of her Journy, and entertain'd by the King's Order all along at the County Charge.

(a) Leſly de reb. Geſt. Scot. l. 10. *p.* 487.

Stow Annal. *p.* 605.

While this Solemnity laſted, the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Buſineſs ſlept, and ſeem'd to be forgotten. But now the Proſecution came on in Earneſt. And to make way for his Tryal by his Peers, he was Indicted before Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, at *Guild-hall London*. (b) For as Sir *Edward Coke* obſerves, a Peer muſt either be Indicted before Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or elſe in the *King's Bench*, if the Teaſon, Miſpriſion of Treaſon, Felony, or Miſpriſion of Felony, be committed in that County where the *King's Bench* Sits. When he is Indicted, the King by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal, Conſtitutes ſome Peer of the Realm to be *hâc Vice*, Steward of *England*. The Commiſſion likewiſe recites the Indictment as 'tis found: And the Lord Steward is impower'd to receive the Indictment, *&c.* and to proceed, *Secundum Legem & Conſuetudinem Angliæ*: There are ſeveral other Circumſtances too long to Inſert. (c) The Indictment conſiſts of Three Branches, firſt, that he Treaſonably Endeavor'd to Depoſe the King, *&c.* *quod falſe malitioſè & proditoriè per apertum Factum circumivit, compaſſavit, & Imaginavit, cum diverſis aliis Perſonis, Dominum Regem de ſtatu ſuo Regali deponere & deprivare.* This Part of the Indictment *Coke* affirms was againſt Law, becauſe there is no Circumſtance ſpecified to prove the *Overt Act*.

Cokes *Inſtit. pt.* 3. *Fol.* 12. & Entries, *Fol.* 482.

Novemb. 21.

The Duke of Somerſet *indicted at* Guildhall.

(c) *See* Cokes *Inſtitutes pt.*3. *Fol.* 28.

(d) Id. Entries *Fol.* 482

The Second Branch of the Indictment reaches no farther than Felony, *& ulterius Juratores prædicti præſentant, quod præfatus* Edvardus *Dux Somerſet, Movit & Inſtigavit complures ſubditos ipſius Domini Regis ad Inſurgendum, &c. & ad tunc, & Ibidem Felonicè ad capiendum & Impriſonandum prænobilem Johannem Comitem Warwick de privato Concilio Domini Regis.* The Third Branch of the Indictment begins thus, *& ulterius Juratores prædicti preſentabant, quod prædictus Edvardus, &c.* that is that the Duke of *Somerſet*, *&c.* Feloniouſly moved, and incited divers of the King's Subjects to make an Inſurrection upon the Government, and to Seize, and Impriſon, the Earl of *Warwick*. And thus this laſt Charge is much the ſame with the Second.

Id. Entries Ibid.

The Proceſs being thus far advanc'd, the Duke was on the firſt of *December* brought to *Weſtminſter Hall* and Arraign'd. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was Lord High Steward, he ſat under a Cloath of State, Three Degrees higher than the reſt of the Scaffolds: The Lord's Summon'd to try him, were the Twenty Seven

He is Try'd by his Peers.

following, The Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Suſſex*, *Worceſter*, and *Pembroke*, the Vicount *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Burrough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy Sturton*, *Windſor*, *Cromwel*, *Cobham* and *Bray*. (*e*)

'Twas thought ſomewhat hard, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, who were preſum'd diſaffected to the *Priſoner*, and againſt the firſt of which he is charg'd to have conſpir'd in the Indictment; 'twas thought ſomewhat hard I ſay, that theſe Lords ſhould be ſummon'd in the *Precept* for the Tryal. However, here was nothing done againſt Law, for 'tis in the Princes Pleaſure to Summon what Peers he pleaſes, provided the Number exceeds Twelve, neither has the Priſoner the liberty of Challenging any of his Judges.

The Charge againſt him.

To proceed, the Duke of *Somerſet* was charg'd with making a Party, for getting himſelf declar'd *Protector* in the next Parliament. This was poſitively affirm'd, by the Earl of *Rutland*, and ſo faintly anſwer'd by the Duke, that it ſeem'd true. (f) Tho' this might be a ſtrain of Ambition, there was nothing in it that could either touch his Life or Liberty. But the other Articles went much deeper: There was Evidence produc'd, that this Duke lately contriv'd an Entertainment at the Lord *Pagets* Houſe, near St. *Clement's* in the *Strand*, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, were to be invited thither, and either ſet upon by the way, or Aſſaſſinated at Dinner: And that the Priſoner had planted a Hundred Men in *Somerſet Houſe*, to Execute the Murther. This Plot was firſt confeſs'd by *Crane* and his Wife, and afterwards own'd by Sir *Thomas Palmer* before the Lord's of the *Council*. He was likewiſe Charg'd with holding ſome Conſults for raiſing Forces in the *North*, and for attacking the *Gensd'armes* or *Guards*; that Two Thouſand *Foot*, and a Hundred Horſe, were ready for this purpoſe. And when the Scheme was thus far Executed, the Duke was to ride thro' the *City*, and Proclaim *Liberty*, in order to raiſe the *Burghers*. All this was Confirm'd by *Crane*, with an Additional diſcovery, that the Earl of *Arundel* was privy to the Attempt, upon which Evidence the Earl, and the Lord *Paget*, were ſent to the *Tower*. And laſtly *Hammond*, a Servant of the Dukes, being Examin'd, confeſs'd his Maſter's Chamber had been ſtrongly guarded at *Greenwich*, to prevent his Perſon being Surpriz'd.

Heylin *and Biſhop* Burnet.

Thus there were Five main Articles in the Charge: Firſt, a deſign to Kill the Lords abovemention'd, and having Men in a readineſs at his Houſe for that intent. Secondly, An Attempt concerted for attacking the *Gens d'arms*. Thirdly, A contrivance for levying Men in the *North*. Fourthly, A Practiſe for raiſing the City of *London*; and laſtly a Reſolution of reſiſting an Arreſt by the Government, and keeping a Guard at *Greenwich* for that purpoſe.

The King's *Council* inlarg'd upon the Proof, and aggravated the Crime according to the cuſtomary manner: And if *Fox* reports them right, (*g*) they ſaluted the Duke roughly, and run out into Intemperate Language. They argued that the lodging Men at his Houſe, with the intention of killing the Duke of *Northumberland* was Treaſon, by an Act againſt unlawful Aſſemblies, made in the Third Year of the preſent Reign: That to concert the Aſſaſſinating the Lords was Felony: That to reſolve upon reſiſting his Attachment was Felony: That to raiſe the City of *London* was Treaſon, and to Aſſault the Lords Felony: (*h*)

The Dukes Defence.

To this the Duke anſwer'd, that he never had any deſign of raiſing the *North*, but that upon ſome Reports and Apprehenſions of Danger, he ſent to Sir *William Herbert* to ſtand his Friend: That he had no intention of killing the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Lord, but mention'd it only, and afterwards determin'd the contrary. That the charging the *Gend'arms*, a Body of Nine Hundred Men, with a Hundred of his own, was an Enterpriſe fit for a Man out of his Wits; And beſides, if he had prevail'd, 'twould have ſignified nothing as to the ſucceſs of the Main. This part of the *Evidence*, being therefore altogether without Colour or Senſe, might reaſonably ſhock the Credit of the Reſt. That he never concerted the raiſing of *London*, and thought upon it no otherwiſe than a Place of Security. That by the keeping Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, 'twas plain he meant no harm, becauſe, when 'twas in his power, he made no uſe of them to any ſuch purpoſe. He urg'd ſeveral things againſt the Witneſſes, whoſe Examinations were only Read, without their appearing: He deſir'd theſe Men might be brought into Court, and that he might have the liberty of confronting them. This, conſidering his Quality, he ſaid, was no more than a reaſonable Requeſt. Id.

Sir Edward Cokes *Remarks upon the Indictment.*

Thus we ſee the Duke went a great way in his *Confeſſion*; but whether far enough to reach his Life, is not ſo clear. By the Statute upon which the Indictment is grounded, 'tis enacted that if any Perſon or Perſons, by the ringing of any Bell, &c. or by malitious ſpeaking or uttering of any Words, or making any Outcry, &c. or by any other Deed or Act ſhall Raiſe, or cauſe to be rais'd, or aſſembled any Perſons, to the Number of Twelve or above, to the intent that the ſame Perſons ſhould do, commit, or put in Ure, any of the Acts or things abovemention'd; (*Whereof to take, and Impriſon, any of the King's moſt Honourable Privy Council, was one.*) And the Perſons to the Number of Twelve or above, ſo Rais'd or Aſſembl'd, after Requeſt and Commandment, (*in ſuch ſort as in the Act is Preſcrib'd,*) ſhall make their abode, or continue together, as is aforeſaid, (*in the Act*) or unlawfully perpetrate, do commit or put in Ure, any of the Acts or Things abovesaid. That then all and ſingular Perſons, by whoſe ſpeaking, Deed, Act, or any other the means above ſpecified, any Perſons to the Number of Twelve or above, ſhall be rais'd and aſſembl'd for the doing, committing or putting in Ure any of the Acts or Things abovemention'd, ſhall be adjudg'd for his ſo ſpeaking, and ſo doing a Felon, and ſhall ſuffer Execution of Death, as in caſe of Felony; And ſhall loſe his Benefit of Sanctuary and Clergy. (*i*)

From hence Sir *Edward Coke* takes notice, that this Noblemans *Attainder* is miſreported by ſome of our Hiſtorians, and *in ſome Points contrary to Law*. Firſt, whereas it has been ſaid, *he might have had his Clergy upon Demand, this is plainly a miſtake: For the Benefit of the Clergy is expreſly ouſted by the Act abovemention'd. Secondly, That he was not indicted for going about, &c. the Death of the Earl of* Warwick, *then of the King's Privy Council, but only for his taking or Impriſonment, and that therefore could not be indicted upon the*

(e) *King* Edward's *Journal.*

(f) Bp. Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 178.

(g) Fox. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 755.

(h) *King* Edward's *Journal.* Cotton *Library.*

(i) 3 & 4 Ed. 6. *c.* 5. *Statutes at large.* Coke *Inſtit.* 3. *Fol.* 13.

Granmer T. *Abp. of Cant.*

3 Henry 7. c. 14.

the Statute of 3 H. 7. *as ſome have Imagin'd.* To which I may add that none but Commoners are liable to be tried for any thing done againſt that Statute of *Henry* the Seventh, Sir *Edward Coke* remarks in the Third Place, that the Dukes Indictment, *is altogether inſufficient, for it purſues not the Words or Matter of the ſaid Branch of the ſaid Act, as by comparing of them it manifeſtly appeareth.* He means I ſuppoſe that theſe Inſurrections or Conſpiracies were neither Treaſon nor Felony, unleſs the Perſons ſo gather'd together, had refuſ'd to diſperſe upon *Proclamation* made by the Sheriff, or ſome Juſtice of Peace in the King's Name: And that this was the Dukes Caſe is neither laid in the Indictment, nor pleaded by the *Council*: and the Duke's omitting to inſiſt upon this, is reckon'd by our Learned Church *Hiſtorian*, an overlooking the beſt thing in his Defence. (*k*) That ſuch Proclamation was not made, this Author thinks very plain; For if it had, the Duke would either have obey'd it, or tryed his Fortune by Force.

(h) *Bp.* Burnet Hiſt. Ref. *pt. 2d. p.* 180.

The Branch of the Statute with which the Duke was moſt preſs'd.

But neither this Learned Hiſtorian, nor Sir *Edward Coke*, ſeem to have conſider'd that Branch of the *Statute* which lay heavieſt upon the Duke. 'Tis this; And furthermore it is ordein'd and enacted, by the Auctoritie aforeſaid, that if any Perſon or Perſons, after the ſaid xii day of February, by open word or dede, ſhall procure, move, or ſtirre any other Perſon or Perſons to ariſe, or make any trayterous or rebellious Aſſemblie, to the Intent to do, or exerciſe, or put in ure any of the Thinges abovementioned; That then every Perſon ſo procuring, moving, or ſtirring any other, ſhall therefore be demed, and adjudged a Felon, and ſuffre Pains of Death, and forfeite his Goods, Catalles, Lands and Tenements, as in Caſes of Felony, and ſhall alſo leeſe the Benefit of his Clergye and Sanctuarye. (*l*)

(l) 3. & 4. Ed. 6. cap. 5. *Statutes at large.*

This Part of the *Statute* ſeems to preſs the Duke much harder than the other: For here the bare moving and ſtirring any Perſon to make a rebellious Aſſembly, in order to kill or impriſon any of the Lords of the Council is declar'd *Felony*, without the Benefit of the *Clergy*: Here's no actual Inſurrections, nor any Proclamation to diſperſe them required, to make the Penalty inure. And to apply the *Statute* to the Caſe: By *Palmer* and *Crane*'s Evidence it appears, this Duke had concerted the Murder of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*: He confeſs'd himſelf in his Defence that he had ſpoken of this Matter: Now to what purpoſe ſhould he mention ſo dangerous and criminal an Enterprize, unleſs it was to engage Aſſiſtance, and make it practicable? That he had no good meaning towards theſe Lords, appears by his asking their Pardon (*m*) when his Tryal was over. To ſet this matter in a fuller Light, I ſhall tranſcribe the King's Letter to his Favourite *Barnaby Fitzpatricke*.

(m) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. pag.* 181. Heylin.

The King's Letter to Fitzpatricke *concerning the Duke's Tryal.*

To our well beloved Servant Barnaby Fitzpatricke *one of the Gentlemen of our Chamber.*

EDWARD.

“Little hath ben done ſince you went, but the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Arraignment for felonious Treaſon, and the Muſters of the new erected *Gendarmery*. (*n*) The Duke the 1ſt of this Month was brought to *Weſtminſter Hall*, where ſat as Judge, or High Steward, my Lord Treaſurer, Twenty Six Lords of the Parliament went on his Tryal, Indictments were read, which were ſeveral; ſome for Treaſon, ſome for Traiterous Felony. The Lawyers read how Sir *Thomas Palmer* had confeſſed, that the Duke once minded, and made him privy, to raiſe the North, after to call the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, to a Feaſt, and to have ſlain them. And to do this thing (as it was to be thought) had levied Men a Hundred at his Houſe at *London*, which was ſcanned to be Treaſon, becauſe unlawful Aſſemblies for ſuch Purpoſes, was Treaſon by an Act made the laſt Seſſions. Alſo how the Duke of *Somerſet* minded to ſtay the Horſes of the *Gendarmery*, and to raiſe *London*. *Crane* confeſs'd alſo the murdering of the Lords in a Banquet. Sir *Miles Partridge* alſo confeſs'd the raiſing of *London*. *Hamman* his Man having a Watch at *Greenwich* of Twenty weapon'd Men to reſiſt, if he had been arreſted, and this confeſſed both *Partridge* and *Palmer*. He anſwered, that when he levied Men at his Houſe, he meant no ſuch thing, but only to defend himſelf. The reſt very barely anſwer'd. After debating the matter from Nine of the Clock till Three, the Lords went together, and there weighing that the matter ſeemed only to touch their Lives, altho' afterwards more Inconvenience might have followed, and that Men might think they did it of Malice, acquitted him of High Treaſon, and condemn'd him of Felony, which he ſeem'd to have confeſs'd. He hearing the Judgment, fell down on his Knees, and thanked them for his open Tryal. After he asked Pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs, *&c.* whom he confeſſed he meant to deſtroy, altho' before he ſwore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well.

From Weſtminſter *the* 20*th of* December, An. Dom. 1551.

(n) Fuller *Church Hiſtory* Book vii. *pag.* 405. *Tranſcribed from the Original.*

He is acquitted of Treaſon, but found guilty of Felony.

When the Duke had gone thro' his Defence, the Peers withdrew, and after a long Debate, acquitted him of Treaſon: But the greater Number found him guilty of Felony: Thus our Learned Church Hiſtorian. (*o*) But by the *Record* it appears, that not only the greater Number, but all his Judges agreed in their Verdict againſt him. *Et ulterius quilibet eorum ſeparatim dixerunt, quod prædictus Edvardus nuper Dux Somerſ. de Feloniis prædictis ſibi ſeparatim in Formâ prædictâ ſuperius impoſitis, fuit culpabilis,* &c. (*p*)

(o) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. pag.* 180.

(p) Coke's *Entries* Fol. 482.

When the Duke receiv'd Sentence, he thank'd the Lords for the fair Uſage at his Tryal, ask'd the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the other Two Noblemen above-mention'd Pardon, for his ill Intentions towards them. Then intreated his Life might be ſpar'd, and his Wife and Children gently dealt with.

'Tis the Cuſtom at the Tryal of a Peer for Treaſon, to have the Axe carried before him to the *Bar*, with the Edge towards the Priſoner, and in caſe of Acquittal, the Edge is turn'd the other way at his coming back. The Duke of *Somerſet* having this good Sign at his coming out of *Weſtminſter Hall*, the People concluding him ſafe, ſhouted ſo loud, that the Noiſe was heard as far as *Long-acre*:

(q) Stow & Godwin Annal.

(*q*) But when they heard of the Diſtinction between Felony and Treaſon, and that the Duke miſcarried under the latter Charge, their Satiſfaction was over, and they diſcover'd a different Paſſion.

There ſeems to have been one Circumſtance of Hardſhip in this Nobleman's Tryal; and that is, that the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes againſt him, were only *read* in Court: That he had not the Liberty of confronting them, and putting what Queſtions he thought proper. 'Twas generally believ'd, ſays our Learned *Church Hiſtorian, that all this pretended Conſpiracy upon which he was Condemn'd was only a Forgery.* (r) But if this was the Caſe, what made the Duke betray his Innocence, and make ſo dangerous a Confeſſion? However, it may not be amiſs to examine the Reaſons of this Conjecture. The firſt is both *Palmer* and *Crane*, and the reſt of the Witneſſes who had been made Priſoners on the pretence of this Plot, were ſoon after diſcharg'd. But how does this prove the Plot no more than a Practice againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*? Is it not cuſtomary to give Conſpirators a Pardon upon making a Diſcovery? and diſcharge them for the Merit of their Evidence? The Hiſtorians next Reaſon for proving the Witneſſes perjur'd, is ſtill more unſerviceable. *'Twas generally thought*, continues this Gentleman, *that all was an Artifice of* Palmer*'s, who had put the Duke of* Somerſet *in Fears of his Life, and ſo got him to gather Men about him for his own Preſervation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, ſeem'd thro' Fear to acknowledge all that which before he had contrived.* But according to this account, if *Palmer* was ſo inſidious as to lay a Snare, 'tis plain the Duke fell into it, for he gather'd Men about him for his own Preſervation: That is at the loweſt, he reſolv'd to make uſe of Force, and defend himſelf againſt the Government, and if ſo, how can the Depoſitions to prove the Plot be reck'ned a Forgery?

Remarks upon his Tryal.
(r) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.2d.pag.*186.

Ibid.

'Tis plain by the King's Letter and Journal, that he was fully perſwaded of his Uncle's Guilt, and therefore left him to the Law. However to prevent his being work'd to a Tenderneſs, 'tis ſaid the Duke of *Somerſet's* Enemies made it their Buſineſs to divert his Highneſs with Balls, Tiltings, Reviewing his Troops, and ſuch other entertaining Amuſements, which they thought would go fartheſt in his Fancy. And thus tho' the Duke liv'd almoſt Two Months after Judgment given, there was little or nothing done for his Preſervation. In ſhort, an Order being ſign'd at laſt for his Execution, he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, where his Speech was to this effect.

His Speech upon the Scaffold.

“ He declares he had never offended the King either by Word or Action, and that he had always been as true to the Government, as any Subject whatſoever: But ſince he was legally condemn'd, he owns himſelf ſubject to the Conſtitution, is willing to ſuffer in Obedience to the Laws, and gives God Thanks he had Time for Recollection and Repentance allow'd him. He puts the Company in mind how much he employ'd his Authority in promoting the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion. That he now received great Satiſfaction for his having ſome ſhare in bringing Belief and Worſhip to the preſent Condition, and recovering them to a ſtrong Reſemblance of the Primitive Church. This he accounts a great Bleſſing, and exhorts the People to receive it as ſuch, and anſwer it in their Practice: And that unleſs this was done, greater Calamities than what had been felt already, would follow. (*s*)

(s)Holinſhead *pag.* 1068.

When the Duke had proceeded thus far, the People were much frighted, and ſeiz'd with an extraordinary *Pannick.* Now becauſe the reaſon of this Conſternation has been miſtaken, and conſtrued to a Prodigy, I ſhall give the *Reader* an Account of it from *Stow* the *Annaliſt*, who was then upon the Spot. The People, ſays this *Hiſtorian*, of a certain *Hamlet*, who were ordered to attend the Lieutenant of the *Tower* by ſeven of the Clock, came thro' the Poſtern, and perceiving the Duke on the Scaffold ſooner than they expected; the foremoſt of them called out to the reſt to mend their Pace: Theſe Men ruſhing forward to the Scaffold with Bills and Halberts, made the Company, which firſt ſaw them, imagine ſome Forces were advancing to reſcue the Duke: Upon this, they cryed out *Away, Away*; This Alarm made the reſt of the People run off with great Confuſion, inſomuch that many of them fell into the *Tower* Ditch; And thoſe which ſtayed upon the Hill concluded a Pardon had been brought. And having their Heads almoſt turned with the Surprize, ſome fancied it Thunder'd, ſome ſaid there was an Earthquake, and that the Ground rumbled under them; but all this Noiſe was nothing more than what they had made themſelves, by the Trampling of their Feet. (*t*)

The People in a Pannick, and why?

(t) Stow Annal. *pag.* 607

Fox, in relating this Story, ſeems to write under the Impreſſion of the Terror. *It happen'd here*, ſays he, *as the Evangeliſts write, it did unto Chriſt, when as the Officers of the High Prieſt and Phariſees coming with Weapons to take him, being aſtonied, ran backwards and fell to the Ground.* (*u*) Thus this Martyrologiſt brings in a Miracle to atteſt the Duke's Innocence, and draws an odd, not to ſay a profane, Parallel, between his Caſe, and our Saviour's: And thus we ſee to what injudicious Exceſſes a Byaſs of Inclination may carry a *Writer.*

Fox *his Obſervation upon this Fright.*
(u) Fox vol. *pag.* 754.

To return; before the Conſternation was well over, the People eſpyed Sir *Anthony Brown* a Courtier riding haſtily towards the Scaffold, upon which they ſhouted a Pardon, and God ſave the King: But there being no ſuch good News, the Duke having made a Sign for Silence, went on with his Speech.

“ He told them, there was no ſuch thing to be expected as they had the good Nature to believe: That Providence had thus order'd the Event: and that therefore 'twas both his Duty and theirs to acquieſce and ſubmit: He deſired them to behave themſelves without Tumult and Diſorder: That for his Part he was in a ſedate Diſpoſition, and deſired they would join with him in his Prayers for the King, to whom he wiſhed all imaginable Proſperity. To this the People anſwer'd *Amen.* The Duke went on in his Prayers for the Lords of the *Council*, that God would bleſs their Management, and give them Grace to act in their Station with Integrity and Juſtice: And here he exhorted the *Audience* to obey their Orders: That ſuch Submiſſion was neceſſary to cover them from the Penalties of the Law; and that the King's Preſervation was likewiſe better ſecured by ſuch Behavior. He “asked Pardon of all he had injured, and declar'd he heartily forgave all thoſe that had offended him. He deſired the People once more to compoſe themſelves, and told them that tumultuous Behavior would neither do him, nor themſelves, any Service. And laſtly, he deſired them to aſſiſt him with their Prayers, and bear him witneſs, that he dyed in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.(w)

(w) Holingſhead. Ibid.

The Duke's Character.

(x) Bp. Burnet *pt.2d.pag.*185.

(y) Id.*pag.*134.

(z) Fox vol. 2. *pag.* 753. *ad* 755.

This Duke is deſcribed as a Perſon *eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his Greatneſs, ſincere and candid in all his Tranſactions.* (x) But this Character runs the Hiſtorian upon a ſtrong Inconſiſtency with what he had writ before. (y) Fox tells us *the innocent Duke was condemn'd to dye for Felony:* (z) He never heard the Duke rob'd or murder'd, and therefore wonders how he ſhould be guilty of this Crime. And yet a little before he had mention'd the *Statute* on which the Duke was indicted. And thus this *Martyrologiſt* to relieve the Memory of one Nobleman, lays a black Imputation on ſeven and twenty; and brings in a great part of the Privy Council guilty of Murther: And of thoſe Lords of the Council too, who appear'd ſtrongly for the *Reformation. Fox* goes on and flouriſhes extravagantly on the Duke's Commendation, runs a Compariſon between him and the *good* Duke of *Glouceſter,** and paints beyond the Life: And when he has done, diſcharges ſome of the beſt Colours with his own *Pencil.* For he is of Opinion, that the Duke by ſuffering or procuring the Death of the Admiral his Brother, ſtain'd his Honour, weak'ned his Intereſt, and drew the Judgment of God upon him in his Execution.

* *He was Protector in the Reign of King* Henry *VI.*

Ibid. & *pag.* 756.

After all, the Duke was a fortunate General, and had done good Service. He was likewiſe a Favourite of the Commons, and very well deſerv'd their Regard. He riſqued his Intereſt to ſcreen them from Oppreſſion, and did his Part to break ſome very unkind meaſures concerted againſt them. For by raiſing Rents, incloſing Grounds, and turning Arable to Paſture, *the Commons of* England *ſaw they were like to be reduc'd to great Miſery.* (a) And, as the Hiſtorian goes on, *indeed there ſeem'd to have been a general Deſign amongſt the Nobility and Gentry, to bring the inferior ſort to that low and ſervile State, to which the Peaſants in many other Kingdoms are reduc'd.*

(a) *Bp.*Burnet *pt.2d.pag.*114.

Ibid.

Sir *Thomas Arundel,* Sir *Ralph Vane,* Sir *Michael Stanhop,* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were tryed as the Duke's Accomplices, found guilty, and executed. The Two laſt were little pitied, being the Perſons upon whom the ill things that had been done by the Duke of *Somerſet,* as our Hiſtorian reports, were chiefly caſt. However all Four of them declar'd at their Death, that they had never acted any thing againſt the King, or his *Council.* (b)

Id.*pag.* 181.

(b) Stow Annal. *pag.* 607.

The Lord Chancellor Rich *reſigns the Broad Seal.*

The Duke of *Somerſet,* during his Impriſonment, had made the Lord Chancellor his Friend: This Nobleman was to recover the King to a better Opinion of his Uncle. The Duke's Confidence was not miſplac'd, for the *Chancellor* ſent him ſome Intelligence which might have been ſerviceable. But the Letter being written in haſte, and ſuperſcrib'd only to the Duke, the Servant who carried it, having no particular Directions, deliver'd it to the Duke of *Norfolk,* whom he knew well acquainted with his Maſter. The Lord Chancellor finding the Miſtake at Night, concluded the Duke of *Norfolk,* to make his Court to the Duke of *Northumberland,* would certainly diſcover him: and therefore to break the Misfortune, and make it lighter, he went immediately to the King, and deſired Leave to *reſign,* and falling ſick upon this Application, the *Broad Seal* was ſent for, and put into the Hands of *Gooderick* Biſhop of *Ely,* who was ſworn Lord Chancellor, on the 22d of *January* following.

Stow Annal. Dec. 21. 1551.

It is given to the Biſhop of Ely.

(c) Burnet *pt.* 2*d. pag.* 183.

2 Tim. 2.

Upon this Occaſion our Learned Church Hiſtorian, not only cenſures *Gooderick* for accepting this Poſt, but runs out into a General Invective againſt all Biſhops who concern themſelves with Affairs of State, and Civil Juriſdiction. He obſerves Chriſt being ſpoke to, to divide an Inheritance between Two Brethren, ſaid, *who made me a Judge or a Divider?* (c) But this Text does not ſeem ſerviceable to the Author's Purpoſe: The meaning of it appears only to be *this.* That ſince our Saviour's *Kingdom was not of this World,* ſince he had no Commiſſion from the Government to determine Property, his interpoſing in ſuch an Affair was not to be expected. But, as our Author goes on, St. *Paul* ſpeaking of Churchmen, ſays, *No Man that wars, entangles himſelf with the Affairs of this Life;* which was underſtood “by St. *Cyprian* as a perpetual Rule againſt the Secular Employment of the Clergy. This *Father* was ſo ſtrict in this Point, that he thought the being Tutor to *Orphans* was a Diſtraction unſuitable to their Character. That *Paulus Samoſatenus* is repreſented as one of the firſt eminent Churchmen that involved himſelf in Secular Cares, and that there are three *Apoſtolical Canons* againſt it; he muſt mean the Sixth, the Eighty firſt, and the Eighty third; But this latter only forbids a Biſhop a Command in the Army, and ſtanding upon the *military Liſt.* The other Two *Canons* look nearer his Point; but then we are to conſider, the Circumſtance of Time often alters the Caſe. When the *Apoſtolical Canons* were made, the Emperors were unconverted, and *Paganiſm* the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. Under this Diſadvantage of the Conſtitution, the Magiſtracy were oblig'd to exhibite *Shews,* to countenance the idolatrous Sacrifices, and be preſent at them. 'Tis no Wonder therefore, when Offices were thus incumbred, the *Canons* ſhould forbid the Clergy having any ſhare in the Adminiſtration. As for *Paulus Samoſatenus,* beſides the Charge of Hereſy for which he was depoſed, he is cenſured for Bribery and Sacrilege, for affecting a military Diſtinction: * For ordering Hymns to be ſung in his own Commendation in the Church, and procuring People to clap him, as if he had been acting upon a Stage. Our Hiſtorian obſerves farther, *that the Clergy's medling in Secular Matters is condemn'd moſt copiouſly and amply by the General* Council *of* Chalcedon. I ſhall cite the Canon to which he muſt refer: 'Tis the Third, and ſtands thus; “The Holy *Synod* is inform'd that ſome of the Clergy turn Farmers, concern themſelves in Secular Affairs, and neglect their Function out of an avaritious and mercenary Temper. 'Tis therefore decreed that for the future no Biſhop, Clerk, nor Monk ſhall turn Farmer, or intrude ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸν into Secular Employment, unleſs he is oblig'd by the *Civil* Conſtitution to take care of ſome Minor related to him, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſe has appointed him to manage the Secular Intereſt

Secular Employments whether inconſiſtent with a ſpiritual Character.

Bp. Burnet Ibid.

* Ducenarius vocari quam Epiſcopus mavult. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.vii. cap. 30.

Bp. Burnet's *Objections conſider'd.*

“ tereſt and Revenues of the Church, or order'd him to undertake the Guardianſhip and Protection of Orphans and Widows, and ſuch unſupported Perſons, who ſtand moſt in need of the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy. (*d*)

This *Canon* is much the ſame with the Emperor *Juſtinian*'s Conſtitution upon this Subject; where he won't allow a Biſhop, or any other Clerk, to be a Collector of the Royal Revenues, a Farmer of the Lands belonging to the Crown, or any Corporation, a Steward, Attorney, or Surety. (*e*) But here the *Reader* may take notice that all ſort of Employments are not barr'd the Clergy either by the Emperor or the Council. To ſpeak only to the latter, the *Council* we ſee gives a Liberty for the Office of Guardian, and thus the Authority of St. *Cyprian* is plainly over-rul'd.

“ Our Hiſtorian takes notice, that *Charles the Great* and his Son gave large Territories and Juriſdictions to many Sees, and that their Lands gave them a Right to have a ſhare in all the publick *Councils*, and to be chiefly employed in all Affairs and Offices of State, (*f*) and that the Ignorance of theſe Ages made this in a manner neceſſary. Now if the Ignorance of the Times made Secular Employments in a manner neceſſary to the Clergy: If few or none were qualified for the Adminiſtration but the Biſhops, and the Government could ſcarcely go on without them; if the Caſe ſtood thus, why are they blamed for aſſiſting the *State*, and doing good in their Generation? When they ſerv'd their Prince and Country under ſuch Exigencies, and were employ'd to ſuch ſignificant Purpoſe, why are they tax'd with Ambition, and graſping an Authority excentrick to their Calling?

To diſengage the Clergy farther from this Imputation, the *Reader* may pleaſe to conſider, that under the Jewiſh Oeconomy 'twas part of the Prieſts and Levites Buſineſs to give Reſolutions in Points of Law, to ſettle Property, and try Cauſes both Civil and Criminal. The High Prieſt and others of that Tribe and Function, were Members of the *Jeruſalem Sanhedrim*. This *Sanhedrim* was the laſt Reſort of Juſtice, (*g*) and there was no Appeal from it.

Now the Jewiſh Prieſts had a *Religious* Calling, were to inſtruct the People, and had Souls to be ſaved no leſs than the Chriſtian. We are to conſider farther, that God was the Author of this Appointment. And therefore *Bucer* very juſtly recommends the Imitation of the *Judicial* Law.* Indeed where there is nothing of Type or Figure, nothing particular as to Time, Country or Neighborhood of the Jewiſh Nation: In ſuch Caſes we may ſuppoſe the Ground of the Law goes upon the Reaſon of the Thing. And to apply this, the Prieſts having a ſhare in the *Civil* Adminiſtration, was the Practice of a *State* under Supernatural Direction, and where God was their immediate Governor.

Under the Chriſtian Emperors the Biſhops had Judicatures, called Courts of *Audience*, and *Conſtantine* the Great made a Law, that if any Parties to a Sute had a Mind to appeal from their Temporal Judges to the Dioceſan, the Biſhops Sentence ſhould be unalterable, have the ſame Force as if it had been pronounc'd by the Emperor himſelf, and the Governors of the Provinces had Orders to ſee it put in Execution. (*h*) Nothing was more common in thoſe early Times than to pitch upon the Biſhops for *Referees*. And therefore *Syneſius* calls arbitrating *Civil* Differences, Part of the Epiſcopal Function. (*i*) St. *Auſtin*, tho' he complains of judging in References, yet was willing to bear it, and often ſpent the whole Morning, and ſometimes the whole Day in hearing Cauſes. (*k*) And further 'twas St. *Auſtin*'s Opinion, that the Apoſtle St. *Paul* inſtituted Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and laid the Burthen of Secular Cauſes upon them. (*l*) So far was this Father from interpreting the 2d of *Tim.* 2. & 4. in our *Hiſtorian*'s Senſe. The Emperor *Juſtinian* grants the Biſhops the ſame Privilege of receiving References with his Predeceſſor *Conſtantine*, and declares their Judgment irrevocable. (*m*) 'Tis plain therefore neither theſe famous Emperors or Fathers, thought *Secular* Employment altogether inconſiſtent with a Spiritual Character: They did not believe it diſſerv'd the Biſhops in the Management of their Functions, or indiſpos'd them for *that Seriouſneſs, that Application to Religious Study and Exerciſes, and that Care of Souls, which might be juſtly expected from them.* (*n*)

And to come to the Caſe remark'd by our *Learned Hiſtorian*: The Engliſh Biſhops who were Lord *Chancellors*, had *Suffragans* to inſpect their Dioceſe, and repreſent them in the Functions of Government: And theſe *Suffragans*, as hath been obſerv'd, were no leſs Biſhops, as to Character, than themſelves. Now even *Bucer* will allow Biſhops to reſide at Court, provided they had Coadjutors in the Country. (*o*) And if they may attend on Princes, and appear at the *Council-Board*, why not on the *Bench* in *Chancery*? If it is objected the Biſhops are not bred to the Profeſſion of the Law, and therefore ſeem unqualified for ſuch a Station: To this it may be anſwer'd, that a Man of Senſe and General Learning, may underſtand *Law*, if he pleaſes, without entring himſelf in the *Inns of Court*. Beſides, in the *Chancery* there are Two Courts, one Ordinary, and the other Extraordinary. (*p*) The firſt is govern'd by *Statute* and Common Law; and here if the Chancellor is at a Loſs, he hath Judges on the Bench to direct him. The other is a Court of *Equity*, and extends to Caſes where the Law gives no Remedy. (*q*) Such as Accidents, Frauds, Breach of Truſt, and Confidence. And who can be ſuppoſed fitter than a Biſhop to decide in ſuch Caſes? St. *Germain* in his *Doctor* and *Student*, ſeems to give the Advantage to a *Religious* Character in a reſembling Inſtance. He tells us the Adminiſtration of the Goods of the *Inteſtate* was committed to the Biſhop, and not to the *Secular* Courts, becauſe the Law ſuppoſed the Clergy better fenc'd againſt Temptation than the *Laity*. He is of Opinion the Nature of their Buſineſs, and the Force of their Calling, would keep the Conſcience of the Clergy more awake, and fortify them farther againſt Covetouſneſs, than other People. Now when a Biſhop is ſupplying the Defects of the *Conſtitution*, and reſcuing Orphans out of the Hands of Harpies, a Man ſhould not be over-haſty in pronouncing him miſemployed: Eſpecially if we conſider a Biſhop's Character is ſometime ſtrengthned by a *Civil* Station, and he is put in a Condition of doing more Service to Religion. As for *Tindal*'s and *Barnes*'s Remonſtrance mention'd by our *Hiſtorian*, (*r*) their Teſti-

(d) Concil. Chalced. Can. 3.

(e) Juſtinian. Novel. 123. cap. 5, & 6.

(f) *Bp.* Burnet Ibid.

Id. *pag.* 184.

(g) Deut. 17. *v.* 8. *to v.* 14. 2 Chron. 19. & 8.

* Bucer de regno Chriſti.

(h) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 9.

(i) Syneſ. Epiſt. 105.

(k) Poſſid. Vit. Auguſt. cap. 19.

(l) 1 Cor. vi. 4. Aug. de opere Monac. cap. 29.

(m) Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. Tit. 4. Leg. 7, & 8.

(n) *Bp.* Burnet Ibid.

(o) Bucer de regno Chriſti.

(p) Coke's Inſtit. *pt.* 4. *c.* 8. *Fol.* 79.

(q) Id. *Fol.* 84.

(r) *Bp.* Burnet *pag.* 182.

Teſtimony ſignifies not much. To ſpeak clearly, their playing a Satyr upon the Biſhops, arraigning their Conduct, and weakning their Authority, was rather an Inſtance of Miſbehaviour in theſe Men. Had they remember'd the *Text, thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People*, and that St. *Paul* applied it againſt himſelf to the Privilege of the High Prieſt, they would probably have been more ſparing in their Language.

Upon the Fall of the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Farrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids* was cruſh'd for want of his Aſſiſtance: Not that he was ſuſpected of any Practice charg'd upon the Duke. But this Prelate it ſeems, being a Man of ſome Singularity in his Management, adhering to his Opinions with remarkable Stiffneſs, and making higher Demands of Obſervance than was expected from his Character, loſt ground with his Clergy, and was particularly embroil'd with the *Canons* of his own Cathedral. *Young* and *Merrick*, the firſt of which was afterwards prefer'd to the *See* of *York*, and the other to the *See* of *Bangor*, by Queen *Elizabeth*; tho' they did not appear above board, were moſt active in carrying on an Information againſt him. Amongſt other things he was charg'd with officiating at a Marriage without requiring the married Perſons to receive the Communion, contrary to the *Rubrick* in the Firſt *Common-Prayer-Book*, which was then in Force. His Diſconformity to the cuſtomary Habit was another Article; he was likewiſe complain'd of for ordering the Communion Table which had been plac'd by the *Official* of *Carmathen* in the middle of the Church, to be carried back into the Chancel, to the Place where the *Altar* ſtood. His ſuffering ſuperſtitious Uſages in his Dioceſe contrary to Law, was another Branch of the *Information*. But the main Charge was his exerciſing Epiſcopal Juriſdiction in his own Name, in Derogation of the King's Supremacy. And thus the Duke, and his other Friends of that Party, being either executed, or under Diſgrace, a Commiſſion was iſſued bearing Date the Ninth of *March*, to enquire into the *Articles*, and upon the Return made by theſe Commiſſioners, he was indicted upon the *Statute* of *Præmunire* at *Carmarthen* Aſſizes in *July* following. And here it may be concluded, the Verdict went againſt him by his being committed to Priſon, where he continued the Remainder of this Reign. *

Anno Dom. 155½.

* Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *pag.* 120.

Adam Wallaſe *tryed for Hereſy in* Scotland.

This Year in *Scotland*, one *Adam Wallaſe* a Man of little Knowledge, but very zealous in his Religion, was apprehended at *Winton* in *Lothian*, and tried for Heterodoxy. The Earl of *Arran* Governor, the Earl of *Argyle* Great Juſtice, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Glencairn*, and ſeveral others of the Nobility were preſent at the Tryal. A Charge conſiſting of Five Articles was brought in againſt *Wallaſe*. Firſt, that he had taken upon him the Office of a Preacher without any Lawful Calling. Secondly, that he had baptiz'd one of his own Children. Thirdly, that he had denied Purgatory. Fourthly, that he had aſſerted Invocation of Saints, and Prayer for the Dead, was down right Superſtition. And fifthly, that he had called the *Maſs* an idolatrous Service; and that in the Sacrament of the Altar the *Elements* remain'd Bread and Wine, after Conſecration.

To the firſt *Article* he anſwer'd, that he never thought himſelf worthy of ſo excellent an Employment, as the Functions of the Pulpit; nor did he ever preſume to preach. He confeſs'd notwithſtanding that in ſome private Places he read a Portion of *Scripture* ſometimes, and made a ſhort Exhortation upon the *Text* to thoſe that would hear him. Upon this 'twas told him, he ought not to have medled with the *Scriptures*. *Wallaſe* replied, he look'd upon it as the Duty of every Chriſtian to acquaint himſelf with the Doctrine of the *Scriptures*, and the means of his Salvation; which was not to be found any where but in the *inſpired Writings*. And one of the Company happening to ſay, if every Man may be a Babler upon the *Bible*, what Buſineſs will be left to the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy? He told him he ought to have mentioned God's Word with more Reverence, and that if the Judge did right, he would puniſh him for his Blaſphemy. But to your Queſtion, ſays he, I tell you, that tho' you and I, and Five Thouſand more, ſhould read the Bible, and diſcourſe upon it, there would be Buſineſs enough left for the Biſhops. For we ſhould leave them the Preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt, and the feeding their Flocks, which would give them ſufficient Employment. Neither are we at all injurious to them in working out our own Salvation, as far as we can.

To the Second *Article* he anſwer'd, that ſince he could not have a true *Miniſter*, 'twas as lawful for him to baptize his own Child, as 'twas for *Abraham* to circumciſe *Iſhmael* and his Family. (*s*)

(s) Spotswood *Hiſt.* Church Scot. *page* 90. & deinceps.

His Defence againſt the Third and Fourth *Articles* were, that he never believ'd or maintain'd any thing but what he found in the *Book* hanging at his Girdle, which was the Bible in French, Dutch, and Engliſh. And being called on to keep cloſer to the point, and be more particular, he replied, that in Caſe he were inclined to declare his Mind farther upon theſe Heads, he ſhould require a more *upright and indifferent Judge*. Upon this the Earl of *Huntley* told him he was a Fool for deſiring more competent and qualified Judges than the *Governor*, and the Biſhops. To this *Wallaſe* return'd, that the Biſhops ought not to be his Judges, becauſe they were declared Enemies to the Doctrine he profeſs'd: And as for the Governor, he queſtion'd whether he had knowledge enough to diſcover Truth from Error, and to diſtinguiſh the Inventions of Men from the pure Worſhip of God. The Judge that he deſired, he told them, was the *Book* of God; and that if he could be convinced out of the *inſpired Writings*, to have either aſſerted, or done any thing with Reference to Religion, that was repugnant to the Will of God, he was contented to die. But provided they could fix no Imputation of this Kind upon him, he deſired the Protection of the *Governor*, and Nobility, againſt the Tyranny of malicious Men.

He is condemn'd and burnt at Edinborough.

Being asked what he thought of the *Maſs*, he anſwer'd he had read the *Bible* in Three Languages, and had never found the *Maſs* in any of them: And that what was higheſt eſteem'd with Men, was no better than Abomination in the Sight of God. Upon this, all the Company cried out, *Hereſie, Hereſie, let him be condemn'd*. Thus the poor Man was pronounced a Heretick, deliver'd over to the ſecular Power, and put into the Hands of Sir *John Campbell*, of *Lundie*, Juſtice Deputy; who having paſs'd Sentence of Death, remanded him to

Priſon. He ſpent that Night in ſinging Pſalms, and was brought to the *Stake* the next Day on *Caſtle Hill*. Where notwithſtanding he was order'd not to make a Speech to the People, he took the Liberty to deſire them *not to be offended with the Truth, becauſe of his Sufferings: For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter*. As he was going on, the *Provoſt* of *Edinburgh*, who had the Charge of the Execution, bid him break off; upon which he recommended himſelf to God Almighty in a ſhort Prayer, and ſuffer'd with remarkable Reſolution.

Id.

About this Time there happen'd a great Conteſt amongſt the *Churchmen* concerning the Object of Invocation in the *Lord's Prayer*. The Occaſion was this. One *Richard Marſhall Prior* of the *Black Friars* at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, had lately come into *Scotland*, and preach'd at St. *Andrews*, that the *Pater noſter ſhould be addreſs'd to God, and not to the Saints*. Some Doctors of the *Univerſity* being diſguſted at this Aſſertion, prevail'd with one *Tottes* a Grey Friar to undertake *Marſhal*, and prove that the *Pater noſter* might be ſaid to the *Saints*. The Friar having Ignorance and Aſſurance enough to engage in the Cauſe, took his *Text* out of the Fifth of St. *Matthew*, *bleſſed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*. From theſe Words he rais'd this Doctrine. "That "the Lord's Prayer might be ſaid to the *Saints*, "becauſe all the Petitions in this Form are ap"plicable to them. For inſtance, if we meet "an Old Man in the Street, ſays the Friar, "we ſalute him, *good morrow Father*; and there"fore with greater Propriety of Language, "we may call the *Saints* our *Fathers*. And "ſince 'tis granted they are in Heaven, we may "ſay to every one of them, *Our Father which* "*art in Heaven*. Then we know, continues "the Friar, God has dignified them ſo far as "to make their *Names Holy*, why then may "we not apply, *Hallowed be thy Name*, to any "of the *Saints*? And ſince they are poſſeſs'd "of the Kingdom of Heaven, we may upon "the Strength of this Privilege of theirs, ſay to "any of them, *Thy Kingdom come*. And thus, "unleſs their *Will* had been *God's Will*, they "had never been advanc'd to that Kingdom. "Since therefore there is an Uniformity of "Deſire between them and their *Maker*, we "may ſay to every one of them, *Thy Will be done*. "When he came to the Fourth Petition, he "was at a Loſs for a Colour, and confeſs'd "'twas not within the *Saints* Power, *to give us* "*our daily Bread*. However, they may pray "to God for us, that he will pleaſe to *give it*. "He ſtuck no leſs in the remaining Petitions, "and carried on his Paraphraſe with ſo much "ſhuffling and whimſey, thar the *Audience* fell "a laughing. And at laſt, meeting with far"ther Mortifications, and being a Jeſt to the "Boys in the *Street*, who call'd him *Friar* "*Pater noſter*, he grew aſham'd of his Perfor"mance, and quitted the Town.

Friar Tottes's *Heterodox and whymſical Paraphraſe upon the Lord's Prayer.*

The Queſtion determin'd againſt him at the Synod of Edinborough

However the Queſtion did not drop, but was bandied about in the Univerſity, in ſo much that 'twas thought fit, the Point ſhould be publickly argued by the Doctors. When they met they came to no uniform Reſolution; ſome of them held that *Pater Noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God *formalitèr*, and to the Saints *materialitèr*. Others not approving this Diſtinction, affirm'd the *Pater noſter* ought to be ſaid to God *principalitèr*, and to the Saints *minus principalitèr*. The Majority ſeem'd willing to ſettle the Controverſy upon this Foot: That the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God *capiendo ſtrictè*, and to the Saints *capiendo largè!* However they came to no final Determination, but refer'd the Diſpute to the *Provincial Synod* which was to meet at *Edinborough* in *January* following.

The Queſtion was accordingly debated at the meeting of the Synod, and being put to the Vote, there was no ſmall Number who agreed the *Pater noſter might be ſaid to the Saints*. But this Opinion was over-rul'd by the Biſhops, and the moſt judicious Part of the Aſſembly. And thus the *Subprior* of St. *Andrews* was order'd at his Return home, to declare the ſetling of the Controverſy, and that tho' the *Lord's Prayer* was to be addreſs'd to none but God Almighty, yet the *Saints* ought to be applied to for their Aſſiſtance. At this Synod an Engliſh *Catechiſm* was drawn up, and publiſh'd. It contain'd a brief Expoſition upon the *Ten Commandments*, the *Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer*. And the Curates were oblig'd to read Part of it to the People every *Sunday*, and *Holy Day*, when there was no Sermon.

Id. *page* 92.

To return to *England*. On the Thirteenth of *January* this Year the *Parliament* met at *Weſtminiſter* upon Prorogation; in which ſeveral material Things were enacted with Relation to the Church. The firſt of this kind which I ſhall mention, is the *Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*. Thus the Service Book, as it ſtood review'd the laſt Year, was injoin'd for publick Uſe. (*t*)

The review'd Common-Prayer-Book authoriz'd by Act of Parliament.

(t) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 1.

By this *Statute* the Firſt *Common-Prayer-Book* authoriz'd by a Parliament in the Second and Third Year of this Reign, is called a **very godly Order, agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good People, deſiring to live in Chriſtian Converſation, and moſt profitable to the Eſtate of this Realm.**

This is a very honourable Teſtimony. The *Firſt Book* is ſaid to be form'd upon the Doctrine of the *Scriptures*, and the Practice of the beſt Antiquity. And that 'tis very ſerviceable for the promoting of Piety, and publick Advantage. This Commendation is given without Abatement. There is no Stroke of Cenſure, no Charge of Superſtition, no Blemiſh either with Reſpect to Doctrine, or Ceremonies, thrown upon it. Thus *Bucers* and *Calvins* Animadverſions are in Effect declar'd frivolous and of no weight. The Men, 'tis likely meant well: But then they ventur'd beyond their Talent, and their Judgment fail'd them. (*u*)

An honourable Teſtimony given by the Parliament to the Firſt Common-Prayer-Book.

(u) Bucer Script. Anglican. Calvin. Epiſt. ad Protect. & alib.

But if the *Book* was in this good Condition, why was it brought under a *Review*? Why are ſome Parts expung'd? Some added, and ſome tranſpos'd? The *Statute* accounts for this. There were **divers Doubts riſen for the Faſhion and Manner of the Miniſtration of the ſame.** Then it ſeems there was no Exception touching any Part of the matter. But were theſe **Doubts** well founded? No; the *Act* ſays they proceeded **rather by the Curioſity of the Miniſter, and Miſtakers, than of any other worthy Cauſe.** From hence we may infer that the **Explanations**, as they are call'd in the *Second Book*, were not made without Compliance with the Weakneſs of ſome People: Not without Condeſcenſion to thoſe who had more ſcruples, than Underſtanding, more Heat, than Light in them. When this Bill for diſcharging the *Firſt Book*, and appointing the *Second* was read in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of *Derby*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Stourton* and *Windſor*, proteſted againſt it. (*w*)

(w) *Journal* Procer. Bibliot. Cotton. Tiberius. D. I.

From the full Approbation given by the Statute to the *Firſt Book*, one may reaſonably infer that the following Clauſe which mentions the explaining, perfecting, and making the ſame Prayer and Service more earneſt and fit to ſtir Chriſtian People to the true honouring of Almighty God: From hence I ſay we may reaſonably infer, that this Clauſe was added rather to recommend the *Second*, than to faſten any Blemiſh or Abatement on the *Firſt Book*.

The Ordinal confirm'd by this Statute.

The Ordinal for making Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, was annex'd to the Bill, and paſs'd with it. The *Statute* was not to inure till the *Feaſt* of *All Saints* following, which was almoſt Three Quarters of a Year. This is another Argument of the Inoffenſiveneſs of the firſt *Common-Prayer-Book*: And that the *Parliament* believ'd the People would not receive any Harm by the Uſe of it. The Curates are injoin'd to read this *Act* in the Church every Quarter of a Year for the Firſt Year, and once a Year afterwards. The former *Act* by which the Firſt *Service Book* was Eſtabliſh'd, was by this *Statute* to ſtand in full Force to all Intents and Conſtructions for the Uſe of the *Second Book*. There is another remarkable Clauſe in this *Statute*, and that is that all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all others their Officers exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as well in Places exempt, as not exempt within their Dioceſes, ſhall have full Power and Authority by this Act to reform, correct, and puniſh by the Cenſures of the Church, all Perſons which ſhall offend after the Feaſt of all Saints next coming. If it be asked, does the *Legiſlature* then make a Grant of Spiritual Juriſdiction? Can't the Biſhops diſcharge the Functions eſſential to their Character without Leave from the Civil Magiſtrate? And can the Power of the *Keys* given to the Church by our Bleſſed Saviour not be exerciſed without a Warrant from the *State*? The Anſwer to this Queſtion I ſhall leave to the *Readers* Collection.

The *Common-Prayer-Book* being thus confirm'd by *Parliament*, was by the King's Order tranſlated into French, for the Uſe of the Iſlands of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and for the Town and Dependencies of *Calais*: But the ſame Proviſion was not made for *Wales*, till the Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*. *

* Heylin. Hiſt. Ref. *page* 122.

5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 2. *An Act for making Overſeers for the Poor.*

To proceed, on the Third of *March* a *Bill* was brought into the Houſe of Lords for the *Relief* of the *Poor*, which paſſed both Houſes, and receiv'd the Royal Aſſent. By this *Statute* Two Overſeers for the Poor in every Pariſh was firſt ſettled. This Bill by obliging every Town to maintain their Poor, is by Implication a Tax upon the Subject, and yet which is ſomewhat remarkable, 'twas firſt read in the Houſe of Lords. (*x*)

(x) *Journal* Procer.

Holidays and Faſts ſettled by Act of Parliament.

The next *Act* which relates more immediately to the Church, determines the Number of *Feſtivals* and *Faſts*. "The Preamble ſets forth, that in regard Men are apt to be negligent in the Worſhip of God, it has been therefore thought requiſite to ſet a Stamp of Solemnity on certain Days, and aſſign them for Religious Obſervances. That this was done to make People recollect their Duty to God Almighty. And to the End they might come better prepar'd for his Service, Forbearance of Labour and Buſineſs has been cuſtomarily injoin'd upon ſuch Days. That theſe Days are not call'd Holy upon the Score of any inhærent Quality, nor yet in Regard of the Saints whoſe Memories are then celebrated; but becauſe they are dedicated to God's Honour, and diſtinguiſh'd for the Edification of the People. And ſince neither the Time nor Number of ſuch *privileg'd* Days are determin'd in *Holy Scripture*; from hence it follows that the Appointment of theſe Circumſtances is left to the Liberty of the Church and State. Thus far the *Preamble*: By the enacting Part, the following Days are commanded to be kept Holy, *viz.* All *Sundays* in the Year: The Days of the Feaſts of the Circumciſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of the Epiphany. Of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin. Of Saint Matthie the Apoſtle. Of the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin. Of St. Mark the Evangeliſt. Of St. Philip and Jacob the Apoſtles. Of the Aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of the Nativity of St. John Baptiſt. Of St. Peter the Apoſtle. Of St. James the Apoſtle. Of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle. Of St. Matthew the Apoſtle. Of St. Michael the Archangel. Of St. Luke the Evangeliſt. Of St. Simon and Jude the Apoſtles. Of All Saints. Of St. Andrew the Apoſtle. Of St. Thomas the Apoſtle Of the Nativity of our Lord Of St. Stephen the Martyr. Of St. John the Evangeliſt. Of the Holy Innocents Munday and Tueſday in Eaſter Week. And Munday and Tueſday in Whitſonweek And that none other Day ſhall be kept and commanded to be kept Holy Day, or to abſtain from Lawful Bodily Labour.

'Tis likewiſe enacted that the *Vigils* or Days before the ſaid Feaſts, excepting thoſe preceding St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and *Philip* and *Jacob* ſhall be Faſted, and that no other Day or Even ſhall be commanded to be faſted. And by this *Statute* the Biſhops and their Officers are permitted to enquire into the Breach of the Premiſes, and puniſh Offenders at their Diſcretion by the Cenſures of the Church.

By this *Statute* 'tis firſt provided that nothing therein contained ſhall extend to abrogate or take away the Abſtinence from Fleſh in Lent, or on Fridays and Saturdays, or any other Day which is already appointed ſo to be kept by Virtue of an Act made in the Third Year of the preſent Reign, ſaving only of thoſe Evens and Days whereof the Holiday next following is abrogated by this Statute.

"'Tis likewiſe provided that when any of the ſaid *Feaſts* happen to fall upon the *Munday*, the *Saturday* preceding, and not the *Sunday* ſhall be accounted the *Vigil*, and faſted.

A Proviſo for a Liberty of working in ſeveral Caſes.

'Tis provided in the Third Place, that it ſhall be lawful to every Husbandman, Labourer, Fiſherman, and to all and every other Perſon, and Perſons, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition, he or they be, upon the Holidays aforeſaid, in Harveſt, or at any other Times in the year, when Neceſſity ſhall require, to labour, ride, fiſh, or work any kind of Work, at their free Wills and Pleaſure.

"And laſtly, 'tis provided that the *Feaſt* of St. *George* may be kept on the Twenty Second, Twenty Third, Twenty Fourth of *April* yearly, by the Knights of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter. (*y*) This *Act* was repeal'd 1. *Mar.* 2. but reviv'd by 1. *Jac.* 1. *Cap.* 25. becauſe 1. *Mar.* 2. is repeal'd by 1. *Jac.* 1. *Cap.* 25.

(y) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 3.

Tt And

An Act againſt quarrelling in Churches.

And ſince the Alterations in publick Service and Ceremonies had occaſion'd Conteſts in ſeveral Places: Since People were obſerv'd to bring their Paſſions to Church with them, and quarrel where they ought to have prayed together; ſince theſe Diſorders were not to be check'd the cuſtomary way; the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops having either an Embargo laid upon it by the *State*, or elſe worn out of Uſe and Significancy: For theſe Reaſons, 'twas thought fit to guard the Honour of Religion, and the Places conſecrated to Divine Worſhip, by *Parliamentary Proviſions*: 'Tis therefore enacted, that if any Perſon whatſoever ſhall at any Time after the Firſt of May next coming by Words only, quarrel, chide, or brawl in any Church, or Church-yard, that then it ſhall be lawful to the Ordinary of the Place, where the ſame Offence ſhall be done, and prov'd by Two Lawful Witneſſes, to ſuſpend every Perſon ſo offending. That is to ſay, if he be a Lay-man, *ab Ingreſſu Eccleſiæ*. And if he be a Clerk from the Miniſtration of his Office. And here the Continuance of the Puniſhment is left to the Diſcretion of the *Ordinary*.

'Tis farther enacted, that if any Perſon ſhall ſmite, or lay any violent Hands upon any other either in the Church, or Church-yard: That then ipſo Facto every Perſon ſo offending ſhall be deem'd excommunicate, and be excluded from the Fellowſhip and Communion of Chriſts Congregation.

And laſtly 'tis enacted, that if any Perſon ſhall maliciouſly ſtrike with any Weapon in any Church or Church-yard, or draw any Weapon with Intent to ſtrike another: That then every Perſon ſo offending, and thereof being convicted by Verdict of Twelve Men, or by his own Confeſſion, or by Two Lawful Witneſſes, before the Juſtices of the Aſſize, Juſtices of Oyer and Determiner, or Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions, ſhall have one of his Ears cut off. And in Caſe the Perſons ſo offending have no Ears, he was to have the Letter F burnt upon his Cheek, to mark him for a Fraymaker, and Fighter, and over and above he was to ſtand ipſo Facto excommunicated. (z)

(z) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 4.

By this *Act*, the *Reader* may obſerve the Direction of *Spiritual* Juriſdiction is manag'd by *Parliament*. And which is more, the Penalty of the *Act excludes from the Fellowſhip of Chriſt's Congregation*, and reaches to the moſt ſolemn Exerciſe of the Power of the *Keys*.

A Caſe debated by the Judges upon this Statute.

Upon this *Act* an Action of falſe Impriſonment was brought by one *George Foreman* againſt Two *Mounſons* Juſtices of Peace in the County of *Lincoln*, and Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, *&c.* The Defendant pleaded the Plaintiff ſtood excommunicated before the purchaſing the Writ, and by Conſequence was diſabled from bringing his Action: That he lay under this Cenſure they prov'd becauſe he drew his Dagger in a Church-yard with an Intention to make a Paſs at a certain Perſon, and that he was indicted for this Offence before the Mayor of *Lincoln*, and other Juſtices of the Peace. Now whether this was a good Plea to diſable the Plaintiff, was debated at large by the *Bench*. The Reaſon of the Judges making it a Queſtion was, becauſe *Foreman* was not convicted of the Breach of the *Statute*. For a bare Indictment without any Anſwer made to it, or Proceſs of Outlawry upon it, *&c.* is no Conviction in Law: That is ſo far as to make the Offender liable to the corporal Puniſhment, provided by the Statute before us, that is to have his Ears cut off, or his Cheek branded. And thus far the whole *Court* was agreed. But whether the Plaintiff by committing the Offence without Proof made of it, or going thro' the Courſe of a Tryal, was immediately to be accounted excommunicated by Virtue of the Act of Parliament above-mention'd, and without any Sentence given, or Proof of Witneſſes made before the *Ordinary*; That is, whether theſe Words in the *Statute*, *ipſo Facto*, without the cuſtomary Proceſs, would affect a Man ſo far as to make him excommunicate in Law, was very much doubted. And this Scruple of the Judges was founded upon theſe Words in the laſt Clauſe of the Statute, *viz.* And beſides every ſuch Perſon ſhall ſtand and be ipſo Facto excommunicated, as is before ſaid. That is, for ſmiting or laying violent Hands upon any Perſon And thus the *Court* broke up, and defer'd the Reſolution til the next Term. But the *Plaintiff* happening to die in the mean time, the canvaſſing the Point went no farther. (*a*) Thus we ſee the Judges laid the Streſs of the whole Queſtion upon the *Statute*.

(a) Dy
ports F
an. 10.
Reg.

This *Seſſions* the Marqueſs of *Northampton* put in a *Bill* for confirming his Marriage, which Paſs'd. “By the *Act* the Marriage is declar'd lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was, any Decretal, Canon, Eccleſiaſtical Law, or uſage to the contrary, notwithſtanding. There was likewiſe a *Bill* brought into the Houſe of Lords and paſs'd there, that no Man ſhould put away his Wife, and Marry again, unleſs he ſhall be lawfully Divorc'd before ſome Eccleſiaſtical Competent Judge. (*b*) But this *Bill* ſunk in the Houſe of Commons.

March
an. 15

(b) *Jo*
Procer

Upon this occaſion I ſhall give the *Reader* an Argument, together with the Reſolution of the Judges of the King's *Bench* upon a reſembling Caſe.

“Upon the Tryal of an Action of Treſpaſs, ſued at the *King's Bench*, 'twas prov'd that one *John Bunting*, had contracted himſelf to one *Agnes Adingſel*; And that this *Agnes* was afterwards Married to one *Twine*, and cohabited with him. (*c*) Some time after this, *Bunting* ſued *Agnes* in the Court of *Audience*, and prov'd the Contract: And becauſe *Agnes* could ſhew no Cauſe to the contrary, the Court gave Sentence that ſhe ſhould Marry *Bunting*, and Cohabit with him, which ſhe did accordingly: By this Marriage they had Iſſue one *Charles Bunting*, and the Father died. Now the Queſtion is whether *Charles* is Son and Heir to *John Bunting*: If he is, then the Verdict was to go againſt the *Defendant*, if not for him. The Point therefore to be decided in the *King's Bench* was this; Whether the Marriage between *Bunting* and *Agnes* was Lawful, without a preceding Divorce between *Twine* and *Agnes*, and without ſummoning *Twine* to declare, if he had any thing to alledge why *Bunting* and *Agnes* ſhould not be Married. And here the Judges deſired the *Civilians* to give their Opinion upon the Caſe. Upon this one Dr. *Goldingham* argued in Court, and endeavor'd to prove *Charles* Legitimate, and Heir to *John Bunting*, without making *Twine* a Party to the Suite againſt *Agnes*, and notwithſtanding there was no Divorce between *Agnes* and *Twine*. Firſt, becauſe *Agnes* was firſt

(c) M
Report
169.
Buntin
Caſe.
Marria
ſequen
Contra
a Thi
ſon vo
out for
vorce.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of Cant.*

Priſon. He ſpent that Night in ſinging Pſalms, and was brought to the *Stake* the next Day on *Caſtle Hill.* Where notwithſtanding he was order'd not to make a Speech to the People, he took the Liberty to deſire them *not to be offended with the Truth, becauſe of his Sufferings: For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter.* As he was going on, the *Provoſt* of *Edinburgh*, who had the Charge of the Execution, bid him break off; upon which he recommended himſelf to God Almighty in a ſhort Prayer, and ſuffer'd with remarkable Reſolution.

Id.

About this Time there happen'd a great Conteſt amongſt the *Churchmen* concerning the Object of Invocation in the *Lord's Prayer.* The Occaſion was this. One *Richard Marſhall Prior* of the *Black Friars* at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, had lately come into *Scotland*, and preach'd at St. *Andrews*, that the *Pater noſter ſhould be addreſs'd to God, and not to the Saints.* Some Doctors of the *Univerſity* being diſguſted at this Aſſertion, prevail'd with one *Tottes* a Grey Friar to undertake *Marſhal*, and prove that the *Pater noſter* might be ſaid to the *Saints.* The Friar having Ignorance and Aſſurance enough to engage in the Cauſe, took his *Text* out of the Fifth of St. *Matthew*, *bleſſed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* From theſe Words he rais'd this Doctrine. “That the Lord's Prayer might be ſaid to the *Saints*, becauſe all the Petitions in this Form are applicable to them. For inſtance, if we meet an Old Man in the Street, ſays the Friar, we ſalute him, *good morrow Father*; and therefore with greater Propriety of Language, we may call the *Saints* our *Fathers.* And ſince 'tis granted they are in Heaven, we may ſay to every one of them, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* Then we know, continues the Friar, God has dignified them ſo far as to make their *Names Holy*, why then may we not apply, *Hallowed be thy Name*, to any of the *Saints*? And ſince they are poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom of Heaven, we may upon the Strength of this Privilege of theirs, ſay to any of them, *Thy Kingdom come.* And thus, unleſs their *Will* had been *God's Will*, they had never been advanc'd to that Kingdom. Since therefore there is an Uniformity of Deſire between them and their *Maker*, we may ſay to every one of them, *Thy Will be done.* When he came to the Fourth Petition, he was at a Loſs for a Colour, and confeſs'd 'twas not within the *Saints* Power, *to give us our daily Bread.* However, they may pray to God for us, that he will pleaſe to *give it.* He ſtuck no leſs in the remaining Petitions, and carried on his Paraphraſe with ſo much ſhuffling and whimſey, thar the *Audience* fell a laughing. And at laſt, meeting with farther Mortifications, and being a Jeſt to the Boys in the *Street*, who call'd him *Friar Pater noſter*, he grew aſham'd of his Performance, and quitted the Town.

Friar Tottes's *Heterodox and whymſical Paraphraſe upon the Lord's Prayer.*

The Queſtion determin'd againſt him at the Synod of Edinborough

However the Queſtion did not drop, but was bandied about in the Univerſity, in ſo much that 'twas thought fit, the Point ſhould be publickly argued by the Doctors. When they met they came to no uniform Reſolution; ſome of them held that *Pater Noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to the Saints *materialiter.* Others not approving this Diſtinction, affirm'd the *Pater noſter* ought to be ſaid to God *principaliter*, and to the Saints *minus principaliter.* The Majority ſeem'd willing to ſettle the Controverſy upon this Foot: That the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God *capiendo ſtrictè*, and to the Saints *capiendo largè!* However they came to no final Determination, but refer'd the Diſpute to the *Provincial Synod* which was to meet at *Edinborough* in *January* following.

Edw. VI. K.

The Queſtion was accordingly debated at the meeting of the Synod, and being put to the Vote, there was no ſmall Number who agreed the *Pater noſter might be ſaid to the Saints.* But this Opinion was over-rul'd by the Biſhops, and the moſt judicious Part of the Aſſembly. And thus the *Subprior* of St. *Andrews* was order'd at his Return home, to declare the ſettling of the Controverſy, and that tho' the *Lord's Prayer* was to be addreſs'd to none but God Almighty, yet the *Saints* ought to be applied to for their Aſſiſtance. At this Synod an Engliſh *Catechiſm* was drawn up, and publiſh'd. It contain'd a brief Expoſition upon the *Ten Commandments*, the *Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer.* And the Curates were oblig'd to read Part of it to the People every *Sunday*, and *Holy Day*, when there was no Sermon.

Id. *page* 92.

To return to *England.* On the Thirteenth of *January* this Year the *Parliament* met at *Weſtminiſter* upon Prorogation; in which ſeveral material Things were enacted with Relation to the Church. The firſt of this kind which I ſhall mention, is the *Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* Thus the Service Book, as it ſtood review'd the laſt Year, was injoin'd for publick Uſe. (*t*)

The review'd Common-Prayer-Book authoriz'd by Act of Parliament.

(t) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 1.

By this *Statute* the Firſt *Common-Prayer-Book* authoriz'd by a Parliament in the Second and Third Year of this Reign, is called a very godly Order, agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good People, deſiring to live in Chriſtian Converſation, and moſt profitable to the Eſtate of this Realm.

This is a very honourable Teſtimony. The *Firſt Book* is ſaid to be form'd upon the Doctrine of the *Scriptures*, and the Practice of the beſt Antiquity. And that 'tis very ſerviceable for the promoting of Piety, and publick Advantage. This Commendation is given without Abatement. There is no Stroke of Cenſure, no Charge of Superſtition, no Blemiſh either with Reſpect to Doctrine, or Ceremonies, thrown upon it. Thus *Bucers* and *Calvins* Animadverſions are in Effect declar'd frivolous and of no weight. The Men, 'tis likely meant well: But then they ventur'd beyond their Talent, and their Judgment fail'd them. (*u*)

An honourable Teſtimony given by the Parliament to the Firſt Common-Prayer-Book.

(u) Bucer Script. Anglican. Calvin. Epiſt. ad Protect. & alib.

But if the *Book* was in this good Condition, why was it brought under a *Review*? Why are ſome Parts expung'd? Some added, and ſome tranſpos'd? The *Statute* accounts for this. There were divers Doubts riſen for the Faſhion and Manner of the Miniſtration of the ſame. Then it ſeems there was no Exception touching any Part of the matter. But were theſe Doubts well founded? No; the *Act* ſays they proceeded rather by the Curioſity of the Miniſter, and Miſtakers, than of any other worthy Cauſe. From hence we may infer that the Explanations, as they are call'd in the *Second Book*, were not made without Compliance with the Weakneſs of ſome People: Not without Condeſcenſion to thoſe who had more ſcruples, than Underſtanding, more Heat, than Light in them. When this Bill for diſcharging the *Firſt Book*, and appointing the *Second* was

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

read in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of *Derby*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Stourton* and *Windſor*, proteſted againſt it. (*w*)

(w) *Journal* Procer. Bibliot. Cotton. Tiberius. D. 1.

From the full Approbation given by the Statute to the *Firſt Book*, one may reaſonably infer that the following Clauſe which mentions the explaining, perfecting, and making the ſame Prayer and Service more earneſt and fit to ſtir Chriſtian People to the true honouring of Almighty God: From hence I ſay we may reaſonably infer, that this Clauſe was added rather to recommend the *Second*, than to faſten any Blemiſh or Abatement on the *Firſt Book*.

The Ordinal confirm'd by this Statute.

The Ordinal for making Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, was annex'd to the Bill, and paſs'd with it. The *Statute* was not to inure till the *Feaſt* of *All Saints* following, which was almoſt Three Quarters of a Year. This is another Argument of the Inoffenſiveneſs of the firſt *Common-Prayer-Book*: And that the *Parliament* believ'd the People would not receive any Harm by the Uſe of it. The Curates are injoin'd to read this Act in the Church every Quarter of a Year for the Firſt Year, and once a Year afterwards. The former *Act* by which the Firſt *Service Book* was Eſtabliſh'd, was by this *Statute* to ſtand in full Force to all Intents and Conſtructions for the Uſe of the *Second Book*. There is another remarkable Clauſe in this *Statute*, and that is that all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all others their Officers exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as well in Places exempt, as not exempt within their Dioceſes, ſhall have full Power and Authority by this Act to reform, correct, and puniſh by the Cenſures of the Church, all Perſons which ſhall offend after the Feaſt of all Saints next coming. If it be asked, does the *Legiſlature* then make a Grant of Spiritual Juriſdiction? Can't the Biſhops diſcharge the Functions eſſential to their Character without Leave from the Civil Magiſtrate? And can the Power of the *Keys* given to the Church by our Bleſſed Saviour not be exerciſed without a Warrant from the *State*? The Anſwer to this Queſtion I ſhall leave to the *Readers* Collection.

The *Common-Prayer-Book* being thus confirm'd by *Parliament*, was by the King's Order tranſlated into French, for the Uſe of the Iſlands of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and for the Town and Dependencies of *Calais*: But the ſame Proviſion was not made for *Wales*, till the Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*. *

* Heylin. Hiſt. Ref. *page* 122.

5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 2. *An Act for making Overſeers for the Poor.*

To proceed, on the Third of *March* a *Bill* was brought into the Houſe of Lords for the *Relief* of the *Poor*, which paſſed both Houſes, and receiv'd the Royal Aſſent. By this *Statute* Two Overſeers for the Poor in every Pariſh was firſt ſettled. This Bill by obliging every Town to maintain their Poor, is by Implication a Tax upon the Subject, and yet which is ſomewhat remarkable, 'twas firſt read in the Houſe of Lords. (*x*)

(x) *Journal* Procer.

The next *Act* which relates more immediately to the Church, determines the Number of *Feſtivals* and *Faſts*. “The Preamble ſets “forth, that in regard Men are apt to be neg“ligent in the Worſhip of God, it has been “therefore thought requiſite to ſet a Stamp of “Solemnity on certain Days, and aſſign them “for Religious Obſervances. That this was “done to make People recollect their Duty to “God Almighty. And to the End they might “come better prepar'd for his Service, For“bearance of Labour and Buſineſs has been “cuſtomarily injoin'd upon ſuch Days. That “theſe Days are not call'd Holy upon the “Score of any inhærent Quality, nor yet in “Regard of the Saints whoſe Memories are “then celebrated; but becauſe they are dedi“cated to God's Honour, and diſtinguiſh'd “for the Edification of the People. And ſince “neither the Time nor Number of ſuch *pri*“*vileg'd* Days are determin'd in *Holy Scripture*; “from hence it follows that the Appointment “of theſe Circumſtances is left to the Liberty “of the Church and State. Thus far the “*Preamble*: By the enacting Part, the following Days are commanded to be kept Holy, *viz.* All *Sundays* in the Year: The Days of the Feaſts of the Circumciſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of the Epiphany. Of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin. Of Saint Matthie the Apoſtle. Of the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin. Of St. Mark the Evangeliſt. Of St. Philip and Jacob the Apoſtles. Of the Aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of the Nativity of St. John Baptiſt. Of St. Peter the Apoſtle. Of St. James the Apoſtle. Of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle. Of St. Matthew the Apoſtle. Of St. Michael the Archangel. Of St. Luke the Evangeliſt. Of St. Simon and Jude the Apoſtles. Of All Saints. Of St. Andrew the Apoſtle. Of St. Thomas the Apoſtle Of the Nativity of our Lord Of St. Stephen the Martyr. Of St. John the Evangeliſt. Of the Holy Innocents Munday and Tueſday in Eaſter Week. And Munday and Tueſday in Whitſonweek And that none other Day ſhall be kept and commanded to be kept Holy Day, or to abſtain from Lawful Bodily Labour.

Edw. VI. K.

Holidays and Faſts ſettled by Act of Parliament.

'Tis likewiſe enacted that the *Vigils* or Days before the ſaid Feaſts, excepting thoſe preceding St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and *Philip* and *Jacob* ſhall be Faſted, and that no other Day or Even ſhall be commanded to be faſted. And by this *Statute* the Biſhops and their Officers are permitted to enquire into the Breach of the Premiſes, and puniſh Offenders at their Diſcretion by the Cenſures of the Church.

By this *Statute* 'tis firſt provided that nothing therein contained ſhall extend to abrogate or take away the Abſtinence from Fleſh in Lent, or on Fridays and Saturdays, or any other Day which is already appointed ſo to be kept by Virtue of an Act made in the Third Year of the preſent Reign, ſaving only of thoſe Evens and Days whereof the Holiday next following is abrogated by this Statute.

“'Tis likewiſe provided that when any of “the ſaid *Feaſts* happen to fall upon the *Mun*“*day*, the *Saturday* preceding, and not the “*Sunday* ſhall be accounted the *Vigil*, and “faſted.

A Proviſo for a Liberty of working in ſeveral Caſes.

'Tis provided in the Third Place, that it ſhall be lawful to every Husbandman, Labourer, Fiſherman, and to all and every other Perſon, and Perſons, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition, he or they be, upon the Holidays aforeſaid, in Harveſt, or at any other Times in the year, when Neceſſity ſhall require, to labour, ride, fiſh, or work any kind of Work, at their free Wills and Pleaſure.

“And laſtly, 'tis provided that the *Feaſt* of “St. *George* may be kept on the Twenty Second, “Twenty Third, Twenty Fourth of *April* year“ly, by the Knights of the Right Honourable “Order of the Garter. (*y*) This *Act* was repeal'd 1. *Mar.* 2. but reviv'd by 1. *Jac.* 1. *Cap.* 25. becauſe 1. *Mar.* 2. is repeal'd by 1. *Jac.* 1. *Cap.* 25.

(y) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 3.

An Act againſt quarrelling in Churches.

And ſince the Alterations in publick Service and Ceremonies had occaſion'd Conteſts in ſeveral Places: Since People were obſerv'd to bring their Paſſions to Church with them, and quarrel where they ought to have prayed together; ſince theſe Diſorders were not to be check'd the cuſtomary way; the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops having either an Embargo laid upon it by the *State*, or elſe worn out of Uſe and Significancy: For theſe Reaſons, 'twas thought fit to guard the Honour of Religion, and the Places conſecrated to Divine Worſhip, by *Parliamentary Proviſions*: 'Tis therefore enacted, that if any Perſon whatſoever ſhall at any Time after the Firſt of May next coming by Words only, quarrel, chide, or brawl in any Church, or Church-yard, that then it ſhall be lawful to the Ordinary of the Place, where the ſame Offence ſhall be done, and prov'd by Two Lawful Witneſſes, to ſuſpend every Perſon ſo offending. That is to ſay, if he be a Lay-man, *ab Ingreſſu Eccleſiæ*. And if he be a Clerk from the Miniſtration of his Office. And here the Continuance of the Puniſhment is left to the Diſcretion of the *Ordinary*.

'Tis farther enacted, that if any Perſon ſhall ſmite, or lay any violent Hands upon any other either in the Church, or Church-yard: That then ipſo Facto every Perſon ſo offending ſhall be deem'd excommunicate, and be excluded from the Fellowſhip and Communion of Chriſts Congregation.

And laſtly 'tis enacted, that if any Perſon ſhall maliciouſly ſtrike with any Weapon in any Church or Church-yard, or draw any Weapon with Intent to ſtrike another: That then every Perſon ſo offending, and thereof being convicted by Verdict of Twelve Men, or by his own Confeſſion, or by Two Lawful Witneſſes, before the Juſtices of the Aſſize, Juſtices of Oyer and Determiner, or Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions, ſhall have one of his Ears cut off. And in Caſe the Perſons ſo offending have no Ears, he was to have the Letter F burnt upon his Cheek, to mark him for a Fraymaker, and Fighter, and over and above he was to ſtand ipſo Facto excommunicated. (z)

By this *Act*, the *Reader* may obſerve the Direction of *Spiritual* Juriſdiction is manag'd by *Parliament*. And which is more, the Penalty of the *Act excludes from the Fellowſhip of Chriſt's Congregation*, and reaches to the moſt ſolemn Exerciſe of the Power of the *Keys*.

A Caſe debated by the Judges upon this Statute.

Upon this *Act* an Action of falſe Impriſonment was brought by one *George Foreman* againſt Two *Mounſons* Juſtices of Peace in the County of *Lincoln*, and Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, *&c.* The Defendant pleaded the Plaintiff ſtood excommunicated before the purchaſing the Writ, and by Conſequence was diſabled from bringing his Action: That he lay under this Cenſure they prov'd becauſe he drew his Dagger in a Church-yard with an Intention to make a Paſs at a certain Perſon, and that he was indicted for this Offence before the Mayor of *Lincoln*, and other Juſtices of the Peace. Now whether this was a good Plea to diſable the Plaintiff, was debated at large by the *Bench*. The Reaſon of the Judges making it a Queſtion was, becauſe *Foreman* was not convicted of the Breach of the *Statute*. For a bare Indictment without any Anſwer made to it, or Proceſs of Outlawry upon it, *&c.* is no Conviction in Law: That is ſo far as to make the Offender liable to the corporal Puniſhment, provided by the Statute before us, that is to have his Ears cut off, or his Cheek branded. And thus far the whole *Court* was agreed. But whether the Plaintiff by committing the Offence without Proof made of it, or going thro' the Courſe of a Tryal, was immediately to be accounted excommunicated by Virtue of the Act of Parliament above-mention'd, and without any Sentence given, or Proof of Witneſſes made before the *Ordinary*; That is, whether theſe Words in the *Statute*, *ipſo Facto*, without the cuſtomary Proceſs, would affect a Man ſo far as to make him excommunicate in Law, was very much doubted. And this Scruple of the Judges was founded upon theſe Words in the laſt Clauſe of the Statute, *viz.* And beſides every ſuch Perſon ſhall ſtand and be ipſo Facto excommunicated, as is before ſaid. That is, for ſmiting or laying violent Hands upon any Perſon And thus the *Court* broke up, and defer'd the Reſolution 'til the next Term. But the *Plaintiff* happening to die in the mean time, the canvaſſing the Point went no farther. (*a*) Thus we ſee the Judges laid the Streſs of the whole Queſtion upon the *Statute*.

This *Seſſions* the Marqueſs of *Northampton* put in a *Bill* for confirming his Marriage, which Paſs'd. "By the *Act* the Marriage is declar'd "lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was, "any Decretal, Canon, Eccleſiaſtical Law, or "uſage to the contrary, notwithſtanding. "There was likewiſe a *Bill* brought into the "Houſe of Lords and paſs'd there, that no "Man ſhould put away his Wiſe, and Marry "again, unleſs he ſhall be lawfully Divorc'd "before ſome Eccleſiaſtical Competent Judge. "(*b*) But this *Bill* ſunk in the Houſe of Com"mons.

March 19. an. 1552.

Upon this occaſion I ſhall give the *Reader* an Argument, together with the Reſolution of the Judges of the King's *Bench* upon a reſembling Caſe.

"Upon the Tryal of an Action of Treſpaſs, "ſued at the *King's Bench*, 'twas prov'd that "one *John Bunting*, had contracted himſelf to "one *Agnes Adingſel*; And that this *Agnes* was "afterwards Married to one *Twine*, and coha"bited with him. (*c*) Some time after this, "*Bunting* ſued *Agnes* in the Court of *Audience*, "and prov'd the Contract: And becauſe *Agnes* "could ſhew no Cauſe to the contrary, the "Court gave Sentence that ſhe ſhould Marry "*Bunting*, and Cohabit with him, which ſhe "did accordingly: By this Marriage they had "Iſſue one *Charles Bunting*, and the Father "died. Now the Queſtion is whether *Charles* "is Son and Heir to *John Bunting*: If he is, "then the Verdict was to go againſt the *De*"*fendant*, if not for him. The Point there"fore to be decided in the *King's Bench* was "this; Whether the Marriage between *Bun*"*ting* and *Agnes* was Lawful, without a pre"ceding Divorce between *Twine* and *Agnes*, "and without ſummoning *Twine* to declare, "if he had any thing to alledge why *Bunting* "and *Agnes* ſhould not be Married. And "here the Judges deſired the *Civilians* to give "their Opinion upon the Caſe. Upon this "one Dr. *Goldingham* argued in Court, and "endeavor'd to prove *Charles* Legitimate, and "Heir to *John Bunting*, without making *Twine* "a Party to the Suite againſt *Agnes*, and not"withſtanding there was no Divorce between "*Agnes* and *Twine*. Firſt, becauſe *Agnes* was "firſt

Marriage ſubſequent to a Contract with a Third Perſon void without formal Divorce.

†

(z) 5. & 6. Ed. 6. Cap. 4.

(a) Dyers *Reports Fol.* 275. an. 10. Eliz. Reg.

(b) *Journal Procer.*

(c) Moors *Reports Fol.* 169. Buntings *Caſe.*

firſt contracted to *Bunting*, which made her his lawful Wiſe by the *Civil Law*. For in caſe they had *cohabited* after the Contract, they ſhould neither have been Puniſh'd for Adultery, or Fornication, but only for Contempt of an Order of the Church, which prohibits *Cohabitation* before the Marriage is Solemniz'd in *Facie Eccleſiæ*. Thus if a Legacy be given to a Woman *cum Uxor fuerit*, when ſhe is ſuch a Man's Wife, and afterwards ſhe Contracts her ſelf to him, ſhe may lawfully demand the Legacy in the Spiritual Court, in caſe the Man Dies before the Marriage is Solemniz'd: From hence it may be inferr'd, that in the Conſtruction of the *Civil Law*, the Woman is reckon'd a *Wife* before the Wedding: And tho' ſhe is Married to a Stranger after the Contract, yet that Marriage is void. This learned *Civilian* argued farther, that the Solemnization of Marriages, was not generally practiſ'd in the Church before Pope *Innocent* the Third, who was the firſt that made a *Conſtitution* for this purpoſe. Before this Regulation Marriages were celebrated with this Ceremony: The Bridegroom came to the Place where the Bride Liv'd, and Convey'd her to his own Houſe, and this was the whole Form: And from hence came the Phraſe of *ducere Uxorem*, becauſe the Man us'd to lead his Wife to his Houſe, and the Woman is ſaid to be *nupta Viro*, becauſe ſhe is as it were *Cooperta Nube, i. e. Viro*, that is Veil'd or under Covert-baron, in regard ſhe makes herſelf Subject to him by the Covenant of Marriage. And for this reaſon the *Civil Law* makes them Baron and Feme in Virtue of the Contract, before the Solemnity of the Wedding; and in Conſequence of this, their Iſſue born after the Contract, and before the Eſpouſals or Marriage, is counted Legitimate, provided the Marriage follows: For in caſe they are never Married, the Iſſue after the Contract is a Baſtard. But when Marriage follows, it ſhall relate to the Time of the Contract, and void all other Marriages which come between, and make them no better than Adultery: And therefore there's no need of any Divorce from *Twine*, becauſe by the firſt Contract to *Bunting*, the Woman was diſabled from making a Contract, or Marriage with any other Man. And thus the Marriage between her and *Twine* being *Null*, there was no occaſion for a Divorce: For a Divorce ſuppoſes the lawfulneſs of the Marriage, it being a Maxime in the Law, *ubi nullus Habitus, ibi nulla Privatio*.

“This Doctor argued in the Second Place, that *Bunting* who Claim'd after the Contract, and in Virtue of it, was not oblig'd to take notice of the Marriage, between *Twine* and *Agnes*, but only to convent *Agnes* before the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, to know the reaſon why ſhe refus'd to Marry him purſuant to the Contract; all which has been done by him accordingly: And ſince *Bunting* has follow'd the Directions, and anſwer'd the demands of the Law, 'tis reaſonable he ſhould receive the Benefit of the Law, and have the Sentence or Authority of the Spiritual Court to carry on his Contract to a lawful Marriage.

“Thirdly, This *Civilian* urg'd, that foraſmuch as *Bunting* has had a *Sentence* in his Favor pronounc'd by the Judge of the Court of *Audience*, 'tis to be preſum'd the Judge has convented or ſummon'd all thoſe 'twas neceſſary to Summon.

“And therefore by this *Sentence*, the Intereſt of all other Perſons ſhall be barr'd and defeated: And therefore *Twine* ſhall not be allow'd to except againſt the *Sentence*, by alledging he had no notice of it, nor was any Party to the Proceſs. Thus far Dr. *Goldingham*.

“But then 'twas argued on the other ſide, that by the Common Law, Marriage in the Church is ſo ſtrong an Engagement, that it can't be undone or defeated without Divorce, and without giving the Parties notice to appear in the Spiritual Court. And in caſe they die before they are thus convented, their Iſſue ſhall not be accounted Illegitimate; in regard their Marriage was only voidable and not actually void. And in all Caſes where the Marriage is only voidable, the Parties ought to be brought into the Spiritual Court * before Separation, for otherwiſe the Marriage will hold good, and the Iſſue be reckon'd Legitimate. And thus this *Council* agreed the Precontract, was a ground to make a Marriage with a Third Perſon *voidable*, but that it did not make any ſuch Marriage void *ipſo facto*. And therefore he is of Opinion, that to make a Marriage void, upon the Score of a Precontract to another Perſon, both the Parties Married ought to be convented, to ſhew what they have to ſay againſt ſuch a Precontract, in defence of their Marriage; and that unleſs they are thus convented, their Marriage muſt continue lawful. And to apply this reaſoning to the Caſe in Hand; in regard *Twine* was not convented before the *Sentence* pronounc'd in Favor of the Precontract, between *Bunting* and *Agnes*, he thinks the Marriage between *Twine* and *Agnes* remains undiſſolv'd, and by conſequence the Second Marriage between *Bunting* and *Agnes* is void: From whence 'twill follow their Iſſue *Charles* muſt be a Baſtard. But notwithſtanding this Plea, the *Court* adjudg'd *Bunting*'s Iſſue Legitimate.

This *Caſe* being not foreign to the Hiſtory, learnedly argued, and more than commonly Inſtructive, may, I hope, excuſe the reporting it at length. But before I take leave, the Reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that *Goldingham* the *Civilian* was altogether miſtaken, in affirming that Marriages were not Solemniz'd in the Church 'till the Time of Pope *Innocent* the Third. For the Practiſe was quite otherwiſe from the firſt Centuries, and ſo onward: For when the Parties were agreed, their Marriage was publickly celebrated in the Church. They receiv'd the Biſhops or the Prieſts Bleſſing, and the Holy Euchariſt, as part of the Solemnity. (*d*)

Married Prieſts ſet upon the ſame foot of Advantage with other Subjects.

To proceed, The next thing I ſhall mention Paſs'd this *Seſſions*, with relation to the Church, is an *Act for the Declaration of a Statute, made for the Marriage of Prieſts, and the Legitimation of their Children*. The *Act* referr'd to, has been already taken notice of in the Second and Third Year of this Reign. The Purport of it, as hath been already obſerv'd, was to void all *Conſtitutions* and Laws whatſoever, againſt the Marriage of Prieſts. Notwithſtanding this Proviſion, the *Preamble* before us ſets forth, that divers ill diſpos'd Perſons had miſconſtrued the *Statute* made in the Second and Third Year of this Reign, (*e*) “thrown a ſcandalous Imputation upon the Matrimony of Prieſts, as if the *Statute* abovemention'd implied no

* Les Parties ſeront aſſemblies.

(d) Tertull. l. 2. ad Uxor in fin. Iſid. de Eccleſ. Offic. vid. Hittorpium. p. 218.

(e) *Cap.* 12.

“ more than a bare Permiſſion; as Uſury and other unlawful things, are now ſuffer'd for the avoiding greater Inconvenience. From hence many People proceed to draw a Blemiſh upon the Birth of Prieſts Children, Born in Matrimony. That this Calumny is highly diſhonourable to Almighty God, to the King's Majeſty, to the Parliament, and the learned Clergy of this Realm, who have determin'd the ſame to be moſt lawful, by the Law of God in their Convocation, as well by their common Aſſent, as by the Subſcription of their Hands. And that moſt of all is to be lamented thro' ſuch uncomely railings of Matrimony, and ſlanderous reproaches of the Clergy, the Word of God is not heard with Reverence, followed with diligence, the godly Proceedings of the King's Majeſty not receiv'd with due Obedience, and thereby the Wealthy Men of this Realm diſcourag'd, to nouriſh and bring up their Children in Learning, ſo as it is to be fear'd, leaſt in Place of good Learning and Knowledge, ſhall crepe in Ignorance, and for learned Men, unlearned Ambitious Men, and Flatterers, to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and to the Peril of the whole State of God's true Religion within this Realm, if ſpeedy Remedy be not provided herein. The Statute therefore in the *enacting* Part, ſets the Clergy, their Wives, and Iſſue, upon the ſame Foot of Privilege with the reſt of the King's Subjects. For Inſtance, the Children are declared Legitimate, and Inheritable to Lands and Tenements. The Married Prieſt is enabled to be Tenant by Courteſy, after the Death of his Wife, and his Widow impower'd to claim her Dower, *&c.* (*f*)

Thus the Clergy have the liberty of Marrying upon the general Advantage. When the Tythes were taken away in many Places, and the Pariſh Duties leſſen'd, they had the freedom of engaging in a more expenſive way of Living. When the Revenues were cut ſhort, 'twas at their Choice to encreaſe their Charge. They had an opportunity of wanting more things, when the means of procuring them were more ſlender than ever. Thus they had *Liberty* without much *Property*: They might, if they pleas'd, be *legally* undone, and ſtarve by *Act of Parliament*. But then this Inconvenience is partly to be reckn'd to the Indiſcretions of ſome of the Clergy in diſpoſing of themſelves; and partly to ſome Hardſhips put upon the Church in this, and the laſt Reign. For as to the *Statute*, 'tis a commendable Proviſion: It takes off an unjuſtifiable Reſtraint: It returns the Clergy to the common liberty of Mankind, and leaves them in the condition allow'd by the *Scriptures* and the Antient Church.

An Act concerning Uſury.

To proceed, by an Act made againſt taking Intereſt for Mony this Parliament, 'tis declar'd in the Preamble that Uſury by the Word of God, is utterly prohibited as a vice moſt odious and deteſtable, as in divers Places of the holy Scripture is evident to be ſeen. And that the terrible Threatnings of God's Wrath and Vengeance, juſtly hangs over this Realm, for the great and open Uſury therein practis'd. (*g*) I ſhall make no Remarks upon the Divinity Part of this *Bill*, whether 'twill hold good or not; becauſe I have elſewhere thoroughly examin'd the Subject, and ſhew'd how the *Conſtitution* ſtands at preſent; and to this *Tract* I ſhall refer the Reader. (*h*)

The Biſhoprick of Weſtminſter *diſſolved.*

This Parliament diſſolv'd the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter*, and united it to the *See* of *London*. (*i*) But the Collegiate Church, with the exempted Juriſdiction, was ſtill continued. The Diſſolution of this Biſhoprick by *Act* of Parliament was to Corroborate the late Proceedings of the *Crown*. For, as the learned *Heylin* Obſerves, from the *Convocation Records*, the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* was diſſolv'd by the King's *Letters Patents*, upon the Twenty Ninth of *January* laſt paſt. And thus the County of *Middleſex* which had been laid to it, was reſtored to the *See* of *London*. The Lands of *Weſtminſter* had been ſo much alienated by *Thirlby*, that there was ſcarcely any thing left to maintain the Port of a Biſhop. However, the conveying away thoſe Eſtates, for which they were at the moſt but Tenants for Life, was ſometimes reckon'd a Merit in Churchmen: And for this reaſon as the Hiſtorian relates, *Thirlby* was preferr'd to the *See* of *Norwich*. (*k*) As for the Lands belonging to the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter*, the beſt Part of them was ſnatch'd by the great Courtiers. The remainder was laid out in the repairing St. *Paul's* Cathedral, miſerably harras'd by ſome of the *Goſpellers* of thoſe Times: And from hence came the common ſaying, of *robbing Peter to pay Paul*.

A Bill concerning Simony miſcarries.

And to draw towards a Concluſion, of the Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs of this *Seſſions*, a *Bill* paſs'd both Houſes againſt Simoniacal Contracts, reſerving Penſions out of Benefices, and granting Advowſons living the Incumbent: But as it happen'd this *Bill* miſs'd the Royal Aſſent. One of our learned Church Hiſtorians very juſtly obſerves, (*l*) theſe Abuſes have been often complain'd of, and that new contrivances have been ſtill found out to fence againſt the Law, and cover Simony: That either Bargains have been made by Friends, without the expreſs knowledge of the Party concern'd, or Bonds of Reſignation given, to lay the Incumbent at the Patrons Mercy; and thus the Prevarication of ſome of the Clergy, is made a Preſident for impoſing hard Terms upon others: And the Church often robb'd by ſuch ſcandalous Compliance.

A Bill brought in againſt the Biſhop of Durham *but miſcarries.*

Laſtly, The Duke of *Northumberland* having the Aſcendant both at Court, and in the Houſe of Lords, a *Bill* was brought in for depriving the Biſhop of *Durham*: This Biſhop was charg'd by one *Ninian Menvil*, to have conſented to a Plot in the North for raiſing a Rebellion, as by the Charge of the Deponent, the Biſhop's Anſwer, and *Menvill's* Replication, was largely ſet forth. But *Menvill* not producing a Letter Writen to him by *Tunſtal*, as he depoſed, upon which the Proof of the Charge principally depended; this Evidence, I ſay, not being produc'd, *Tonſtall* was only commanded to keep his Houſe, 'till he ſhould be called to a farther Anſwer. But the Letter being afterwards found in a Caſket of the Duke of *Somerſet's*, the Biſhop was ordered to appear before the Lords of the *Council*: Where he was charg'd with abetting an intended Inſurrection, and the Letter laid before him, which he did not deny to be his Hand. Notwithſtanding this, he offer'd to purge himſelf, but in what manner, or upon what Arguments the *Record* does not mention. 'Tis only ſaid his Anſwer was judg'd Inſufficient by the *Council*, who ſent him to the *Tower*. (*m*) And the ſame Day Sir *John Maſon* was order'd by the *Board* to take an Inventory of his Goods. Upon this *Information* a *Bill* was brought into the Houſe of Lords for attainting him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon: But his Accuſers not being brought Face to Face, the Parliament refuſ'd

(f) 5 & 6 Ed. *6. c.* 12.

(g) 5 & 6 Ed. *6. c.* 20.

(h) *Moral Eſſays pt.* 3. *under Uſury.*

(i) Journal Procer. Regiſt. Thirlby.

(k) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 121.

(l) Bp. Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 193.

(m Council Book ex Biblioth. Robt. Harley Armig.

to Attaint him upon the bare Evidence of Depoſitions. One of our Hiſtorians (*n*) reports the *Bill* came down to the Houſe of Commons, and was thrown out for the reaſon laſt mention'd; but let this be as it will, it certainly miſcarried. The proceeding by way of Attainder againſt the Biſhop, is a ſign his Enemies could not come at him any other way; which makes it probable the Letter written by him had no ſuch Treaſonable Contents as was pretended. Beſides, the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, mentions the Bill for *depriving* the Biſhop of *Durham* was Twice Read and Ingroſs'd, but did not Paſs. This was believ'd a great diſappointment to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who promiſ'd himſelf the Lands and Juriſdiction of that wealthy Biſhoprick. This Parliament therefore not complying with the Dukes Expectation, he procur'd a Diſſolution, in hopes of a better Intereſt with the next.

(n) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 195.

Apr. 15. An. Dom. 1552.

The King having lately been Sick of the *Small-pox*, and not perfectly recover'd, he Sign'd a *Bill*, in which the *Acts* he intended to Paſs were mention'd: This *Bill* was Read in the *Houſe* of Lords, and amounted to an Equivalent of giving the Royal Aſſent the cuſtomary way. There was likewiſe a Commiſſion iſſued to the Lord Chancellor, to Two Archbiſhops, Two Biſhops, Two Dukes, Two Marqueſſes, Two Earls, and Two Barons, to Diſſolve the Parliament. *

* *King* Edward's *Journal.*

The Articles Paſs'd in the Convocation.

This Year the Book of *Articles*, lately drawn up by *Cranmer* and his Aſſiſtants was laid before the *Convocation* and agreed there. That they came before this Repreſentation of the Clergy, appears by the *Latin Title*, which runs thus: *Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenſi Anno* 1552. *inter Epiſcopos & alios Eruditos Viros convenerat ad tollendam Opinionum Diſſentionem, & Conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum, Regiâ Autoritate in lucem Editi.* From whence it appears they ſtood upon the bottom of a *Convocation* Authority. And further, by this *Title* it may be inferr'd, the Two *Houſes* had transferr'd their Power upon a Select Number: And that this Committee was fully Authoriz'd to debate and reſolve finally for the reſt. For here the *Title* is not worded in ſuch Terms of Extent and Comprehenſion as we find in the *Articles* Publiſh'd in 1562. where 'tis ſaid *they were agreed unto by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London.* Inſtead of this, they are ſaid to be *agreed upon in the Synod of London, by the Biſhops, and certain other learned Men, inter Epiſcopos & alios Eruditos Viros.* From whence it ſeems pretty plain, that theſe *Articles* were Paſs'd by ſome *Members* only, delegated by both Houſes for that purpoſe. And thus the *Acts* and Reſolutions of this *Committee*, are in all Conſtruction of Equity and Law, of the ſame Force, as if they had Paſs'd the Votes of the whole Body. Beſides, 'tis poſſible theſe *Articles*, after having been ſettled by the *Committee*, might be reported in both *Houſes*, and agreed there. This the learned *Heylin* thinks not altogether Improbable, tho' the *Acts* of the *Convocation* are loſt: And to fortify this Conjecture, he obſerves, that theſe *Articles* were receiv'd as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, for the firſt Five Years of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. (*o*) And tho' 'tis no hard matter, to meet with theſe *Articles*, yet ſince they make ſo conſiderable a Part of the Engliſh *Reformation*, I ſhall Tranſcribe them for the *Reader*. (*p*)

(o) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 121. *and* 2.

(p) *See Records* N°. LXVI.

A Satyr upon the Diſſolution of Manners.

Notwithſtanding this Progreſs for retrieving the Antient Belief, the People were little mended in their Manners. The *Reader* may find the Immorality of the Times loudly complain'd of by *Beacon* one of *Cranmer*'s Chaplains. (*g*) To mention ſomething of his Remonſtrance: "What ſtaring Contradiction ſays he, "is there between the Life, and Practiſe of "Chriſtians! *They profeſs that they know God, but in Works they deny him, being Abominable and Diſobedient, and unto every good Work —— Reprobate.* "How lamentably are we over-run "with Hypocritical and Senſual *Goſpellers*? "Men who have their Tongues tip'd with "*Scripture* Expreſſions, can diſpute very copiouſly for Juſtification by *Faith*, talk with "great Aſſurance of Forgiveneſs by the Blood "of Chriſt, and boaſt of their being entred "upon the *Liſt* of the predeſtinated to Glory; "but then how wretchedly wide do they live "of the *Rule* they pretend to? How are they "bloated, and almoſt poiſon'd with Pride? "Envy, Malice, and Revenge, are puſh'd to "the utmoſt Exceſſes in theſe People: They "are licentious to the laſt degree, and deny "their Appetites in no inſtance of ſcandalous "Pleaſure: Their Avarice is without Meaſure "or Shame: They never think they have "multiplied their Lordſhips far enough, mounted their Revenues to the pitch of their Merit, or ſwell'd their Fortunes to a ſufficient "Bulk. Indeed, if you will read them by "their Actions, you would almoſt think they "had an Ambition to ſhew themſelves Heathens, and made it their Buſineſs to live counter to their Duty. As for diſtributions of "Charity, Prayers, Faſting, and other Exerciſes of true Religion, theſe counterfeit "*Goſpellers* won't trouble themſelves with any "thing of this kind. All their Religion lies "in Language and Diſpute; but as for virtue, "and real Effects, they are altogether barren "and unfurniſhed. (*r*)

(g) *Preface to Jewel of Joy.*

Tit. 1. 16.

(r) *Memoirs* Cranmer *p.* 290.

Proviſions in London *for the Poor.* July 26.

This Summer the *religious* Houſe of *Grey Fryars* in *London*, was preparing for the relief of poor *Orphans*; and about the ſame Time St. *Thomas*'s *Hoſpital* in *Southwark* began to be repair'd, for the ſervice of the Poor who were Maim'd, or diſabled from getting their Living. (*s*) There was likewiſe a conſiderable Proviſion made for the Poor in *London*, by a Weekly and General Contribution.

(s) Stow Annal.

Id.

The New Common-Prayer-Book Executed.

On *All-Saints* day, purſuant to the *Act* of Parliament, the *New Common-Prayer-Book* was Read in the Churches. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London* officiated in the Forenoon at St. *Paul*'s *Cathedral.* His *Habit* was diſtinguiſh'd only by a Rochet, without Cope, or other Cuſtomary Veſtment: For by the *Rubrick* of this *review'd Book*, no more than the *Surplice* was required. Thus the Biſhops thought themſelves oblig'd to forbear appearing with their *Croſſes*; and the *Prebends* in all Cathedrals left of their Hoods. In the Afternoon of this *Feſtival*, Biſhop *Ridley* preach'd at St. *Pauls Croſs*: The Deſign of the Sermon was to reconcile the *Audience* to the *new Service*, and juſtify the Alterations.

Id.

Sternhold *and* Hopkins *Tranſlation of the Pſalms.*

About this Time *Davids* Pſalms were turn'd into *Metre* by *Sternhold* one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber. He tranſlated but Thirty Seven, the reſt of them being ſoon after done by *Hopkins* and others. *Clement Marot* Groom of the Bed Chamber to King *Francis* the Firſt, had led the way to an Eſſay of this kind. This *Marot* being encourag'd by *Vatablus*,

* *Hebrew Profeſſor at* Paris.

blus, * to try his Genius upon the *Pſalms*, went through the Firſt Fifty: And afterwards upon his retiring to *Geneva*, he made an Acquaintance with *Beza*, who turned the reſt, and had Tunes ſet to them. And thus they began to be ſung in private Houſes, and afterwards were brought into the Churches of the *French*, and other Countries, which reform'd upon the Model of *Geneva*. (t)

(t) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *p.* 131.

(u) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory p.* 406.

Hopkins and *Sternholds* Performance was afterwards, as *Fuller* obſerves, diſcountenanc'd by ſome great Clergy-men. (*u*) The Reaſon of their Diſapprobation was becauſe they believ'd this *Metre* was ſet up in Oppoſition to the *reading Pſalms* ſung in Cathedrals. The Learned *Heylin* thinks theſe great *Church Men* were well founded in their Suſpicion: They foreſaw, 'tis likely the bringing this rhiming Performance into the Church, might engage the Fancy of the Ignorant People too far, and make them leſſen their Regard for the other Parts of the *Service*. Theſe Preſages were afterwards made good to a remarkable Misfortune: For when the *Puritan* Faction grew up to Strength and Aſſurance, this *Metre* made the Antient *Hymns* diſreliſh'd, and threw the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, &c. out of the Church in many Places. (*w*)

(w) Heylin's *Animadverſions upon* Fuller, *and* Hiſt. Ref.

They are rather permitted than allowed. Id.

Thus ſometimes Things which are only conniv'd at at firſt, govern at laſt. For this Tranſlation of *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* was rather Permiſſion than Allowance. For notwithſtanding 'tis ſaid in the Title of theſe ſinging Pſalms *that they were ſet forth, and allow'd to be ſung in all Churches, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and alſo before and after Sermon*; yet this Allowance ſeems rather to import Connivance than Approbation: For thoſe who have ſearch'd into this matter, with the utmoſt Care and Curioſity, could never diſcover any Authority, either from the *Crown*, or the *Convocation*.

A brief Account of the Book drawn up for a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and intituled Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.

It has been already obſerv'd, the King was impower'd by *Act* of Parliament, to appoint Two and Thirty of the *Spiritualty*, and *Temporalty*, to review the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and draw a Body out of them. That this Performance being afterwards approved by the King, and Publiſh'd under the *Broad-Seal*, ſhould have the force of a *Statute* within the Engliſh Dominions. The Two and Thirty Commiſſioners were to be divided into Four *Subcommittees*; each of which was to conſiſt of Two Biſhops, and Two Divines, Two *Canon* and *Civil*, and Two common Lawyers: And what was concluded by each *Claſs*, was to be tranſmitted to the reſt, and examin'd by them. The Subcommittee, who by the King's *Letters Patents*, had the firſt digeſtion of the Work, has been already mention'd: Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had a principal ſhare in furniſhing the matter. 'Twas put into Method and Form by Dr. *Haddon* Orator to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. Sir *John Cheek* is likewiſe ſaid to have contributed to the poliſhing Part. 'Tis written in a correct and beautiful Style, and comes up to the force and propriety of the *Civil* Law. (*x*) 'Tis digeſted into one and Fifty *Titles*, beſides an Appendix *de Regulis Juris*. 'Tis not ſaid whether this Draught had paſs'd the Approbation of all the Four *Claſſes*, or not. The Affirmative is moſt probable, conſidering it appears in ſo finiſh'd a Condition. But the King's Death happening unexpectedly, the *Book* had no Royal Confirmation, and by conſequence miſcarried in its Authority. However, ſince it appears to have been drawn up with no ſmall ſhare of Judgment and Learning, it may not be amiſs to give the *Reader* an Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable Contents.

(x) Reformat. Leg. Eccleſ. in Præfat.

The Two firſt *Titles*, ſettle the Catholick Faith, and point out ſeveral Hereſies. But theſe Heads and Deciſions, being much the ſame with thoſe of the *Church Articles* in this Reign, I ſhall paſs them over.

Hereſy.

The Third *Title* treats of the Proceſs againſt Hereſy. Thoſe who lived in Places exempt, were to be tryed before the Biſhops or Archbiſhops of the Dioceſe. Here the Party accuſed had the liberty of appealing from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King's Perſon. If any one charg'd with Hereſy, refus'd to give Security to ſtand to the Award of the *Court*, the Biſhop was authoriz'd to commit him, and detain him in Priſon 'till the Proceſs was over. And if any ſuch Perſon was lawfully cited, and refus'd to appear, he was firſt to be Excommunicated, and afterwards committed, 'till he had given Sureties to ſubmit to the Sentence of the Eccleſiaſtical Judge. Thoſe who would not be reclaim'd from their Misbelief by any Admonitions or Inſtructions, were to be pronounc'd Hereticks, and Excommunicated. And provided they renounc'd their Heterodoxy within Sixteen Days, they were firſt to give publick Proof of their Repentance. Then they were Solemnly to Swear againſt a Relapſe, and Thirdly to declare their Belief of the contrary Doctrine; upon which Satisfaction they were to be Abſolved. But in Caſe Excommunication was deſpis'd, and the Diſcipline of the Church made no Impreſſion, they were then to be deliver'd into the Hands of the *Secular* Magiſtrate, and then they were to ſuffer Death by the Law: From hence it appears that all Capital proceedings for Hereſy were not laid down, as our learned Hiſtorian ſuppoſes. (*y*) Neither is this more than might be expected, conſidering that by the firſt Article of the *Book*, thoſe who declar'd againſt the Chriſtian Religion, were to Forfeit their Lives and Eſtates. Farther, if while the Proceſs was depending, the Perſon proſecuted for Hereſy, removed out of the Juriſdiction of the Court, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge was to apply to the Sheriff, or Mayor of the Town, whether the Criminal was retired, to deſire he might be remanded to the Court. And provided the Sheriff or Mayor ſhould refuſe to apprehend, and return the Criminal, they were to be excommunicated for the neglect. Thoſe who were convicted of Hereſy, neglected their Appeal, or refuſed to give Satisfaction in due Time, were to be accounted Infamous, not ſuffer'd to bear any publick Office, to be of Council, or Witneſs in any Court, or to have the priviledge of making their *Will*. If Hereſy was proved upon any Clergyman, his abjuring it afterwards, was no ſufficient Amends to take off his Puniſhment, and recover his Preferment. For a Churchman's Reputation ought to be unblemiſhed: And when he has once tarniſh'd his Character, he is diſabled for his Function: However, there is an exception thrown in for extraordinary Caſes.

(y) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 198.

Blaſphemy.

The Fourth *Title* is about Blaſphemy, ſets forth the Hideouſneſs of the Sin, orders the Biſhop to proceed to ſpeedy Juſtice, and purſue this Crime with the ſame Puniſhment levelled againſt Hereſy. And here the Article takes notice that the Blaſphemer was to be ſtoned by the Law of *Moſes*, and that God had ſometimes reveng'd the Connivance at ſuch Wickedneſs by a publick Calamity.

The Sacraments.

The Fifth defines the Nature and Number of the *Sacraments*, and ranges none ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking under that Denomination, excepting Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. Impoſition of Hands is made neceſſary at the Conſecration, and ordaining of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons. Marriages were to be publickly ſolemniz'd in the Face of the Congregation; Children were to be confirm'd by the Biſhop, when they could give an Account of their Baptiſmal Engagement. The Pariſh Prieſts were to viſit the ſick, and govern themſelves in their Applications by the *Rubrick* of the Common Prayer.

Idolatry, Witchcraft, &c.

The Sixth *Title* goes upon Idolatry, Witchcraft, conſulting Conjurers, and divining by Lots. Theſe Crimes, provided the Party ſubmitted, were to be puniſh'd at the Diſcretion of the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, but in caſe of Obſtinacy, Excommunication was to follow. And if any Perſon had done his Neighbour any Damage by ſuch dark Practices, he was bound to make Reſtitution.

Qualifications of Preachers.

The Seventh provides for the due Qualification of Preachers: That no body ſhould be permitted this Function without an Authority from the Biſhop: That all Novelty of Doctrine or Expreſſion, all unneceſſary Queſtions, all ſuperſtitious Fancies, ſhould be avoided in the *Pulpit*: That thoſe who have a general Licence to preach thro' the whole Dioceſe ſhould be called before the Biſhop once a Year, that by this means the Dioceſan might be inform'd what Places were moſt remarkable for Diſorder. And being thus acquainted with the Nature of the Diſeaſe, the Remedy might be the better proportion'd: People of Quality, and Magiſtrates are particularly injoin'd to be conſtant at the hearing of Sermons, both for their own Benefit, and the Advantage of their Example: And if any Perſons diſturb'd the Preacher, they were to be ſuſpended from the Sacrament, and barr'd coming into the Church till they had given Satisfaction.

Marriage.

The Eighth relates to Marriage. And here the Banns are order'd to be firſt publiſh'd by the Prieſt Three Sundays or Holidays; Afterwards the Bride and Bridegroom were to appear in the Church, and paſs thro' the Ceremonies appointed by the *Common-Prayer*: And that unleſs theſe Forms are punctually obſerv'd, the Marriage is incomplete, and the Perſons at liberty as before. Thoſe who debauch'd young Women were to be excommunicated, and not to be reſtor'd unleſs they married the Perſons they had formerly abuſed: And if this could not be done, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge was to aſſign the Perſon they had injured a third Part of their Eſtate. And in caſe ſuch a Satisfaction happen'd to be impracticable, they were then to oblige him to maintain the illegitimate Iſſue, beſides farther arbitrary Puniſhment. The Marriage of Minors, who engag'd themſelves without the Conſent of their Parents and Guardians, was to ſtand for nothing: But if thoſe who had thus the Charge of them prov'd too dilatory in making, or accepting Propoſals, the young People might apply to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge for their Relief. The Impediments of Marriage are reckon'd up, and this State left at liberty to Men and Women of all Ages and Conditions; with Advice however, not to do any thing contrary to Decency, nor engage at too great a Diſparity of Years. *Polygamy* is condemn'd as a Contradiction to the firſt Inſtitution of Matrimony in *Geneſis*. And therefore whoſoever has thus unhappily entangled himſelf, was to keep cloſe to his firſt Marriage, to diſengage from the reſt, return the Women their Fortunes, and over and above make the Church Satisfaction for the Scandal. Marriages made upon Force and Compulſion, provided the Violence was ſtrong, and the Proofs evident, were not to ſtand good. At the cloſe of this Head, the Niceneſs and Delicacy of thoſe Women who refuſ'd to ſuckle their Children is deeply cenſur'd. And the Preachers are order'd to declaim againſt this Miſbehavior.

The prohibited Degrees of Marriage.

The Ninth dilates upon the prohibited Degrees of Marriage, ſettles the Levitical Law for a Rule, and orders People to govern themſelves by Inference and Proportion in the Caſes unmention'd. As for ſpiritual Relations founded upon Godfathers and Godmothers, they were to be no Bar, their being neither *Scripture*, nor good Reaſon for ſuch a Reſtraint.

The Puniſhment of Adultery.

The Tenth begins with the Heinouſneſs of Adultery; takes notice that this Crime was capitally puniſhed both by the *Moſaick*, and the *Civil* Law. To diſcountenance this Licence effectually, 'tis provided, that if any Clergy-man was convicted of Fornication, Inceſt, or Adultery, he was to forfeit all his Eſtate to his Wife and Children. And if no ſuch Relations were in Being, his Fortune was to be diſtributed amongſt the Poor, or to ſuch other pious Uſes as the Eccleſiaſtical Judge ſhould think fit. He was likewiſe to loſe his ſpiritual Preferment, and either to be baniſh'd or impriſon'd during Life. If a *Lay-man* was prov'd guilty of this Crime, he was to return his Wife her Fortune, and part with half his own to her over and above: The Remainder of his Puniſhment was either Baniſhment or perpetual Impriſonment. Women when convicted, were to forfeit their Dowry, Joynture, Thirds, and all other Profits and Advantages, which would otherwiſe accrue to them by their Matrimony; and beſides, they were either to be confin'd for Life, or baniſh'd. When either Husband or Wife was convicted of proving falſe to the Engagements of Marriage, the innocent and injured Perſon had the liberty of marrying elſewhere: There being no Reaſon to confine one Perſon to ſingle Life for the Fault of another. And thus we ſee the Caſe of Adultery plainly excepted by our Saviour. However, conſidering the Nearneſs of the Relation, paſſing over the Injury, and living together again, is recommended in caſe there is any hopes of regular Behavior: But if this Favour will not be allow'd, the *Criminal* is barr'd any other Marriage. But not to leave a matter of this moment to private Suſpicion and Diſguſt, no body was to part either from Wife or Husband till the Cauſe was heard, and the Divorce pronounc'd by the Eccleſiaſtical Judge. If either of the Parties deſert, and can't be prevail'd with to live together, the rambling and obſtinate Perſon ſhall ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment, and the Party deſerted allow'd the Liberty of marrying at Diſcretion. But then the Perſon complain'd of, provided

Deſertion and Abſence.

provided he was abſent, was to have two or three Years allow'd him, to make his Appearance, and juſtify his Abſence. If a Man happens to be a great while in a foreign Country, upon the ſcore either of Merchandize, or ſerving in the *Field*, and no Tidings could be heard of him, his Wife, if ſhe pleaſed, might apply to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, who was to give her two or three Years to expect the Return of her Husband: And if after ſhe had laid out for the beſt Intelligence, and could hear nothing of him within this Term, ſhe had the Liberty of marrying another Man: But with this Condition, that in caſe her Husband ſhould come home, ſhe muſt be oblig'd to live with him again, and break off her ſecond Marriage: She was oblig'd to do this, provided her Husband could prove his Return was thus long delay'd by Accident and Neceſſity.

Divorce allow'd in ſeveral Caſes.

When Breach of Friendſhip between Man and Wife came to ſuch a heighth, that they attempted to poiſon, or deſtroy each other, the Judge is order'd to pronounce a Divorce: For where People are ſo flamingly provok'd and envenom'd, 'tis beſt to part them. Here the Ground of the Engagement ceaſes, and there is no reaſon People ſhould be tyed together to murder each other. And to go ſomewhat lower; if a Man mal-treats his Wife to a ſavage Degree, and proves incorrigible in Cruelty and rough Temper, inſomuch that he is not to be reclaim'd, neither by the Judge's Admonition, nor by Sureties for good Behavior, nor by the Diſcipline of a Priſon, he ought to be look'd on as no better than an implacable Enemy, and a perpetual Plague. In ſuch a Caſe therefore, the Wife ought to be reliev'd by a Divorce, no leſs than if her Life was plainly in danger. But conſtant Sickneſs is no juſt Cauſe for Separation: The ſupporting People under ſuch Misfortunes, being one of the principal Ends and Conveniencies of Marriage. While a Sute was depending for the breaking ſome of the capital Articles of Marriage, the Man was to allow his Wife a Maintenance ſuitable to her Quality and Condition. If a Man proſecuted his Wife for Adultery, or attempting his Life, and was caſt in the Court, he was to forfeit half his Eſtate to her, neither ſhould he have the Liberty of alienating that Moiety without her Conſent. And in caſe the Wife brought in a Charge of the ſame nature againſt her Husband, and fail'd in the Proof, ſhe was neither to have her Fortune return'd, nor receive any Advantage which might otherwiſe accrue to her by her Husband: And laſtly, the Marriage was to remain undiſſolv'd.

The Penalty of prompting to Licentiouſneſs

If a Man prompted his Wife to turn Strumpet, and led her to Debauchery, ſhe was to fall under the Penalty of Adultery, the Husband pronounc'd a *Procurer*, and the Marriage to continue. If either Husband or Wife, convict of Adultery, can prove the ſame Crime upon the Party impeaching, they were both to ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment, and neither of them allow'd the Benefit of a Divorce. All Confidents and Aſſiſtants in ſcandalous Amours, who either carry Letters or Meſſages, or furniſh Libertines with their Houſes for ſuch purpoſes, are to be puniſh'd at the Diſcretion of the Eccleſiaſtical Judge. The cuſtomary Separation from *Bed* and *Board*, the Marriage remaining firm in other Reſpects, is declar'd an unreaſonable Conſtitution, repugnant to the *Holy Scripture*, introductive of great Diſorders, and therefore not to be endured.

An Admonition to Patrons.

The Eleventh *Title* treats of the Admiſſion of the Clergy to Benefices: And here a ſtrict Examination was to be premiſ'd, that the Biſhop *might lay his hands ſuddenly on no man, nor be partaker of other mens ſins.*

1 Tim. 5.

Patrons are injoin'd to ſet aſide all Regards of Relation, and mercenary Motives, and to preſent purely upon the ſcore of proper Qualifications: For the right of *Patronage* was never given for Depredation and Abuſe, but to protect the Intereſt of the Church. Thoſe Patrons therefore who diſpoſe of Livings upon Conditions of Avarice and Scandal, either to withdraw part of the Tythes, reſerve ſome of the Buildings, or charge the Incumbent with a *Penſion*, were to forfeit their Preſentation for that Turn; and the *Clerk* who comply'd with ſuch unworthy Terms, was to loſe that Living, and be diſabled of taking any other.

The Penalty of preſenting upon a Simoniacal Contract.

Patrons were not allow'd to contract for the granting any *Preſentation* before the Church was void. If a Living happen to lapſe from the Patron as far as the *Crown*, and the King did not preſent in Six Months, the Right was to revert to the Patron, and run the ſame Circle, in caſe of Neglect, as before. The Clergy, before their Admiſſion to Benefices, were to be examin'd by the Archdeacon, who was to call in the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Friers as the Biſhop had aſſign'd for that purpoſe: The Biſhop himſelf is likewiſe exhorted to take Cognizance of ſo weighty a matter. An Oath is likewiſe requir'd of the Clerk to anſwer clearly to the Queſtions propoſed, with reſpect to the Subject in hand.

The Examination of thoſe admitted to Benefices.

After this preliminary Caution, he was to be examin'd upon his Belief in the Holy Trinity, the Canon and Authority of the *Scriptures*, and the Controverſies then on Foot: And in ſhort, he was to be tryed upon each Part of the *Catechiſm*. This Syſtem being an Abſtract of the principal Parts of Religion. And to prevent any Heterodox Clergy paſſing the Teſt, the Friers were to ſound their Belief by putting Queſtions upon all the Articles of Hereſy mention'd in the Second *Title*: And here thoſe who gave unſatisfactory Anſwers, or diſcover'd their Ignorance in the *Holy Scriptures*, were to be ſet aſide. *Pluralities* were altogether diſallow'd for the future, but thoſe who were already poſſeſs'd of more than one Living were not to be diſturb'd. *Non-reſidence* was not to be ſuffer'd in any Perſon, unleſs Age, Sickneſs, or ſome other ſufficient Excuſe could be alledg'd: And here the Biſhop was to be Judge of the Weight of the Allegation: And to make the Regulation more preciſe and particular, the benefic'd Perſon was to go to his Living Two Months after *Inſtitution*. *Prebendaries* who had no *Cures* annex'd, were to preach in the Neighbouring Churches: However, they had Five Years allow'd to improve themſelves in the *Univerſity*: Upon condition they gave the Biſhop and *Chapter* a yearly Account of their Proficiency. Baſtards are barr'd the Eccleſiaſtical Function, unleſs they appear particularly remarkable for Parts, Learning, and good Behavior.

Natural Children barr'd ſpiritual Promotions.

But no Recommendations of this kind was a ſufficient Diſpenſation for the *Natural* Children of *Patrons*, who ſometimes had the Confidence to make Proviſion for their unhappy Iſſue this way; but ſince the treating *Natural* Children with ſo much regard is the way to encourage Licentiouſneſs, therefore all ſuch *Inſtitutions* are declar'd void, and the Patron was to loſe his Preſentation *pro hâc vice.* As for natural Infirmities, and Diſadvantage of Perſon, no body was to be refus'd upon that ſcore, unleſs they diſabled the Perſon from executing his Office. And therefore if a Man was blind, ſtammer'd to Unintelligibleneſs, or had ſo rank a Breath that no Company could well bear him, 'twas not thought proper to admit him to the Prieſthood. The *Clerks* after Admiſſion to a Benefice were to ſwear their Reſolution of adhering to the receiv'd Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, to renounce the Pope, and to own the King ſupreme Head of the Church of *England* under Chriſt. They were likewiſe to ſwear Canonical Obedience to their Biſhop: That they ſtood clear of Simoniacal Contracts: Would ſatisfy nothing of that kind made by any other Perſon: And that they would never charge their Benefice with any new Penſions: And laſtly, thoſe who intruded into any ſpiritual Promotion without Authority from their *Dioceſan*, were to loſe the Benefice, and be made for ever uncapable of any other: And for farther Diſcouragement of ſuch Preſumption, they were to be ſuſpended from their Function, and Excommunicated.

What Diſadvantages of Perſon are Incapacities for the Prieſthood.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth relate to Ceſſions, Reſignations, and Exchanges of Benefices, which containing nothing extraordinary, I ſhall paſs over.

The manner of Purgation.

The Fourteenth ſtates the meaſures of Purgation. Clearing ones Reputation this way was requiſite either when a Man ſuffer'd in his Character by common Fame, or being proſecuted in a Court, the Proofs fell ſomewhat ſhort of the Law, and yet were ſupported by ſtrong Preſumptions: For when there was either ſufficient Evidence of the Crimes, or they wanted ſo much as a probable Colour, in both theſe Caſes there was no room for *Purgation. Clerks* who were convicted of any capital Crime in the *Temporal* Courts, were not to be admitted to their *Purgation* in the *Spiritual.* If a Man had the Misfortune to be reported to Diſadvantage, if the Story held on, and gain'd Ground, and the Perſon concern'd, took no Care to Silence the Clamour, the Biſhop was to endeavor to clear the Suſpicion, and enjoin People to come in and declare their Knowledge: And if no body appear'd, he was to ſend for the Perſon ſuſpected, and in caſe he refus'd to purge himſelf, he might ſuſpend him *ab Officio*, or exclude him the Congregation. By the Form of *Purgation* the Perſon was to ſwear himſelf not guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and to fortify his Juſtification, his *Compurgators* were to take an Oath they believ'd he had ſworn nothing but what was true. Theſe Compurgators ought to be Perſons of a clear and unqueſtion'd Integrity, and to be thoroughly acquainted with the Behaviour of the Perſon they vouch'd for. Their Number was to be determin'd at the *Judge's* Pleaſure, with reſpect to this General Rule notwithſtanding, that Perſons of Diſtinction ſhould bring more Compurgators than others of private Condition. And to be more particular, a Biſhop was to produce ſome Biſhops, a Prieſt ſome Prieſts, and every body ſome of his own Rank and Quality, to vindicate his Innocence. No body ought to be forc'd upon the Office of a Compurgator. If the Biſhop happen'd to inſiſt upon a greater Number of theſe Vouchers than the Equity of the Caſe required, the Perſon ſuſpected might appeal to the Archbiſhop: He that had reſcued his Credit from any coarſe Imputation by a legal *Purgation*, was to be publickly declar'd innocent by the Judge, and have an Inſtrument from the Court to ſhew upon occaſion. And becauſe Wickedneſs riſes by degrees, and takes ſome time in moving to the laſt Exceſs; the Judge was to break the Opportunities, and cut off the Occaſions of Miſcarriage. For inſtance, he that is ſuſpected for an infamous Commerce with a Woman, ought to be forbidden the Houſe where ſhe lives, and all Correſpondence with her: And in caſe the *Judge's* Order is contemn'd, Diſcipline was to follow. He that fails in any Circumſtance of his *Purgation*, ought to be preſum'd guilty: But this Rule was not without Limitation, for if a Perſon was accuſed of Hereſy, and fell ſhort in his Defence, he was not immediately to be thrown up to the *Civil* Magiſtrate, becauſe ſuch a Failure is rather a Preſumption, than clear Evidence. And to conclude this Head, all ſuperſtitious Purgations, tho' ſupported by antient Cuſtom, were to be foreborn: Such as *Duels*, *heated Plowſhears*, or *ſcalding Water.*

Preventions of Licentiouſneſs.

Dilapidations.

The Fifteenth ſettles the Buſineſs of *Dilapidations*, preſcribes the Meaſures for Reparation of Parſonage Houſes, appoints the Penalties for deſtroying Timber upon the Eſtates of the Church, and mentions the Perſons who were to repair the Houſes belonging to Cathedrals, Colleges, and Hoſpitals.

Alienations.

The Sixteenth touches upon Alienations of Church Lands, and that nothing of this kind ought to be done by way of Sale, Gift, or Exchange, without the Biſhop's and Patron's Conſent. No Leaſes of Farms made by Eccleſiaſticks, was either to exceed the Term of Ten Years, or bind the Succeſſor.

Elections.

The Seventeenth concerns Elections in Cathedrals and Colleges: And here the Proceedings are to be govern'd by the *Statutes* of the reſpective Places, provided there is nothing in them repugnant either to the Reform'd Religion of the Realm, or to the Conſtitutions compriz'd in this Book.

The corrupt Practices of Lay-Patrons.

The Eighteenth fences againſt mercenary Diſpoſitions of Livings. And here the indirect Practices of Lay-Patrons are reckon'd up. For the purpoſe, ſome were ſo rapacious as to reſerve the whole Profits and Perquiſites of the *Benefice* to themſelves, allowing only ſome ſmall Penſion to the Incumbent: Others were ſomewhat better natured in their Diſhoneſty, and bargain'd with the Parſon to quit nothing but the *Glebe.* Others were contented with keeping the Parſonage Houſes, for themſelves. And almoſt all the reſt bring the Clergy under Articles for the Payment of an annual Penſion or Rent, or procure a Diſcharge from paying their Tythes, or maim the Living in ſome Circumſtance or other: Inſomuch that there are very few who part with a *Preſentation* without ſome fraudulent and ſacrilegious Reſerve. To meet with this ſcandalous Practice, all ſuch Contracts and Covenants are declar'd void: And when the *Ordinary* had Ground to ſuſpect ſuch foul Dealing, and could not make out the Proof, the *Clerk* was not to have Inſtitution till he had paſs'd thro' a *Canonical Purgation*, and when a Clerk was convicted of any Simoniacal Contract, he was not only to forfeit his Benefice, but remain uncapable of any ſpiritual Promotion for the future.

Regulations of Divine Service

Rules for Pſalmody.

Sacraments not to be adminiſtred in private Chappels.

The Nineteenth regulates *Divine Service.* In Cathedrals and Colleges the Common Prayer was to be ſaid every Morning with the Litany on Wedneſdays and Fridays, and the Communion Office on Holidays. All the Prebendaries and Clerks who were maintain'd upon the Revenues of the Church, were to be preſent at Morning and Evening Prayer, unleſs they could fairly excuſe their Abſence. There was to be a Communion on Sundays and Holidays, where the Biſhop, the Dean, the Archdeacon, the Prebends with the reſt of the Clerks were to receive. There was to be no Preaching at Cathedrals in the Morning, for fear of drawing the People from their own Pariſhes: But in the Afternoon there was to be a Sermon before Evening Prayer. In ſinging of *Pſalms*, the Clergy were to manage in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to recommend the *Service*, and raiſe the Devotion of the *Audience*. To this end they were to confine themſelves to plain Song, and keep within the compaſs of a few Notes; and therefore all bending them with too much Art, all Strains and Delicacies of Muſick were to be avoided: And eſpecially they were not to ſhake ſo far as to make the Words unintelligible. And in this Pſalmody the People were to bear a Part with the *Choir*. In Pariſh Churches there was to be a Sermon or Homily in the Morning, and an Hour ſpent in explaining the Catechiſm in the Afternoon; where after Evening Prayer, the Parſon with ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Pariſh, was to direct the Diſpoſition of the Mony given to pious Uſes. And at this time publick Penance was to be undergone, and the Diſcipline of the Church exercis'd. When there appear'd a Neceſſity of proceeding to Excommunication, the Biſhop was to be applied to: And after his Conſent authentickly granted, the Cenſure was to be publickly pronounc'd in the Church. The Sacraments were not to be adminiſtred, nor *Common Prayer* read in *Chappels* without great Neceſſity, it being moſt fit the People ſhould frequent their Pariſh Church, and the Flock keep cloſe to their Paſtor. 'Twas likewiſe forbidden to give the Sacrament in private Houſes: For by this means there might be an Opportunity for the ſpreading of Heterodoxy. Beſides, ſuch ſeparate Meetings weak'ned that Union and Charity which the Holy Euchariſt was deſign'd to promote. However, there was an Exception for ſick People, and Perſons of Quality, who had numerous Families: Under this condition, that the Pariſh Prieſt might be no Loſer by ſuch a Privilege. And over and above, all Chappels and private Adminiſtrations were to be govern'd by the *Rubrick* in the *Common Prayer*.

The Buſineſs of Rural Deans and Archdeacons.

The Biſhop's Office.

Regulations for the Biſhop's Family, and the reſt of the Clergy.

The Twentieth dilates upon the Maintenance and Office of Pariſh Clerks, and from thence proceeds to the Buſineſs and Management of Church-Wardens, Deacons, and Prieſts: Theſe latter, provided they liv'd ſingle, were not to entertain any Woman in their Houſes, under Threeſcore Years of Age, excepting their Mothers, Siſters, or Aunts. Rural Deans were to be choſen by the Biſhop for every Deanery; they were to continue only a Year. Their Buſineſs was to make a Report to the Biſhop of the Behavior of the Prieſts, Deacons, Church-Wardens, *&c.* within their Precincts. They were likewiſe to delate the Names of Hereticks, Procurers, Strumpets, Libertines, and Polygamiſts: And in ſhort to inform the Ordinary of all People who were remarkably ſcandalous, theſe Rural Deans were empower'd to call ſuſpected Perſons before them, to examine their Miſbehavior, and tranſmit their Proceedings in Writing to the Biſhops within Ten Days. They were likewiſe to certify the Ordinary every Six Months, how many Sermons had been preach'd within their Deanery. The Archdeacon's Poſt was to be next the Biſhop in the Government of the Dioceſe, with a Reſervation for the Privilege of the Dean, with reſpect to the Cathedral. The Archdeacon was always to be a Prieſt, his Buſineſs was to reſide upon his Juriſdiction, to preach, to viſit, to ſuperintend the Rural Deans: To viſit his Archdeaconry twice in the Year at leaſt, and tranſmit an Account to the Biſhop of the State of the Dioceſe within Three Weeks after every *Viſitation*. The Dean's Office was to take care, that every thing was regularly manag'd within the Juriſdiction of the *Cathedral*. And therefore he was not to be non-reſident without Leave from the Biſhop. In Cathedrals the *Prebendaries* were to *read* upon ſome Part of Scripture thrice a Week, or at leaſt to procure ſome Divine for that purpoſe. The whole Dioceſe, both Clergy and Laity, were to be under the Biſhop, and to be govern'd by his Diſcipline and Direction. He was to preach in his Cathedral, not to ordain either at random or for Reward, to receive Complaints againſt Diſorderly Curates, and deprive them: To take up Quarrels amongſt the Clergy: To preſcribe Orders for Reformation of Manners: To *viſit* his Dioceſe every Third Year: To exert the *Cenſures* of the Church in Places exempt as well as the reſt: And in caſe he viſited oft'ner, he was to receive no *Procurations*, but ſupport the Charge himſelf. He was to be very careful in the Choice and Management of his Family: He was not to entertain any fantaſtical extravagant People: No body that was ſcandalous for Wine, Women, or Play. His Houſe was, as it were, to be a Seminary for the Inſtruction of the *Dioceſe*, like that of St. *Auſtin* and other Primitive Prelates. The Biſhops Wives were not to be airy, idle, or over-dreſs'd. The ſame Rule for Sobriety and Diſcretion was to be ſet for their Children: And all this Expectation to reach the reſt of the Clergy however dignified or diſtinguiſh'd: In ſhort, the whole Compaſs of the Order were to avoid every thing that might bring an Imputation of Levity, Luxury, or Pride. Thoſe Biſhops who were Viſitors of Colleges were to ſee the Statutes obſerv'd, the Divinity Lectures kept up, worthy Men encourag'd, and others remov'd. Farther; Biſhops were to reſide upon their Dioceſe, unleſs urgent Buſineſs of Church or State call'd them elſewhere: And when they grew diſabled for their Function either by Age or Sickneſs, they were to be repreſented by Coadjutors. The Archbiſhop was once to viſit his whole *Province*, if practicable: He was to inſpect the Management of his *Suffragans*, to collate to Benefices, and perform the other Functions of the Dioceſan, during a *Vacancy*: To deprive incorrigible Biſhops, and put others in their Places: To receive and judge Appeals: To take up Diſputes and Differences between the Provincial Biſhops. And if the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans happen'd to diſagree, the King was to decide the Controverſy.

verſe. 'Twas likewiſe Part of the Archbiſhops Buſineſs to convene Provincial *Synods* at the Kings Order. When ſuch *Aſſemblies* were intimated, every Biſhop was bound either to appear, or ſend his Excuſe by a Proxy.

The Method and Buſineſs of Synods.

Dioceſan Synods are preſcrib'd as the beſt Expedient to preſerve Orthodoxy and Diſcipline, and to maintain a good Correſpondence between the Biſhop and his Clergy. Theſe Synods were to be held once a Year, in the Beginning of *Lent*, that the Clergy might have Time to return to their Pariſhes before *Palm Sunday*. And if it happen'd ſo, that the Biſhop could not be preſent, the Archdeacon was to ſupply his Place. The *Synod* was to open with ſinging the *Litany*: The Archdeacon or the Biſhop was to make a Sermon in Engliſh, unleſs ſome extraordinary Occaſion requir'd another Language. When Sermon was done they were to receive the Communion. After this, the Biſhop and all the Clergy were to withdraw to ſome private Apartment: And here they were to debate thoſe matters which were judg'd moſt neceſſary. For inſtance all late Heterodoxies were to be cenſured, and Miſtakes in the Expoſition of *Scriptures* rectified: Differences amongſt the Clergy examin'd and decided, and Enquiries made concerning Conformity. And here every Prieſt was to be ask'd his Opinion upon the Points in Queſtion: The Biſhop was to report the Senſe of the moſt Learned, and decide the Controverſy himſelf. And becauſe 'twas not convenient to keep the Clergy many Days together, the hearing of thoſe Cauſes which required more Time were either referr'd to the Biſhops Court, or to the Archdeacon at his *Viſitation* in *September* following. The Decrees and Judgments pronounc'd either by the Biſhop or the Archdeacon, were to bind the Inferior Clergy. However, in Caſe they thought themſelves under a Grievance, they had the Liberty of appealing to the Archbiſhop, who was impower'd either to confirm or rectifie the *Decree*: But then that Part of the Sentence which was left unrevers'd by the Metropolitan, was to remain in full Force.

The Twenty Firſt, Twenty Second, Twenty Third, and Twenty Fourth Titles relate to Church Wardens, Univerſities, Tythes, and Viſitations, which having been either touch'd already, or affording nothing but what may be commonly met with, I ſhall wave the Abſtract.

Certain Perſons diſabled from making Wills.

The Twenty Fifth is ſpent in laying down Rules concerning *Wills*, and other Dependencies of that Head. Several Perſons are barr'd the Privilege of making a *Will*. For the purpoſe, married Women, Slaves, and Children under Fourteen Years of Age. Thoſe who are not *Compos Mentis*, unleſs in their Lucid Intervals: People that are deaf and dumb, unleſs 'tis prov'd by ſufficient Witneſs that they can expreſs their Minds intelligibly by Signs. Hereticks are bar'd the Liberty of making their *Will*, and ſo were thoſe who had either Sentence of Death, perpetual Baniſhment, or perpetual Impriſonment, paſs'd upon them. Thoſe likewiſe were denied this Privilege, who refus'd to diſengage from their *Wenches* 'till they had a near Proſpect of Death. Thoſe who wrote Libels to deſtroy their Neighbours Credit, who were Strumpets or Pandars, unleſs they had done publick Penance, were not allow'd to diſpoſe of any thing by *Will*. And laſtly, Uſurers were rang'd under the ſame Diſability. However, ſeveral of theſe Perſons tho' they could not make a *Will* to the cuſtomary Compaſs and Extent, had notwithſtanding the Liberty of leaving Legacies for pious Uſes: that is to diſcharge Priſoners for Debt, to relieve Orphans and Widows, and all People under Indigence and Diſtreſs: To furniſh Poor Maids with a Portion to marry them, to maintain Scholars in the Univerſity, and to repair Highways.

Diſobedience to Parents how puniſh'd.

No Man's Son ought to be diſinherited, or overlook'd in his Fathers *Will* without the following Provocations: That is unleſs he has aſſaulted his Father, done him any remarkable Injury on purpoſe, proſecuted him in any Court of Juſtice, out of Diſaffection or Malice, and not to do Service to the Government: If he has been concerned in any dangerous Practice againſt his Father or Mother: if he has debauch'd his Mother in Law: If he has rais'd a Calumny againſt his Father, or ruin'd his Fortune in a great meaſure: If he has refus'd to be his Bail, or hindred him from making his *Will*: In any of theſe Caſes his Father has the Liberty of leaving him nothing.

Commutation ſeldom allow'd.

The next *Title* treats concerning Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. And here 'tis laid down for a General Rule that where the Puniſhment is not ſtated in this *Collection*, the Judge was to correct at Diſcretion. Commutation of Penance was not allow'd unleſs in extraordinary Caſes: And when the Emergency came up, the Mony was to be put into the Poors Cheſt in the Pariſh where the Offender liv'd, or where the Crime was committed: But in Caſe of a Relapſe, the Penance was to be done in kind, and no Mony taken to cover the Diſgrace.

The Twenty Seventh, Twenty Eighth, and Twenty Ninth touch upon Suſpenſion, Sequeſtration, and Deprivation. When a Biſhop was to be deprived, the Archbiſhop and Two other Biſhops of the King's Nomination, were to try the Cauſe, and pronounce the Sentence.

The Power of binding and loſing granted by our Saviour to the Church.

The Thirty *Title* which is the laſt I ſhall mention, relates to *Excommunication*. This Power of the *Keys*, as the *Book* affirms, was granted by our Saviour to the Church: 'Tis lodg'd with the Eccleſiaſtical Governors: The End of it is to maintain the Authority of the *Society*, to throw Terror into the Criminals, and drive them to Recollection. This Cenſure was not to be exerted but in Caſes of Extremity: None but great Crimes ſuch as ſtrike at the Root of Religion, or make a Breach in Morality, were to fall under this Diſcipline; of this kind are thoſe mention'd by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, and *Epheſians*. (z) In ſhort this rigorous Expedient ought never to be made Uſe of, excepting when People are hardned in their Wickedneſs, and that is, when they either make a *Jeſt* of Reproof, take no notice of a Citation, or refuſe to ſtand to the Judgment of the Court. A whole Society, or Corporation, was not to be excommunicated: Becauſe in ſuch collective Bodies there was great Variety of Manners: And there's no Reaſon Innocent Perſons ſhould ſuffer for the Faults which did not belong to them. This Cenſure was not to be exerted without mature Deliberation. 'Twas wiſh'd that the Conſent of the whole Church or Precinct, might intervene for the Solemnity of the Diſcipline: But ſince that Circumſtance was impracticable, the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop, or

---

(z) 1. Cor. 6. v. 10. 9. 5. Galat. 19. 5. Epheſ. 5.

The Manner of readmitting Penitents to Communion.

ſome ſubaltern *Ordinary* was to ſend for the Curate where the Criminal lived; for Two or Three Prieſts of Character together with a Juſtice of Peace of the Neighborhood; and after the Point had been thoroughly debated by this Company, the Sentence was to be pronounc'd, entred in Writing, and a Copy of it given upon Demand to the excommunicated Perſon. The *Sentence* was to be certified to the Pariſh and Neighborhood, that they might avoid the Company of the Offender. The Curate of the Pariſh was to read the Excommunication the next *Sunday* before the Congregation. And to make the greater Impreſſion, he was to dilate upon the Circumſtances: For the purpoſe, that the Perſon being ſtruck, with the *Diſcipline* of the Church, was to be thrown out of the Society like a dead Member, excluded the Participation of the Lord's Supper, the Benefit of Divine Service and Chriſtian Converſation, cut off from the Expectation of Happineſs, and the Protection of Providence; and conſign'd over to Eternal Puniſhment and the Tyranny of the Devil: That this was to be the wretched Condition of the Perſon excommunicated, unleſs he came to Recollection, reform'd his Manners, and gave the Church Satisfaction; but as long as he continued unrelenting, no body was to pray, to eat, or drink with him, to ſalute him, or invite him to their Houſes. However, the Intercourſe of Commerce as to buying and ſelling, was not barr'd. And if any Perſon made him a charitable Viſit in Order to his Recovery, 'twas not within the Prohibition. Thoſe who after Admonition did not decline converſing with excommunicated Perſons, were to be excommunicated themſelves. If a Man continued Forty Days obſtinate under the Cenſure, the Excommunication was to be certified into the *Chancery*, and a *Writ* directed to the Sheriff or Bailiffs to take him into Cuſtody: And in Caſe they ſhould be byaſs'd either by Favour or Mony, and not commit him within a Fortnight, they were to pay treble Damages of all the Charge expended in the Proceſs. This Amerciament was to be put in the *Poors Cheſt*, where the *Ordinary* ſhould direct. And if the Sheriff or Bailiff trifled another Fortnight, the Fine was to be doubled: And if the Perſon impriſon'd was enlarg'd, or ſuffer'd to make an Eſcape before he had made Satisfaction to the *Ordinary*, the Sheriff or Keeper were to be fined to the Sum abovemention'd, with the additional Penalty of Ten Pounds more to the *Poors Cheſt*. And in Caſe they refus'd, or were dilatory in paying the Mony, the Juſtices of Peace were order'd to diſtrain their Goods, or enter upon their Lands, and ſequeſter the Profits 'till they had made Satisfaction. When the excommunicated Perſon made his Submiſſion, he was to be reſtor'd to Communion, and the Cenſure taken off. When any Criminal was condemn'd in a Temporal Court for a Capital Offence, and afterwards pardon'd by the Crown, his Pardon was to be no Protection from the Diſcipline of the Church. Unleſs therefore he ſubmitted to Penance, and made Reparation for the Scandal given, he was to be excommunicated.

The Book having thus maintain'd the Power of the *Keys* lodg'd in the Church by our Saviours Commiſſion, 'tis ſomewhat ſurprizing to find the King's *Supremacy* aſſerted to a ſeeming Inconſiſtency with this Doctrine. For under the Title of the Office and Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Judges, 'tis affirm'd, "that "the King has the ſame extended and full "Juriſdiction, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, "upon the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt "of the Clergy within his Dominions, as he "has over his Lay Subjects: The Reaſon of this Aſſertion is, becauſe all Juriſdiction both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular is deriv'd from the Crown as from one and the ſame Fountain.

To return, the Form of abſolving excommunicated Perſons was this. The Penitent was to come to the Church Door in a Habit aſſign'd him by the *Ordinary*; the Parſon was to meet him, and demand of him before the Congregation, whether he was deſirous to confeſs his Faults before God and the Audience, and to be reſtored to the Communion of the Church? When he anſwer'd *yes*, the Prieſt was to bring him into the Church, to ſet forth his Submiſſion, how ready he was to acknowledge his Miſcarriage: That upon ſuch Signs of Repentance and Humiliation he was not to be rejected. That in ſuch Caſes they ought to conſider their own Infirmities, and compaſſionate the Frailties of human Nature: *That there was more Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repents than for Ninety Nine juſt Perſons, which need no Repentance.* After this the Prieſt was to addreſs the excommunicated Perſon to exhort him to examine his Conſcience, to be well aſſured of his Sincerity, and not trifle with God and the Church. Upon this the Penitent was either to kneel or lie proſtrate, make his Confeſſion to God, lament his Condition, abhor his Miſcarriage, and beg the Divine Aſſiſtance to preſerve him from Relapſe. After this he was to riſe, and being carried to an Eminence where he might be better ſeen and heard, he was to apply himſelf to the Congregation, to declare his Unworthineſs in the ſtrongeſt Terms of Remorſe and Compunction, to make particular Mention of the Crime, for which he was excommunicated, to pray God his Example might prove hurtful to no Body, but that rather the Deplorableneſs of his condition, and the Shame he had undergone, might reſtrain them from the like Miſcarriage. And laſtly, he was to beg the Congregations Pardon, and intreat them to admit him to Communion. Then the Prieſt was to ask the People, whether they were willing to grant his Requeſt, who anſwering they were, the Parſon was to lay his Hand upon his Head, and abſolve him in this Form,

Luke 15.

The Form of Abſolution.

Ego te coràm hâc Eccleſiâ, cujus mihi Adminiſtratio commiſſa eſt, te tuorum Pæna Delictorum, & Excommunicationis exolvo vinculis, per Authoritatem Dei, Poteſtatem Jeſu Chriſti, & Spiritus, ſancti, conſentientibus hujus Eccleſiæ præſentibus Membris, & etiam Ordinario ſuffragante, tibique rurſùs priſtinum in Eccleſia tuum locum, & plenum Jus, reſtituo.

After this the Paſtor was to embrace the *Penitent*, to ſalute him on the Cheek, to raiſe him from his Knees, and lead him to the Communion Table, where a Hymn was to be ſung, and a Thankſgiving Prayer made for his Recovery.

The reſt of the *Titles* are ſpent in Regulations for the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, in general Definitions, directing the Proceſs, and reciting the Grounds and Maxims of the *Civil* and *Canon* Law. Under the *Title* of *Appeals* there is one thing very remarkable which I ſhall mention. The Order was fix'd thus; The Perſon who thought himſelf aggriev'd had the Liberty of appealing from the Archdeacon or Dean, or any other ſubaltern Juriſdiction, to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe: From the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King. And when the Cauſe came as high as the *Crown*, 'twas either to be determin'd by a Provincial *Council*, or by Three or Four Biſhops of the King's Nomination. And thus the *Delegates* in the laſt Reſort were all Church Men.

The Law runs all in the King's Name, and he ſpeaks in Perſon thro' the whole *Book*. The *Supremacy* lately acknowledg'd in his Father might probably occaſion this manner. Beſides, the Parliament of this Reign had transfer'd the whole Legiſlature, as to this Affair, upon a *Committee* nominated by the King and *Council*. But the King falling into a Conſumption, which prov'd mortal the next Year, the *Book* miſcarried by not paſſing thro' the Forms required by the *Act*.

June 26. Ann. Dom. 1552.

Holbeck Biſhop of *Lincoln* died in *Auguſt* the laſt Year, but by the Intereſt of ſome Courtiers the Biſhoprick was kept in the King's Hands, 'till this Summer, when *John Taylour* was promoted thither. During this Vacancy, the *See* was horribly rifled, and all the Mannours, excepting that of *Bugden*, wreſted from it. (*a*)

(a) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. page* 129.

Depredations upon vacant Biſhopricks.

'Twas the Cuſtom of this Reign, as one of our Learned Hiſtorians obſerves, to ſeize theſe Opportunities: To give the *Reader* his own Words: *In all the Vacancies* of *Sees*, ſays he, " there were a great many of the beſt Lands " taken from them, and their Revenues brought " to ſo low a Condition, that 'twas ſcarce poſ" ſible for the Biſhops to ſubſiſt: And yet if " what was ſo taken from them, had been " converted to good Uſes, to the bettering the " Condition of the Poor Clergy, it had been " ſome Mitigation of ſo heinous a Robbery; " but theſe Lands were ſnatch'd up by every " hungry Courtier, who found this the eaſieſt " way to be ſatisfied in their Pretenſions. (*b*)

(b) Biſhop Burnet pt. 2d. page 203.

Theſe Depredations occaſion'd the publiſhing a Tract this Year, for retrieving the Credit of the Clergy, and ſupporting them with a decent Proviſion: 'Twas dedicated to *Gooderick* Lord Chancellor, and Biſhop of *Ely*. The Author complains the Patrimony of the Church was ſeiz'd to ſuch a ſcandalous Degree, that many of the Clergy were forc'd to ſubſiſt themſelves upon mean and mechanick Employments, and apply to Buſineſs diſhonourable to their Function: That ſuch deep Poverty had brought on Ignorance on courſe, and made a great Part of the Curates remarkably underqualified: That this was a Reproach to the Kingdom, and gave an ill Complexion to the Reformation.

Id. page 202. *The King threatens to ſeize the Charter of the City of* London.

About this Time the Lords of the *Council* ſate at *Guild-Hall*, and reprimanded the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen for their negligent Government, and particularly for ſuffering Proviſions to be ſold at unreaſonable rates: The reſt of the Burghers are likewiſe cenſur'd for Irregularities in Trade: In ſhort, they were told that unleſs this Miſmanagement was ſpeedily reform'd, the King would ſeize their *Charter*, and govern the City by Officers of his own Nomination. (*c*)

(c) King Edwards *Journal*

Biſhop Ridleys *Diſcourſe with the Princeſs* Mary.

The Princeſs *Mary*, as hath been obſerv'd, was not to be remov'd from her Perſwaſion. However, Biſhop *Ridley* being in the Neighbourhood of her Houſe at *Hunſden* in *Herfordſhire*, reſolv'd to wait on her. She ſaluted him at firſt in a very friendly manner, entertain'd him in Diſcourſe, and gave Order for his dining with her Officers; but afterwards offering to preach before her, ſhe was ſhock'd at the Motion, and deſir'd him to anſwer that Queſtion himſelf: but when the Biſhop preſs'd on, and told the Princeſs he thought it his Duty to offer her Grace a Sermon, ſhe replied, with an Air of Diſturbance, that ſince he went ſo far in the Requeſt, and refus'd to collect her Inclination, the Pariſh Church ſhould be open for him, but neither her ſelf, nor any of her Family would make Part of the *Audience*. The Biſhop ſaid, he hop'd *ſhe would not refuſe God's Word*, ſhe anſwer'd, *that what was call'd God's Word now, was not God's Word in her Fathers Reign*, and that the Biſhop would not have had the Reſolution to have talk'd then at ſuch a rate of Liberty. After this ſhe fell into an Invective againſt the *Adminiſtration*, declar'd ſhe was not bound by the Laws made in the Kings Minority. But if when he came of Age, he approv'd what was done, ſhe was ready to acquieſce. She diſmiſs'd *Ridley* with Thanks for his Viſit, but by no means for his offering a Sermon. The Biſhop having taken Leave of the Princeſs, drank with Sir *Thomas Wharton* in the Dining Room, but immediately upon it blam'd himſelf for complying with the Invitation. *He ought not*, he ſaid, *to have drunk in the Place where God's Word was refus'd. 'Twas his Duty, to have retired, and ſhaken off the Duſt of his Feet for a Teſtimony againſt the Houſe*. Theſe Words were ſpoken with unuſual Emotion and Vehemence, for which *Fox* ſeems to commend him: But ſince the Princeſs was under no Excommunication, whether the Biſhop diſcover'd his Reſentment too far or not, may be ſomewhat of a Queſtion. (*d*)

Septem. 1552.

(d) Fox, *Vol.* 2. *page* 788.

To look over the Affairs of *Scotland* in a Word or Two. This Year the Queen Mother made an Intereſt with the Nobility, and wreſted the Government out of the Hands of the Earl of *Arran*. The Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Argyle*, *Athol*, and *Caſſilles*, were the leading Quality in this Turn. This Princeſs made a Halt in the Execution of her Project for ſome Months, becauſe the Young Queen her Daughter was too far in her Minority. For ſhe was aſſur'd the Governor would not quit his Poſt till the Queen was Twelve Years of Age. By the Laws of *Scotland* the King is ſo far a *Major* at Fourteen, and the Queen at Twelve, as not to be tied to the Government of any Perſon formerly put upon them; for at this Age they are at Liberty to chuſe their Governors or Protectors for the managing the Adminiſtration till they come to a full Majority. Upon the Strength of this Privilege, the Young Queen at her Mothers Suggeſtion made choice of the French King, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* his Brother for her Protectors, who transferr'd that Truſt upon the Queen Mother. The Queen Mother convenes the Nobility, acquaints them with her Right, and demands the Adminiſtration. And when the Governor alledg'd, the Young Queen was no more than Eleven Years of Age, the Queen Mother, to diſappoint all Objections inſiſted that by the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, the Young King or Queen might if they pleaſed reckon the Time from their Conception to their Birth for one Year. The Governor allow'd this Cuſtom as to a King, but denied there was any Preſident for a Queen. The Point was referr'd to the Nobility at *Striveling*, where the Queen having a great Majority, entred upon the Government. *

* Leſley de *Reb. geſt.* Scot. *p.* 477. & deinceps.

This Year ſome little time before the Earl of *Arran* was remov'd, there was a Provincial Synod held at *Linthingo*, where all the Decrees, which had paſs'd in the Council of *Trent*, under *Paul* the Third were receiv'd. There was likewiſe ſeveral Canons made for regulating the Behaviour of the Clergy, and ſtopping the Progreſs of Hereſy.

To return to *England*. The *Reformation* was ſomewhat intemperately carried on at *Oxford*. The *Viſitors* were ſo fond of novelty, that they ridicul'd the Univerſity Degrees, and diſcourag'd the Exerciſes. They called the Univerſities a Seat for Blockheads, and the Stews of the Whore of *Babylon*; and the Schools had commonly no better Name than the Devils Chappel. And after having mark'd this Society in ſuch an Opprobrious manner, 'tis no wonder they left them nothing to Abuſe. We need not be ſurpriz'd at the Viſitors breaking open the publick Treaſury, and making Seizure of the Mony, Plate, and Jewels. In ſhort, many Records relating to the Privileges of the Univerſity were deſtroy'd, and little with reſpect to Diſcipline or Improvement, to Ornament or Treaſure left remaining. †

† Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. 1. *p.* 273.

In the beginning of Winter, the Biſhop of *Durham* who had got over the *Bill* of *Attainder* in the laſt Parliament, was now depriv'd by a Commiſſion. (*e*)

(e) *King* Edward's *Journal.*

The Biſhop of Durham *depriv'd.*

About this Time the famous Antiquary *John Leland* departed this Life. He was bred in *Chriſt College* in *Cambridge*. He had a great capacity for Learning, and improv'd his Genius with extraordinary Induſtry. And thus being a Perſon of Character, he was employ'd by the late King to Examine the Libraries, the *Leiger* Books, and Records of *Religious Houſes*, and make an Extract of the remarkable Antiquities. This was done, as is ſuppos'd, when the project of *Diſſolution* was upon the Anvil: This Commiſſion being a work of Time and Fatigue, King *Henry* allow'd him an handſom Penſion. But upon this Princes's Death, the Incouragement expir'd with him. And thus *Leland* being thrown up to hardſhip, languiſh'd away the reſt of his Life. The publick diſcountenance, 'tis probable, went deep into his Mind, for at laſt he was ſo unhappy, as to Die diſtracted. His *Collections* preſented to the late King, came into the Hands of Sir *John Cheek*. *Burton* who wrote the Antiquities of *Leiceſterſhire*, had afterwards Four Volumes of them, which are now in the *Bodleian* Library.

The Death of the Antiquary Leland.

This Year *Bale* the Centuriſt was ſent into *Ireland*. He was an Author not without Learning, but puſh'd his Satyr to ſuch a degree of Indecency, that 'twas not thought proper to prefer him in *England*. but the *Sees* of *Armagh*, and *Oſſory*, in *Ireland*, falling void, the King nominated Dr. *Goodacre* to the firſt, and *Bale* to the other.

About this Time there was a Change made in *the Order of* the Garter. It ſeems the Credibility of the Hiſtory of St. *George* was queſtion'd, and the Ceremonies of the Solemnity Charg'd with Superſtition. 'Twas therefore reſolv'd to ſtrike out the Name of the *Patron*, and call it only the *Order of the Garter*. The *Feſtival* was not to be held on St. *Georges* Day, but at *Whitſuntide*. There were likewiſe ſome other Reformations not neceſſary to be mention'd. But the Diſſolution of the *Free Chappel* of St. *George* in *Windſor Caſtle*, is thought to have been the main deſign of this New Scheme: And thus ſome of the Courtiers would have had an opportunity of ſharing the Lands, under a pretence of laying them to the *Crown*. But the King's Death happening not long after, the Project miſcarried, the new Regulation was ſet aſide, and the Solemnity reſtor'd to its firſt Inſtitution. That the Story of St. *George*, as to the main, is no legendary Fiction; at leaſt that 'tis not without a fair Appearance of Truth, the Reader may ſee, by conſulting the Authorities on the Margin.

Heylin, *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2.

Heylin's *Hiſtory of the Garter.* *Supplement to* Morery's *Dictionary, vol.* 3. *Article Order of the Garter.*

In *January* this Winter, the King fell Ill of a Conſumptive Cough: The Phyſicians found it difficult to deal with, and the Symptoms grew worſe and worſe, inſomuch, that when the *Parliament* met on the firſt of *March* following, the King was in no condition to go to *Weſtminſter*, but ordered both *Houſes* to attend him at *White-Hall*, where a Sermon was Preach'd by *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*. At this *Seſſions* a *Bill* Paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, that none ſhould be capable of any Spiritual Preferment, unleſs they were Prieſts, or Deacons. The reaſon of this *Bill*, was becauſe many Young Perſons of Quality, and Gentlemens Sons, had Prebends given them upon their Promiſe, that they deſign'd to Study Divinity, and qualify themſelves for the Function of an Eccleſiaſtick: But it ſeems they commonly kept their Promotions, without minding to make good the Engagement. To prevent this Practiſe the Biſhops prevail'd with the Temporal Lords, to Concur in a Remedy; but after all, the *Bill* miſcarried in the Houſe of Commons.

This Parliament which was Diſſolv'd, on the laſt of *March* Paſs'd an Act for ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. The Preamble ſets forth, "that
" that *See* being then void, the diſpoſal of it
" was in the King, that the Extent of it was
" too large, and reach'd to ſo many diſtant
" Shires, that it could not be well Govern'd
" by one Biſhop; and ſince the King out of
" his godly Diſpoſition was deſirous to have
" God's holy Word Preach'd in theſe Parts,
" which for lack of good Preaching and Lear-
" ning, were grown Wild and Barbarous, his
" Majeſty therefore intended to have Two
" Biſhopricks for that Dioceſe: One at *Durham*,
" which ſhould be Endow'd with Two Thou-
" ſand Marks Annual Rent, and another at
" *Newcaſtle*, which ſhould have a Thouſand
" Marks Revenue: And alſo to found a
" Cathedral Church at *Newcaſtle* with a Dean-
" ery and Chapter out of the Lands of the
" Biſhoprick: The Biſhoprick therefore of *Dur-*
" *ham* is utterly extinguiſh'd and diſſolv'd, and
" Authority is given for *Letters Patents*, to Erect
" the New Biſhopricks, together with a Dean-
" ery and Chapter at *Newcaſtle*; with a Proviſo
" that the Deanery, Chapter, and Cathedral of
" *Durham*, ſhould ſuffer nothing by this Act. (*f*)

The Biſhoprick of Durham *diſſolved.*

(f) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 215.

Theſe New Erections were mention'd in all likelyhood for a Colour, to ſmooth the way for the Diſſolution *Bill*, and cover the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Deſigns. Had there not been a different Deſign at the bottom, the New Erections would have been purſued, and the *Act* taken its Effect. This had been no more than a juſt deference to the Legiſlature; but this Proviſion was in a great meaſure overlook'd, and the Mask pull'd off in a ſhort Time: For in *May* following, ſays our Hiſtorian, the

Temporalities of the Biſhoprick were *Seculariz'd*, turn'd wholly to a County Palatine, and granted to the Duke of *Northumberland*.

Id.

That this Duke had a proſpect, and a promiſe too, of the Temporalties of this See is very likely: But that the Grant was executed in Form of Law, is more, than appears.

Ibid.

As for *Ridley*, he was not only Nam'd without Effect, as our Hiſtorian reports, but actually tranſlated from *London* to *Durham*. For in the Inſtrument, by which *Bonner* was reſtor'd to the See of *London*, in the next Reign, 'tis ſet forth, that the Biſhoprick of *London* was then void by the Tranſlation of *Ridley* to *Durham*, upon the deprivation of *Tunſtal*, by King *Edward* the Sixth: And thus *Bonner* was reinveſted, without pronouncing *Ridley* depriv'd of the See of *London*. But on the contrary, it appears by the Regiſter, that *Ridley* was depriv'd of the Biſhoprick of *London*, for Hereſy, and Sedition. *

Crown Lands diminiſh'd, and the King in Debt.

Stow Annal.

The *Crown* in this Reign had great Acceſſions of Wealth: The *Chauntry Lands, Colleges, Free Chappels*, &c. amounted to a great Revenue; to which we may add the ſeizing a great many Mannors belonging to Cathedrals and Biſhopricks. Beſides this, the Lands of ſeveral of the *Halls* and *Companies* in *London*, were charg'd with reſerv'd Rents, for furniſhing *Lights* and *Obits*, and maintaining Chauntry Prieſts. To take off this Incumbrance, the City paid the King Twenty Thouſand Pounds. And not long ſince he receiv'd Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns of the French King, for the ſurrender of *Boulogne*. But notwithſtanding all theſe extraordinary Proviſions for the *Exchequer*, the Royal Revenues were conſiderably leſſen'd, and the Government was in Debt, to the value of Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds. From hence 'tis plain, how untowardly the *Treaſury* was manag'd, and how far the Courtiers ſerv'd themſelves of the King's Minority.

The King's Fortune thriving thus Ill, under ſuch opportunities of Improvement, 'twas thought fit to retrench the Expences of the Court, and put down ſome of the *Tables*. Some of the Officers likewiſe of leſs Intereſt, had their management inſpected, and were call'd to Account. For inſtance, the Lord *Paget* was Fin'd Six Thouſand Pounds: *Beaumont* Maſter of the *Rolls*, ſurrendred his Land and Goods to the King, for his Miſbehavior in his Office. This Man, it ſeems, had purchas'd Land with the King's Mony, and fraudulently exceeded his Commiſſion in other Reſpects. *Whaley* one of the King's Receivers for the County of *York*, had miſconduct of a reſembling Nature proved upon him: His Sentence was to loſe his Employment, and be Fin'd at the Pleaſure of the King and *Council*. But all this, tho' it carried a popular Face, gave little relief, and fell much ſhort of the preſent Exigences.

There was therefore a more ſerviceable Expedient ſuggeſted. The *Council* had been Inform'd, that a great deal of the Plate and Furniture in Churches, had been lately carried off without Warrant: That ſecular Mens Houſes were furniſh'd with Altar Pieces and Copes, that they drank in Chalices at their Entertainments, turn'd the conſecrated Plate to common uſe, and made a Figure out of the plunder of Churches. (g) Now to ſtop this Invaſion, and throw the remainder into the publick Channel, Commiſſions were iſſued out to Perſons of Condition in every County, with the following Inſtructions. And here I ſhall only Tranſcribe the moſt material Part of the *Inſtrument*.

A Commiſſion to Seize Church Plate, and Ornaments, throughout the Kingdom.

The ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall upon their View, and and Survey taken, cauſe due Inventories to be made by Bills or Books indented, of all manner of Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, as yet remaining, or any wiſe forth coming, and belonging to any Churches, Chappels, Fraternities, or Gilds, and the one Part of the ſame Inventories to ſend and return to our Privy Council, and the other to deliver to them, in whoſe Hands the ſaid Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, ſhall remain to be kept preſerv'd: And they ſhall alſo give good Charge and Order, that the ſame Goods, and every part thereof, be at all Times forth coming to be anſwer'd, leaving nevertheleſs in every Pariſh, Church, or Chappel, of common Reſort, one, two, or more, Chalices or Cups, according to the Multitude of the People, in every ſuch Church or Chappel, and alſo ſuch other Ornaments, as by their Diſcretion ſhall ſeem requiſite for the divine Service, in every ſuch Place for the Time.

And, becauſe we be inform'd, that in many Places, great Quantities of the ſaid Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, be Imbezzell'd by certain Private Men contrary to our expreſs Commandments in that Behalf; the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſubſtantially and juſtly enquire, and attain the knowledge thereof, by whoſe default the ſame is, and hath been, and in whoſe Hands any part of the ſame is come. And in that Point the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall have good regard, that they attain to certain Names, and dwelling Places of every Perſon and Perſons, that hath Sold, Alienated, Imbezzell'd, taken or carried away, and of ſuch alſo as have Councell'd, Adviſ'd, and Commanded, any Part of the ſaid Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Veſtments, and Ornaments, to be taken or carried away or otherwiſe Imbezzell'd. And theſe things they ſhall as certainly, and duly as they can, cauſe to be ſearch'd and underſtand.

Upon a full ſearch and enquiry whereof, the ſaid Commiſſioners, Four or Three of them, ſhall cauſe to be called before them, all ſuch Perſons by whom any of the ſaid Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Ornaments, or any other the Premiſes, have been Alienated, Imbezzelled, or taken away, or by whoſe means or procurement the ſame, or any Part thereof hath been attempted, or to whoſe Hands or uſe, any of the ſame, or any Profit for the ſame, hath grown. And by ſuch means, as to their Diſcretion ſhall ſeem beſt, cauſe them to bring into their the ſaid Commiſſioners Hands to our uſe, the ſaid Plate, Jewels, Bells, and other the Premiſes ſo Alienated, or the true and juſt value thereof, certifying unto our Privy Council, the Names of all ſuch as refuſe to ſtand to, or obey their Order, touching the Re-delivery, and Reſtitution of the ſame, or the juſt value thereof. To the intent, that as Cauſe and Reaſon ſhall require, every Man may Anſwer to his doings in this Behalf.

Finally our Pleaſure is, that the ſaid Commiſſioners in all their doings, ſhall uſe ſuch ſober and diſcreet manner of Proceeding, as the Effect of this Commiſſion may go forward, with as much quiet, and as little occaſion of Trouble or Diſquiet of the Multitude as may be; uſing to that End, ſuch wiſe Perſwaſions in all Places of their Seſſions, as in reſpect of the Place, and diſpoſition of the People, may ſeem to their Wiſdoms moſt Expedient, giving alſo good and ſubſtantial Order for the ſtay of the inordinate and greedy Covetouſneſs, of ſuch diſordered People, as have, or ſhall go about, the alienating of any the Premiſes, ſo as according to Reaſon, and order, ſuch as have, or ſhall Contemptuouſly Offend in this behalf, may receive Reformation, as for the Quality of their Doings ſhall be requiſite. (h)

---

* Harmar p. 120.

(g) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory Book vii. p.* 417.

(h) Fuller Ibid. from an Original.

That theſe Commiſſions were executed to the length of their Inſtructions there is no reaſon to queſtion. The learned *Heylin* obſerves, that on the Ninth of *May* this Year, Sir *Roger Cholmely* Lord Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Robert Bowes* Maſter of the Rolles, the King's Commiſſioners for *gathering Eccleſiaſtical Goods*, held their Seſſion at *Weſtminſter*, (i) call'd the Dean and Chapter before them, and order'd *them to bring in a true Inventory of all the Plate, Cups, Veſtments, and other Eccleſiaſtical Goods which belong'd to their Church.* The Piety of former Ages, the Solemnities of Coronations, the Funerals of Princes and Noblemen, had ornamented this Church with Plate, and religious Decorations, and furniſh'd it with officiating Habits, to an immence Value: But there was no Body ſo hardy as to Lock the Church Doors, to Conceal the Treaſure, and addreſs the *Council.* No, the Order was Obey'd, the Holy Furniture deliver'd, and a very ſlender ſhare of it return'd back for *Divine Service.* This *Weſtminſter* Preſident was follow'd at St. *Paul's*, and through out the Kingdom. The Commiſſioners Buſineſs was to make Seizure of all Goods in Cathedral or Pariſh Churches. And thus all Jewels and Gold, all Silver Croſſes, Candleſticks, Chalices, and ready Mony, were within their Inſtructions. They were likewiſe Impower'd to carry off all Copes of Gold or Silver Tiſſue, and all other officiating Habits and Ornamental Furniture of Value. They were bound to leave no more than one Chalice for the Communion Service. And as for other Conveniencies and Embelliſhments, they were intirely left at the Commiſſioners Diſcretion.

The Plate, &c. brought in from St. Peter's Weſtminſter, and St. Paul's.

Dugdale Monaſt *vol.* 3. *p.* 357.

This Order for undreſſing the Churches was, it ſeems, repreſented to the King "as an Inoffenſive Expedient, and only calling for "the ſuperfluous Plate, and other Goods that "lay in Churches, more for Pomp than uſe. (k)

But thoſe who called theſe things *Superfluous*, and ſhew'd ſo ſlender a regard for the honour of Religion, were none of the beſt *Reformers.* Had theſe People govern'd in the Minority of *Joſiah*, as they did in this of *Edward* the Sixth, they would in all likelyhood have retrench'd the expence of the Moſaick Inſtitution, and ſerved God at a more Frugal Rate. They would have diſfurniſh'd the Temple of moſt of the Gold Plate, carried off the unneceſſary Magnificence, and left but little Plunder for *Nebuchadnezzar.*

Our learned Church Hiſtorian ſeems to be ſomewhat of this Opinion; For notwithſtanding, he taxes *Heylin* for laying too much load upon the Young Princes Memory, yet he excuſes ſigning the Commiſſion upon the ſcore of Sickneſs, and that 'tis likely the King being ſo far ſpent in a Conſumption, *did not much mind Affairs of that kind, but ſet his Hand eaſily to ſuch Papers as the Council prepar'd for him.* And as for the Hiſtorian he makes no ſcruple to affirm, that the applying conſecrated things to common uſes, cannot be juſtified, without the Plea of extream neceſſity.

Ibid.

May 20. An. Dom. 1553.

About this Time a *Catechiſm* was Publiſh'd by the King's Authority: "It was intitled *Catechiſmus brevis Chriſtianæ Diſciplinæ Summam continens.* The King's *Letters Patents* ſet forth, "that 'twas made by a certain pious and learned Man, and preſented to him, and that "he committed the Examination of it to certain Biſhops, and other learned Men, whoſe "judgment he much regarded. This *Catechiſm* was order'd to be taught in Schools; the Author of it is not certainly known; ſome think 'twas *Poinet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others *Alexander Noel* then Schoolmaſter of *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards Dean of St. *Paul's*. Whether the *Convocation* gave any Direction or Authority for the drawing this Catechiſm, is not certain: For in the next Reign, the *Prolocutor Weſton* excepted againſt the *Catechiſm* publiſh'd in this King's Time, and urg'd that 'twas not ſet forth *by the Agreement of that Houſe.* To this *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter* Anſwer'd, *that the ſaid Houſe had granted the Authority to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws to certain Perſons, to be appointed by the King's Majeſty, and therefore whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Laws they or the moſt part of them ſet forth, might well be ſaid to be done in the Synod of* London. (l)

A Catechiſm Publiſh'd.

This Year *Harley* was made Biſhop of *Hereford* upon the Death of *Skip.*

And here to mention a Word or Two relating to the *State. Sebaſtian Cabot* had formerly offer'd his Service to King *Henry* the Seventh, for ſettling a Plantation in *America*; this Venetian was lately made *grand Pilate* of *England.* He had met with ſome diſappointments from the Spaniard, which made him renew his Application to the Engliſh Court. Here he ſuggeſted the Attempt of the North Eaſt Paſſage to *China*: The Enterpriſe being thought practicable, Sir *Hugh Willoughby* undertook the Voyage: But himſelf and his *Crew* were all loſt by the Exceſſive Froſt of the Artick Climates: However, this Year the Adventure was reaſſum'd, and Three large Ships fitted out for that purpoſe; which though they fell ſhort of their Voyage to *China*, yet by putting into the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, they open'd a conſiderable Trade between *Ruſſia*, (m) and *England.*

Trade Settled with the Czar of Muſcovy.

The King not being likely to laſt long, the Duke of *Northumberland* quickn'd his Motions, and executed his Scheme with all the diligence the Juncture required. In the firſt Place he brought on a Match between his Fourth Son, the Lord *Guilford*, and the Lady *Jane Grey*, Eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk.* The Solemnity of the Wedding was kept at *Durham Houſe* in the *Strand*, which *Northumberland* had already taken Poſſeſſion of, in hopes of being quickly owner of the reſt of the Biſhoprick.

The King being now far gone in a Conſumption, and brought to a languiſhing Condition, was more eaſily work'd to *Northumberlands* purpoſe. In ſhort, this Duke applied ſo dexterouſly to his Paſſions, that at laſt he prevail'd with him to make a Settlement of the *Crown* upon the Lady *Jane Grey.* To bring about this Contrivance, he ſuggeſted how happy the Nation had been under his Government, and what a glorious *Reformation* had been carried on by him: That when ſuch a Bleſſing was ſo far Advanc'd, the next Point was to ſecure its Continuance: That Religion being convey'd to Poſterity in this condition of Purity, the publick Happineſs would be perpetuated, and the beſt Proviſion made for the Honour of his Memory. That if the *Crown* ſhould deſcend to the Lady *Mary*, both the *Civil* and Religious Intereſt of the Kingdom, would be in great danger: For 'tis well known how ſtrongly this Princeſs is Inclin'd to the Doctrine and Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*: And in Caſe ſhe ſhould Marry with ſome powerful Prince of that Communion, the Engliſh Conſtitution might probably be overborn, and the Country

made

The Crown ſettled upon the Lady Jane Grey.

(i) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 133. *from an old Chapter Book.*

(k) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 217.

(l) Fox.

(m) Stow Annal.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of Cant.*

made a Province to a Forreign Nation: That both his Siſters were the Iſſue of Marriages cenſur'd and diſallow'd in Parliament. And beſides, the late King having them by ſeveral *Venters*, they were only of the *half Blood*, and by conſequence, could neither be Heirs to his Highneſs, nor to each other. As for the Young Queen of Scots, ſhe had rejected an Alliance with his Majeſty, engag'd with the French and therefore was no farther to be thought on. That the Lady *Jane*, who ſtood next upon the Royal Line, was a Perſon of extraordinary Qualities, that her Zeal for the Reformation was unqueſtion'd, that nothing could be more acceptable to the Nation, than the proſpect of ſuch a Princeſs, that in this Caſe he was bound to ſet aſide all Partialities of *Blood*, and nearneſs of Relation. Theſe were inferior Conſiderations, and ought to be over-rul'd by the publick Good.

Over and above this Diſcourſe, the Duke of *Northumberland* took Care, to plant thoſe about the King, who would make it their Buſineſs to touch frequently upon this Subject; to enlarge upon the Accompliſhments of the Lady *Jane*, and deſcribe her with all imaginable Advantage. The King's Affections ſtanding for this diſpoſition of the *Crown*, he was gain'd at laſt to overlook his Siſters, and break through his Fathers *Will*. The next thing was to draw an *Inſtrument*, and put the Settlement in Form of Law. To this purpoſe Sir *Edward Mountague* Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, receiv'd an Order from the Privy *Council* at *Greenwich*, to come thither the next Day, and bring Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the *firſt Fruits*, and *Tenths*, Juſtice *Bromley*, the Attorney, and Solicitor General, along with him. This Order was Sign'd by the Lord Treaſurer, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Darcy*, Sir *John Gate*, Sir *William Petres*, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *John Cheek*.

June 11 An. Dom. 1553.

When Sir *Edward Mountague* and the reſt came to the Court, the King told them that his Sickneſs had given him occaſion to conſider the State of the Realm, the Courſe of the *Succeſſion*, and the Conſequences likely to enſue. And here he repreſented the danger to Religion and the Laws, in Caſe the Lady *Mary* ſhould ſucceed him. And therefore to prevent a misfortune of this Bulk, his Pleaſure was, the *Crown* ſhould paſs to ſuch Perſons, and under ſuch Circumſtances as were ſpecified in certain *Articles* then laid before them: Theſe Articles they were to digeſt into Method, and draw up an *Inſtrument* to the beſt of their Skill. The Chief Juſtice and the reſt excepted againſt the Order, and deſir'd to be excus'd: And when farther preſs'd, mov'd for Time to Conſult the *Statutes* and *Conſtitution*; and being afterwards requir'd by a Meſſage from the Lords, to go on with Expedition, they made their Report at the *Council Board*, that having compar'd the Articles with the *Statutes* of *Succeſſion*, they found his Majeſty's Command Impracticable: That in Caſe they ſhould draw up an Inſtrument purſuant to their Inſtructions, not only themſelves, but all their Lordſhips would be in danger of Treaſon: That they thought it their Duty to inform their Lordſhips how the Laws ſtood: That they had not done any thing already, neither had they Reſolution enough to run ſuch a Riſque, and croſs ſo directly upon the *Conſtitution*. (*n*)

Edw. VI. K.

July 14.
The Archbiſhop over-rul'd by the Judges Signs the Inſtrument.

The Duke of *Northumberland* was not in the *Council Chamber* when this Anſwer was return'd, but being Inform'd of their Incompliance, came immediately in: He was highly inrag'd at the diſappointment, call'd Sir *Edward Mountague* Traitor, ſaid *he would Fight in his Shirt, with any Man in that Quarrel*, and bluſter'd and menac'd to that degree, that *Mountague* and *Bromley* were afraid he would have ſtruck them.

When they appear'd next at the *Board*, the King reprimanded them for not diſpatching the *Inſtrument*. The Chief Juſtice told him 'twould ſignify nothing in Law after the King's Deceaſe, becauſe the Succeſſion being ſettled by *Act* of Parliament, it could not be alter'd but by the ſame Authority. In ſhort, the Chief Juſtice *Mountague*, and the reſt, were at laſt overaw'd, and drew a Settlement of the *Crown* upon the Lady *Jane*. However, they took the beſt Precautions the Caſe would admit to Indemnify themſelves: For they ingag'd upon the Conditions of being Authoriz'd under the *Broad Seal*, and having a general Pardon when the Inſtrument was Finiſh'd. And to give the Conveyance a ſtronger Colour of Law, all the Judges were ſent for, and being required to Subſcribe the Inſtrument, they all put their Hands to it, excepting Sir *James Hales* one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*. None of the Lord's of the *Council*, as far as it appears ſcrupled the ſigning this Inſtrument, excepting the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, tho' he liked the Perſon, was not ſatisfied with the right, and therefore endeavor'd to break the Project at its firſt Propoſal. He took the Freedom to argue againſt it with the King; the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Lord *Chamberlain Darcy* being preſent. He deſired to ſpeak with the King alone, but that would not be granted. The Duke of *Northumberland* told him that he had misbehav'd himſelf already, in remonſtrating againſt the King's *Will*. The Archbiſhop was not diſcourag'd by this rebuke, but bore up againſt *Northumberland* at the *Council Board*: He inſiſted on his being Sworn, to perform the late King's Will, and urg'd the entail of the *Crown* upon the Two Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. To this the *Council* oppos'd the Reſolution of the Judges, and the Opinions of others learned in the Law, who affirm'd that notwithſtanding this Entail, the King being in Poſſeſſion might diſpoſe of the *Crown* as he thought fit. This was more than the Archbiſhop could underſtand, but being little ſkill'd in the Common Law, he was ſhock'd with the Authority, and reſign'd too far to the *long Robe*; he refus'd to ſign notwithſtanding, 'till he was overcome by the Importunities of the Young Prince. The King told him he hop'd he would not be the only Inſtance of Incompliance, nor go farther in his Singularities than any of the *Board*. Thus the Archbiſhop being preſs'd on the weak ſide, yeilded at laſt, and his reaſon 'tis poſſible might give way to his Tenderneſs in ſome Meaſure; However the main Ground of his Compliance was the Opinion of the Judges, and the Attorney General; for theſe he conſulted before he Subſcrib'd the Inſtrument.

Mſs. Foxii.

Another Inſtrument Sign'd by the Council to adhere to the Settlement.

Beſides this Settlement Sign'd by Three and Thirty of the *Privy Council*, there was another Inſtrument Subſcrib'd by Twenty Four of them by the King's Order. In this Writing they engage upon their Oaths and Honour to adhere to, and perform every Article and Branch contain'd

n) 35 H. 8.
1. 1 Ed.
ext. c. 12.
ullet's
hurch Hiſtory
ook 8. *p.* 2.
*om on Ori-
inal.*

tain'd in the Settlement of the *Succeſſion*; and that if any of them ſhould depart from this Engagement, they ſhall look upon it as a ſcandalous Infraction, and endeavour to puniſh the Offender as a Diſturber of the publick Repoſe. The Perſons ſubſcribing are theſe.

Mſs. Petyt.

T. Cant. T. Ely. Wincheſter. Northumberland. J. Bedford. J. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewſbury. F. Huntindon. Pembroke. E. Clynton. T. Darcy. G. *Cobham.* T. *Cheyne. R. Riche.*

John Gate. William Petres. Johan Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountague. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Goſnald.

The King's Death.

In the beginning of the next Month the King died. Some thought his Conſumption was the Effect of foul Practice: That a ſlow Poiſon was convey'd into his Veins, and his Death ſecur'd by the Duke of *Northumberland*. But this was Conjecture without Proof: *Northumberland* was unbelov'd, and therefore a Story to his Diſadvantage was more eaſily believ'd.

This young Prince had a very promiſing Genius, and ſpent his Time to the beſt purpoſes of Improvement. He had made an unuſual Progreſs in Knowledge conſidering his Age. The Famous Italian *Cardan*, who came into *England* the laſt year, was ſurpriz'd to a Wonder at his Converſation.

His Character.

" This Philoſopher reports him Maſter of a great many Languages. That beſides his Mother Tongue, he talk'd Latin, French, Greek, Italian and Spaniſh. *(o)* That he ſpoke the Three Firſt to an Exactneſs. He had a comprehenſive Mind, and ſeem'd form'd for all Sorts of Accompliſhments. He had made ſome Proficiency in Logick, natural Philoſophy, and Muſick. He appear'd with a Majeſtick Air, temper'd with Condeſcenſion and good Humour. In ſhort, he look'd like an Original of his Kind, both for Parts and Management; perform'd much, and promis'd a great deal more.

" He was but in the Fifteenth Year of his Age, continues *Cardan*, when I waited on him: He ſpoke Latin both as to Readineſs and Phraſeology as well as my ſelf: He asked me what was the Subject of my Book *de Rerum Varietate*, which I had dedicated to his Majeſty. I told him that in the firſt Chapter I had explain'd the Nature of Comets which had ſo long puzled the Learned World. He ask'd me what the Cauſe of them might be; I told him that when the Light of the Planets happen'd to meet and concentre, they produc'd this Appearance. The King objected, that theſe Stars had different Motions; and therefore thought it would follow that the Comets muſt vary in their Figure and Motion according to the Revolution of the Planets, and their different Situation from each other. To this I replied, that the Comets are govern'd by the planetary Motions in ſome Meaſure, but move much quicker, by reaſon of the different Aſpect, as we ſee in a Chryſtal, or in the Sun, when 'tis reflected from the Rainbow to a Wall. * For here a little Change or Shifting makes a great Difference as to Place. The King enquir'd farther how that could be, ſince there was no ſolid Body in the Air to ſtop the Light, and make a Reflection, whereas in the Inſtance I brought, the Wall was a Subject or impenetrable Body to return the Light of the Rainbow. To this I rejoin'd that this *Phænomenon* might be explain'd by a Reſemblance of that Streak of Light which we ſee in the *Milky Way*: And that it might be farther illuſtrated by obſerving, that when a great many Candles are lighted up in a Room, the intermediate Space is bright and lucid. And thus according to the Proverbial Saying *ex Ungue Leonem*; from this little Specimen we may collect the Force of Nature and Improvement in this young Prince. His unuſual Ingenuity and the Sweetneſs of his Temper, gave a mighty Expectation, and endear'd him extremely to all Perſons of Senſe and Virtue. He countenanc'd the creditable *Sciences* before he was acquainted with them, and had the Book Part of them before he was of Age to reduce them to Practice. He gave ſuch early Diſcoveries of carrying Human Nature to the Heighth, that not only *England* but the reſt of the World have Reaſon to lament he liv'd no longer. Where the Solemnity and Strength of a Royal Character was requir'd, he manag'd like a Perſon advanc'd in years; but when 'twas proper to relax and condeſcend, repreſented his Stature and his Age: He played upon the Lute, and applied himſelf to State Affairs. He had a large Mind to oblige, and affected Magnificence no leſs than his Father. What I have ſaid of this Prince are no Streins of Panegyrick, no Rhetorical Flouriſhes: My Deſcription rather falls ſhort of matter of Fact, than exceeds it. Thus far *Cardan*: How well this King's Talent was ſuited to his Birth, and how much he was form'd for Empire, may partly be collected from his *Journal* written in his own Hand. It begins with his Birth, proceeds to his Acceſſion to the Throne, and is carried on to *November*, 1552. And here moſt of the remarkable Tranſactions, which happen'd through the Courſe of his Government, are ſet down. The Creations of Noblemen, the Diſpoſal of Biſhopricks and Offices of State, the repairing old Forts, and erecting new ones, the bringing in of Bullion, and Remittances of Mony into foreign Countries, diſpatching or entertaining Ambaſſadors, Alliances with neighbouring Princes, Sieges and Battles in *Germany*, and elſewhere; Tryals of great Men, and Debates in Parliament; in ſhort all material Occurrences relating either to Peace or War, to Buſineſs or Solemnity, are entred according as they happen'd; and that with the niceſt Diſtinctions and Subdiviſions of Time: For not only the Years, but the Months and the Days are mark'd.

Chriſt *Church* *St*. Bartholomews, *St*. Thomas's *Hoſpital and* Bridewell *ſettled for the Relief of the Poor*, &c.

Nov. Anno 1552.

The Poor in *London* had a very conſiderable Proviſion ſettled in this Reign: To give a brief Account of the matter: The late King *Henry* before his Death granted *Grey Friers* near *Newgate*, together with little St. *Bartholomews* Priory to the City of *London*. This laſt Houſe at the *Diſſolution* was endow'd with Three Hundred and Five Pounds Annual Revenue. The Deſign of this Benefaction was to furniſh Relief for the Poor, and to ſettle a Maintenance for a Pariſh Church: The Church of *Grey Friers* was to be turn'd to this Uſe, called *Chriſt Church*, and King *Henry* was to paſs for the Founder. The City being thus far encourag'd began to work upon the Proviſion, fitted up *Grey Friers* now called *Chriſt's* Hoſpital, and brought in about Four Hundred Children. But

(o) Cardan de Genituris *lib.*

* Movetur quidèm ſed longè celerius illis ob Diverſitatem Aſpectus velut. in Chryſtallo & ſole cum Iris in Pariete relucet.

But it ſeems what was already done fell ſhort of the Neceſſities of the Poor, under all Denominations.

In the beginning of this Year, during the Kings Sickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preach'd before him at *Weſtminiſter*. He inſiſted upon the Duties of Charity, and recommended the projecting a Maintenance for the Poor. And in diſcourſing upon this Argument, he obſerv'd that the wealthy and thoſe who were in high Stations, were particularly oblig'd to furniſh a Subſiſtence, and make ſomething of this kind practicable. This Sermon making an Impreſſion upon the Young King, he order'd the Biſhop to attend him in the great Gallery at *Weſtminſter*. When the Biſhop came, he told him how ſenſible he was of the Seaſonableneſs of the Diſcourſe, that he conceiv'd himſelf principally concern'd in the Exhortation, and that he reſolv'd to practice accordingly: And ſince *Ridley* had probably ſpent ſome Thoughts upon a Scheme, and adviſ'd with Perſons of Capacity, he deſir'd he would ſuggeſt his Opinion, and lay the beſt Expedient before him.

The Biſhop was unexpectedly pleaſ'd to find the Kings Inclination ſo forward: He told his Highneſs he thought the Poor in *London*, being ſo very numerous, call'd moſt for his Aſſiſtance. And that 'twas proper to conſult the Mayor and Aldermen about the manner of the Relief. The King at the Biſhops Requeſt ſent a Letter to the Lord Mayor with Orders to call ſome of the Magiſtracy of the City together, to debate this matter with them, and ſend him their Thoughts what would be the beſt Eſtabliſhment for this purpoſe. The Biſhop carried the Letter to Sir *Richard Dobbs*, then Lord Mayor, who purſued the Contents; and in ſhort, after ſeveral Conſultations with ſome of the Aldermen and Common Council, they came to a Reſolution, form'd a Scheme, and rang'd the Poor under Three Diviſions: Thoſe who were Poor by Impotency, by Caſualty, or Extravagance. The Poor by Impotency were ſubdivided into Three Diſtinctions. Firſt, Orphans who were left unſupported by their Parents. Secondly, Thoſe who were worn out with Age, had loſt their Sight, or were diſabled in their Limbs. Thirdly, Thoſe who were afflicted with noiſome or contagious Diſtempers, ſuch as Leproſy, *&c.*

Secondly, the Poor by Caſualty were likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd into Three Sorts, *viz.* wounded Soldiers, decay'd Houſe-keepers, and thirdly thoſe viſited with any ſevere or diſabling Diſtemper. And laſtly, the unmangeable and extravagant Poor are likewiſe put under Three Claſſes. I. The Prodigal that has ſquander'd away all his Fortune upon his Vices. II. The Strowler who ſettles no where. III. The lazy and licentious, ſuch as Strumpets and others who chuſe to live upon Debauchery or begging. As to theſe Three Ranks of Poor, the Orphans were lodg'd in *Chriſt's* Hoſpital, where they are furniſh'd with Neceſſaries, and bred to Sobriety and Buſineſs. The Second general Subdiviſion were provided for in the Hoſpitals of St. *Thomas Southwark*, and St. *Bartholomews* in *Weſtſmithfield*. And in theſe Two *Houſes* when *Stow* wrote, above Two Hundred diſeaſed Perſons were well entertain'd with Diet and Phyſick. *Bridewell* a Houſe belonging to the *Crown* was given for the Entertainment and Correction of Ramblers, Strumpets, and ſturdy Beggars. (p)

(p) Grafton Stow *Survey* of London.

To make the Deſign bear, and furniſh theſe Houſes with a competent Maintenance, the King diſſolv'd the *Hoſpital* in the *Savoy* founded by King *Henry* the Seventh. The young King was inform'd, that this Hoſpital endow'd for a comfortable Support to Pilgrims and Travellers, was diverted to ſcandalous Uſes, and ſerv'd moſtly for a Shelter and Encouragement to lewd and lazy People. The Maſter therefore and Brethren of the Houſe were order'd to attend the King, and either perſwaded, or menac'd to a Reſignation. Their Lands amounting to Six Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, were granted to the City of *London* for the maintenance of *Bridewell*, and the Hoſpital of St. *Thomas*. And for a farther Enlargement of their Revenue, they had a Royal Licence for purchaſing Lands in *Mortmain* to the Value of Four Thouſand Marks yearly Revenue. The King lived but Two Days after the perfecting theſe Foundations.

But not to omit any thing of this kind, about Two Months ſince he founded *Chriſt's* Hoſpital at *Abingdon* near *Oxford*. One Sir *John Gollafrie* had founded a Guild or *Brotherhood* in that Town for building Bridges, repairing High-ways, and maintaining Thirteen Poor People, and Two Prieſts for officiating in this Society. This was ſettled in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth. But by the late Act of Parliament for veſting Chauntries, Colleges, *&c.* in the *Crown*, the Lands of this *Brother-hood* were ſeiz'd for the King's Uſe, the repairing of the Ways, and Bridges turn'd upon the Town, and the Poor left to ſhift for themſelves. And thus the Founders Deſign miſcarried for ſome Time. But in the laſt Year of this Reign Sir *John Maſon* born in the Town, and one of the *Maſters of Requeſt*, mov'd the King to found an *Hoſpital* there, to ſettle the Lands belonging to the former Foundation; and charge the Settlement with ſuch Services and pious Uſes, as were requir'd from the old *Fraternity*. The King granted Sir *John Maſon* his Suit, built convenient Lodgings for the Poor, endow'd the Hoſpital with the former Revenues, and committed the Government of the Houſe to Twelve Perſons incorporated by the Name of the *Maſter and Governors of the Hoſpital of Chriſt* in *Abingdon*. *

* Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. page* 141.

Notwithſtanding theſe good Qualities in the King, his Reign was far from being unblemiſh'd. “*Cambden* complains, that Avarice and Sacrilege had ſtrangely the Aſcendant. That Eſtates formerly ſettled for the Support of Religion and the Poor, were ridicul'd as ſuperſtitious Endowments, firſt miſcall'd, and then plunder'd. That Ambition and Faction amongſt the Nobility, Inſolence and Inſurrection amongſt the Commons, was never more flagrant and diſturbing. In ſhort, conſidering the Animoſities and Tumults amongſt great Men, the debaſing the Coin, the Diſorders in the Adminiſtration, and the Revolt of the Peaſantry, the Kingdom made a miſerable Appearance, and look'd as it were, languiſhing in one Part, and diſtracted in another. (q)

A Complaint of the Rapacities and Diſorders of this Reign.

Cambden Apparat. ad Elizabeth.

As to the Charge of Sacrilege, and the Miſmanagement of the Revenues of *Religious Houſes* granted to the Laity, one *Roderick Morſe, alias Henry Brincklow* makes a Tragical Complaint.

I doubt not (ſays he) but that every good Man wiſhes, that at our Diſſolution of Mona-

Roderick Morſe *or* Brinklows *Satyr upon Avarice and Sacrilege.*

naſteries, both the Lands and impropriated Tythes and Churches poſſeſs'd by them, (that is, Things ſacred to the Service of God, altho' abus'd by ſuch as had them) had been beſtow'd rather for the Advancement of the Church, to a better Maintenance of the labouring and deſerving Miniſtry, to the foſtering of good Arts, Relief of the Poor, and other ſuch good Uſes, as might retain in them, for the Benefit of the Church, or Commonwealth, a Character of the Wiſhes of thoſe who firſt with Devotion dedicated them (as in ſome other Countries was religiouſly done upon the Reformation) then conferr'd with ſuch a prodigal Diſpenſation, as it happen'd on thoſe who ſtood ready to devour what was ſanctified: And we have in no ſmall Number ſince found ſuch Inheritances thence deriv'd to them, but as *Sejanus* his Horſe, or the Gold of Tholouſe. But I abſtain from Cenſure, and add here by the way a Complaint made to the Parliament not long after the Diſſolution, touching the Abuſe that follow'd in the Church, through Lay Mens poſſeſſing of appropriated Churches and Tythes: It deſerves to be ſeriouſly thought on by every Layman that now enjoys any of them, eſpecially where the Divine Service is not carefully provided for.

Ye that be Lords and Burgeſſes of Parliament. (ſo are the Words of it) *I require of you in the Name of my Poor Brethren that are Engliſh Men, and Members of Chriſt's Body, that ye conſider well (as ye will anſwer before the Face of Almighty God, in the Day of Judgment) this Abuſe and ſee it amended.* When as Antichriſt (as he calls the Pope) of Rome durſt openly, without any Viſer, walk up and down throughout England, he had ſo great Favour there, and his Children * had ſuch crafty Wits (for the Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation than the Children of Light) that they had not only almoſt gotten all the beſt Lands of England into their Hands, but alſo the moſt Part of all the beſt Benefices, both of Parſonages and Vicarages which were for the moſt Part all impropred to them.

* *He means the Monks.*

And when they had the Gift of any not impropred, they gave them unto their Friends, of the which always ſome were Learned: For the Monks found of their Friends Children at School, and though they were not learn'd, yet they kept Hoſpitality, and help'd their Poor Friends. And if the Parſonages were impropred, the Monks were bound to deal Almeſſe to the Poor, and to keep Hoſpitality, as the Writings of the Gifts of ſuch Parſonages and Lands do plainly declare in theſe Words, *in puram Elemoſynam*. And as touching the Almeſſe that they delt, and the Hoſpitality that they kept, every Man knoweth that many Thouſands were well receiv'd of them, and might have been better, if they had not ſo many great Mens Horſes to feed, and had not been overcharged with ſuch idle Gentlemen as were never out of the Abbayes. And if they had any Vicarage in their Hands, they ſet in ſometimes ſome ſufficient Vicar (though it were but ſeldom) to preach and to teach. But now that all, the Abbayes with their Lands, Goods, and impropred Parſonages be in Temporal Mens Hands: I do not here tell that One Halfpenny Worth of Almes, or any other Profit cometh to the People of thoſe Pariſhes. Your Pretence of putting down Abbayes was to amend that which was amiſs in them, it was far amiſs that a great Part of the Lands of the Abbayes, which were given to bring up Learned Men, that might be Preachers to keep Hoſpitality, and to give Almes to the Poor, ſhould be ſpent upon a few ſuperſtitious Monkes, which gave not Forty Pounds in Almeſſe, when they ſhould have given Two Hundred. It was amiſſe that Monkes ſhould have Parſonages in their Hands, and deal but the Twentieth Part thereof to the Poor, and preached but once in the Year to them that payed the Tythes of the Parſonages. It was amiſſe that they ſcarcely among the Twenty, ſet not one ſufficient Vicar to preach for the Tythes that they received.

But ſee now how that was amiſſe is amended, for all the Godly Pretenſe. It is amended even as the Devil amended his Dames Legge, (as it is in the Proverb) when he ſhould have ſet it right, he brake it quite in pieces. The Monkes gave too little Almes, and ſet unable Perſons many times in their Benefices: But now where Twenty Pounds was given yearly to the Poor, in more than an Hundred Places in England, is not one Meals Meat given: This is a fair Amendment! Where they had always one or other Vicar, that either preach'd or hired ſome to preach, now there is no Vicar at all, but the Farmer is Vicar and Parſon altogether; and only an old caſt away Monk or Frier, which can ſcarcely ſay his Mattins, is hired for Twenty or Thirty Shillings, Meat and Drink, yea in ſome Places for Meat and Drink alone, without any Wages, I know and not I alone, but Twenty Thouſand more know more than Five Hundred Vicarages and Parſonages thus well and goſpelly ſerv'd after the new Goſpel of England.

And ſo (ſays Sir *William Dugdale*) the Author goes on with ſharp Admonitions to the Lay-men, that feed themſelves fat with the Tythes of the Churches, whiles the Souls of the Pariſhioners ſuffred great Famine for want of a fit Paſtor, that is for Want of fit Maintenance for him, for without that, he is ſcarce to be hoped for. (*r*)

This *Brinklow*, who made theſe Remarks, was a *London* Merchant, and is put in the Liſt of Learned Writers by *Holinſhead*.

As to King *Edward*, notwithſtanding his Advantages by Nature and Education, 'tis pretty plain his Conſcience was not always under a ſerviceable Direction. He was tinctured with Eraſtian Principles, and under wrong Prepoſſeſſions as to Church Government: He gives a hard Character of the Biſhops, and makes Age and Ignorance a Ground to ſeize their Juriſdiction. He would have no Authority given in general to Biſhops: But that the beſt of them ſhould have Commiſſions to execute their Function in their Dioceſe; and the reſt as it were layed by, and diſabled. And thus he was educated to an Opinion of his being the Fountain of all *Spiritual*, as well as *Temporal* Power. (*s*) Some *Politicians* about him form'd his Mind to their Intereſt, flatter'd his Childhood, and miſlead his Underſtanding: That he was not always under an happy Management may be farther collected from ſome arbitrary Commiſſions, and Streins of Law in the Deprivation of Biſhops. He ſeems to have had no Notion of *Sacrilege*. Had he been bred to the ſame Averſion to this Crime which he expreſs'd againſt *Image Worſhip*, and the *Maſs*, he would never have taken ſuch Freedoms with the conſecrated Revenues, nor impoveriſh'd the Church to ſo lamentable a Degree: And which is ſomewhat remarkable, moſt of theſe Hardſhips were put upon *Eccleſiaſticks* in the latter End of his Reign, when his Judgment was in the beſt Condition. And upon this Occaſion I ſhall refer the Reader to the *Records*, where he may ſee a farther Account of ſome of the Alienations of Church Lands in this, and the late Reign. (*t*) To conclude the Story of this Prince, he died at *Greenwich July* the Sixth 1553.

The King ſeems bred under ſome Prejudices.

(r) Dugdale Monaſt. vol. 1. *Fol.* 1049.

(s) *King* Edwards *Remains.* Cotton. Lib. Nero C. 10.

(t) *Records* Num. 68.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK V.

Queen Mary *in Danger of being ſurprized retires into* Norfolk.

THE Duke of *Northumberlands* Ambition had been hitherto ſucceſsful: He had prevail'd with the King to overlook the Lady *Mary*'s Right, to break thro' an Act of Parliament, and transfer the Crown upon the Lady *Jane* of the Houſe of *Suffolk*. His next Buſineſs was to draw the Lady *Mary* within his Reach. To this Purpoſe a Letter was ſent ſign'd by the King and Council, to bring her to Court. The Pretence was that ſhe might entertain the King, and make him paſs his Time the better in his Sickneſs. The Princeſs being glad to find her Intereſt revive, and her Perſon grow acceptable at Court, ſet forward towards *London*: When ſhe was come within half a Days Journey, ſhe receiv'd private Intelligence from the Earl of *Arundel* of the King's Death, and that an Ambuſh was laid for her: Upon this Notice ſhe retir'd into *Norfolk*. The King's Death was kept ſecret Two Days on purpoſe to draw her into the Snare, and make *London* for the Lady *Jane*.

She writes to the Council and claims their Allegiance.

Queen *Mary* having withdrawn herſelf to a ſafe Diſtance, ſent a Letter to the Lords of the *Council*, in which ſhe expreſſes her Regret for the King's Death, and puts up her Claim to the *Crown*; ſhe founds her Title partly upon an Act of Parliament, and her Fathers laſt Will, giving a Hint of her *prior* Right by Deſcent and Proximity of Blood; from hence ſhe proceeds to acquaint them ſhe was not ignorant of the Preparations they were making to overbear the *Conſtitution*, and defeat her Right. However, ſhe was willing to pardon what was done, and forget this Uſage, provided they recollected themſelves, and went no farther from their Duty. In the Cloſe, ſhe charges them upon their Allegiance to proclaim her in the City of *London* and elſewhere. This *Letter* is dated from *Kenning-Hall* in *Norfolk July* the Ninth 1553. (*u*)

They deny her Title, and adviſe her to acquieſce.

The Lords of the *Council* in their Anſwer, which was immediately return'd, gave her to underſtand they could not ſubmit to her Pretenſions: That the *Crown* was now veſted in their Soveraign Lady Queen *Jane*, not only as they ſpeak by good Order of old antient Laws of this Realm, but likewiſe by the Diſpoſition of the late King in his *Letters Patents* ſign'd by himſelf, and under the *Broad Seal*: That the moſt Part of the Nobility, the Privy *Council*, the Judges, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction had agreed to this Conveyance, and ſubſcrib'd the *Inſtrument*. They put her in mind of the Defects in her Mothers Marriage, of the Divorce which happen'd, and of her own Illegitimacy by *Act* of Parliament: They make the Lady *Janes* Title ſtand upon a Bottom of Deſcent, and the Plea of the right Line. They take their Leaves by adviſing the Queen to drop her Claim, and behave herſelf like a good Subject. This Letter is dated from the Tower of *London*, *July* the Ninth, which is the ſame Date with the former. 'Tis ſign'd thus, as it ſtands in *Fox*.

Thomas Canterbury.
The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter.*
John Bedford.
Will. Northampt.
Tho. Ely Chancellor.
Northumberland.

Henry

(u) Fox *Vol.* 3. *p.* 14.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.
Henry Suffolke.
Henry Arundel.
Shrewsbury.
Pembrooke.
Cobham.
R. Rich.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cecill.
John Cheeke.
John Maſon.
Edward North.
R. Bowes.

All theſe as *Fox* obſerves, excepting the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sir *John Gates*, were afterwards Pardon'd. As to the *Councils Letter*, there are ſome things in it remarkably ſingular. They found the Lady *Jane*'s Title upon the Antient Laws of the Realm; when 'tis very well known the diſpoſing the *Crown* by *Letters Patents*, was altogether new and unpreſidented. They ſeem ſenſible this Colour was too Faint, and therefore ſet forth afterwards, that the Lady *Jane* Claim'd by juſt **Inheritance**, *and lineal Succeſſion*. But this was another plain Miſtake; for not to mention the Title of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, 'tis evident the Queen of Scots, as being deſcended from the Eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, ſtood next upon the Royal Line. Thus we ſee to what diſtreſs great Men are driven by a bad *Cauſe*. How they Embarraſs themſelves with Contradiction, and fall foul upon their own Arguments!

July *the* 10th.

The Lady Jane *proclaim'd Queen, but accepts the Title unwillingly.*

To proceed, the *Council* went on with the Lady *Jane*'s Title, brought the Mayor and Aldermen into their Intereſt, and Proclaim'd their pretended Sovereign with the uſual Solemnity. This Lady was convey'd from *Durham Houſe* to the *Tower* by Water, and attended with a ſplendid Train; and tho' ſhe ſuſpected the meaning of this pompous Appearance, was to put a new *Character* upon her; yet not being certain of the King's Death, ſhe hop'd he might either recover, or at leaſt alter his Reſolution, and leave her to a private Condition. But when ſhe perceiv'd the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, her Father and Father in Law, Saluted her with a new Air of Ceremony and Submiſſion, ſhe ſeem'd much ſurpriz'd. And now the Duke of *Northumberland* acquainted her that the King was Dead, had declar'd her his Succeſſor, and that her Title was recogniz'd in the manner abovemention'd. This was no acceptable Speech to the Lady *Jane*: She appear'd diſturb'd, and at a loſs, and by no means reconcil'd to her Advancement. But ſince an Anſwer was to be given, after ſome Pauſe for Recollection, ſhe told the Duke of *Northumberland*, that as far as ſhe underſtood, natural Right and the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, caſt the Government upon the Princeſs *Mary*: That ſhe was unwilling to incumber her Life and her Conſcience, with a Character which did not belong to her: That thoſe who broke through Right to graſp a Scepter, were infamous in Story: That to ſcruple the Stealling a Shilling, and digeſt the Uſurpation of a *Crown*, was mere bantering of Juſtice, and mocking God Almighty. To this ſhe added the inſtability of Human Affairs, and the danger of a publick Eminence; and therefore deſir'd the liberty of a private Station: But being ſolicited to accept the Crown, by the Two Dukes, her Mother, and her Husband, ſhe forc'd her Inclination, reſign'd to their Importunities; and was drag'd as it were into Treaſon; and ſince a Young Lady had ſo much Authority to miſlead her, ſince ſhe was ſo earneſtly preſs'd by ſuch near Relations, 'tis no wonder to find her Underſtanding ſurpriz'd, and that ſhe ſhould ſurrender to their Diſpoſal.

Mary *Queen.*

Several Perſons of Condition declare for Queen Mary.

On the other ſide, the Queen having a fair intelligible Title gain'd upon the Country, ſeveral Perſons of Condition immediately declar'd for her, and went to her Court. Amongſt theſe were the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Thomas Wharton* Son to the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *John Mordaunt* Son to the Lord *Mordaunt*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Benningfield*, *Henry Jerningham*, *John Sulierd*, *Richard Higham*, &c. The Lady *Jane*'s Council were likewiſe inform'd, that the Earl of *Suſſex*, and his Son *Henry Ratcliff*, Eſq; were marching into the ſame Intereſt with their Forces. Theſe things preſag'd a Conteſt, and made a formidable Appearance: 'Twas therefore thought adviſeable to levy an Army with all Expedition, to ſeize the Lady *Mary*, as they called her, and bring her to *London*. The Duke of *Suffolk* was pitch'd upon for the General: His being the Lady *Jane*'s Father, 'tis likely recommended him to this Poſt; But thoſe of the *Council* who wiſh'd well to Queen *Mary*, found their Endeavors would be clog'd, unleſs the Duke of *Northumberland* was ſent off: They perſwaded therefore the pretended Queen to keep her Father at Court, and give the Duke of *Northumberland* the Command of the Army; That no Man was better qualified for this Employment than that Duke: That an Inſurrection in *Norfolk* having been lately ſuppreſs'd by him, his Name would diſhearten the Mutineers, and bring them to Submiſſion: And in caſe they prov'd obſtinate, a Nobleman ſo remarkable for Conduct and Courage, was moſt likely to reduce them. The Lady *Jane* being ſolicitous for her Father, clos'd with this wrong Advice, and deſired the Duke of *Northumberland* to undertake the Expedition. The Duke who was apprehenſive of the conſequence, would gladly have declin'd the Charge. But this being not within his Choice, he immediately ſet forward with a Body of Six Thouſand, *Newmarket* being appointed for the General *Rendezvouz*. As he march'd thro' *London* he was not ſaluted with any Acclamations, or Signs of Countenance. The People gaz'd at him, but gave no Mark of their Affection. He took notice of their Coldneſs to the Lord *Grey*: The People, ſays he, crowd after us, but I don't find any of them cries God ſpeed.

Northumberland *commands the Army for the Lady* Jane.

The Queen had a ſtrong Intereſt in *London*, notwithſtanding the Lady *Jane* was in Poſſeſſion, and manag'd the Adminiſtration in the Regal Style: But no *Shew* of the Nobility, no Compliance of the Judges, no Sovereign Figure, or Pretence of Religion, were thought a Counterpoiſe to a Legal Title. The Duke of *Northumberland* who was a Man of Reach, had taken all the Precaution imaginable, and made uſe of the beſt Diſguiſes. He knew Queen *Mary*'s Religion was a very unacceptable Circumſtance: To harangue ſtrongly upon this Topick, and awaken the People's Fears, muſt therefore be ſerviceable Buſineſs: This was the moſt likely way to perplex the *Cauſe*, to ſteal on the blind ſide of the Subject, and debauch them from their Duty. To this purpoſe, he had engag'd a great many of the *London* Clergy to declaim againſt the Queen, and frighten the Audience with Fears of Perſecution. Biſhop *Ridley* was ſo unhappy as to engage in this Service. He was order'd by the *Council* to preach at *Paul's Croſs* upon this occaſion:

Biſhop Ridley *preaches for the Lady* Jane's *Intereſt* occaſion. And here he employ'd his Rhetorick againſt Queen *Mary*; He dilated upon the Miſfortunes of living under her Government: That they muſt expect a foreign Power would be brought in upon them; and more than that, the Eſtabliſh'd Religion would be deſtroy'd: And here he acquainted them with the Converſation already mention'd, which paſs'd between the Queen and himſelf, in the late Reign: That ſhe was unalterably fix'd in her Miſbelief; and that nothing could be look'd for from her Reign, but an utter Subverſion of the *true Faith*, and overthrowing all that had been brought about, with ſo much Difficulty, by the King her Brother. (w)

Now it muſt be ſaid that this Biſhop, tho' in other reſpects a worthy Perſon, miſtook his Point lamentably, and began at the wrong end of the Buſineſs: He ought firſt to have diſprov'd the Queen's Title, before he had prepoſſeſs'd the People againſt her Government: If ſhe had a Right by deſcent or *Act* of Parliament, a different Religion could be no bar to her Claim: There was not ſo much as any Law pretended for that purpoſe. To Preach againſt the Queen from Arguments of Intereſt and Convenience, was altogether Foreign and Indefenſible: To recommend injuſtice from the Pulpit, was no good expedient to ſerve the *Reformation*. But as it happen'd the Biſhops unfortunate Harangue ſignified not much. The *Audience* was not to be impoſ'd on: They knew that unleſs they betrayed their Faith, and threw their Religion up, no Power on Earth could take it from them; that Chriſtianity oblig'd them to be juſt, and *render Cæſar the Things that are Cæſars*.

The Fleet comes into the Queen's Service.

She promiſes the Suffolk Men not to make any Change in Religion.

To go on; the Peoples Inclination lay on the right ſide, and the Queen was now reinforc'd with Four Thouſand Foot, commanded by Sir *Edward Haſtings*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntington*. Theſe Men were raiſ'd for the Lady *Jane*, at the Inſtance of the Duke of *Northumberland*; and that which gave a farther Advance, and ſeem'd to turn the Scale, was the coming in of Six Men of *War* into *Yarmouth Haven*, and declaring for the Queen. Theſe Ships were order'd by *Northumberland*, to cruiſe upon the Coaſt of *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, and to Intercept the Queen, in Caſe ſhe endeavor'd an Eſcape beyond Sea. But being driven by Storm into *Yarmouth*, *Jerningham* prevail'd with them to take Service under Queen *Mary*. This was a lucky Accident: And now the Queen being furniſh'd with Artillery and Ammunition, reſolv'd to March againſt *Northumberland*. Another Circumſtance which increaſ'd her Forces, was a Promiſe ſhe had given the *Suffolk* Men, not to make any alteration in Religion. If this Promiſe came free and undemanded, 'twas an Incouragement to their Duty: But if they engag'd upon Condition, and Articl'd with their Sovereign, their Caution went too far. For either ſhe had a Right, or ſhe had none: If ſhe had none, their Correſpondence was Criminal; If they believ'd ſhe had a Right, they ought to have run the Riſque of her Government, ſerv'd her without Terms, and reſted the Event with Providence. The Queen was now at *Framingham Caſtle* near the Sea in *Suffolk*, ſhe March'd hither for the better Security of her Perſon: For from hence ſhe might have tranſported her ſelf, in Caſe her Affairs had miſcarried.

July the 15th.

To take a View of the Courſe of Matters on the other ſide. The Duke of *Northumberland* March'd from *London* to *Cambridge*, where he came in on *Saturday* the Fifteenth, his being Chancellor of the Univerſity, and high Steward of the Town, gave him fair Expectations here. In the Evening he ſends for Dr. *Edwyn Sandys*, Maſter of *Catherine Hall*, and Vice-Chancellor, and deſir'd him to Preach before him the next Day: This was a touchy Motion, conſidering the Juncture: For the Doctor could neither decline nor comply, without apparent Hazzard. Beſides, the warning was ſhort upon ſo Critical an Occaſion. However, the Vice-chancellor concluding it his beſt way to appear in the Pulpit, took a Text, which look'd on the Dukes Side, and ſeem'd to Favor the Enterprize. * But he hover'd ſo much in Generals, manag'd with ſuch Caution, and left ſo much Room for a Neutral Conſtruction, that he ſatisfied the *Audience*, and yet kept a reſerve for Defence with the other Party. On *Monday* the Duke of *Northumberland* March'd with his Troops to St. *Edmondſbury*: But here inſtead of receiving Intelligence of the Reinforcement and Rendezvouz at *Newmarket*, Letters of very unacceptable Contents were brought him, from ſome of the Lords of the *Council*. And being diſappointed in his Succors, and finding matters perplex'd and going backward, he Countermarch'd to *Cambridge* the next Day. From hence he wrote preſſing Letters to the Lords of the *Council* to ſend him more Forces. Thoſe Lords who were in the Queens Intereſt, taking a handle from this Meſſage, moved for the levying Men with all Expedition: But then they were of Opinion, that ſome of the *Board* ought to be employ'd in this Commiſſion: To truſt any Body elſe might prove of ill Conſequence, and carry the Forces to the Enemy, of which they had an Inſtance already in the revolt of Sir *Edward Haſtings*. Upon this pretence they prevail'd with the Duke of *Suffolk* to open the *Tower* Gates, and give them their Liberty. And now the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, began to diſcover themſelves, and make a Party for the Queen. To this purpoſe they engag'd as many of the *Council* as they could find, to meet at *Baynard's-caſtle*: They pretended diſpatching ſome matters of State, with *Lavall* the French Ambaſſador: But their Buſineſs was to ſet aſide the Lady *Jane*, and bring on a *Revolution*. And here the Earl of *Arundel*, who had been ſent to the *Tower* by *Northumberland*'s contrivance, open'd the Deſign, and fell upon the Male-adminiſtration in the late Reign. "He told the Lords that all the Inſtances of Injuſtice, Cruelty, and Miſcarriage, were to be Charg'd upon *Northumberland*: That this Nobleman, contrary to all Law and Conſcience, had put by King *Henry*'s Iſſue from ſucceeding to the *Crown*: That he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, Men of ſuch Quality and Character, as their Lordſhips, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be Govern'd by that Duke, and aſſiſt him in his wicked Practiſe: That 'twas by their Countenance, a Daughter of the Houſe of *Suffolk* had taken the State of a Queen, and appear'd a Royal Pageant: But tho' this Lady had the Title, the Power would be lodg'd with her Father in Law *Northumberland*; and by this means he would have an opportunity of gratifyng his Ambition, of playing his Humour at the full ſtretch, and

" diſpo-

(w) Fox p. 16.

Joſh. 1. v. 16. July the 16th.

“ diſpoſing of their Lives and Fortunes at Pleaſure. 'Tis true, Religion, ſays he, is made the great Motive of theſe extraordinary Proceedings; but this is nothing but pretence, and holy Grimace. For as to Religion if we are in Earneſt, that will not allow us ſuch unwarrantable Latitude. I am ſo much a Divine, as to remember the Apoſtle, *forbids us doing ill, that good may come of it*: And that we ought to be *Subject* even to ill Princes, *not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience Sake.* (*x*) Beſides; how is it certainly known that the Princeſs *Mary* intends a Change in Religion. I am aſſured her Anſwer to the *Suffolk* Men implies a kinder Reſolution. Now what Diſtraction is it to run upon inevitable Ruin, only to avoid what may never happen? I heartily wiſh this had been conſider'd at firſt, and no falſe Steps made in the matter: But ſince Miſbehavior can only be retriev'd by Counter-practice, I conceive the beſt thing we can do, is to quit the Uſurpation, and proclaim Queen *Mary*. (*y*)

(x) Rom. 3. *v.* 8. Rom. 13. *v.* 5.

(y) Godwin Annal.

The Council declare for the Queen.

The Earl of *Arundel*'s Speech was ſeconded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who clapping his Hand to his Sword, declar'd boldly that he was ready to fight any Man of a contrary Sentiment. The reſt concurring in the ſame Opinion, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were ſent for, who joyning with the Lords, went in a Body to *Cheapſide*, and proclaim'd Queen *Mary* with Sound of Trumpet. From hence they made a Cavalcade to St. *Paul*'s, where *Te Deum* was ſung upon the occaſion. The next Buſineſs was to ſecure the Tower, which ſome would have thought they ſhould have done in the firſt place; but 'tis likely they concluded the City's declaring for the Queen would ſtrike a Terror into the Duke of *Suffolk*, and fright him to a Surrender. This happen'd accordingly, for when the Duke receiv'd a Summons to join himſelf with the reſt of the *Council*, he went to the Lady *Jane*'s Apartment, order'd her to lay aſide the State of a Queen, and content herſelf with the Fortune of a Subject. The Lady not at all diſcompos'd, told her Father ſhe was much better pleas'd with this News, than when ſhe mounted the Throne purely in Obedience to himſelf, and her Mother. She was ſenſible her reſigning to their Authority, tho' againſt her Inclination, was a great Fault, but now ſhe did that which perfectly pleas'd her. The Duke of *Suffolk* went immediately to the Council, and ſubſcrib'd a Recognition of the Queen with the reſt. When her Majeſty was proclaim'd in the City, the People were extremely pleas'd with the Turn: Inſomuch that at the pronouncing the Name of *Mary*, they ſhouted ſo loud, that the reſt of the Proclamation could not be heard.

She is proclaim'd in London.

Id. Stow Holinſhead.

July *the* 19*th*.

The Lords *Arundel* and *Paget* being thus ſucceſsful in their Attempt, went immediately to the Queen with Thirty Horſe, and gave her an Account of what had paſs'd. The reſt of the Board ſent the Duke of *Northumberland* Intelligence how things ſtood, with Orders to ſubſcribe the *Recognition*, and diſband his Army. The Duke was not ignorant of the Poſture of Affairs: And therefore before he receiv'd their *Letter*, he proclaim'd Queen *Mary* at the Market Place in *Cambridge*, and threw up his Cap as a Sign of Satisfaction. The Army was immediately diſbanded, and the Men of Quality waited upon the Queen; and laying all the Blame of the Uſurpation upon *Northumberland*, prevail'd for their Pardon. The Lady *Jane* was taken into Cuſtody, and the Duke of *Northumberland* arreſted by the Earl of *Arundel*, and brought up to *London*: The Earl of *Huntington*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, the Earl of *Warwick*, *Ambroſe* and *Henry* Two other Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *Andrew Dudley* his Brother, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *John Gates*, *Henry Gates*, and Dr. *Edwin Sandys*, were likewiſe ſeiz'd, brought up, and committed to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Huntington* and his Son were quickly diſcharg'd. *Gates* and *Palmer* were executed, the Earl of *Warwick* the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Eldeſt Son fell ſick, and died in Priſon. *Ambroſe* and *Henry Dudley* were pardon'd, and ſo was Sir *Andrew* their Uncle after he had been tried for Treaſon, and found guilty. Dr. *Sandys* got Friends to intercede for him, and after about a Year's Impriſonment, being ſet at Liberty, went off into *Germany*. The Duke of *Suffolk* after Four Days Confinement, was by an unuſual Clemency pardon'd. Sir *John Cheek* the late King's Preceptor, the Chief Juſtices Sir *Roger Cholmely*, and Sir *Edward Mountague*, who with the reſt of the Judges had given their Opinion for defeating the Queen's Title, were likewiſe diſcharg'd; tho' *Mountague* did not come off without a Fine. The Princeſs *Elizabeth* with a Thouſand Perſons of Quality of both Sexes in her Train, rode from the *Strand* to *Wanſtead* * to congratulate her Siſter. And now the Queen having got over the Conteſt, diſbanded her Forces, conſiſting of about Thirteen Thouſand Men: And being met by a numerous Appearance of Noblemen and Ladies, made a ſolemn Entrance into the City. When ſhe came to the *Tower*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Courtney* Son and Heir, to *Henry* late Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who were all confin'd in the Tower, preſented themſelves, and kneeled to Her on the *Parade*; ſhe ſaluted them, and called them her Priſoners. The next Day *Courtney* was created Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and the other Priſoners laſt mentioned pardon'd, and diſcharg'd. Two Days after, as *Stow* reports, *Bonner* and *Tonſtal* were ſet at Liberty, and reſtor'd to their *Sees*. (*z*) *Day* of *Chicheſter* and *Heath* of *Worceſter* lately depriv'd, had the ſame good Fortune. As to the Time of *Bonner*'s Reſtitution, *Stow* was ſomewhat miſtaken, as appears by the Date of a Commiſſion iſſued by the Queen for this purpoſe. By this *Inſtrument* bearing Date *September* the 5th, 1553. (*a*) *John Tregonnel* and *William Roper*, Eſquires, *Geoffery Glyn*, *William Cooke* and *Henry Cole*, Doctors of Law, *&c.* are conſtituted Delegates, to which the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Edward Carne*, and Sir *Richard Read* are joyned for more Solemnity. The purport of this Commiſſion was to authorize the Perſons above-mention'd to enquire into the Proceſs againſt Biſhop *Bonner*. Theſe Delegates having examin'd the Proceedings, pronounc'd his Deprivation void, and reſtore him to the Dignity, Juriſdiction and Profits of his Biſhoprick. By the way; theſe Commiſſioners were moſt of them Laymen, and any Two empower'd to give Sentence. Thus Biſhop *Ridley* was ſet aſide of courſe. This Prelate upon the Queen's being proclaim'd in *London*, went to wait on her at

July *the* 20*th*.

She pardons moſt of thoſe who had appear'd againſt her.

Six Miles from London

Aug. *the* 3*d*.

The depriv'd Biſhops reſtor'd

(z) Stow Annal. *p.* 613.

(a) Regiſt. Bonner Fol. 331.

Framingham

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

Framingham Caſtle, where he was coldly receiv'd, as he might reaſonably expect. (*b*)

(b) Fox.

On the Ninth of *Auguſt* a Funeral Office was perform'd for King *Edward*. The *Dirige* was ſung in Latin. A *Maſs* of *Requiem* was celebrated the next Day, at which the Queen and the Court Ladies offer'd. The Corps was buried at *Weſtminſter*, *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* preach'd the Sermon: And here all the *Service* was in Engliſh.

Stow.

Sanders thinks the Queen was too much govern'd by her Affection upon this Occaſion: He blames her for recommending her Brothers Soul to the Mercy of God, and having any Share in the Funeral Solemnity: His Reaſon is, becauſe the King died out of the Communion of the Church; he means the Church of *Rome*. He tells us ſhe was better inſtructed afterwards, and conſented, tho' with great Regret, that her Father ſhould not be publickly pray'd for. *

* De Schiſ. Anglican. *page* 333.

A Diſorder at Paul's *Croſs.*

About this time *Bourne* a Canon of St. *Pauls* preach'd at *Pauls Croſs*. He was of a warm Temper, and very averſe to the *Reformation*: He not only reviv'd the old Cuſtom for praying for the Dead, but likewiſe declar'd that *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* had been impriſon'd, and barbarouſly treated for preaching a Sermon there about Four Years ſince. Some of the *Audience* being exaſperated with this Paſſage, told him the Biſhop had preach'd abominable Doctrine. Upon this others of the Mob grew more mutinous, and were climbing the Pulpit to pull him down. *Bourne* ſtep'd back, and one *Bradford* a Preacher of Note in King *Edwards* Reign, coming into his Place, endeavour'd to compoſe the People, and recover them to good Behaviour. To this purpoſe, amongſt other Diſcourſe, he cited the Text in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, where St. *Paul* commands *every Soul to be Subject to the higher Powers*. But it ſeems Paſſion was too ſtrong for Conſcience at this time; for one of the *Audience* launch'd a Dagger at *Bourne*. 'Tis true it miſs'd him, but 'twas thrown with great Force as appear'd by the Rebound. Upon this, *Bradford* gave over his Addreſs, and with the Aſſiſtance, of one *Rogers*, another Preacher, convey'd *Bourne* through the Crowd with great Difficulty, and lodg'd him in *Pauls* School.

Stow & Fox.

Upon this Tumult an Order of *Council* paſs'd, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen ſhould call a Common Council the next Day, and charge every Houſholder within the Liberties to take care their Children, Apprentices, and Servants, ſhould keep their Pariſh Churches on *Sundays* and *Holy Days*, and do nothing in Diſturbance of the publick Peace: And that every Houſekeeper ſhould be oblig'd to anſwer for the Behaviour of his Family. The Mayor and Recorder were likewiſe commanded to ſet forth at the Meeting, that on the Twelfth inſtant the Queen herſelf had declar'd to them, that notwithſtanding her Graces Perſwaſion as to Religion, continues, as formerly, yet out of her Royal Clemency, her Intention is not to force the Conſciences of her Subjects, but leave them freely to their own Recollection, the Inſtructions of godly Preachers, which through the Divine Aſſiſtance ſhe hopes may have a good Effect. The Mayor and Aldermen were farther order'd to give notice to the Curates within their reſpective *Wards*, to forbear preaching or publick reading the *Scriptures* in their Churches, without a Licence from the Queen. (*c*)

Aug. 13.

The Queen promiſes not to alter Religion.

(c) *Council Book* Ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

Mary *Queen*.

A Letter of the ſame Import was directed to the Biſhop of *Norwich*; by which he was commanded not to ſuffer any Perſon in his Dioceſe, either Prieſt, Deacon, or otherwiſe diſtinguiſh'd, to preach or expound the *Scriptures* openly in any Church, Chappel, or other Place, without ſpecial Licence from the Queens Highneſs. The ſame Directions were probably ſent to the reſt of the Biſhops. Thus the Pulpits were ſilenc'd, and the Reformation in a manner ſtifled by the Regal Supremacy. And to make the Expedient operate more effectually, a *Proclamation* was ſet forth prohibiting all preaching or expounding of *Scripture* in any Churches or elſewhere, excepting in the Univerſity Schools without the Queens Licence in Writing: And becauſe the Proclamation ſeems nicely drawn, and great Care taken in the manner of Expreſſion, I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Reader, together with the Form of the Queens Licence to preach. (*d*)

Council Book. All Preaching without the Queens Licence forbidden.

(*d*) *Records* Num. 68.

The Legality of the Proclamation examin'd.

That the Queen puſh'd her Prerogative in this *Proclamation*, and carried the *Regale* even beyond the Stretch of the *Statutes* in the Two laſt Reigns, is pretty apparent. For the Clergy being legally impower'd to preach in their reſpective Pariſhes, 'tis difficult to conceive how the ſilencing them could be warrantable, unleſs thay had been convicted of ſome diſabling Offence, or ſuſpended *ab Officio* by their *Ordinary*. To ſay the Queen was *Head* of the Church, and the Fountain of all Spiritual Juriſdiction, is not ſufficient to diſentangle the Caſe: For the Crown is acknowledg'd the Fountain of all *Temporal* Juriſdiction, and yet 'tis not within the Power of the King or Queen to ſhut up the Courts of Juſtice, to ſtop the Courſe of Law, or ſo much as to hinder any qualified Perſon from pleading at the Bar. And therefore if the Clergy had continued to preach, and taken no notice of the *Proclamation*, they could not have been legally puniſh'd. For when a Man is ſettled in an Office for Life, he can't be legally diſcharg'd the Exerciſe of that Office without Proof of ſuch Miſbehaviour as reaches to a Forfeiture. And ſince there was no Breach of Duty in Preaching, *Prior* to this *Proclamation*, 'twill follow there could be none after it. For in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, 'tis reſolv'd by the Two Chief Juſtices, the Chief Baron, and another Judge of the *Exchecquer*, "*that the King by his Proclamation cannot create* "*any Offence which was not an Offence before*; *for* "*then he may alter the Law of the Land by his* "*Proclamation in a high Point. For if he may create an Offence where none is, upon that enſues Fine and Impriſonment: They reſolve farther, that the King has no Prerogative but what the Law allows him: That the Law of* England *is divided into Three Parts, Common Law, Statute Law, and Cuſtom; but the King's Proclamation is none of them.* (*e*) By this Reſolution Queen *Mary*'s ſilencing the *Pulpits* was altogether illegal.

(e) Cokes *Reports pt.* 12. *fol.* 76.

This Proclamation diſcover'd the Strength of the Queens Inclination, and gave a gloomy Proſpect to the Reform'd: However ſome of the Parochial Clergy thinking themſelves either oblig'd in Conſcience, or at Liberty by Law, broke through the Order, and continued their Preaching: As for the reſt they acquieſc'd in the Juncture, and went no farther than reading the Common-Prayer, which was not prohibited. The other Party who ſtood affected to the Roman Catholick Religion, concluding

The Roman Catholick Clergy cenſur'd by Sanders.

cluding upon the Countenance of the Court, ſet up the Altars, and officiated in the Latin *Service* formerly received. This Forwardneſs pleas'd the Queen: Whereas thoſe who kept to the Worſhip eſtabliſh'd, and declin'd over-running the Laws, had a Mark of Diſlike ſet upon them. *Sanders* blames the Roman Catholick Clergy for officiating too haſtily upon the Queens Favour. He complains that many of them who were involv'd in the late Schiſm, never conſider'd what Cenſure and Diſabilities they lay under from the *Canons*, and what Objections there lay againſt the Biſhops that ordain'd them; but ruſh'd through the Diſcipline of the Church, and preſs'd up to the Holy Altars without Thought or Reverence. And for a Puniſhment of this Criminal Negligence, he ſeems to believe the Bleſſing of the Queens Reign was ſhortned, and the Face of Religion chang'd. (*f*)

(f) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglican.

The Queen being reſolv'd to ſet up her own Way of Worſhip, model'd the Miniſtry accordingly: For this purpoſe the *Broad Seal* was taken from *Gooderick* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* was made Lord Chancellor: And to ſtrike a Terror into the other Party, and make them more paſſive to the Court Meaſures, ſome of the moſt eminent Prelates and Clergy were committed: For inſtance *Ridley* was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Cox* Dean of *Chriſt Church* to the *Marſhalſea*: *Hooper* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, were brought before the *Council* and committed to the Fleet; and *Latimer* late Biſhop of *Worceſter* appearing before the Lords of the Board, was for his ſeditious *Demeanour*, as the *Council Book* words it, committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*.

Council Book. Several of the Reform'd Biſhops committed.

The next remarkable Occurrence is the Death of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who on the Eighteenth of *Auguſt* together with *William Parr* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and *John* Earl of *Warwick* the Dukes Eldeſt Son, were arraign'd at *Weſtminſter-Hall* before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* then Lord High Steward. When the Duke was brought to the *Bar* he acknowledg'd himſelf the Queens Subject, and made ſtrong Profeſſions of his Allegiance, own'd he had miſbehav'd himſelf, and that he did not intend to make any Defence as to matter of Fact. But being bred to the Law he deſir'd the Judgment of the Court in Two Points; "Firſt, whether a Man acting by Authority of the Princes *Council*, and by Warrant of the great Seal of *England*, and doing nothing without the ſame, might be charg'd with Treaſon for any Thing which he might do by Warrant thereof.

The Duke of Northumberlands *Tryal.*

"Secondly, Whether any ſuch Perſons which were equally culpable in that Crime, and thoſe by whoſe Letters and Commandments he was directed in all his Doings, might be his Judges, or paſs upon his Tryal as his Peers.

"To the firſt Queſtion, the Court by Advice of the Judges anſwer'd, that the *Broad Seal* pleaded by the Duke, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, nor paſs'd by Authority, but the Seal of an Uſurper, and therefore could be no Warrant to him. The Anſwer to his Second Queſtion was, that if any Perſons were as deeply concern'd in the Revolt as himſelf, yet in Regard there was no Attainder upon Record againſt them, they were quallified by Law to paſs upon any Trial, and not to be challeng'd but at the Prince's Pleaſure. (*g*) To this the Duke made little Reply, but confeſs'd the Indictment, and ſo likewiſe did the other Priſoners.

(g) Stow Annal.

When Judgment was given, the Duke intreated the Lords to move the Queens Clemency for his Sons: They were capable he ſaid, of doing good Service to the publick: That their taking the *Field* againſt her Majeſty was purely an Act of Obedience to their Father, and not any voluntary Motion of their own. He likewiſe deſired he might have ſome Learned Divine aſſign'd him to ſettle his Conſcience, and aſſiſt him in his Devotions. And that Two of the *Privy Council* might be ſent to him, to whom he had ſome Things to communicate, which might be very ſerviceable to her Majeſty.

Heath lately reſtor'd to the See of *Worceſter*, was order'd by the Queen to viſit the Duke of *Northumberland*, and prepare him for Death. And here the Duke either for Want of Arguments, or in Hopes of a Pardon, was gain'd over to the Roman Catholick Perſwaſion. That his Belief was different from his former Profeſſion, appears by his Speech upon the Scaffold. "Where he cautions the People againſt Novelties in Religion: And charges his Death upon his being miſled by falſe Teachers: That theſe ſeditious Preachers had open'd the *Book*, but did not know how to ſhut it: He exhorts them therefore to return to the old Catholick Faith: That ſince this *new Teaching* was entertain'd, God had withdrawn his Grace, given up the Nation, and puniſh'd them with Tumults and Rebellion, with Plague and Famine, not to mention other Calamities: He therefore continues to exhort them to pay their Duty to the Government, and recover themſelves to the *Antient Belief*. That the Confuſions in *Germany* were a diſmal Inſtance of the Danger in quitting the true Religion: That the Catholick Faith was an Article of our Creed: That this Declaration was voluntary and unſuggeſted, and that 'twas formerly his inward Belief, he appeals to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*. (*h*)

His Speech.

(h) Cotton *Library* Titus B. 2.

This Duke was Eldeſt Son to Sir *Edmund Sutton aliàs Dudley*. This *Dudley* was a Judge in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh. 'Twas he and *Emſon* another Judge, who ſuggeſted the Project of putting old Penal Laws in Execution, by which the Subject was very much harraſs'd: For which Oppreſſion they were afterwards both called to an Account, and executed. His Son of whom I am now ſpeaking, after ſome Proficiency in the Common Law, applied himſelf to the Profeſſion of Arms. And notwithſtanding his Fathers Msibehaviour, was well receiv'd by King *Henry* the Eighth. It muſt be ſaid, he recommended himſelf to his Prince with Advantage enough: He appear'd enterprizing and brave, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Field upon all Occaſions. Thus he was rais'd for his Merit by King *Henry* who made him Vicount *Liſle*, Knight of the Garter, and Admiral of *England*: He had Reach and Capacity no leſs than Courage, and wanted no Qualification for a good General. He was likewiſe fortunate in his Expeditions, and came off generally with Succeſs. But after all, his Principles were weak, and his Conſcience ſlenderly guarded. Thus his Deſigns being nothing but

And Character.

but Intereſt, he over-graſp'd his Project, and his Ambition undid him.

About this time, a Report was raiſ'd, that *Cranmer*, to make his Court to the Queen, had promiſ'd to officiate in the Latin *Service*. To wipe off this Aſperſion, the Archbiſhop drew up a *Manifeſto* in Defence of the *Reformation*. It runs to this Effect.

Fox. *Vol.* 3. *page* 94. *Archbiſhop* Cranmers Manifeſto.

" As the Devil is a Liar, and the Father of " lying, ſo he has now ſtirr'd up his Servants " to perſecute Chriſt, and his true Religion. " That whereas the great Abuſes of the Latin " Maſſes had been reformed in the Two late " Reigns, and the Service in the Holy Supper " perform'd agreeably to the Inſtitution of our " Saviour, and the Practice of the Apoſtles; " ſo now the Devil endeavours to reſtore the " Latin ſatisfactory Maſſes, a *Thing of his own* " Invention and Device. To bring this more " eaſily about, ſome People have abus'd my " Name, and ſpread a Story, as if I had ſet up " the Maſs at *Canterbury*, and that I had offer'd " to ſay Maſs before the Queen at St. *Pauls*, " and elſewhere.

" The Archbiſhop denies the Fact, proteſts " againſt every Part of the Story, as a downright Calumny: And with the Queens " Leave offers to juſtiſie the Engliſh Communion *Service* both from the Authority of the " *Scriptures*, and the Practice of the Primitive " Church. And on the other ſide, that the " Maſs is not only without Foundation in both " theſe Reſpects, but likewiſe diſcovers a plain " Contradiction to Antiquity, and the inſpired Writings; and is ſtuff'd over and above, " with many horrid Blaſphemies. And whereas *Peter Martyr* had been maliciouſly charg'd " with Ignorance by ſome People, the Archbiſhop with the Queens Leave, undertakes " that this Divine, himſelf, and Four or Five " more of his chuſing, will maintain the *Reformation* made in the late Reign, with Reſpect to Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Worſhip, " to be more orthodox and defenſible, more " agreeable to the true Standard, and Primitive " Plan, than the Belief and Practice of the " Church of *Rome*. The Conditions requir'd by the Archbiſhop in the Diſpute, are theſe. " That God's Word may be the Judge, and " that the Arguments urg'd on both ſides may " be put in Writing; that the World may " examine the Force of what is alledg'd, and " that neither Party may have an Opportunity of denying their Aſſertions.

Acts 17.

Acts 19.

This *Declaration* of the Archbiſhop was penn'd with great Vehemence and Ruggedneſs of Expreſſion. Indeed his Zeal ſeems to have tranſported him too far. St. Paul when at *Athens* makes uſe of no provoking Language, but diſputes very gently even againſt the Heathen Idolatry. And afterwards when *Demetrius* had rais'd the *Mob* of *Epheſus* againſt him, *Gallio* one of the Magiſtrates told the People, that the Chriſtians they had brought before him, had neither rob'd their Churches, nor *blaſphem'd their Goddeſs*. Now if Perſons who had Infallibility and Apoſtolick Commiſſion, declin'd opprobrious Terms, and were ſmooth in their Application: If the Caſe is thus; thoſe of lower Qualifications ſhould, one would think be temperate in their *manner*, and not indulge themſelves in greater lengths of Invective; eſpecially when they argue againſt a Communion of Chriſtians, and where both Sides are agreed in the Fundamentals of Belief. But Paſſions are ſometimes ſtrong, and Allowance muſt be made for human Infirmities. Beſides, this Paper of the Archbiſhops lying in his Window was tranſcrib'd by Biſhop *Scory* before 'twas finiſh'd, and ſhewn to ſeveral others. That the Archbiſhop might have ſoftned ſome of the Expreſſions upon a Review, is not impoſſible: But the *Manifeſto* being handed from one to another, 'twas not long before the *Council* had notice of it. The Archbiſhop being order'd to appear was queſtion'd about it, and prompted to make an Acknowledgment of his Fault. *Cranmers* Anſwer was, that he did not deny his being the Author of thoſe Papers, and that he was ſorry they ſlip'd through his Hands in ſo imperfect a Condition. For ſays he, I intended to publiſh this Declaration in a more ample manner, to have put my Seal to it, and ſet it up at St. *Paul's* Cathedral, and at all the other Church Doors in *London*. (*i*) There could be no Intereſt in this Anſwer: This was braving Danger with a Witneſs, and could proceed from nothing but Conſcience and extraordinary Courage. However, the *Council* were highly diſoblig'd, look'd upon the Paper as a quarrelſome Challenge, and that the Archbiſhop endeavour'd to prepoſſeſs the People, and create an Averſion to their Religion. And therefore, after a long and ſerious debating his Offence by the whole *Board*, " 'twas thought convenient, " that as well for the Treaſon committed " by him againſt the Queens Majeſty, as " for the aggravating the ſame his Offence " by ſpreading ſeditious *Bills*, and moving " Tumults to the Diſquiet of the *State*, he " ſhould be committed to the *Tower*, there to " remain, or be referr'd to Juſtice, or further order'd, as ſhall ſtand with the Queens " Pleaſure. (*k*) The Storm gathering againſt the *Reformation* was by this time eaſily foreſeen: And therefore *Cranmer* while at Liberty, was adviſ'd to be govern'd by the Caution and Example of his Friends, and conſult his Safety by retiring beyond Sea: To which he very generouſly anſwer'd, that if it were to avoid his being proſecuted for any Crime againſt the *State*, he ſhould more willingly have reſign'd to their Advice; but now ſince his Religion, in Oppoſition to the Errors of Popery, was his greateſt Fault, he was reſolv'd to run the Riſque, and rather loſe his Life than quit the Kingdom. (*l*)

He is ſummon'd before the Council and committed.

(i) Heylin. *Hiſt. Ref.*

Sept. 8. 1553.

(k) *Council Book.* *His Reſolution.*

(l) Antiq. Brit.

This Rigour againſt the Engliſh, made the *Foreigners* take the Alarm, and provide for their going off. *Peter Martyrs* appearing ſo vigorouſly againſt the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* in the late Reign, had now brought him under a Character of Diſadvantage: And being publickly mal-treated at *Oxford*, he retired to *Lambeth* ſome little time before the Archbiſhops Impriſonment. Some of the bigotted Papiſts mov'd for his Commitment. But others of more Juſtice and Temper, alledg'd, that ſince he came into *England* by the Encouragement of the Government, and under the Protection of a *ſafe Conduct*, 'twould be diſhonourable not to allow him the Benefit of ſo ſolemn a Security. This Opinion carried it: And thus being diſcharg'd of his *Profeſſorſhip* at *Oxford*, he had a Paſs to go beyond Sea, and was handſomely furniſh'd with Conveniencies for his Voyage by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*. But he was not uſed with the ſame Civility with Reſpect to his Wife, who had been

Peter Martyr *permitted to quit the Kingdom.*

ſome time interred in St. *Frideſwide* Church in *Oxford:* For her Corps by publick Order were afterwards taken up and buried in a Dunghill. *Bucer* and *Fagius* were treated much at the ſame rate at *Cambridge*; their Bones being taken up and burnt. (*m*) This perſecuting pretended Heterodoxy in the Grave, carries a coarſe Appearance, and looks like ill directed Severity. *Tertullian* complains, the Heathens ſerv'd the Chriſtians in this manner, and reckons it as one of the laſt Inſtances of Inhumanity. (*n*)

(m) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic.

(n) Tertull. Apologet.

About the ſame time *John Alaſco* had Orders to forbear preaching, to break up his Congregation, and quit the Country. Their going off was reckon'd a Favour as Affairs ſtood: For it ſeems ſome who had a great Share in the Government would have had them ſtop'd for worſe Uſage. The French *Proteſtants* quitted the Kingdom ſoon after: And that they might have no Colour to defer their Voyage, Orders were ſent to the Mayors of *Rye* and *Dover* to give all of them Leave to embark, excepting ſuch whoſe Names were return'd by the French Ambaſſadors. Notwithſtanding this Order great Numbers both of the French and Dutch continued ſtill in the Kingdom: And had not ſome of them misbehav'd themſelves, they might probably have been undiſturb'd; but of this afterwards.

Sept. 16.

Notwithſtanding Archbiſhop *Cranmer* reſolv'd to ſtand the ſhock, great numbers thought it adviſeable to withdraw. Some went to *Antwerp*, ſome to *Emden*, ſome to *Deuxbourg*, to *Strasburg*, and *Worms*. Some went to *Franckfort*, to *Baſil*, to *Zurich*, to *Arrow*, and to *Geneva*. Theſe Refugees are reckon'd about Three Hundred by ſome Writers, but others mount them to about Eight Hundred. (*o*) The moſt conſiderable of the Clergy were theſe, *Poinet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Barlow* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Scory* of *Chicheſter*, *Coverdale* of *Exeter*, and *Bale* of *Oſſory*, *Richard Cox* Dean of *Chriſt Church* and *Weſtminſter*, *James Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Robert Horn* Dean of *Durham*, *William Turner* Dean of *Wells*, *Thomas Sampſon* Dean of *Chicheſter*, *Edmund Cranmer* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, *John Ailmer* Archdeacon of *Stow*, *Bullingham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Young Precentor of St. *Davids*, to theſe may be added, *Grindal*, *King*, *Edwyn Sands*, *Jewel*, R*eynolds*, *Pilkington*, *Alexander Noel*, *John Knox*, *Anthony Gilby*, *Whittingham*, *Cole*, *Mountayne*, *Beaumont*, *Bentham*, *Bradbridge*, *John Fox*, &c. The Laity of Diſtinction were *Katherine* laſt Wife of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, R*obert Bertie* Eſquire Husband to this Dutcheſs, Sir *Thomas Wrcth*, Sir R*ichard Morriſon*, Sir *Anthony Cook*, Sir *John Cheek*, &c. Thoſe who went off unfurniſh'd, were ſupported with Contributions from *England*. (*p*) By the way ſeveral of theſe Refugees did not go off till ſome Months after this time.

(o) Heylin. *Hiſt. Ref. Memor. of* Cranmer.

Several of the Reform'd withdraw beyond Sea.

(p) *Pref. to* Cranmers *Book of the Sacrament in Latin.* Fuller. Heylin.

Horn Dean of *Durham* ſoon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for quitting the Kingdom. He takes notice of his hearing ſome Crimes concerning the *State* layed to his Charge. That 'twas reported Three Letters had been written to him in the Queens Name: That the Purport of them was to command him to *London*. He proteſts he receiv'd but one of theſe, which was given him on the Road as he was coming up to clear himſelf: And that now being apprehenſive of harſh Uſage, he made his Eſcape. In this Apology he undertakes the Defence of the Preachers in the late Reign. Againſt whom 'twas now objected that they neglected Faſting and Prayer, and indulg'd the People in all manner of Liberty: This he ſaid was altogether Calumny: That on the other Hand the great Men in King *Edwards* Time were ſo much diſguſted at the Freedom taken by the Preachers, that many of them would hear no Sermons. (*q*)

Horns *Apology for retiring.*

Biſhop Burnet *pt. 2d. p.* 251.

The Queen to recommend her Government, remitted a Subſidy of Four Shillings in the Pound for Land, and Two Shillings Eightpence for Stock granted by King *Edwards* laſt Parliament, and by Conſequence now due to the *Crown*.

Upon the Firſt of *October* the Queen was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* officiated at the Coronation *Service*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* preach'd the Sermon: The Solemnity was very magnificent, and perform'd with the old Ceremonies. The Fifth of this Month the Parliament met.

The *Seſſions* was open'd with a ſolemn Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt according to the old Cuſtom. *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford* came thither, as 'tis ſaid, with a Reſolution to juſtify their Doctrine. *Fox* reports that when the *Service* began, theſe Two Biſhops withdrew out of ſcruple of Conſcience. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was afterwards queſtion'd for his Non-compliance, and commanded to attend the Lords, but died before the Matter came to an Iſſue. And as for *Harley* he was excluded the Houſe upon the ſcore of his being married. * But *Beal* Clerk of the Council in Queen *Elizabeths* Time relates this matter ſomewhat differently: He ſays, *Biſhop* Taylor *took his Place in his* Robes, *but refuſing to give any* Reverence *to the Maſs was violently thruſt out of the Houſe:* But as to *Harley* he ſays nothing.

* Fox *Vol.* 3. *page* 19.

Biſhop Burnet *pt. 2d. p.* 252.

This Parliament is cenſur'd for unfree Elections, falſe Returns, and illegal diſcharging of ſome of the Members. * But 'tis not probable the Government would venture upon ſtraining the Conſtitution to this Degree, nor be ſo early in Violence. Beſides, all this black Imputation ſtands upon the Credit of *Beales* Teſtimony. Now this *Beal* was not only a bigotted Nonconformiſt, but which is much worſe, a Perſon of a furious tempeſtuous Spirit. He misbehav'd himſelf, as will be ſeen afterwards, to a ſcandalous Degree, and fail'd both in Temper and Probity.

* *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 252.

The Firſt Act of this Parliament was the Repeal of certain *Statutes* made in the Two laſt Reigns, concerning Treaſon, Felony, and *Præmunire.* More particularly, all Treaſons are reduced to the *Statute* of 25 *Edward* 3. *Cap.* 2. And all Offences made *Præmunire* ſince 1ſt. *H.* 8. are diſcharg'd that Penalty. (*r*) This Firſt *Seſſion* continued but to the One and Twentieth of this Month, after which 'twas prorogued to the Twenty Fourth. By repealing the Acts of Treaſon and *Præmunire* in the Two late Reigns, the Papiſts were more at Liberty, and the Terror of the Regale was in a great Meaſure taken off. Before I proceed to the Second *Seſſion*, I ſhall give the Reader a ſhort Account of the Poſture of Affairs in the Univerſities. To begin with *Oxford*; upon the Queens Acceſſion to the Throne, the Roman Catholicks not waiting for any Directions from the Court, brought the *old Service* into the Churches with all the Train of Ceremonies formerly uſed. The Reform'd on the other ſide went on with the Engliſh *Common-Prayer*,

(r) 1 Mar. Seſſ. 1. cap. 1.

Treaſons enacted in the two laſt Reigns repeal'd.

The Poſture of Affairs in the Univerſities.

tho' they almoſt deſpair'd having that Liberty continued, and dreaded the approaching Parliament. In ſhort, both Parties endeavor'd to maintain their Credit, and ſupport themſelves in their reſpective *Perſwaſion.* The Roman Catholicks laid themſelves out in regulating the Manners, and procuring the Improvement of the Young Students: They made it their Buſineſs to ſtrike the Imagination of the People, and appear Solemn and Pompous in their Devotions: The Reform'd, beſides the uſe of the Engliſh *Liturgy*, Harangued the *Audience*, argued for their Doctrine, and exerted themſelves in the *Pulpit*. Thus Religion was Particolour'd for ſome time in the *Univerſity.* But when the Queens Reſolution was farther known, the *Heads* of the Colleges thought it proper to ſend up an Addreſs, and Mr. *Jewell* Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti*, was order'd to draw it. This was a nice Task, and put upon him without Queſtion by thoſe who meant no kindneſs: For it was taken for granted, he muſt either provoke the Roman Catholicks, or loſe the good Opinion of his own Party. But *Jewell* was ſo dexterous in his Compoſition, as to eſcape the Ambuſh. The Addreſs being both reſpectful, and guarded, Paſs'd the Approbation of *Treſham* the Vicechancellor, and ſome other *Heads*, and was well receiv'd by the Queen. The Subſtance of it was to this Effect.

The Oxford *Addreſs Penn'd by* Jewel.

“The Melancholy the *Univerſity* lay under for the Death of King *Edward*, was all diſpell'd, by the Expectation of a glorious Reign in her Majeſty: That they were indeed extremely afflicted at the loſs of ſo promiſing a Prince as the late King; but now that Trouble was turn'd into Joy, by her Majeſty's Succeſs, and making her way to the Throne thro' ſo much danger: And that they were ſenſible the publick Proſperity depended on her Highneſſes Preſervation. Then the Addreſs dilates upon “the Plots and Rebellions concerted and rais'd againſt her. What making of Intereſt, what levying of Mony, what Warlike Preparations were on Foot upon this Occaſion? Then there is mention made with what demonſtrations “of Loyalty, and Regard, the Queen was receiv'd in other Places: That tho' the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*, were not furniſh'd with the Ornaments of Wealth, to expreſs their Satisfaction: However, what remain'd, which was little more than their Learning, was intirely at her Majeſty's Service. And tho' 'twas not in their Power, to ſhew their Joy, and perform their Duty, in ſo pompous a manner, yet they ſhould not fail doing it, with the ſame Heartineſs and Affection with the reſt of her Subjects: And that they ſhould not ceaſe to beg of God Almighty, that as the beginning of her Majeſty's Reign has been proſperous and without Bloodſhed, ſo the ſame Courſe of Happineſs may be all along continued. (*s*)

Several ejected in both Univerſities.

When *Jewel* Penn'd this Addreſs, he had great Hopes the Queen would not have gone ſo far as ſhe did in the Alterations of Religion: For when ſhe was Proclaim'd at *Oxford*, ſeveral Noblemen gave the Univerſity ſuch an Expectation. After *Peter Martyr*'s leaving the *Chair* at *Oxford*, the Divinity Schools had a very thin Audience. The greateſt number of the *Reform'd* belong'd to *Chriſt Church, Magdalen*, and *Corpus Chriſti*: The Two latter with *New College*, were under the Juriſdiction of *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Prelate delegated Sir *Richard Read*, and Dr. *Wryght* Archdeacon of *Oxford*, to Viſit theſe *Societies*, and Model them to his Fancy. Theſe *Viſitors* ſet up the *Maſs*, puniſh'd Non-compliers, and turn'd out ſeveral *Fellows*. *John Fox* the Martyrologiſt, and *Lawrence Humphrey*, were Two of thoſe ejected.

At *Cambridge*, where *Gardiner* was Chancellor, moſt of the Heads were turn'd out. None but *Bacon* Maſter of *Gunville-hall*, and *Evans* Maſter of *Magdalen-College*, continued unremoved. (*t*)

Holdgate *Archbiſhop of* York *Impriſon'd.*

37 H. 8. *c.* 16.

About this time *Holgate*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was committed to the *Tower* for Heinous Offences, without naming what the Crimes were. It muſt be confeſs'd this Prelate was not of the moſt unblemiſh'd Reputation. He had ſcandalouſly betrayed his *See*, and parted with almoſt all the Mannors to King *Henry* the Eighth, as hath been already obſerved. Beſides this, he lay under a coarſe Imputation, with reſpect to his Marriage. For by an Order of *Council* in the late Reign, a Letter was directed to him, * to ſtop his coming up to Town 'till the Parliament Sate. There was likewiſe a Letter ſent by the *Council*, to Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Mr. *Chaloner*, and Dr. *Rookesby*, *to Search and Examine the very Truth of the Matter, between the Archbiſhop, and one* Norman *who Claims the Archbiſhops Wife to be his Wife. And for their further Inſtructions, the Supplication of the ſaid* Norman, *is ſent to them incloſed.* 'Tis not Improbable therefore, this might be one of the *Heinous Offences* for which he was Impriſon'd. For in the Inſtrument of his Deprivation 'tis ſaid, *he was for his Marriage committed to the* Tower *and deprived.* †

The Marriage between King Henry *and* Catherine *of* Spain *declar'd Lawful by the Parliament.*

Upon the Twenty Fourth of *October*, the Parliament Sate again, after Two Days Prorogation. I ſhall mention what paſs'd, with relation to the Church. Firſt, the Queen is declar'd Born in Lawful Matrimony, and all Sentences of Divorce between King *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Catherine* of *Spain*, made void.

“The Statute ſets forth, that ſome very few Malicious and Perverſe Perſons, envying the happineſs of the King and Kingdom, injected Scruples into his Highneſſes Conſcience, and brought him to a perſwaſion of the unlawfulneſs of his Marriage. And to this intent, by Bribery, Menacing, and corrupt Practiſes, prevail'd with ſeveral Univerſities, both Abroad and at Home, to declare againſt the Marriage, in her Majeſty's Father and Mother. And that *Thomas Cranmer*, then newly made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moſt ungodly, and againſt all Laws of Equity and Conſcience, proſecuting the ſame wicked device of Divorce, and Separation of the ſaid King your Father, and the ſaid Queen your Mother, call'd before him ex Officio, the hearing of the ſaid matter of Marriage, and taking his Foundation partly from his own unadviſed Judgment of the Scripture, joyning therewith the pretended Teſtimonies of the ſaid Univerſities, and partly from bare and moſt untrue Conjectures, gather'd and admitted by him, upon matters of no Strength or Effect, but only by Suppoſal, and without admitting or hearing any thing that could be ſaid by the Queen your Mother, or by any on her behalf, in the Abſence of the ſaid late Queen your Mother, proceeded, pronounc'd, decern'd, declar'd, and gave Sentence, the ſame moſt Lawful, and undoubted Matrimony, to be naught, and to be contracted againſt Gods Law, and to be of no value,

---

(*s*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. *lib.* 1. *p.* 274. & deinc.

(*t*) Fuller's Hiſt. Univ. Camb.

* 25 Nov. 1551. *Council Book.*

† Harmer.

value, *&c.* From hence the Act proceeds, to Repeal ſo much of the Statutes, of 25 *H.* 8. *Cap.* 22. and 28 *H.* 8. *Cap.* 7. as confirm the Sentence of Divorce. And in the laſt Clauſe 'tis Enacted, That the Marriage had, and Solemniz'd, between your ſaid moſt Noble Father King Henry, and your ſaid moſt Noble Mother, Queen Katherine, ſhall be Deſinitively, Clearly, and Abſolutely declar'd, deem'd, and adjudged to be, and ſtand with God's Law, and his Holy Word, and to be accepted, reputed, and taken of good Effect and Validity, to all Intents and Purpoſes. (*u*)

From hence it appears, this Parliament under Queen *Mary*, made themſelves Judges of the meaning of the Scripture, and pronounc'd upon a Cauſe within the Verge of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

This Act is ſuppos'd to acknowledge the Papal Supremacy by Implication. The Ground of this Suppoſition is, that the lawfulneſs of the Marriage ſtood upon the Diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* the Second, and therefore the *Act* which declares the Marriage good, muſt by Conſequence acknowledge the Popes Authority. And therefore Father *Paul*, * thinks it a great Singularity in the Engliſh Nobility, to oppoſe the Reſtitution of the Papal Supremacy, which it ſeems they did afterwards, upon the Queens Motion for its Revival: The Hiſtorian repreſents this as an odd Scruple, ſince their declaring for the Marriage had Involv'd their Recognition of the Popes Juriſdiction. But the reaſoning of this Author ſeems not Concluſive. For the Parliament might found their Declaration upon 25 *Deuteronomy Verſe* 5. and believe that King *Henry* the Eighths Marriage, with *Catherine* of *Spain*, ſtood upon the Reaſon and Equity of that Law.

Novemb. 22. 1553.

Notwithſtanding the Queen's Clemency in pardoning moſt of thoſe, who Endeavor'd to ſet up the Lady *Jane*, there ſeems to have been ſtill ſome ſecret Practiſes againſt her: For about this Time, *Robert Taylor*, *Edmund Coat*, and *Thomas Wood*, were brought before the Lords of the Council, for their lewd Reports, that King *Edward* was Alive. They were Order'd to find Sureties for their forth-coming. One *Robert Robertham* belonging to the Wardrobe, was ſoon after committed to the *Fleet* for the ſame Miſdemeanor, not to mention ſeveral others. To return,

Council Book.

Several Statutes touching Religion repealed.

The Act which ſtands next upon the Print, Repeals certain Statutes concerning Religion, made in the late Reign. The Preamble ſets forth, that forasmuch as by divers and ſeveral Acts, as well the Divine Service, and good Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, and divers other Matters of Religion (which we and our Forefathers found in this Church of England, to us left, by the Authority of the Catholick Church,) be partly alter'd, and in ſome Part taken from us, and in Place thereof, new things Imagin'd and ſet forth by the ſaid Act, ſuch as a few of Singularity have Devis'd. Whereof hath enſued amongſt us in very ſmall Time, Numbers of divers and ſtrange Opinions, and diverſity's of Sects, and thereby grown great Unquietneſs and much Diſcord, to the great diſturbance of the Commonwealth of this Realm, *&c.* (*w*)

This *Act* Repeal'd the *Statutes* in the late Reign, for giving the Communion in both kinds: For eſtabliſhing the firſt and ſecond Liturgy: For confirming the new *Ordinal*, for ſetting aſide certain Faſts and Feſtivals formerly obſerv'd: And farther by this Act, the Statute which allow'd the Marriage of Prieſts, and legitimated their Children, was Repeal'd: And ſo likewiſe was the *Statute* for making Biſhops, by the King's Letters Patent, and exerciſing their Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. By the way, the taking away this laſt *Act*, was undoubtedly a good thing. As to the reſt the *Reformation* was Maim'd by them, made Illegal, and the Biſhops and Prieſts brought under Incapacities for their Function.

'Tis further Enacted by this *Statute* of Repeal, that all ſuch Divine Service, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, which were moſt commonly us'd in England, in the laſt Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, ſhall be reviv'd and madis'd after the Twentieth of *December* next following: After which Term the officiating in any other *Service* is forbidden. And laſtly, 'tis provided that all Perſons of the Clergy ſhall be at Liberty in the mean time, to uſe either the *Old*, or *New Service*.

An Act againſt diſturbing Preachers.

" The next *Act* makes it Penal to diſturb any " Preacher in his Sermon, or any Prieſt in ad- " miniſtring any Part of Divine *Service*: And " if any Perſon abus'd the *Hoſt*, broke down " an Altar, Crucifix, or any Image in Churches, " Chappels, or Church-yards, they were to be " Seiz'd by the Conſtables, Churchwardens, " or any Perſon preſent, brought before a " Juſtice of Peace, and ſuffer Three Months " Impriſonment. If the Congregation con- " niv'd at the Diſorder, and refus'd to appre- " hend the Offender, the Pariſh was to Forfeit " Five Pounds; and ſo were thoſe who reſ- " cued them after an Arreſt. There's a *Proviſo* " in this Statute, for ſaving the Juriſdiction of " the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and thus he that " had been Puniſh'd by the *Ordinary*, ſtood " clear of Proſecution from the Juſtices of " Peace, for any of the Crimes abovemention'd: " And ſo on the other ſide, if the Offender " had been Puniſh'd by *Secular* Juſtice, the " *Ordinaries* could not meddle with him. The " Divine *Service* and *Sacraments* protected by " this *Act*, are only ſuch *Offices* as were *prior* " to the *Reformation*, and uſed in the laſt Year " of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, or which ſhould be allow'd or ſet forth by the Queen's Majeſty. (*x*)

'Tis probably ſuppos'd, the late Diſorders at St. *Paul's Croſs*, and throwing the Dagger at *Bourn* the Preacher, occaſion'd the making this *Act*.

And to prevent Mutinies and Commotions of this kind, 'tis Enacted by this Parliament, that if any Perſons to the Number of Twelve or above, being Aſſembled together at any Time, after the Twentieth Day of December next comming, ſhall intend, go about, Practiſe, or put in Ure, with Force of Armes unlawfully, and of their own Authority, to alter, or chaunge any Laws, made or eſtabliſhed for Religion by Authority of Parliament, which ſhall ſtand in Force after the ſayd Twentieth Day of December, or any other Laws or Eſtatates of this Realm, or any of them: The ſame Number of Twelve, or above, beyng commanded or required by the Sheriffe of the Shier, or by any Juſtice of Peace of the ſame Shier, or by the Mayer, Shiriffe, Juſtices of Peace, or Bayliffes of any Citie, Borough, or Town Corporate, where any ſuch Aſſemblies ſhall be unlawfully had, or made, by Proclamation in the Queen's Name, to retire and repayre to their own Houſes, Habitations, or Places, from whence they came, and they or any of them, notwithſtanding ſuch Proclamation, ſhall remaine,

---

(u) 1 Mar. Seſs. 2. *Cap.* 1.

* Hiſt. Trent.

(w) *Statutes at large* 1 Mar. Seſs. 2. *c.* 2.

(x) 1 Mar. Seſs. 2. *c.* 3.

and make their Abode, or continue together, by the ſpace of one hole Hour, after ſuch Commandment, or Requeſt, made by Proclamation, or after that ſhall wyllynglye, in forceable and ryotous Manner, attempte to doe, or put in Ure, any of the Things above ſpecified, that then, as well everye ſuch Abode of continuing together, as everye ſuch Act or Offence, that after ſuch Commandment, or Requeſt, by Proclamation, had, or made, ſhall be attempted to be done, practis'd, or put in Ure by any Perſons, beyng of the Number aforeſayde, ſhall be judged Felony in all, and ſingular thoſe Perſons, that ſo ſhall make theyr Abode, or continue together, or ſhall attempte, or committ any ſuch Acte, and the Offendours therein to be adjudg'd Felons, and ſhalle ſuffre onley Execution of Death, as in Caſe of Felonye.

This *Act* is order'd to be Read and Publiſh'd at every Quarters Seſſion, and at every Leete, and Law Day. (*y*)

(y) 1 Mar. Seſs. 2. c. 12. *Statutes at large.*

This *Seſſions*, the Attainder againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* was Repeal'd. Thoſe who had purchas'd part of this Nobleman's Eſtate of the *Crown*, pleaded againſt the Paſſing the *Bill*. The Caſe being ſomewhat remarkable, I ſhall Tranſlate it from *Dyer's Reports*. When this *Bill* of Attainder was paſs'd by both Houſes, in the laſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth; The King by his Letters Patents, * mentioning the *Bill*, gave the Royal Aſſent to it, impowering Three or Four of the Lords to conſent to it in his Name. Theſe Letters Patents, as the Purchaſers ſets forth, were Sign'd *Henry Rex*, under the King's Hand. The *Broad Seal* was likewiſe put to them, and the Commiſſion annex'd to the *Bill*. The *Bill* was likewiſe Endors'd in theſe Words, *ſoit fait come eſt deſire*.

* *Dated* 27 Jan. An. 38. Regni ſui.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Attainder Repeal'd.*

Now 'twas ſtrongly debated by the Judges, whether this *Act* was good or not. Thoſe who had purchas'd ſome of the Dukes Eſtate, procur'd a *Certiorari*, directed to Two Clerks of the Parliament, to Certify the Tenor of an *Act* of Parliament, by which the Duke of *Norfolk* was attainted. And here one of the Clerks only made a Certificate of the naked *Bill*, without the Circumſtances abovementioned. Upon this a Queſtion was moved, whether the Certificate was good, becauſe one Clerk alone had no Authority to Certify. And in regard the Purchaſers had procured a *Certiorari*, and produced a Copy of the *Act*, without taking notice of the Commiſſion, exemplified in Chancery; the Duke got the Original *Act* laid before the Judges at *Serjeants Inn*, by *Spilman* Clerk of the Parliament. And here as a ſtrong Proof and Preſumption, that the King had not Sign'd the Commiſſion, 'twas obſerv'd firſt, that the King's Name was Written under the Teſte of the *Patent*, whereas the Cuſtom was to Sign *above*. Further, 'twas obſerv'd, that the Hand was too perfect, and the Letters too well cut for a Perſon in ſo weak a Condition; For the King Died that very Night, in which this was pretended to be done. And ſome ſaid 'twas not Written, but Stamp'd. This Allegation was fortify'd by the Lord *Paget*, who in this Parliament, “under Queen *Mary*, came into the Houſe of Commons, to teſtify his Knowledge, touching King *Henry* the Eighths Aſſent by Letters Patent, to the pretended Act of the attainder of the ſaid Duke; who upon his Honour depoſed, that the ſame was not Subſcrib'd with the Hand of the King, but the Stamp only put to the Letters *Patent*, by one *William Clerk*. From hence 'twas argued, the whole was void, and out of the Proviſion by 23 *H*. 8. *Cap*. 21. Upon theſe Grounds Queen *Mary*'s Parliament declar'd the *Act* of the Dukes Attainder Void, and of none Effect. (*z*)

(z) Dyer's *Reports Fol.* 93.

December 6. *The Parliament Diſſolv'd.*

This Parliament notwithſtanding, they had Oblig'd the Queen in the Point of her Mothers Marriage, and complied ſo far in other Reſpects, was quickly Diſſolv'd. The Motives to this Diſſolution were probably the diſinclination of the *Members*, for reſtoring the Papal Supremacy. This Parliament would in all likelyhood, have gone back no farther than King *Henry* the Eighths Reformation. The Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, may be ſuppos'd of this Sentiment. For this Prelate had comply'd with King *Henry*'s Meaſures, and juſtified that King's Proceedings in his *Book de verâ Obedientiâ*. Beſides, the Houſe of Commons, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, diſlik'd the Queen's Marrying a Foreigner, which might be another reaſon of her being willing to part with them.

Commendone *ſent to the Queen by* Car*dinal* Pool.

As to the Buſineſs of Religion, the Queen was reſolv'd at firſt, to revive the Popes Authority: To this, beſides the Impreſſion of her Education, ſhe thought her ſelf Oblig'd in Point of Intereſt. This was look'd on as the beſt Expedient, to make her Birth unqueſtionable, and ſilence all Objections, touching her Mothers Marriage. To carry on this Deſign, 'twas thought requiſite to call Home Cardinal *Pool*. The Pope hearing the Death of King *Edward* the Sixth, was not backward in ſoliciting his Buſineſs, and ſounding the Queen's Temper. To this purpoſe, Cardinal *Dandino*, his Holineſſes Legate, at the Emperors Court, ſent over *Franciſco Commendone*, to inform him, how the Queen ſtood affected. Father *Paul* reports that Pope *Julius* the Third, upon the News of the Queens Acceſſion to the Throne, declar'd Cardinal *Pool* his Legate for *England*. He concluded *Pool*'s Quality, Learning, and exemplary Life, made him the moſt proper Perſon for the management of that Affair. The Hiſtorian adds, that *Pool* lying under an Attainder of high Treaſon, and ſuſpecting the Engliſh Court and Parliament might be unfriendly to his Purpoſe, thought it not prudent to hazard his Perſon, 'till farther Information. 'Twas therefore by *Pool*'s Order, that *Commendone* was ſent hither by *Dandino*. *Commendone* had Inſtructions to conceal his Character and Buſineſs, and ſpeak privately with the Queen: Thus he came over in a Diſguiſe, and got a ſecret Audience. The Queen acquainted him with her Reſolution of reconciling the Kingdom to the *See* of *Rome*: But that this Buſineſs was to be manag'd with great Caution and Secrecy: That otherwiſe her Government might be Embroil'd, and the whole Deſign Miſcarry.

Hiſt. Counc. Trent.

Biſhop Burnet *pt.* 2.

Commendone had a Letter from her to the Pope, in which ſhe gave him an Aſſurance of her Obedience to the Apoſtolick *See*. She wrote likewiſe to Cardinal *Pool* upon the ſame Head, and adviſ'd *Commendone* to move the Pope that *Pool* might be ſent over.

Godwin. Annal.

The Queen ſolicited to Marry.

Before I proceed farther, it may not be improper to obſerve, that during the *Seſſion* of the Parliament, the Queen had been ſolicited to Marry: Three Perſons were propoſed. *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Cardinal *Pool*, and *Philip* Eldeſt Son to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. 'Twas thought her Inclinations ſtood fair for the Young Earl of *Devonſhire*: He was a fine Perſon, and of Royal Extraction; his Grandmother being one of King *Edward* the Fourths

Daughters; but 'tis ſaid this Nobleman's Fancy did not direct him to the Queen; that he had declin'd taking notice of an intelligible Invitation, that he deſir'd leave to Addreſs the Lady *Elizabeth*, and that the Queen was highly diſpleas'd with this Preference of her Younger Siſter. As to *Pool*, 'twas objected, he was pretty far Advanc'd in Years: That being wholly given up to Study and Retirement, 'twas thought the Royal Function would be Foreign to his Genius: That the Queens Affairs requir'd a Perſon of Intereſt, of an enterprizing Temper, and one that could recommend himſelf to Regard. That *Philip* of *Spain* was preferable in theſe Reſpects: That he had been bred to the Buſineſs of a *Crown*: That he was Heir to the greateſt Monarch in *Europe*: And that by ſuch an Alliance the Trade of the Kingdom would be Improv'd, and the publick Intereſt conſiderably advanc'd.

Reaſons of State, and the Luſtre of the Perſon, determined the Queen for *Philip*. The Emperor, who muſt be ſuppoſed to make the Propoſal, expected a conſiderable return from this Marriage: That by this Union with *England*, he ſhould be in a Condition to diſembarraſs his Affairs, to be an Over-ballance againſt *France*, and recover his Ground in *Germany*.

She makes Choice of Philip *of* Spain.

To proceed, *Commendone* arriving at *Rome*, reported his Negotiation, and acquainted the Pope with the Queen's Diſpoſition to cloſe with that Court: This Welcome News, was communicated to the *Conclave*, tho' not in the whole Detail. The Pope related only the Queens good Inclination in general, without mentioning her Letters: 'Tis probable he might be afraid the Deſign might ſuffer by being made Publick. However, 'twas thought fit to purſue the Invitation, and not loſe any time. Cardinal *Pool*, therefore being charg'd with Inſtructions, ſet forward for *England*.

She reſolves to Cloſe with the Court of Rome.

Gardiner having notice of the Cardinals Journey, and being Apprehenſive either, that the Match with *Spain* might be diſturbed, or that his own greatneſs might be Ecclips'd, by *Pool's* Quality and Character, ſent to the Emperor to ſtop the Cardinal: He acquainted this Prince that if Matters were thus precipitated, they would certainly Miſcarry: That neither the Marriage, nor the revival of the Papal Authority were agreeable to the Bulk of the Engliſh Nation. That in Caſe they were both brought on together the People would take Check, and the Government loſe its Intereſt: That the Cardinal at his coming, would not fail to preſs the Point of Religion. 'Twas therefore adviſeable to conclude the Marriage before the other Buſineſs came upon the *Board*: And that when the Queen was ſtrengthen'd with ſo great an Alliance, the Papal Authority would be eaſier digeſted. The Emperor being altogether of *Gardiner's* Opinion, prevail'd with *Dandino* to write to *Pool*, to make a halt in his Voyage. But *Pool* keeping on notwithſtanding this Letter, the Emperor ſent *Diego Mendoza* with expreſs Orders, to forbid him going farther. *Pool* being thus arreſted in his Motion, complain'd of the Uſage: He remonſtrated that the Popes Authority ſuffer'd, that the Intereſts of Chriſtianity were check'd, and *England* diſappointed of the Bleſſing of returning to the Catholick Communion. The Emperor to prevent a Clamor, gave the Cardinal Leave to Travel from the *Palatinate* to *Bruſſels*. And here *Pool* was Entertain'd, 'till the Marriage was adjuſted: And to make him the more eaſy, the Emperor gave him an honourable Amuſement, and employed him to Treat a Peace, between himſelf and the French King. (a)

Cardinal Pool *ſtop'd by the Emperor, in his Journey to* England.

While the Cardinal lay under this Embargo, he receiv'd Two *Letters* from the Queen. In the firſt, which was probably Written at the Emperors Inſtance, ſhe acquainted him with the difficulties in giving up the *Regale*, as 'twas ſettled in her Fathers Reign. That the preſent Parliament was averſe to her relinquiſhing the Title of *Head of the Church*; They concluded the parting with this Branch of the Prerogative, was in Order to a Revival of the Popes Juriſdiction; to which they were diſenclin'd; and therefore the News of a *Legates* coming over, was by no means acceptable to them: For theſe reaſons ſhe entreated him to halt a little: She likewiſe requeſted his Advice, how ſhe was to manage, provided the Parliament could not be gain'd to Repeal the late *Acts of Supremacy*. In the Cloſe, ſhe deſir'd to know how it came to paſs, that the ſecret Inſtructions, with which ſhe entruſted *Commendone*, were Publiſh'd in the *Conſiſtory* at *Rome*. And that this was matter of Fact, her Ambaſſador at *Venice* had aſſured her.

The Queen Writes to the Cardinal. January 28. 155$\frac{3}{4}$.

In her Second Letter, dated Three Months after the firſt, ſhe acquaints the Cardinal with her Intention of filling the Vacant *Sees*: And here ſhe deſires to be Inform'd how this may be done, without any Omiſſions of Regard to the Apoſtolick *See*: That ſhe reſolv'd not to carry the *Regale* beyond the Antient Prerogative prior to the Schiſm. With this Letter ſhe ſent him Two *Acts* of Parliament, which ſhe believ'd would be entertaining. For by one of them, her Mothers Marriage was declared good; and by the other the *Sacraments* and *Church Service*, were brought back to the condition in which they ſtood in the laſt Year of her Fathers Reign.

Pool's *Inſtructions to* Goldwell.

The Cardinal gave Inſtructions to *Thomas Goldwell*, (afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) to report his Opinion to the Queen, upon the Heads abovemention'd. As to the Method for recovering the Nation to their Obedience to his *Holineſs*, he conceiv'd the acceptableneſs of the Perſon who firſt recommended the Buſineſs might be a ſerviceable Step. And ſince there was ſcarce any, either of the *Spirituality*, or *Temporality*, who had not ſome way or other, declar'd againſt the Popes *Supremacy*, he thought no Perſon ſo proper to propoſe this Matter as her Majeſty: That this had been the Emperors Method in maintaining the Juſtice of his Quarrel againſt the French King. Upon this Occaſion, he Choſe to be his own Orator, and harangued upon the Cauſe before the Pope and Cardinals. From hence *Pool* proceeded to hint, that ſince the Pope had given him the Character of a *Legate*, the Parliament ought to be reconcil'd to his Buſineſs, and entertain him without Scruple or Diſguſt. And to this purpoſe it might be reaſonably expected, the *Attainder* paſs'd againſt him ſhould be Repeal'd. As to the Charge of *Commendones* having fail'd in Point of Secrecy, *Pool* endeavor'd to ſatisfy the Queen, that this *Agent* had anſwer'd the Confidence put in him, and let go nothing which ought not to be divulg'd: And that he had reported the Meſſage he receiv'd from the Queen to none but the Pope. The Cardinal goes on to ſhew his Regret, at his being ſtop'd in his Journey. The News of this unexpected Uſage, he was afraid, might be ſo ill reſented by the Conclave, as to make them ſuggeſt his being recalled. That this Motion from her Majeſty for his not coming forward, was different from her firſt Commiſſion: That ſince her Highneſs ſeem'd to abate in her Zeal, he was afraid his *Holineſs* might be diſcourag'd, and countermand him to *Rome*. (*b*)

(a) Father Paul Hiſt. Counc. Trent. October 28. An. Dom. 1553.

To prevent this he diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Pope to excuſe the Delays in his Journey: He acquainted his Holineſs with ſome Advices he had receiv'd from the Queen; the Purport was, that ſhe hoped the Difficulties would be got over, and the Parliament gain'd by Degrees to the Cardinals Satiſfaction. He acquainted the Pope farther, that this Stand upon their Affairs was recommended by the Emperor: That this Prince adviſ'd the Queen to proceed by gentle Motions, and poſtpone the Buſineſs of Religion, till her Intereſt was farther improv'd, and her Government better ſettled.

The Cardinal likewiſe ſollicited the Emperor to give him Leave to proceed in his Voyage to *England*.

As to the Two Acts of Parliament the Cardinal receiv'd from the Queen, they came ſhort of his Wiſhes, and gave him but a faint Satiſfaction, he ſent the Queen Word, that the *Act* which affirm'd her Mothers Marriage was defectively pen'd: That it mention'd the Wiſdom of the Kings of *England* and *Spain* in making the Match, but forgot the main Circumſtance in the Commendation; that is, the Act takes no notice of their procuring the Popes Diſpenſation, without which the Obſtructions could not have been removed, nor the *Relation* made defenſible.

As to the other *Act* touching the Sacraments the Cardinal approves the Motive, ſet forth in the Preamble for making the Law: The Ground was, to put a Stop to the Raſhneſs of ſome Noveliſts, who had either retrench'd the Number, or chang'd the antient Cuſtom of adminiſtring the Sacraments. Thus far the Cardinal is ſatisfied; but then he charges the *Statute* with breaking in upon the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, permitting the Uſe of the Sacraments to Perſons unreconcil'd to the Church, and making the Practice of a Schiſmatical Prince † a Preſident to govern this matter.

In ſhort, he exhorts the Queen not to be diſhearten'd, or ſway'd by Temporal Conſiderations: That Conſcience ought to have the Aſcendant: That ſhe is oblig'd in the Firſt Place to addreſs God Almighty for Direction, and to pray for the *Spirit of Council and Strength*: That Providence has hitherto remarkably appear'd for her, and made her Way to the Throne: That ſhe has no Reaſon to deſpond of the ſame Protection, and that Fears and Obſtructions are no Diſcharges from Duty. That beſides this, the Lawfulneſs of her Mothers Marriage, and by Conſequence her Title to the Crown, ſtands upon the *Baſis* of the Popes Diſpenſation, and cannot be defended without owning the Juriſdiction of the Apoſtolick *See*: And therefore for theſe Reaſons her Majeſty will find herſelf oblig'd to run the laſt Hazard rather than drop the Cauſe. However, to remove Objections, and ſmooth the Paſſage, if the *Parliament* ſhould ſtart at the Popes Juriſdiction, as if the Term of Obedience to the *See* of *Rome* imported Servitude and Diminution of civil Rights. To this her Highneſs may anſwer, that his *Holyneſs*'s Terms are not ſo unreaſonable, neither will ſhe ever conſent to ſuch an Encroachment. And that for the Cardinal he would never charge himſelf with a Commiſſion to enſlave his Country: On the contrary, he ſeems not to queſtion, but that the Popes Authority would be manag'd with that Temper and Reſerve, that not only *England*, but other Places in Chriſtendom would find their Account in the Preſident, and be much better for its being reſtor'd. (*c*)

Notwithſtanding the Queens good Opinion of the Cardinal, ſhe did not govern her Affairs wholly by his Advice: She was convinc'd by *Gardiner*, the reconciling the Kingdom to the *See* of *Rome* was puſh'd too faſt by the Cardinal, and that the Marriage with *Spain* ought to be firſt diſpatch'd: The Emperor concurr'd with theſe meaſures, and thus *Pool* was ſtill detain'd in *Flanders*.

However, this Expedient did not wholly diſencumber the Buſineſs of the *Match*: The Houſe of Commons were ſomewhat alarm'd at this Alliance with the Emperor: They were apprehenſive the Queens marrying with *Philip* might put the Adminiſtration into foreign Hands, and ſit hard upon the Liberties of the Subject. In fine, they ſent their Speaker with Twenty of their *Members* to addreſs the Queen againſt marrying a Stranger. The Court perceiv'd the *lower Houſe* was likely to prove unmanageable unleſs they were anſwer'd in their Requeſt; and therefore on the Sixth of *December* the Parliament was diſſolv'd. And now *Gardiner* ſent to the Emperor to acquaint him, that unleſs extraordinary Conditions were offer'd by his Majeſty, the Marriage would be impracticable. He likewiſe ſuggeſted that without great Remittances of Mony to gain the Principal Nobility, and other leading Men, the next Parliament would prove no leſs troubleſome than the laſt: And that the Queen muſt lay aſide all Thoughts of engaging with his Son. The Emperor and *Philip* reſolv'd to give Satiſfaction, and come up to the Terms of the Engliſh Court. And in the Firſt Place the Emperor borrow'd Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, and promiſ'd to ſend it over to be be diſpoſ'd of as *Gardiner* and his Ambaſſador ſhould think fit. The Emperor did not part with this Sum 'till *Philip* had entred into Security for the repaying the Mony upon his Marriage with the Queen. It ſeems the ſending this Mony into *England* was made no Secret by the Emperor, but declared to ſome Towns in *Germany* to ſtop their Importunities in demanding what they had lent. (*d*) The Credit of this Story depends upon the Information of the Engliſh at *Straſburg*: Some of theſe Refugees printed a Narrative of this matter, and ſent it into *England*. The Book is couch'd in the Form of an Addreſs to the Queen, Nobility, and Commons. It mentions the Commons Addreſs againſt the Marriage, and the Emperors owning his lending his Son Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the purpoſe already related. The Deſign of this Mony was, as 'tis ſaid, to ſway the Elections, and bribe the Members of Parliament. This *Straſburg* Narrative likewiſe complains of great Partialities in the Court of *Chancery*, and that none could have common Juſtice but thoſe who came into the Spaniſh Meaſures. This Book, tho' commended for *Gravity and Simplicity of Style*, was none of

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

(b) Biblioth. Cotton. Titus B. II.

† Meaning King Henry VIII.

(c) Cotton. Libr. Ibid.

(d) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2d. *page* 262.

Id.

of the happieſt Performances: To ſpeak plainly, 'tis little better than a Libel upon the Adminiſtration, diſcovers a Diſaffection to the Government, and does not altogether become the Character of thoſe who retir'd from Perſecution, and ſuffer'd upon the Score of Conſcience. But 'tis to be hoped not many of the Engliſh Exiles were concern'd in this matter.

To go back a little, it has been already obſerv'd, Sir *James Hales* one of the Judges of the Common Pleas bore up againſt the Menaces of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and very bravely refus'd ſubſcribing the late King's *Will* for diſinheriting his Siſters. But this Service was not well conſider'd in the preſent Reign. His acting againſt the Queens Inclination in matters of Religion, wiped out his Merit, and brought him under her Diſpleaſure. He was continued in his Commiſſion at firſt, but being ſo hardy as to give the Reformation *Statutes* of *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, in Charge upon the Bench, he was committed to the King's *Bench*, from whence he was afterwards remov'd to the Counter, and thence to the *Fleet*. This was a great Hardſhip conſidering thoſe *Statutes* were then unrepeal'd. He was ſeiz'd with a deep Melancholly in Priſon, and endeavour'd to deſtroy himſelf with a Penknife. This Accident was prevented by People coming into the Room, and the Judge had his Diſcharge: But afterwards his Diſcontent returning, he threw himſelf into a River, and was drowned. (e)

(e) Fox *Vol.* 2*d.*

Nov. 13. 1553.

While the Parliament ſate, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane Grey*, the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, and Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, were arraign'd at *Guildhall*, and brought in guilty of Treaſon. (f) They were tryed for levying War againſt the Queen, and conſpiring to ſet up an Uſurper. *Cranmer* before Judgment was given, pleaded he had not conſented to exclude the Queen, till the Judges and other common Lawyers led the way. And thus he ſubmitted with the reſt to the Queens Mercy.

Archbiſhop Cranmer *the* Lady Jane, *&c. tried for Treaſon.*

The Archbiſhop lying under this Sentence, his *See* is ſuppos'd to have been void in Law: For how can he that has no Right to his Life, have any to a ſpiritual Juriſdiction? However, 'tis ſaid the Court reſolv'd *he ſhould ſtill be eſteem'd Archbiſhop, till he was ſolemnly degraded according to the Canon Law. So all that follow'd on this Attainder was a Sequeſtration of the Fruits of the Archbiſhoprick.* (g)

(g) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 257.

But here our Learned Hiſtorian writes wide of matter of Fact. For immediately after *Cranmers* Attainder, his *See* was declar'd void, and the Dean and *Chapter* of *Canterbury* manag'd the Spiritual Juriſdiction as in other Caſes of Vacancy. He was attainted about the middle of *November*, and on the Tenth of *December* following the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury* gave out Commiſſions to ſeveral Perſons to exerciſe Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction in their Names, and by their Authority. The *Chapter* continued poſſeſs'd of this Juriſdiction till the Publication of Cardinal *Pools* Bulls of *Proviſion* to the Archbiſhoprick; that is to the beginning of the year 1556. During this time the *Chapter* gave Commiſſions to the reſpective Officers and Judges of the Courts belonging to the Archbiſhoprick: They had likewiſe the Spiritual Juriſdiction of all vacant Biſhopricks, gave Inſtitution to Benefices, and Commiſſions for the Conſecration of Biſhops. All theſe Acts of Metropolitical Juriſdiction are entred upon a particular *Regiſter*, which runs thus in the Title.

The Archbiſhoprick vacant upon his Attainder.

Vacatio ſedis Metropoliticæ Chriſti Cantuar. poſt Depoſitionem Thomæ Cranmer nuper Archiepiſcopi Cantuar. primo de crimine læſæ Majeſtatis authoritate Parliamenti convicti, & deindè ob varias Hæreſes Authoritate ſedis Apoſtolicæ depoſiti, degradati, ſeculari Brachio traditi, & poſtremò in alma Univerſitate Oxonienſi igne conſumpti, ſub annis Domini, 1553, 1554, 1555, *regnorum verò Philippi & Mariæ Regum,* &c. During this Period all Acts and Inſtruments begin thus. *Nicholaus Wotton utriuſque juris Doctor, Decanus Eccleſiæ Cathedralis, & Metropoliticæ Chriſti Cantuar. & ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Capitulum, ad quem, & quos omnis & omnimoda Juriſdictio ſpiritualis & Eccleſiaſtica, quæ ad Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, ſede plena pertinuit, ipſa ſede jam per Attincturam Thomæ Cranmer ultimi Archiepiſcopi ejuſdem, de alta proditione attincti & adjudicati vacante, notoriè dignoſcitur pertinere.* (h) The Archbiſhops Attainder was confirm'd in Parliament this *Seſſion.* (i) He petition'd the Queen for his Pardon, pleading his Unskilfulneſs in the Common Law, and his being over-rul'd by the Authority of the Judges. The Queen at laſt pardon'd him the Treaſon, but reſolv'd to take away his Life another way, as will appear afterwards.

(h) Harmer *page* 127.

(i) 1ſt. Mar. Seſſ. 2. Cap. 16.

I ſhall now proceed to the Hiſtory of the *Convocation*, which had a Royal Summons to meet on the Sixth of *October*. They met at St. *Pauls London*. The Sermon was preach'd by *Harpsfield Bonners* Chaplain: His Text was, *take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt has made you Overſeers.* * From the Words he took occaſion to ſpeak to Three Propoſitions. His firſt Head was, how well St. *Paul* practis'd his own Doctrine. Secondly, how much the late Clergy manag'd wide of the Apoſtles Exhortation, and Thirdly, he pointed out the Methods for the Diſcharge of what was commanded in the Text. Under the Second Head he run out into a violent Invective againſt the Management of the Clergy in the late Reign. That they miſbehav'd themſelves to a remarkable Degree, both with Reſpect to Government and private Life. He charg'd them with Inſobriety and Epicuriſm, with flattering great Men, and ſervile Applications to the Court: With Omiſſions in Hoſpitality and Regard to the Poor, with boaſting their great Knowledge in the *Scriptures*, and preſuming to compare themſelves with the moſt eminent *Fathers*; whereas ſome of them mounted the Pulpit from the Shop, and were ſcarcely Grammar high. Then as to the Care of their Flocks he ſaid, they had miſerably miſmanag'd: They had made a Breach in the Unity of the Church, poiſon'd the Kingdom with Heterodoxy, and miſled great Numbers to endleſs Perdition. In ſhort, he omitted nothing which might diſcover a paſſionate and unfriendly Temper, and carried his Satyr to the laſt Degree of Roughneſs and Reproach. (i)

The Convocation meets Octob. 6.

* Acts 20. *v.* 28. *Journal. Convoc.*

(i) *This Sermon with Four Orations Printed by* Cawwood *in the year* 1554.

In the Summons to this *Convocation*, the Queen us'd the Title of *Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of* England. This Stile is likewiſe inſerted in the Earl of *Suſſex*'s Patent, in which he has a Grant of the Privilege of being cover'd in the Queens Preſence. The Inſtrument is dated *October* the Second this Year. (k) *Selden* affirms this Title of *Supreme Head*, &c. was left out in the Parliament Summons, and that this

(k) Weavers *Funeral Monuments p.*635.

this Omiſſion occaſion'd a Diſpute amongſt ſome of the Members concerning the Legality of the *Seſſions*. (*l*) But why the Queen ſhould uſe the Style of Supreme Head in a *Writ* to the *Convocation*, and omit it in thoſe for the Parliament, is not eaſy to imagin. Beſides, in the *Statutes* at large printed from the Parliament Rolls by *Cawwood* the Queens Printer, the Diſtinction of *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*, &c. is added to the reſt of the Royal Titles, both in the Firſt, and Second *Seſſions* of this Parliament.

(l) Seldens *Titles of Honour.*

Journal. Convoc. *Fol.* 72.

Id. *Fol.* 73.

To go on with the Convocation, Dr. *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter* being choſen Prolocutor, acquainted the lower Houſe, that 'twas the Queens Pleaſure they ſhould enter upon the Debate of ſome Controverſial Points; and form their Reſolutions into Canons, which ſhould afterwards be ratified by the Royal Aſſent. From hence he proceeded to touch upon the *Catechiſm* publiſh'd in the late Reign under the Name of the *Convocation*. He denied the Authority in the *Title*, and charg'd the Book with falſe Doctrine and Hereſy. How this Imputation was taken off has been already related. The Prolocutor gave the Houſe to underſtand that after Two Days Adjournment 'twould be proper to diſcourſe upon Two Points, and come to a Catholick Deciſion: The Queſtions to be diſcuſs'd were the Sacrament of the Altar, and Tranſubſtantiation. The Members expecting a Diſputation prepar'd themſelves accordingly. But at their next Meeting the Prolocutor exhibited Two Bills or Propoſitions for the Houſe to ſubſcribe: One of them aſſerted the natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar: The other denied the late Catechiſms being ſet forth by the Aſſent of the *Convocation*. Both theſe Articles were ſubſcrib'd by the whole Houſe excepting Five. Thoſe who refus'd, were *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, *Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hereford*, and *Ailmer* Archdeacon of *Stow*; what the Opinion of Four of them was may be ſeen in the Records. †

Octob. 18. 1553.

Oct. 20.

Ibid.

† *Records* Num. 68. *repeated.*

Archdeacon *Philpot* having offer'd ſomething already mention'd in Defence of the Authority of the Catechiſm, added, that to urge a Subſcription before the Matter was debated, and the Point clear'd, was contrary to Cuſtom and Reaſon: And that ſince there was ſo learned, and numerous an Appearance on one ſide of the Diſpute, and ſo few on the other; he deſir'd the upper Houſe might be mov'd to bring the Parties ſomething nearer to a Ballance, and that Biſhop *Ridley* and ſome other Divines who had a Share in drawing up the Catechiſm might be brought into the Houſe, and aſſiſt at the Conference. This Requeſt being propos'd to the Biſhops, they anſwer'd, 'twas not within their Power to grant that Liberty, in Regard the Perſons mention'd were ſome of them Priſoners. However, a Diſputation was order'd upon *Monday* following. When the Day came, there was a great Appearance of the Nobility, and other ſecular Men of Condition. The Prolocutor ask'd *Haddon* and *Ailmer*, whether they were willing to enter upon the Controverſy. Both of them refus'd to engage, unleſs thoſe Perſons they deſir'd to be brought in, were allow'd to aſſiſt. After this the Queſtion being put to *Cheyney* whether he was inclin'd to propoſe his Doubts concerning the Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation, he anſwer'd yes, and urg'd his Objections againſt this Article. His Firſt Argument was drawn from St. *Pauls*, calling the Holy Euchariſt, Bread after Conſecration. (*m*) He cited a Teſtimony out of *Origen*, and another from *Heſychius* to the ſame purpoſe. He likewiſe argued from a famous Paſſage in *Theodoret*, where the conſecrated Elements are ſaid to continue in their former Nature and Subſtance. (*n*) I have had occaſion to ſpeak to this Teſtimony in the former Part of this Work, to which I refer the *Reader*.

Octob. 23. *A Diſpute concerning Tranſubſtantiation.*

Cheyney *argues from a Text of St.* Paul.

(m) 1ſt. Cor. Cap. 11.

(n) Theod. Dialog. 2. *page* 85.

(*o*) To proceed, the Prolocutor aſſign'd Dr. *Moreman* to anſwer *Cheyneys* Objections. To the Citation from the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Moreman* reply'd, that the Apoſtle call'd one of the Sacramental Elements Bread, becauſe it was Bread before Conſecration. This Reaſoning was foreign and faint. As to the Teſtimony of *Theodoret*, his Anſwer was ſtill worſe; he ſaid this Father meant nothing by Subſtance and Nature, but Shape and accidental Subſtance as this Divine calls it. *Ailmer* defended *Cheyneys* Citation, and argued from critical Learning, and the Force of Language, that Οὐσία could not be conſtrued to an Accident. *Ailmer* was ſupported by *Philpot*, who prov'd that unleſs the Word *Subſtance* was taken in the common Senſe, the Heretick in *Theodoret* would have the better of the Catholick, and that *Fathers* Argument conclude directly againſt himſelf. For by this Reaſoning the Heretick *Eraniſtes* might turn *Theodorets* Similitude upon him. Had Tranſubſtantiation been the Doctrine of that Age, *Eraniſtes* might have replied, that as after Conſecration the Subſtance of Bread is tranſubſtantiated into the natural Body of Chriſt, and nothing but the accidental Form of it remains; ſo after our Saviours Aſcenſion, his Humanity was abſorb'd in the Divine Nature, and turn'd into the Subſtance of the Deity. In ſhort *Moreman* was ſilenc'd with this Argument.

(o) Eccleſ. Hiſt. *pt.* 1. *page* 262.

Ailmer *diſputes from* Theodoret.

Eraniſtes *repreſents an Eutichian Heretick.*

Philips Dean of *Rocheſter* came on next, and urg'd a remarkable Teſtimony from St. *Auſtin*. (*p*) This Father diſcourſing upon thoſe Words of our Saviour, *but me you have not always*, "obſerves that our Saviour ſpoke of his Bodily Preſence, for by his Grace, his Providence, and Divine Attributes, he is always preſent, and 'twas in this Senſe, that he promis'd his Diſciples *he would be with them to the End of the World*. But the Fleſh which the Word took upon him which was born of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was nail'd to the Croſs, which was buried in the Sepulchre, and ſhewn after the Reſurrection; this ſays our Saviour, *you ſhall not have always with you*. Chriſt is always preſent in his Deity, but touching the Preſence of his Fleſh, 'tis truly ſaid, *you ſhall not always have me with you*: For the Church had his Bodily Preſence a few Days, but now he is out of the reach of Senſe, and only apprehended by Faith. Dr. *Watſon* endeavour'd to take off this Anſwer by alledging another Teſtimony of St. *Auſtin*. "(*q*) Where this Father affirms, we have not Chriſt upon Earth now in the ſame manner, and mortal Condition, he appear'd in before his Paſſion. To this *Philpot* replied, that *Watſon* had not anſwer'd the Argument by this Counter Teſtimony; becauſe both in the Place above-mention'd, and a little after, this Father mentions only Two Ways or Manners of our Saviours Preſence; the one by his Providence

(p) Auguſt. in Johan. Tract. 50. John 12. *v.* 8.

Philips *urges a Teſtimony of St.* Auſtin.

(q) Aug. in Johan. Tract. Septuagies.

and Divinity, the other in his Fleſh, or natural Body, and denies his being preſent to the Church in this latter Senſe: Therefore to aſſert a Third Corporeal, but inviſible Preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar, is to advance a Doctrine which St. *Auſtin* ſeems never to have thought on. After ſome ſquabbling and unintelligible Diſtinctions thrown in by the *Prolocutor*, the Dean of *Rocheſter* proceeded to argue from the Words of the Inſtitution, *do this in Remembrance of me*: And from that Text of St. *Paul*, *we ſhew the Lord's Death till he comes*: *Philpot* argues from theſe Two Places that Remembrance implies the Abſence of what is remembred; and particularly theſe Words, *till he comes*, plainly import that Chriſt's Body is not preſent. The *Prolocutor* attempted to prove that theſe Words *'till he come*, did not infer the Abſence of Chriſt upon Earth. This he endeavour'd to make out by ſome Places in *Scripture*, where *until* was taken in a Senſe conſiſtent with this Interpretation. After this Dean *Philips* ask'd *Moreman*, whether our Saviour eat the Sacrament with his Diſciples at the Inſtitution: *Moreman* anſwering yes; the other put the Queſtion, whether he eat his own natural Body in the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation or not? *Moreman* anſwering in the Affirmative, the Dean look'd on the Conceſſion as too great an Abſurdity to be farther conſider'd, and ſo ſate down.

St. Luke 22. *v.* 19. 1. Cor. 11. 26.

Chriſt affirm'd to eat his own Body at the Inſtitution of the Holy Euchariſt.

Philpot thought the Advantage might be carried farther, and offer'd to prove from *Scripture* that Chriſt did not eat his natural Body at the Inſtitution of the Holy Euchariſt. He argued thus. The receiving of Chriſt's Body has the Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins annex'd. But Chriſt's eating the Sacrament had no Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins: Therefore Chriſt did not eat his own Body in the Sacrament. *Moreman* denying the Major or Firſt Propoſition, *Philpot* cited the Words of the Inſtitution, *which is given for you, which is ſhed for you for the Remiſſion of Sins.* *Moreman* refuſing to own this Expreſſion, amounted to a Promiſe; *Philpot* quoted theſe Words of our Saviour in the Sixth of St. *John*, *The Bread that I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World.* *Moreman* appearing embaraſs'd, *Harpsfield* endeavoured to diſengage him: He affirm'd the Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins by receiving of the Sacrament was not applicable to Chriſt, but only to his Diſciples: And that this was clear from the Inſtitution, *this is my Body which was given for you*; for you, but not for my ſelf. *Philpot* layed hold of the Argument, and turn'd it upon *Harpsfield*: And from hence infer'd, that the Promiſe annex'd did not reach our Saviour, therefore our Saviour did not eat his own Body. The *Prolocutor* tried to put by the Force of this Reaſoning, by objecting it concluded too much: For ſays he by this way of arguing, 'twill follow that our Saviour was not baptiz'd, becauſe Remiſſion of Sins annex'd to Baptiſm, did not operate upon him. To this *Philpot* replied, that our Saviour let the Sacrament of Baptiſm paſs upon him, not for any Neceſſity of his own, but only to recommend the Adminiſtration of it in the Church; and that 'twas for the ſame Reaſon and no other, that he participated with his Diſciples in the *Holy Euchariſt*. (r)

This diſprov'd by Philpot.

Octob. 25.

Philpot was appointed to begin the *Conference* at the next Meeting of the *Houſe*. He intended to have open'd the Diſputation with a Latin Speech, to have ſtated the Queſtion, deliver'd his Opinion at large, and ſupported it with Proofs. But *Weſton* the *Prolocutor* ſuſpecting ſome ill Conſequence from this Method, broke through his own Order, refus'd *Philpot* the Liberty of making a Speech, and enjoin'd him to diſpute in Engliſh. This was ſomewhat a Surprize upon *Philpot*, who had drawn up his Arguments in Latin. However, he complied with *Weſton*'s Appointment. Before he came cloſe to the Conteſt, he explain'd himſelf upon the Queſtion. And here he does not deny the Preſence of Chriſt in the Holy Euchariſt: He only denies that groſs carnal Senſe ſubſcrib'd by the *Houſe*: For the purpoſe, he denied that by Virtue of the Words of Conſecration pronounc'd by the Prieſt, the Sacramental Elements of Bread and Wine were tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt's natural Body: And that nothing but the Appearances or Accidents of Bread and Wine remain'd. He deſign'd to dilate farther upon this Head, but being interrupted, and preſs'd to argue in Form, he cited a Text from St. *Matthew*, and another from St. *Luke*, where the Women at our Saviours Sepulchre are told by the Angel, *he is not here but is riſen*, and ask'd, *why they look'd for the Living amongſt the Dead*? To theſe he added another remarkable Paſſage in St. *John*, where our Saviour ſpeaks to his Diſciples in theſe Words, *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the World: Again I leave the World, and go to the Father*. This coming and going away continues *Philpot*, was meant of our Saviours natural Body; from whence it follows it is not now in the World. But foreſeeing he ſhould be encounter'd with their cuſtomary Diſtinction of a viſible, and inviſible human Preſence, he endeavour'd to diſable it beforehand, by the Anſwer the Diſciples made our Saviour to the Words laſt mention'd: Now ſay they, *ſpeakeſt thou plainly, and ſpeakeſt no Proverb*. St. *Cyril* expounding upon this Text, affirms that our Saviour deliver'd himſelf without any manner of Ambiguity or Darkneſs of Expreſſion. Now if our Saviour when he told his Diſciples, *I leave the World and go to the Father*, ſpoke plainly, without any obſcure Reſerve or parabolical Diſguiſe, than that inviſible imperceptible Preſence of Chriſt's natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar, is a plain Contradiction to our Saviours Affirmation, and by Conſequence ought not to be admitted.

Philpot *argues farther againſt Tranſubſtantiation.*

St. Matthew 28.

St. Luke 23.

St. John 16. *v.* 28.

Id. *v.* 29.

To this Dr. *Chadey* return'd that the *Texts* cited by *Philpot* from St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, were only ſpoken to inform the Women our Saviours Body was not in the Grave, but had no manner of Reference to his Body either abſent or preſent, in the Holy Euchariſt. And that by the other *Text* in St. *John*, where our Saviour affirms *his leaving the World*, we are to underſtand nothing more than his Aſcenſion. To fortify this Expoſition he produc'd a Paſſage from St. *Chryſoſtome*. (s) This Father drawing ſomething of a Paralel between *Elijah* and our Saviour, obſerves a Diſparity in one Circumſtance: *Elijah*, ſays he, when taken up in the fiery Charriot left his Mantle behind him to his Diſciple *Eliſha*. But Jeſus Chriſt carried his Fleſh with him, and likewiſe left it behind him: From whence *Chadſey* infer'd, that Chriſt's natural Body, tho' viſibly aſcending into Heaven, remains notwithſtanding inviſibly in the Sacrament of the Altar. *Philpot* rejoin'd that ſuppoſing

The Teſtimony of St. Chryſoſtom argued pro & con.

(r) Fox *Vol.* 3d. page 19. & deinc.

(s) Chryſoſt. ad Pop. Antioch.

ſuppoſing St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Teſtimony came up to his purpoſe, yet his way of diſputing was by no means ſatisfactory: Becauſe he fail'd in the force of his direct Anſwer, ſhifted from the Point, and oppos'd one Objection to another. However he undertook to prove, that St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Authority, tho' not without a Colour, was foreign to the matter in Hand. The *Prolocutor* citing the Teſtimony in Latin and Engliſh, replied 'twas full and unanſwerable. *Philpot*, after ſome claſhing, between him and the *Prolocutor*, undertakes to make the Teſtimony unſerviceable. In the firſt Place he obſerves, that St. *Chryſoſtome*'s ſaying, our Saviour left his Fleſh behind him at his Aſcenſion, may mean nothing more than that, he left his Diſciples, and other Members of the Church on Earth, at his going to Heaven. To this Senſe St. *Paul* ſpeaks very plainly, where he calls us *Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone.* But being Apprehenſive this Conſtruction might ſeem ſomewhat ſtrein'd, he offers a more natural Solution of the difficulty from St. *Chryſoſtome* himſelf. This *Father*, a few Lines before the Teſtimony, cited by *Chadſey*, has theſe Words. That our Saviour after his Aſcenſion, left us his Sacraments, that is, his Fleſh in a Sacramental and Myſterious Repreſentation. And that our Saviour has left his Church, his Myſtical Fleſh or Body, both in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and that of the Lord's Supper. For as to the firſt, St. *Paul* aſſures us, that as many of us, *as have been Baptiz'd into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.*

Epheſ. 5.

Gal. 3. v. 27.

The diſarming this Teſtimony of St. *Chryſoſtome* was a conſiderable Blow. The *Prolocutor* therefore to prevent *Philpot*'s breaking them farther, order'd him to give over. *Philpot* thinking himſelf not well us'd, told him he had not yet gone thro' one Argument, and that he had Eleven more to urge. The *Prolocutor* commanded him to be ſilent at preſent, and threatned to ſend him to Priſon, upon which the other acquieſc'd. From hence it appears, the *Convocation* pretended to a Power of impriſoning their Members, no leſs than the Parliament.

After this *Ailmer* ſtood up, and reinforc'd the Argument he had formerly undertaken: And offer'd to prove that Ουσία in the Paſſage of *Theodoret* abovementioned, muſt of neceſſity be interpreted to Subſtance, in contradiſtinction to Accidents. *Moreman*, who appear'd againſt *Ailmer*, was, it ſeems, ſo much intangl'd with his Reaſons, that he deſir'd a Days time to conſider them, and return his Anſwer. *Haddon*, being call'd on to Diſpute next, went on with *Ailmer*'s Argument, and reaſon'd ſo cloſely, that Dr. *Watſon* his Adverſary being hard preſs'd, queſtion'd the Latin Tranſlation, which *Haddon* juſtified, by reading the Original in Greek.

Perne argued next againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and offer'd ſeveral Things to corroborate what had been urg'd by *Ailmer* and *Haddon*. For this he was check'd by the *Prolocutor*, becauſe he had Subſcrib'd the contrary Opinion with the reſt of the *Houſe*. Upon this, *Ailmer* tax'd the Prolocutor with Breach of Promiſe. For *Weſton*, it ſeems had engag'd that every Member ſhould have the liberty of declaring his Mind, and not be ſilenc'd upon the Score of their Subſcriptions: Beſides, as *Ailmer* alledg'd, 'twas reaſonable every Man ſhould have the Freedom to recollect himſelf, to ſpeak his Conſcience, and alter his Opinion upon farther Diſcovery. And thus Night coming on the *Houſe* roſe. At parting *Weſton* commended them for their Learning and Abilities, but let them know withal, the Deciſions of Holy Church muſt be receiv'd, and over-rule all Diſputes of this Nature.

The Fifth Day of the Conference, *Haddon* having leave to go on with his Argument, endeavor'd to diſprove Tranſubſtantiation, from the Paſſage in *Theodoret* already related. *Watſon* and he, having diſputed ſometime about the meaning of the Word Ουσία or ſubſtance, *Haddon* ask'd him when the Bread and Wine became Symbols, before Conſecration or after? *Watſon* anſwer'd after; upon which *Haddon* form'd his *Syllogiſm* thus: *Theodoret* affirms that the Sacramental Elements remain in the ſame Nature and Subſtance after they were Symbols, which they were before they were Symbols, but they were Bread and Wine before, therefore they are ſo after. *Watſon* being overſet with the Argument, excepted againſt the Authority, and called *Theodoret* a *Neſtorian*.

October 27.

Cheyney argues againſt the Corporal Preſence, from Irenæus *and* Heſychius.

Cheyney having Subſcrib'd the real Preſence, was expected a more inoffenſive manager, and appointed to argue next. But it ſeems the Prolocutor was miſtaken in him; for he urg'd a Text from *Irenæus* ſomething hard to deal with: The Paſſage ſtands thus. The Cup and the Bread broken, are made the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by which our Bodies are nouriſh'd and ſupported. His Inference was, that if the Euchariſt nouriſhes our Bodies, then there is ſome Subſtance remaining, beſides our Saviours Body. (t) To this *Watſon* and *Morgan* anſwer'd, that *Ex quibus*, or *by which*, in this Father, is to be refer'd to the immediate Antecedent, the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and not to the remoter one of the Cup and Bread. To this *Cheyney* replied, that thoſe who hold Tranſubſtantiation wont grant that the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, nouriſhes our Bodies in a Phyſical way, like other Diet, or for Inſtance, like unconſecrated Bread and Wine. After this, *Cheyney* urg'd a Teſtimony from *Heſychius* concerning the Cuſtom of burning the Symbols: *Watſon* anſwer'd he thought it a Queſtion not fit to be examin'd: However, *Cheyney* would puſh the Enquiry, and ask'd him from whence the Aſhes of the conſecrated Symbols were produc'd? No Man would be ſo hardy as to ſay, they were the remains of the Body of Chriſt. They muſt therefore anſwer from the Accidents of the Symbols, or the conſecrated Bread: But then the difficulty returns, for to ſpeak in the Terms of their own Philoſophy, which way can the ſubſtance of Aſhes emerge out of Accidents?

The Omnipotency of God no ſufficient Argument in this Caſe.

This difficulty ſeeming too big for *Watſon* and *Morgan*, *Harpsfield* endeavor'd to bring them off: He argued from God's Omnipotency, and the ſhortneſs of human Underſtandings, eſpecially with reſpect to religious Myſteries: That in ſuch Caſes 'twas our Duty to reſign, and not truſt our Senſes. To make this reaſoning bear, he reported a Paſſage in St. *Cyprian*, of a Woman that ſaw the Hoſt burning in her Cabinet. Now that which burnt there, ſays he, Burns in your Inſtance, and turns to Aſhes. But *Cheyney* preſs'd him with this Dilemma, that what was Burnt, muſt be either the ſubſtance of Bread, or the ſubſtance of our Saviour's Body: To grant the firſt, was to give up the Cauſe; And they were not ſo hardy as to affirm the latter. And therefore they anſwer'd no farther than that 'twas a Miracle: At which *Cheyney* ſmil'd, and ſaid, then he'd go no farther.

(t) Iræneus lib. v.

After this the *Prolocutor Weſton* appeal'd to the Company, whether *Philpot* and his Party had receiv'd a ſufficient Anſwer? Some few cried *Yes*, but the far greateſt Majority ſhouted *No*. *Weſton* was diſconcerted to find the Noiſe againſt him, and replied, 'twas not his Intention to aſk the judgment of the Illiterate Multitude, but only of the Houſe. Then turning to *Haddon* and the other Five, he aſk'd them whether they were contented to *reſpond* Three Days in their turn. *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, and *Ailmer* refus'd. But *Philpot* accepted the Conditions, and reſolv'd to venture the Conteſt, tho' he ſhould happen to ſtand ſingle againſt them all. The *Prolocutor* outrag'd him for his Reſolution, and told him he was fit to be ſent to *Bedlam*. Archdeacon *Philpot* return'd the Language, and complain'd of Partiality and coarſe Uſage. The *Prolocutor* told the Company that *Haddon*, and the reſt, had been allow'd to make their Oppoſition Three Days, upon a Promiſe to give the ſame Liberty to the other Party, and that now they declin'd to make good their Word. To this *Ailmer* replied, they had never engag'd to go thro' the Forms of a Diſputation, but only to give in their Reaſons why they could not Subſcribe with the other Members. That this had been partly done already, and that they were prepar'd to go on farther. But 'till their own Arguments were diſprov'd, 'twas not fair to oblige them to ſtand an *Oppoſition*. Beſides, 'twas plain the *Houſe* was come to a Deciſion againſt them, and therefore diſputing would be to no purpoſe.

October 30.

Philpot *argues againſt Tranſubſtantiation from the property of Humane Bodies.*

However, ſince *Philpot* had undertaken to go on with the Controverſy, there was another Day aſſign'd. And now *Philpot* complain'd of Interruption the laſt time he ſpoke, and deſir'd to go on with his former Argument. This being granted, he argued againſt Tranſubſtantiation from the property of human Bodies. He affirm'd 'twas Inconſiſtent with the nature of a Body to be as it were Uncircumſcrib'd and Omnipreſent, to be in Earth and in Heaven, to be abſent and preſent, at the ſame Time. In Proof of this, which one would think was plain enough of it ſelf, *Philpot* produc'd a Paſſage of *Vigilius*. *Morgan* replied this was no *Scripture*: Upon which *Philpot* alledg'd the Text, where our Saviour is ſaid to be *like to us in all Things except Sin*. This Teſtimony not giving Satiſfaction, he alledg'd another from St. *Peter*'s Sermon, where the Apoſtle ſpeaking of our Saviour, affirms, *the Heavens muſt receive him, until the Times of Reſtitution of all Things*. Theſe Words being ſpoken of Chriſt's Humanity, 'twill follow continues *Philpot*, that if the Heavens are to receive him 'till the general Reſtitution, he can't be corporally preſent on Earth in the *Sacrament*. To defend himſelf from this Inference, *Harpſfield* retired again to God's Omnipotency. *Philpot* rejoin'd, this Attribute would not relieve us, unleſs we had an Authority from *Scripture* to apply it to the preſent Caſe: But the *Scripture* has no where told us that Chriſt's natural Body is preſent both in Heaven, and the Holy Euchariſt. Upon this, the *Prolocutor* aſk'd him, if he intended to confine the divine Attributes, and Impriſon our Saviour in Heaven. After ſome ſquabbling upon the meaning of the Word *Oportet*, or *muſt* in the *Text* laſt mention'd, and that this Term did not always imply a neceſſity; after this *Morgan* aſk'd *Philpot*, whether he would be concluded by the Univerſal Church, or not? *Philpot* anſwer'd *Yes*, provided 'twas the true Catholick Church. And here he deſir'd *Morgan* to explain his Notion of the true Church. *Morgan* told him 'twas diſpers'd thro' the whole World. *Philpot* anſwer'd, his Definition was too looſe and imperfect. And that for his part he own'd no Church, excepting that which ſtands upon a Baſis of holy *Scripture, and is Built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets.*

Acts 3. v. 21.

Epheſ. 2. v. 20.

Whether the Church was before the Scriptures?

Moreman put the Queſtion, whether the *Scripture* was before the Church? *Philpot* anſwering in the Affirmative, *Moreman* prov'd the Chriſtian Church prior to the *Scriptures* of the *New Teſtament*. The Chriſtian Church, he ſaid, commenc'd with our Saviour, or at leaſt at his Reſurrection: But St. *Matthew* the firſt Evangeliſt, did not write his *Goſpel*, 'till about Twelve Years after our Saviour's Aſcenſion; from whence it muſt follow, the Church was before the *Scripture*. *Philpot* denied the Inference, and pretended a Fallacy in the Argument: He ſaid *Moreman* took the *Scripture* in too narrow a Senſe, and that it ought not to be confin'd to Paper and Ink, or Words form'd in Letters. For whatever was dictated by the Spirit of God, was to be accounted *Scripture*, tho' 'twas only recorded in the Minds, or deliver'd by the Mouths of holy Men. Thus he ſaid the Salutation of the Angel was *Scripture* before 'twas Written. Here *Philpot* ſeems ſhort, and embarraſs'd in his Anſwer, and therefore *Moreman* had reaſon not to be ſatisfied with it.

The Convocation Diſſolv'd.

At the riſing of the Houſe the *Prolocutor*, to give a colour of fair dealing, told *Philpot*, that provided he would appear in the Habit of the Houſe, and not ſpeak but upon his Order, he might have the Liberty of coming thither. *Philpot* ſaid he had rather be abſent than come upon thoſe Terms.

The *Convocation* continued to Sit, 'till the Thirteenth of *December*, which was a Week after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, at which Time the Queen directed a *Writ* to *Bonner*, to Diſſolve the Aſſembly. (u)

(u) Fox's *vol.* 3. *p.* 29. *Journal Convocation. Fol.* 73.

The Articles of the Marriage between the Queen and King Philip.

The beginning of the next Month the Emperors Ambaſſadors, Count *Egmont*, Count *Horn*, and ſome others, arriv'd at *London* for concluding the Match. This Treaty was ſettled upon the Articles following. *Philip* was to aſſume the Titles of the Engliſh Dominions, and be admitted into Partnerſhip of the Government, but with this Proviſo, that none of the Privileges or Cuſtoms of the Country ſhould be diſturb'd, and that the diſpoſal of all Offices of Truſt, Profit, or Honour, in Church and State, ſhould be lodg'd wholly in the Queen. That the Queen ſhould carry the Title of all the Countries where *Philip* was Sovereign, and thoſe which ſhould afterwards make part of his Dominions. And in Caſe her Majeſty ſurviv'd King *Philip*, a Joynture of Sixty Thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum* was ſettled, as had formerly been aſſign'd the Lady *Margaret*, Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*. Farther; 'twas agreed that the Iſſue of this Marriage, ſhould Succeed to all the Queen's Dominions, and likewiſe to the Seventeen Provinces in the low Countries, and to all the Emperor's Dominions in *Burgundy*. And that *Charles*, *Philip*'s Son, by his firſt Marriage, ſhould Succeed to all the other Kingdoms and Principalities in *Italy*, and *Spain*. That provided the Queen ſhould have none but Iſſue Female by *Philip*, that then the Eldeſt Daughter ſhould Succeed to all the *Netherlands*, upon

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

upon Condition that by the Conſent of her Brother *Charles*, (*Philip*'s Son by *Mary* of *Portugal*, his firſt Wife) ſhe made Choice of a Huſband out of *England*, or the low Countries. But in Caſe ſhe Married without her Brother's Conſent, her Right ſhould be barr'd to the *Netherlands*, which in that Caſe ſhould deſcend to *Charles* and his Heirs: However, both this Princeſs, and her Siſters, if ſhe had any, ſhould have a Dower aſſign'd them, proportionable to their Quality, and the Cuſtom of the reſpective Countries. And if it ſhould happen, that *Charles* ſhould Die without Heirs, or his Line fail afterwards, that then all the Dominions of the *Netherlands*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, ſhould deſcend upon the Heir of this Marriage, tho' Female only; with this Limitation, that no Laws, Privilege, or Uſage, of any of thoſe Countries, ſhould be ſet aſide, or alter'd. And laſtly, that there ſhould be a perpetual, and inviolable League, and Friendſhip, between the Emperor, *Philip*, and their Heirs, the Queen, and her Heirs, and each of their Countries and Dominions: And that the late Alliance concluded at *Weſtminſter*, in the Year 1542, and that Four Years afterwards at *Utrecht*, ſhould be Confirm'd. (*w*)

(w) Godwin Annal.

Pretences to draw the People into Rebellion.

This Treaty, as the *Reader* may perceive, was made with conſiderable Advantage to the Engliſh *Crown*. The Articles were drawn by *Gardiner*, who was a great Stateſman, and had been long practis'd in Buſineſs of this Nature. However, notwithſtanding the matter was dextrouſly manag'd, and every thing guarded beyond Exception, yet when the Alliance was Publiſh'd, a great many Mal-contents took Occaſion to Cenſure the Proceedings, and Arraign the Government. They gave out that now Foreigners were to be their Maſters: That the Spaniards were to diſpoſe of the Adminiſtration: That the old Conſtitution would be broken, the Nation made a *Province*, and treated like a Conquer'd Country.

Id.

Jan. 14. 155¾.

To check this dangerous Calumny, 'twas thought fit the Lord *Chancellor* ſhould make a report of the *Articles* in the *Preſence* Chamber, before the Lords, and other Perſons of Condition, belonging to the Court; and that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen ſhould be ſent for upon this Occaſion: All which was done accordingly. (*x*)

(x) Stow Annal.

The Revolt headed by the Duke of Suffolk, *and* Wyat.

Notwithſtanding this Precaution, the Fears and Jealouſies kept on. The diſaffected Party was believ'd, and the People continued uneaſy. To ſurprize the unwary, and heat them to a Rebellion, 'twas ſuggeſted Religion was overturn'd, and that the Queen had not kept her Word with the *Suffolk* Gentlemen. That the Spaniſh Match would bring Slavery along with it, cruſh their *Civil* Liberties, and lay them under the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*. Some took the Freedom to Compaſſionate the Lady *Jane*'s Misfortune, to lament her being Dethron'd, and Condemn'd to ſuffer as a Traitor. Thus Religion and Property, the uſual Cant to cheat the People, were made the Pretences by the chief Incendiaries. They had variety of Motives to practiſe on: Sir *Thomas Wyat* a Kentiſh Gentleman, was, as far as it appears, one of the firſt, and moſt forward, in concerting the Inſurrection. The Duke of *Suffolk* was engag'd upon a proſpect of recovering the *Crown* for his Daughter. The *Carews*, and other *Devonſhire* Gentlemen were drawn in, by an Expectation of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Marrying the Lord *Courtney*: And that this Princeſs, who was well affected to the *Reformation*, ſhould be Proclaim'd Queen. In ſhort, the Infection ſpread, and the Government had been in great danger, had not ſome of them diſcover'd themſelves too early, and gone off their Meaſures. For 'twas agreed by the Heads of the Revolt, that they ſhould not appear in the Field, 'till King *Philip*'s Arrival: That their waiting this Opportunity, would give a good Complexion to the Enterprize: That their taking Arms would be interpreted only a Defence of their Country againſt Foreigners, and not look like ſuch a direct defiance of the Government. In the mean time, they were only to work as it were under Ground, to provide for the *Field*, and ſtrengthen their Party. But Sir *Peter Carew*, thinking delays might be dangerous, over-run theſe Orders, and began to Levy Men privately in *Cornwall*. This being diſcover'd, and having no *ſtand* to repair to, he Embark'd, and made his Eſcape into *France*. He was afterwards taken at *Bruſſels*, and brought over into *England*, but did not Suffer. Sir *John Cheek* was taken with him, put on Board, and Impriſon'd in the *Tower*, where it ſeems his Fears prevail'd over his Conſcience, and reconcil'd him to the Church of *Rome*. This Failure in Reſolution ſate heavy upon his Spirits, affected his Health, and brought him to his End not long after. To return;

Mary Queen.

Sir John Cheek's *Death*.

* Godwin Annal.

Wyat finding the Deſign had taken Air, and that Courage and Reſiſtance was the beſt Security, prevail'd with the Kentiſh Men to Riſe. To bring them to his Purpoſe, he made uſe of the Arguments commonly inſiſted upon by Rebels: That the Queen was manag'd by evil Counſellors: That ſhe had done, and was ſtill doing, a great many things deſtructive to the Common-wealth. That 'twas the Buſineſs of true Engliſhmen, to remove this dangerous *Miniſtry*; and put Men of Integrity, and publick Spirit, in their room. But above all, they were to exert themſelves, to break the Marriage for the Reaſons above-mention'd. That by this Means the Intereſt of the Nation would be ſecur'd, and the Queen reſcued from Misfortune againſt her Will. This was the Colour, but the bottom of the deſign, was dethroning the Queen, and ſetting up the Lady *Jane*, as might be eaſily diſcover'd, by the Duke of *Suffolk*'s raiſing Men in *Warwickſhire*. (*y*)

(y) Godwin Annal.

Jan. 25. 155¾.

Wyat *Encamps at* Rocheſter.

The Queen being now inform'd, of their riſing in *Kent*, order'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to March againſt them, with a ſmall Body conſiſting moſtly of the *Guards*. The next Day Five Hundred Men were levyed in *London*, put on Board, and fell down to *Graveſend*, where they were to joyn the other Forces. The Duke thus reinforc'd, advanc'd to *Rocheſter*, where *Wyat* was Encamp'd: When his Troops came near the Bridge, they found it defended with ſeveral Pieces of *Cannon*. The Duke notwithſtanding mov'd, and order'd the Herald to Read the Queen's Proclamation: 'Twas to Command the Rebels to lay down their Arms, with Promiſe of Pardon. *Wyats* Men anſwer'd, they were not Conſcious of doing any thing againſt the Queen, which would make them ſtand in need of a Pardon. But Sir *George Harper* pretending himſelf touch'd with the Senſe of a Criminal Engagement, rode towards the Duke of *Norfolk*, as if he intended to quit the Party. But his Deſign was to tamper with *Brett*, who Commanded the *Londoners*. He ſucceeded in his Buſineſs, and manag'd ſo dexterouſly, *Captain* Brett, *and the Londoners, deſert to him.*

dexterouſly, that before they came up with the Enemy, *Brett* drew his Sword, and turning to his Men, told them, they would do well to conſider what they went about. Are we not going, ſays he, to Attack our Country Men, and Relations. “ Men that have taken the *Field* to preſerve the Kingdom, and protect our Liberties, againſt the Pride and Barbarity of the Spaniards? You that have a Mind to be Slaves, may keep with your General *Norfolk*. As for my ſelf, I had rather Die, then help to Conquer for Foreigners: I am therefore reſolv'd to venture my Life, for my Country, and follow Sir *Thomas Wyat*'s Fortune, not queſtioning many of you are of the ſame Mind. His Regiment wanted no farther Encouragement to make them Deſert: They immediately cry'd a *Wyat*, and began to turn their Cannon upon the Queen's Troops in the Rear, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guards, were mightily Surpriz'd at this turn, and retir'd with Precipitation. But *Wyat*, as it had been concerted, coming up immediately with his Horſe, ſtop'd the reſt from retreating with their General, and Seiz'd the Train of Artillery, with all the Ammunition and Baggage. After this he made a Speech to the Queen's Forces, to take Service under him, with Liberty however to return to the Court. By thoſe who were thus diſpos'd, he deſir'd the Queen might be acquainted, that himſelf and his Adherents, had not taken Arms to diſtreſs their Sovereign, but only to protect the Conſtitution againſt the Invaſion of Foreigners. Theſe ſpecious Pretences were not without their Effect: And thus *Wyat* being reinforc'd by the deſertion of the greateſt Part of the Queen's Troops, made directly for *London*.

The Duke of Suffolk *attempts to raiſe* Warwickſhire, *but miſcarries.*

When *Wyat*'s Inſurrection broke out in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Two Brothers, Lord *John*, and Lord *Leonard Grey*, rode down into *Warwickſhire*, and tryed to raiſe the Country againſt the Spaniard: But theſe Pretences being too weak to bring on a Revolt, and the Earl of *Huntington* coming againſt him, with a Body of Horſe, the Duke thought it beſt to provide for his Eſcape. Upon this he diſtributed his Mony amongſt his Men, order'd them to diſperſe, and ſhift for themſelves, and going off alone, abſconded at one of his *Keepers*, who promis'd to Conceal him: But this Man, either for fear, or Mony, as 'tis moſt probable, diſcover'd him to the Earl of *Huntington*. Being thus Seiz'd he was guarded to *London*, with Three Hundred Horſe, and committed to the *Tower*.

February 11.

After the deſertion of *Brett* and his Men, the Inſurrection had a formidable Appearance.

The Queen's Speech at Guild-hall.

The Queen therefore being Solicitous to keep the City firm, went to *Guild-hall*, and made a Speech to the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and *Common Council*. And here ſhe endeavor'd to make them ſenſible, “ that *Wyat*'s taking Arms upon pretence of hindring the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, was only a Colour for his Treaſon, and guilding the Pill to make the Poiſon go down the better. That now by the deſerting of ſome of her Troops, he was grown ſo extravagantly Inſolent, as not only to inſiſt upon breaking her Marriage, but to demand the appointing her Guards, diſplacing her Miniſtry, and puniſhing her *Privy Council* at Pleaſure. As to her Marriage, ſhe had made no Step in that Affair, without the Advice of the Nobility. She had lived Single the beſt Part of her Life, and was very willing to continue in that State, provided 'twas thought ſerviceable to the *Publick*. She hop'd therefore, that ſince they had all acknowledg'd her Title, they would ſhew themſelves Loyal Subjects, and aſſiſt her againſt Treaſon, and Rebellion.

The City giving Signs of Duty, the Queen rais'd Five Hundred Men, and poſted them at the Bridge. Two Days after, *Wyat* March'd into *Southwark* with Three, or as ſome ſay, with Four Thouſand Men. He had a ſtrong Expectation of being joyn'd by a great Party there, and carrying his Point without farther Conteſt. But when he came to the Bridge, he found it drawn up, and a Body of Men in Arms to oppoſe his Paſſage. He ſtayed notwithſtanding Two Days in *Southwark*, hoping his Friends in the City might exert themſelves, and overcome the difficulty: But finding himſelf diſappointed, he March'd to *Kingſton*, Ten Miles from *London* up the River. Here the Bridge was likewiſe broken, but ſo negligently, that in a few Hours he repair'd it, and paſs'd over his Men. And now concluding the Succeſs of the Attempt, would depend upon the ſpeed of his March, he reſolv'd to come for *London*, without making the leaſt Halt, to refreſh his Men. By this Expedition, he expected to reach the Town before Day, and ſurprize the Queen. Which had happen'd accordingly, for it ſeems the Court had ſent out no Scouts to give warning of the Approach of the Enemy.

February 3.

Wyat *Marches to* London.

But Providence, which commonly, (tho' not always) diſappoints rebellious Practiſes, threw an Obſtacle in the Way. It happen'd that the Carriage of one of the Cannon brake, about Six Miles from Town. *Wyat* was ſo far Infatuated, as to ſpend ſeveral Hours in mending it. Thus the main Opportunity was loſt, and the Time Concerted with his Friends in the City, not kept. Captain *Vaughan*, and other Officers, adviſ'd him to be punctual to his Appointment, to March on, and leave the Field-Piece behind him. *Harper* above-mention'd, finding him Obſtinate, quitted him, came to Court, and diſcover'd his Meaſures. *Stow* reports that *Poinet*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was in *Wyat*'s Army, and encourag'd the Enterprize: But that when he perceiv'd *Wyat* was likely to miſcarry, by trifling about mending the Carriage, that the Conſpiracy began to break, and the Men ſlip from their Colours; finding their Affairs go backward, he adviſ'd *Brett*, and ſome others to look to themſelves: And thus taking leave of his Friends, with Promiſe to Pray for their Succeſs, he Embark'd for *Germany*. (z)

Loſes Time.

The News of *Wyat*'s being ſo near, alarm'd the Court extremely. The Queen order'd the raiſing what Forces could be gotten together on a ſudden, and gave the Command of them to the Earl of *Pembroke*. *Wyat* having notice of this Preparation, and that they were likely to come to Blows, came on by ſlow Marches, to keep his Men in the better Condition for Action. And thus 'twas almoſt Noon before he entred the Suburbs. The Earl of *Pembroke* Skirmiſh'd with him near St. *James*'s, and Sir *John Gage* Lord Chamberlain, with a Body of the Guards at *Charing-croſs*: But being Apprehenſive the Earl of *Pembroke* had gone in to the Enemy, *Gage*'s Men were Seiz'd with a Pannick, and retir'd to the Court in great Confuſion. Notwithſtanding this Suſpicion, the Earl of *Pembroke*

And Surrenders himſelf.

(z) Stow's *Annal p.* 620

Feb. 6.

broke acquitted himſelf honourably, hung upon the Rebels Rear, and cut off a great many. However, *Wyat* continuing his March through the *Strand* and *Fleetſtreet*, came up to *Ludgate*. As they mov'd, they cried God ſave the Queen, and told the People ſhe had granted them all their Demands. *Ludgate* being ſhut againſt them, *Wyat* call'd out he was there, and deſir'd Entrance. But thoſe within returning hard Language, and being in no Condition to force the Gate, he retreated with his Men towards *Temple-bar*, where perceiving himſelf almoſt inclos'd by the Earl of *Pembroke*, he ſurrendred to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, who carried him to the Council, from whence he was ſent to the *Tower*. *Wyats* Men when they ſaw their General ſurrender, threw down their Arms, and were many of them taken and impriſon'd. (*a*)

Stow.

The Lady Jane *and the Lord* Guilford *executed.*

Fox.

Her Speech upon the Scaffold.

The Duke of *Suffolk*'s concerting this Rebellion with *Wyat*, prov'd fatal to his Daughter the Lady *Jane*. She acquainted him in a Letter, ſhe was not inſenſible he had ſhorten'd her Life. Before this laſt Revolt, the Queen ſeem'd diſpos'd to deal gently with this Lady: For after ſhe was found guilty of High Treaſon, ſhe had the Liberty of the Parade in the *Tower*, and of walking in the Queens Garden. But now 'twas thought neceſſary to proceed to Extremities, and that the Queen could not be ſafe as long as the other was living. This being reſolv'd, Dr. *Fecknam* was ſent to her, to give her notice ſhe muſt die, and offer'd to reconcile her to the Roman Catholick Religion: She receiv'd the Firſt Part of this Meſſage with great Temper and Unconcernedneſs: But as to the other, ſhe ſaid ſhe had no Leiſure to enter upon Controverſy, but ſhould ſpend the little Time ſhe had, in preparing for Eternity. *Fecknam* believing ſhe was willing to get more Time, went to the Queen and procur'd a Reprieve for Three Days. When he acquainted her with it, he deſir'd ſhe would hear him upon the Subject of Religion. She told him he miſtook her Meaning, that ſhe was by no means fond of living longer, and never intended his moving the Queen to reſpite her Execution. After this, they engag'd in a Diſpute concerning Juſtification by Faith, the Number of the Sacraments, Tranſubſtantiation, Communion in one Kind, and the Authority of the Church: Upon all which Points ſhe argued much beyond what could be expected from her Age, and a Ladies Education. Her Huſband the Lord *Guilford* deſir'd tp take Leave of her, before he ſuffer'd: This Requeſt was granted: But the Lady *Jane* refus'd to ſee him. She was afraid ſuch an Interview might excite an unſeaſonable Tenderneſs, and make them leave the World with more Regret. Her Miſcarriage being much more owing to others than her ſelf, was apt to make an Impreſſion upon the People. How far this might work upon the Company, could not be known: 'Twas therefore thought adviſeable to execute her within the *Tower*. She mounted the Scaffold without the leaſt Appearance of Fear, or being diſturb'd. In her Speech ſhe own'd her ſelf guilty, not that ſhe had graſp'd at the Crown, but becauſe that ſhe had not refus'd the Offer: And thus her Miſfortune might be a Warning to Poſterity, that Innocent Meaning is not a ſufficient Excuſe for diſturbing the Publick: And that thoſe who reſign'd to other Peoples Ambition, help'd to fill up their Schemes, and are drawn into unlawful Practices, tho' againſt their Will, have a great deal to anſwer for. (*b*)

Her Character.

The Deſcent of this Lady has been mention'd already with ſome other particulars. As to the reſt of her Character, ſhe was a handſome Perſon, obliging in her Temper, and no ordinary Genius. Her Inclination lay unuſually for Learning. She was ſcarcely Seventeen Years Old when ſhe ſuffer'd: And yet in King *Edward*'s Time ſhe had made ſuch a Proficiency in Greek, that *Plato* untranſlated was a Diverſion: She had likewiſe ſomething of a Talent for Poetry in Engliſh and Latin. There is a Letter of hers to one *Harding*, who had been Chaplain in her Fathers Family. This Divine had profeſs'd the reform'd Religion, but was now gone off to the Church of *Rome*. The Lady *Jane* writes in a very pathetical Strain to recover him. She endeavours to move him by the Terrors of the other World, tells him he ought to prefer his Conſcience to his Life: Cites ſeveral Paſſages from *Scripture*, and Church Hiſtory to work him to Repentance and Reſolution. The Diſcourſe is remarkably pious, and diſcovers no ordinary ſhare of Elocution. But after all, the Language is extremely harſh: She expoſtulates in the higheſt Terms of Reproach. If he had revolted to the *Alcoran*, or worſhip'd the Pagan Deities, ſhe could not have expreſs'd herſelf in ſtronger Averſion. (*c*)

By this Letter the *Reader* may perceive to what Diſtance this Lady had been bred from any thing which look'd like Popery: Now where the Idea ſeems too hideouſly drawn, and the Imputation overcharg'd, Vehemence and Paſſion is apt to exceed. Several of thoſe that ſuffer in *Fox*'s Martyrology, ſeem to have gone too far in Declamations of this Kind. Indeed both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, when they firſt parted eſpecially, treated each other with too much Severity of Language. Now ſuch Sallies tend only to exaſperate and do no manner of Service. People may ſtand clear of Error without Inſult and hoſtile Behaviour. There is a middle Way between Railing and Ceremony, between Careſſes and Outrage: And without Queſtion ſmooth Advances, and friendly Application, are the beſt Expedients to undeceive the miſled, and diſpoſe them to part with their Errors.

Feb. 23. *The Duke of* Suffolk *beheaded.*

About Fifty of the moſt forward in this Inſurrection were executed in ſeveral Places. Captain *Brett* who carried in the *Londoners* to *Wyat*, was put into the Hands of the Sheriff of *Kent*, and hang'd in Chains at *Rocheſter*. He own'd he had deſerv'd his Puniſhment, having thrice refus'd the Queens Pardon. The Duke of *Suffolk* was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. He confeſs'd he ſuffer'd juſtly for his Diſloyalty to the Queen, and deſir'd the People to take Warning by his Misfortune, and behave themſelves dutifully to the Government: He profeſs'd his Belief of the Chriſtian Religion, without any Diſtinction as to Communions, excepting his ſaying that he reſted his Salvation upon no other means than the Mercy of God, through the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour. By this he may ſeem to exclude all Dependance upon the Saints Interceſſion. And without doubt *Fox* took him in this Senſe, for he gives him the Commendation of making a *godly End*. On the other Hand Dr. *Weſton*, it ſeems, did not look on him as an Heretick. For after this Speech, he aſſiſted him in his Devotions, and they repeated the Two Pſalms, *miſerere mei Deus, & in te Domine ſperavi* alternatively the Duke One Verſe, and the Doctor another. (*d*)

(a) Godwin Annal.

(b) Godwin Annal.

(c) Fox *Vol.* 3. *page* 33.

(d) Stow Anal. *p.* 623.

This Duke notwithſtanding he had concerted the diſinheriting the Queen with *Northumberland*, and appear'd at the Head of his Daughters Uſurpation, was graciouſly pardon'd, as hath been already obſerv'd. And therefore his engaging with *Wyat*, and breaking out in a Second Rebellion was horrible Ingratitude. He is ſaid to be a weak Man, which is the only Circumſtance that can be pleaded in Abatement of his Guilt.

Ibid. & p.624.

William Thomas Clerk of the *Council* in the late Reign, was one of *Wyat*'s Adherents, and committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon. During his Impriſonment he ſtab'd himſelf with a Knife, and the Wound was near being Mortal. At his Execution he juſtified his Treaſon, and ſaid he died for his Country. He adviſ'd aſſaſſinating the Queen, for which *Wyat* abhorr'd him, as he confeſs'd to the Attorney General at his Execution. *

* Hollinshead *page* 1104.

This *Thomas* was not without Learning and Parts. He writ a Book intitled *Pelerin Ingleſe* in Defence of the Proceeding of King *Henry* the Eighth. Sir *Thomas Wyat* was beheaded upon *Tower Hill*. He had beg'd his Life, and pretended he could have made the Queen Satisfaction: 'Tis probable he meant in ſome Diſcoveries. He own'd his Treaſon upon the Scaffold, and appear'd very Penitent. He ask'd the Queen Forgiveneſs, caution'd the People againſt Defiance of the Government, and making Inſurrections upon any Pretence. And whereas it had been reported he had charg'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, and *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire* with holding Correſpondence with him, and having a ſhare in the Revolt; he ſolemnly declar'd this was a downright Calumny upon them both, and that neither of them knew any thing of his Riſing. It ſeems he had given in ſome Depoſitions to the *Council* to their Diſadvantage; but his dying Words without Queſtion are moſt to be regarded. I have ſeen a Letter in the *Paper Office* under the Lady *Elizabeths* own Hand, in which ſhe purges herſelf from this Imputation with the ſtrongeſt Imprecations imaginable. Whether 'twas *Wyat*'s Inconſiſtency in his Evidence, or *Courtney*'s Refuſal of the Queens Favour, and making his Court to her Siſter, which rais'd a Jealouſy, is hard to determine: However, 'tis certain the Queen was apprehenſive of Diſturbance from this Quarter. And therefore the Earl of *Devonſhire* who had been committed to the *Tower* in this Commotion, was now convey'd to *Foderingay Caſtle* in *Northamptonſhire*. The Lady *Elizabeth* was ſent from the *Tower* to *Woodſtock*, and had a gentler Confinement.

Wyat *clears the Princeſs* Elizabeth, *and the Earl of* Devonſhire *at his Death.*

Stow Annal.

As to the Inſurrection under *Wyat*, 'tis plain 'twas the Colour of Religion which miſled the People, and ſtrengthen'd the Revolt. Now for Chriſtians to endeavour a Relief by riſing upon the Government, is a deſperate Expedient. What can be more unaccountable than to rebel for that Belief which damns Rebellion? To honour God with the Breach of his Laws, and ſerve him with the higheſt Violation of Faith and Duty, is a blaſphemous Pretence. 'Tis to preſcribe Poiſon for Preſervative, and kill in the Remedy. Beſides, Religion is never in Danger of being loſt: A Mans Faith by God's Grace, is impregnable againſt all Aſſaults. Unleſs we throw it up, and betray it, all the Force of Men and Devils cannot wreſt it from us. The Primitive Chriſtians kept it upon the Rack: *Neither Nakedneſs, nor Peril, nor Sword could ſeparate them from the Love of Chriſt.* What can be more contrary to Religion, than to break through the Divine Eſtabliſhment, fly in the Face of Authority and Law, and lay Kingdoms in Blood and Aſhes? Thoſe who ſuggeſt ſuch flagitious Courſes, have generally ſome ſelfiſh Deſign at the Bottom. They would make the People Tools for their Ambition: Their Buſineſs is Intereſt and Power: And all this falſe Zeal is either to gratifie their Pride, or their Pocket. 'Tis granted a State of Perſecution is not to be wiſh'd; however, when Providence pleaſes to bring it upon us, they ought not to avoid it by applying to unlawful means: To take ſuch large Steps would be falling under the Imputation with which *Job* was unjuſtly tax'd: 'Twould be *chuſing Iniquity rather than Affliction.* To which it may be added, that Religion loſes no Ground by Perſecution. Integrity has never ſo fair a Tryal as under hard Uſage: Which Way can the Faith of a Chriſtian be ſaid to ſuffer, when Diſintereſſedneſs and Reſignation are moſt clearly diſcover'd; when all the moral and evangelical Virtues have the beſt Opportunities, and are ſet in the faireſt Light? Farther, when People live under a Prince of a different Religion, they ought to be particularly careful in their Behaviour: They ought not to ſhew the leaſt Sign of Diſaffection: They ought to ſerve him with all the Zeal and Chearfulneſs imaginable: This is the way to make their Honeſty ſhine out, to recommend their *Belief*, and gain Proſelytes to their Church. To abet a Princes Right of a different Communion, and acquieſce under the Diſadvantages which may happen, is a noble Inſtance of ſteady unmercenary Loyalty. Here *Paſſive Obedience* appears with all the Luſtre imaginable. Nothing but Regard to Juſtice and the other World, can keep People tight under ſuch Circumſtances: Suffering either preſent, or in Proſpect is a creditable Teſt for Integrity and Honour: 'Tis a glorious Opportunity to ſhew we are Chriſtians, and ought never to be loſt. 'Tis likewiſe the moſt probable Method to ſoften a Prince to good Humour, and abate the Rigour of his Government.

Rebelling upon the Score of Religion an unwarrantable Expedient.

'Tis to be wiſh'd *Fox* had declar'd his Abhorrence of this Rebellion, and ſpent ſome of his Vehemence upon the Occaſion. His Satyr could never have been better employ'd than againſt *Wyat* and his Party. 'Tis true, he calls it a Rebellion, but afterwards ſlides gently over it without farther Cenſure. I am ſorry to ſee his Paſſions ſo calm, and his Pen ſo ſmooth under ſuch Provocation. But inſtead of declaiming againſt the Wickedneſs of theſe *Goſpellers*, and laſhing the Inſurrection, he falls foul on the Duke of *Suffolks* Servant: He calls him a falſe *Traytor*, for diſcovering his Maſter, and putting him in the Hands of Juſtice. (e) 'Tis true this Man had promis'd the Duke to conceal him, but then this Engagement was ſomething like that of *Herods*, he could not keep it without failing againſt a Prior Obligation. For every Subject is bound by his natural Allegiance to diſcover the Enemies of the Government, eſpecially ſuch as break out in Rebellion, and point directly at dethroning the Prince. 'Tis true the Dukes Servant had ſomething of a hard Caſe upon him: His Maſter had, no doubt of it, been kind, and caſt himſelf upon his Secrecy: But ſince the Duke was ſo highly criminal; ſince the Keeper promis'd

Fox *miſtaken in his Remarks.*

(e) Fox *Vol.* 3. *page* 30.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

miſs'd more than was in his Power; 'tis plain he could not be true to his Maſter without Breach of Duty, and being falſe to the Queen and Government.

Id. *page* 37.

Fox is ſomewhat unhappy in another Remark upon Judge *Morgan*: He makes his paſſing Sentence upon the Lady *Jane* at *Guildhall* judicially puniſh'd with Madneſs: But this looks like a cenſorious and ill founded Inference. For what Crime could it be to diſcharge his Office, to maintain the *Conſtitution*, and give Judgment on a Perſon notoriouſly guilty of High Treaſon. The Indictment was confeſs'd, and the Judge was to govern himſelf by the Directions of Law. As to the Lady *Jane*'s being overruled into the Uſurpation by her Parents, or miſled by the *long Robe*. Theſe Conſiderations were to be wholly referr'd to the Queens Mercy, and the Judge had nothing to do with them upon the *Bench*.

It has been already obſerv'd, that *Stow* reports *Poinet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in *Wyat*'s Army, and abetting the Inſurrection. This one of our Learned Church Hiſtorians *(f)* affirms is *certainly falſe*. 'Tis generouſly done to attempt the throwing off ſo black an Imputation, but his Proof falls ſomething ſhort of his Affirmation. He ſays, had this Story been true upon *Poinet*, it would have been diſcover'd by the Priſoners. And how does it appear it was not ſo diſcover'd? *Stow* who lived at the ſame Time, is poſitive for the matter of Fact: And this Hiſtorian 'tis well known, is neither reckoned an over-credulous or Romantick Writer.

Goodmans *Juſtification of Wyat*'s *Rebellion.*

That ſome of the *Reform'd* were well Wiſhers to *Wyat*'s Revolt, is paſt all Doubt: For the purpoſe, there was a Book publiſh'd at *Geneva* about this Time by *Chriſtopher Goodman*: The Deſign of this Tract is to ſhew *how far Superior Magiſtrates are to be obey'd*. 'Tis ſtuff'd with a great deal of ſcandalous Invective againſt the Queen, and her Subjects are incited to Rebellion. He makes no ſcruple to embalm *Wyat*'s Memory, and flouriſhes upon the Inſurrection in theſe Words. "*Wyat*, ſays he, did "but his Duty, and it was but the Duty of all "others that profeſs'd the Goſpel, to have "riſen with him for the Maintenance of the "ſame: His Cauſe was juſt, and they were "all Traytors that took not Part with him. O "noble *Wyat!* Thou art now with God, and "thoſe worthy Men that died in that happy "Enterprize. (*g*)

To give another Inſtance. There was a *Book* printed towards the latter end of this Reign, but neither the preciſe Year, nor Place are mention'd: 'Tis intitled, *a ſhort Treatiſe of politick Power*, &c. *With an Exhortation to all true natural Engliſh Men*. There are ſome initial Letters upon the Title Page deſign'd to point out the Author. (*h*) This Book was put into my Hands for *Poinets*, but I hope the Gentleman was miſinform'd. However, 'twas certainly written by ſome *reform'd Engliſh Man*, and by a Perſon that had loſt a conſiderable Poſt for Non-compliance; as plainly appears by ſeveral Paſſages. As to the Performance, 'tis a moſt peſtilent Diſcourſe. It makes all Government precarious, and lays it wholly in a manner at the Mercy of the People: The Author declaimes againſt abſolute Anthority as the Invention of the Devil. He cites the *Ephori* in *Sparta*, and the Roman *Tribunes* as a Preſident for calling the Prince to an Account for Maleadminiſtration: And that as he words it *in all Chriſtian Realms and Dominions, God has ordain'd means that the Heads, the Princes, and Governors, ſhould not oppreſs the People after their Luſts*: And therefore he charges the States, and inferior Magiſtracy with Negligence, and Breach of Truſt, for not riſing upon crown'd Heads, and reſcuing the People from Tyranny. And to apply his Reaſoning, and make it bear upon *England*, he runs a great length of Satyr againſt the Government; makes Popery as bad as Heatheniſm, and glances not unintelligibly upon the Queen. He preſſes the Expedient of depoſing Princes: And which is more, he wreſts the *Scripture* to juſtifie his Doctrine, recommends Aſſaſſination from ſeveral Places in the Old *Teſtament*, and miſapplies the Inſtances in an horrible manner. Beſides the Scandal of the matter, he is frequently groſs in his Railing, and ſometimes indecent in his Levities. In the cloſe, he addreſſes particularly to the Engliſh, and tells them, that all the Plagues of the preſent Reign, of which he had already given a Tragical Account, that all theſe Plagues had fallen upon them *for cleaving to the Pope and his Traditions, and maintaining ſuch a ſort of Hypocrites and Enemies of God and the Realm*; *meaning Papiſts*. And that the reſt of the Judgments threatn'd in *Deuteronomy* would overtake them, unleſs they behav'd themſelves better, that is, unleſs they took Arms againſt the Government, and threw out Popery by Force.

Mary *Queen*

Some of the Tenets of a Book intitl'd a ſhort Treatiſe of politick Power.

After a Recital of theſe wretched Principles, the *Book* ought not to be charg'd upon *Poinet* without plain Evidence: And therefore I am willing to acquieſce in our Hiſtorians next Reaſon for his Vindication. He concludes, that if *Poinet* had been concern'd in *Wyat*'s Rebellion, *Gardiner* would have gotten him attainted in the next Parliament: And that this being not done, is a ſufficient Juſtification of that *Prelate*. (*i*)

To take leave of this Rebellion; after the Principal Conſpirators were executed, about Five Hundred of the Peaſants that follow'd *Wyat*, were brought before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, beg'd their Lives, and were pardon'd.

A Proclamation for Foreigners to quit the Kingdom.

About this Time the Queen ſet forth a Proclamation, commanding Foreigners to depart the Kingdom. To prevent the Imputation of Rigour, 'tis ſaid in the Proclamation, that a great many Foreigners guilty of Murther, Treaſon, Robbery, and other horrible Crimes, had fled from Juſtice, and taken ſhelter in her Majeſties Realm. That they had infected her Subjects with Hereſy, abetted the late Rebellion, and ſtill continued the ſame Practice, endeavouring to diſpoſe her Subjects to another Inſurrection. For this Diſaffection and Miſbehaviour they are order'd to depart the Kingdom within Twenty Four Days under the Penalty of Impriſonment, forfeiting their Effects, and being put into the Hands of their reſpective Princes. (*k*)

'Twas upon this *Proclamation*, as *Fox* reports, that not only *Peter Martyr*, and *John Alaſco*, but likewiſe the Engliſh Exiles already mention'd, tranſported themſelves into *Germany*, *Geneva*, and *Switzerland*.

The Government being now ſecur'd by cruſhing the Rebellion, the *Court* thought fit to make uſe of the opportunity, with Reference to the Church. For now they were in no Apprehenſion of Mutiny and Oppoſition. At this

(f) *Biſhop* Burnet. *pt.* 2. *page* 270.

(g) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. Q.* Mary *p.* 34.

(h) *The Letters are theſe.* D. I. P. B. R. W.

(i) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 271.

(k) Fox *Vol.* 3. *p.* 39, 40.

Articles ſent down by the Queen to all the Biſhops.

favorable Juncture, *Articles* were drawn up, and ſent into every Dioceſe, with Letters to the Biſhops, to ſee them carefully Executed. The Purport of the Articles is to the Senſe following. “That all Biſhops and others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall with all poſſible Expedition, put the Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws in Execution, which were formerly us'd in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, provided they are not directly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. That no Biſhop or Eccleſiaſtical Officer, ſhall in any Inſtrument or Proceſs, inſert the Clauſe, *Regiâ Authoritate fulcitus.* That the Oath of Primacy or Succeſſion, that is, the Oath of *Supremacy*, ſhould not be impos'd on the Clergy at Ordinations, or Admiſſions to Benefices. That Biſhops and their Officers ſhould be particularly careful, not to admit any Perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Function or Benefice, who lay under the Imputation of Hereſy, or any other great Crime: And that the Biſhops ſhould put a ſtop, as far as in them lay, to the paſſing or confirming unreaſonable Leaſes. That all Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Officers, ſhould do their utmoſt, towards the ſuppreſſing of Hereſy, and other ſcandalous Crimes, eſpecially with reſpect to the Clergy. They were likewiſe to Diſcountenance and Cenſure ſcandalous Books and Ballads, and to inſpect the Conduct of Schoolmaſters and Preachers: That they might not misbehave themſelves, and miſlead their Charge. That all Biſhops and others, having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhould proceed Summarily, and with all poſſible diſpatch, deprive, and remove all ſuch Perſons from their Spiritual Promotion, who have Married, and Cohabited with their Wives, or given themſelves the Liberty of any other remarkable diſorder: And that hanging the Proceſs, the Profits of their Preferments ſhould be ſequeſter'd. And here thoſe Clergymen, whoſe Wives were Dead, were to be more gently uſed. Thoſe Prieſts likewiſe, who with the conſent of their Wives, declar'd againſt Cohabitation for the future, before the Biſhop, might after Penance, if the Biſhop thought fit, be reſtor'd to their Function upon another Cure, and have a Penſion aſſign'd them, out of their firſt Preferment, at the Ordinaries diſcretion. That thoſe who had formerly been profeſs'd in any Monaſtick Order, and afterwards Married, ſhould be formally Divorc'd, and puniſh'd over and above. That where Prieſts were wanting, the Pariſhioners ſhould be order'd to repair to another Pariſh, 'till farther Proviſion: And that in the mean time one Curate ſhould Officiate alternatively, in ſeveral Places. That all Proceſſions ſhould be Solemniz'd purſuant to Cuſtom, in the Latin Tongue. That all Feſtivals and Faſts ſhould be obſerv'd, as they were in the latter end of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. That the old Ceremonies ſhould be reſtor'd, and the Children Chriſtned by the Prieſt, and Confirm'd by the Biſhop, according to Antient Uſage.

The next Article being of a nice Importance, I ſhall ſet it down in the Words 'twas drawn up, it ſtands thus.

March 3. 155$\frac{3}{4}$.

Touching ſuch Perſons, as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new Sort and Faſhion of Orders; conſidering they were not order'd in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe finding otherwiſe, Sufficiency and Ability in thoſe Men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to diſcretion admit them to Miniſter.

To proceed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe is Injoin'd to ſet forth a Book of *Homilies*, “to inſtruct the People, and regulate their Belief. The Pariſhioners are likewiſe to be compell'd to come to Church, and hear Divine *Service*. The Biſhops are to give Orders to all Schoolmaſters, to Inſtruct their Children in the Liturgy, that they may be able to repeat the *Reſponſes*, and aſſiſt the Prieſt at Maſs, as formerly. (*l*)

(l) Id. *p.* 38. March 16. 155$\frac{3}{4}$.

Two Commiſſions Iſſued out for the depriving Seven Biſhops.

About Ten Days after the publiſhing theſe *Articles*, the Queen iſſued a Commiſſion to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Parfew* of St. *Aſaph*, *Day* of *Chicheſter*, and *Kitchen* of *Landaff*. The Inſtrument ſets forth, that the Queen to her great Grief had been fully Inform'd, that *Robert* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert* Biſhop of St. *David's*, *John* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *Paul* Biſhop of *Briſtow*, * had after a ſolemn Profeſſion of Chaſtity, (or ſingle Life) engag'd in Marriage, and cohabited with their Wives: That this was a very Criminal Liberty, and dangerous in the Example. To puniſh this Misbehavior, the Commiſſioners, or any Three of them, are Impower'd to convent the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of St. *David's*, and the reſt before them, and in Caſe the Charge is made good, to deprive them of their *Sees*, and enjoin ſuch Pennance, as they ſhould think proper. And here they are Authoriz'd to proceed ſummarily; *Summariè & de plano, ſine ullo Strepitu & Figurâ Judicii.* To explain theſe Terms a little; The Eccleſiaſtical Judge, is ſaid to proceed Summarily, when the Forms of the Court are not exactly obſerv'd. For Inſtance, when Evidence is admitted againſt thoſe who are not upon the ſpot to defend themſelves. But here nothing ought to be done to the prejudice of the Parties, nor to bar them from bringing the Cauſe to a farther Tryal. The Proceſs is ſaid to be manag'd, *de plano & ſine Strepitu Judicii*, when the Judge neither ſits on the Bench in the Cuſtomary Place, nor obſerves the ſtated Days for *Hearing*, but receives the Libel or Appeal, or any other thing, (not diſſerviceable to the Defendant) out of the Cuſtomary Method. And laſtly, the Proceſs is ſaid to go on, *ſine Formâ & Figurâ Judicii*, when the Supplemental Methods of the *Civil*, or Municipal Laws are omitted, and nothing made uſe of, but what reſults from the Law of Nature.

* Epiſcopos aut certè pro talibus ſe gerentes.

Rot. Pat. prim. Mar. pars Septim.

Reformat. Leg. Eccleſ. *p.* 90.

To return, there was another Commiſſion dated *March* the Fifteenth, iſſued to the Perſons above-mention'd, to call *John Taylour Doctor of Divinity, naming himſelf Biſhop of* Lincoln; John Hooper *naming himſelf Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and* Glouceſter; John Harley *Biſhop of* Hereford, *who held their pretended Biſhopricks*, as the Inſtrument goes on, *by the Letters Patent of King* Edward *the Sixth, with the expreſs Clauſe of quàm diù ſe benè geſſerint*: And that theſe Prelates, both by teaching erroneous Doctrine, and exceptionable Behavior, had made themſelves unworthy of that Dignity and Station in the Church. Theſe Commiſſions being both executed, Seven of the *Reform'd* Biſhops were remov'd from their *Sees*. Theſe Proceedings, as our learned Hiſtorian obſerves, were much Cenſur'd: (*m*) For tho' the Laws which allow'd the Marriage of Prieſts were repeal'd, yet the Repeal look'd

(m) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 275.

only forward, and was not to be driven to a Retroſpection. And therefore tho' theſe Biſhops might have been legally Puniſh'd, if they had continued to Cohabit with their Wives, they ought not however to have been proceeded againſt for what was paſt. But to Charge the Queen with no more Rigor than the Caſe will bear: If the Buſineſs is further examin'd, 'twill be found there is a Material difference in theſe Two Commiſſions.

Id. *pt.* 2. *Records Book* 2. N°. 12.

Theſe Commiſſions differently drawn, and Why?

By the firſt, the Archbiſhop of *York*, &c. are not depriv'd purely for Marrying, but for breaking their Monaſtick Vow of Single Life, and upon this the ſtreſs of the Charge is particularly laid. The Words in the Commiſſion are theſe, *quia comperimus Robertum Archiepiſcopum Ebor. Robertum Menev. Robertum Ceſtrienſ. & Paulum Briſtol. poſt expreſſam Profeſſionem Caſtitatis expreſsè ritè, & legitimè emiſſam, cum quibuſdam Mulieribus Nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, contraxiſſe.* Whereas in the Second Commiſſion for depriving *Taylour*, *Hooper*, and *Harley*, there's no mention of Breach of Vow, but only a Charge of Miſbehavior in general: And that they had taken their *Sees* upon a Clauſe of *quam diu ſe benè geſſerint* in their *Patent*. Now there could be no particular Aggravation in ſubmitting to this Clauſe, for in this they had done no more than the reſt of the Biſhops. On the other ſide, *Hooper*, and *Harley* were both Married, and yet are not expreſly loaded with Prevarication upon this Score. The reaſon of this different Cenſure was becauſe, the firſt Four were *Regulars*, and the other Three *Seculars*, that the latter, *Taylour*, *Hooper*, and *Harley*, were *Seculars* is well known; and as for the others, they were Men of diſtinction in the Monaſtick *Claſs*. For Inſtance, *Holdgate* Archbiſhop of *York*, had been Provincial of the Order of the *Gilbertines* of *Sempringham*: *Ferrar* of St. *David's*, was a *Canon Regular* of the Order of St. *Auguſtine*: *Buſh* of *Briſtol*, had been Provincial of the *Bons'hommes*, and *Bird* of *Cheſter*, was formerly Provincial of the *Carmelites*. Of the Three *Secular* Biſhops, *Hooper*, and *Harley*, as hath been obſerv'd, were Married; however, the Queen in her Commiſſion for their Deprivation, makes no expreſs mention of this Circumſtance. 'Tis True, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges alledg'd their Marriage, as one reaſon for ſetting them aſide: But then this was not done upon any Clauſe in the Queen's Commiſſion, but in Virtue of the *Canon Law*; of the Canon Law I ſay, which upon the Repeal of the Two *Statutes* in the late Reign, (*n*) recover'd it's Force upon the Married Clergy.

Our learned Hiſtorian takes notice, that on, or before, the Eighteenth of *March* this Year, the *Sees* of St. *David's*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Cheſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Briſtol*, were declar'd Vacant. (*o*) But the *Regiſter* of *Canterbury*, upon which all theſe deprivations are entred, ſets them Two Days forward, that is on *March* the Twentieth, which is no Wonder, ſince the Commiſſions for removing them, were dated but Four or Five Days before. This *Regiſter* informs us, that the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Durham*, by virtue of the Queen's Commiſſion, pronounc'd the Sentence of Deprivation upon *John Taylour* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *ob Nullitatem Conſecrationis ejus, & Defectum Tituli ſui quem habuit à Rege Edvardo Sexto, per Literas patentes, cum hâc Clauſula dum benè ſe geſſerit.* *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Glouceſter*, was depriv'd for defect of Title, Marrying, and other Inſtances of Miſbehavior. *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford*, for Marriage and Hereſy, and for the other Reaſons alledg'd againſt *Taylour*: *Ferrar* Biſhop of St. *David's*, *propter Cauſas ſuprà dictas*, and *Bird* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, for his Marriage. *Buſh* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, had no Sentence of Deprivation paſs'd upon him: Whether he avoided the Blow by renouncing his Marriage, or by any other Submiſſion, is more than appears. However; it ſeems his Seat was uneaſy to him, for in *June* following he reſign'd his Biſhoprick: For this Month as may be ſeen in the *Regiſter* laſt mention'd, the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury* entred upon the Spiritual Juriſdiction of the *See* of *Briſtol*, then void, by the voluntary Reſignation of *Paul Buſh*.

June 21. 1554.

Thus the *Reader* may obſerve theſe Biſhops, excepting *Buſh*, were all turn'd out upon the ſtrength of the *Regale*: For tho' the Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced by Biſhops, and none but thoſe of that *Order* are named in the Commiſſion; yet they acted purely upon the Queen's Authority, as appears both by the *Inſtrument*, and the *Canterbury Regiſter*. Theſe Vacant *Sees* of St. *David's*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Cheſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Briſtol*, were fill'd with *Morgan*, *White*, *Parfew*, *Coates*, *Brooks*, and *Holman*; and *Gooderick* Biſhop of *Ely*, Dying in *May* this Spring, *Thirleby* of *Norwich*, was tranſlated to that *See*, and *Hopton* made Biſhop of *Norwich*. *Scory* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, tho' remov'd upon *Day*'s, being reſtor'd, went a full length in his Compliance. He made his appearance before *Bonner*, renounc'd his Matrimony, ſubmitted to Pennance, and had a formal Abſolution on the Fourteenth of *July* this Year. (*p*) Upon his giving this full Satiſfaction, *Bonner* was contented to reſtore him to the Exerciſe of his Paſtoral Function, tho' with ſome Abatement: * But whether he was allow'd to Act as a *Suffragan* within the Dioceſe of *London*, or confin'd to the Buſineſs of a Prieſt, is not ſaid. But after all, it ſeems there was more of Fear than Inclination, in *Scory*'s Submiſſion. He made no uſe of *Bonner*'s Abſolution, but retir'd beyond Sea, where he Liv'd 'till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And to mention another Vacancy, *Barlow* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* reſign'd; upon which *Bourn* Archdeacon of *London*, (*q*) was promoted to that *See*: The Archbiſhoprick of *York* was likewiſe void, and *Holdgate* Impriſon'd in the *Tower*: And in *September* following, *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*, departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by *Bayn*. (*r*) *Barlow* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, is ſaid never to have been Married; (*s*) but here the learned Hiſtorian was miſinform'd: For *Barlow* had Five Daughters, Married to Five Biſhops, as appears by a Monumental Inſcription, made for his Daughter *Frances*, buried in *York Minſter*. He had likewiſe a Son Prebendary of *Wyveleſcombe* in the Church of *Wells*. (*t*) About this time there was a Book Publiſh'd in *Barlow*'s Name, in which he retracts his former Perſwaſion, ſpeaks diſhonorably of his Acquaintance *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, and ſeveral others of the Reform'd in *Germany*, Charges the Engliſh *Goſpellers* with Pride and Intemperance, with Hypocriſy and ill Nature. 'Tis thought if *Barlow* had played his Satyr ſo ſtrong upon the *Reformation*, he *would not have been quite thrown out*, (*u*) eſpecially ſince he was never Married: But this is a miſtake as hath been obſerv'd, and which is more, his Wife was living ſometime within the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. As to the

The Reform'd Biſhops turn'd out, by the Queen's Commiſſion, and not by any Synodical Authority.

(n) 2 and 3 Edw. 6. *c.* 21. 5 and 6 Edw. 6. *c.* 12.

(o) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 275.

(p) Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 347.

* Saltèm cum quodam Temperamento.

(q) Harmar *p.* 135.

(r) Godwin de Præſul. Angl.

(s) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 276.

(t) Harmar *p.* 136.

(u) *Bp.* Burnet *p.* 276. Harmar Ibid.

the Biſhop he continued beyond Sea, 'till after the Death of Queen *Mary*. Upon his return into *England, there was ſome Offence, it ſeems, taken at his former Behaviour; For he was not reſtor'd to* Bath and Wells, *but put into* Chicheſter, *that was a much meaner Biſhoprick.* (w)

(w) *Biſhop* Burnet *pag.* 276.

The Inferior Clergy ejected upon the ſcore of Marriage. Ibid.

The Biſhops of the Queens Communion being much the greater Majority began to exert themſelves, and make the *Reform'd* Clergy ſenſible of their Diſcipline. For Inſtance, the Clergy being computed at about Sixteen Thouſand in *England*, Twelve Thouſand of them were turn'd out, as 'tis ſaid, upon the ſcore of being Married. For this Archbiſhop *Parker* is vouch'd. But upon enquiry this Prelates Teſtimony does not appear. Neither does the Book written by an Anonymous Lay-man in defence of Prieſts Marriage, and Publiſh'd by *Parker* come up to this Account. For this *Writer* only cites the Authority of another nameleſs Author. The Learned *Wharton* having examin'd the number of Clergy-men depriv'd in the Dioceſs and *Peculiars* of *Canterbury*, upon the ſcore of Marriage, finds the Proportion far ſhort of the Computation abovemention'd. He obſerves there are within the Juriſdiction of the Church of *Canterbury* about Three Hundred Benefices, and other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. But within this Precinct, only Seventy Three Clergy-men were Depriv'd, either for Marriage or upon any other Account: Now this Number is far from holding the Proportion from Twelve to Sixteen. And yet as he obſerves, *Thornden* and *Harpſfield* two dignified Men in this Dioceſe were forward in proſecuting the Married Clergy as any other Roman Catholick Zealots elſewhere. (x) 'Tis affirm'd the Married Clergy were all *Sumarily Depriv'd.* (y) But this looks like mounting the Rigour beyond matter of Fact. For the Author above-mention'd publiſh'd by Archbiſhop *Parker*, affirms a Years time was allow'd the Clergy *to abjure their Hereſy and put away their Wives.* Beſides, in the *Canterbury Regiſter* made for the vacancy of that *See*, there are many Proceſſes and Deprivations of Married Clergy-men entred: From whence it follows the cuſtomary Forms were obſerv'd, and that they were not all *Summarily* Depriv'd. 'Tis further remark'd, that the Reform'd Clergy, beſides the Loſs of their Benefices, were forc'd to quit their Wives. This Severity is ſuppos'd to reach all thoſe that were Married: That the Reform'd Clergy were roughly us'd is beyond Queſtion: However, the Hardſhips put upon them ſeem ſwell'd a little beyond the Reality of the Caſe: For none of the Married Clergy were obliged to part with their Wives after Deprivation, unleſs they had been *Regulars*: And here their Vow of Chaſtity, as they call'd it, oblig'd them to Separation. But the *Secular* Clergy, who were under no ſuch Monaſtick Engagement (z) were gentlier us'd. That the *Secular* Clergy had made no Vow of Single Life at their Ordination for ſome time before the Reformation is highly probable. But in a Council at *Wincheſter* held under *Landfrank*, as hath been obſerv'd already, 'twas decreed that none ſhould be Ordain'd Prieſt or Deacon without making a Declaration againſt Matrimony. (a)

(x) Harmer *pag.* 138.

(y) *Biſhop* Burnet *part 2d pag.* 277.

Ibid.

The Secular Clergy not oblig'd to part with their Wives, and why?

(z) Ibid. *and* Harmer *pag.* 139.

(a) Spelman *Concil. Vol.* 2. *pag.* 11.

That many of the Reform'd Clergy in Queen *Mary*'s Reign had taken Monaſtick Vows is ſufficiently Evident. For thoſe regular Prieſts who had been ejected their *Houſes* at the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, were qualified to hold Benefices: Neither did their politick Capacity lie Idle upon their Hands: For the King and other Lay-Patrons were willing to place them in Cures at the firſt Opportunity: For by this means they ſav'd their Penſions which muſt otherwiſe have been payed. That theſe *Regulars* who were very numerous were forc'd to part with their Wives is not to be Conteſted: But that the *Seculars* were thus us'd is more than appears: That the Engliſh Church had for ſome time at leaſt Ordained them without Vows of Cælibacy is pretty plain from the Articles of Enquiry drawn up this Year, in which theſe Interrogatories amongſt others were put to every Married Clergy-man. *Whether he had been a Religious? Of what Order, and in what Monaſtery?* (b)

(b) *See Records Num. LXIX.*

To proceed, on the 2d of *April* a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: The Commons are ſaid to have been Brib'd to the Court Meaſures, and largely Penſion'd by *Gardiner* the Lord Chancellor. * This is a hard Reflection upon that honourable Houſe. But the Hiſtorian is not pleas'd to tell us how this Secret came to his Knowledge. If *Beale* is the Reporter, and he ſeems to have no other, the Account looks very ſuſpicious. The 1ſt Act I ſhall mention confirms the Articles of Marriage between the Queen and *Philip* Prince of *Spain*. The *Statute* mentions two Treaties: The Articles of the firſt have been already related: By the 2d *Philip* was oblig'd to Entertain a certain Number of Engliſh Gentlemen and others, in his Court: He was not to convey the Queen out of *England*, unleſs at her own Inſtance. The Iſſue of the Marriage were to be bred in *England*, and not carried into foreign Countries without the conſent of the Engliſh Nobility. In caſe the Queen ſhould die without Iſſue, *Philip* was barr'd claiming any Right to the Kingdom, and the Crown was to deſcend according to Courſe of Law: King *Philip* was likewiſe oblig'd not to tranſport any Jewels or rich Furniture, or alienate any part of the Royal Revenues. No part of the Fleet, of the Artillery, of the Ammunition or Stores, were to be convey'd out of *England*, or any ways Embezzl'd. That upon the Score of this Marriage *England* ſhould not be drawn into the War between the Emperor and the French King, but that the late Alliance with *France* ſhall be Inviolably maintain'd; with a Liberty however to *Philip* to aſſiſt the Emperor his Father from any other Country of his Dominions: Laſtly, the Sovereignty of the Engliſh Realms were to reſt ſolely in the Queen, tho' in all Grants, publick Acts, and Inſtruments of Government both their Majeſties Names were to be Inſerted. (c)

* *Bp.* Burnet *part* 2 *pag.* 277.

A New Parliament.

A farther Account of the Articles of the Queens Marriage.

(c) *1ſt Mar. Parl. 2d Cap.* 2d

To proceed; This Parliament repeal'd two *Statutes* of the late Reign for the Diſſolution of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. The *Preamble* ſets forth, that certain ambitious Perſons "taking Advantage of the late King's Minority, made an Intereſt by Siniſter Practice to procure the Diſſolution of the Biſhoprick; that 'twas done out of Mercenary Views to enrich themſelves and their Friends by ſeizing the Lands of that *See*, rather than *upon juſt Occaſion, or Godly Zeal*: That *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* was depriv'd upon untrue Surmiſes and falſe Accuſations: And that the Proceſs againſt him was Foul and Illegal: That upon a full Examination of the Matter by the Queens Commiſſioners, the Sentence of Deprivation was declar'd Void, as may be ſeen at large by an Authentick Inſtrument.

"That the Queen had new founded the Biſhopricks by her Letters Patent, and reſtor'd all the Lands in her Poſſeſſion: But that neither the Reverſal of the Sentence of Deprivation, nor the Queens Letters Patents were of ſufficient Force to recover the Honours, Lands, *&c.* to the *See* of *Durham*: To reſtore the Biſhoprick therefore to its former Intereſt, Privilege and Revenues, the two Diſſolution *Statutes* of the late Reign were repeal'd. (*d*)

(d) *1ſt Mar. Parl. 2d. Cap. 3. Statutes at large.*

As far as it appears by this *Act* the Biſhop of *Durham* recover'd all the Eſtate formerly belonging to his *See*, excepting a Capital Meſſage or Manſion Houſe called *Colderborough* in *Thames-ſtreet London*, in the Pariſh of *All-hallows* the Leſs, with ſome other Meſſages and Tenements in the Pariſhes of *Berkin*, and *Grace-Church*. Theſe having been granted by the late King to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* were to remain to him and his Heirs: However, in the cloſe of the *Act* the Biſhop Petitions the Queen for an Equivalent.

By another *Act* of this Parliament the Queen is impower'd to appoint Statutes for the Government of the Deaneries, Prebends, Schools, and their Revenues lately Erected, and ſettled by King *Henry* VIII. The Queen is likewiſe enabled to alter the Statutes from time to time at Pleaſure. Theſe Statutes were drawn by King *Henry*'s Commiſſioners, and deliver'd to the Reſpective Churches, but not being *Indented*, they fell ſhort of the Condition requir'd in the Kings *Grant*, which defect gave Occaſion to the making this *Act*. (*e*)

(e) *1ſt Mar. Parl. 2d Cap.* 9. April *the* 10*th* Anno Dom. 1554.

This Parliament was diſſolv'd on the 5*th* of *May*. During the *Seſſion* Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and Biſhop *Latimer* were remov'd from the *Tower* to *Windſor*, and from thence to *Oxford*, to Diſpute with ſome Perſons ſelected from both *Univerſities*. This Diſputation was brought on, becauſe a Rumour was ſpread that the Roman Catholicks had been lately worſted in the *Convocation-houſe*. For this Purpoſe the Convocation and the two Univerſities were authoriz'd by the Queens Letters to conſtitute a Committee for the managing this Controverſy. Thoſe pitch'd upon in the Univerſity of *Oxford* were Dr. *Weſton* Prolocutor, Dr. *Treſham*, Dr. *Cole*, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, Dr. *Chedſey*, Mr. *Pye*, Mr. *John Harpsfield*, and Mr. *Fecknam*. Thoſe of *Cambridge* were Dr. *Young* the Vice Chancellor, Dr. *Glyn*, Dr. *Seaton*, Dr. *Watſon*, Dr. *Sedgwick*, and Dr. *Atkinſon*. The Committee who were to engage in the Diſputation, had an Authority from the *Convocation* and both the *Univerſities*.

Cranmer, Ridley *and* Latimer *convey'd to* Oxford *to Diſpute.*

The Convocation meets April 3*d* *Journal Convoc. fol.* 74.

The Queen ſent her *Precept* to the Mayor and Bayliffs of *Oxford* to bring the Priſoners *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* into the Publick Schools at the times appointed for Diſputation. At their Appearance there were theſe three Articles given *Cranmer* and the other two Biſhops to Subſcribe.

First, In the Sacrament of the Altar by Virtue of the Words of Conſecration pronounc'd by the Prieſt, the Natural Body of Chriſt conceiv'd of the Virgin *Mary* is preſent under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine. Part of the Latin runs thus, *præſens eſt realiter ſub ſpeciebus Panis & vini naturale Corpus Chriſti conceptum de Virgine Mariâ, item naturalis ejuſdem ſanguis.*

The Three Queſtions for the Diſputation.

Secondly, After Conſecration neither the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, nor any other ſubſtance remains excepting that of Chriſt, God, and Man. In Latin *poſt Conſecrationem non remanet ſubſtantia Panis & Vini, neque ulla alia ſubſtantia niſi ſubſtantia Chriſti, Dei, & Hominis.*

Thirdly, The *Maſs* is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Living and Dead. It ſtands thus in Latin; *In miſſa eſt vivificum Eccleſiæ Sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.* (*f*)

(f) *MS. Penes me* Fox *Vol.* 3.

Theſe Articles had been ſent down to *Cambridge* by the Convocation ſome little time before, where they were publickly Examin'd and Approv'd.

Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer at the firſt ſight of theſe Articles, declar'd frankly they were not true: However, they promis'd to return an Anſwer in Writing. And in caſe of their Diſſent from the *Delegates* they were to argue upon the Queſtions in the Schools. The Diſputation was to be manag'd in Latin, in the Forms of Logick: The Three Biſhops returning a negative Anſwer to all the *Articles*, they proceeded to Diſpute, and Notaries were appointed to take the Argument in Writing: Of theſe *John Jewel* and *Gilbert Munſon* Maſters of Arts were two, both of which were allow'd by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*. *Weſton* and the reſt of the *Committee* in their Procuratorial Letters from the *Convocation*, own the Epiſcopal Character of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, tho' they mention them with ſome Abatement, and call them the late Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *Worceſter*.

Id. *MS.*

Id.

And the ſame Reſpect is given them in the Procuratorial Letter from *Cambridge*; 'tis true, in the Queens *Precept* to the Mayor of *Oxford* *Ridley*, and *Latimer* are only ſtyl'd Dr. and Clerk, but this Inſtrument is Singular in the Diſtinction, and no Counter-ballance to the reſt.

The three Biſhops were forc'd to enter the Liſts at great Diſadvantages: They had but two Days allow'd them for Preparation: They were kept in different and ill accommodated Priſons, not ſuffer'd to Converſe with each other; neither had they the convenience of their own Books and Papers. They were likewiſe oblig'd to appear Single in the Conteſt, each of them having a diſtinct Day aſſign'd, ſo that they had no opportunity of Supporting each other, if occaſion had requir'd.

The two firſt Queſtions having been Dilated on in the firſt Part of this *Work*, (*g*) and lately argued at length in the *Convocation* by *Weſton*, *Philpot*, and others; I ſhall paſs over the greateſt part of the Diſputation. And to prevent tiring the *Reader* with the Repetition of this Controverſy, I ſhall only refer Him to the Biſhops Anſwers deliver'd in Latin to the *Committee*. (*h*)

(g) *Vol. 1ſt under* Landfrank.

(h) *See Records Num. LXXI. Regiſt.* Bonner *fol.* 339. & *deinc.*

Upon the laſt Queſtion concerning the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, *Cranmer* was fully of Opinion, that the holding it in the Affirmative was Derogatory to the Sacrifice upon the Croſs: That if the Paſſion of our Saviour was ſufficient for all the Purpoſes of Redemption, what occaſion could there be for any other? And that the neceſſity of any ſucceeding ſupplemental Oblations, ſuppos'd that at *Jeruſalem* Defective. To ſupport this reaſoning, he cited the 53 Chapter of *Iſaiah* and the ninth to the *Hebrews*; And laſtly, he ſeems to allow of no Sacrifice under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, excepting that of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, of Repentance, and Works of Charity. *Ridley* and *Latimer* in their Anſwers deliver'd themſelves to the ſame Senſe.

April *the* 16*th* Cranmer's *Opinion concerning the Sacrifice in the Maſs.*

Chedſay, *Treſham*, *Weſton* and *Young* argued againſt *Cranmer*: Amongſt other things they charge him with Miſrepreſenting and Miſ-tranſlating *Juſtin* Martyr, *Irenæus*, and others of the Antients in his Book concerning the *Sacraments*; to which he makes his defence. His ſetting forth the *Catechiſm* in the Name of the the *Synod* of *London* is likewiſe Objected to him by *Weſton*; he told him there was Fifty of that *Convocation* who declared they never heard a Word of that *Catechiſm*. To this *Cranmer* Anſwers, the Title was ſettled without his Knowledge, and that he complain'd of it to the *Council*, who told him the Book was ſo entituled becauſe 'twas ſet forth ſitting the *Convocation*.

It has been obſerv'd already, that the *Prolocutor Weſton* at the *Convocation* of laſt *October*, complain'd in very ſtrong Language againſt this *Catechiſm*, calls it a *very Peſtiferous Book and full of Hereſies*. (*i*) What *Philpot* return'd to *Weſton* upon this Head hath been already related. Now that the Forty Two *Articles* of Religion publiſh'd in the late Reign were principally meant in this Charge, and not the *Catechiſm*, is endeavour'd to be prov'd by a late Author. (*k*) His Reaſons in ſhort are theſe: Firſt, becauſe the *Prolocutor Weſton* calls them the *Articles of the Catechiſm*, and propoſes the Twenty Ninth of *Edward* VI. Articles to Diſpute on; beſides, he obſerves theſe Forty Two Articles were firſt Printed at the end of this *Catechiſm*, which might make them paſs under that Title. Farther, the *Catechiſm* taken by it ſelf, has not the name of the *Synod* put upon it: The Title of it being only this, *Catechiſmus brevis Chriſtianæ Diſciplinæ ſummam continens, omnibus Ludimagiſtris, Authoritate Regiâ Commendatus.* Neither does *Philpot*'s Defence already mention'd agree to the *Catechiſm*, but only to the *Articles*; for the *Catechiſm* is not ſaid to be drawn up by a Committee, upon whom the Convocation had transferr'd their Authority: For in the King's Preface 'tis ſaid to have been Written by a certain Pious and Learned Perſon: And that being offer'd to His Majeſty, he had refer'd it to the Peruſal of ſome Biſhops and other Men of Learning: And that being approv'd by them, he had order'd it to be Printed for School-maſters to inſtruct their Children: To which this Author adds, that the *Catechiſm* abſtracted from the *Articles*, ſcarcely borders upon any Controverſy, and therefore *Weſton* could have no Reaſon to call it a *Peſtiferous Book* and full of Hereſies; neither would he have been ſo Active in procuring the Subſcriptions of the *Houſe* againſt it.

(i) Fox *Vol.* 3*d pag*. 19.

(k) *Church Government part V. printed at* Oxford An. Dom. 1687. *pag*. 191. & deinc.

April 17.

To proceed; The next Day *Ridley* was brought into the Schools, and oppos'd by Dr. *Smith* formerly mention'd, by the *Prolocutor Weſton*, by *Treſham*, *Oglethorpe*, *Glyn*, *Seaton*, *Cole*, *Ward*, *Harpsfield*, *Watſon*, *Pye*, *Harding*, *Curton*, and *Fecknam*. He made a very learned Defence, and maintain'd his Ground to great Commendation againſt all his Antagoniſts. (*l*)

(l) Fox *Vol.* 3*d pag*. 81.

Latimers *Belief concerning the real Preſence.*

The Third Day being the 18th of *April*, *Latimer* was brought before the *Committee*. He deſired to be excus'd Diſputing upon the Score of his Age, and long diſuſe of the Latin Tongue. However, he gave in his Anſwer which is pen'd partly in Latin, and partly in Engliſh. And after they had perus'd his Opinion upon the Three Queſtions, he told them they might uſe him as they thought fit: Upon the firſt Article, tho' he denies a Corporal, he owns a real or ſpiritual Preſence. That ſuch a Preſence was ſufficient for our Union with Chriſt, comprehended all the Advantages, and anſwer'd all the ends of receiving the Sacrament: He was afterwards dragg'd into a Diſputation, which I ſhall paſs over.

The next Day *John Harpsfield* kept an *Act* for his Doctors Degree, and giving the two firſt Queſtions for his Exerciſe, *Cranmer* was permitted to Oppoſe him, and appear once more in his own Defence. Amongſt other Arguments, he asked *Harpsfield* how, or in what manner Chriſt's Body is preſent in the Sacraments? And whether this Preſence has Quantity, Qualities, Form, Figure, and ſuch like Properties, of a human Body? *Harpsfield* returning no Anſwer, but endeavouring to diſengage himſelf by another Queſtion, ſeveral of the Doctors ſtruck in, to reinforce him. *Treſham* confeſs'd our Saviour in the Sacrament of the Altar had not all the modes of Quantity, and Qualities, proper to a Body. *Smith* own'd the ſtating the manner of this Preſence was impoſſible. *Weſton* finding his Friends Embarraſs'd in their Anſwers, endeavour'd to unty the Knot, by ſaying, 'tis *Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti*. That is, our Saviour's Body in the Euchariſt has Quantity, but not according to the manner of Quantity; that is, it has Quantity, but not thoſe Properties which are Eſſential to the Idea of Quantity: But to ſolve a Difficulty by ſuch a Diſtinction, is no better than Jargon, and downright Contradiction. *Cranmer* preſs'd the Queſtion, and argued, that ſince 'twas agreed our Saviour's Body in Heaven had the Quantity, and Figure of a Human Body, and that in the *Holy Euchariſt* it had none of theſe Properties, therefore our Saviour muſt have two Bodies perfectly diſtinct from each other, one in Heaven, and the other upon Earth. Here *Harpsfield* being ſomewhat at a loſs, *Weſton* came on to his Relief, but with little ſucceſs. After *Cranmer* had made uſe of ſome other Mediums, he was Diſmiſs'd by *Weſton* with Commendation. Afterwards *Weſton* being in the *Chair* oppoſ'd *Harpsfield* himſelf. Amongſt other Authorities, he urg'd that of *Theodoret* formerly mention'd. He likewiſe cited that remarkable Teſtimony of St. *Chryſoſtome* in his Epiſtle to *Cæſarius*, where this Father, as I have already obſerv'd, (*m*) plainly affirms that the Bread after Conſecration remains in it's former Nature and Condition. *Harpsfield* ask'd him how he prov'd this Paſſage belong'd to St. *Chryſoſtome*? *Weſton* vouch'd a Book of *Peter Martyrs* to make good the Citation. *Harpsfield* refuſing to be concluded by *Peter Martyr*'s Authority, made no farther Anſwer: But ſince this *Epiſtle* to *Cæſarius* has been lately publiſh'd by *Bigotius*, the Authority of the Teſtimony is put beyond Diſpute. This plain Paſſage of St. *Chryſoſtome* may be us'd as a Key to Interpret him in other places upon this Argument. For the Purpoſe, when *Ridley* denyed the corporal Preſence in the *Schools*, he was urg'd by *Smith* and *Harpsfield* with ſome ſtrong Expreſſions out of St. *Chryſoſtome*; it muſt be confeſs'd the Words ſound high, at leaſt towards *Conſubſtantiation*: But theſe Expreſſions being either in his *Homilies*, or his *Book* of the *Prieſthood*, are not to be ſtrein'd up to the Letter. The deſign of the Father in theſe Diſcourſes being only to give a ſolemn Idea of the Dignity of the *Sacrament*, to awaken the Reverence, and heighten the Devotion of the Receivers. To this purpoſe he has made

Cranmer *oppoſes* Harpsfield.

(m) 1*ſt Vol. under Archbiſhop* Landfrank.

St. Chryſoſtome's *Paſſages concerning the Holy Euchariſt to be Conſtrued by his Epiſtle to* Cæſarius, *and why?*

made uſe of ſtrong affecting Metaphors. That his Phraſe is ſometimes figurative, muſt be owned, even by thoſe who maintain Tranſubſtantiation. For inſtance, in one Place he ſpeaks thus: *The Mouths of thoſe who receive, are ting'd and impurpled with the Blood of our Saviour.* Thus he makes the corporal Preſence an Object of Senſe, which is neither true, nor maintain'd by thoſe of the Roman Communion. 'Tis evident therefore theſe ſtrong Paſſages of St. *Chryſoſtome* are to be conſtrued with Allowance, and paſs for no more than Figures of Rhetorick. To make a right Judgment of this Fathers Opinion, we muſt conſult him in thoſe Diſcourſes where ſtrict Logick is his Buſineſs, and where he pretends more to argue than flouriſh. And of this kind we may reckon his Epiſtle to *Cæſarius*.

Lib. 3. de Sacerdot.

In this Tract he offers at cloſe Reaſoning, and diſcovers his Opinion without Heightnings, and ſwell'd Expreſſion: And therefore by all reaſonable Conſtruction, the Paſſages in his rhetorical Diſcourſes, ought to be interpreted by what he delivers here.

To proceed, *Weſton* offer'd a remarkable Teſtimony from Pope *Gelaſius* the Firſt, and another from *Origen*; to which the Reſpondent ſeems to have return'd but a ſlender Anſwer. However, *Weſton* declar'd himſelf fully ſatisfied, and commended *Harpsfield* for his Performance.

Thus the Diſputation ended, the **Committee** boaſted their Succeſs, and went off with a Shew of Triumph. It muſt be granted the Roman Catholicks, as *Fox* repreſents it, were no heavy Managers; they made a lively Oppoſition upon *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, and urg'd the Teſtimonies of the *Fathers* with Advantage enough. 'Tis no wonder to find them make the moſt of their Cauſe: They were pick'd Men out of both *Univerſities*, were ſufficiently furniſh'd with Leiſure and other Conveniencies, and 'tis likely had preconcerted what Arguments each of them ſhould uſe: However, Temper and Decency were not always kept, for *Weſton* miſbehav'd himſelf to a remarkable Degree, treated *Cranmer* with groſs Language, (*n*) made a rude and wretched Jingle upon *Ridley*, and run out into perſonal Reflections. *Ridley* complains the whole Diſputation was carried on in a very noiſy and diſorderly manner: That their Language and Geſtures were very indecent: That the Biſhops were browbeaten, diſparag'd, and coarſly handled in Engliſh, on purpoſe to leſſen their Eſteem with the Audience, and draw the Mob on the other Side: That the manner of the Diſputation was altogether irregular: For inſtance, he had not the Liberty of making a full Defence, nor urging his Reaſons at length: He was frequently attack'd by ſeveral Opponents at the ſame time: And thus the Diſpute was ſo over-run with Squabble and Clamour, that his Anſwers to what was objected could not be heard. He was likewiſe ſtop'd in reading his Paper by the Doctors crying out *Blaſphemy*. What the Contents of this Paper were, the Reader may ſee in the Record laſt mention'd.

(*n*) Fox Vol. 3. *p.* 53. Id. *page* 73. *p.* 79. Id. 91.

The Biſhops ill us'd at the Diſputation.

Two Days after *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were brought before the *Delegates* into St. *Mary's* Church, and call'd on to ſubſcribe the Three Articles. And here *Weſton* charg'd *Cranmer* particularly with failing in his late Performance, and ſinking under the Controverſy. The Archbiſhop replied he was overlayed with Numbers and Clamour, and was not ſuffer'd to proceed either in his Defence or Oppoſition. In ſhort, upon their refuſing to comply they were all Three pronounc'd Hereticks. *Cranmer* appeal'd from their Sentence to the Court *Above*, and hop'd to be preſent with our Saviour in Heaven, notwithſtanding his being condemn'd for disbelieving the corporal Preſence at the Altar.

Ridley told them, tho' he was thrown out of their *Society*, he doubted not but his Name was entred in a better Place, whether this Sentence would give them a ſpeedier Conveyance than Nature could have afforded. *Latimer* appear'd tranſported with the Sentence, and thank'd God for ſo honourable a Paſſage into the other World. And now the Three Biſhops were parted, and return'd to their ſeparate Priſons.

They are condemn'd for Hereticks.

Now to ſay nothing farther upon the Merits of the Cauſe, and the Reaſons of the *Cenſure*, there ſeems to be an apparent Defect in the Authority of the Judges: For none of the *Delegates* were more than Prieſts. 'Tis true, *Gardiner* the Lord Chancellor was nam'd in the Commiſſion, but he never appear'd at the Diſputation, nor made Part of the Court at pronouncing the Sentence. And if he had, for a ſingle Biſhop to cenſure Three of his own Order, and condemn his Metropolitan, was altogether unpreſidented. To alledge theſe Doctors of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were impower'd by the Convocation to diſpute and proceed to Sentence, is ſhort of Satisfaction. For when was it known that all the Biſhops of a *Province* made their Proxies of none but Prieſts, for trying Cauſes of the higheſt Nature? For examining the Faith of Biſhops? Convicting them of Hereſy, and throwing them out of Church Communion? By the famous *Council* of *Carthage* held in the Year Four Hundred and Nineteen, if a Biſhop fell under any hard Imputation, he was to be tryed by Twelve of his own *Order*. (*o*) This *Council*, as the Learned *Beverege* obſerves, (*p*) confirm'd the *Canons* of all the preceding *Councils* in that City, which from this time were authentically mark'd, made binding to a large Extent, and called *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Africanæ*. The ſame Learned Perſon likewiſe takes notice, that the *Canons* of this *Synod* were afterwards confirm'd by the General *Council* in *Trullo*. However, I don't find either *Cranmer*, or the other Two Biſhops inſiſting upon the Privilege of their Character, and moving for Judges of their own *Degree*: Whether this Reſerve was overlook'd, or whether out of an exceſſive Regard to the *Regale*, they thought themſelves oblig'd to acquieſce in the Authority of the Queens Commiſſioners, is ſomewhat uncertain: But how much ſoever they might be ſatisfied touching the Authority of the *Committee*, 'tis plain they thought themſelves ill uſed in the Proceedings: This, beſides what has been already related, may be ſeen in *Ridley's* Letter to the *Prolocutor*, in which he puts him in mind he promis'd him the Peruſal of his Defence taken in Writing by the publick Notaries; and that he ſhould have the Liberty of making Additions, or Alterations, as he thought fit, and that a Copy of his Anſwer to the Three Queſtions ſhould be given him. He lets him know his Promiſe was not made good, and expoſtulates further for their precipitating the Sentence, and unreaſonably ſtreightning him in time. *Cranmer* in his Letter

A Remark upon the Cenſure.

(o) Can. 12.
(p) Pandect. Canon. Tom. 2. Annot. page 202.

The Archbiſhops Letter to the Privy Council.

ter to the *Privy Council* complains much in the ſame manner of the Unfairneſs of the Management: That the Diſputation was ſcandalouſly tumultuary and hurried: That the crowding the *hearing* into one Day maim'd his Defence, and that he had no Opportunity of offering the Twentieth Part of what he had to ſay. That the way for diſcuſſing the Queſtions fairly, and diſcovering the Truth, had been to have permitted both Parties to ſtrike out at length, to ſpend their whole Force, and ſhew how well they were furniſh'd. And therefore their cutting off the Diſpute before it could be brought to an Iſſue, he thought had no clear meaning, and look'd as if they were afraid to venture their Cauſe any farther. In the beginning and cloſe of this Addreſs, the Archbiſhop intreats the Lords of the *Council* to intercede for his Pardon with the Queen. The Crime with which he charges himſelf is his ſubſcribing the late King's *Will* in Prejudice of her Majeſties Title. This Letter was put into *Weſton*'s Hands, who went to *London* to acquaint the Queen with the Proceedings at *Oxford*. He open'd the the Archbiſhops Letter upon the Road, and not liking the Contents ſent it back. (*q*)

A Declaration touching matters of Belief ſet forth by ſeveral of the Reform'd Clergy in Priſon.

The Beginning of this Summer ſome of the Proteſtant Clergy impriſon'd in the *Fleet*, the *Kings Bench*, the *Marſhalſea*, and *Newgate*, publiſh'd a Declaration of their *Belief*. The Reaſon of their ſetting forth this *Paper* was, becauſe of a Report that the Government intended to ſend them to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, to diſpute as *Cranmer* and the reſt had lately done. They aſſign ſeveral Reaſons for declining this Way of Tryal: And here they lay very heavy Imputations upon the *Univerſities*. They charge them with Partiality and foul Dealing, that they had already declar'd themſelves of a contrary Sentiment: That they had remarkably diſcover'd their Diſaffection, and aim'd more at Victory than Truth: That by what had paſs'd already 'twas evident they were govern'd by ſecular Views and Motives of Ambition: And therefore both by the Precept and Practice of our Saviour, they had learn'd not to caſt Pearl before them. They complain farther that the Laws of Diſputation were broken at *Oxford*, and as for themſelves they had been kept Eight or Nine Months in Priſon, without being allow'd Books, Paper, Pen, and Ink, or convenient Apartments for Study. They likewiſe excepted againſt the Indifferency of the *Notaries*, and that Copies of what paſs'd in the Diſpute were not granted.

For theſe Reaſons theſe Preachers, as *Fox* calls them, decline entring upon a Conference with their Adverſaries, unleſs they may be allow'd to defend their Cauſe before the Queen and *Council*, or both Houſes of Parliament. Unleſs theſe Conditions are granted, they refuſe to argue the Points in Difference in the cuſtomary Methods of Diſputation. But if the other Party think fit to write, they are ready to anſwer their Objections, and confirm their own Doctrines by the Authority of the Church, and *Fathers* of the beſt Character and Antiquity. They declare their Reſolution to maintain their Faith to the laſt Extremities: And after a ſtrong Proteſtation of their Loyalty, exhorting the People to *Paſſive Obedience*, preſſing that Duty to the laſt Degree of Submiſſion, and praying for the Queen, they proceed to the Articles of their *Belief*.

They profeſs to receive all the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* as written by the Inſpiration of the *Holy Ghoſt*: But they don't mention the Number of theſe Books, or the Extent of the *Canon*. They believe the Catholick Church, and that thoſe who refuſe to hear the Church, when ſhe commands from the *inſpired Writings*, ought to be eſteem'd no better than *Heathens*: They own the Apoſtles *Creed*, the Four General *Councils* of *Epheſus*, *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Chalcedon*: The *Athanaſian Creed*: The Summaries of Faith in the Writings of *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, and that profeſs'd by Pope *Damaſus*. They reſolve Juſtification wholly into the Mercy of God through Chriſt, and that 'tis only to be diſcover'd by Faith: This Faith, as they affirm, goes higher than Opinion, and imports a certain Perſwaſion wrought in the Mind by the Holy Ghoſt, together with a Submiſſion of the Will to the Commands of God. And under this Head they cenſure the Popiſh Doctrines of free Will, Works of Supererogation, Merit, Neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion, and making Satisfaction to God in Diſcipline and Penance.

They declare *Divine Service* ought to be perform'd in a Language underſtood by the People, and not in Latin. They condemn Invocation of Saints, and that we ought to addreſs none but God Almighty in our Devotions. That every Man's Condition is unalterably fix'd at his Death: And from that Moment he is either happy or miſerable for ever: And thus he either needs no Aſſiſtance, or the Remedy can't reach him. Upon theſe Grounds they condemn the Belief of Purgatory, *Trentals*, and the cuſtomary Suffrages for the Dead made neceſſary by the Papiſts, as the Doctrine of Antichriſt: They declare the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, ought to be adminiſtred purſuant to the Inſtitution of our Saviour as far as the Subſtance of the Command reaches: And that they are no longer Sacraments than they are us'd; and us'd for that End for which they were appointed: And here they condemn the maiming the Lord's Supper, and communicating the *Laity* only under one kind, as Antichriſtian. They paſs the ſame Cenſure upon Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration of the Sacrament, reſerving and carrying it in Proceſſions, and maintaining the Maſs to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead; and under the ſame Claſs of Antichriſtian Doctrine, they put the prohibiting Marriage as unlawful, to any Perſons under whatever Diſtinctions or Employment.

This Declaration is ſign'd by

Robert Menaven; alias
Robert Farrar.
Rowland Taylor.
John Philpot.
John Bradford.
John Wigorne &
Glouc. Epiſcopus, alias

John Hooper.
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
J. P.
T. M.

May 8, 1554.

Miles Coverdale late Biſhop of *Exeter*, tho' not in Priſon, ſubſcrib'd this *Confeſſion*. *

Some Irregularities of the Reform'd.

About this Time ſome of the Reform'd were remarkably ungovern'd in their Zeal. For inſtance: There was a Cat hung upon a Gallows in *Cheapſide*, and ſomething of the Habit of a Prieſt put upon her: This Figure was carried to the Biſhop of *London*, and ſhewn in the Pulpit at *Paul's Croſs* by Dr. *Pendilton*. Not long after

(q) Fox *page* 92.

* Fox *Vol.* 3. *p.* 100.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of Cant.*

after a Piſtol was diſcharg'd at this *Pendilton* in the ſame Place: The Bullet drove into the Church Wall, and miſs'd him very narrowly. (r) To theſe Diſorders I ſhall ſubjoin another which look'd like a deeper Contrivance. For the purpoſe, one *Elizabeth Crofts* had been practis'd with to ſet up an Impoſture; ſhe deliver'd very offenſive Diſcourſe through a Wall near *Alderſgate* in *London*. The Matter was ſo artificially manag'd that the Voice was heard, but no Perſon diſcover'd. This *Spirit in the Wall* as it was call'd, was cried up for a moſt miraculous Intelligence from the other World: Some ſaid 'twas an Angel, and others made it no leſs than the immediate Warning of the Holy Ghoſt. The Sound was convey'd by a Whiſtle given her for that purpoſe by one *Drake*, Servant to Sir *Anthony Nevill*. She had ſeveral Aſſiſtants to carry on the Cheat. Theſe Confederates mixing with the Crowd undertook to expound the *Spirit*, and deliver'd the Oracle in ſeditious Language againſt the Queen, and the Prince of *Spain*; and declaim'd ſtrongly againſt the Maſs, againſt Confeſſion, and ſuch other Doctrines of the Anti-reform'd. All this was confeſs'd by the Maid her ſelf upon a Scaffold at *Pauls Croſs*.

(r) Stow Annal.

Id.

There were likewiſe ſome malicious Reports ſpread, that the Queen was with Child. The Government had reaſon to be concern'd at ſo infamous a Story: The Queen therefore wrote to the Juſtices of Peace in *Norfolk* to trace the Calumny, and find out thoſe who ſet it on foot. The Earl of *Suſſex* examin'd a great many, but could not fix it.

Theſe it muſt be own'd were very unjuſtifiable Sallies. What could be more provoking to the Court, than to ſee the Queens Honour aſperſed, their Religion inſulted, their Preachers ſhot at in the Pulpit, and a lewd Impoſture play'd againſt the Government? Had the Reform'd been more ſmooth and inoffenſive in their Behaviour, had the eminent Clergy of that Party publiſh'd an Abhorrence of ſuch unwarrantable Methods, 'tis poſſible ſome may ſay, they might have met with gentler Uſage, and prevented the Perſecution from flaming out. But fair Meaning does not always manage to the beſt Advantage. Beſides, many of theſe Men being ſhut up in Priſon, 'tis probable they might not be certainly inform'd of matter of Fact. To which I may add, that ſomething of this kind had been done already.

The Articles of the Queens Marriage being ſettled, as has been related, *Philip* Prince of *Spain* arriv'd at *Southampton* on the Nineteenth of *July*: From whence after ſome Days Repoſe he ſet forward for *Wincheſter*, where he was received by the Queen with a ſplendid Train of Quality of both Sexes. They were married in the Cathedral on St. *James's* Day by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. As ſoon as the Solemnity was over, *Figuera* the Emperors Ambaſſador preſented *Philip* with his Fathers Reſignation of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Upon which they were both proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet with the following Titles. *Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsbourg, Flanders, and Tirol.* At the proclaiming this Style, the King and Queen appear'd Hand in Hand, with Two Swords carried before them: This was done for a Circumſtance of Pomp, and to mark their diſtinct Capacity in the Government.

The Arrival of King Philip.

The Marriage ſolemniz'd.

Mary *Queen*.

From *Wincheſter* they remov'd to *Baſing*, and thence to *Windſor*, where *Philip* was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter. From hence the Court remov'd to *Richmond*, from *Richmond* to *Suffolk Place* in *Southwark*: From whence they made a magnificent Cavalcade through the Principal Streets in *London*.

August 12.

King *Philip* being entertain'd in ſo pompous a manner, endeavour'd to recommend himſelf to the Engliſh, and make them ſenſible they were like to be no Loſers by the Marriage. To this purpoſe he imported a vaſt Maſs of Treaſure. 'Twas carried to the *Tower* in Twenty Carts: Each of them laden with Seven and Twenty Cheſts of Silver Bullion, each Cheſt being a Yard and Four Inches long. This was done in the beginning of *October*; and ſome few Months after, another great Remittance of Gold and Silver arriv'd from *Spain*. There were Ninety Nine Horſes and Two Carriages employ'd in conveying it to the *Tower*. (s) Thoſe who were diſaffected to the Government, conſtrued this Appearance of Friendſhip to a harſh Meaning. 'Twas deſign'd they ſaid, to purchaſe the *Conſtitution*, and bribe the Parliament into the Court Meaſures. King *Philip* to ingratiate himſelf farther, prevail'd with the Queen for diſcharging the Priſoners in the *Tower*. This Favour comprehended thoſe who had concerted the Rebellion with *Wyat*, engag'd with the Duke of *Northumberland*, or were put up upon the Score of Religion. And thus *Holdgate* Archbiſhop of *York*, Ten Knights, and ſeveral others of Diſtinction were ſet at Liberty. But nothing look'd more particularly honourable in King *Philip*, than his procuring the Enlargement of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*.

(s) Stow Annal.

To return to the Church, *September* this Year *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* made a *Viſitation*. To bring every thing back to the Uſages of the Roman Communion, he ſet forth Thirty Seven Articles of Enquiry, upon which Six Men in every Pariſh were ſworn to preſent ſuch as they found faulty. The greateſt Part of rhem relate to the Management of the Archdeacons, Officials, and Pariſh Prieſts. (t) Not long after *Bonner* diſpatch'd an Order to all his Clergy, in which he complains ſome diſorderly People had taken the Images out of Churches, and painted ſeveral Texts of Scripture upon the Wall: That they had miſ-tranſlated theſe Texts for the countenancing Licentiouſneſs and Error: For bringing the Sacrament of the Altar, the Faſts and Feaſts into Diſeſteem, and to aboliſh the laudable Cuſtoms of the Church. In conſideration of this Misbehaviour (as he calls it) he injoins the Clergy to ſee theſe Texts defac'd by the Church wardens. (u)

Bonners *Viſitation*.

(t) *See Records numb.* 72.

Octob. 25. 1554.

(u) *Regiſt.* Bonner *Fol.* 357.

About this time the Queen drew up a Scheme under her own Hand, for diſcharging the Reformation from Point to Point, and returning Religion to its former Condition. It ſtands in the Form of Directions to her *Council*, the *Reader* ſhall have it in the Queens Words.

"First, that ſuch as have Commiſſion to
" talk with my Lord Cardinal at his firſt Co-
" ming, touching the Goods of the Church,
" ſhould have Recourſe to him, at the leaſt
" once in a Week, not only for putting thoſe
" Matters in Execution, as much as may be,
" before the Parliament, but alſo to underſtand of

Mſs. ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

of him, which way might be beſt to bring to good Effect thoſe Matters, that have been begun concerning Religion. Both touching good Preaching, I wiſh that may ſupply, and overcome the evil Preaching in time paſt; and alſo to make a ſure Proviſion, that no evil Books ſhall either be Printed, Bought, or Sold, without juſt Puniſhment therefore.

“ I think it ſhould be well done, that the Univerſities and Churches of this Realm, ſhould be viſited by ſuch Perſons, as my Lord Cardinal, with the reſt of you, may be well aſſured, to be worthy and ſufficient Perſons, to make a true and juſt Account thereof, remitting the Choice of them to him and you.

The Queen's Direction to the Privy Council touching Religion.

“ Touching Puniſhment of Hereticks, we thinketh it ought to be done without Raſhneſs, not leaving in the mean while to do Juſtice to ſuch, as by Learning would ſeem to deceive the Simple: And the reſt ſo to be uſed, that the People might well perceive them not to be Condemn'd without juſt Occaſion, whereby they ſhall both underſtand the Truth, and beware to do the like: And eſpecially within *London*, I would wiſh none to be Burnt, without ſome of the Councils Preſence, and both there and every where good Sermons at the ſame.

“ I verily believe that many Benefices ſhould not be in one Man's Hands, but after ſuch ſort as every Prieſt might look to his own Charge, and remain Reſident there, whereby they ſhould have but one Band to diſcharge towards God, whereas now they have many, which I take to be the Cauſe, that in moſt Parts of this Realm, there is overmuch want of good Preachers, and ſuch as ſhould with their Doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abuſed Preachers in the time of the Schiſm, not only by their Preaching, but by their good Example, without which in my Opinion, their Sermons ſhall not ſo much Profit, as I wiſh. And like as their good Example on their Behalf, ſhall undoubtedly do much good; ſo I Account my ſelf bound on my behalf alſo, to ſhew ſuch Example, in encouraging, and maintaining thoſe Perſons well, doing their Duty, not forgetting in the mean while, to Correct and Puniſh them which do contrary, that it may be evident to all this Realm, how I diſcharge my Conſcience therein, and Miniſter True Juſtice in ſo doing.

By theſe Directions, the Reader may ſee, the Queen was reſolv'd to proceed to Sanguinary Rigors, in Caſe gentler Applications came ſhort of her Purpoſe. By what is mention'd in the beginning of her Diſcourſe, it appears Cardinal *Pool* was ſhortly expected: That there were ſome difficulties to be got over, in order to the reſtoring the Papal *Supremacy* in the next Parliament. The main obſtacle was the Apprehenſions, the *Temporalty* lay under, of parting with their *Abbey*, and *Chauntry* Lands. Theſe Jealouſies hindred the Point from being carried in the laſt *Seſſions*. And therefore without relaxing upon this Head, there was no proſpect of admitting the Popes Claim, and coming to an Accommodation. The Parliament met on the Twelfth of *November*, and to bring them to a diſpoſition towards Compliance, the King and Queen had promis'd the Reſtitution of the Church Lands ſhould be drop'd; the Cardinal likewiſe is ſaid to have given ſome private Aſſurance of Satisfaction in this matter.

Cardinal Pool's Arrival.

The Arrival of this Prelate being now expected 'twas thought fit to repeal his Attainder before his coming. This was look'd on as a neceſſary regard to his Character. He came to *London* on the Twenty Fourth of *November*, and Four Days after came into the Parliament Houſe, which was then the great Chamber at *White-hall*, by reaſon of the Queen's Indiſpoſition. The King and Queen ſitting under a *State*, and the Lords and Commons being preſent, the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, acquainted both Houſes with the Cardinals Character and Buſineſs, and hop'd they would follow their Majeſty's Example, and receive him with a ſuitable regard.

After this recommendation, the Cardinal ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Lords and Commons, made a Speech to this Effect.

Cardinal Pool's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament.

“ In the firſt Place he return'd the Queen, and the Two Houſes Thanks, for repealing the Attainder, and reſtoring him to the privilege of appearing amongſt them with Safety and Honour. After this, he enters upon the Subject of his Commiſſion: And acquaints them that as they had been pleas'd to return him the Advantages of his Birthright, ſo his Principal Buſineſs was to reſtore the Nation to its antient Nobility: To this purpoſe, he had an Authority from his *Holineſs*, to make them Part of the Catholick Church. That the Apoſtolick *See* had a particular regard for this Iſland: And that to this, the Pope ſeem'd to be led by the directions of Providence, which has given a Preference to this Country, by making it one of the firſt Provinces that receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith: That the Brittains who were brought into the Church, by the Inſtructions of the Apoſtolick *See*, were not made Chriſtians by degrees, and diſtance of Time, but were all converted, as it were, at once: That after the miſ-behavior of this People had made them unworthy of this Bleſſing, and brought a Pagan Nation in upon them, yet the Country was ſo far the Care of Providence, that Heatheniſm was quickly diſcharg'd, and the Saxons brought over to the Chriſtian Belief. Thus, their being made Part of the Catholick Church, and rais'd to a Nobility of the beſt kind, tho' 'twas principally owing to the Divine Favour, yet God was pleas'd to make the *Apoſtolick See*, the Inſtrument of this Happineſs. That from this Time forward, the Engliſh, with the reſt of Chriſtendom, had all along continued in the Faith of the Roman Church, and treated the Apoſtolick *See* with the higheſt regard: And as an Inſtance of their Obſervance, ſeveral of their King's did not think it enough to pay a Submiſſion to the Popes Authority, without making a Voyage to *Rome* in Perſon. For theſe Princes thought they could not go too far in acknowledging the Benefits of their Countries Converſion. Neither were the Engliſh ſlender Proficients in Religion, and Letters: For when *Charles* the Great founded the Univerſity of *Paris*, he ſent for our Countryman *Alcuinus*, to make Regulations for that Society, and form them to Piety and Learning.

“ The Cardinal took notice that *Adrian* the Fourth an Engliſhman, converted *Norway*, and out of an Affection to his native Country, “gave *Henry* the Second the Sovereignty of *Ireland*. To recount with what diſtinction and peculiarity of reſpect, the Engliſh had been treated by the *See* of *Rome*, would be too tedious an undertaking, neither ſhould he mention the Misfortunes which have purſued them ſince their Defection. And that the ſame Meaſures have been attended with great Calamities in other Countries. Thus by breaking off their Correſpondence, and withdrawing their regard from the Roman *See*, the Chriſtians of *Aſia*, and the Greek Church, loſt their Empire, and their Freedom, and ſunk under the Conqueſt of the Turks. And to give a freſher Example of this unhappy Conduct, into how many Sects and Factions has *Germany* been divided, and how miſerably harraſs'd with Civil Wars, ſince their going off from the Centre of Unity, and the Head of the Chriſtian Communion?

“If we enquire into the Engliſh Revolt, we ſhall find, ſays his *Eminence*, Avarice and Senſuality the principal Motives: And that 'twas firſt ſtarted and carried on by the unbridled Appetite and Licentiouſneſs of a ſingle Perſon. And tho' 'twas given out there would be a vaſt Acceſſion of Wealth to the *Publick*, yet this expectation dwindled to nothing; the *Crown* was left in Debt, and the Subject generally ſpeaking, more impoveriſh'd than ever. And as to Religion, People were tied up to Forms, and hamper'd with Penalties; and to ſpeak plainly, there was more liberty of Conſcience in *Turky*, than in *England*.

“That the Church of *Rome* might have recover'd her Juriſdiction by Force, and had the offer of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*, to aſſiſt her in her Pretentions. However, ſhe was willing to wave this Advantage, and apply to none but friendly Expedients. That tho' the defection was general, and ſtrongly ſettled, yet the goodneſs of God interpos'd to our Relief, and that at a Time when 'twas leaſt ſolicited and deſerv'd. For when the true Religion ſeem'd wholy Extinguiſh'd, when the Churches were defac'd, the Altars thrown down, the Holy Ceremonies diſcharg'd, and things brought to the Point of Deſpair, there were ſome remainders of the true Faith: The Queen's Highneſs continued firm, to whom the ſaying of the Prophet may be applied without Flattery, *Ecce quaſi Derelicta*.

“'Tis well worth our Recollection to Conſider, how wonderfully God has preſerv'd her Majeſty. What contrivances were ſet on foot to defeat her Succeſſion? What Numbers Conſpir'd againſt her? What Preparations were furniſh'd to deſtroy her? Yet notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of her Sex, the ſurprize of the Juncture, the inequality of her Forces, ſhe ſucceeded againſt her Enemies, and made her way to the Throne. Now what can all this unexpected Succeſs be attributed to, but the great Goodneſs and Protection of Almighty God? For humanly ſpeaking, there was nothing appear'd in her Majeſty's Affairs, but only Deſpair: That the ſame Providence had Eſtabliſh'd the Queen in her Right, for recovering the True Religion, and exterminating Error. And to enable her *Grace* the better, for the bringing about this bleſſed Purpoſe, ſhe was now engag'd in Marriage with a Prince of the ſame Belief: That the Emperor, this King's Father, had remarkably concern'd himſelf for retrieving the Unity of the Church: That tho' the Wars breaking out on all ſides, had diſappointed his Purpoſe, yet 'twas to be hop'd, that what his Imperial Majeſty had begun, would be carried on to a happier Iſſue by his Son. To procure this Bleſſing, God had ordain'd Two diſtinct Independent Powers, the *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*. That Princes were God's Repreſentatives in the firſt Inſtance, and the Pope in the latter. That the Management of the Temporal Sword was put into the Hands of the King and Queen, by immediate Commiſſion from God Almighty: And that they had no Superior, with reſpect to Secular Authority.

“As to the Power of the *Keys*, and the Government of the Church, 'twas delegated by our Saviour, to the Biſhops of Rome, and annex'd to the *Apoſtolick See*, by ſpecial Prerogative. And for Proof of this peculiarity of Juriſdiction, we have, continues the Cardinal, the Authority of the holy *Scriptures*, the Preſident of the Apoſtles, and the unanimous Conſent of the *Fathers*, from the beginning of Chriſtianity, to our own Times. From this *See* I am ſent hither, with the Character of Legate, and have full Powers in my Commiſſion: But notwithſtanding my being entruſted with the *Keys*, I am not in a Condition to uſe them, 'till ſome Obſtructions are removed on your Part. But before I proceed farther, I muſt ſolemnly declare I have no prejudicial Inſtructions to any Perſon. My Commiſſion is not to pull down, but to build, to reconcile, not to Cenſure, to invite, but without Compulſion. My Buſineſs is not to proceed by way of Retroſpection, or to queſtion things already ſettled. As for whats paſs'd, it ſhall be all over-look'd and forgotten.

“However, to qualify your ſelves for this Advantage, 'twill be neceſſary to repeal thoſe Laws, which have broken the Catholick Unity, and divided you from the *Society* of the Church. (w)

This *Speech* deliver'd with the Advantage of the Cardinals Quality and Character, was not without its Effect, tho' ſome of the Houſe of Commons took the Freedom to declare their diſlike of reviving the Popes Authority. But the Majority being ſatisfied for the reaſons above-mention'd, an Addreſs was preſented by both *Houſes* to the King and Queen. The Subſtance of it was to intreat their Majeſties to lay it before the Cardinal, adding with what regret they recollected their withdrawing their Obedience from the Apoſtolick *See*, and giving their conſent to any *Statutes* derogatory to his *Holineſſes* Juriſdiction; promiſing that with their Majeſties Concurrence, they would do their utmoſt to repeal all ſuch Laws. They conclude with an humble Requeſt to the King and Queen, to intercede for their Abſolution, and that they may be receiv'd as Penitent Children into the Communion of the Church.

Novemb. 28.
Id.

Things being thus adjuſted, both *Houſes* attended the Court on St. *Andrew*'s Day, where in the Preſence of the King and Queen, the Lord Chancellor ask'd them whether they were pleas'd to Addreſs the Cardinal for their Pardon, to acknowledge the Popes Supremacy, and return to the Unity of the Church? Some of them anſwer'd *Yea*, and the Silence of the reſt

(w) Fox p. 108.

reſt being taken for conſent, a Petition was preſented to their Majeſties, in the Name of the Parliament. When this was Read, the *Members* ſtood up, with a deſign to move the Cardinal. But his *Eminence* being willing to ſpare them that Mortification, prevented their Requeſt, and acquainted them he was ready to give the ſatisfaction deſired; and after his Legantine Commiſſion was Read, (x) he declared how acceptable the return of a Sinner was to God Almighty, and that the Holy Angels rejoic'd at the recovery of this Kingdom. Upon this, they all Kneel'd, and receiv'd Abſolution for themſelves, and the whole Nation, in the following Form.

(x) *See Records* N°. 73.

The Abſolution pronounc'd by the Cardinal.

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which with his moſt pretious Blood, hath redeem'd and waſh'd us from all our Sins and Iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelf a glorious Spouſe, without Spot or Wrinkle; And whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, He by his Mercy Abſolve you. And we by Apoſtolick Authority given unto us, (by the moſt holy Lord Pope Julius *the Third, his Vicegerent here on Earth) do Abſolve, and Deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm, and the Dominions thereof, from all Hereſy, and Schiſm, and from all and every Judgment, Cenſures and Pains, for that Cauſe incurred. And alſo we do reſtore you again unto the Unity of our Mother, the holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it ſhall appear; in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

After this Form was pronounc'd, they went in Solemn Proceſſion to the Chappel Royal, where *Te Deum* was Sung. And becauſe this return to the Communion of the Catholick Church (as they call'd it) fell on St. *Andrew*'s Day, the Cardinal procur'd the paſſing an Order in the *Convocation*, for keeping that Feſtival with an Additional Office, and bringing it up to the Solemnity of the greater Holydays. On *Sunday* following, the Submiſſion of the Two Houſes to the Papal Authority, and the Abſolution given by the Cardinal was repeated by the Lord Chancellor in a Sermon at St. *Paul*'s Croſs: His Text was *Rom.* 13. *Knowing the Time, that it is now high Time, to awake out of Sleep*, &c. From theſe Words, amongſt other things, he obſerves, that when King *Henry* the Eighth was preſs'd with a Rebellion in the North, "he reſolv'd to return the Pope his Supremacy. "But this reſolution came to nothing: *The Hour was not yet come.* For had the matter gone forward under ſuch Circumſtances of Difficulty, ſome would have ſaid the King had been over-aw'd into Juſtice. After this, *Gardiner* and *Knevet*, were ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, to requeſt his Mediation for bringing the Pope and the King to a good underſtanding, and to ſmooth the way, for renewing the former Correſpondence between them: *But the time was not yet come*: For the Juncture might have made the King's Meaſures miſunderſtood, and interpreted his Compliance to reaſons of State. "In the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, the Buſineſs of Reconciliation was moved, but neither was that a proper time: For the King being then a Child, he could not have had a ſhare in the Submiſſion. In ſhort; he told them this was the time which Providence ſeem'd to have reſerv'd for ſo great a Bleſſing. (y)

Verſe 11.

Biſhop Gardiner's Sermon upon this Occaſion.
December 2.

(y) Fox *Vol.* 3. *p.* 112.

The next Day an Embaſſy was reſolv'd to Pope *Julius* the Third, to make him a tender of the Kingdom's Obedience. The Perſons Employ'd, were *Anthony Brown* Viſcount *Montacute*. *Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Karne*, When the News of this Negotiation came to *Rome*, there was ſolemn Proceſſions order'd for all *Italy*. The Pope Confirm'd the Proceedings of his *Legate*, and Publiſh'd a *Jubilee*, with a Clauſe in the *Bull* to Account for anticipating the Period. Like the Father of the Prodigal, 'twas highly reaſonable, he ſaid, to expreſs an unuſual Satisfaction for the recovery of his Son that was loſt. (z) But before the Embaſſy arriv'd, *Julius* died, and was ſucceeded by *Marcellus* the Second. This Pope was a Perſon of great Gravity and Virtue. And to ſhew his Acceſſion to the Chair, had not alter'd his Temper, nor made any unſerviceable Impreſſion, he intended a Reformation of his Court. His deſign was to retrench the Figure of the Prelates, to ſuppreſs unneceſſary Offices, and put a ſtop to exceſs in Expence. But he dying of an Apoplexy, within a Month after his Election, the Project miſcarry'd.

(z) F. Paul. Hiſt. Conc. Trent.

The Pope Dies.

An Embaſſy order'd to Rome.

Upon the Death of this Pope, the Queen endeavor'd to promote Cardinal *Pool* to the *See* of *Rome*. To this purpoſe ſhe Wrote to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, then at *Calais*, to Solicit the French Court in her Name, to diſpoſe the Conclave, to make Choice of Cardinal *Pool*. That they were to acquaint the French King ſhe was Govern'd by no private Regards. That the Cardinal was unacquainted with her concerning her ſelf in this matter: And that 'twas purely his Probity and Merit, which put her upon the undertaking. * But this Buſineſs miſcarried, and *Marcellus* was ſucceeded by Cardinal *Caraffa*, call'd *Paul* the Fourth, a Prelate of different Inclinations. This Pope was ſtrongly in the French Intereſt, and diſaffected both to the Emperor and Cardinal *Pool*.

The Queen endeavors to promote Pool to the Popedom.

* Cotton lib. Titus B. 11.

To return to *England*; in the latter end of *November*, the Queen's being with Child was generally believ'd at Court: The *Council* ſent a Letter to Biſhop *Bonner*, to draw up a Form of Thankſgiving upon the Occaſion, and order *Te Deum* to be Sung in all Churches of his Dioceſe. This hopes of Iſſue prov'd a *Mola*, and had an ill Effect upon the Queen's Health. However, both her ſelf, and the Ladies of her Attendance believ'd otherwiſe at firſt. The Appearance, it ſeems, was ſo promiſing, that the Parliament did not queſtion the Truth on't: This is plain, by their making an *Act* to provide for the Education of the Queen's Iſſue, together with a Preamble of Thanks to God Almighty, for her being with Child. (a)

The Queen believ'd to be with Child.
Fox.

(a) 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. *c.* 10. *Statutes at large.*

Upon this expectation, there were Prayers printed and diſpers'd about the Kingdom. The Purport of them was, that God would ſend the Queen a good *Hour*, ſupport her Government, and protect her from Rebellion. The Addreſs is made immediately to God, without any Application to Saints or Angels. This Prayer *Fox* takes the Freedom to ridicule, (b) which is ſomewhat extraordinary. Did this *Martyrologiſt* believe Dominion founded in *Grace*? Did he conceive the Queen's Title depended on her Orthodoxy? And that ſhe had forfeited her Crown by declaring for Popery? If this was not his Opinion, he muſt grant her Subjects were bound to pray for the Repoſe of her Government. There had been Two Rebellions in her Reign already, and therefore one would think 'twas highly ſeaſonable to Pray againſt a Third: However, *Fox* thought fit to rally their

Publick Prayers upon this Occcaſion.

(b) Fox Vol. 3. p. 116.

Fox *exceeds in his Remark.*

Devotion with this Sentence in the Margin, Cry up louder you Prieſts, peradventure your God is aſleep. As if their Devotions had been directed to *Baal* or *Aſhteroth*: As if the *Papiſts* had worſhip'd one God, and the *Proteſtants* another. I can't perceive the *Martyrologiſt* had any right to *Elijah*'s Sarcaſm. His Zeal without doubt was too much imbitter'd: He was plainly ridden by his Paſſion, and puſh'd by Diſaffection, towards Profaneneſs.

Jan. the 1ſt.

It muſt be confeſs'd, eagerneſs of Temper, and injudicious Averſion carried ſome of the *Reform'd* to Practiſes by no means defenſible. For inſtance; one *Roſe* a Clergy-man, and about Thirty honeſt Citizens more, as *Fox* calls them, meeting in a Houſe in *Bow-Church-Yard* to receive the Communion, were apprehended and committed. But theſe Men were much to Blame in one Sentence of their Devotions, they pray'd, *that God would turn Queen* Mary's *Heart from Idolatry, or elſe ſhorten her Days.* Thus much is confeſs'd by *Fox*, tho' he forgets to cenſure the Diſloyalty. Biſhop *Hooper* then in the *Fleet*, wrote a conſolatory Letter to *Roſe* and the reſt, in which he does not give them any direct Reprimand for their Miſbehaviour, but puts them in mind in General, that God commands us to Pray for thoſe that Perſecute us: Not to revile any Magiſtrate, or apply to violent Remedies: In the cloſe, he prays God to ſend them Patience and Charity, and that they may ſtand firm in maintaining the Truth. By recommending this Reſignation and Paſſiveneſs, 'tis poſſible, he might be inform'd of their uncharitable Petition.

An Unchriſtian Prayer with relation to the Queen.

Id.

However, 'tis certain the report of this intemperate Zeal occaſion'd an Act of Parliament, by which 'tis made High Treaſon *for any Perſon to Pray that God would ſhorten the Queens Days, or take her out of the way, or make any ſuch malicious Prayer importing the ſame Senſe.* The Preamble cites the Petition abovemention'd as unqueſtionable matter of Fact: And then ſubjoins that ſuch Prayer was never heard or read to have been uſed by any good Chriſtians againſt any Prince tho' he were a Pagan and Infidel, and much leſs againſt any Chriſtian Prince.

An Act to prevent ſuch Miſbehaviour.

The *Statute* concludes with a Proviſo, that if any Perſons Indicted for any thing of this kind done during the preſent *Seſſion*, ſhall ſhew themſelves Penitent, and ſubmit to the Queens Mercy, that then no Judgment or Attainder of Treaſon ſhall paſs upon them, but they ſhall receive ſuch Corporal Puniſhment on this ſide Death as the Court ſhall appoint. (*c*)

The moſt remarkable *Bill* paſs'd this Parliament, was a Repeal of all *Statutes* made againſt the *See* of *Rome* in the two late Reigns. To diſpoſe the *Temporalty* to a Concurrence in ſo nice an Affair, and remove all Jealouſies of the Clergy's inſiſting on the Reſtitution of Church Lands, the *Convocation* was prevail'd with to addreſs the King and Queen to intercede with the Cardinal to drop this Article. The Addreſs is pen'd to this Effect.

The Convocations Addreſs that the Cardinal would not inſiſt on the Reſtitution of Church Lands.

“We the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* aſſembled in *Convocation* according to cuſtom, during the *Seſſions* of Parliament, with all due Humility and Regard acquaint your Majeſty's, that notwithſtanding by our reſpective Stations and Offices, the Care and Protection of the Rights and Privileges of the Church are intruſted with us; for which Reaſon we ought to have recourſe to the Remedies of Law, and endeavour the recovering whatever has been taken away in this Kingdom during the late Schiſm. However, we muſt freely confeſs that the reſtoring theſe Eſtates is a very difficult, and in a manner, an impracticable Underſtanding. And conſidering Titles have been ſo often transfer'd ſince the firſt Alienation, Property would be ſtrangely intangled by purſuing an attempt of this Nature: And over and above, the Union with the Catholick Church, ſo happily begun by your Majeſty's, might probably be check'd in it's Progreſs. We therefore who value the publick Tranquility more than our private Advantage, and the ſaving ſo many Souls above all ſecular Intereſt whatever, (*not ſeeking our own but thoſe things which are Jeſus Chriſts*) humbly beſeech your Majeſty's to intimate our Requeſt to the Lord Cardinal *Pool*, Legate to our Lord Pope *Julius* III. and to intercede with his *Eminence*, that purſuant to the Powers granted by his *Holineſs*, he would pleaſe to prefer the Benefit of the Community to all private regards, and give up the Claim of thoſe Eſtates which might otherways be inſiſted on by the *Spiritualty* or *Religious*: And that the Lord Cardinal Legate would relax upon theſe Points either wholly or in part, at his Diſcretion: Only we deſire his *Eminence* would ſhew himſelf eaſy and gentle upon this Occaſion; declaring withal, that whatever ſhall be done by him in the Premiſes ſhall be taken as confirm'd by our Conſent. And farther, we humbly intreat your Majeſty's that thoſe Branches of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, without which we are in no condition to execute our Functions, and aſſiſt our *Charge*, and which have been wreſted from us by the injuſtice of the late Times, may be reſtored: And that all thoſe Laws which diſable us in our Buſineſs, and check our ſpiritual Commiſſion, may be repeal'd to the Honour of God and your Majeſty's, and the common Benefit both Temporal and Eternal of the whole Realm. (*d*)

This Addreſs was put in the Cardinal's Hands by the Lord Chancellor, the *Prolocutor* and Six other Members of the lower *Houſe*. This ſet the Cardinal at Eaſe in ſome meaſure, and diſcharg'd him from preſſing ſo unacceptable a Condition as reſtoring the Church Lands. The *Temporalty* would certainly have broken with him upon this Article: For as *Fox* writes, the *Parliament* had lately diſpatch'd an *Expreſs* to the Pope, to deſire his *Holineſs* to Confirm the alienations of the Abby and Chantry-Lands: And that without Satisfaction in this particular, there would be no Conceſſions on their Part. (*e*)

After complying upon this Head, the Parliament in their *Bill* move by way of Addreſs to their Majeſty's, that the Cardinal by Virtue of his Legantine Commiſſion may Diſpenſe in the following Caſes.

A Repeal of the Statutes againſt the See *of* Rome.

Firſt, “That all Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, Hoſpitals, Colleges, Schools, and other ſuch Foundations made by Authority of Parliament, or otherwiſe legally Eſtabliſh'd ſince the Schiſm, may be confirm'd and continued.

That Marriages made within the prohibited Degrees of Conſanguinity, Affinity, Spiritual Relation, or which might be made void *propter impedimentum publicæ honeſtatis Juſtitiæ*, or upon the

---

(c) 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar. Cap.* 9. *Statutes at large.*

(d) 1ſt & 2d *Phil. & Mar. Cap.* 8.

(e) Fox pag. 113.

the ſcore of any other Canonical Reſtraint, may be confirm'd, and the Iſſue declar'd Legitimate.

That Inſtitutions of Benefices, and other Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and Diſpenſations made according to the form of the *Act* of Parliament may be likewiſe confirm'd.

That all judicial Proceſſes made before any Ordinaries of this Realm, or before any delegates upon any Appeals, according to the order of the Laws of the Realm, may be likewiſe ratified and confirm'd.

And finally, that all Lands, Goods, or Chattels belonging to Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbyes, Priories, Chauntry's and Colleges ſettled on the *Crown* by Act of Parliament, and from thence convey'd to the Subject, by Gift, Purchaſe, Exchange, &c. ſhould remain uncontested in their preſent Condition: And that no Proprietor ſhould be diſturb'd by the Revival of any Claim on the Churches behalf: And that no Suits might be commenc'd, or Cenſures inflicted upon this Score, either by Authority from the Pope, a General Council, or on Pretence of any Canon, or Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution whatſoever.

(f) 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar. Cap.* 8.

The Cardinals *Diſpenſation* inſerted in the Body of the *Act*, gratified the *Parliament* in all theſe Particulars. But tho' the Church Lands are wholly given up without the leaſt Innuendo of any farther reckoning, yet in the cloſe of the *Inſtrument* the Cardinal puts them in mind of the danger of Sacrilege, and how much they are concern'd to reſtore the Goods of the Church, meaning the Plate and Ornaments: He Exhorts them likewiſe to ſee a competent Proviſion made for thoſe Cures which have been lately ſtrip'd of their Maintenance.

“ This *Diſpenſation* is confirm'd by the *Act*. There is likewiſe a Confirmation of all Abby, Chauntry, and Biſhops Lands convey'd to King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI. by *Act* of Parliament or any other legal Aſſurance: And 'tis made Premunire to form any Proceſs in any Eccleſiaſtical Court within the Realm or *without*, contrary to the Laws of *England*, or to moleſt any Perſon for any Lands, Mannours, &c. above mention'd: 'Tis farther *Enacted*, that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other ſpiritual Perſons having Juriſdiction, and no Lay Perſon, ſhall execute ſpiritual Authority in Places exempt. After which follows a Clauſe for ſaving the cuſtomary Privileges of both the Univerſities, of the Churches of *Weſtminſter*, *Windſor* and the *Tower*. And that thoſe Lords of Mannors who formerly enjoy'd *Probat* of Teſtaments ſhould loſe nothing by this *Statute*. And laſtly, to make the Church ſome Recompence for what had been taken away in the two late Reigns, the *Statute* of *Mortmain* is ſuſpended or diſpenc'd with for Twenty Years. This *Act* declares the Title of Supreme Head never rightfully belong'd to the *Crown*: However, all *Inſtruments* in which that Stile had been uſed ſhould be of Force, and that all Writings ſince the Queens Acceſſion to the *Crown*, where that *Addition* had been omitted, ſhould likewiſe paſs for legal Forms. And as to the Juriſdiction of the Pope, Biſhops, and *Ordinaries*, it was to be enlarg'd to the ſame extent in which it might lawfully have been exercis'd in the Twentieth Year of King *Henry* VIII.

An Addreſs of the lower Houſe of Convocation for recovering the Privileges of the Church.

Before I take leave of this *Act* it may not be Improper to acquaint the *Reader* with an *Addreſs* which the Lower Houſe of Convocation made to the Upper. The Deſign of it was to move for ſomething towards an Equivalent for giving up the Church Lands. In ſhort, this Addreſs, tho' not fully anſwer'd, ſeems to have been conſider'd in ſeveral *Statutes* made this Reign. The ſubſtance of the Addreſs digeſted into Twenty Eight Articles is as follows. They intreat the Biſhops to take Care, that in giving their concurrence to the Settlement of the Church Lands upon the Laity, nothing might paſs to the Prejudice of any Biſhop, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, with reſpect to any legal Right, Title, or Intereſt. And whereas by a *Statute* made in the Firſt Year of King *Edward* VI. for ſuppreſſing of *Chauntries*, Colleges, &c. there was a Proviſo for the Erecting Schools and Hoſpitals in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, which had hitherto not been perform'd, they requeſt their Lordſhips to move the King, the Queen, and Cardinal, that this Clauſe may be made good, to the full meaning of the Statute. Further, the Addreſs ſolicits that Tythes and Oblations lately alienated, may be return'd to the Church, and all Impropriations, excepting ſuch as are ſettled for the maintenance of the Clergy, of Univerſities and Schools, may be diſſolv'd by Act of Parliament, and the Revenues reſtored to the Parochial Churches: They ſuggeſt farther, that the Lands and Endowments of Prebends have been lately alienated from Cathedrals, and Impropriated Benefices ſettled in Lieu of them, to the decay of Hoſpitality and great dammage of the Church; they deſire their Lordſhips therefore to exert themſelves for redreſſing this Grievance. They likewiſe move that the *Statute* of *Mortmaine* made in the Seventh Year of King *Edward* I. and another to the ſame purpoſe paſs'd in the Fifteenth Year of King *Richard* II. may be repeal'd.

After theſe Preliminary Requeſts, the Addreſs proceeds to the mention of Twenty Eight Articles for the Reformation of the Church in Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Worſhip: I ſhall juſt touch ſome of the moſt Remarkable.

Firſt, they declare their Intention of coming to a Reſolution, whether thoſe who have preach'd Heretical and Seditious Doctrine ſhall be called before their Ordinaries, and oblig'd to a publick Recantation? And whether any Proceſs ſhall be form'd againſt them purſuant to the Canons of the Church?

They move the Lords Spiritual, that the late Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Book written againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, the Schiſmatical *Common-prayer-book* and *Ordinal*, the Tranſlations of the Bible recited in a *Statute* made in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. and all other Books containing any Heretical Doctrine may be burnt: And all Perſons who have ſuch Books, requir'd to bring them in to the Ordinary, or otherwiſe to be reputed Abettors of ſuch Tenents. That no ſuch Books may be Printed or Sold within the Realm, or Imported from foreign Parts, under heavy Penalties. That the Statutes againſt Hereticks, Lollards, and Preachers of falſe Doctrine, may be reviv'd. And that all Biſhops and other *Ordinaries* may be reſtor'd to the ſame Juriſdiction they injoyn'd in the Firſt Year of King *Henry* VIII. that the *Statutes* allowing Pluralities and Non-reſidence may be Repeal'd. That Simoniacal Contracts may be ſtrictly enquir'd into and Puniſh'd, and that Pa-

Patrons may loſe the Preſentation during their Lives for ſuch indirect management. That the Church with reſpect to Liberty, Authority, and Juriſdiction, may be reſtor'd to the Benefit of *Magna Charta*: Or at leaſt that theſe Privileges may be recover'd to the Condition they were in the Firſt Year of King *Henry* VIII. and that the intollerable Burthen of firſt Fruits, Tenths, and Subſidies, may be diſcharg'd. That no attachment of Premunire may be awarded againſt any Eccleſiaſtical *Ordinary* before the bringing a *Prohibition*. And that the King and Queen would pleaſe to command the Temporal Judges to explain the *Statutes* of Premunire, to ſtate the Subject, and give a full Recital of the Caſes in which any Perſon is liable to that Penalty. That the *Statutes* of *Proviſors* may not be wreſted to Illegal Conſtructions, nor ſtretch'd beyond the proper Senſe and Meaning of the Words. That the *Statute* of the Submiſſion of the Clergy made in the Twenty Fifth of *Henry* VIII. and all others made ſince the Firſt Year of that Prince in Derogation of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, may be repeal'd. That all Places exempt may be put under the Juriſdiction of their Spiritual *Ordinaries*. That the Pleas concerning Tythes within the City and Liberties of *London*, may not be tryed before the Lord Mayor. But that the Cognizance of this matter may be return'd to the Biſhops Court purſuant to antient uſage. That Tythes may be payed according to the Canon Law: And that Abby Lands exempted from payment of Tythes may be aſſign'd to proper Pariſhes, and chargeable with the payment of Tythes like other Eſtates. That Proviſion may be made for the payment of perſonal Tythes in Cities and elſewhere, as was uſually done in the Twenty Firſt Year of King *Henry* VIII. that ſuch Prieſts as were lately Married, and refuſe to diſengage and qualify themſelves for their Functions may have ſome uncreditable Diſtinction put upon them, and that Women who Married after Monaſtick Vows may be Divorc'd. That all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who of their own voluntary Motion had rifled or defac'd any Churches, might be oblig'd to refund, and make Reparation. (g)

(g) *Ex Mſ.* Coll. Cor. C. Cantab.

The Statutes againſt Hereſy reviv'd.

To proceed, the *Statutes* for ſuppreſſing and puniſhing of Hereſy in the Reigns of *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. and *Henry* V. are reviv'd. (h)

(h) 5 R. 2 Cap. 5. 2 H. 4. Cap. 15. 2. H. 5. Cap. 7. *1ſt and 2d* Phil. & Mar. Cap. 6.

The *Commons* paſs'd a *Bill* for voiding all Leaſes made by married Prieſts: But the Lords being aware ſeveral alienations of Church Lands might ſuffer by ſuch a Proviſion, threw out the *Bill*.

The other *Acts* relating wholly to the *State* I ſhall paſs over: This *Parliament* was Diſſolv'd, as 'tis ſaid, on the Sixteenth of *January*. And on the Twenty Fifth following there was a ſolemn Proceſſion in *London* to give God Thanks for the Kingdoms return to the Catholick Church. The Solemnity was ornamented with 90 Croſſes: There were Eight Biſhops, and a Hundred and Sixty Prieſts and Clerks richly Habited. The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common *Council* made part of the Appearance. When the Proceſſion was over they return'd to *Maſs* at St. *Pauls* where the King and Cardinal were preſent.

The Printed *Statutes* reckon the Diſſolution of the Parliament to the Sixteenth of *January*, but 'tis poſſible the Firſt Figure might be miſtaken: For the Learned *Heylin* writes they were Diſſolv'd on the Twenty Sixth, *Fox* ſeems to have been of the ſame Opinion by ſaying that on the Twenty Third of *January* all the Biſhops with the reſt of the *Convocation* attended the Cardinal at *Lambeth*: Now if the *Convocation* was not Diſſolv'd on the Twenty Third we may reaſonably Conclude the Parliament was ſtill ſitting. However, *Fox* does not expreſs himſelf clearly, whether the *Convocation* was then actually ſitting or not. He only takes Notice that the Cardinal order'd them to repair to their Cures: That he adviſ'd them to manage with Lenity and Moderation: And that they ſhould endeavour to recover their People by Perſwaſion and kind uſage, rather than apply to any rugged expedient.

Vol. 3.

The Cardinal's Commiſſion for abſolving the Province of Canterbury. Harmer *append. p.* 182.

To reinforce the *Diſpenſation* in the *Act* of *Repeal*, and give it a due Compaſs and Effect, the Cardinal granted a Commiſſion to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury* for reconciling the Clergy and *Laity* of that *Province*. Neither is there any reaſon to queſtion the ſame Favours being granted to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the *Sees* within that Juriſdiction. The *Inſtrument* extends to the abſolving all Perſons who repent their Miſcarriages, and deſire to be reſtor'd, from all Hereſies, Schiſm, Apoſtacies, from all Excommunications, ſuſpenſions, and other Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. And more particularly the Clergy who have receiv'd Orders from any Schiſmatical or Heretical Biſhops, officiated in Virtue of that Character, and complyed with any unallow'd Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer, are abſolv'd, provided the Form and Intention of the Church was not omitted in their *Ordination*. They are likewiſe abſolv'd from all Cenſures to which they have made themſelves liable by Swearing againſt the Pope's Supremacy. The Breach of Vows, and quitting a *Religious* Life is likewiſe remitted to all thoſe concern'd. The Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, with whom during the Vacancy of the *See*, all ſpiritual Juriſdiction is lodg'd, are farther impower'd to Authoriſe the Parochial Clergy to abſolve the *Laity*, and reſtore them to the Communion of the Church. The form to be pronounc'd by the *Curates* runs thus.

Our Lord Jeſu Chriſt abſolve you, and by the Apoſtolick Authority to me granted and committed, I abſolve you from the Sentences of Excommunication, and from all other Cenſures and Pains into the which you be fall'n by reaſon of Hereſy and Schiſm, or any otherwiſe, and I reſtore you to the Unity of our Holy Mother the Church, and to the Communion of all Sacraments, diſpenſing with you for all manner of Irregularity, and by the ſame Authority I abſolve you from all your Sins in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Amen. (i)

(i) *Regiſt.* Bonner *Fol.* 372.

He recommends gentle methods with the Reform'd.

The Cardinal as hath been obſerv'd, recommended gentle methods: He declar'd a ſtrong averſion to Extremity and Rigour: That the Clergy ought to compaſſionate the misfortunes of thoſe miſled. That Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to anſwer the tenderneſs of that Relation: That nothing could be more foreign to their Character than deſtroying their Children. That from his own experience he had obſerved rough Applications rather heighten'd ſuch a Diſtemper than cur'd it. That there was a great difference to be made between a Country juſt ſiez'd and infected but in a few; and another where the Malignity had time to ſpread, and reach'd all Ranks and Orders. That it was not to be expected People would be dragg'd out of their Errors all at once: Such ſudden Violence would rather puſh them upon Obſtinacy, and fix their Miſtakes: And therefore the better way was to give them time for Recollection, to argue them out of their Heterodoxy, and lead them back by gentle Degrees. That the Three *Statutes* reviv'd againſt Hereſy ſhould ſleep in the Execution, and only be made uſe of in *Terrorem*. That a ſtrict Reformation in the manners of the Clergy, would be a good Step towards recovering the *Laity*: And to this purpoſe, he ſuggeſted the reſtoring the Primitive Diſcipline. To this he added, the Emperor had adviſ'd the Queen not to make any Perſon uneaſy upon the ſcore of Conſcience: And that himſelf had been unfortunate in the Trials of Extremity.

Gardiner *moves for Extremities in ſome Caſes.*

The Lord Chancellor *Gardiner* was of a different Sentiment: He thought no Arguments would operate ſo ſtrongly as Penalties, and that the Terror of Fire and Faggot in ſome Caſes were the beſt Methods of Conviction: That where People were incorrigible, they ought to be capitally puniſh'd. But then he would have them begin with Hereticks of Diſtinction, and who were moſt inſtrumental in miſleading the reſt. This Advice was pointed againſt the Reform'd Biſhops. He was likewiſe of Opinion, that thoſe Preachers who appear'd moſt hardy and enterprizing, ſhould be made Examples: As for the Groſs of the People, he believ'd when their *Leaders* were taken off, they would recover of themſelves, and might ſafely be overlook'd. As to the Reformation of the Clergy, he approv'd the Thing, but thought it an unſeaſonable Expedient. That the Practice of ſuch Regulations would juſtifie the Clamours of the Hereticks, and bring the Hierarchy under more Diſadvantage.

Gardiner, beſides his old Quarrel for being impriſon'd and depriv'd, thought himſelf lately affronted by the Tranſlation of his *Book de verâ Obedientiâ.* (k) This *Book*, as the *Reader* may remember, was a ſtrong Contradiction to his preſent Practice: For here he had renounc'd the Popes Supremacy, *argued for the Regale*, and approv'd the Divorce between the King and *Catherine* of *Spain*. Some of thoſe who ſuffer'd took the Freedom to charge him with this Inconſiſtency. His Anſwer was, that the ſwearing againſt the *Pope's* Juriſdiction, was an unlawful Oath, like *Herods*, and ought to be broken: The ſeeing himſelf expos'd in Engliſh Print, ruffl'd his Humour farther, and provok'd him againſt the Reform'd. *Bonner's* Preface was likewiſe tranſlated, which might probably ſtir his Pride. He concurr'd with *Gardiners* ſanguinary Suggeſtions. *Bonner* was ſomewhat harſhly us'd in the late Reign: And being of a warm vindictive Temper, he might not be unpleas'd with an Opportunity of Revenge. The Queen and Council gave in to theſe Meaſures, as appears by ſeveral Orders of the *Board*. (l) And thus the Cardinals good Nature was overrul'd, and the Perſecution broke out upon the *Reform'd*.

The Preachers in Priſon addreſs the King, Queen, and Parliament.

“While the Parliament was ſitting, the *Preachers* impriſon'd made an Addreſs to the King, the Queen, and the Two Houſes, in defence of the *Reformation*. In the firſt Place, they intreat them to recollect their Severities againſt the Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Two late Reigns. They put them in mind that the Points had been ſettled with great Deliberation: That the Two Univerſities, and the moſt conſiderable Perſons for Learning in other Parts of the Kingdom, had been conſulted. That to undo what was thus unanimouſly agreed, was unſerviceable to the Memories of the Two Princes King *Henry* and King *Edward*, and a Blemiſh upon the Honour of the whole Nation: That great Uneaſineſs of Conſcience, and Judgments from Heaven, muſt follow ſuch meaſures of courſe. That ſince the diſcharging the true Religion, throwing out the Reform'd Offices, and bringing Superſtition and Idolatry into their Place, all the Orthodox Preachers have been remov'd, have been harraſs'd and rob'd, with ſuch Cruelty and Injuſtice, as exceeds the Barbarity of Turks and Infidels.

“They conjure their Majeſties and the Parliament, by every thing ſacred and valuable; to conſider the lamentable State of Religion, and how much the Nation is likely to ſuffer in their Eternal Intereſt. They earneſtly deſire therefore the Church may be retriev'd from this deplorable Condition. As for themſelves, they requeſt they may be brought before the Council, or Parliament; and if they fail either in maintaining the *Homilies* and *Service* ſet forth in the late Reign, or in proving the Unlawfulneſs of the Liturgick Forms us'd at preſent, if they fail in making good either of theſe Points, and that by Catholick Principles and Authorities, they are willing to be burnt at the Stake, or ſubmit to any other Death of Ignominy and Torture, which their Majeſties ſhall pleaſe to appoint them. (m)

Not long after they made another Addreſs to their Majeſties and Parliament of a reſembling Contents: They complain they have been thrown out of their Eſtates, their Goods ſeiz'd, and their Books taken from them: “That they have been miſreported to their Majeſties, reproach'd for Hereticks, cloſely confin'd for Fifteen or Sixteen Months, and not allow'd the Liberty to juſtifie themſelves againſt the Calumnies thrown upon them. They deſire they may be brought publickly to their Anſwer either before the Parliament, or ſuch indifferent Judges as their Majeſties ſhall appoint.

“Under ſuch an Allowance they don't queſtion their being able to throw off the Imputation of Hereſy: To defend the *Reformation* from Point to Point, and ſhew the Excommunications publiſh'd againſt them of no Force: And that all the Names of Diſadvantage and Infamy belong rather to their Adverſaries: To their Adverſaries who with reſpect to their Majeſties, may rather be ſaid to ſtand in the Place of the Ægyptian Magicians to *Pharaoh*, of *Zedekiah* and his Party of Prophets, to *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and of *Bar-jeſu* to the Pro-Conſul *Sergius Paulus*. And laſtly, they offer to juſtifie the Doctrine and Worſhip eſtabliſh'd in the late Reign, by Scripture and Antiquity, under the higheſt Penalties. (n)

Whether the Freedom of theſe *Addreſſes* gave Diſguſt, or that the Government reſolv'd to proceed another Way, is more than can be known. However, 'tis certain the *Preachers* were refus'd in their Application.

Some Provocations given the Government.

The Miſbehaviour of ſome People about this time ſeems to have ſower'd the Humour of the Court, and brought the Reform'd under farther Diſfavour. For inſtance, one *Edward*

Featherſtone

(k) *Printed Eſsones in* Rome Anno Dom. 1553.

(l) *Council Book* Anno Dom. 1555.

(m) Fox *Mſs.* Stripes *Appendix to* Cranmers *Life page* 196.

(n) Fox *vol.* 3. *page* 118.

Featherſtone alias Conſtable counterfeited himſelf King *Edward* the Sixth. He was ſeiz'd and carried before the *Council*, where he beg'd the Queens Pardon, and confeſs'd he had been importun'd by a great many People to undertake the Impoſture. This Youth had for ſome time been a Footman to Sir *Peter Mewtaſs*. *

† *Council Book.* Stow Annal. *p.* 626.

The next Month the Lord *North*, Secretary *Bourn*, the Maſter of the *Rolles*, Sir *Francis Ingleſfield*, and ſome others receiv'd Order from the *Council* to proceed to a farther Examination of *Bingar*, *Cary*, *Dye*, and *Field*. Theſe Men, as appears by their Confeſſions, had been tampering with Aſtrology or Magick. They were proſecuted in all likelyhood, for calculating the Queens Nativity, and foretelling her Death. †

† *Council Book.*

To this may be added a Letter ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, with another incloſ'd to the Queen, from Father *Elſtan* Warden of the Convent at *Greenwich*. He complains that himſelf and Father *Peyto* were ſton'd by ſeveral Perſons in their Paſſage from *London* to *Greenwich*. His Lordſhip is deſir'd by the *Council* to get the Offenders apprehended, and to require the Lord Mayor to make a Proclamation with a Reward for thoſe that ſhall diſcover them *

* *Council Book.*

To give another Inſtance of a lower kind. One *Robert Mendrain* of the Pariſh of St. *Giles's* in the Fields, ſhav'd a Dog in Contempt of the Prieſts Tonſure: For this Miſbehaviour he was order'd by the *Council* to go to his Pariſh Church next *Sunday*, and there publickly confeſs his Folly in a Form preſcrib'd. †

† *Council Book.*

Theſe Inſtances of Miſbehaviour might very probably ruffle the Court, and make the Government more rugged with the *Reform'd*. For though ſtretching the Puniſhment beyond the Crime, has nothing of Juſtice: Yet Princes ſometimes let looſe their Reſentments upon ſuch Occaſions. Their Jealouſy is apt to take the Alarm. They conclude that thoſe who profeſs the ſame Religion, have the ſame Averſions and Deſires; and ſtand ready to take the ſame Liberty of Practice. This is wrong judging, but Power and Paſſion don't always diſtinguiſh: And thus a whole Party ſometimes ſuffer for the Faults of a few.

As for a Martyrology the *Reader* may pleaſe not to expect it. 'Tis wide of the Deſign, and out of the Compaſs of this *Work*. I ſhall only mention ſome few of the more diſtinguiſh'd Perſons and Circumſtances. Thoſe who would be farther inform'd in Names and Particulars, may conſult *Fox*, who is full enough in the Detail: And though he is ſometimes miſtaken in private Stories, his *Records* and *State Papers*, may be ſafely relied on.

Jan. 29. Ann. 1554. *Several burnt for Hereſy.*

To proceed, the Proſecution of the *Reform'd* being now determin'd, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and ſome others of that *Order*, had a Commiſſion from the Cardinal to convent and examine thoſe delated for Hereſy. Purſuant to this Authority *Rogers* and *Bradford*, Biſhop *Hooper* and Dr. *Taylour*, were brought before *Gardiner*, excommunicated, and remanded to Priſon. *Rogers* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and ſuffer'd with great Fortitude, and Chriſtian Reſolution. He was an Acquaintance of *Tindals* and liv'd with him in *Flanders*: When *Tindal* was executed for Religion, *Rogers* being apprehenſive of hard Uſage in *England* under King *Henry* the Eighth, retir'd to *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, where learning the Language of the Country he had the Cure of a Pariſh; He continued in this Buſineſs till King *Edwards* Reign; when he was call'd home and prefer'd to a Prebend in St. *Paul's* Church by Biſhop *Ridley*: At the preſent Queens coming to the *Crown*, the Papiſts knowing him to be a Perſon of Warmth and Enterprize, and ſtrongly diſaffected to their Perſwaſion, endeavour'd to fright him beyond Sea. For this purpoſe they gave him almoſt a Year to tranſport himſelf, charging him at the ſame time not to ſtir out of his own Houſe. But when they found he deſpis'd the Opportunity, and refus'd to withdraw, they committed him, and then brought him to the *Stake*: He left a Wife and Ten Children wholly unſupported, and caſt upon Providence.

Feb. 4.

Godwin Annal. Fox.

Soon after, *Sanders* Parſon of *Allhallows Breadſtreet* in *London*, was brought before *Bonner*. He was extracted from a Gentlemans Family. At his Examination he calls the Pope Antichriſt, and declares himſelf of *Wickliffes*, *Thorps*, and *Oldcaſtles* Church. (*o*) But notwithſtanding ſome Miſtakes, he ſhews a Zeal for Martyrdom, and deſires no Application may be made to ſave his Life: He was carried down to *Coventry* and burnt there.

(o) Fox *page* 136.

Bradford another Prebendary of St. *Pauls* refuſing to get off, was brought before the *Council*. He was condemn'd to the Fire for denying the corporal Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation, which were the *burning Articles* through this whole Reign.

At a Conference between him and *Harpsfield*, he denies the Neceſſity of a Succeſſion of Biſhops; the Church, ſays he, is not tied to Succeſſion but to Doctrine. He affirms the *Scriptures* make no Difference between the *Order* of Biſhops and Prieſts. He proves the Authority of the Scriptures not from the Force of Tradition, and the Teſtimony of the Church, but from inward Light, and private Conviction ſuppoſ'd to come from the Holy Ghoſt. He ſeems to aſſert the Church ſometimes inviſible. As to auricular Confeſſion, he thinks it a Thing indifferent, and recommended at firſt only by way of Advice: That preſſing it as a neceſſary Duty, and reſting ſo much upon it as is done in the Church of *Rome*, not to mention other Circumſtances, is enough to make it unlawful. He calls the Pope Antichriſt, writes flamingly againſt the *Maſs*, but condemns Rebellion, and preſſes *Paſſive Obedience* to the utmoſt Extent. (*p*) They declar'd him a Heretick in *January*, but his Execution was reſpited till *July* following.

(p) Fox *page* 293. 294. 296. 302. 309. 347.

To proceed, Biſhop *Hooper* was pronounc'd guilty of Hereſy for denying the corporal Preſence. His Epiſcopal Character being not allow'd, he was degraded no higher than from Prieſts Orders. His being active for *Bonners* Deprivation in the late Reign, ſeems to have mark'd him for Deſtruction in this: For he was ſent for up, and impriſon'd in the *Tower* at the Queens firſt coming to the *Crown*. This Prelate had formerly liv'd a conſiderable Time in *Germany*, and made an intimate Acquaintance with *Bullinger*: After he was put into the Hands of the *civil Magiſtrate*, 'twas thought fit to convey him to *Glouceſter*. His ſuffering where he preach'd his Heterodoxy (as 'twas call'd) was done in *Terrorem*, to fright the People from hearkning to ſuch pretended Novelties.

Biſhop Hooper *burnt at* Glouceſter.

Feb. 9.

The Warrant for burning him calls him a vain glorious Perſon, and one that delighted in talking: And therefore having the Liberty of Speech, 'twas fear'd he might perſwade the

People to perſiſt in their Errors. To prevent this, the Queens Pleaſure is, that he ſhould not be ſuffer'd to deliver himſelf to any length as he went to Execution. *

* Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. F. V. *fol.* 380.

On the other Hand, *Hooper* was glad of the Opportunity of loſing his Life in his Dioceſe, and giving his People the laſt Proof of his Integrity. He reſign'd himſelf to the *Stake*, and went through the Torture with all the Firmneſs imaginable. During his Impriſonment, Biſhop *Ridley* wrote him a Letter to congratulate his Sufferings, to encourage his Conſtancy, and to acquaint him, that notwithſtanding ſome former Differences between them in leſſer matters, he had now a very affectionate Regard for him. The ſame Day Dr. *Rowland Taylour* Parſon of *Haddly* in *Suffolk* was burnt in his Pariſh. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* pronounc'd his Doom, and put him in the Sheriffs Hands. He was a Learned Man, as appears by his Defence. And if *Fox* is exact in his Narrative, was us'd with particular Barbarity at his Execution. *Farrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids* was ſent out of the World the ſame Way. He was carried from *London* to *Carmarthen* to ſtand the Proceſs: He was brought before his Succeſſor *Morgan*, who pronounc'd him an Heretick for marrying after his being *profeſs'd a Religious*, for maintaining Juſtification by Faith only: For denying Tranſubſtantiation, and the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs. In the Sentence he is ſtil'd a Prieſt, and degraded no farther. Biſhop *Farrar* appeal'd from *Morgan* to Cardinal *Pool*, but that Application was rejected. He ſuffer'd with extraordinary Courage, and put the Truth of his Doctrine upon a very bold Teſt. For he told a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, that if he ſaw him uneaſy under the Pain, or ſo much as once ſtir in the Fire, he ſhould not believe any of his Tenents. He acted with the ſame Greatneſs he talk'd, and though his Hands were both burnt off, he never ſo much as mov'd, till one that ſtood by knock'd him down. Biſhop *Godwin* deſcribes this *Farrar* as a Perſon ſomewhat ſtiff and unpoliſh'd. That the Ruggedneſs of his manner made him Enemies, and occaſion'd the exhibiting Articles againſt him in the late Reign. He ſunk under this Impeachment, and was committed: And thus continuing a Priſoner at King *Edwards* Death, he was brought before Biſhop *Gardiner*. And here 'tis thought, if he had manag'd with Dexterity, and been ſmooth in his Anſwers, he might have diſengag'd himſelf, and ſecur'd both his Conſcience, and his Life. For thus many of the *Reform'd*, who had neither outrag'd the Papiſts, nor appear'd for the Lady *Jane*, had either the Liberty to go beyond Sea; Or if they happen'd to be ſeiz'd, were diſmiſs'd without much Difficulty at their Friends Interceſſion: But *Farrar* continues *Godwin*, being uncourtly in his Behaviour, provok'd *Wincheſter* to go through with his Proceſs, and leave him to the Law. (q)

Id. 147.

And Biſhop Farrar *at* Carmarthen.

March 30. 1555.

Fox. *p.* 216.

(q) Godwin Annal.

Biſhop Coverdale *ſent to* Denmark.

Coverdale Biſhop of *Exeter* had probably ſhar'd the ſame Fate, had it not been for the Mediation of the King of *Denmark*. This Biſhop had liv'd in that Country in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. His Piety and Learning had recommended him ſo far to that Court, that his Daniſh Majeſty being inform'd of his Danger, wrote to the Queen to ſend him thither. The Queen ſeem'd not willing to part with him: She alledg'd he had not ſatiſfied ſome Debts owing to the *Crown*. However, upon being farther ſollicited, ſhe gratified the Requeſt, and ſent *Coverdale* over. (r)

(r) Fox.

The Queen reſolv'd to reſtore the Abbey Lands in her Poſſeſſion.

To ſhut up this melancholy Scene a little, and paſs on to ſmother Relation. The beginning of this Year the Queen diſcover'd her Intention of reſtoring the Abby Lands, then remaining in the *Crown*. To this purpoſe, ſhe ſent for *William* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Robert Rocheſter* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Inglefield* Maſter of the Wards. She told them ſhe was fully ſatiſfied thoſe Lands had been unjuſtly alienated during the Schiſm: That her Conſcience would not allow her to keep them: And therefore ſhe makes a ſolemn and free Surrender without any Reſerve or Condition. Leaving theſe Eſtates to be applied to ſuch religious Uſes, as either the Pope, or the Lord Cardinal his *Legate*, ſhould think fit. And if 'twas objected the Revenues of the *Crown*, and the Dignity of the Government, would ſuffer by ſuch a Reſignation; to this ſhe replied, that ſhe prefer'd the ſaving her Soul to all the Kingdoms of the World. This Declaration was intimated to the Cardinal by the Lord Chancellor, put in Form, and ſent to the Pope.

Pope Paul *the Fourth pretends to give* Ireland *the Title of a Kingdom.*

The Three Engliſh Ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, the Firſt Day of *Paul* the Fourths Acceſſion to the *Chair*. Upon their being brought into the Conſiſtory, they threw themſelves at his Holineſs's Feet, and in the Name of the Kingdom made a Recital of the late Miſbehaviour, own'd their Ingratitude, and intreated for Pardon. In this Confeſſion they were very particular: For the Pope would not paſs an Acknowledgment in general. After Satisfaction in this point, he took them up, and embrac'd them. And as a Mark of Eſteem to their Majeſties of *England*, he pretended to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom. This Iſland, as hath been obſerv'd, was made a Kingdom by King *Henry* the Eighth; after his Rupture with the *See* of *Rome*: The ſame Title was continued in the late Reign, and now aſſum'd by the preſent King and Queen. But this Pope had reſolv'd immediately upon his Election, that the King and Queen ſhould not claim the Dominion of *Ireland* under ſo Soveraign a Stile. But on the other ſide, 'twas thought a Hardſhip to oblige the *Crown* of *England* to quit a Title, which had been carried by Three Princes ſucceſſively. The Pope therefore found a Temper to make his pretended Prerogative paſs the better. He ſeem'd not to know *Henry* the Eighth had rais'd *Ireland* to a Kingdom without his Leave, that ſo the World might believe the Queen uſed the Title as a Gift from his Holineſs, and not as a Right deſcended on her.

His Bull allow'd by the Queen.

The Queen gratified the Pope to the length of his Fancy: For at the Return of the Ambaſſadors the Biſhop of *Ely* exhibited the *Bull* for making *Ireland* a Kingdom in the Council Chamber. This Inſtrument was deliver'd by the Council to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, to be publiſh'd in that *Iſland*. (s) The Ambaſſadors had ſeveral private Audiences of the Pope: At which he blam'd the Kingdom for not making full Reſtitution of what had been taken from the Church. He told them the detaining any thing of this kind was not to be endur'd. That conſecrated Revenues can never be applied to ſecular uſes: And that thoſe who refuſe to return them to the laſt Farthing are in a State of Damnation. That if he had Power to indulge upon this Head, and confirm the

(s) *Council Book.*

The Pope demands a full Reſtitution of what had been alienated from the Church.

Alienations, he would do it with all the Inclination imaginable: But his Authority did not reach ſo far, as to give him the Liberty to profane holy things, and transfer Property from God Almighty: That the Engliſh Nation might be aſſur'd, the keeping back theſe Eſtates, would prove a *curſed Thing*: That the divine Vengeance would purſue ſuch Injuſtice, and make the Kingdom perpetually unhappy: And therefore he charg'd the Ambaſſadors to Write immediately for Redreſs. He inſiſted likewiſe upon the Payment of the *Peter-pence*: And that he intended to ſend a Collector for that Cuſtomary Duty: That himſelf had formerly executed that Office in *England* for Three Years; and was extremely pleas'd with the forwardneſs of the People in their Contributions: And laſtly, he told them, they had no reaſon to hope St. *Peter* would open Heaven Gates to them, as long as they diſſeiz'd him of his Patrimony: This Demand being not only made to the Ambaſſadors, but repeated in ſeveral Negotiations at the Engliſh Court, the Queen made her utmoſt Effort, to give his Holineſs ſatisfaction: And how far ſhe ſucceeded in the Affair will be ſeen afterwards. *(t)*

(t) F. Paul Hiſt. Conc. Trent.

To proceed to a farther Account of the Proſecution upon the Score of Religion. One *William Flower alias Branch*, firſt a Monk, afterwards a Secular Prieſt, and at laſt brought over to the *Reformation*: This Man being of an Over-warm Enthuſiaſtick Temper, coming into St. *Margaret*'s Church *Weſtminſter*, wounded a Prieſt upon the Head and Arm, as he was adminiſtring the Sacrament. For this Outrage he was committed to the *Gate-houſe*, and afterwards convented before Biſhop *Bonner*. *Fox*, in reporting this Fact, confeſſes *Flower* did not do well, or *Evangelically*, as he Phraſes it; as if ſuch Diſtraction was defenſible by any other Standard of Juſtice. This *Martyrologiſt* adds *Flower* owns this Aſſaulting the Prieſt a Fault, and that he was willing to ſuffer for his Miſbehavior: But whether this is not miſrepreſenting the Caſe, and palliating in ſome Meaſure, will appear by his own Narrative: For when *Flower* was asked by *Bonner*, whether he intended to Kill the Prieſt or not, or whether he did well or ill, in Aſſaulting him, he refus'd to make any Anſwer to either of thoſe Queſtions. *(u)* The reaſon of this Silence may be eaſily conjectur'd. Beſides, he explains himſelf clearly in his Diſcourſe with one *Robert Smith*, another Priſoner on the Account of Religion. This *Smith* ask'd him whether he had any Quarrel, or particular diſaffection to that Prieſt? He told him no: But that if any other of the ſame *Order*, and doing the ſame Buſineſs, had come in his way, he ſhould have treated him in the ſame manner. *Smith* deſir'd to know, whether he thought the Fact warrantable by the Precepts or Permiſſions of the *Goſpel*? To this *Flower* makes no direct Anſwer at firſt, but endeavors to juſtify the Outrage by the Examples of *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Phineas*, *Joſhuah*, *Zimri*, *Jehu*, *Judith*, and *Mattathias*, with ſeveral other Preſidents in the *Old Teſtament*. Upon this, *Smith* puts a farther Queſtion, whether *Flower* would adviſe him, or any other Perſon to take the ſame Liberty? *Flower* tells him no; becauſe ſuch things are not to be ventur'd on without particular encouragement from the *Spirit*. But as for himſelf, he found his Conſcience much at eaſe, and did not repent that Sally. And if *Smith* had the ſame encouragement from the *Spirit*, he ought not to be Condemn'd for his Imitation. Thus *Flower* goes upon the Principle of the Jewiſh *Zealots*. He makes inward Impulſe, and ſupernatural Direction, his Warrant for wounding the Prieſt. Theſe are deſperate Grounds: Thus private Perſons invade the Magiſtrates Office, and puniſh without Commiſſion, or Forms of Law. Thus a Man may be hurried by the heat of his Temper, by the force of his Revenge, by the Suggeſtions of the Devil, into the moſt Savage Barbarities. And then to cover his Frenzy, and lay his Conſcience aſleep, he recurs to Inſpiration, and vouches a Divine Authority. 'Tis true at laſt, he owns his diſlike of his ſtriking the Prieſt, and to uſe his own Words he believes, his Act was Evil and Naught. But then, for the Matter and Cauſe wherefore he ſo ſtruck the ſaid Prieſt, he neither did, nor does miſlike himſelf therein. This looks like a myſterious Recantation: For if he believ'd he had a juſtifiable Cauſe or Reaſon for ſtriking the Prieſt, 'tis hard to imagine why he ſhould Condemn the Action. In ſhort, the expreſſing himſelf in this manner, looks ſomewhat like a Reſerve for the *Zealots* Principle. 'Tis to be hoped he explain'd himſelf better upon farther Recollection. He was declar'd an Heretick for denying Tranſubſtantiation, and ſuffer'd at the *Stake* in *Smithfield* with great Fortitude.

Several Burnt for Religion.

(u) Fox. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 241. 243. *Flower Wounds a Prieſt at the Altar.*

Id. *p.* 242.

Id. *p.* 244.

Smith abovemention'd was brought before *Bonner*, and had Articles put to him. He treats the Biſhop very unceremoniouſly, and draws hard Language upon himſelf, which he returns in the extremity 'twas given. He calls the Oyl, Salt, *&c.* us'd in Baptiſm, Blaſphemies, and denies the neceſſity of Water Baptiſm to Children. *Fox* overlooks theſe failings and miſtakes, and gives him Commendation without abatement: Which undiſtinguiſhing regard, is by no means ſerviceable to every *Reader*. The Corporal Preſence was preſs'd cloſely upon him, according to the uſual manner in this Reign. *Do you Believe*, ſays *Bonner*, *that it is the very Body of Chriſt, that was Born of the Virgin* Mary, *naturally, ſubſtantially, and really, after the Words of Conſecration?* His disbelief of this Article was enough to bring him to *Smithfield*, where he Suffer'd this Summer in *Auguſt*.

Id. *p.* 401. 402.

Id. *p.* 396.

Thornton Suffragan of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, were remarkably Cruel in their Proſecutions: *Bland* a Clergyman, to mention no others, Suffer'd under them for denying the Corporal Preſence. And *Cardmaker* Prebendary of *Wells*, who ſhould have been mention'd before, was Burnt in *Smithfield* for diſowning Tranſubſtantiation.

Id. *p.* 373.

May 30.

A Remark upon the Perſecution.

To ſay ſomething in general concerning this matter: 'Tis granted thoſe that Suffer'd were not all of them without the common Infirmities. Sallies of Paſſion and Vehemence of Language broke out ſometimes. To be ſtrip'd of their Fortune, and ſee their Families undone: To be ruggedly us'd in Priſon, and then drag'd to the *Stake*: To be thus handled, is a great Tryal of Patience. 'Tis no wonder if People are thrown off their Temper a little under ſuch Provocation: Eſpecially when there was no private Injuſtice, no Crime againſt the *State*, no Charge of Immorality, to bring on the Rigor. To ſpeak clearly, their Judges ſeldom ſhew'd much Inclination to preſerve them. They were nice and particular in their Enquiries: They put the Teſt home, and preſs'd the Corporal Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation in the

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

the moſt enſnaring Terms: Neither would they be ſatisfied with leſs than diſtinct and categorical Anſwers. And which way Men could ſafely avoid *Burning under* ſuch Interrogatories, is farther than I can diſcover. Now he that ſubmits to Torture, and parts with his Life, rather than deny his Disbelief of theſe very ſhocking and incredible things, may, I humbly conceive, deſerve the Title of a *Martyr.*

As to their general Behavior, nothing could be more to their Advantage. They Diſengag'd from *Fleſh* and *Blood* without Regret: They encourag'd their Friends to Conſtancy: They appear'd glad of the opportunity of going ſo honourably into the other World. And tho' ſome of them might be miſtaken in matters of leſſer Moment, they were right in the main. To ſtand Death under the moſt formidable Appearance, is a noble Proof of Integrity. Men who are contented to reſign their Intereſt, to ſhorten their Lives, and make themſelves literally a *Burnt Offering*, are moſt certainly in earneſt. Their Conſcience and their Piety in ſuch Caſes, are out of all Queſtion.

Gardiner *refuſes to proceed in Sanguinary Methods.*

Gardiner who thought a few Examples of Severity would have ſtruck a Terror into the reſt, was diſappointed in his Expectation. He perceiv'd the Courage of the *Reform'd*, encreas'd with their Sufferings, and that one Execution made way for another. And thus finding his Project of cruſhing the Hereſy, as he call'd it, Impracticable, he declin'd being farther concern'd. Thus he left the matter wholly to *Bonner*, who at preſent ſeem'd not diſpleas'd with the Employment, but went on without Mercy or Remorſe.

King Philip *ſuſpected for theſe Rigors.*

Theſe Severities, purely upon the Score of Conſcience, were generally Cenſur'd. For many of thoſe who Suffer'd, had acted nothing contrary to Law: They were firſt put up upon ſlender Pretences, and then kept in Priſon 'till the *Statutes* againſt Hereſy were revived. Thus the Proſecutions of this Reign far exceeded thoſe of the laſt. In King *Edward*'s Time the *Papiſts* only loſt their Preferments, or at the hardeſt their Liberty: But now nothing would ſatisfy for the Crime of a different Belief, but Capital Puniſhment, and ſending People into the other World, in the moſt tormenting manner. And ſince the Queen had at firſt declar'd againſt forcing her Religion upon her Subjects, 'twas thought unreaſonable to charge the Perſecution upon her. 'Twas believ'd ſhe was overrul'd ſince her Marriage, and that theſe Fires were kindled by King *Philip.* The *Inquiſition* in his Country, his Bigottry, and the unacceptableneſs of his Temper, made this Preſumption not Improbable. However the King it ſeems had no Mind to lie under this Imputation, as may be collected by a Sermon Preach'd before him by his Confeſſor *Alphonſus*: For this Preacher who was a *Franciſcan*, declaim'd ſtrongly againſt taking away Peoples Lives for Religion: He ſpent ſome Satyrical Expreſſions upon the Biſhops for theſe Severities: He ſaid the *Scriptures* preſcrib'd them quite different Methods, taught them *to Inſtruct thoſe in Meekneſs, that oppos'd them*, and not hale them to Execution, and Burn them becauſe they could *Believe* no better. (*w*) The Biſhops were ſurpris'd to find their Proceedings Condemn'd by the Spaniards: And to do them Juſtice, they did not ſeem to like it themſelves: And that they might not be miſreported, they openly declar'd againſt theſe Sanguinary Methods: As for the Friars Sermon, (ſaid to be Preach'd on the Tenth of *February*) (*x*) it made no laſting Impreſſion on the Court: For on the Twenty Sixth of *March* following, the King and Queen ſent an Order to the Juſtices of Peace in *Norfolk*, to inquire after thoſe who refus'd to Conform and come to Church: To bind them to their good Behavior, or Commit them according as the Quality of the Perſon, or the Circumſtances of their Carriage ſhould require. And here they have particular Inſtructions to look ſtrictly after the Preachers of Hereſy, and the procurers of private Meetings. (*y*) About Two Months after, the King and Queen Wrote to *Bonner* to carry on the Proſecution with more Vigor. This Letter acquaints the Biſhop, that their Majeſties had ſent Directions to the Juſtices of Peace in all the Counties of *England*, to preſs Conformity in Religion: And that thoſe who continued unreclaim'd, ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Ordinary* for farther Inſtruction: And in Caſe they prov'd incorrigible, the Law was to paſs upon them: From hence the *Letter* proceeds to complain of the Remiſſneſs of the *Ordinaries*: That they ſometime refus'd to take Perſons when delated for Hereſy into their Cuſtody. Or if they did receive ſuch Misbelievers, they either declin'd taking Pains for their Recovery, or forbore proceeding to Conviction, and putting them in the Hands of Juſtice. This Lenity and Connivance is reprimanded, and *Bonner* is required to proceed to Extremities, where milder Methods prove unſucceſsful. (*z*)

King Philip*'s Confeſſor Preaches againſt the Perſecution.*

(w) Heylin*'s* Hiſt. Ref.

Mary *Queen.*

(x) Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 305.

(y) Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2.

The Court complains of Bonner*'s Remiſſneſs.*

May 24. 1555.

(z) Fox *p.* 251.

A Proclamation againſt Heretical Books.

Some little time after a *Proclamation* was Publiſh'd againſt Importing, Printing, Reading, Selling, or Keeping Heretical Books. Amongſt the prohibited Liſt, *Luther*'s, *Calvin*'s, *Zuinglius*'s, *Alaſco*'s, *Bucer*'s, *Bullinger*'s, *Melancton*'s, *Eraſmus*'s, *Latimer*'s, *Hooper*'s, *Bale*'s, *Cranmer*'s Works, *Hall*'s Chronicle, and ſeveral others are reckon'd. The Proclamation goes upon the *Statute* of 2 *H.* 4. *C.* 15. reviv'd the laſt Parliament. (*a*)

(a) *Printed by* Cawod, 1555.

Barrengdeins *Recognizance.*

Tho' the Severities of the Government for matters of pure Belief are wholly Indefenſible, their Care for diſcouraging Licentiouſneſs deſerves Commendation. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in one Mr. *Barrendein*, who was brought before the *Council*, and oblig'd to enter into a Recognizance of Five Hundred Marks, to forbear the Converſation of another Man's Wife, it runs thus.

Franciſcus Barrengdein Armiger recognovit ſe debere Dominis Regi & Reginæ quingentas Marchas ſolvend. &c. & niſi, &c. concedit pro ſe & Hæredibus ſuis, quod dicta ſumma, &c.

The Condition of this Recognizance is ſuch, that if the above bound Francis Barrendein, *do from henceforth refrain the Company of the Wife of* Henry Tallowfield *of* London, *and be of good abearing towards the ſaid* Henry, *and forth coming when he ſhall be call'd for, betwixt this and the Feaſt of* St. Andrew *the Apoſtle next coming, that then,* &c. (*b*)

(b) *Council Book* Aug. 18. 1555.

This Summer Biſhop *Bonner* ſet forth ſeveral Homilies for the uſe of his Dioceſe: They were drawn up partly by *John Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains, and partly by *Henry Pendleton* already mention'd. The Titles of them are as follows, Firſt, *Of the Creation and Fall of Man.* Second, *Of the Miſery of all Mankind, and his Condemnation to Death.* Third, *Of the Redemption of Man.* Fourth, *How the Redemption in Chriſt is appliable to Man.* Fifth, *Of Chriſtian Love and Charity.* Sixth, *How dangerous a thing the break of Charity is.* Seventh, *Of the Church, what it is, and of the Commodity thereof.* Eighth, *Of the Authority of the Church.* Ninth, *Of the Supremacy.* Tenth, *Of the Supremacy.* Eleventh, *Of the true Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.* Twelfth, *Of Tranſubſtantiation.* Thirteenth, *Of certain Anſwers againſt ſome common Objections made againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.*

Some little Time before the Printing theſe *Homilies*, a Book call'd a profitable and neceſſary Doctrine, *&c.* was Publiſh'd by *Bonner* for the Dioceſe of *London*. It begins with an Expoſition of Faith, and goes upon the Heads of the *Inſtitution and neceſſary Erudition*, ſet forth in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. The manner of handling theſe Points is ſomewhat different from the Tracts abovemention'd. For Inſtance; this Book is more particular in ſome Caſes, and more Polemical in others. Under the Sacrament of *Orders*, the *Ordinal* made in the late Reign is deeply Cenſur'd, and the Conveyance of any Character ſeems denied. The reaſon aſſign'd is, becauſe in the Reform'd *Ordinal*, at the Ordination of Prieſts, there is no Authority given them to *Offer the Body and Blood of our Saviour in the Maſs*. But the Inſignificancy of this Objection has been already Conſider'd. *

* *Profitable and neceſſary Doctrine*, &c.

A Petition againſt Proſecuting the Reform'd.

This Year a Petition was drawn up by ſome of the Exiles, Printed beyond Sea, and ſent to the Queen to ſtop the Perſecution. The Arguments are good, but the manner in ſome Parts of it not very courtly and recommending. They put her in mind of the danger of being Govern'd by a blind Zeal: And reſemble her Proceedings againſt the *Reform'd*, to St. *Paul*'s perſecuting the Chriſtians before his Converſion. They acquaint her how *Cranmer* had preſerv'd her in her Father's Time: That therefore ſhe had no reaſon to queſtion his Affection or Sincerity: And that Truth was rather to be expected from him, then from any of the Popiſh Clergy, who are compar'd to *Jezabel*'s Prophets. They collected ſeveral Paſſages out of *Gardiner*'s, *Bonner*'s, and *Tonſtal*'s Writings, againſt the *Pope*'s Supremacy, and her Mother's Marriage. From hence they inferr'd theſe Prelates were Men without Conſcience: That they were Govern'd by Secular Views, and chang'd their Opinions as Fear or Intereſt ſuggeſted. They urg'd that Chriſtianity was tolerated in *Turkey*, and that in moſt Places the Chriſtians allow'd the Jews the ſame Indulgence. That the Perſecution in *England* had the hardeſt Complexion imaginable, and look'd like that of the Scribes and Phariſees againſt the Apoſtles: For theſe Men of the *Sanhedrim* pretended the Apoſtles were formerly of their Religion, and had ſince gone off to Hereſy. They ſet forth that the firſt burning *Statute* was made by *Henry* the Fourth. That this Prince Paſs'd the *Bill* to gratify the Biſhops who aſſiſted him to Seize the Crown, and depoſe his Soveraign *Richard* the Second. And that as the Motive to the Law was unjuſt, ſo the matter of it was Inhuman: And that 'twas a flat Contradiction to the Clemency requir'd by the *Goſpel*.

They ſuggeſted that in the late Reign, none of the Roman Catholicks had been treated with this Rigor: They took the Freedom to ſay, the Sword was put into her Hand by God Almighty, for the Benefit and Protection of her Subjects: That they were not to be Puniſh'd without breach of Duty: And that her Majeſty muſt Anſwer in the other World for their Blood, if *ſhe deliver'd them to the Mercy of ſuch Wolves*.

The remainder of the Addreſs is directed to the Nobility and Commons. They endeavor to Alarm the Nobility, by preſenting a proſpect of loſing their Abbey Lands. And to make the danger more formidable, they preſage the loſs of their Liberties, and their being brought under Arbitrary Sway, and Spaniſh Government; Spaniſh Government which had ruin'd many of the beſt Countries in the World. They ſuggeſt farther, they muſt expect the Burthen of heavy Taxes, and that a general Exciſe levied in the Netherlands, would be put upon them. And laſtly, they did not ſpare to tell them, that all this hardſhip would be no better than they deſerv'd: That they had concurr'd with the *Reformation* for Intereſt, and unworthy Ends: And that now ſince they believ'd the Church Lands ſufficiently ſecur'd to them, they declar'd for the other Religion, for which they would be deeply Accountable to God Almighty. As to the common People they exhort them to Recollection and Repentance. The *Petition* concludes with begging the Queen to ſhew her Subjects the ſame Favor, at leaſt, ſhe had done to Strangers: And that they may be allow'd the liberty of tranſporting themſelves. (c)

(c) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 305.

This *Petition* as hath been obſerv'd, not only fails in the Terms of Reſpect, and the decencies of Application, but that Part of it which endeavors to work upon the Nobility by prognoſticating loſs and hard uſage, looks extremely unaccountable: For ſuppoſing theſe Fears had been real and well grounded, which way could the Nobility have avoided the danger, unleſs by riſing upon the Government, and running into Rebellion?

To hinder this Diſcourſe from having an ill Effect upon the People, a little Book was Publiſh'd to make the Proſecutions look Plauſible, and juſtify Capital Puniſhments in Caſes of Hereſy. To mention ſomething upon this Argument.

A Defence of the Proceedings againſt Hereticks.

The *Tract* obſerves, the Moſaick Law Puniſh'd Blaſphemy with Death. That the Engliſh Hereticks were guilty of this Crime: And that by calling the Body of Chriſt, a piece of Bread, they Blaſphem'd the Sacrament of the *Altar*: That natural Light and common Regard for the Deity, had put the Heathens upon proſecuting the Chriſtians, tho' they miſtook in the Application of the Principle. The Expreſſion in our Saviours Parable, *compel them to enter in*; is urg'd in this *Diſcourſe*, and likewiſe the Text of St. *Paul*, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*. 'Tis argued farther, that St. *Peter* was miraculouſly enabled to ſtrike *Ananias* and *Saphira* Dead: And that this Inſtance ſeem'd a ſufficient Authority for the Magiſtrate to proceed Capitally againſt ſuch Perſons. And, which was much ſtronger, 'tis alledg'd that Hereticks themſelves did not ſcruple burning *Diſſenters*, when the Government was on their Side: And that ſome Arians and Anabaptiſts Condemn'd to the Fire by the *Proteſtants*, were no leſs remarkable for the regularity of their Lives, and their Courage at the *Stake*, then thoſe who were thus Executed in the preſent Reign. And to cite nothing farther, St. *Auſtin*'s Opinion was produc'd, for proſecuting the *Donatiſts*: 'Tis True he had been formerly of a different Sentiment; but afterwards finding they recollected

Id.

lected themſelves and quitted their Errors under Diſcipline, he chang'd his Mind, and recommended ſharp expedients as far as Fines and Baniſhment.

About this time Pope *Paul* IV. publiſh'd a plenary Indulgence. I ſhall give it the *Reader* as it ſtands tranſlated in *Bonner*'s Regiſter.

Regiſt. Bonner *Fol.* 398.

“*Paul* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, *&c.* To all faithful Perſons of Chriſt to whom theſe Letters ſhall come Greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction. Whereas in the beginning of our Pontifical Office we weigh'd in our mind how great a burthen this was unto which our moſt Bleſſed God had choſen and appointed us, eſpecially in theſe ſharp and miſerable Times, in the which Chriſtian People Exerciſe inward, miſerable and woful War, we did remember *Solomon* who ſo ſoon as he was made a King, converting himſelf to God in his Prayers, ask'd nothing elſe but that God would give him ſo much of force and ſtrength, that in the ruling his People he ſhould not fall under the Burthen. And we, perſwaded by that Example and conſidering the Infinite Clemency of God Almighty, have not ceas'd to make Interceſſion by Prayers and Tears that God of his Benignity would ſo confirm and ſtrengthen us, that we might with the Health of you all ſuſtain this Burthen receiv'd at his moſt Holy Hands, and that we might be able to pacify and appeaſe theſe Diſſentions and Hatreds, by the which almoſt all the Chriſtian Congregations being miſerable do Periſh and take Ruin. And tho' we our ſelves moſt humble and proſtrate, calling upon his Mercy do not ceaſe to Pray for this thing; yet for as much as we truſt that many of you being in ſo great Favour and Grace with our Lord God, that by multiplied Prayers we may get the rather that which we do ask, ſeeing that the great Benignity of God is wont to ſuffer earneſtneſs or violence to be done unto it. Therefore by Authority Apoſtolical given unto us from above, we on the behalf of Almighty God, and in the Bowels of his Mercy, do exhort and in our Lord do require, and moniſh all and ſingular Men and Women the Faithful of Chriſt both Secular and Regular, reclus'd, and living alſo abroad, as well in our City, as alſo in the Cities, Lands, and Places throughout the whole World, that within three Days after the Publication of theſe Preſents, in any of the ſaid Places to them made, or after theſe Preſents ſhall come to their Notice, or Knowledge, they do ſtudy with diligent examination to diſcuſs and ſearch their Conſcience, and to make a pure Confeſſion of all their Sins: And that upon the *Wedneſday*, *Friday* and *Saturday* immediately following the ſame, all being of lawful Age do faſt (except they be letted with lawful impediment) and make Supplication and Prayer to Jeſus Chriſt our Lord God, and with Prayer and Mourning being Proſtrate before his Feet, do ask and deſire that he will not diſdain to be with us, to lift us up, and to rule and govern us. And finally that he will grant to Chriſtian Princes, and to all the Faithful both the end of Miſeries and Calamities, and alſo Concord and Peace. And that upon the *Sunday* following they do Godly and Devoutly receive the moſt Holy Communion and Sacrament of the Altar; and pitying the Poor People of Chriſt, they will every one to his Power relieve their Need, and to do other things alſo which appertain to Godlineſs, Charity, and Chaſtity, with all their Heart and Mind, that they may the more rather promote and ſet forth the Mercy of God our moſt merciful Lord. And to the intent they may the more purely and commodiouſly do it, we opening the Treaſures of the Church do grant unto the aforeſaid faithful Perſons of Chriſt, that for this time only, they may chuſe unto them a Prieſt Secular, or of any other order Regular, which having heard their Confeſſion, may them abſolve from any manner of Sins (how grievous and enormous ſoever) altho' reſerved to the aforeſaid See, and contain'd in the Bull of *Cæna Domini*; enjoyning them for the meaſure or Quantity of their Faults wholeſome Penance: And by the ſaid Authority we do give and grant that they may alſo change or alter all Vows whatſoever (the Vows of *Jeruſalem*, of Chaſtity, of Religion only excepted) into other works of Godlineſs. Nevertheleſs enjoyning ſpecially to all the aboveſaid faithful for the ſatisfaction of particular Penance, that they as well upon the *Sunday* of their Communion, as in the three Days of their ſaid Faſt do ſay devoutly five times the *Pater noſter*, and the *Ave Maria*. And we to all and ſingular the faithful Perſons of Chriſt, who ſhall accompliſh and fulfil the things before rehears'd, do (truſting in the Mercy of Almighty God, and the Authority of his Bleſſed Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*) grant moſt fully Remiſſion of their Sins, and that Remiſſion or Privilege which in the Year of the Jubilee is granted to the Faithful, viſiting the Churches either of our ſaid City, or elſewhere aſſign'd them for that purpoſe. And to the intent that all theſe things may come to the knowledge of all People, and our gracious Lord may be by many graciouſly entreated, we do ſtraightly, in the virtue of holy Obedience command all our Brethren the Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church, that they freely and without any deceit or gain every where throughout their Provinces, Cities and Dioceſes, do effectually publiſh and cauſe to be publiſh'd theſe Preſents or their Tranſumpt, being ſubſcrib'd with the hands of ſome Prelate or ſome Perſon being in Eccleſiaſtical Dignity: To which Tranſumpt we will all credence to be given. Any Conſtitutions and Ordinances Apoſtolick, or any thing elſe whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding. Theſe Preſents not to be Vailable or of Force, after the *Sunday* immediately following the aforeſaid *Wedneſday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*; given at *Rome* at St. *Marks* in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1555. In the Ides of *July*, and in the firſt Year of our Pontificate.

Ita eſt Edmundus Epiſcopus London.

I ſhall now go on to the Proceſs againſt *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* Priſoners at *Oxford*. To begin with the firſt: A Commiſſion was ſent from the Pope to *James Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, authorizing him to proceed upon *Cranmer*'s Tryal. Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Story* Two Civilians had Commiſſions from the King and Queen for the ſame purpoſe. When he was brought before them in St. *Mary*'s Church, he made his Reverence to the two Doctors, as repreſenting their Majeſty's, but refus'd to ſalute *Brooks* the Popes Commiſſioner with any Poſtures of Reſpect. However, he let the Biſhop know 'twas his foreign Character, and not any diſregard to his Perſon, which put him upon

Sept. *the* 12*th* Cranmer *brought before the Commiſſioners at* Oxford on this ſeeming Singularity: He ſaid he had ſolemnly renounc'd the Popes Supremacy; and ſince his reaſons held good upon his Mind, he could not ſhew any ſigns of Submiſſion to the *See* of *Rome*. At this Examination *Cranmer* affirm'd the Power of the *Keys*, as well as that of the Sword, was lodg'd in the Crown. After ſome Tryal to remove him from this Sentiment, they charg'd him with ſeveral Articles: That he had been twice Married: That he had refus'd obedience to the Pope: That he had diſcover'd his Heterodoxy in the Doctrine of the bleſſed Sacrament: That he had been declar'd an Heretick by the late *Prolocutor*, and the reſt of the Doctors Commiſſionated by the Queen and the *Univerſities*: He confeſs'd the Charge, but offer'd to defend his Practiſe and Opinions. After he had paſs'd thro' the formalities of a Tryal, he was cited to appear at *Rome* within Fourſcore Days: The Archbiſhop replied he was willing to go thither, provided the King and Queen pleaſe to ſend him. But this was only matter of Form, for he was remanded to Priſon, and kept in cloſe Cuſtody, till he came to the *Stake*, of which more afterwards.

Fox. *Vol.* 3. *pag.* 663.

About a fortnight forward, another Commiſſion was Iſſued from the Cardinal *Legate* to *White* Bp. of *Lincoln*, *Brooks* Bp. of *Glouceſter*, and *Holyman* Bp. of *Briſtol*, or any two of them, to proceed to the degrading Bp. *Ridley* and Bp. *Latimer*, provided they could not prevail with them to recant. Theſe Commſſioners finding them firm to their former Perſwaſion, and refuſing to own any Authority from the Cardinal *Legate*, pronounced them guilty of Hereſy: And then declaring they were no longer Members of the Church, conſign'd them over to the ſecular Magiſtrate, to be puniſh'd as the Law directs. (*d*) They were only degraded from Prieſts Orders. This was ſomewhat Particular, ſince Cardinal *Pool* in his Commiſſion ſtiles them Biſhops, and in caſe of obſtinacy directs their Degradation from that Character: And farther, *White* Biſhop of *Lincoln* one of the Commiſſioners owns *Ridley* was made a Biſhop according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. * But *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, who ſeems to have been the moſt Bigotted Delegate, would allow neither of them to be any more than Prieſt. As for *Latimer* he reſign'd his *See* in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. threw off his Epiſcopal Habit, and pretended no farther to the Title. This it may be the Commiſſioners conceiv'd amounted to a Degradation; otherwiſe it will be difficult to account why his Character was not allow'd. The reaſon why *Ridley* paſs'd for no more than a Prieſt, may be ſomewhat better conjectur'd. For this Prelate being Conſecrated to his firſt See of *Rocheſter*, ſeveral Years after the Popes Supremacy was Diſcarded, the Kingdom was then ſuppos'd to be in a State of Schiſm, and by conſequence the Biſhops had no Authority to Conſecrate and Ordain. This was the Senſe of moſt of the governing Clergy of this Reign. Both *Ridley* and *Latimer* kept the ſame diſtance in their Behaviour, and renounc'd the Pope both in Language and Geſture, as Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had lately done: For *Ridley* eſpecially, refuſ'd to pay any Ceremony to the Biſhops delegated by the Cardinal. But then this was manag'd with a Salvo of Reſpect for *Pool's* Royal Birth, his Learning and other good Qualities. And *Latimer*, before his Anſwer to the *Articles*, proteſted againſt the Popes Authority.

Ridley *and* Latimer *pronounc'd Hereticks.*

(d) Fox.

* Fox *pag.* 487. Id. *pag.* 500.

Fox.

And brought to the Stake.

They were both brought to the *Stake October* the 16th. The place was on the North ſide of the Town in the Ditch, over againſt *Baliol College*. And to prevent Tumults the Lord *Williams*, and the Burghers, were order'd by the Queen to aſſiſt at the Execution. As *Ridley* came near *Bocardo*, where *Cranmer* was Priſoner, he look'd up, in hopes to have ſeen the Archbiſhop, and taken his leave: But *Cranmer* being then engag'd in Diſpute with ſome Spaniſh Friars, forgot to appear at the Window: But ſoon after recollecting himſelf and ſeeing them at the place, he Pray'd for them. When *Ridley* ſaw *Latimer* come up, he Saluted him with an Air of Pleaſure, and told him that God would either abate the force of the Fire, or enable them to go thro' it. Before they prepar'd for the *Stake*, Dr. *Smith* who recanted Popery in the late Reign, was order'd to Preach. The deſign was to take off the Impreſſion which the *Execution* might otherwiſe have made upon the Company. His *Text* was, *If I give my Body to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing*. From theſe words he obſerves, that 'twas the Cauſe, and not the Pain which made the Martyr: That throwing up Life without warrantable Reaſon, was no inſtance of true Fortitude: And that *Judas* his ſending himſelf into the other World, was far from an expiation of his Crime. To dye againſt Truth and Orthodoxy, had more of Deſperation than greatneſs in it: And this he was afraid would be the caſe of theſe Men. From hence he went on to downright Satyr, and coarſe Repreſentation. He caution'd the People to ſtand off from their Doctrine, ſaid they were Hereticks, and died out of the Church. And to deſcribe them to farther diſadvantage, he touch'd upon the diverſities of Opinions amongſt the *Reform'd*: That the *Lutherans*, *Oecolampadians*, and *Zuinglians* could come to no Agreement amongſt themſelves: And that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were of the laſt, and worſt *Sect*, of the three. In the cloſe, he exhorteth them both to retract their Errors: And that in caſe they return'd to the Church, they might ſave both their Lives, and their Souls. Upon this, *Ridley* and *Latimer* kneel'd to the Lord *Williams* and the Commiſſioners, for leave to ſpeak two or three Words in reply to the *Sermon*: But before the Lord *Williams* could give an Anſwer, *Ridley's* Mouth was ſtop'd by the Bailiffs and Dr. *Marſhal* the Vicechancellor; who aſſur'd him no Diſcourſe, excepting a Recantation, would be admitted. After this, they were order'd to undreſs themſelves for the Fire, which they did accordingly, and ſuffer'd with all the commendable appearances of the Primitive Martyrs. The Station they had formerly been in, the regularity of their Lives, and their Behaviour at the *Stake*, rais'd the Compaſſion of the Company, and made them much unpleas'd with the Spectacle. To add a word or two farther concerning each of them. *Latimer* was Born in *Leiceſterſhire*, and bred at *Chriſt's* College in *Cambridge*. He was always in earneſt in his Religion: And had a ſtrong opinion at firſt of a Monaſtick Life: He thought a Man could hardly miſcarry in the other World, after his being *Profeſs'd*. He was no Friend to the *Reformers* in *Germany*, and made a Speech againſt *Philip Melancthon* at the taking of his Batchelor of Divinity's Degree. It ſeems *Bilney* made the firſt impreſſion upon him as to his *Belief*. Being thus diſengag'd from ſome of the Preju-

Cor. 13. Octob. 16. 1555.

Something touching their Character.

dices of Education, and an implicite Defference to the Doctrine Receiv'd, he made farther Advances. He Preach'd with great plaineſs at King *Edwards* Court; and made no ſcruple to tax the Vices of the Age with a Freedom that became his Character. In the begiuning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign he was ſent for to appear before the Council: He had notice of the *Meſſenger*'s coming, but was ſo far from making his Eſcape, that he prepar'd for his Journey. The Purſuivant was ſurpriz'd to find him thus forward, and after having deliver'd a Letter from the *Board*, went away, letting him know he had no Orders to ſtay for him. From hence 'tis plain the Government had no inclination to ſeize him, but would have been better pleas'd with his retiring beyond Sea: But *Latimer*, it ſeems, when he heard the Miniſtry laid out for him, conceiv'd himſelf oblig'd to appear: And thus when he had put himſelf in the Hands of his Enemies, they might probably think they were oblig'd in Honour, not to part with him, without a Recantation. And thus much concerning *Latimer*.

Ridley was a Gentleman extracted from an antient Family in *Northumberland*: He was bred in *Cambridge*, where he commenc'd Dr. of Divinity, and was prefer'd to the Maſterſhip of *Pembroke Hall*. After ſome time he quitted the *Univerſity*, travell'd to *France*, and ſtudied at *Paris*. At his return he was made Chaplain to King *Henry* VIII. and by him promoted to the *See* of *Rocheſter*: How he was afterwards tranſlated to *London* and *Durham*, has already been related. His Parts and Improvement were uncommonly diſtinguiſhed: His Memory and Judgment were ſtrong: He was well acquainted with the *Fathers* and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities. His Life was no leſs commendable then his Learning. He kept a guard upon himſelf, and ſpent a great part of his time in Prayer. His Temper was ſmooth and obliging, and apt to forget an ill turn. And tho' he was particularly inclin'd to ſerve his Relations, yet he would never put them in Poſts for which they were unqualified, or prefer them beyond their Merit.

Notwithſtanding his Zeal for the *Reformation*, he was far from approving extremities. In a Letter to his Steward *Weſt*, he ſhews his diſlike of ſudden Changes without apparent neceſſity. And that driving to remote *Diſtances* was never any part of his Inclination: As to auricular *Confeſſion* to a Prieſt he always look'd upon it as a very ſerviceable uſage: That by this expedient the Penitent might be Inſtructed, Reprov'd, or Comforted, to very ſignificant purpoſes, as the caſe ſhould require. (e) Here *Fox*, out of an over ſcrupulous Fear of Popery, throws in a condition in his *Margin*, and miſrepreſents the *Text*. He ſays, this *Confeſſion* is to be made by way of asking Counſel, which is more than is in *Ridley*'s *Letter*. This Prelate in his Letter to *Bradford* who was burnt in *Smithfield*, deſires his Aſſiſtance after his Martyrdom: And that when he ſhould come into the other World, he would then Pray for thoſe who were left behind, and likely to ſuffer.

(e) Fox *pag.* 447.

Id. 444.

In another Letter to *Grindal* then in *Germany*, he complains of the Hypocriſy and Diſorders of the late Reign, and believes thoſe Provocations had brought the preſent Calamities upon them. And here he laments the inſincerity of King *Edward*'s Magiſtracy: That they profeſs'd the *Reformation*, and countenanc'd the Clergy of that Perſwaſion for Mercenary ends, and to enrich themſelves with the Eſtates belonging to the Church. This Letter, tho' without Date, was written this Summer, as appears by his mentioning the Queen being near her *Time*, and Praying ſhe might be happily deliver'd.

Id. *pag.* 449.

This Year there was enquiry made for recovering Church Furniture, and other effects which had been carried off in the two late Reigns. Several who had been *Viſitors* in King *Henry*'s and King *Edward*'s time where queſtion'd concerning their Management. And after ſome of them had been ſued, others were willing to Compound, and make a Preſent to the Church to purchaſe their Indemnity. I find Commiſſions were awarded for this purpoſe: For the *Council* ſent a Letter of thanks to Sir. *Thomas Denys*, to the Dean of *Exeter*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners for their diligence, praying them to require the Mayor and Aldermen of the ſaid City, to make delivery of the Eight Hundred Ninety One Ounces of Plate and other Ornaments and Church ſtuff, which they detain'd from the Pariſh Churches, and to rebuild the Towers of the Churches, which the Burghers had defac'd. (f)

(f) Council *Book.* Anno Dom. 1555.

On the 21 of *October* a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. 'Twas open'd with a Speech of the Lord Chancellor *Gardiners*: He came to the Houſe two Days after, but the Sickneſs of which he died, hindred his coming any more.

Gardiner's *Death and Character.*

Fox tells a Story, which he pretends to have had from credible Intelligence, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* refus'd to go to Dinner that Day *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt, till his Servants who were poſted upon the Road for that purpoſe, had brought him word the Faggots were kindled about them: That this barbarous Fancy made the Dinner be kept back till Four of the Clock, and that the old Duke of *Norfolk* was uneaſy for ſtaying ſo long. That when *Gardiner* heard theſe two Biſhops were burning, he was tranſported at the News, went immediately to Dinner, but was ſuddenly ſeiz'd at Table, and carried to his Bed, where he continued till his Death, which happen'd about a fortnight after. (g) To diſprove this tragical Relation, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that *Gardiner* appear'd twice in the *Houſe* of Lords after he is reported to have been ſeiz'd with this mortal Diſtemper. And beſides, the old Duke of *Norfolk* had been Dead above a Year when *Fox* makes him at Dinner at the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s, for this Duke died at *Framingham* Caſtle *September* 1554; And was ſucceeded by his Grandſon who could now be no *Old Duke*, as the Story pretends.

(g) Fox *pag.* 527.

A Story in Fox *Diſprov'd.*

Bp. Burnet *pt.* 2*d pag.* 320 *compar'd with* Fox.

Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. Queen* Mary *pag.* 39.

As to *Gardiner*, *Godwin* relates he died of the Gout, and not of a Suppreſſion of Urine as *Fox* would have it. As to his Extraction, he is ſaid to be the natural Son of *Lionel Woodvil* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, which *Lionel* was Brother to *Richard Woodvil* Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Wife of King *Edward* the IV. He was a Perſon of no mean Judgment and Acquirements. He wrote Latin commendably enough, was a good Grecian, and had made a conſiderable Proficiency in the Canon Law. As to his Divinity he ſeems not to have gone far in the *Fathers* and *Councils*. He was too much a Temporizer, as the *Reader* may have obſerv'd, by his Marches and Countermarches in the three Reigns. He complied a great way in the *Reformation* in King *Edward*'s time: For to mention nothing more in his *Sermon* preach'd before

Mills *Geneal. Catal. of the Nobility.*

that Prince, he approves the receiving the Communion in both kinds; he is reconcil'd to the ſuppreſſing the *Chauntries*, declares againſt ſome Abuſes in the Maſs, and confeſſeth himſelf ſatisfied with ſeveral other Alterations in the Church: And as to the Sacrifice of the *Holy Euchariſt*, he ſeems to explain it commodiouſly enough. He grants the Sacrifice of the Croſs is ſufficient for all the purpoſes of Redemption: That there's no need of farther Attonement for Sin; and that the Euchariſtick Sacrifice is only continued to keep up the Memory, and apply the Benefits of our Saviours Paſſion; to ſtrengthen our Faith, and refreſh our Thankfulneſs. (*b*)

(h) Fox *page* 529.

Gardiners *Conteſt with* Smith *and* Cheek *about the Pronunciation of* Greek.

This Prelates Abilities for a Miniſter of *State* may eaſily be collected from his Management. As to his Skill in the Greek, it has been mention'd already: But then it may be added, he ſeems to have valued himſelf too much upon this Part of Learning. For when Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *John Cheek* had attempted the retrieving the old Pronunciation of the Greek Language, given the Sounds their juſt Compaſs, and brought them up to their Primitive Diſtinction: *Gardiner* then Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, wrote to *Cheek* the *Profeſſor*, to deſiſt from Innovation; for ſo he miſcall'd the Antient Way of pronouncing: This *Letter* not being taken notice of ſo far as he expected, he diſpatches an Order in his own Name, and the *Univerſities*, in which all the Members of that Body are forbidden to make any Change upon the modern Pronunciation, either in Greek or Latin. That the Diphthongs in either Language ſhould not be drawn to different Sounds, unleſs where the Vowels were to be parted into diſtinct Syllables. Αι and ε, ει and ι were to be ſounded as if they had the ſame Powers, and only diſtinguiſh'd in Writing. In ſhort, no body muſt be allow'd to diſpute upon the Force and Properties of the *Alphabet*, but govern himſelf by the preſent Uſage. Thus the Controverſy was knock'd down, and *Gardiners* Fancy prevail'd, till the Reformation in Religion was farther ſettled. The Conteſt was manag'd with more Learning and Concern than was generally expected. *Gardiner* inſiſted upon Cuſtom, and the Authority of the modern Greeks. *Cheek* and his Party on the other ſide, pleaded Old Authors of the beſt *Claſs* for Criticiſm and Credit. But enough of this. And to conclude with *Gardiner*, his Corps having lain in State for ſome time in St. *Mary Overeys* in *Southwark*, were attended to *Wincheſter* by the Lord *Mountague*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Body of Two Hundred Gentlemen and Yeomen in Mourning. (*b*) *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* had the *Broad Seal* with the Title of Lord Chancellor on *New Years Day* following: But the Profits of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* were ſequeſter'd for ſome time for the Cardinals Uſe. 'Twas thought his *Eminence* had a Proſpect of holding that *See* in *Commendam* with the other of *Canterbury*. But *John White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, born at *Wincheſter*, Maſter of the School, and Warden of the College, ſollicited a Tranſlation thither: And by his Intereſt at *Court* gain'd the Promotion upon Condition of paying the Cardinal a yearly Penſion of a Thouſand Pounds. About this time *Voiſie* or *Veſie* Biſhop of *Exeter* departed this Life. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *James Turbervile* a Gentleman of a conſiderable Family. *Turbervile* was a great Benefactor to his *See*, and recover'd ſeveral Eſtates which had been alienated; and amongſt others the rich Mannor of *Crediton* or *Kirton*: This was given back by the Queen, but afterwards ſurrendred to Queen *Elizabeth* by Biſhop *Cotton*. (*i*)

(h) Stow Annal.

White *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

(i) Godwin de Præſul. Octob. 25.

This Winter the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, tir'd with the Traverſes of Fortune, and the Trouble of Governing, reſign'd his Hereditary Dominions to his Son King *Philip*. The next year he reſign'd the Empire, and retir'd to a private Life. His Brother *Ferdinand* was choſen Emperor by the *Diet*. As for King *Philip* he left *England* in *September* laſt, and ſtay'd beyond Sea about a Year and a half.

At the opening of the *Parliament*, the Queen endeavour'd to diſpoſe the *Houſes* to a full Reſtitution of Church Lands: But this Motion being generally diſreliſh'd, 'twas thought proper to drop the Undertaking. However, the Queens Piety prompted her to do her own Part, and carry the matter as far as 'twas practicable: To this purpoſe, having order'd the Houſe of Commons to attend her, ſhe told them her Conſcience would not give her Leave to take the Tenths and Firſt Fruits of Livings and Spiritual Promotions: That her Father had laid this Tax upon the Clergy in Conſequence of his Title of *Supreme Head*: And that ſince ſhe had given up all Pretenſions to that Extent of the *Regale*, ſhe would diſcharge the Impoſition granted to ſupport it. Upon this the Cardinal made a Speech to ſhow that Tythes and Impropriations were Parcel of the Churches Patrimony, and ought to be reſtor'd. In ſhort, the *Parliament* were prevail'd with to paſs a *Bill* for this purpoſe, ſo far as the *Crown* was concern'd. By this Act the Payment of Firſt Fruits and Tenths was extinguiſh'd: “And all Rectories, Benefices impropriate, Glebe Lands, Tythes, Oblations, Penſions, *&c.* veſted in the *Crown* ſince the Twentieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, are given up to the Church for the Augmentation of the Livings to which they formerly belong'd, for the Advantage of other poor Cures, for the furniſhing Preachers; for the exhibiting Scholars: And the Diſpoſal of theſe Revenues thus reſtor'd, is left to the Diſcretion of the Lord Legate Cardinal *Pool*. But then there was a *Proviſo* for ſaving the Right of the Subject, who had any Intereſt in theſe Eſtates granted from the *Crown*. There is likewiſe a Clauſe for exonerating the King and Queen and their Succeſſors, from the Payment of Penſions and Annuities to the Monks: To which are added Corrodies, and Fees, which for the future were to be paid out of the Tenths Firſt Fruits, *&c.* without any Burthen upon the *Crown*. There is another *Proviſo* by which the Patronage of theſe Impropriations belonging to the *Crown* is ſtill reſerv'd. And becauſe ſome Temporal Eſtates had been intermix'd, and leas'd out by the *Crown* with theſe Tenths, Impropriations, *&c.* 'Tis enacted, that Commiſſions ſhall be awarded out of the *Exchecquer* to Six indifferent Perſons, Three of the Spiritualty, and Three of the Temporalty, to call Twelve Men of Credit and Subſtance, before them: Twelve Men inhabiting in the Neighbourhood where theſe Eſtates lie; and to oblige them upon Oath to diſtinguiſh and ſever the Glebe Lands and other Spiritual Poſſeſſions, from the Temporal Eſtates, and to rate and apportion how much Rent ſhall be payed for the one and the other. (*k*)

Firſt Fruits and Tenths reſtor'd by Act of Parliament to the Church.

(k) 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Cap. 4. *Statutes at large.*

2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Cap. 15.

There was another Act paſs'd this *Seſſions* for reſtraining *Purveyors* from taking any Proviſion within Five Miles of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*. Thus the Markets of both *Univerſities* were better ſupplied, and Things were ſold at a lower rate.

There was likewiſe a *Bill* put in againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and others, who had tranſported themſelves, to oblige them to return under Penalties. This paſs'd the Lords Houſe, but upon a Diviſion, was thrown out by the *Commons*. (*l*)

(l) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. p.* 323.

The Convocation. Octob. 1555.

Having now done with the *Parliament* which was diſſolv'd on the Ninth of *December*, I ſhall go back a little to the *Convocation*. A *Writ* for the ſummoning this Body was iſſued to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*: The *See* not being fill'd ſince the Attainder of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. *Boxhall* Warden of *Wincheſter* preach'd the Sermon, and Dr. *John Chriſtopherſon* Dean of *Norwich*, was choſen *Prolocutor*. Cardinal *Pool* preſided, and had the King and Queens *Letters Patents* to indemnify him in holding the *Synod*. The *Reader* may ſee ſome Part of the Inſtrument in the *Records*. (*m*) And here it may be obſerv'd, the Cardinal at his firſt coming over, had the ſame Authority from the *Crown* for exerciſing his legantine Juriſdiction; which he is allow'd to manage with the ſame Liberty, which any Legate might have done in the Twenty Fifth Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. (*n*) This *Convocation* to make the Queen an Acknowledgment for returning the *Firſt Fruits*, *Tenths*, &c. to the Church, granted a *Subſidy* of Six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Three Years next enſuing.

(m) *See Records Num.* 74.

(n) *Regiſt.* Pool *fol.* 6.

Cardinal Pools *Plan for the Reformation of the Church paſs'd by both Houſes in Convocation.*

But before I part with the *Convocation*, I muſt obſerve, that Cardinal *Pool* finding the Diſcipline of the Church relax'd, and ſome Defects in the Conſtitution, conſulted the Biſhops about drawing up a ſupplemental Proviſion. And here 'twas agreed that the beſt Expedient was to convene a Synod: That thus the Cardinal might be fartheſt inform'd of the Abuſes, and directed to proper Remedies. Purſuant to this Reſolution, a *Convocation* was ſummon'd, the *Reformation Plan* laid before them, and paſs'd by both Houſes: 'Tis digeſted into Twelve Heads or Decrees.

By the Firſt, a Proceſſion is order'd on St. *Andrews Day*, in memory of the Nations Reconciliation to the Catholick Church: Upon this Feſtival, a Sermon was to be made, or a *Homily* read to ſet forth the occaſion of the Solemnity. And here the *Reader* may pleaſe to take notice, that to avoid unneceſſary Explainings, and Repetition, I ſhall uſe the Cardinals Language.

The Second Decree provides for the Inſtruction of Pariſh Prieſts. For the purpoſe, they are oblig'd to be furniſh'd with a Latin Bible, with other Books proper to their Function, and particularly with the *Conſtitutions* of *Otho*—*Othobone* and the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*: And thoſe who read, or keep any Heretical Books without Licence from the Pope, are declar'd excommunicate, and order'd to be proſecuted. The Doctrines of the Church are all receiv'd with Submiſſion and Belief, and all diſagreeing Tenents condemn'd: The Canons againſt Hereſy are confirm'd. An Abſtract of the Catholick Faith publiſh'd by the Eight General Council of *Florence*, for the Instruction of the *Armenians*, is inſerted: It begins with a Deſcription of the *Papal Supremacy*. And here the Biſhop of *Rome* is affirm'd Primate of the Univerſe, Succeſſor to the Prince of the Apoſtles St. *Peter*, Chriſt's Vicar, and Head of the whole Church: That all Chriſtians are to be inſtructed by him, and that in the Perſon of St. *Peter* he receiv'd a full Commiſſion from our Saviour to teach and govern the univerſal Church: And that this Prerogative of the *See* of *Rome* is unqueſtionable from the Hiſtory of General Councils, and the Doctrine of the Canons.

From hence the *Decree* proceeds to treat the Seven *Sacraments*. And in the Firſt Place, the Things Eſſential to a Sacrament are defin'd to be the matter, a certain Form of Words, and a proper Perſon to adminiſter: As to this laſt Requiſite, the Miniſters Intention of *doing what the Church does*, is reckon'd neceſſary. Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Orders, make a peculiar Impreſſion, or give the Mind a particular Signature call'd an *indelible Character*, and therefore are not to be repeated.

As to Baptiſm, a Prieſt is ordinarily the proper Miniſter of that Sacrament. But in Caſes of Neceſſity a Deacon, or a Layman, a Woman, a Heathen or an Heretick may baptize, provided any of them makes uſe of the Sacramental Form, and acts as the Church does, with an Intention of baptizing.

In ſpeaking to the *Holy Euchariſt*, 'tis declar'd, that upon the Words of Conſecration, the Subſtance of the Bread is turn'd into the Body of Chriſt, and the Subſtance of the Wine into his Blood.

Extreme Unction is not to be given to any ſick Perſon, unleſs the Patient is more likely to die, than to recover.

The Hoſt is to be renew'd every Week, and a Taper always kept burning before it, according to Antient Cuſtom.

The Anniverſary Feſtivals for the Dedication of Churches are order'd to be kept on the Firſt *Sunday* in *October*: And all *Shows*, Revelling, and Intemperance, commonly us'd at *Wakes*, are forbidden under Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: And in caſe of neceſſity, the Church is to apply to the Aſſiſtance of the ſecular Magiſtrate.

The Third *Decree* injoins Reſidence to the Biſhops, the *Chapters* and the reſt of the Clergy. There is likewiſe a Proviſion againſt Pluralities: And thoſe that had more than one incompatible Benefice, are oblig'd to reſign it within Two Months, after the Publication of theſe *Decrees*.

The Fourth complains of a cuſtomary Abuſe; that the Biſhops neglected preaching, and transfer'd that Part of their Function upon others: 'Tis therefore decreed by the *Synod*, that Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, ſhould be oblig'd to preach purſuant to our Saviour and his Apoſtles Commands: And that in caſe they are prevented by any lawful Impediment, they ſhould appoint ſome Perſons well qualified for this Buſineſs. All Parſons and Vicars are likewiſe injoin'd to preach every *Sunday* and *Holy Day*, or provide ſome other Perſon for the *Pulpit*. And that theſe Exerciſes may be perform'd to the better Advantage, the Biſhops are to inſtruct their Clergy in the matter and manner of their Sermons: Particularly, they are to put them in mind of exhorting their People to Repentance, and of guarding againſt thoſe Errors and Immoralities ſo remarkable in the late Schiſm.

No unlicenſed Perſon is allow'd to preach out of his own Pariſh. And becauſe all thoſe who had *Cures* might not be qualified for the *Pulpit*, ſome *Homilies* drawn up by the Appointment of the *Synod*, are promiſed to be ſhortly publiſh'd: And that theſe were to be read by the Curates inſtead of Sermons.

By the way, it does not appear that any more than the Lines of this Scheme were ſtruck out. The Cardinal's Deſign was Four Books of *Homilies*. The firſt was to ſettle the controverted Points for a *Preſervative* againſt Error. The Second explains the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin. The Third furniſh'd Diſcourſes upon the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* for all *Sundays* and *Holy Days*. And the Fourth was a Sort of a common Place upon Virtue and Vice, with a ſhort *Rationale* upon the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church. *

To return; The Fifth Decree of the Cardinals *Reformation*, relates to the management of the Clergy. And here the Biſhops are conjur'd to guard their Conduct, and ſet an inoffenſive and exemplary Preſident: Particularly, they are exhorted not to ſwell their Figure to any unneceſſary Bulk: Not to fall into any pompous or expenſive Affectation, with reſpect to Habit or Retinue: That they ſhould be frugal in their Eating and Entertainments, and not exceed Three or Four Diſhes, excepting Deſſerts, upon any Occaſion. And that the remainder of their Incomes ſhould be ſpent in relieving the Poor, in exhibiting Scholars, and other Works of Piety, and publick Service. The ſame Rules of Sobriety and Diſcretion, the ſame reſerves for Charity, are ſet the reſt of the Clergy in proportion to their Revenues. To proceed; Marriage as far as Subdeacons incluſively, is declar'd unlawful: That where any within the *Orders* prohibited were Married, Separation is injoin'd. And laſtly, the Clergy are forbidden concerning themſelves in ſecular, mean, or ſcandalous Employments.

The Sixth relates to the giving *Orders*: And here the Biſhops are put in mind, that they ought to examine the Qualifications of the Perſons to be Ordain'd themſelves, and not truſt to the report of others. However, ſince the number of Candidates may be to much for the Biſhops Inſpection, he is allow'd to take in the Aſſiſtance of the Archdeacons, and other Perſons of Character. Thoſe to be Ordain'd muſt be examin'd upon the Heads of Orthodoxy, Learning, Probity, Birth, and Age. They are likewiſe oblig'd to give the Biſhop convenient Notice, to enquire into theſe Particulars: And laſtly, they are to lay open their Conſcience beforehand, to ſome diſcreet *Confeſſor*, and receive the Holy Euchariſt at *Ordination*.

The Seventh provides againſt Neglects and Abuſes in Collations and Inſtitutions: For to the right diſcharge of this Branch of the Epiſcopal Office, the Apoſtles Caution *of laying Hands ſuddenly on no Man*, plainly refers: And here the ſame Enquiries concerning Learning, Manners, Orthodoxy, *&c.* requir'd at *Ordination*, are neceſſary to be premis'd. The Biſhop is to Examine whether the Perſon to be promoted is likely to reſide: He is likewiſe to demand the ſight of a Teſtimonial, from the Heads of ſome *College* in recommendation of the Perſon. Farther, the Biſhops are exhorted, that vacant Benefices may be furniſh'd with Incumbents, with all poſſible Expedition. And that during their being Void, neither the Livings, nor the People, may ſuffer.

The Eighth declares againſt the diſpoſing Benefices before they are Void.

The Ninth is pointed againſt Simony, and is very Strict, Comprehenſive and Commendable. Nothing can be better guarded than the Oath againſt Simony, which the Clerk *preſented*, is oblig'd to take, it runs thus:

Ego N. *Præſentatus ad Beneficium de* N. *Juro ad hæc ſacroſancti Dei Evangelia, per me Corporalitèr tacta, quod propter prædictum Beneficium* Obtinendum, *aut Præſentationem ad idem habendum, aut acquirendum, neque ego, neque alia Perſona vice & Nomine meo, nec de Conſenſu, aut ſcientia mea, Patrono, ſeu alii cuicunque aliquid Præmiſſorum Nomine, aut Intuitu promiſimus, aut dedimus, nec quidquam ejus* Rei *gratia permutavimus, compenſavimus, aut prius datum Confirmavimus, apudve quemquam depoſuimus, ſeu quidquam mutuavimus, ſeu Elocavimus, priuſve mutuatum,* Commodatum, *Depoſitum, aut* Elocatum, *aut quocunque modo debitum remiſimus, ſeu relaxavimus, nec de Sanctuario, glebâ, Domibus, Terris, Prædiis, Tenementis,* Reditibus *predictæ Eccleſiæ, Fructibus vel decimis, aut Oblationibus ejuſdem præteritis, præſentibus, aut futuris, Donationem,* Remiſſionem, *Locationemve promiſimus, fecimus, aut inivimus, ſeu aliquis noſtrum de Mandato, ſcientia aut Conſenſu meo promiſit, fecit, aut Inivit. Ita me Deus Adjuvet, & hæc ſancta Dei Evangelia.*

The Tenth is levelled againſt the Alienation of Lands or Goods belonging to the Church. And here all Incumbents are oblig'd to make a Survey, Terrier, and Inventory of the Real, and Perſonal Eſtates, belonging to their reſpective Churches and Promotions: That of theſe there ſhould be Two Authentick Copies, one of them laid up in the Pariſh Church: The other was to be depoſited with the *Chapter*, if the Church was Metropolitical: If 'twas a Cathedral of a Dioceſe only, then the Survey or Inventory was to be lodg'd with the Archbiſhop: But when it belong'd to Parochial Churches, 'twas to be tranſmitted to the Dioceſans Cuſtody. And at all *Viſitations* the Metropolitans, and other *Ordinaries* were to carry this *Record* along with them, and examine whether any thing ſpecified in the *Evidences* were wanting; and if ſo, to endeavor the recovery.

The Eleventh directs to a Proviſion for a *Seminary* in all Cathedrals. The deſign of it was to form the Education of thoſe intended for holy Functions. Children were not to be taken into this Nurſery under Eleven Years of Age, nor unleſs they could Write and Read: Their Genius and Inclination was to be examin'd before their Admiſſion. After they had learn'd Grammar, they were to be inſtructed in the learning and behavior, proper for an Eccleſiaſtick: They were to appear in a clerical Tonſure and Habit, to aſſiſt in the Service of the Choir, and oblig'd to the ſame way of Living with other Clerks. To raiſe a Fund towards their Maintenance, the Biſhops were to contribute the Fortieth Part of their Revenues, Tythes, Subſidies, and other incident Charges deducted: All Prebendaries likewiſe and Benefic'd Perſons, whoſe Promotions amounted to the clear Value of Twenty Pounds *per Annum*, the Tythes, *&c.* diſcounted, were to contribute in the ſame Proportion.

And laſtly; None were to teach School in any Place, unleſs allow'd by the *Ordinary*, who was to examine their Sufficiency, and preſcribe them what Books were to be uſed.

---

* Ex Mſs. C. C. C. Cantab.

The Twelfth lays down Rules for *Viſitations.* And here not only Churches, but Schools, Hoſpitals, and publick Libraries are to be *viſited.* The laſt Article was thrown in for examining whether any Heretical Books were lodg'd there.

In Metropolitical *Viſitations*, the Archbiſhop was to proceed upon the Conſtitution of *Innocent* the Fourth, which begins *Romana Eccleſia.* By this regulation, the Metropolitan was to enquire, whether the Biſhops were Reſident upon their Dioceſes: Whether they Preach'd and Liv'd ſuitably to their Character: Whether they diſcharg'd their Duty in Ordinations, and admitting to Benefices, in aſſigning Confeſſors, puniſhing Diſorders, and all other things, with reſpect, both to Spirituals and Temporals, belonging to their Function. And thoſe Irregularities which can't be Reform'd by Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction, he is to report to a provincial Synod: And if the difficulty prove too big for ſuch an Aſſembly, Application is to be made to the Apoſtolick *See.*

Feb. 155$\frac{5}{6}$.

And laſtly, Archdeacons are to govern themſelves by the Canons in their *Viſitations*: And where any thing is out of their *Verge*, or too big for their Correction, they are to acquaint the Biſhop; and ſee that all his Mandates and Proviſions are executed and obſerv'd. And that they may Anſwer up to their Office the better, the Provincial *Conſtitutions* of *Otho* and *Ottobon* upon this Head, are Confirm'd by the preſent *Synod.* This *Reformation*, as 'tis call'd, of Cardinal *Pool*, was Publiſh'd by him at *Lambeth* in *February* following. *

Philpot *Burnt in* Smithfield.

Upon the Eighteenth of *December* this Year, *John Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, and Son to Sir *Peter Philpot* of *Hamſhire*, was Burnt for Religion in *Smithfield.* This Gentleman had been more than a Twelve Month Priſoner in the *King's Bench.* His Commitment was only for diſputing againſt the Corporal Preſence, the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation, in the firſt *Convocation* of this Reign. This was a great hardſhip, conſidering the Queen promis'd liberty of Speech, as hath been already related. Indeed, This was no more than neceſſary Privilege: For unleſs the *Members* were allow'd to ſpeak their Mind, which way could the Controverſy be diſcuſs'd, and the Truth diſcover'd? *Philpot* was firſt brought before the Queen's Commiſſioners, Dr. *Story*, Mr. *Cholmely*, and Mr. *Roper*: He was afterwards put into *Bonner*'s Hands, from whom he Appeal'd, as not being his Dioceſan: He argued that Succeſſion of Biſhops without Succeſſion of Doctrine, was no ſufficient Proof of Catholick Communion: He is ſometimes tranſported into vehemence of Expreſſion, but owns haſtineſs of Speech his natural Infirmity. *Bonner* treated him very coarſly, lodg'd him in his Coal-houſe, and ſet him in the Stocks. He is pronounc'd an Heretick for calling the Maſs *Idolatry and Abomination; and for denying the Real,* that is the Corporal *Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.* (o) His Performance in the *Convocation*, and his Defence at his Examination, are ſufficient Evidence of no ordinary Learning and Parts. He maintain'd his Conſcience to the laſt, and Suffer'd with great Chearfulneſs and Courage.

To proceed; *Conſtable alias Featherſtone*, who had been gently puniſhed for his treaſonable Practiſe, reviv'd his Impoſture, and counterfitted King *Edward* again, to raiſe a Rebellion. This lewd Practiſe, it ſeems, made an Impreſſion upon a great many. For when People are diſaffected to a Government, they are apt to give credit to the moſt abſurd and ridiculous Stories: But *Conſtable* receiv'd his Deſerts, was arraign'd at *Guild-hall*, and executed at *Tyburn.* (p)

The Final Proceſs againſt Cranmer.

I ſhall now give the *Reader* an Account of the remaining Proceſs againſt Archbiſhop *Cranmer.* He had been cited to appear at *Rome* within Eighty Days. This, as hath been obſerv'd, was mere Form, for they knew his coming thither was wholly Impracticable: However, after the Term was expir'd the Pope pronounc'd him Contumax. Purſuant to this Sentence a Commiſſion was directed to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thirleby* Biſhop of *Ely*, to degrade and excommunicate the Archbiſhop, and conſign him over to the Secular Magiſtrate. In this *Inſtrument* 'tis ſet forth, that the Proceedings againſt him had paſs'd through all the Legal Forms in the Court of *Rome*: That Articles had been exhibited, Evidence produc'd, and his Defence heard and examin'd: All which was notoriouſly untrue. (q) This being allow'd notwithſtanding for matter of Fact, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* executed their Commiſſion. *Cranmer* made a ſtand upon their Authority, and Appeal'd from the Pope to a *general Council*: This Expedient tho' manag'd to the beſt Advantage, and put in Form of *Law*, did no Service. The reaſon why *Cranmer* was not ſooner diſpatch'd, is ſaid to be owing to *Gardiner.* This Prelate was no Friend to Cardinal *Pool*: He is thought to have grudg'd him his Character and Sway in the Engliſh Church. He knew the Cardinal ſtood ill at the Court of *Rome*: This gave him ſome hopes that the Pope might be brought to recal *Pool*'s Commiſſion, and that himſelf might be made both Cardinal and *Legate*; And when he had once puſh'd his Fortune thus far, he did not queſtion gaining the *See* of *Canterbury.* Upon this View he is ſuppos'd to ſtop the Proceſs againſt *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Cranmer*, from the revival of the Act againſt Hereſy, enacted the laſt Parliament, 'till the Twelfth of *September* this Year. During this Interval there was no Commiſſion ſent from the Pope to bring *Cranmer* to his Tryal. Now by Antient Privilege no final Sentence could be paſs'd upon a Metropolitan, without an Authority from the Pope.

Feb. 14. 155$\frac{5}{6}$.

He Appeals from the Pope to a general Council.

Cranmer, as I obſerv'd, Appeal'd from the Court of *Rome* to a *general Council.* I ſhall mention ſome of the Reaſons on which his Appeal was founded. Firſt, becauſe he was cited to *Rome*, and yet kept in Priſon, and under no poſſibility of making his Appearance: And that no Man was oblig'd to defend himſelf there by *Proxy*: And beſides ſince all his Eſtate was Seiz'd, he was in no condition to furniſh the Charge. Secondly, becauſe being cited by *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, delegated by Cardinal *Pool*, to Anſwer certain Articles, in which his Life and Fortune were nearly concern'd, he was deny'd the Aſſiſtance of Council, contrary to all Equity and Juſtice. Thirdly, he complains the Proceſs went on, notwithſtanding his Appeal; which was breaking in upon the general Rule in ſuch Caſes. Farther, that after his Proteſtation had been admitted, and a Copy of his Anſwer promis'd him for farther Amendment, neither the one, nor the other were made good. To paſs over his other Reaſons, and juſt mention his Opinion concerning the Holy Euchariſt: I ſhall give it the *Reader* in *Fox*'s Words:

---

* Concil. Labb. & Coſſart. Tom. 14. p. 1733. & deinc.

(o) Fox p. 980.

(p) Stow Annal.

(q) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.* p. 55.

His Belief concerning the Holy Eucharist.

(r) Fox *vol.* 3. *p.* 675.

Id. *p.* 655.

Cranmer diſputing againſt the Popiſh Doctrine, which by Conſequence as he argues, affirms, our Saviours having Two Bodies very different from each other, one in Heaven; and the other in the Sacrament of the Altar. Now to me, ſays the Archbiſhop, *it ſeems a more ſound and comfortable Doctrine, that Chriſt has but one Body, and that has Form and Faſhion of a Man's true Body; which Body ſpiritually enters into the whole Man, Body and Soul: And tho' the Sacrament be conſum'd, yet whole Chriſt remains, and feeds the receiver unto eternal Life, if he continue in Godlineſs, and never departs until the receiver forſake him. And as for the Wicked they have not Chriſt within them at all, who cannot be where* Belial *is. And this is my Faith.* (r) And for this Belief he declares he was govern'd by the holy *Scriptures*, by the Primitive Church, and the Expoſition of the Fathers. And that he was not only willing to be determin'd by the Senſe, but to Subſcribe the very Phraſes and Terms of the *Antients*, relating to the Holy Euchariſt.

February 14. *His Appeal is Over-rul'd.*

He is degraded and put into the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate.

He Signs a Recantation of his Doctrine.

The Archbiſhops Appeal being over-rul'd, *Bonner*, and *Thirlby*, proceeded to a formal degradation. They put a Mitre and Pall upon him, with the reſt of the Habit for an *Inſtalment*: And that the Ceremony might be perform'd in the moſt ignominious manner, this Equipage was made of *Canvaſs*. *Thirlby*, it muſt be ſaid, did his part with regret and good Nature: But *Bonner* manag'd in a rallying inſulting way, and made pageantry and diverſion of the Employment. Being thus put into the Hands of the Secular Magiſtrate, a *Writ* for burning him went out on the Twenty Fourth of *February*, which notwithſtanding was not executed 'till the Twenty firſt of *March* following. In the mean time, the Doctors and Divines of the Univerſity endeavor'd to reconcile him to the Church of *Rome*, and bring him to retract his Opinions. To this purpoſe they remov'd him from the Priſon to the Deans Lodgings, and treated him with great Civility and Reſpect: They employ'd proper Agents to argue with him firſt, and if that expedient fail'd, to try his Conſtancy with Overtures of Favor. One *Henry Sydall*, and a Spaniſh Fryar *de Villa Garcina*, were the principal Managers. They acquainted him how acceptable the diſowning his Errors would be to the King and Queen: That the *Council* and others of the Nobility, were inclin'd to do him good Offices: They gave him hopes not only of his Life, but his former Station: And that nothing was requir'd of him but only ſubſcribing a ſhort form: That upon this condition the Queen would give him his Choice, either of an honourable Poſt, or a private Life. That without this Compliance there was no proſpect of a Pardon, no hopes of either ſtaying in this World, or being well receiv'd in the other. In ſhort, the Infirmities of Nature prevail'd, and *Cranmer* was gain'd to Sign a Recantation. In this *Inſtrument* he owns the Popes Supremacy to the utmoſt Extent: He declares for the Corporal Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation, and for the other Six Sacraments as they are held in the Church of *Rome*: He owns his Belief of Purgatory, of praying for thoſe detain'd there, and Invocation of Saints. And in general, he profeſſes to believe every thing taught by the Catholick Church of *Rome*. He begs God's forgiveneſs for his having been of another Opinion, and Conjures thoſe who have been miſled either by his Doctrine or Example, to return to the Unity of the Church. And in the Cloſe, Appeals to God Almighty for his Integrity in this Declaration: That he was not ſway'd by any regards of Intereſt or Fear; but that 'twas his Conſcience which govern'd him wholly in this Affair.

(s) Fox *p.* 665. 666. *compar'd with p.* 670. 677.

(t) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 327.

Dec. 11. 1555

(u) Regiſt. Pool.

Fox affirms the chief Motive to *Cranmer*'s Compliance, was to gain him Time, for the finiſhing his Anſwer to *Gardiner*'s Book, call'd *Marcus Antonius Conſtantius*, concerning the holy Sacrament. *Fox* attempts to prove his Conjecture by a Letter of *Cranmer*'s, ſent to a Lawyer. But nothing of this can be concluded from the Letter, as 'tis printed by *Fox*. On the contrary, the Archbiſhop acquaints the Lawyer, whom he deſir'd to draw up his Appeal from the Pope, that the principal reaſon of his applying to this Expedient, was to lengthen his Life a little, 'till he had finiſh'd his Anſwer to the *Book* above-mention'd: But here is not a Syllable of his Recantation in the Letter, which was not made 'till his Appeal was over-rul'd, 'till he was degraded in Form, and put into the Hands of the Secular Magiſtrate. (s) After all, *Cranmer* found no Account in giving way thus unhappily. The Queen was inexorable upon this Head, and reſolv'd to proceed to the laſt Rigors. One of our learned Church Hiſtorians ſays, 'twas thought *Pool himſelf haſtn'd Cranmer's Execution, longing to be inveſted in that See.* (t) But ſo diſhonourable a Practiſe is foreign to the Cardinals Character: And if we examine the matter farther, 'twill be found *Pool* could have no Temptation to ſuch extraordinary Management: For, as hath been already obſerv'd, the *See* of *Canterbury* was actually Void upon *Cranmer*'s Attainder, Two Years ſince. Beſides, the preſent Pope in his *Bull* of *December* laſt, had collated *Pool* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. And in this *Inſtrument* he declares he had ſolemnly excommunicated and depoſed *Cranmer*. (u) From hence 'tis evident that *Cranmer*'s Life could be no hindrance to *Pool*'s Advancement to the *See* of *Canterbury*.

Fox.

To proceed; the Queen ſent Dr. *Cole* to *Oxford*, with private Inſtructions, to prepare a Sermon againſt the Twenty firſt of *March*, when *Cranmer* was to be Burnt. The Lords *William*'s and *Chaundois*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Sir *John Brown*, and ſome other Perſons of Condition were likewiſe order'd to be at *Oxford* the ſame Day, with their Retinue, to prevent diſturbance. When the Time drew near, *Cole* viſited *Cranmer* in the Priſon, and queſtion'd him touching his Perſeverance in the Catholick Faith. *Cranmer* gave him a Satisfactory Anſwer. The next Morning, which was the Day of the Execution, *Cole* made him another Viſit, Exhorted him to conſtaney, and gave him Mony to diſpoſe of to the Poor as he thought fit. Soon after, the Spaniſh Friar, who was a Witneſs to his Recantation, propos'd the Reading his Recantation to a publick Audience: And to this purpoſe deſir'd him to Tranſcribe the Inſtrument with his own Hand, and Sign it. 'Till this Time, as far as it appears, *Cranmer* had no Suſpicion of being brought to the *Stake*. And here it muſt be ſaid he was us'd with unpreſidented Severity: For either the *Friar*, or the reſt who tamper'd with him, had Authority from the Court, or not: If they had not, they were ſcandalouſly falſe in giving ſo ſtrong an expectation of Favor: If they had Inſtructions to flatter him thus far, the Imputation muſt lie elſewhere: But farther, when his

Doom was unalterably fix'd, 'tis ſtrange, they would not give him notice of what he was to expect: To hurry a Man blindfold into the other World, not to afford him Time for Recollection, and putting himſelf in a Poſture for Eternity, looks like Cruelty in Diſtraction.

Dr. Coles *Sermon at* Cranmers *Execution.*

To proceed, *Cranmer*, who was ſtill uncertain what would become of him, was brought from Priſon to St. *Mary*'s Church, and plac'd over againſt the *Pulpit* upon a low Scaffold. Soon after Dr. *Cole* began his Sermon: He diſcours'd upon the Juſtice and Mercy of God: That notwithſtanding the Attribute of Mercy prevail'd ſo far, as not to charge the Puniſhment to the Bulk of the Crime, yet his Juſtice requir'd, that even Repentance ſhould not wholly protect ſome Offenders from Corection: Of this he gave an Inſtance in *David*, who when he had the Liberty of chuſing his Puniſhment, and prefer'd the Plague, tho' God ſhorten'd the Time, yet did not releaſe him from all the Calamity. This he applied to *Cranmer*'s Caſe, and told him that notwithſtanding by diſclaiming his Errors, he had gain'd the Churches Abſolution, yet there were Reaſons why the Queen and *Council* ſhould order his Execution. And that he might be the leſs ſurpriz'd at theſe Proceedings, he put him in mind that he had divorc'd the Queens Mother, drawn a Blemiſh upon her Birth, and thrown the Popes Supremacy out of the Kingdom: That he had been at the Head of Hereſy and Schiſm, and exerted himſelf with all imaginable Zeal in ſo bad a Cauſe. That as the taking off the Duke of *Northumberland*, was ſome Reparation for the Execution of Sir *Thomas Moor*, ſo 'twas but reaſonable there ſhould be an Equivalent for deſtroying *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. And becauſe *Ridley*, *Hooper*, and *Ferrar*, had not bulk enough for a Counterpoiſe to *Fiſher*'s Character, 'twas fit *Cranmer* ſhould be thrown in to make up Weight. Beſides theſe, the King and Queen had other juſt Motives, which was not proper to inſiſt on.

After this, he Addreſs'd himſelf to the Audience, exhorted them to Caution, and Loyalty; Put them in Mind by the Inſtance before them, that no dignity or heighth of Station was ſufficient to protect a Criminal from Juſtice: And here he run on upon the uncertainty of human greatneſs, the ſtrange reverſes of Fortune, and drew a Paralel between *Cranmer*'s former Circumſtances, and the deſpicable Condition he was in at preſent. At laſt, directing his Diſcourſe to the Archbiſhop, he endeavor'd to ſupport him againſt the Terrors of Death: He told him he had no reaſon to diſtruſt the Application of our Saviours ſaying to the Penitent Thief, *this Day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe: And that God was faithful, and would not ſuffer him to be tempted above what he was able.* To this he added, the miraculous Deliverance of the *Three Children*, that the Flame of *Nebuchadnezzars* Furnace played about them like a lambent Fire: That St. *Andrew* expir'd in Pleaſure on the Croſs: And that St *Lawrence* held out with Patience upon the burning Grate. After this he gave God thanks for *Cranmers* Converſion, and promis'd him, there ſhould be *Diriges* and *Maſſes* ſaid for his Soul in all the Churches of *Oxford*.

Cranmers *Exhortation to the People.*

During the Sermon, *Cranmer* wept, and gave great Signs of Grief and Diſpleaſure at himſelf. And now *Cole* call'd upon him to make an open Profeſſion of his Faith, to remove all Suſpicion of Heterodoxy, and give the World Satisfaction of his dying a good Catholick. The Archbiſhop agreed to the Motion, and ſpeaking to the Company, told them there was one Miſcarriage in his Life, which troubled him more than all the reſt. And after having kneeled down and prayed, he ſuggeſted ſome Things briefly to the *Audience* by way of Exhortation. He put them in mind not to engage their Affections too far with the World: To obey the King and Queen *not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake*: Becauſe they were Gods Miniſters, and that *whoever reſiſts them, reſiſts the Ordinance of God.* Upon theſe Grounds he told them they ought to do the Duty of good Subjects, not out of Fear only, but Inclination. From hence he proceeded to recommend benevolent Temper, and general Kindneſs, and not to hate, or hurt any one: And that thoſe who were Rich, ſhould by no means forget being charitable to the Poor. And now he told them that being upon the brink of Eternity, he ſhould declare his Faith without the leaſt Reſerve or Diſſimulation. And after having repeated the *Creed*, and profeſs'd his Belief of every Article of the Catholick Faith; of every Thing contain'd in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, he came to the *great Thing* which troubled more than any Action of his whole Life: And that was the ſigning and publiſhing a Paper againſt his Conſcience: That 'twas the Fear of Death which carried him to this Prevarication: And ſince his Hand had mov'd counter to his Heart, he reſolv'd it ſhould be burnt before the reſt of his Body. Then he renounc'd the Pope in ſtrong Language, and as to the *Holy Euchariſt* he declar'd his Belief, was the ſame with what he had maintain'd in his Book againſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This was a great Diſappointment to the Roman Catholicks: They were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at his recanting his Recantation, and charg'd him with Diſſembling and Falſehood; he replied, he was always a Lover of Truth and clear Dealing, and never practic'd otherwiſe, except in his late Recantation. Upon this, he was hurried to the Place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were executed, and the Fire ſet to him. He made his Word good, and held his Right Hand extended in the Flame, never drawing it back, excepting once to wipe his Face. His Fortitude was very extraordinary. He burnt to Appearance without Motion or Pain: He ſeemed to repel the Force of Fire, and overlook the Torture by ſtrength of Thought. 'Tis reported by ſome of our Hiſtorians, that his Heart was found whole, after his Body was burnt to Aſhes: (*u*) But the Truth of this Relation may be queſtion'd: For *Fox*, who never omits any thing for the Advantage of thoſe who ſuffer'd, ſays nothing of this wonderful Circumſtance.

Fox.
He recants his Recantation.

And ſuffers with great Fortitude.

The Court was reſolv'd to have his Life: But which way they could reach it upon the ſcore of Religion, is not eaſy to diſcover at firſt Sight. His Recantation had brought him within the Mercy of the Eccleſiaſtical Law, for he was no Heretick relaps'd. Now to condemn a Catholick to the Flames, and burn a Man for Hereſy, that they own is no Heretick, is myſterious Severity. To make this matter ſomewhat more intelligible, we are to obſerve, that *Cranmers* Recantation was poſterior to the *Writ* for his Execution. Had he recanted before they had put him in the Hands of

(u) Godwin, Heylin, *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. page* 335.

Cranmer T. *Abp. of* Cant.

of the ſecular Magiſtrate, his Life in all likelyhood had been ſaved. For then he might have pleaded the Canon Law for his Diſcharge. However, tho' he might have loſt the Letter, he was ſtill within the Equity. Why then did not the Biſhops petition for ſtopping the Execution of the *Writ*? Since they could not call him an Heretick relaps'd? 'Tis true, they might have injoyn'd him Penance: But which way they could bring him to the *Stake*, is hard to conjecture. Such Rigour was ſtreining againſt the Canon Law, contrary to cuſtomary Practice, and particularly to the Proceedings in the preſent Reign. For thoſe who were burnt had the Offer of their Lives, upon condition of recanting their Tenents. As to the civil Magiſtracy, ſince the Church had put him in their Hands for Hereſy, 'tis granted they might legally award a burning *Writ*: But then ſince the Government had determin'd his Death, was it not leſs invidious to take him off for Treaſon, than burn him for Hereſy?

Something of his Character.

To add a Word or Two farther concerning this Archbiſhop. He was deſcended from an Antient and Wealthy Family in *Nottinghamſhire*; and bred in *Jeſus College* in *Cambridge*: Upon what occaſion he was firſt taken notice of by King *Henry* the Eighth, has been already related. He was a Perſon of great Equality of Temper, and never diſcover'd his Hopes or Fears with Levity or Dejection. He was of a gentle, generous, and forgiving Diſpoſition. When he was in Power, he treated the Roman Catholicks with Lenity and good Humour: And being charg'd with Remiſsneſs, and Overcomplaiſance for ſuch Management, he us'd to defend himſelf by ſaying, that People ought to have time to diſentangle themſelves; and be led, rather than driven out of their Miſtakes. As to his Learning, he was a great *Divine*, and over and above well read in the Canon and Civil Laws. By extracting the Books he made uſe of, he was prepar'd to give a ſudden and ſatisfactory Reſolution of almoſt any Queſtion within his Profeſſion. He had ſtudied the Controverſy touching the *Holy Sacrament* with the utmoſt Exactneſs: And made a full Collection of the Senſe of the *Fathers*, *Councils*, and modern Doctors, upon this Argument: As to the reſt of his Character and Management, it has been already related in the order of time, and therefore needs not be repeated. (*w*)

(w) *Memorials of* Cranmer.

Pool *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The next Day after *Cranmers* ſuffering, *Pool* was conſecrated to the *See* of *Canterbury*: And on the Twenty Fifth of *March*, he had the Pall put on him at *Bow Church*, by the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Worceſter*. (*x*) At this Solemnity he officiated in the *Maſs*, and afterwards made a Sermon upon the Subject of the Pall: Which it ſeems was but a dry Diſcourſe, and fell ſhort of his cuſtomary Elocution.

(x) Regiſt. Pool.

Anno Dom. 1556.

A Plot to rob the Treaſury.

About this time there was a Plot, to rob the Treaſury of Fifty Thouſand Pounds then lodg'd there: The Deſign as *Stow* reports, was to furniſh a Rebellion. One *White* diſcover'd the reſt of the Accomplices, which were *Udall*, *Throckmorton*, *Peckham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and ſome others who eſcap'd to *France*. Thoſe I have nam'd were all executed, and Sir *Authony Kingſton*, who was apprehended upon the ſame ſcore, died in the Meſſengers Hands as they were bringing him to *London*. *

* Stow Annal.

Mary *Queen.*

An Inſurrection concerted in Norfolk.

Id. *page* 628.

In *July* this Summer an Inſurrection was concerted in *Norfolk*: One *Cleber* and Three Brothers, whoſe Names were *Lincoln*, were to head the Attempt. But *Clebers* Man who was poſted to inform his Maſter of the coming up of their Party, happen'd to miſtake his Men and give a wrong Sign: Upon which *Cleber* diſcovering himſelf too ſoon, and reading a treaſonable Proclamation, was ſeiz'd and executed.

An Account of the Miſunderſtandings between the Engliſh Refugees in Germany.

I ſhall now go back a Year or Two, and give the *Reader* a brief Account of the Differences which happen'd amongſt the Engliſh *Refugees* in *Germany*. I have already obſerv'd, that ſome of theſe Exiles ſettled at *Emden* in *Weſtfrizland*: Some at *Arrow* in *Switzerland*: Some at *Straſbourg*: And ſome at *Zurich* and *Franckfort*. To begin with thoſe at *Francfort*, where they procur'd the Liberty of a Church, by the Favour of *Glauberge* one of the Principal Senators. Here they had the ſame Liberty of preaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments with the French: But with this Condition, that the Engliſh ſhould conform to the French in Doctrine and Ceremonies, and ſubſcribe their Confeſſion of Faith, which was done accordingly. However, they were not bound up to Punctualities, but had ſomething of a diſcretionary Latitude: For ſo far as the French gave way to a Diverſity of Ceremonies, the Magiſtracy were content to allow it. Upon this Permiſſion, the Engliſh gave in to the *German* and *French Novelties*, and refin'd to a conſiderable Alteration upon their own *Common-Prayer-Book*. For inſtance, they agreed the *Reſponſes* ſhould not be pronounc'd aloud: That the Litany, the Surplice, and ſeveral other Things preſcrib'd by the *Rubrick*, ſhould be omitted: The Reaſon was, becauſe the *Reform'd* in thoſe Countries would be ſomewhat ſhock'd with theſe Ceremonies. 'Twas farther reſolv'd, that the Prieſt (whom they call the Miniſter) ſhould uſe a *Confeſſion* different from the Engliſh, and as they fancied better ſuited to their preſent Circumſtances. When this was done, the People were to ſing one of *Hopkins* and *Sternholds* Pſalms. This Innovation was made in Conformity to the *French*, *Dutch*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Scotch* Cuſtom: And thus it ſeems, they thought all the *Reform'd* wiſer than thoſe of their own Country. After the *Pſalm*, the Miniſter was to pray for the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, and then proceed to the Sermon. When the Sermon was done, they made a General Prayer for all Eſtates and Conditions, and particularly for *England*: Then follow'd the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, after which the People ſung another Pſalm, and were diſmiſs'd with the Miniſters Bleſſing. As to the Adminiſtration of the Holy Euchariſt, they unanimouſly agreed to leave out ſeveral things as unneceſſary and ſuperſtitious. And thus after they had diſguis'd and maim'd the *Engliſh Service* to a remarkable Diſadvantage, they choſe their *Miniſter*, and *Deacons*, and open'd their Church. (*y*)

An Engliſh Church open'd at Frankfort.

July 29. 1554.

(y) *Diſcourſe of the Troubles at* Frankfort *Edit.* 1642. *page* 2, 3.

Upon this Eſtabliſhment, they thought fit to acquaint the reſt of the Engliſh *Refugees*, and invite them to ſettle at *Franckfort*. To this purpoſe Letters were ſent to *Straſbourg*, *Zurich*, *Emden*, and *Weſel*. This Letter is ſign'd by *John Stanton*, *John Makebray*, *William Williams*, *William Wittingham*, *William Hammond*, *Thomas Wood*, *Michael Gill*.

Aug. 2*d*.

The Engliſh at *Straſbourg* miſtook the meaning of their Letter. They imagin'd the Requeſt was only to furniſh thoſe at *Franckfort*, with One or Two for the paſtoral Charge, and to take the Government of that Church upon them. To this purpoſe, Mr. *Grindal* wrote to Biſhop *Scory* at *Emden*, to undertake the Super-intendency of the *Frankfort Congregation.* *Scory* complied, and offer'd his Aſſiſtance: But before his Letter came to *Frankfort*, the Engliſh there had elected *Knox*, *Haddon*, and *Lever* for their Miniſters. Beſides, the *Frankfort Congregation* had no Inclination for a Super-intendents being put upon them; for in the firſt Place they reſerv'd the choice of their Church Governors to themſelves: And over and above, had already declar'd againſt a ſpiritual Monarchy, and made choice of Two or Three Paſtors with co-ordinate Authority.

Id. *Page* 9.

The Engliſh at Zurich *refuſe to uſe any other Form excepting the Engliſh Common Prayer.*

The Engliſh at *Zurich* being inform'd of the meaſures taken at *Frankfort*, refuſe to concur with thoſe Innovations, and declare their Reſolution not to uſe any Form different from the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book.* Soon after, the Engliſh at *Zurich* ſent *Chambers* to *Frankfort*, to adjuſt the Terms for them, and make them eaſy at their coming thither: But the *Frankfort Congregation* giving *Chambers* no Aſſurance his Friends ſhould have the Liberty of uſing the Engliſh *Service*, the Invitation was refuſ'd: And ſoon after *Knox* came from *Geneva* to *Frankfort*, and officiated as their *Miniſter*. This Refuſal was ill taken by the *Frankfordians*, who complain of the Incompliance in their Letter to *Zurich*. In this Remonſtrance, they except againſt the Uſe of the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book*, and take the Freedom to call ſome of the Ceremonies unprofitable, and others not to be endur'd. And whereas, it might be objected their refining upon the *Liturgy*, and diſcharging great Part of it, might be a Hardſhip upon the Memories of the *Compilers*, and ſtick a Blemiſh upon the Engliſh *Reformation:* To this they anſwer'd, that the Engliſh Biſhops and Divines in the late Reign, had made no ſcruple to alter many Things, and would have gone on to farther Deletions and Improvements, had they not been prevented by the Iniquity of the Times: And had they been in the Circumſtances of the *Refugees*, there is no Queſtion, but that they would have relax'd upon theſe Points, and practic'd with the ſame Latitude.

Id. *page* 16. Nov. 15.

Thoſe at Strasbourg *offer ſomething towards an Accommodation.*

The *Exiles* at *Strasbourg*, not willing to break altogether with the *Frankfordians*, ſent *Chambers* and *Grindall* to them with farther Overtures for compoſing the Difference. They acquaint them in a Letter how willing they are to accept their Invitation, and cloſe with their Church: But then they deſire the Engliſh *Service* may be retain'd as far as 'tis poſſible. That going off from that Form to any remarkable Alteration, could not be done without throwing a hard Imputation upon thoſe who drew it up, and upon the Engliſh Martyrs who loſt their Lives in Defence of it. That a new Model would give the Enemy an Occaſion to charge them with Errors in Doctrine, and Inconſtancy: That 'twas likewiſe the way to unſettle the *Reform'd* in *England:* To make them Queſtion the Orthodoxy of their Religion, and diſcourage them from tranſporting themſelves. This Letter was ſign'd by *James Haddon*, *Edwin Sandes*, *Edmund Grindal*, *John Huntington*, *Guido Eaton*, *John Jeffry*, *John Peddar*, *Thomas Eaton*, *Michael Reymuger*, *Auſtin Bradbridge*, *Arthur Saul*, *Thomas Steward*, *Chriſtopher Goodman*, *Humphrey Alcoxon*, *Thomas Lakin*, *Thomas Crafton.*

Nov. 23. 1554.

Knox *comes from* Geneva, *and is choſen Miniſter at* Frankfort.

After the reading this Letter to the *Congregation*, *Grindal* acquaints them that the chief Buſineſs of his and *Chambers* coming, was to ſollicit the ſettling of the Engliſh *Liturgy.* But then he added, his Commiſſion allow'd him to ſink the Terms a little, and inſiſt only on the Subſtance. *Knox* and *Whittingham* ask'd what they meant by the Subſtance of the Book? To this *Grindal* and *Chambers* replied, they had no Inſtructions to ſtate that Point, and therefore deſir'd the *Congregation* would anſwer Three Queſtions. Firſt, they deſir'd to know what Parts of the *Common-Prayer-Book* they were willing to admit. Secondly, whether thoſe of *Strasbourg* might have the Favour of a diſtinct Church to meet in: And thirdly, what Security they could have for Quiet and Protection? To the Firſt Queſtion 'twas anſwer'd, they ſhould have the Uſe of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, as far as they could maintain it by *Scripture*, and the Country would give leave. To the Second, in which they petition for a Church to meet in by themſelves, 'twas anſwer'd, they were inform'd by the Magiſtracy, that 'twas not ſeaſonable to move that Point, till the *Diet* at *Augsberg* was over. To the Third, they told them the Government of *Frankfort* had given the Engliſh in general all the Encouragement imaginable, and that thoſe of *Strasbourg* might ſettle upon the common Security.

Knox *declines making uſe of the* Geneva *Form till farther Conſultation.*

The *Refugees* at *Frankfort* not yielding to a ſatisfactory Anſwer, thoſe at *Strasbourg* ſtand off from the Invitation. The *Frankfort Congregation* at laſt propoſe the ſettling the *Geneva Service.* This being in their Opinion moſt remote from Superſtition: But *Knox* refuſ'd to officiate by this Form, till the Engliſh at *Strasbourg*, *Zurich*, *Emden*, and other Places were conſulted. He likewiſe declined uſing the *Engliſh Book* in the *interim:* His Exceptions were, becauſe many Things in it ſtood only upon human Authority without any Warrant from the *Holy Scripture*, and had over and above been abus'd to Superſtition in the *Maſs.* In caſe therefore he might not be permitted to adminiſter the Sacraments, as his Conſcience would give him leave, he deſir'd his Buſineſs might be only Preaching: And if that was thought too much, he was willing to reſign.

Id. *page* 22. *A Temper propos'd by Leaver but rejected.*

Whilſt theſe Matters were under Debate, *Leaver* propos'd a Temper, and mov'd the drawing up a *Form* might be refer'd to himſelf: And here he promis'd, that he would neither be govern'd by the *Geneva* Model, or any other. But when they perceiv'd his Scheme would fall ſhort of their Notion of *Purity* and *Reformation*, they rejected the Overture. *Knox*, *Whittingham*, and their Party, were apprehenſive theſe Diſputes might terminate in ſomething worſe: To prevent this Iſſue, they extracted the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book* in *Latin*, and ſent it to *Calvin* for his Opinion: Letting him know that ſome of their Country Men endeavour'd to obtrude the Engliſh *Service*, magnified it as a moſt perfect Form, and engag'd their utmoſt to ſettle it in *England*, in caſe they ſhould ever return.

Page 24. *The* Knoxians *Cenſure, the Common-Prayer in their Letter to* Calvin.

In this Abſtract, the *Knoxians* make a ſcandalous Repreſentation of ſome Part of the *Litany:* They call the Petition **by thy Holy Incarnation**, &c. *a conjuring of God.* They ignorantly carp at the Angelick Hymn, *Glory to God in the higheſt* for this lamentable Reaſon, becauſe the Papiſts uſe it. They find fault with

Pool (Reginald) *Abp. of* Canterbury.

Id. *p.* 26. 27.

with the Arguments for *Confirmation*: They call the Ceremonies in the Office of Matrimony Follies, and cenſure the Offering at the churching of Women as a Jewiſh Cuſtom: And laſtly, they pretend to conceal ſome Blemiſhes out of Shame and Pity. Thus they endeavour'd to prepoſſeſs *Calvin*, and lead him to a Deciſion on their ſide; but *Calvin* was ſufficiently byaſs'd by his own Principles, and needed no Suggeſtions of this kind. This Divine in his Anſwer, “ complains of the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Conteſt, but then lays “ the blame upon thoſe who preſs'd the *Engliſh* “ *Service*: He confeſſeth, tho' it has been “ his Cuſtom to ſhew himſelf eaſy and reſigning in the Point of Ceremonies, yet he “ does not always think it proper to give way “ to People fooliſhly and inflexibly conſtant, “ and who can't be prevail'd with to give up “ the leaſt Circumſtance of what they had “ been uſed to. He pretends to diſcover a “ great mny *tolerable Fopperies* in the Engliſh “ *Liturgy*: Meaning, as he explains himſelf, “ the Ceremonies were not ſo pure as might “ be wiſh'd. Theſe Blemiſhes not riſing to “ any downright Wickedneſs, might be allow'd at firſt. The Juncture conſider'd, “ 'twas lawful to begin with ſuch imperfect “ Rudiments: But then the Miniſters of Chriſt “ were oblig'd to make farther Advances, to “ preſs to greater Degrees of Purity and Perfection. If the Reformation had continued “ undiſturb'd in *England*, they ought to have “ refin'd in ſeveral particulars, and many “ Things ſhould have been quite thrown out. “ Now ſince the Engliſh Church is over-born “ by the *Perſecution*; ſince the Circumſtances “ of Time are ſo much alter'd, what ſhould “ hinder melting down the old Figure, mending the Metall, and caſting it in a better “ Mould? And here he blames thoſe who “ doat upon the Remains of Popery, and are “ ſo childiſh as to throw away a noble Opportunity of Improvement. And as he would “ not have the *Knoxians* ſtand too nicely upon “ Terms, and manage with too much Rigour; “ ſo he adviſes the other Party not to value “ themſelves upon their own Whimſies, nor “ check the Edification of the Church by Peeviſhneſs and Pride. For what makes them “ ſo ſtiff and quarrelſome? Is it not becauſe “ they are aſham'd to own their Miſtakes, and “ give way to wiſer Reſolutions? If they are “ afraid their Brethren in *England*, will charge “ them with deſerting their Religion, their “ Fears, are altogether chimerical. For by “ complying with the godly at *Frankfort*, they “ will bring their Brethren at home to more “ ſerviceable Reflections. By this means they “ will lead them to conſider into what Gulph “ Popery has thrown them; and to what a “ dangerous Depth they were ſunk: And thus “ they will ſtill be more ſenſible of the falſe “ Ground, when they find, ſays he, you don't “ think it ſafe to ſtop at the firſt Remove, but “ are ſtill going off to farther Diſtance. (*x*)

Calvin's *Anſwer.*

Jan. 22. 1555.

Id *page* 28.

(x) Calvin's *Epiſt. p.* 213.

Mary *Queen.*

This peremptory Letter of *Calvins* gave a Turn to the *Congregation* at *Frankfort*, puſh'd them to a farther Diſlike of the *Common-Prayer*, and made the *Knoxian* Faction more hardy and enterprizing. However, the Victory was not entire; for after they had raiſ'd a Ferment, and broke in upon the Engliſh Eſtabliſhment, the Difference was ſtill kept on. At laſt, 'twas reſolv'd by the *Diſſenters*, that *Knox*, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, *John Fox*, and *Thomas Cole*, ſhould form a Draught for *Divine Service*. Theſe Men who it ſeems, were *Calvin*'s Diſciples, tranſlated the *Geneva Office*, and layed it before the Congregation. But this would by no means paſs with thoſe who were well affected to the Engliſh *Liturgy*. To prevent a Rupture, 'twas agreed that *Knox*, *Whittingham*, *Parry*, and *Leaver*, ſhould try to accommodate the matter, and project another *Form* more inoffenſive to both Parties. And thus to make the Expedient receiv'd, there were Conceſſions made on each ſide, and an *Office* partly extracted from the Engliſh *Liturgy*, and partly form'd upon *Calvin*'s Model. This Order was to continue till the firſt of *May* next enſuing: And if in the mean time any Controverſy ſhould happen, 'twas to be determin'd by *Calvin*, *Muſculus*, *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Vyret*. This Agreement was ingroſs'd, and ſign'd by the Congregation. And now the Differences ſeem'd to be laid aſleep, and the Parties brought to a Coalition. And thus the matter reſted till *March* following, when Dr. *Cox* and fome others, came to *Frankfort* from *England*. Theſe Men, as the *Writer* of this *Narrative* relates, broke in upon the Conpromiſe, repeated the *Reſponſes* aloud, and would recede from nothing of the *Engliſh Service*. Upon this *Knox* mounts the Pulpit, and declaims intemperately againſt our *Liturgy*. Here amongſt other Things, he pretends to Divination and Propheſy; and affirms that the Engliſh being too heavy and languid in the Reformation, was one Reaſon why that Nation was ſo much puniſh'd at preſent. And here he run out in his Cenſure of the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Church; charg'd it with Want of Diſcipline, found fault with the Epiſcopal Habit and the Permiſſion of *Pluralities*.

A Compromiſe of the Difference.

Cox *his Party admitted to vote in the Congregation, and become a Majority.*

Another meeting was appointed to debate theſe matters at large: And here a motion was made that Dr. *Cox*, and his Company, might have the liberty of voting in the Congregation: The *Diſſenters* (for ſo I ſhall diſtinguiſh them) objected that the Controverſy on Foot ought firſt to be decided, and that the *Coxians* ſhould be oblig'd to Subſcribe the *Diſcipline* as the reſt had done. They objected farther, that ſome of thoſe lately arriv'd, lay under Suſpicion of going to Maſs in *England*; and that others had Sign'd the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: It ſeems they had been inform'd of Mr. *Jewel*'s failing in that Point, which he afterwards lamented there in the *Pulpit*. And thus the motion made in behalf of Dr. *Cox* and his Friends, was at firſt rejected: 'Till at laſt *Knox*, by a ſurpriſing compliance, prevail'd with the *Congregation* to admit the *Coxians* to Vote with the reſt. When they had gain'd this Point, they ſoon grew to a Majority, and were admitted Members of the Church: And thus puſhing the Advantage, they drove *Knox* from his Poſt, and order'd him not to officiate any longer in the *Congregation*.

Upon this *Whittingham* goes with a Remonſtrance to the Senator *Glauberg*, who interpoſing in the Diſpute, ſilences the *Pulpit* for one Day, ſends for *Valerand* the French Miniſter, and orders him to appoint the chuſing Two learned Perſons of each Party: That theſe Four ſhould pitch upon an expedient, and make a report to him of what they had done. *Cox* and *Leaver* were Choſen by one Party, and *Knox* and *Whittingham* by the other; and *Valerand* was order'd to take Notes of what they agreed

Id. *page* 33. *A Conference.*

in: But when they came to the Conference, they could not get thro' the *Morning Prayer*, nor come to any tolerable Harmony. The Author of this *Narrative*, who was a *Knoxian*, lays the blame upon Dr. *Coxes* ſtiffneſs, and Magiſterial Behavior. Thus the *Committee* breaking up without Effect, the Knoxians addreſs'd the *Senate*, and complain'd loudly of the other Party, and the Engliſh *Reformation*.

Page 34.

Upon this Addreſs, *Glauberg* comes to the Engliſh *Congregation*, acquaints them 'twas the Magiſtrates Command they ſhould conform to the *French*, both in Doctrine and Ceremonies, menac'd them with ſhutting up their Church, and that thoſe who refus'd to comply ſhould quit the Town. *Cox* being preſs'd thus cloſe, was willing to Relax: He told the *Congregation* he had perus'd the *Geneva Service*; thought it good and defenſible, and therefore adviſ'd them to comply with the order of the Magiſtracy: The *Congregation* conſenting, *Glauberg* return'd ſatisfied.

Page 36.

A Charge of high Treaſon againſt Knox.

The matter had not been long ſettled upon this foot, when *Knox* was charg'd with Treaſon by the *Coxians*. They drew the Impeachment out of his *Book*, Intitled, an *Admonition to Chriſtians* written in Engliſh. In this *Tract*, he had taken ſome unaccountable Freedoms with the Emperor, his Son King *Philip*, and *Mary* Queen of *England*. The paſſage relating to the Emperor preach'd in *Buckinghamſhire*, in the beginning of the preſent Reign, was this: O *England, England, if thou wilt obſtinately return into* Egypt, *that is, if thou contract Marriage, Confederacy, or League, with ſuch Princes as do maintain and advance Idolatry, ſuch as the Emperor, (who is no leſs Enemy to Chriſt than was* Nero) *if for the Pleaſure and Friendſhip (I ſay) of ſuch Princes, thou return to thine old Abominations before us'd under Papiſtry, then aſſuredly* (O England) *thou ſhalt be plagued and brought to Deſolation, by the means of thoſe whoſe Favor thou ſeekeſt, and by whom thou art procured, to fall from Chriſt and ſerve Antichriſt*. There were Eight other obnoxious Citations, but this was the moſt Remarkable. The Magiſtracy, 'tho' not pleas'd with the Information, order'd *Knox* to depart the City: For that otherwiſe they ſhould be oblig'd to deliver him up to the Emperors *Council* upon Demand. Thus *Knox* having made a farewel Sermon to ſupport his Party, retires to *Geneva*.

March 26. 1555.

He quits Frankfort *and retires to* Geneva.

The Engliſh Common Prayer Book receiv'd at Frankfort.

And now the Intereſt of thoſe who adher'd to the Engliſh *Eſtabliſhment*, improv'd to an Over-ballance. For the ſame Day that *Knox* went off, *Adulphus Glauberg*, Nephew to *John Glauberg* the Senator, ſent for *Whittingham*, and told him, that Three Doctors, Thirteen Batchelors of Divinity, beſides others of the ſame Nation, had petition'd the Magiſtrates for the uſe of the *Engliſh Service*: That they had ſucceeded in their Application, and therefore charg'd him not to Claſh with what was ſettled, or make any diſturbance. *Whittingham* Anſwer'd he was ready to acquieſce, but moves for Toleration: And that himſelf and his Friends, might have the liberty of joining ſome other Church: *Cox* ſoliciting againſt this Indulgence, *Whittingham* offer'd to Diſpute before the Magiſtracy againſt the Engliſh *Liturgy*: But this Offer was over-rul'd by Young *Glauberg*. The Knoxians thus diſtreſs'd, apply to *Glauberg* the Senator: But this Gentleman told them he was inform'd both Parties had agreed to receive the Engliſh *Book*, and that he had referr'd the matter to his Nephew *Adulphus*.

Page 39.

Page 40. Bullinger's Cenſure.

Whittingham in a *Letter* to his Correſpondent in *England*, reports the misfortunes of his Friends, charges *Cox* with breach of Promiſe, and indirect Dealing, and magnifies the *Geneva* Church above all the reſt. This *Whittingham* was employ'd as an Agent to procure a Settlement for his Party at *Geneva* and *Baſil*. He ſucceeded in his Negotiation, and paſſing by *Zurich*, ask'd *Bullingers* Opinion of the *Engliſh Service*. And here *Bullinger* declar'd againſt the uſe of the Surplice, againſt private Baptiſm, churching of Women, and the Ring in Marriage.

Dr. Co Forms the Church towards the Engliſh Conſtitution.

Cox having gain'd his Point, began to form the *Congregation* to farther Advantage, and bring it forward to the Face and Reputation of an Engliſh Church. He gets *Whitehead* Choſen Superintendant or principal Paſtor, appoints Two Clergy-men for *Elders*, and Four *Deacons* to Aſſiſt: He likewiſe proceeds to ſome reſemblance of an *Univerſity*: *Robert Horn* has the Hebrew *Lecture*, and *Mullings* the Greek: *Trahern* is prefer'd to the *Divinity Chair*, and *Chambers* made Treaſurer for the Contributions remitted from *England*.

He Writes to Calvin.

The Church Settlement being thus far advanced, *Cox* gives *Calvin* an Account of their Proceedings: The Letter is Subſcrib'd by Fourteen of the chief in the *Congregation*; They excuſe their going ſo far without conſulting him: But conclude with the ſatisfaction they had of bringing over the greateſt part of the Church to their Sentiments. *Calvin* in his Anſwer, complains of their preſſing the *Engliſh Common Prayer Book* too far: And here he takes the Freedom to dictate with his uſual Haughtineſs, and calls the uſe of the *Croſs*, and other Ceremonies, *Trifles and Dregs*: And makes no ſcruple to ſay they are Hurtful and Offenſive in the preſent Circumſtances. And laſtly, he recommends a fair Correſpondence between thoſe who remain at *Frankfort*, and the others who ſeem diſpos'd to go off: And points at ſome farther Expedient to make up the Breach.

Calvin's *Anſwer.*

May 31. 1555. *Page* 43.

Thoſe who refus'd to acquieſce in the Majority, and retir'd to *Geneva* and *Baſil*, wrote a Letter to the *Coxians* to purge themſelves from the Imputation of Schiſm, and offer to refer the Controverſy to Four Arbitrators: This Letter is Sign'd by Eighteen, of which *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, *Chriſtopher Goodman*, and *John Fox*, the *Martyrologiſt*, are Four. But *Cox* thinking it beſt to maintain his Ground, inſiſts on the preſent Settlement, and declines any farther Reference. And in this Condition I ſhall leave the Engliſh *Refugees* at preſent.

A general Account of the Perſecution.

I ſhall now return to *England*, and proceed to a farther Account of the *Perſecution*: And here I ſhall only be Brief and General in the Narrative. To begin, *Bonner* is reported to have Burnt no leſs than Two Hundred in Three Years. *Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* brought Ten to the *Stake* together at *Lewis*; and Seventeen more during the Courſe of this Reign. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover* were remarkably Sanguinary, as hath been already obſerv'd. *Griffin* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was furiouſly Warm in his Proſecutions: And Biſhop *Baine* of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, burnt ſeveral Clergy-men, and others, of both Sexes.

The Prelates in the Northern Province, manag'd with more tenderneſs and humanity: Neither *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, nor *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, proceeded to any Severity upon the ſcore of Religion: And in the

Dioceſe of *Cheſter*, there were none Burnt, excepting one *George Marſh*. In the Four Welſh Dioceſes, Biſhop *Farrar*, and Two more, were Condemn'd to the Fire. In the Dioceſes of *Exeter*, *Peterborough*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, Four Suffer'd by the ſame Cruelty: Two in the Dioceſe of *Ely*, and Six by the Biſhops of *Saliſbury*, and *Briſtol*: And laſtly, the Biſhops of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, ſtood off from Perſecution, and made no *Martyrs*. In ſhort, thoſe who Suffer'd Death for their *Belief*, are ſaid to Amount to Two Hundred and Seventy Seven: And to mention ſomewhat of the diſtinctions of thoſe that were Burnt: In this Liſt there are Five Biſhops, one and Twenty Clergy-men, Eight Lay Gentlemen, Eighty Four Tradeſmen, one Hundred Huſbandmen, Servants, and Laborers, Five and Fifty Women, and Four Children; Sixty Four more were proſecuted for Religion, Seven of which were Whip'd, and Sixteen Periſh'd in Priſon: Not to mention thoſe who lay Condemn'd in Durance, and were diſcharg'd by the Queen's Death. In fine, the Proceedings againſt the Reform'd in this Reign were extremely Bloody and Barbarous: To deſtroy People for Points of mere Speculation, and which have no ill Effect on Practiſe and *Civil* Government, ſeems very remote from the Spirit of Chriſtianity. Suppoſing Truth on the perſecuting Side, yet to Burn a Man becauſe he will not belie his Conſcience, and turn Hypocrite, is ſtrangely unaccountable. Men can't believe what they Pleaſe: Their Underſtandings are not all of a Size. Things don't ſtand in the ſame Light, and ſtrike with the ſame force on every Body.

Beſides, if the Roman Catholicks believ'd the *Reform'd* ſuch notorious Hereticks: If they believ'd they would be ſo ill receiv'd in the other World, why did they not uſe them gentlier in This? Why did they hurry them to eternal Deſtruction before their Time? If Life had gone on in its natural Courſe, 'tis poſſible they might have alter'd their Belief: Mere Compaſſion, one would think, ſhould have given them the utmoſt leaſure to recover themſelves. If 'tis ſaid that in Charity to other People, they were oblig'd to come to Extremities: Had the Hereticks (as they call them) Lives been ſpar'd, they would have ſpread the Contagion, and deſtroy'd great Numbers with themſelves. To this it may be return'd, they might have been cloſely Confin'd, barr'd Correſpondence, and made very Inoffenſive as to this Matter. (y)

In a Word, theſe cruel Expedients ſerve only to blacken a Communion, to heighten Differences, and Inflame one Part of Chriſtendom againſt another. And beſides the doing no Buſineſs in Religion, the *State* has ſometimes ſuffer'd upon this Account. The dread of the *Smithfield Fires*, has given deſigning Men a Handle to impoſe on the People; to make them Tools to their Ambition; and Fright them into a *Revolt*. Whether the Grounds of their Fear are Real, or Imaginary, is little material: They are generally apt to Indulge their Suſpicion, to ſwallow a Calumny, and believe the worſt of their Governors. Thus to avoid being *Martyrs*, they turn Rebels: And rather than endure the Fire a few Minutes with a good Conſcience, venture to Burn always with a bad one.

January $155\frac{6}{7}$.

Before I ſhut up this melancholy Scene, it may not be improper to add ſome ſtreins of ill uſage upon the Dead. For inſtance, the Cardinal's Commiſſioners at *Cambridge*, interdicted Two Churches for affording Graves to the Bodies of *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*. Thus there was a Proceſs form'd againſt theſe Two learned Men, ſome Years after they were Dead. The Pageantry went ſo far as to Summon them before the Commiſſioners; And Depoſitions were taken to Convict them of Hereſy: From hence they proceeded to Sentence: The *Writ de Hæretico Comburendo* was ſent down, the Bodies taken up, and Burnt, with their Books in the Market Place.

And that one *Univerſity* might not fare better than the other, the ſame Treatment was offer'd to the Corps of *Peter Martyr*'s Wife at *Oxford*. This Gentlewoman had been very Charitable there, and liv'd every way to a Character of Advantage. And now *Oxford* being ſuppos'd to want a *Viſitation*, no leſs then *Cambridge*, a Commiſſion was directed by Cardinal *Pool*, to *Brook*'s Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *Ormanetto* the Pope's *Datary*, and ſome others: Their Buſineſs was to rectify ſuch things as they found amiſs: Amongſt other matters they had Inſtructions to take up the Corps of *Peter Martyr*'s Wife. But when they came to Execute their Orders, no Evidence appear'd to prove her an Heretick. It ſeems ſhe ſpoke only the Language of her own Country, and therefore no Body could depoſe what Religion ſhe Profeſs'd. This defect of Witneſs, being ſent up to the Cardinal, an Order was given to Dr. *Marſhal* Dean of *Chriſt Church*, to take up the Body, and bury it in unconſecrated Ground. This was not done 'till the latter end of this Year, but I have mention'd it here for the reſemblance of the matter.

'Tis no wonder if the Rigors of this Reign, tranſported ſome People beyond Decency and Duty, put them upon foul Practiſe, and libelling the Government. That there were Diſorders of this kind, appears by a Letter of thanks, ſent by the *Council* to the Lord Chamberlain, for the pains he had taken in ſearching for ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets diſpers'd in *Suſſex*: There was likewiſe another Letter Sign'd by the *Board*, and ſent to the Earl of *Rutland*, to Sir *William Cecil*, and other Juſtices of Peace, in the County of *Lincoln*, to thank them for examining certain Perſons ſeiz'd, for ſpreading falſe and ſeditious News. (z)

The Queen Founds ſeveral Religious Houſes. Nov. 21. 1556.

And now to proceed to more agreeable matter. The Queen's Reſolution to return the Church Lands in her Poſſeſſion has been juſt mention'd. To give a brief Account of the executing this Project. Her Majeſty began with the Church of *Weſtminſter*, prevail'd with Dean *Weſton*, to ſurrender the late Foundation. Thus the Houſe was return'd to its firſt Benedictine *Order*, and furniſh'd with an Abbot and Fourteen Monks; which was as full a Number as the Lands could maintain. Dr. *Fecknam* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a Perſon of Learning and Moderation, was prefer'd to the Government of this Abby. And the Prebendaries ejected, were allow'd Penſions 'till better provided for. The Queen reſtor'd the Convent of *Obſervants* at *Greenwich*. Some of the *Friars* of this *Houſe*, as has been related, appear'd very boldly againſt the Divorce, between King *Henry*, and *Catherine* of *Spain*. The Queen therefore out of Gratitude, and Regard to her Mother's Memory, Rebuilt the Monaſtery, brought in as many of the old *Fraternity* as could be met with; and

---

(y) *See the firſt Volume of this Hiſtory, p.* 616.

(z) *Council Book.*

Pool (Reginald) *Abp.* of Canterbury.

and recruited them with new ones to a competent number. To proceed; ſhe founded a new Convent of *Dominicans*, or *Black Friars* in *Smithfield*. By the way, theſe *Obſervants* and *Dominicans*, being both begging *Orders*, were reſettled at the leſs Expence.

At *Sion* near *Brendford* in *Middleſex*, there was a famous Nunnery of the *Order* of St. *Bridget*. Since the late Diſſolution, the greateſt part of theſe *Recluſes* were either Dead or Married. However, the *Society* was ſoon competently furniſh'd, the *Houſe* repair'd, and endow'd with a proportionable Revenue. At *Sheen*, on the South Side of the River near *Richmond*, there had been another Antient Monaſtery. This Place the Queen Furniſh'd with a new Convent of *Carthuſians*, an *Order* of great Diſcipline and Mortification. Another conſiderable Benefaction this way, was the refounding the *Fraternity* of the Knights *Hoſpitallers* of *Jeruſalem*. This Monaſtery was put in a Condition to dwell in, and an honourable Maintenance ſettled. Sir *Thomas Treſham* was made the firſt Lord Prior, who died ſoon after his Promotion, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Richard Shelley*, the laſt great Maſter of that *Order* in *England*.

And the Hoſpital in the Savoy.

All theſe Foundations were *Seculariz'd*, and fell at the Queen's Death: But her new *Hoſpital* at the *Savoy* had better Fortune: For what Purpoſes this *Houſe* was Founded by King *Henry* the Seventh, and when Diſſolv'd, has been already related. As for the Lands, they had been granted to the City of *London*: There was no other way therefore of executing the Scheme, but by a new Endowment: However, the Queen's Piety was not to be check'd by Conſiderations of Expence: And therefore out of the remainder of the Abbey Lands in the *Crown*, ſhe ſettled a fair Revenue for the purpoſes of the firſt Inſtitution: The Queens Example had a good Effect upon the Court Ladies, who furniſh'd the *Houſe* at their own Charge: And thus a conſiderable Number of Poor were comfortably provided for. And ower and above, the Maſterſhip of the *Hoſpital* was a conſiderable Preferment. Theſe Foundations were carried on at ſome Diſtances of Time, but I thought it moſt proper to mention them together.

An Attempt to ſettle ſome Monks at Glaſſenbury.

The new founding theſe Religious *Houſes* gave the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* ſome hopes of raiſing their own Abbey, which was one of the Antienteſt and Richeſt in *England*. Some of theſe Monks now plac'd at *Weſtminſter*, petition'd the Lord Chamberlain to put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe, for erecting the late Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*: And here they take notice, that by her Majeſties and the Cardinals Encouragement their Abbot had procured a Warrant from the Lord Treaſurer: That upon the ſtrength of this Favor, their Friends had begun to Build and Repair to a conſiderable Expence; but that now the Project was ſtop'd. They deſire the grant of nothing but the Houſe and Site: That for the reſt a few of them would endeavor to Maintain themſelves upon their Labor and Induſtry, 'till the Charity of good People would furniſh farther, and ſubſiſt a greater Number. To make their requeſt ſpeed the better, they ſuggeſt their Monaſtery was not ſurrendered, but wreſted from them, and their Abbot and Two Inoffenſive Monks, illegally executed: At laſt, they plead from the Antiquity of their *Houſe*, and the general Regard paid to it, upon the Score of its being begun by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, who, as they pretend, lies buryed there. But this Tradition has been diſprov'd in the firſt part of this *Work*. As to their Petition, I don't find it had any Succeſs: Whether the ſhortneſs of the Queen's Reign, or the impracticableneſs of the Project, made it miſcarry, is ſomewhat uncertain.

Ex Mſs. Com. de Huntington.

Mary *Queen*.

Bp. Burnet's *Records*, *pt.* 2. *Book* 2. N°. 30.

In mentioning the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, one of our learned Church *Hiſtorians*, (*a*) makes a Tragical complaint of the raſure and deſtruction of Records in this Reign: Of Records relating to the irregularities of *Religious Houſes*; to the renouncing the Pope's Authority, and the new Extent of the *Regale*. To make good this Charge, he produces a Commiſſion to *Bonner* and ſome others, to ſearch for *Records* of this Nature, and certify the Lord Cardinal what they had done in the Enquiry: The deſign of this ſearch was to inform the Queen of the Contents of ſuch *Inſtruments*, and that they might be conſider'd, and diſpos'd of as ſhe thought fit. But how far this Commiſſion was executed is no where to be found, as this learned *Author* confeſſes: And that there were no ſuch Raſures appears pretty plain from the *Regiſters* of *Cranmer* and *Bonner*; where the Biſhops Solemn diſclaiming the Pope, and holding their Biſhopricks by *Letters Patent* from the King, are entred at large: And as to the State of the Abbies, with reſpect to Manners, and other Circumſtances, they are ſtill to be ſeen in the *Augmentation Office*. And to be more particular, *Bale* affirms he had in his Cuſtody an Account of the *Viſitation*, of a Hundred Monaſteries, and Eighteen Collegiate Churches, drawn up by *Layton* and *Beadill*, Two of the King's *Viſitors*, and by *Berthet* a publick Notary. This Collection is Intitled *Breviarium Compertorum in Monaſteriis, Conventibus, Collegiis, &c.* (*b*) To this may be added the Teſtimony of *Ackworth*, in his Book againſt *Saunders de viſibili Monarchia*, where he affirms the Records of the Immoralities of the Monks were then Extant. But whether the Miſbehaviour of theſe religious was not ſwell'd and miſreported by ſome of the *Viſitors*, is another Queſtion.

(a) *Bp.* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 341.

(b) Bale in Append. ad Centur. 8. N. 75. p. 655.

March 23. 155$\frac{6}{7}$.

In the beginning of the Spring next Year King *Philip* embark'd for *England*, landed at *Dover*, and made a Cavalcade with the Queen, and a great Train of the Nobility through *London*. In *April* following, *Thomas Stafford* a Gentleman well extracted, ſet ſail from *France* with ſome Mal-contents and Foreigners, landed in the North of *England*, and ſurpriz'd *Scarborough Caſtle*. Upon this Succeſs he endeavours to raiſe the Country upon the Government. To this purpoſe, he diſpers'd Declarations ſtuffed with Treaſon and Untruth. He diſclaims the Queens Title, gives her coarſe Language, pretends King *Philip* had landed Twelve Thouſand Spaniards, and that the Forts of the Kingdom were to be put into their Hands. (*c*) But Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* the Engliſh Ambaſſador at *Paris*, having got within *Staffords* Plot, and trac'd the Scheme, ſent her Majeſty Intelligence. Upon this warning the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* was prepar'd for *Stafford* at his Landing. And thus in a Weeks Time this Rebel was ſeiz'd, brought to *London*, and Beheaded.

(c) Stow & Godwin Annal.

An Inſurrection in the North.

May 28. 1557.

The next Month the Queen publiſh'd a Proclamation in which She complains of being ill us'd by the French King: That this Prince had countenanc'd the Rebellions headed by *Northumberland* and *Wyat*; and that *Dudley* and

Pool (Reginald) *Abp. of* Canterbury.

The Queen declares War againſt France.

Aſton, who form'd a Conſpiracy in the French Ambaſſadors Houſe, were afterwards entertain'd in *France*: And laſtly, that *Stafford* was furniſh'd by the French King with Shipping, Forces, Ammunition and Mony to Invade her Dominions and Seize the Government. For theſe Provocations, ſhe forbid her Subjects Trading with *France*, and declar'd that Monarch an Enemy. Now notwithſtanding this *Manifeſto* was reaſonable and well Founded, yet 'tis thought ſhe would not have come to an open Rupture, if the Pope had not prevail'd with the French King to break the Truce between Him and King *Philip*. And thus the War breaking out between *France* and *Spain*, the Queen was reſolv'd not to ſtand Neuter in her Husbands Quarrel.

The Pope takes away Pool's *Legantine Character, and commands him to* Rome.

The Queen's Letter to diſſwade the Pope from calling back the Cardinal.

The Pope was diſpleas'd with the Queen for taking theſe Meaſures; and not being in a Condition to reach Her, diſcharg'd his Choler upon Cardinal *Pool*: Beſides, ſome old Grudges, he was highly diſſatisfied with *Pool* for endeavouring to adjuſt the Differences between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. This was downright claſhing with the Court of *Rome*, who made it their Buſineſs to bring on a Rupture. The Cardinal out of a Zeal for the Repoſe of Chriſtendom had been very Active in this matter, and taken the Freedom to ſuggeſt the Mediation of a Peace to his *Holineſs*. And tho' this Addreſs was couch'd in all the terms of Reſpect, yet 'tis thought the Pope's heighth of Temper would not bear being put in mind of his Duty. In ſhort, *Pool*'s Legantine Commiſſion was revok'd, and himſelf cited to appear before the Inquiſition at *Rome*; and to make him farther ſenſible how much his Intereſt was ſunk there, the Pope had lately Impriſon'd his intimate Friend St. *Felice* Biſhop of *Cava*. And that *Pool* might have no pretence of Church Buſineſs in *England*, *William Peyto* an Engliſh Franciſcan, and afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*, was made Cardinal and Legate in his Place. This *Peyto*, tho' a ſtrong Roman Catholick, and a Man of regular Behaviour, wanted *Pool*'s Quality and Learning to ſupport the Dignity, and make the Character ſignificant. When the Queen was inform'd of the Pope's Intention, ſhe took all imaginable Precaution to prevent the Iſſue. To this purpoſe, concealing the News from the Cardinal, ſhe order'd the Ports ſhould be guarded, and no body ſuffer'd to come on Shore from *Rome*; and if any Packets came from thence, they were ſeiz'd, and brought to the *Council*. She likewiſe wrote to her Ambaſſadour at *Rome*, to acquaint his *Holineſs*, that in caſe *Pool* was ſtrip'd of his Character, and recall'd, the Intereſt of Religion would ſuffer extremely in *England*: This Letter was back'd with a Remonſtrance to the Pope himſelf upon this ſubject: She puts him in mind, *Pool* had a double Commiſſion; one as he was Legate *a latere* from his *Holineſs*, and another upon the ſcore of his being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. That both theſe diſtinctions were neceſſary to the preſent Juncture: That his Predeceſſors at *Rome* had annex'd this *Legantine* Privilege to the *See* of *Canterbury*: That 'twas partly granted out of Regard to the Kings of *England*: That uninterrupted Uſage and length of Time had made it unqueſtionable, and that 'twas farther fortified by the Engliſh Conſtitution: That ſhe look'd upon her having a *Legate* in *England* as part of her Prerogative: That by her Coronation Oath ſhe was bound to maintain the Rights of the *Crown*, and the Privileges of the Kingdom: That nothing of this kind can be reſign'd without great Ignominy and Damage: That the Nobility and Commons would by no means give up the Honour and Advantage of the Government: And in Caſe they might be work'd to a Complyance, ſhe could not concur with them. (*d*)

(d) Ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig. Bacatellus vit. Reginald. Poli.

I have tranſcrib'd this *Letter* ſomewhat at large to ſhew, that notwithſtanding the Queens being a Roman Catholick, ſhe took Care to guard her Prerogative, and ſtood firm to the Publick Intereſt. As for the Pope, he was reſolv'd to gratify his Paſſion, and make a Blow at the Cardinal, right or wrong. However, to keep this Motive ſomewhat out of ſight, he told the Engliſh Ambaſſador he had Buſineſs of great Importance to communicate to *Pool*: And beſides, he threw out ſome Hints as if he ſuſpected the Cardinals Orthodoxy. To this the Queen's Anſwer was, that this ſuſpicion could be of no long Date; For that otherwiſe his *Holineſs* would never have given ſo large a Commendation of *Pool* in the *Conclave*, nor ſent him the *Pall* for the *See* of *Canterbury*: But if his *Holineſs* had any late grounds (which ſeems unlikely) to queſtion the Cardinals Religion, ſhe would take care he ſhould be Tryed by the Biſhops in *England*.

The Pope, to colour his Proceedings, made ſome faint excuſes to the Ambaſſadour Sir *Edward Carne* for recalling *Pool*. He told him that ſince King *Philip* had broke with him, 'twas not proper he ſhould have any *Legate* in that Princes Dominions. To this *Carne* replied, his *Holineſs* had promis'd him, *England* and *Ireland* ſhould be excepted: And not come under the ſame hoſtile Treatment with the reſt of that Prince's Dominions. The Pope pretended he could not reverſe a ſolemn Decree paſs'd in *Conſiſtory*: And all that the Ambaſſadour could get of him was to ſtop the *Intimation*, till he heard farther from the Queen. *

* *Paper Office.*

The Cardinal being apprehenſive the Queen had intercepted the Popes Letter to him, acquieſc'd at a venture, and laid aſide the Functions and Diſtinction of a *Legate*. He likewiſe diſpatch'd his Friend *Ormanett* to *Rome* to purge himſelf; To give his *Holineſs* an Account of his Adminiſtration, and acquaint him with the State of Religion in *England*. And now the Pope receiving Advice of the defeat of the French in *Flanders* and of his own Forces in *Campania*, grew more tractable, diſſembled his former Reſentment, and told *Ormanett*, that now he was ſatisfied *Pool* had been miſrepreſented, and that no body Living could be cover'd from Calumny. (*e*) As for Cardinal *Peyto*, tho' he took the title of *Legate* to keep the Pope in Humour; yet he never exercis'd the Charge, but treated *Pool* with the ſame regard as formerly. (*f*)

(e) Id. P. 78.

(*f*) F. Paul Hiſt. Counc. Trent.

King Philip *gains a Battle againſt the French at St.* Quintins.

July this Summer King *Philip* took leave of the Queen, and Embark'd for *Flanders*. And in *Auguſt* following gain'd the Battle at St. *Quintins* in *Picardy*. Great numbers of the French Nobility were made Priſoners in this Action, and the Town ſurrendred in a Week after. King *Philip*'s Succeſs was in a great Meaſure owing to the Bravery of the Engliſh Troops.

The Norfolk *and* Suffolk *Addreſſes for Liberty of Conſcience.*

This Year, Commiſſioners were ſent down into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by the Queen and *Council*. Their Buſineſs was to enquire into Religion and preſs Conformity to the Worſhip Eſtabliſh'd. To this Committee certain Inhabitants of the two Counties preſented an Addreſs for Liberty of Conſcience. They requeſt they may be allow'd to ſerve God by the Engliſh Common-prayer-book, and King *Edward's* R*eformation*. They complain of great hardſhip put upon them with reſpect to Perſon and Fortune. Notwithſtanding theſe Grievances, they declare poſitively againſt the lawfulneſs of relieving themſelves by applying to Force: They mention the Service they did the Queen againſt the Lady *Jane*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*: Own 'twas no more than their Duty, and thank God they had the Honeſty to do it. * Theſe Men were of Opinion the right to the *Crown* lay in the *Conſtitution* and not in the *Creed*. They thought a different Religion in the Prince, was no diſcharge of their Allegiance; nor gave them any Liberty of ſtanding Neuter in the Quarrel.

They declare againſt the lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance.

* Fox *Vol.* 3. *P.* 690 & deinc.

To return to the Church at F*rankfort*, and give the Reader a farther Account of the claſhing between the Engliſh there. When Dr. C*ox* had gain'd his Point, and ſettled *Horn* in the Paſtorſhip, he retir'd to *Strasbourg* for the Pleaſure of *Peter Martyr's* Converſation: Who by the way had formerly been his Acquaintance at *Oxford*. *Cox's* going off is ſuppos'd to have given occaſion to a new miſunderſtanding. Some warm Diſcourſe paſs'd at Supper between *Horn* abovemention'd, and *Aſhley* a Lay-Gentleman. About three Days after, *Aſhley* receiv'd a Summons to appear at the Houſe of one of the *Elders* to anſwer for ſome Expreſſions in Contempt of the Miniſtry. *Aſhley* ſuſpecting the Cauſe would go againſt him, appeals from the E*lders* to the *Congregation*. Upon this the *Paſtor* and E*lders* are requir'd to ſtop the Proceſs. The Pretence was that in regard tney were Parties, they were unqualified for the Cognizance of that matter. *Horn* and C*hambers* the *Treaſurer* except againſt this Order: 'Twas paſs'd, they ſaid, at a private Meeting: And not being carried by a Majority of the *Congregation*, they were reſolv'd to exert their Authority, and manage by the direction of their *Diſcipline*. *Aſhley* and his Adherents juſtify their Reſolution at the laſt *Meeting*, and proteſt againſt the *Paſtor* and E*lders* as incompetent Judges. (*g*) *Horn*, and the E*lders* thought the *Bodies* interpoſing thus far, a ſort of Anarchy in the Church, remonſtrated that the *Congregation* had left them nothing but a ſhadow of Authority, and therefore threw up their Character, and refus'd to act. The *Congregation* being willing to keep the Dernier Reſort, and not be govern'd by their Governors, propos'd ſome new Regulations. They complain of the defectiveneſs of the *old Diſcipline*, and that there was no Proviſion made to call the *Paſtor* and *Elders* to Account in caſe of misbehaviour: They inſiſt therefore, that a ſupplemental Clauſe might be added for this purpoſe: The Paſtor and Elders not liking the Supremacy ſhould be thus lodg'd in the Congregation, diſſented from the Motion; but offer'd at the ſame time to go upon Amendments in the *Diſcipline*, provided themſelves might be part of the *Committee*: But this, conſidering the *Matter*, was thought too much by the Congregation. In ſhort, a *Committee* is appointed to decide the difference between *Horn* and *Aſhley*: But *Horn* and the *Elders* refus'd to acquieſce in this Authority, or ſo much as come amongſt them. And to prove the Nullity of their Proceedings, they argue againſt the Authority of the *Congregation*, and aſſert it no better than a Conventicle in the *Paſtors* Abſence. This Point is conteſted by *Aſhley's* Party, who urg'd the Decrees of the *Councils* of *Baſil* and *Conſtance*, tho' but little to the purpoſe. For from an Aſſembly of Biſhops in *Council* being ſuperior to a ſingle Biſhop at *Rome*, it does not follow that a Congregation of the *Laity* have any Right to try their Paſtors, or revoke an Authority which they never granted. The *Congregation* finding *Horn* incompliant, and that he declin'd Preaching, mov'd for another Election, and reſolv'd to ſettle their Church without Him or the *Elders*. The Magiſtracy ſomewhat Alarm'd at this Claſhing, command *Horn* and *Chambers* to forbear the Congregation till farther Orders, but ſome few Days after reſtor'd them and the *Elders*, to their firſt Authority. The Congregation demur to ſome part of this Order, Addreſs the Magiſtracy with a Remonſtrance againſt *Horn* and his Party, and complain of their encroachment.

A farther Account of the differences between the Engliſh at Frankfort.

(*g*) *Diſcourſe of the Troubles at* Frankfort P. 55. & deinc.

Feb. 155$\frac{6}{7}$.

Id. *pag.* 67.

In the mean time a *Committee* had drawn up a new *Diſcipline*, which was laid before the Congregation, and paſs'd. By this draught the ſpiritual Supremacy was lodg'd with the diffuſive Body of the Church, and the diſpoſing of the Publick Mony taken from the *Treaſurer*, and intruſted with the *Deacons*. This refining upon the old Settlement widen'd the Breach. The Magiſtracy being now prevail'd with to favour the Congregation, *Horn* and his Party agree the *Diſcipline* ſhould be review'd by a Committee, but except againſt having more than one Paſtor: Notwithſtanding the *Diſcipline* goes on and is ſubſcrib'd by a Majority. Upon this, *Horn*, *Chambers*, and ſome others deſire the Magiſtrates their not ſubſcribing may be excus'd.

Id. *p.* 72, 3.

The Controverſy being ſtill kept on foot, a new expedient is propos'd; and by the conſent of the Magiſtracy, Letters are diſpatch'd to *Strasbourg* to Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Sandys*, and *Robert Bertie* Eſq; to undertake adjuſting the Difference. Each Party is contented to accept them for Arbitrators, but diſagree upon the conditions of the Reference. This jarring about the Terms of the Compromiſe, gave occaſion to more Noiſe and Scandal: The cauſe was bandy'd, and the heats kept up by *Horn's* and *Whitehead's* drawing their Pens upon each other. At laſt a reconciling Form was tendred by ſome of the Engliſh, who valued Peace more than Victory, and Party-intereſt. But the *New-diſcipline* Men now grown a Majority, refus'd to ſubmit to any leſſening of the Power of the *Congregation*. And now *Horn* and *Chambers* deſpairing of an Accommodation, withdrew to *Strasbourg*. As for the *Congregation* they took little notice of *Chambers's* Letters, but ſtood by the late Election of new *Miniſters* and look'd after the old ones no longer.

April 1557.

Thus theſe Diſorders in the Church at *Frankfort* took their riſe from a diſlike of the Engliſh *Common-prayer-book*, and giving in too much to the *Geneva Model*. The Difference was farther continued by the Mutiny of the Congregation againſt the governing part of the Church. From hence the Engliſh *Reformation* broke into Parties: This was the leading Caſe to the Puritans and Presbyterians in after Reigns. Upon theſe Principles and Preſidents, they form'd their Schiſm, and rais'd their exceptions againſt the Liturgy and Government of the Church. But of this more hereafter.

It

The Service us'd by the Engliſh Refugees at Geneva.

It has been already obſerv'd, ſome of the Engliſh at *Frankfort* propoſ'd officiating by the *Geneva* Form. It may not be amiſs therefore to give the *Reader* a brief Account of the Church Service and Diſcipline approv'd by *Calvin*, and us'd by the Engliſh at *Geneva*. To begin with the Election of their *Miniſters* and *Elders*: They are choſen by the whole Congregation, after a previous enquiry into their Life and Qualifications. The people are to prepare themſelves by Faſting and Prayer for a Bleſſing upon their Choice: The *Miniſters* chief Buſineſs lies in Preaching and Adminiſtring the Sacraments: For as to Diſcipline, managing Elections, and other Branches of Government, he has no Authority to overrule any thing, neither is his judgment conſider'd any farther than by way of Advice. (*h*) The *Elders* are likewiſe choſen by the Body: They make a ſort of ſtanding Committee with the Miniſters for the executive part of Government and Diſcipline: They neither Preach, nor Adminiſter the Sacraments. When the Congregation is to be Summon'd, notice muſt be given by the joint conſent of Miniſters and Elders, otherwiſe 'tis no lawful Aſſembly. The Office of their *Deacons* is to collect and diſtribute Charity, and take care of Perſons diſabled by Age, Accident, or Sickneſs. Theſe Diſtributions are not to be made without the conſent of the *Miniſters* and *Elders*: They are choſen by a Majority of the Congregation, like thoſe already mention'd.

(h) Calvins *Common-prayer book*, &c. Phœnix *Vol.* 2. P. 204, & 210.

The Election of Miniſters and Elders.

The Miniſters and Elders Conſiſtory.

The *Miniſters*, *Elders*, and *Deacons*, meet every Week in *Conſiſtory* to inſpect the conduct of the Church. And here they are to be particularly careful in cenſuring themſelves. For Inſtance; if the Miniſter is delated for Affectation or Negligence in his Sermon, for Flattery, Detraction, *&c.* he is firſt to be admoniſh'd, and afterwards Depoſ'd in caſe he continues Incorrigible. But for Crimes of a blacker Complexion, ſuch as Hereſy, Blaſphemy, Fornication, Theft, Drunkeneſs, and ſuch like, he is to be diſcharg'd without farther Tryal.

Id. 214.

The Congregation meets every Week to hear ſome parts of the *Scripture* expounded; and here every Man has the liberty to ſpeak to the Point. And if they happen to carry the Diſcourſe to Controverſy and Squabble, the Moderators are to Interpoſe: And if the Party refuſes to acquieſce, he is injoin'd Silence, and the caſe is refer'd to the Reſolution of the *Conſiſtory* abovemention'd.

Their *Common-prayer* begins with a *Confeſſion*. After the *Confeſſion* a Pſalm is Sung by the People: Then the *Miniſter* makes an Extempore Prayer for the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit. Then follows the Sermon: After which the Miniſter prays in a Form for *the whole State of Chriſt's Church*, but very different both in Matter and Expreſſion, from that in the *Engliſh Liturgy*: 'Tis concluded with the Lord's Prayer: Then follows this ſhort Collect, tho' 'tis not called ſo.

Almighty and Everliving *God vouchſafe we beſeech thee to grant us perfect continuance in thy lively Faith, augmenting the ſame in us dayly till we grow to the full meaſure of our Perfection in Chriſt, whereof we make our Confeſſion, ſaying, I believe in* God, &c. After the repeating the *Creed* another Pſalm is Sung; then the Miniſter pronounces the Bleſſing either taken from *Numbers* 6. verſe 24, 25, 26. or that *Cor.* 2d Chap. 13. verſe 14 And here to guard againſt the danger of believing the *Miniſter* has any Spiritual Authority, and to ſtrike him out of all Repreſentation of God Almighty, not only the Antient Form of the Church is declin'd, but the *Scripture* Language is chang'd to a great Alteration in Senſe: For inſtead of *the Lord bleſs thee, and keep thee*, it runs, *the Lord bleſs us and ſave us*, and ſo *us* is made uſe of inſtead of *thee*, to the end of this and the other Benediction, in the ſecond of the *Corinthians*.

A diſcretionary Latitude allow'd for Extempore *Prayer.*

And to avoid the Imputation of being tied to a Form, and encourage unpremeditated Effuſions, the *Rubrick* allows a large diſcretionary Latitude. The Miniſter, ſays this *Directory*, is not oblig'd to repeat all theſe ſtated Prayers: He has the liberty of beginning with a Confeſſion of his own: From hence he may go on directly to the Sermon: After which 'tis at his choice either to uſe the Form for *all Eſtates* abovemention'd, or elſe to pray, *as the Spirit of God ſhall move his Heart*. And here his Prayer is to be ſuited with regard to the circumſtances of time, and the matter of his Diſcourſe in the Pulpit.

At the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, they very commendably declare againſt Chriſtning in private Houſes. The Father and God-father are order'd to come to Church with the Child. And after a Queſtion being ask'd, whether they come to have the Child Baptiz'd, and their Anſwer in the Affirmative, the Sacrament of Baptiſm is explain'd by the Miniſter: After this, the Father, or in his abſence the God-father, repeats the *Creed*, which is expounded by the Miniſter in a Form preſcrib'd thro' all the Articles. After which follows a Prayer for the Sanctification of the Child, which concludes with the Lord's Prayer. When the Sacramental Words are pronounc'd, the Miniſter takes Water in his Hand, and lays it upon the Child's Forehead: And the *Office* ends with a ſtated Prayer of Thankſgiving for the benefit of this Sacrament.

1 Cor. 11.

The Holy Euchariſt is commonly Adminiſtred once a Month. The *Service* begins with ſetting forth the Inſtitution in the words of the Apoſtle St. *Paul*. Then follows an Exhortation to the receiving of the Sacrament. This Diſcourſe is preſcrib'd and made in the Pulpit. And here, the Miniſter to prevent unqualified Perſons approaching the Holy Table, delivers himſelf in very ſignificant ſolemn Language: The Words are theſe.

In the Name and Authority of the Eternal God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, I excommunicate from this Table all Blaſphemers of God, all Idolaters, all Murderers, all Adulterers, all that be in Malice or Envy, all diſobedient Perſons to Father or Mother, to Princes or Magiſtrates, to Paſtors or Preachers, all Thieves and Deceivers of their Neigbour, &c.

When the Exhortation is over, the Miniſter comes out of the Pulpit, ſits down at the Communion Table, with the reſt of the Congregation, and then taking Bread, either uſes a Thankſgiving Form for the Redemption of Mankind, or prays to the ſame Effect from his own Thoughts or Compoſition: Then he breaks the Bread, and delivers it to the People, who divide it amongſt themſelves: The Cup is likewiſe given in the ſame manner. While the Congregation are receiving, ſome Portion of *Scripture* repreſenting the Death of our Saviour in the moſt affecting manner, is read to aſſiſt Devotion. Then follows a Thankſgiving, intermix'd with a Prayer to live anſwerably to ſo great a Bleſſing. After this Prayer, the Hundred and Third, or ſome other Euchariſtick Pſalm is ſung. One of the Benedictions above-mention'd follows next, and thus the Solemnity is ended.

To proceed, thoſe who intend to marry, have their *Bannes* publiſh'd Three ſeveral Days in the Congregation. The Miniſter begins the *Service*, with an Exhortation, in which the Ends of Marriage, and the Duties of the Relation are explain'd: Then both the Parties and the Congregation are queſtion'd, concerning any lawful Impediment. Upon Silence to this Interrogatory, they proceed to the matrimonial Stipulation, which is made much in the ſame Form with that in the Engliſh *Service*. Then follows a ſhort Exhortation to make good the Engagement. And after the Miniſter has given them the Bleſſing, the Office is clos'd with ſinging the Hundred and Twenty Eighth Pſalm, or ſome other of a reſembling Subject.

In the *Viſitation* of the Sick, there are general Rules laid down for the Miniſters Management: That Regard is to be had to the Temper and Condition of the Penitent: That Terror or Comfort muſt be applied, as the Caſe requires, and the Remedy proportion'd to the Diſeaſe. After this general Direction, a long Prayer is ſubjoin'd for the Sick Perſon.

At *Burials*, the Corps attended to the Grave by the Congregation, is thrown into the Ground without any Prayers, or other Ceremony: There is no neceſſity for the Miniſters being preſent: But if he happens to be there, if the People deſire a Funeral Diſcourſe, and the Church is at no great Diſtance, he goes thither and makes a conſolatory Sermon upon the Subject of Death and the Reſurrection. To conclude, as to the Exerciſe of publick *Diſcipline*, the Miniſters are not to overlook any Crime, Irregularity, or Behaviour unbecoming a Chriſtian: And therefore, Admonition or other Correction is to be applied in Proportion to the Fault. But as to the higheſt Cenſure of Excommunication, 'tis not to be exerted without the Conſent of the whole Church. And laſtly, the excommunicated Perſon, though excluded from the Sacraments and Prayer, is permitted to hear Sermons. (*i*)

Excommunication not to paſs upon any Perſon without the Conſent of the Congregation.

(i) Id. *p.* 229.

And from this ſhort View the *Reader* may perceive, what ſmall Reſemblance there is between *Calvin*'s *Model*, and that of the Antient, and Engliſh *Liturgies*. We need not wonder therefore, at our Countrymens receiving an odd Tincture at *Geneva*: 'Tis not ſtrange I ſay, if after ſuch a Compliance with *Calvin* and his Congregation, they came home prepoſſeſs'd with *Novelties*, contemn'd the *Fathers*, and ſtood off from the Government and Worſhip of the Primitive Church.

Some Articles of Enquiry ſet forth by Cardinal Pool.

To return to *England* this Year, if *Fox*'s Chronology holds, Cardinal *Pool* gave out Articles of Enquiry for the *Viſitation* of his Dioceſe of *Canterbury*. They are rang'd under Two Heads, the Firſt One and Twenty relate to the *Clergy*, and the other Three and Thirty to the *Laity*. I ſhall mention only ſome few of the moſt remarkable, and Firſt of thoſe which concern the Clergy.

The Viſitors were to enquire whether any of the Pariſhioners died without Miniſtration of the Sacraments, through the Negligence of their Curates.

Whether Parſons, Vicars, or Curates haunted Taverns or Ale-houſes?

Whether they were diligent in teaching Midwives, how to Chriſten Children in Time of Neceſſity, according to the Canons of the Church?

Whether they keep a Book of all the Names of thoſe reconcil'd to the Church?

Whether they diligently teach their Pariſhioners the Articles of their Faith, and the Ten Commandments?

Whether any of them ſay the Divine Service, or miniſter the Sacraments in the Engliſh Tongue, contrary to the uſual Order of the Church?

Whether any of them keep Company with Men ſuſpected of Hereſy, or dangerous Tenents?

Whether any of them uſe unlawful Games, as Dice, Cards, and ſuch like?

Whether they are Reſident, and live hoſpitably upon their Benefices?

Whether they enter the Chriſtnings, Burials, and Marriages, upon the Church Regiſters, together with the Names of the Godfathers and Godmothers?

To proceed, to ſome of thoſe in which the *Laity* are concern'd.

Whether any refuſe or deny auricular Confeſſion?

Whether there be any guilty of Inceſt, Fornicators, or Adulterers, any Bawds, or ſuch as entertain licentious People?

Whether any Blaſpheme, take the Name of God in vain, or are noted for common Swearers?

Whether any are guilty of Perjury or Symony?

Whether any are common Drunkards, or uſe any ſcandalous Diverſions, eſpecially in Time of Divine Service?

Whether any keep private Conventicles, for the Exerciſe of Religion contrary to the Laws?

Whether the Poor in every Pariſh are charitably provided for?

Whether there is a Lamp or Candle in Churches burning before the Sacrament?

Whether any Perſon works upon Sundays or Holy Days?

Whether Taverns or Ale-houſes entertain any Gueſt in Time of Divine Service?

Whether Fidlers or any others, ſing any burleſquing Songs upon the Holy Sacraments, or other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church?

Whether rhe Revenues of Hoſpitals are ſpent purſuant to the Intendment of the Foundation? And whether any Goods, Plate, Jewels, or Land are taken away, and detain'd from ſuch Houſes? †

† Fox *Vol.* 3. *page* 779.

Anno Dom. 1557.

This Summer the *Council* ſent the Mayor of *Canterbury* a Letter of Thanks for his Diligence, in apprehending and committing the *Players*: He is commanded to keep them confin'd, till farther Order from the *Board*. In the mean time their lewd Play Book, as 'tis call'd, is referr'd to the Conſideration of their Majeſties Learned *Council*. (*k*) By this Account it appears, the Players had either burleſqu'd Religion, or libell'd the Government, or both. Theſe Men had run much the ſame Riot at *London*: This the *Reader* may perceive, by the *Councils* Letter to the Lord Mayor, to diſcharge thoſe Players they had order'd him to impriſon. And here the Priſoners, and others of the ſame Buſineſs, were commanded not to act any Stage Entertainment, excepting between the Feaſts of all Saints and Shrove-tide; and

(k) *Council Book. Orders from the Privy Council.*

Council Book.

then only ſuch as have been peruſ'd and allow'd by the *Ordinary*.

About this time the *Council* wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Briſtol*, to conform themſelves to the Worſhip eſtabliſh'd, to frequent Sermons, to aſſiſt at Proceſſions, and other publick Ceremonies at the Cathedral: That they ſhould not expect Attendance from the Dean and *Chapter* to bring them to Church: That Uſage being indecent and much out of Order. And here their Nonconformity and Abſence from Church, is cenſur'd as a great Singularity, and different from the Practice of all other Corporations.

A Peace between the King of Spain and the Pope. Ann. Dom. 1557.

Upon the Defeat near St. *Quintin*, the French King recall'd his Army out of *Italy*, to defend his own Kingdom. The Duke of *Alva*, King *Philips* General, now much Superior to the Popes Troops, marched directly towards *Rome*. The Town might eaſily have been taken, had the Duke preſs'd the Opportunity. Whether 'twas want of Courage, or a religious Regard to the Pope which made him loſe the Advantage, is ſomewhat uncertain. 'Tis probable, he believ'd a Treaty would be more acceptable to his Maſter, than proceeding to Extremities. The Pope on the other ſide, was very ſtiff in the Articles, and held up his Prerogative as high, as if Victory had been at his Diſpoſal. In ſhort, he inſiſted upon *Alva*'s coming to *Rome*, aſking Pardon, and receiving Abſolution; proteſting that rather than loſe the leaſt Part of his Right, he would venture the Ruin of the Univerſe: For ſince our Saviours Honour was concern'd in the Diſpute, 'twas not in his Power to give it up. The Duke of *Alva* ſubmitted to this, and ſome other Conditions not diſadvantagious to the Pope, went to *Rome* and receiv'd his *Holineſſes* Abſolution for the King and himſelf. Thus the conquering Party ſtoop'd to Acknowledgment and Diſgrace, and he that was at Mercy, appear'd with all the Signs of Succeſs and Superiority. † 'Tis ſaid, that by one of the ſecret Articles, Cardinal *Pool* was reſtor'd to his Legantine Authority. This ſeems not improbable, conſidering the Queens Reſolution not to admit any other with the ſame Character: For when Cardinal *Peyto* * was upon his Journey to *England*, with his *Bulls* and *Faculties*, the Queen forbad him coming into her Dominions at his Peril: *Peyto* being willing to acquieſce, ſtop'd in *France*, and died there in *April* following.

Sept. 1557.

† Paul *Hiſt. Council of* Trent.

* Camden Britann. Warwickſhire.

Upon the News of the Peace between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, the *Council* wrote to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to come to *Pauls* with the Aldermen; and order Bonefires to be made in the City. †

† *Council* Book 6. Octob. 1557.

The Queen Regent of Scotland *breaks the Peace with* England.

The War being now broke out between *England* and *France*, the French ſollicited the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, and endeavour'd to draw that Nation into the Quarrel. A *Convention* was ſummon'd upon this occaſion: But when they met, their Sentiments were not unanimous. The *Eccleſiaſtick State* was now for keeping fair with *England*; as for the Queen *Regent*, they did not altogether approve her Conduct: They fancied ſomewhat of a Partiality in her, to thoſe they call'd the heretical Lords: Thoſe Noblemen on the other hand, being willing to improve their Intereſt with the Regent, and the French Court, cloſ'd with the Motion for a War. By breaking with our Queen, they hop'd to increaſe their Party by a foreign Acceſſion: For in conſequence of this, the Queen Regent would be oblig'd to protect the Engliſh *Refugees*. However, the Majority of the *Convention* declar'd againſt a Rupture. The Queen Regent notwithſtanding being willing to attempt ſomething in Favour of *France*, ſent her General *D'oiſel* to fortify *Aymouth*, which was an Infraction upon the laſt Treaty with *England*. Upon this the Governor of *Berwick* made an Incurſion into *Scotland*, to diſturb their Works; this gave *D'oiſel* a Pretence to march into *England*, and ſet down before *Warke Caſtle*: The Scotch Nobility alarm'd at theſe Sallies, met at *Edinborough*, remonſtrated againſt *D'oiſels* Conduct, and requir'd him to counter-march, under the Pain of being declar'd a publick Enemy. He complied with the Order, tho' with great Regret. The Queen Regent finding her Meaſures thus remarkably check'd, wrote to *France* to haſten the Marriage between the young Queen her Daughter, and the *Dauphine*; ſuggeſting withal that this was the moſt likely Expedient to raiſe the French Intereſt in *Scotland*. The French Court complying with the Motion, Agents were diſpatch'd to the *Scotch Convention*, to acquaint them the *Dauphine* was now near coming of Age, and therefore deſir'd they would ſend over Commiſſioners to conclude the Marriage. The Requeſt was anſwer'd, and an Embaſſy furniſh'd out of the *Three Eſtates*; and tho' they had an unfortunate Voyage, they ſucceeded in their Negotiation; and the Marriage was ſolemniz'd in the latter End of *April* following. *

* Leſley de Reb. Geſt. Scot.

To return to *England*, the Queen receiv'd Advice from King *Philip*, that *Calais* was in Danger of a Siege: And that 'twas neceſſary to reinforce the Garriſon; offering at the ſame time a ſufficient Number of Troops for that purpoſe. The Engliſh Court ſuſpecting the Kings Kindneſs, and preſuming upon the Strength of the Place, neither accepted the Offer, nor increas'd the Garriſon themſelves. The French King therefore ſeizing the Advantage, order'd the Duke of *Guiſe* to make a ſudden March: This General ſate down before the Town on the Firſt of *January*, and had it ſurrendred on the Sixth.

Calais *&c. taken by the* Duke of Guiſe.

By the Articles, the Garriſon and the Burghers were to march out with their Effects: The Lord *Wentworth*, who was Governor, and Fifty others remaining Priſoners of War. This Town had been in the Hands of the Engliſh ſomewhat above Two Hundred Years, ever ſince the Reign of King *Edward* the Third. Soon after the Loſs of *Calais*, *Guiſneſs* and *Hamne* were carried by the French: And thus the Remainder of the Engliſh Dominions upon the Continent, were all loſt. * This unexpected Misfortune ſate heavy upon the Queens Spirits, threw her into a deep Melancholy, and proved very unſerviceable to her Health.

* Godwin Annal.

And now to ſupport the Government, and put Things in the beſt Poſture, the *Parliament* met on the Twentieth of *January*, and ſate till the Seventh of *March*: Their Buſineſs was moſtly military Proviſions, and granting of Taxes for the War againſt *France*. At this Seſſions, *Fecknam* the new Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and *Treſham* the new Prior of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* took their Places in the Houſe of Lords.

A Parliament and Convocation.

The *Convocation* ſate at the ſame time with the Parliament: And here *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London* was choſen Prolocutor. The

Pool (Reginald) *Abp. of* Canterbury.

Cardinal propos'd that ſome Expedient might be thought on, for the Recovery of *Calais*: But a Scheme of this Nature being look'd on as impracticable by the Clergy, the Motion drop'd. His *Eminence* was as little ſucceſsful in his other Suggeſtion, for the reviewing the Statutes of the new *Foundations*, and altering them to a more ſerviceable Form.

On the other Hand, the Clergy applied to the Cardinal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and ſupplying ſome Defects in the Church Eſtabliſhment. Firſt, that the Queen may be intreated to give Orders, that no Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, may be preſs'd to ſerve in the War. Secondly, that where the Endowments of Two Neighbouring Benefices are too ſlender to maintain a Prieſt, the Biſhop may give them in *Commendam* to one Incumbent to ſupply them by Turns. Thirdly, that thoſe Pariſhioners who have Chappels of Eaſe, and want Prieſts to officiate, may be oblig'd to come to the Pariſh Churches, 'till the Chappels of Eaſe are provided with ſome Curate. And Fourthly, that every Biſhop may be authoriz'd by the Pope to *ordain extra Tempora præſcripta*; that is, at other Times, as well as on the Sundays after the Four *Ember Weeks*.

This *Convocation* conſidering the preſſing Neceſſities of the *State*, granted the Queen a *Subſidy* of Eight Shillings in the Pound, to be payed in Four Years: They likewiſe charge themſelves with finding Horſe and Arms for the Defence of the Kingdom. Their *Subſidy* according to Cuſtom, is confirm'd by Act of Parliament; but the other Impoſition upon their own *Body* is uncorroborated by the *State*, and ſtands wholly upon the Authority of the *Synod*. †

Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. Queen* Mary *p.* 78. *Journal. Convoc. fol.* 87. & deinc.

The Proſecution againſt Hereticks, as they call'd them, went on, but turn'd to little Account; for the Courage of thoſe that ſuffer'd continued, neither was the *Reformation* to be ſtifled by any Rigours. Upon this occaſion one of our Learned Church Hiſtorians affirms, *he finds it ſaid, that ſome adviſ'd, that Courts of Inquiſition like thoſe in* Spain *might be ſet up in* England. (l) But here he is not pleas'd to tell us, by whom *'tis ſaid*, neither can I meet with this Advice in any of our Hiſtorians: Nay even *Fox* himſelf, is ſilent in the Caſe. Indeed, conſidering the Queens late Expoſtulation with the Pope, in which ſhe declares her Reſolution to maintain the Prerogative and Conſtitution; conſidering King *Philips* Confeſſors declaiming againſt Perſecution in the Pulpit; to which we may add the Gentleneſs and uncontested good Nature of Cardinal *Pool*; conſidering theſe Things I ſay, one would think the Project of an Inquiſition looks very improbable.

(l) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 346.

However, the Reverend Author above-mention'd thinks there was a conſiderable Advance made towards it in the latter End of this Year. And for Evidence, reports a Commiſſion given to the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, the Lord *North*, Secretary *Bourne*, Sir *John Mordaunt*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Sir *Nicholas Hare*, Sir *Thomas Pope*, Sir *Roger Cholmely*, Sir *Richard Read*, Sir *Thomas Stradling*, Sir *Rowland Hall*, Serjeant *Raſtall*, Dr. *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, *William Cook*, *Thomas Martin*, *John Story*, *John Vaughan*, Doctors of Law, *William Roper*, and *Randolph Chomley* Eſquires.

Fox. *Vol.* 3. *page* 781.

The Date of this Commiſſion moſt probably to be refer'd to Febr. 155$\frac{6}{7}$.

Mary *Queen.*

A Commiſſion to enquire into Hereſy, Sedition, &c.

Theſe Commiſſioners were impower'd to enquire after all Perſons ſuſpected of Lollardies and Heretical Opinions: To ſearch for Seditious and Heretical Books, with Power to ſeize them as well in Printers Houſes, Shops, as elſewhere: To trace and examine Concealments, Contempts, Conſpiracies, Seditious Diſcourſes, and Calumnies againſt the Government. 'Tis likewiſe their Buſineſs to enquire after Perſons who refuſe to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, and come to their Pariſh Churches: who decline Proceſſions, taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water, or misbehave themſelves in any Church or Conſecrated Place. They are likewiſe Commiſſionated to call what Witneſſes they think proper before them, and to tender an Oath to the Parties proſecuted to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as ſhall be thought ſerviceable for the Diſcovery of the Truth: But then here is a remarkable Clauſe of Reſtraint upon the Commiſſioners. For 'tis expreſly commanded, that if any Perſon brought before them for Hereſy or Heretical Opinions, happen to perſiſt in his Error, *he ſhould be immediately committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Laws*. (m)

(m) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. Records Book* 2. *n.* 32.

And from hence the *Reader* may perceive, there was nothing of the Face, Proceſs, or Power of an *Inquiſition* in this *Inſtrument*. The Commiſſioners had no Authority to try Heterodoxy, or put the Offenders *upon making an Act of Faith*. On the contrary, they are commanded, to deliver them up to their *Ordinaries*: And here the Proceedings againſt them were to be govern'd by the Laws of the Church. Beſides, the Commiſſioners it may be, not liking their Employment, did little in the Buſineſs, eſpecially as to the ſearching after prohibited Books. To quicken the Execution of this Part, a Proclamation was publiſh'd. Here the Queen complains of the importing ſeditious and treaſonable Books, and that Pamphlets of the ſame malignant Tendency were printed at Home, and diſpers'd. This Complaint was not without reaſon: For beſides the *Treatiſe of Politick Power*, already mention'd, *Knox* and *Goodman* had lately printed *their Blaſts againſt the Government of Women*. *Goodman* in his Performance, calls the Queen *Traitreſs*, *Baſtard*, *Proſerpine*, and other coarſe Names: This *Goodman* rais'd another Battery againſt all Government: Part of the Title is, *wherein Superior Powers may by God's Word be lawfully reſiſted*. (n) As the Provocation was great, the Proclamation runs high, and ſtreins the *Conſtitution*: For the *Inſtrument* ſets forth, "that upon whomſoever any of the ſaid wicked or ſeditious "Books are found after this Notice given; or "in Caſe thoſe that find them, don't immediately Burn them, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other Perſons, they "ſhall be reputed and taken for Rebels, and "executed accordingly by Martial Law. (o)

Heylin.

June 6. 1558.

(n) Wood Athen. Oxon.

(o) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 79.

This Proclamation, tho' ſufficiently Arbitrary, was not altogether ſo ſurpriſing as another which came out the ſame Month. 'Twas Publiſh'd at *Newgate*, and in *Smithfield*, at the Burning of Seven *Proteſtants*. And here all Perſons were commanded neither to Pray for, nor ſpeak to thoſe that Suffer'd: This, to ſpeak ſoftly, was unprecedented Rigor, and the laſt exceſs of Perſecution.

Fox. *p.* 878.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrictneſs of this uncharitable Order, *Bentham* a Clergy-man, who officiated at a private Congregation in *London*, ventur'd to break thro' it. When the Fire was kindled, he ſpoke aloud to the Company, told them *that thoſe who Suffer'd, were certainly the People of God : Therefore,* ſays he, *we cant chuſe but wiſh them well, and ſay, God ſtrengthen them.* After this, he gave an Inſtance of the Courage he recommended, and ſpoke out boldly; *Almighty God for Chriſt's ſake ſtrengthen them.* Upon this, all the People cried, *Amen, Amen* : And here the Noiſe was ſo great, and made by ſo many, that the Officers were almoſt overſet, and thought it to no purpoſe to ſeize any ſingle Perſon. (*p*)

(*p*) Fox. Heyjin.

The Reform'd had Congregations in London.

By the way, *Bentham* was not the only *Reform'd* Clergyman who had a Congregation in *London* : For notwithſtanding *Bonner*'s Sanguinary Temper, the R*eform'd* bore up bravely againſt the Perſecution, and kept on their religious *Meetings*, tho' at the utmoſt Hazards : And *Bentham*'s Church, for ſo I ſhall call it, tho' without a *Steeple*, had ſometimes Two Hundred in the Audience.

A great many Books, as hath been obſerv'd already, were ſent over from beyond Sea, to ſupport the Spirits of the R*eform'd*, and enable them to defend their Religion. As to the Engliſh R*efugees*, they had little Shelter amongſt the Lutherans, excepting at *Embden*. The rigid Lutherans had a ſtrong Averſion for our R*eformation* : The diſſent of the Engliſh from theſe Germans, in the Points of *Ubiquity* and *Conſubſtantiation*, was not to be forgiven. The diſtance and diſguſt upon this Score went ſo far, that *Peter Martyr* takes notice, a Friend of his in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, was generally hated by his Countrymen for entertaining ſome few of the Engliſh *Exiles*. (*q*) And *Peter Martyr* obſerves with Regret, that many of theſe ſtiff Lutherans, called the Engliſh who Suffer'd for Religion, the *Devils Martyrs*. (*r*) *John Alaſco* and his Company, in their Paſſage thro' *Germany*, ſeem to have contributed to this ill Opinion. For theſe Polanders coming from *England*, and declaiming coarſly againſt *Luther*, the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, and the Ceremonies of that Church; made the Lutherans apt to conclude the Engliſh were of the ſame Sentiment.

(q) P. Martyr Epiſtol.

The Lutherans had an ill Opinion of the Engliſh Reformation, and why?

(r) Melancth. in Epiſt. Oct. 8. Ann. 1558.

This Year there were great numbers in *England* dyed of a Peſtilential Feaver, and Quartain Ague : Theſe Diſtempers ſeiz'd thoſe moſtly who were advanc'd in Years : Thirteen Biſhops died within leſs than Twelve Months : And the Mortality reach'd ſuch numbers of the Prieſts, that in many Pariſhes there was no Parſon to Officiate.

The Queen's Death.

The Queen was carried off by a Dropſy, to which ſhe had been inclin'd for ſome Time. The Phyſicians miſtook her Diſtemper, 'till 'twas grown too ſtrong to deal with. 'Tis ſaid the Wars, in which the King her Husband was involv'd, The Death of her Father in Law the Emperor, and eſpecially the loſs of *Calais*, afflicted her extremely : Theſe Accidents ſtruck in with the Diſeaſe, and made a fatal Impreſſion upon her Conſtitution. She died at St. *James*'s on the Seventeenth of *November* : The Funeral Service was perform'd at *Weſtminſter* in the cuſtomary manner, and on the Thirteenth of *December*, ſhe was buried on the North Side of King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel. The Sermon at this Solemnity was Preach'd by *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* : He made his Diſcourſe upon theſe Words; *a living Dog is better than a dead Lion.* He was very ſtrong in his Panegyrick upon Queen *Mary*, but not without ſome Satyrical Innuendoe's, and ſtroaks of Diſadvantage on Queen *Elizabeth*. For this he was afterwards queſtion'd by the *Privy Council*, and order'd to keep his Houſe. And being call'd before the *Board* a Second Time, receiv'd a Reprimand, and had his Liberty. *

Eccleſ. 9. v. 4.

* *Council Book.* January 19. 1558.

There was another Funeral Sermon Preach'd for Queen *Mary*, by Dr. *Fecknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter* : His Text was, *Laudavi Mortuos Magis quam Viventes, ſed feliciorem utroque Judicavi, qui necdùm Natus eſt. i. e. Wherefore I praiſed the Dead, which are already Dead, more than the Living which are yet Alive; yea better is he, than both they, which has not yet been.* (*s*)

(s) Eccleſ. 4. verſe 2 *and* 3.

Part of her Funeral Sermon.

This Preacher, when he comes to touch upon the Queen's Character, gives the Audience a hint of the Traverſes of her Fortune, and the Troubles ſhe had met with. “ And here he Commends her for her Patience and Reſignation to Providence. And that no Perſon gave better Signs of Integrity, and religious Diſpoſition, than this Princeſs : He adds, that to put her ſelf in Mind of the cloſe Relation between the Prince and Subject, ſhe us'd her Ring as an Emblem of being Married to the Kingdom : And that ſhe never forgot to make her Conduct anſwerable to this Ceremony. She was remarkable as he goes on, for her Clemency, for her Compaſſion to the Poor, and for her Benefactions to the Church. And here he takes notice of her reſtoring ſeveral Abbies, and Church Ornaments, taken away in the late Reigns. Amongſt other Inſtances of Commendation, he mentions her bringing Religion to the old State, and Form : And particularly, that ſhe declin'd being call'd *Head* of the Church; which Title was never Uſurp'd by any Prince for Fifteen Hundred Years after Chriſt. Neither was the laying aſide this indefenſible *Addition* an Implicit Reſignation to Cuſtom. No, her Majeſty was well prepar'd to Account for what ſhe did. She conſider'd that after *Zacharias* was Dead, *Onias* the Prince aſſum'd the Prieſts Office : That this Incroachment had a very unhappy Iſſue : That God ſtruck him with Leproſy, for exceeding his Commiſſion. And thus the Propheſy of *David* was fulfill'd upon him, *Imple Faciem eorum Ignominiâ.* She would argue (continues this Preacher) how can a Woman be Head of the Church, who by the *Scripture* is forbidden to ſpeak in the Church? Upon this Principle the Church muſt have a *dumb Head.* But this can by no means be maintain'd : For 'tis part of the Functions of the *Head* of the Church to Preach there. Beſides, the Head of the Church is oblig'd to offer Sacrifice for the Sins of thoſe departed : But we don't Read either in the *Old* or *New Teſtament*, that ever a Woman Sacrific'd. He proceeds to tell the *Audience* how uncomfortable this Princeſſes Life had been : And that, abating the Satisfaction ſhe took in the Exerciſe of Religion, few People had leſs Pleaſure than her ſelf.

“ From hence he goes on to commend her for her Patience in her laſt Sickneſs : With what Devotion ſhe receiv'd the Sacraments, and prepar'd for her Paſſage into the other World : That ſhe had the Pſalms, uſed in the Offices of the Church, without Book. And in ſhort, that conſidering her Reſignation, and the Piety of her Behavior, if an Angel had been Mortal, ſaith he, he could ſcarcely have gone off with more Advantage. And laſtly, "notwithſtanding he believ'd her in a State "of Happineſs, yet becauſe it would be raſh "to pronounce upon People in the other "World, he thought it adviſable to comply "with the common Cuſtom, and therefore "deſires the Audience to join with him in "praying for her Soul. And now turning his Diſcourſe from Queen *Mary*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, he wiſhes the latter a proſperous Reign: And that, *ſhe may ſee her Children's Children, and Peace upon Iſrael.* (t)

(t) Cotton Library Veſpaſian D. 18. Fol. 94.

Something farther of her Character.

But this Sermon apart, it may be affirm'd without Panegyrick, that the Queen's private Life was all along ſtrict and unblemiſh'd It muſt be ſaid that Religion had the Over-ballance, the other World was uppermoſt with her, and ſhe valued her Conſcience above her *Crown*. But her Zeal was ill directed; She was under an Unhappy Management: *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, and ſome few others of reſembling Bigottry, ſeem to have puſh'd her upon Severities beyond her Temper. That ſhe was not of a Vindictive Implacable Spirit, may be inferr'd from her pardoning moſt of the great Men in *Northumberland*'s Rebellion. She was well furniſh'd with Reſolution, and I may ſay, with Martial Vigor, when occaſion call'd for it; as appears by her Behavior upon *Wyat*'s Inſurrection: For in her Speech at *Guild-hall*, when the danger was not unformidable, ſhe declar'd her ſelf ready to March in Perſon againſt that Rebel. That the publick Intereſt, and the Honour of the Kingdom was much her Concern, may be collected from the Stand ſhe made upon the Popes Incroachment in obtruding a new *Legate*, and the deep Melancholy ſhe fell into upon the loſs of *Calais*.

Beſides her founding ſome religious Houſes, and returning Impropriations, *Tenths*, and *firſt Fruits*, to the Church, ſhe built the publick Schools in *Oxford*, which continued for that Service 'till the Reign of King *James* the firſt, when they were taken down to make way for a much nobler Structure.

Two Colleges Founded in Oxford.

During her Reign, and poſſibly by the Encouragement of her Example, there were Two Colleges founded in this *Univerſity*. Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of King *Henry*'s *Abbey-viſitors*, had a Grant from the *Crown*, of a ſmall College in *Oxford*, Founded by the Biſhop and Prior of *Durham*, for a Nurſery to their Monaſtery. To the Lands belonging to this *Houſe*, this Gentleman adding ſome other Eſtate of his own, Founded *Trinity College*: And ſettled a Maintenance for a Preſident, Twelve Fellows, Twelve Scholars, beſides Officers and Servants.

Sir *Thomas White*'s was a nobler Benefaction: This worthy Perſon, who was Lord Mayor of *London*, Built and Founded St. *John Baptiſt's College*. This Foundation is Endow'd with Lands for a Preſident, Fifty Fellows and Scholars, not to mention the Officers and Servants belonging to the Chappel. The College Preferments are generally fill'd from Merchant Tailors School in *London*: Of which Company the Founder was a Member. (u)

(u) Wood Antiquit. Oxon.

To proceed; Cardinal *Pool* ſurviv'd the Queen but Sixteen Hours: He had been for ſometime languiſhing under a double Quartan: And tho' his Recovery was unlikely, yet 'tis thought the News of the Queen's Death precipitated his own.

Some few Days before his Death, when he deſpair'd of the Queen's Recovery, and had little or no proſpect of his own, he ſent a Letter to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, by *Holland* his Chaplain Dean of *Worceſter*. The deſign of it was to ſatisfy the Princeſs, that he had acted nothing againſt her, and that no part of the unacceptable Uſage ſhe had met with, was owing to his Advice. The Meſſage the Dean was Charg'd with all, 'tis likely, was to fortify the Contents of the Letter, in caſe of any Objection. And ſince the Princeſs was next in the Succeſſion, and ſo very near mounting the Throne, 'tis highly Probable the Dean was to recommend the ſupporting the Roman Catholick Religion: To ſhew the danger of unſettling the Church, and argue from the Topicks of Intereſt and Duty. * The *Reader* ſhall have the Cardinals own Words in the Records.

* Biblioth. Cotton Veſpaſian. F. III. *Records* N°. 75.

As to his Character, it may be partly collected from what has been already deliver'd: However, ſome things not falling within the courſe of the Hiſtory, may be reported here. At the calling the *Council* of *Trent*, *Paul* the Third made *Pool* one of his *Legates* there, and join'd him in Commiſſion with the Cardinals *Monte*, and *Santacroce*, afterwards higher diſtinguiſh'd, by the Names of *Julius* the Third, and *Marcellus* the Second. *Paul* the Third, had a great Opinion of *Pool*'s Learning and Judgment. He often conſulted this Cardinal, and made uſe of his Pen in Affairs of Religion. For inſtance, *Pool* drew the Pope's Anſwer to the *Interim*, propoſ'd by the German's: He likewiſe Pen'd the Reply to the Imperial Ambaſſadors Remonſtrance againſt the *Council's* being tranſlated from *Trent* to *Bononia*. (w) He was a very Exemplary Perſon: Nothing could be more regular and better guarded than his Conduct. The retiredneſs of his Temper, and his Inclination for Study did not govern him ſo far, as to make him unfit for publick Buſineſs. He was of a modeſt unpretending Behavior, and his good Nature made him willing to over-look the Advantages of his Birth and Station. However; the Port of his Family, and his Figure on publick Occaſions, was not unbecoming his Quality. Notwithſtanding his Intereſt at Court, he never ſolicited the Queen on his own behalf. He declin'd the Opportunities of enriching himſelf by his Legantine Character; would neither accept Preſents, nor ſuffer his Servants to receive any: And as for the Surpluſuſage of his Revenues, he turn'd it to Charity and pious Uſes. He made *Prioli* a noble Venetian, with whom he had Maintain'd a long and intimate Acquaintance, his Executor. This Gentleman undertook the Truſt, but refuſ'd to receive any Advantage of *Pool*'s Bounty, reſerving nothing to himſelf of what belong'd to the Cardinal, excepting his *Breviary* and *Diurnal*.

Cardinal Pool's *Death and Character.*

(w) Bacatell. Vit. Poli. p. 33.

Id.

Id.

As to the Proſecutions of the *Reform'd*, the Cardinal ſeems to have been Over-rul'd in his Temper, and gone off in ſome meaſure, from thoſe gentle Methods he had formerly recommended. Whether he was over-ſet by the Court of *Rome*, and gave way for the Pope's Satiſfaction, is ſomewhat uncertain. But let this be as it will, 'tis certain he can't be excus'd from being concern'd in the Perſecution. For the purpoſe, he gave a Commiſſion for the Tryal of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, at *Oxford*, and Conniv'd at the Cruelties of *Harpſfield* and *Thornton*, in his own Dioceſe.

And farther; he granted a Commiſſion to this *Nicholas Harpſfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*,

bury, *Robert Collins* Batchelor of Law, Commiſſary General for the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, *Richard Foſſet*, and *Hugh Turnbole*, Doctors in Divinity, to *John Mills*, *Hugh Glaſier*, and *John Warren*, Batchelors in Divinity, and Prebendaries of *Canterbury*: To enquire into, and Try Perſons of Heretical Pravity And in Caſe they were Convicted, to oblige them to Abjure. And if they continued Obſtinate, to deliver them over to the Secular Power, *ſi Facti atrocitas ità expoſceret*. This Commiſſion is dated from *Lambeth*, the Twenty Eighth of *March*, 1558.*

* Regiſt. Pool. Fol. 29.

About Four Months after, the Cardinal returns a Significavit into the Court of Chancery, certifying, that *John Cornford*, *Chriſtopher Brown*, *John Hurſt*, *Catherine Knight*, and *Alice Snoth*, had been brought before the Commiſſaries above-mention'd, and Convicted of Hereſy: Upon this Proceſs he remits them to the Juſtice of the Secular Magiſtrate. †

† *See Records* N°. 76.

It muſt be allow'd however he preſerv'd Two and Twenty at one Time, who otherwiſe, had in all likelyhood been deſtroy'd by *Bonner*: For they were ſeiz'd in *Eſſex*, and brought up Priſoners to *London*. But the Cardinal Interpos'd for their Reſcue, and contriv'd them a gentle and ambiguous Confeſſion of Faith: This Form running with an eaſy Latitude, and lying ſmooth upon their Conſcience, they made their Submiſſion, and were diſcharg'd. That theſe Perſons had all been Sentenc'd to the Stake: That they had all, I ſay, been thus diſpos'd off, appears by *Bonner*'s own Letter: What then prevented their Doom? Why, *Bonner* was afraid of looſing the Cardinal's Friendſhip by ſuch Barbarities. His Eminency, it ſeems, had formerly ſhewn his diſlike of *Bonner*'s Proceedings. This Sanguinary Prelate therefore, ſends to him now, to know his Pleaſure.

† Fox Vol. 3. p. 783. 785, 786.

After all, 'tis true, he was far from having a good Opinion of the *Reformation*: The Diviſions amongſt the *Proteſtants*, and their want of Diſcipline; their diſregard of the Prieſthood, and ſeizing the Church Revenues; theſe things, together with the Prepoſſeſſions of his Education, might probably incline him to think the Intereſt of Religion, could not be ſupported without an Adherence to the Pope; and the Countenance of ſo powerful a *See*, as that of *Rome*.

But tho' his Judgment miſled him in this matter, 'tis plain he was Govern'd by Motives of Conſcience. Had Mony or Ambition ſway'd him, he would certainly have complied with the Meaſures in the Two late Reigns. Had he then fall'n in heartily with the *Court*, no one could have open'd a fairer proſpect to Wealth and Greatneſs than himſelf; In this Caſe, he would probably have ſtood foremoſt in his Princes Favor, and gain'd a Preference to *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*.

This Cardinal died in the Nine and Fiftieth Year of his Age; the Corps after having lain in State about Six Weeks at *Lambeth*, was convey'd to *Canterbury*, and ſolemnly interr'd in Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Chappel.

He wrote ſeveral Books, beſides that *pro Unitate Eccleſiaſtica*, and his *Reformatio Angliæ*:

To mention Two of them in Print: The firſt, *de Concilio lib.* 1. the other, *de ſummi Pontificis Officio, & Poteſtate*. And thus I ſhall take leave of this Reign, and the Cardinal.

Queen Mary

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK VI.

THE Queen's Death being ſome Hours Conceal'd, was firſt ſignified to the Lords lately Aſſembled in Parliament. This unwelcome News ſtruck the *Houſe* to Silence for ſome time: Afterwards recollecting themſelves, and diſguiſing their Concern, they turn'd their Thoughts to the Publick: And firſt, 'twas unanimouſly Reſolv'd to Proclaim the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, founding her Right upon the Thirty Fifth of *Henry* the Eighth Chapter the firſt. This being agreed, *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor, ſending for the Houſe of Commons, acquainted them with the Queen's Death: That the loſs of this admirable Princeſs, was ſo great a Calamity to Church and State, that they ſhould have remain'd Unconſolable, had it not pleas'd God to have preſerv'd her Siſter *Elizabeth*. And ſince ſhe ſtood next upon the Line, and was by Law the undoubted Heir of the *Crown*, the Prelates and Temporal Nobility, had all reſolv'd to Proclaim her; and only wanted the Concurrence of the other *Houſe*. Upon this the *Commons* immediately ſhouted, one and all, *God ſave Queen* Elizabeth; *may her Reign be long and proſperous:* And now the Parliament being Diſſolv'd upon the Demiſe of Queen *Mary*, *Elizabeth* was Proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet, and ſtrong Acclamations, firſt in the *Palace Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards in *London*.

Queen Elizabeth Proclaim'd.

The Queen was now but Five and Twenty Years Old; But her natural Abilities, the nice Juncture of the late Reign, and the difficulties ſhe had to deal with, had furniſh'd and improv'd her beyond the expectations of her Age: And of this early ſufficiency ſhe gave good Proof in the Choice of her *Council*. She thought it moſt adviſable to intermix Papiſts and Proteſtants at the *Board*: That by this means neither Party would deſpair of her Favor, and the Ballance would be beſt kept in her own Hands. (*x*) The Roman Catholick part, were *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Pawlet* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl *of Arundel*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward Stanly* Earl of *Derby*, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Admiral, and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackville*, and Dr. *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*: Theſe were all Privy Counſellors to the late Queen. The others of the *Reform'd* Perſwaſion, as *Cambden* reports, were *William Parr*, Marqueſs of *Northampton*, *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parr*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecill*: To this Number, Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was ſoon added. But that Two of this laſt diviſion conform'd to the Roman Catholick Religion in the late Reign, may eaſily be collected from their having a ſhare in publick Buſineſs. (*y*)

She chuſeth her Privy Council.

At her firſt entring upon the Government, ſhe ſelected a ſort of *Cabinet Council* from ſome few of the Proteſtant Party, and with theſe ſhe concerted Meaſures for retrieving the *Reformation*; but this was to be done with great Precaution and gradual Advances. In the firſt place therefore ſhe took care to ſettle the Magiſtracy,

---

(x) Cambden Elizabetha *p.* 18.

(y) *Privy Councils Letter to Sir* William Cecill, *Sir* Robert Dynith, &c. *Council Book* 13 *of* Auguſt, 1557. *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2. *p.* 298. *Privy Councils Letter of thanks to the Earl of* Bedford. *Council Book* 20 *of* July, 1558. *and* 20 Septem. 1558. Ex Biblioth. Robert Harley Armig.

And diſpatches Ambaſſadors to the Principal Courts in Chriſtendom.

giſtracy, and ſecure the Kingdom from Diſturbance. And to prevent Confederacies and Invaſions from *Abroad*, ſhe diſpatch'd her Ambaſſadors to keep on the Friendſhip of Foreign Princes. For the purpoſe, Sir *Thomas Chaloner* was ſent to the Emperor to acquaint him with the Queens Inclinations for cultivating the antient Correſpondence between the Houſes of *England* and *Auſtria*. The Lord *Cobham* was diſpatch'd with reſembling Inſtructions to the Spaniſh Court in *Flanders*. This Nobleman and the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* were likewiſe furniſh'd with Powers to go on with the Treaty at *Cambray*, begun in the latter end of the late Reign. Beſides theſe Sir *Henry Killigrew* was privately ſent to form an Alliance with the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*: There was likewiſe Ambaſſadors diſpatch'd to the *Courts* of *Denmark* and *Holſtein*. (z)

(z) Cambden Eliz.

King Philip *Courts her.*

The King of *Spain* being inform'd of his Queen's Death, order'd the Count of *Feria* his Ambaſſador at *London*, to addreſs Queen *Elizabeth* for Marriage, giving her an Aſſurance of the Pope's Diſpenſation for this purpoſe. *Philip* was not only willing to keep his Engliſh Title and Intereſt, but likewiſe apprehenſive leaſt the Britiſh Dominions and *Ireland* ſhould fall into a Union with *France* by the Queen of *Scots* Pretentions: Theſe are ſuppos'd to be the motives to King *Philip*'s Courtſhip. The Queen being thus ſolicited was unreſolv'd in her Anſwer for ſome time: An overture of this kind from ſo great a Prince, and one who had formerly been much her Friend, was not ſuddenly to be refus'd. That King *Philip* had done her good Offices in her Siſters time, is beyond Diſpute. To lay ſomething of this matter before the *Reader*. It has been already obſerv'd that the Princeſs *Elizabeth* being ſuſpected of concerting *Wyat*'s Inſurrection was kept ſometime confined, and ruggedly Treated. While ſhe was under theſe hardſhips, *Henry* II. the French King wrote privately to her, profeſs'd a great Regard, and gave her a ſtrong Invitation into *France*. *Chriſtian* III. likewiſe King of *Denmark*, who had receiv'd *Luther*'s Reformation, Courted her privately for Prince *Frederick* his Son. When ſome bigotted Papiſts had got Wind of this Application, they began to Threaten her afreſh, and cry out that neither Religion, the Queen, nor the Kingdom, could be ſecure as long as this Princeſs was in Being. About this time when the Eccleſiaſtical Courts were proſecuting *Proteſtants*, as we call them, Dr. *Story*, and ſome other warm Men, us'd to declare, that unleſs they ſtruck at the Root of Hereſy (meaning the Princeſs) the lopping the ſmall Branches would ſignify nothing. The Princeſs either ſatisfied in her Conſcience, or over-aw'd by Terror, which is more likely, went frequently to *Confeſſion*, and complied with the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. However, the Queen being ſenſible from her ſelf, how far Fear might govern Practiſe, queſtion'd her Siſters Sincerity. And to what degrees of Rigor this Suſpition might have carried her, is ſomewhat uncertain. But the King made it his Buſineſs to take off this Jealouſy, and bring her to a kinder Opinion. In ſhort, he ſcreen'd the Princeſs from farther Miſchiefs, and diſappointed the ill will of her Enemies: Whether 'twas pure Friendſhip or State Policy is another Queſtion: However, the Favour was to be interpreted to the faireſt Senſe.

She is ſometime unreſolv'd about the overture.
Id. *in Apparat.*

But at laſt refuſeth it.

Theſe Conſiderations kept the Queen in Suſpence upon the overture. At laſt, looking farther into the Conſequence, ſhe perceiv'd that the marrying the Wives Siſter was equally forbidden with entring into the ſame Relation with the Brother's Wife. That ſuch an engagement ſtanding Condemn'd by the Holy *Scriptures*, the Popes Diſpenſation could never diſentangle the Matter. Beſides, by engaging with her Siſters Husband upon the ſtrength of a Papal Diſpenſation, ſhe muſt by neceſſary Inference, own her ſelf the Iſſue of an unlawful Marriage: A Marriage which ſhe might think ſhe had no Reaſon to ſuſpect, conſidering the publick Determinations both at *Home* and *Abroad* in favour of her Fathers Divorce with *Katherine* of *Spain*. Upon the whole thought, ſhe return'd King *Philip*'s Addreſſes the ſmootheſt Refuſal. Shewing herſelf rather diſenclin'd to Marriage, than denying upon any other ſcore. But this Prince renewing his Application by ſeveral Letters, ſeem'd to have gotten ſome ground in her Fancy: For ſhe made no ſcruple to commend him for the reſervedneſs and decency of his Behaviour, and that ſhe ſhould value herſelf in imitating his Conduct. This Diſcourſe made the Proteſtant Courtiers apprehenſive of an Impreſſion, and that the King might probably gain her. To prevent this Alliance therefore they ventur'd to remonſtrate loudly againſt the Haughtineſs of the Spaniard: And ſome of her *Council* ſhe admitted to the higheſt Confidence, told her that herſelf, her Friends, and the Kingdom, were perfectly ruin'd, if ſhe own'd the Papal Authority either in diſpenſing, or any other matter: That two Popes had pronounc'd her Mothers Marriage unlawful: And that upon this *Sentence* the Queen of Scots had now put up her Claim to the Engliſh *Crown*: That the Pope would never reverſe this Judgment of his Predeceſſors: That 'twas in vain to expect Juſtice from the Court of *Rome*, who had ſhewn themſelves ſo Partial againſt her Mother: And that the French King was now trying his utmoſt with that *See*, that *Mary* Queen of *Scots* might be declar'd Soveraign of *England*.

She intends the Reſtoring the Reformation.

The Queen being now wrought to a Reſolution againſt the Marriage, believ'd nothing would give a more effectual check to King *Philip*'s importunity, than a ſpeedy Alteration in Religion. Now therefore ſhe conſulted the *Cabinet* upon the meaſures for recovering the Church to the Condition it was left in by her Brother King *Edward*. And here, to proceed with the greater ſecurity, the Danger of the Enterprize, together with the method for diſentangling the Government, was layed before the *Board*. The Danger might be rang'd under two Heads, either Foreign and Domeſtick. From *Abroad* her Majeſty might expect the Pope would Excommunicate her, and encourage an Invaſion. 'Twas likewiſe not improbable the French King might make his Advantage of the Opportunity, break off the Treaty at *Cambray*, and it may be ſolicit the Queen of Scots to make War upon *England*: Neither was it improbable but that the Iriſh being Malecontents, and ſo warmly affected to the Church of *Rome*, might riſe upon the Government: And laſtly, the King of *Spain*'s great Power and Neighbourhood in the *Low Countries*, was no favourable Circumſtance. The remedies in Counterballance were theſe: As to the Popes Excommunication, 'twas only inſig-

The Dangers of the enterprize Conſider'd

inſignificant Noiſe, Powder without Ball, and ought to be deſpiſ'd: The French, if they offer'd a Peace, they were to be cloſ'd with: If not, 'twas thought worth the while to court their Friendſhip, ſince it brought that of *Scotland* along with it. The *Proteſtants* in *France* and *Scotland* were to be encourag'd, and the Diviſions in Religion fomented: The Garriſons in *Berwick* and upon the *Borders* were to be reinforc'd; and the ſame Securities provided in *Ireland*: And that a good Correſpondence with the Spaniards was to be kept on, and the old Alliance with the *Houſe* of *Burgundy* renew'd.

The Remedies ſuggeſted.

The Dangers at *Home* the *Cabinet* foreſaw would ariſe from the Temporal Nobility diſcharg'd the Council *Board*: From the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks who muſt loſe their Preferments: From the Judges and Juſtices of Peace, employ'd in the late Reign: And in ſhort, from all other hearty *Papiſts* of Wealth and Diſtinction. The way to make theſe People inoffenſive, was to throw them out of Commiſſion, and bring none but *Proteſtants* into the Adminiſtration: To purge the Univerſities, to place new Preſidents in the Colleges, and turn out the Maſters at *Wincheſter*, *Eaton*, and other Schools. That the Papiſts muſt not only be put out of Buſineſs, but care muſt be taken to ſink their Character, and leſſen their Intereſt, as long as they continue of that Perſwaſion. And if ſome of them ſhall happen to comply with the Alterations in the Church, they are not to be truſted: It being natural for every Man to watch his Opportunity for recovering his old Ground; and to like that Eſtabliſhment beſt, which himſelf had a Share in ſettling. And particularly, as to the non-complying Biſhops, they muſt be reduc'd by ſome new Parliamentary Proviſions: The Premunire muſt be played upon them: And when once they are in *Miſericordiâ* they are not to be Pardon'd without entire Submiſſion and Conformity: And that by hampering them well, and preſſing the Laws cloſe, Her Majeſty's Occaſions for Mony may be ſomewhat ſupplied. (*a*)

That thoſe Proteſtants who affected improper Alterations, and were for throwing the Eccleſiaſtical Polity into a new Form, ought to receive an early Check: That 'twas by no means adviſeable to allow more than one Church: That the free Exerciſe of different Religions would prove an everlaſting Principle of Sedition and Diſturbance, eſpecially in a Nation of ſo Martial a Genius as the Engliſh. However, to prevent Diſcontents, the Reform'd *Liturgy* ought to be review'd, and made as inoffenſive to all Parties as may be. That this Affair ſhould be refer'd to *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindal*, *Whitehead*, and *Pilkington*: Theſe Divines being all Remarkable for Learning and Temper: And that Sir *Thomas Smith* (who is ſuppos'd to have drawn this *Advice*) was to bring them together, and have a ſhare in the Conſultation. That when the Debate was ſettled, and the Performance finiſh'd, the *Book* was to be preſented to the Queen, and after her Approbation, layed before the *Parliament*: That beſides this Committee, other Perſons of Learning and Character ſhould have the Peruſal of the *Book* to give it a farther Reputation. That before the review'd *Service* was Publiſh'd, there muſt be a ſtrict Prohibition of all Innovation: That frequent changes leſſen'd the Authority of a Government, and therefore ought to be prevented as much as poſſible: Beſides, the giving out Orders would ſuggeſt an inſtance of Duty to the Subject, and train them to the Practiſe of Obedience: And as to Her Majeſty, She may keep to the ſame Form of Religion, unleſs with reſpect to the Communion on high Feſtivals: At which times her Highneſs may receive with ſuch a Latitude of Ceremonies, as ſhe ſhall think fit: That where there are more Prieſts than one at *Maſs*, they may all Communicate in both kinds: And for farther Relief of her Highneſs Conſcience, if need be, the Office of the *Maſs* may be the ſeldomer read, and ſome other devout Prayers or *Memory* us'd inſtead of it: And laſtly, to the Queſtion what Noblemen were to be made Privy to this Deſign before 'twas open'd to the whole *Council*? The Anſwer was, that none but the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Gray*, were to be truſted with the Secret. (*b*)

But the Queen having diſcharg'd thoſe Committed for Religion in the late Reign, and given the *Exiles* leave to return, the Inclinations of the Court were not difficultly Collected. The *Proteſtants* therefore preſuming on the favour of the Government, ventur'd beyond the Protection of the *Conſtitution*: And thus meeting firſt in private Houſes, and afterwards in Churches, preach'd their *Perſwaſion*, and drew great *Audiences* after them. The *Papiſts*, on the other ſide, not dropping their Defence, the People began to ruffle and grow warm in the Controverſy: And thus Images were pull'd down in ſeveral Churches, and the Prieſts affronted. The Queen to keep the Kingdom quiet, and prevent unſeaſonable Squabbling, put out a *Proclamation* for ſilencing the *Pulpit*, and commanded all Diſputes of this Nature ſhould be forborn. And thus for ſome time none were allow'd to preach without a Licenſe under the Broad Seal. But to give ſome Diſcovery of what ſhe intended, ſhe allow'd the Liberty of reading the *Epiſtles*, the *Goſpels*, and *Ten Commandments* in Engliſh, provided 'twas done without expounding: The *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed* and the *Litany*, might likewiſe be ſaid in the ſame Language. As to the reſt of the *Service* 'twas to go on by the Rubrick of the *Miſſals* and *Breviaries*, till the Queen and Parliament had farther debated this Matter.

A Proclamation to forbid Preaching.

To proceed; The Day before the Coronation, there was a ſplendid Cavalcade from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*. The Queen, before ſhe ſtep'd into her Coach, is ſaid to have made a ſhort Ejaculation, heard by thoſe near her: She return'd "God Thanks for preſerving her to ſo happy a Day: Acknowledg'd her being reſcued by Providence from the extremity of Danger: Comparing it with *Daniels* Deliverance in the Lion's Den. She was Saluted as ſhe paſs'd with all imaginable Marks of Duty and Affection: Her return to theſe Acclamations was very engaging both in Air and Geſtures. Her receiving an Engliſh Bible was particularly taking in the manner. 'Twas let down from one of the Triumphal Arches, and preſented by a Child repreſenting *Truth*. When ſhe diſcover'd the Preſent, ſhe firſt kiſs'd her Hands, and then receiving the Book, kiſs'd it, layed it

(a) Biblioth. Cotton. Julius F. vi. Fol. 53. Cambden Eliz. Pag. 22.

(b) Biblioth. Cotton. Julius F. VI. Fol. 53. Cambden Eliz.

to her Heart, promiſs'd to read it, and return'd the City more thanks for this Preſent than for all the reſt of great value ſhe had already receiv'd. It muſt be ſaid ſhe was a great Miſtreſs of Behaviour; and perfectly underſtood the Art of making herſelf Popular without expence.

Jan. 14. 1558.
The Queens Coronation.

The next Day ſhe was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by *Owen Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*: The Solemnity was perform'd according to Antient Cuſtom, and directed by the *Roman Pontifical*: And here ſhe took the uſual Oath for preſerving the Rights and Liberties of the Church. None but the Biſhop of *Carliſle* could be prevail'd with to officiate at the Coronation. Archbiſhop *Heath* and the reſt of that *Order* ſtood off from this Buſineſs. They were afraid the Impreſſions of her Proteſtant Education were not worn out: This Suſpicion was confirm'd, by her late forbidding a Biſhop to elevate the *Hoſt* for Adoration. Her permitting ſome of the Church *Service* in Engliſh was alſo much diſlik'd. However, the Queen to give her her Due, appear'd very religious; came conſtantly to the *Cloſet*, or Chappel, at the Hours of Prayer, and behav'd her ſelf there with exemplary Devotion: She wore black in *Lent*, and was very attentive at the Sermon; tho' ſhe us'd to ſay, ſhe had rather addreſs God Almighty in Prayer, and converſe more immediately with him, than hear a Learned and Rhetorical Diſcourſe upon the Divine Attributes. She had honourable Sentiments of the Uſe of the *Croſs*, of the Bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints; and never mention'd them without Regard and Reverence.

Id.

The *Reader* may poſſibly be at a Loſs, why the Queen riſqued her being refus'd at the Coronation, by ſo many Biſhops of the Roman Perſwaſion: For were not *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverſdale* living? Were not theſe Three Prelates all hearty in the *Reformation*? Why then was not the ſetting the Crown on her Head offer'd to one of theſe? To this it may be anſwer'd, that theſe Three Biſhops were then actually depriv'd: And the Proceſs being not revers'd, their Character might be queſtionable. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to believe theſe Prelates would have ſcrupled the *Ceremoniale*: And to have alter'd it to their Approbation, might probably have drawn a Blemiſh upon the Solemnity, and repreſented her to Diſadvantage in foreign Courts. And after all, 'tis poſſible, the old Form might ſit eaſy enough upon her Mind, and her Conſcience give her leave to humour the Juncture.

In *December* this year, the *Privy Council* ſtopt the Chief Juſtice *Saunders* Attachment againſt Dr. *Lewis* Judge of the Admiralty; brought the Cauſe before the *Board*, and undertook the deciding the Controverſy. It ſeems they did not think it reaſonable, that either of the Parties ſhould over-rule the other, or give Sentence in their own Cauſe. *

Council Book Strype Annal. *p.* 31.

Upon the Queens Acceſſion to the Throne, the Engliſh Exiles at *Geneva* ſeem'd willing to take up the old Difference with their Brethren, and moved towards a Reconciliation.

Decemb. 15. Anno Dom. 1558.

To this purpoſe, they diſpatch'd *William Keth* one of their Congregation, to the Engliſh at *Arrow*, *Baſil*, *Strasbourg*, *Wormes*, *Franckfort*, &c. In their Letter to thoſe of *Arrow* and *Franckfort*, they expreſs a ſtrong Inclination to recover a right Underſtanding, and come up to a perfect Harmony with the reſt of the Engliſh: But then their Propoſals are ſomewhat narrow and reflecting, they call'd the *Ceremonies* Trifles, they propoſe the beſt *Reform'd* Churches, that is *Calvin*'s Congregation, for the Meaſures of Agreement. They are ſenſible, that claſhing would diſſerve the *Reformation*, and report them to Diſadvantage amongſt the Papiſts. And thus they would gladly have an end put to their former Diſputes: But then the Accommodation muſt be made upon their own Terms.

This Letter is ſubſcrib'd in the Name of the whole Church by *Chriſtopher Goodman*, *Miles Coverdale*, *John Knox*, *Anthony Gilby*, *William Whittingham*, and Six others.

The Engliſh Church at *Franckfort* in their Anſwer to this Letter, declare themſelves pleaſed with this friendly Overture, but are ſorry it came no ſooner: For now almoſt all thoſe of the *Congregation* they conteſted with at *Franckfort*, were remov'd: However, they did not queſtion but that they would drop their Reſentment, and look upon them as Brethren. As for *Ceremonies* the ſettling that Point muſt neither be referr'd to the Churches of *Franckfort*, nor *Geneva*. The Divines in *England* with the Concurrence of the Parliament, muſt put an end to that Controverſy. They hope the *Reformation* will recover, and not be clog'd with an Over-weight of Ceremonies. And therefore provided nothing Immoral is impos'd, they are reſolv'd to acquieſce in the publick Eſtabliſhment, and wiſh their Brethren of *Geneva* may be equally reſigning. And ſince all the *Reform'd abroad* differ in Rites, and yet agree in Doctrine, they ſee no Reaſon why the Engliſh Church may not be allow'd the ſame Latitude. However, if any Ceremonies really exceptionable, ſhall happen to be put upon them, they promiſe at their Return home to join with them in an Addreſs for removing this Grievance.

This Letter was ſign'd in the Name of the Church by *James Pilkington*, *Richard Beeſley*, *Henry Knolles*, *Alexander Nowel*, and Seven others. *

* *Troubles at* Franckfort *page* 160. & deinceps.

And now the Engliſh at *Geneva* return'd home, excepting ſome few who ſtayed behind to finiſh their Tranſlation of the Bible. They had already made a Verſion of the *Pſalms*, which they publiſh'd by it ſelf, and dedicated to the Queen.

The Parliament meets.

On the Twenty Fifth the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord *Keeper*, open'd the *Seſſion* with a Speech: His Diſcourſe ſuggeſting to the *Houſes* the matter upon which they were to go, was rang'd under Three Heads; Religion, redreſſing Grievances, and reforming the Adminiſtration: And laſtly, they were to conſider the State of the Kingdom; The Diſadvantages lately happening to the *Crown*, and conſult about proper Remedies. I ſhall wave the Two latter Branches, and only give the Reader the Senſe of the Firſt. “ And here the “ Lord *Keeper* acquaints the *Houſes*, that the Ho- “ nour of God Almighty was the Queens prin- “ cipal Concern: That this ought to have the “ Preference in their Debates: That Religion “ was the ſureſt *Baſis* for the Support of the “ Common-wealth: That the Civil Admi- “ niſtration ought to take its Meaſures from “ hence: And this World be govern'd upon “ the Views of the other. That a Diſcharge

The Lord Keepers Speech concerning Religion.

“of Duty in this particular would derive Succeſs upon all the reſt: But Remiſsneſs and Negligence here, muſt have an unfortunate Effect upon other Proviſions. For not being ſettled upon Strength and Clearneſs of Principle, they muſt of courſe be expos'd to Queſtion and Change: Now theſe are Circumſtances which bring Diſcredit upon a publick Eſtabliſhment: And ought to be particularly avoided in matters of Faith and Religion: For theſe Things as they are certain and ſettled in themſelves, ſo we ought to be uniform and conſtant in our Belief and Practice.

“Her Highneſs therefore, continues the Lord *Keeper*, earneſtly requires you, that in Regard to the Duty you owe to God and her Majeſty; the Concern you have for your Country and your ſelves, you would recollect your Thoughts, and exert your Endeavours. That you would ſpare no Pains for the eſtabliſhing that which after your utmoſt Enquiry ſhall be judg'd moſt ſerviceable: And that in managing this Debate, no Conſiderations of Superiority or Power, of Intereſt or Pleaſure: No Oſtentation of Learning, no Conteſt for Victory, may prevail upon you: And to this purpoſe, her Majeſty expects you ſhould decline ſquabbling, Heat of Diſputation, and Scholaſtick Arguing: That ſuch Niceties, and Methods of Contention, are below the Dignity of the Subject, and unbecoming a Parliamentary Aſſembly. Beſides, there is a great deal of Time unneceſſarily ſpent this way: And when Men harangue and wrangle to ſhew their Parts, they ſeldom agree in any ſerviceable Reſolves: And as your own Debates ought to be govern'd by Temper, Gravity, and good Humour; ſo 'tis proper ſome publick Proviſion ſhould be made to check Contention and contumelious Behaviour *without Doors*; And that no Party Language, no Terms of Reproach, no provoking Diſtinctions, ſhould be kept up in the Kingdom. That the Names of Heretick, Schiſmatick, Papiſt, and ſuch like ſhould be layed aſide, and forgotten. For what do theſe Diſcriminations tend to, unleſs it be to perpetuate Diviſions, to encourage Faction, to enflame Mens Spirits, and make them hate and do Miſchief to each other?

“In the Management of this Affair touching Religion, Two Extremes are to be carefully avoided: On the one Hand, there muſt be a Guard againſt unlawful Worſhip and Superſtition: And on the other, Things muſt not be left under ſuch a looſe Regulation, as to occaſion Indifferency in Religion, and Contempt of Holy Things. The Exemplary Puniſhment of undue Worſhip and Superſtition, and eſpecially of Atheiſm and Immorality, is clear from the Hiſtory of all Ages, and needs not be particularly recited: And the Bleſſings of Providence are no leſs remarkable on the contrary Practice. And for your farther Encouragement, I think I may affirm, that neither good King *Hezekiah*, nor the noble Queen *Eſther* had a ſtronger Zeal to diſcharge Error, and reform what's amiſs, than our Soveraign Lady has to recommend herſelf to the Approbation of God Almighty. Let therefore the Conſideration of our Duty to God, the Terror of his Judgments, the Senſe of his Goodneſs, the Love to our Country and our ſelves, and the Encouragement of ſo inviting an Example in the Queen, put us upon our beſt Endeavours for providing ſuch Laws as may tend to the Honour of God, the Settlement of his Church, and the Repoſe of the Kingdom. And this was the Cloſe of the Lord *Keepers* Speech concerning Religion. (*b*)

Sir Simon D'ewes *Journal. of both Houſes of the Parliament. page* 12.

The *Convocation* met the next Day after the Parliament: After a *Maſs* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* open'd the *Meeting* with a ſhort Diſcourſe. For in the Vacancy of the *See* of *Canterbury* the Biſhop of *London* was commonly Preſident of the *Convocation*.

Journal of Convoc. Fol. 53. & 97.

But this Poſt was not annex'd to the *See* of *London* by common Right, but by the Choice of the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*: For in caſe a *Convocation* meets when the *See* of *Canterbury* happens to be void, the Prior and Convent formerly, but ſince the *Reformation* the Dean and Chapter direct a Commiſſion to ſome Biſhop to repreſent them; for being beneath an Epiſcopal Character, they are unqualified to preſide in Perſon in the upper Houſe: They commonly make the Biſhop of *London* their Repreſentative upon ſuch occaſions: They have the Liberty notwithſtanding of pitching upon any other; And thus in the *Convocation* held in the year 1532. When the *See* of *Canterbury* was void by the Death of Archbiſhop *Warrham*, the Prior and Convent choſe the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* for their Commiſſioner, who upon the Strength of this Repreſentation preſided in the *Convocation*. Farther, they are not tied to the Nomination of a ſingle Biſhop, but may join Two or Three in the Inſtrument for this purpoſe: And thus it happen'd at preſent. The Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Coventry* being join'd in Commiſſion with *Bonner*.

This Prelate told them, that notwithſtanding a Latin Sermon had been cuſtomary upon ſuch occaſions, yet now 'twas not to be expected. The chief Reaſon was, becauſe the *Council* had forbidden any Sermons in that Church, 'till farther Order from her Majeſty. *Nicholas Harpsfield* Doctor of Law, and Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, was choſen *Prolocutor*.

Feb. 11. 1558.

By the way, this *Harpsfield* had been lately complain'd of to the *Council* for mutinous Behaviour and Diſaffection to the Government: Upon this the *Board* wrote to Sir *Thomas Finch* and *George May* Aderman of *Canterbury*, to enquire into the matter, acquainting them farther, that ſome of the College of *Chriſt Church* were reported to have thrown out menacing Words, declared Religion ſhould not be alter'd, and provided Arms for that purpoſe. The Truth of theſe Reports *Finch* and *May* are requir'd to examine, and commit ſuch Perſons as they thought deſerv'd it. But ſince *Harpsfield* had his Liberty, it may be the Evidence was ſhort, or the Information over flouriſh'd. *

To return, the only remarkable Buſineſs done by this *Convocation* was the drawing up certain *Articles* in defence of the Religion eſtabliſh'd. This Paper was couch'd by way of Addreſs to the Biſhops, who were to lay it before the Lords in Parliament. The Subſtance of it is to this Effect.

The lower Houſe of Convocations Articles deliver'd to the Biſhops.

They acquaint the Biſhops, that being inform'd by publick Fame, that many Points of

---

* *Council* Book Bib. Robt. Harley Armig. Feb. 28. 1558.

Religion, hitherto unanimouſly receiv'd by the whole Church, and handed down without Interruption from the Apoſtles, were now call'd in Queſtion, and particularly the Articles underwritten; for this reaſon, they thought themſelves concern'd to provide in the beſt manner they could, for the Salvation both of themſelves, and the People committed to their Charge. Therefore being ſupported with the Precedent of their Predeceſſors upon a reſembling occaſion, they thought themſelves oblig'd to publiſh their Belief of the following *Articles*, appealing to God in the moſt ſolemn manner for the Sincerity of their Declaration.

Firſt, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, by Virtue of the Words of Conſecration duly pronounc'd by the Prieſt, the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt conceiv'd of the Bleſſed Virgin, are really preſent under the Species of Bread and Wine.

Secondly, That after Conſecration the Subſtance of Bread and Wine does not remain, nor any other Subſtance, excepting that of God and Man.

Thirdly, That the true or real Body of Chriſt, and his real Blood, * is offer'd in the Maſs, as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead.

* Verum Chriſti Corpus & verus ejuſdem Sanguis. *Journal Convoc. Fol.* 99.

Fourthly, That the ſupreme Power of feeding and governing the Church Militant, and confirming their Brethren, is given to the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, and his lawful Succeſſors in the Apoſtolick See, who repreſent our Saviour for this purpoſe.

Fifthly, That an Authority for debating and ſettling thoſe Things which belong to Faith, the Sacraments, and Diſcipline of the Church, is a Privilege which always has, and ought to belong to the Hierarchy, and not to the Laity; the Holy Spirit having given a Commiſſion to the former for theſe Functions.

Theſe Articles being put into Biſhop *Bonners* Hand, were preſented by him to the Lord *Keeper Bacon*: And in the next *Seſſion*, *Bonner* acquainted the lower Houſe of Convocation, that an Inſtrument was ſent up from both the Univerſities, atteſted by a publick Notary, in which the Articles were all ſubſcrib'd, excepting the laſt. (*c*)

(c) Liber Synod. Anno Dom. 1559. *Journal Convoc.* ibid.

A Diſputation between the Papiſts and Proteſtants at Weſtminſter.

All the Effect this *Declaration* had with the Houſe of Lords and the Queen, was the bringing on a Diſputation between the Roman Catholicks and the *Reform'd*. This *Conference* was by the Queens Order began on the Thirty Firſt of *March* in the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*. The Archbiſhop of *York* being one of the *Council*, was requir'd in her Majeſties Name, to intimate her Pleaſure to ſome of the Biſhops: And to make choice of Eight, Nine or Ten of their own Party, to manage a Diſpute with an equal Number of the other Perſwaſion. Archbiſhop *Heath* and the other Biſhops conſented to the Motion, and the Points propos'd to be argued. Upon this at the Queens inſtance 'twas mutually agreed, that to prevent wrangling, the Debate ſhould be manag'd in Writing: That the Biſhops being Perſons of the beſt Quality, ſhould give in their Papers in the Firſt Place: And that the other Party ſhould return them their Anſwer in Writing the ſame Day: That the Papers which were mutually exchang'd one Day, ſhould be reciprocally anſwer'd another. And that this Method ſhould be kept 'till they had gone through all the *Articles*. And becauſe the Iſſue of this Diſpute might give ſome meaſures to the Parliament, the Lords deſir'd the Papers might be pen'd in Engliſh. This Motion was likewiſe agreed by the Biſhops, and the *Reform'd*. And thus the Preliminaries being all ſettled, the Conference began at the Time and Place above-mention'd; the *Privy Council*, a great Part of the Nobility, and ſome of the Houſe of Commons, being preſent. (*d*)

(d) *Paper Office* D'Ewes *Journal.*

The Perſons made choice of to engage in the Controverſy were theſe. For the Roman Catholicks, *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Bayn* Biſhop of *Litchfield*, *Scott* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Cole* Dean of St. *Pauls*, Dr. *Harpſfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Chadſey* Prebendary of St. *Pauls*, and Dr. *Langdale* Archdeacon of *Lewis*.

Thoſe for the *Reformation*, were Dr. *Scorey* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Cox* late Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Mr. *Horn* late Dean of *Durham*, Mr. *Elmer* late Archdeacon of *Stow*, Mr. *Whitehead*, Mr. *Grindal*, Mr. *Gueſt*, and Mr. *Jewel*. The Points to be argued were theſe Three?

The Queſtions.

Firſt, whether 'tis againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Antient Church, to officiate, and adminiſter the Sacraments, in a Language unknown to the People. Secondly, *whether every Church has Authority to appoint, to change, or ſet aſide, Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſtical Rites, provided the ſame be done to Edification.* Thirdly, *whether it can be proved by the Word of God, that there is offer'd in the Maſs a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead.* The Papiſts were to defend the Negative of the firſt, and the Affirmative of the laſt Queſtion, and the Proteſtants were to make good the Affirmative of the Second.

And that the Diſputation might be manag'd in Form, and the Order obſerv'd, the Lord *Keeper* took the *Chair*: Not that he had any Commiſſion from the Queen to determine between the Parties, or over-rule any Point in the Controverſy.

Notwithſtanding Things had been thus thoroughly adjuſted, the Biſhops broke the Method, and came unprovided with their Paper; they pretended they had miſtaken the Agreement. However, they were prepar'd, they ſaid to argue the firſt Propoſition by word of Mouth. The Lord *Keeper* after a Reprimand for departing from their Preliminaries, gave them the Liberty to proceed in their own way, they having promiſ'd to put their Arguments in Writing afterwards, and deliver them to the other Party.

Dr. Cole *argues for the Biſhops*, &c.

Matters being thus far recover'd, the *Papiſts* appointed Dr. Cole to repreſent them, and deliver their Senſe upon the firſt Queſtion. This Doctor diſcharg'd his Commiſſion ſometimes by ſpeaking off hand, as 'twas pretended, ſometimes by reading Authorities out of a Paper, and ſometimes he ſpoke what was prompted by his Party: But what he deliver'd does not appear. For 'tis plain his Argument upon the firſt Queſtion, preſerv'd in *Bennet* College Library, was not his firſt Diſcourſe, but a Reply to *Hornes* Paper: This is evident from *Coles* Speech introductive to his Argument: His Words are theſe.

“ Moſt Honourable.

“ That whereas theſe Men here preſent, have declar'd here openly, that it is repugnant and contrary to the Word of God, to have the Common Prayers and Miniſtration of the Sacraments in Latin here in *England*;

“ *England*; That all ſuch Common-Prayer,
“ and Miniſtration ought to be, and remain
“ in the Engliſh Tongue. Ye ſhall under-
“ ſtand that to prove this their Aſſertion, they
“ have brought in as yet, only one Place of
“ Scripture taken out of St. *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle
“ to the *Corinthians*, Chapter the Fourteenth,
“ with certain other Places of the holy Do-
“ ctors; where unto Anſwer is not now to be
“ made: But when the Book which they
“ Read, ſhall be deliver'd unto us, according
“ to the Appointment made in that behalf,
“ then God willing, we ſhall make Anſwer,
“ as well to the Scripture, as other Teſtimo-
“ nies, alledg'd by them, ſo all good Men
“ may evidently perceive and underſtand, the
“ ſame *Scripture* to be Miſconſtrued, and drawn
“ from the native and true Senſe.

From hence he proceeds to reply to *Hornes* Paper upon the firſt *Queſtion*. And here he Aſſerts, firſt, that *Divine Service*, in an unknown Tongue, is no contradiction to any plain Declaration of *Scripture*. And Secondly, ſuppoſing there were any plain Text againſt this Uſage, the conſtant Practiſe of the Church ought not to be Condemn'd. This bold Propoſition he endeavors to make good by the following Arguments.

His Reaſons for juſtifying the Church Service in a Language not underſtood by the People.

Firſt, he takes notice that notwithſtanding the keeping the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*, was expreſly commanded by God Almighty, yet the Church, without any Warrant from written *Revelation*, has chang'd the Feſtival to *Sunday*. That this Alteration having paſs'd all along without Scruple or Conteſt, is a good reaſon to rely on the Authority of the Church in other matters. He obſerves farther, that when our Saviour waſh'd his Diſciples Feet, he told them 'twas *for their Example; that they ſhould do as he had done.* Notwithſtanding which expreſs Words the Church had without breach of Duty, omitted the Imitation. And in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, the Practiſe of our Saviour mention'd in *Scripture* is not followed in every Circumſtance: For he celebrated this Myſtery after Supper. Now if a Man ſhould Quarrel the preſent Uſage, and inſiſt upon the *Inſtitution*, he may receive an Anſwer from St. *Auſtin*, who tells him, *it ſeem'd good to the Holy Ghoſt, that in Honour to ſo great a Sacrament, the Body of our Lord ſhould be receiv'd before any other Nouriſhment.* * From hence, his Inference is, that the Church is govern'd by the direction of the Holy Spirit; and that in Virtue of this Privilege, ſhe is impower'd to change a Cuſtom, even recommended by our Saviour himſelf. And that by our Saviour's Promiſe, the Authority of the *Primitive*, is continued down to the *preſent* Church. And upon this Ground the Church has barr'd the *Laity* receiving under both kinds, and pronounc'd thoſe Guilty of Hereſy, who affirm that *whole Chriſt* is not contain'd under either *Species*.

John 13. v. 15.

He reinforces his reaſoning from a Text in the *Acts*, where the *Council* of *Jeruſalem* Publiſh'd their Decree in theſe Words: *It ſeem'd good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burthen than theſe neceſſary things: That ye abſtain from Meat offer'd to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Fornication.* Here's a plain Precept from the Apoſtles, and other Perſons unqueſtionably inſpir'd, for abſtaining from *eating Blood*, no leſs than from other things, which are unalterably unlawful: And yet this Branch of the Decree has not been kept: The Church for many Ages has diſpens'd with the Command; neither is ſhe blam'd by the *Reform'd* for indulging this Latitude. To this he adds another Inſtance from the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, where 'tis ſaid the Chriſtians Sold their Eſtates, lodg'd the Purchaſe Mony with the Apoſtles, and *had all things common*: But this charitable Precedent was never reckn'd binding to ſucceeding Ages. From all theſe Inſtances, his Concluſion is, that ſuppoſing the *Proteſtants* had the *Scripture* on their ſide, in the caſe conteſted, ſuppoſing this, which He won't grant, yet ſince the Church is always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, her deciſions are no leſs to be regarded than thoſe of the Apoſtles. That this Aſſertion is a plain Conſequence of our Saviour's Promiſe, that the Holy Ghoſt *ſhould teach his Diſciples all things, and guide them into all Truth; and that himſelf would be with his Church to the World's End.* To this purpoſe, he Cites a Paſſage from St. *Auſtin*, † where 'tis ſaid, “ that tho' the Church tolerates a great many things, yet ſhe neither “ Approves, nor Connives at, nor Practiſes, any thing contrary to Faith, or moral “ Duty.

Acts 15. v. 28.

After this Attempt to Eſtabliſh the Catholick Church in this extent of Authority, his next Effort is, to prove the *See* of *Rome* the Seat of this Authority, and the Center of Unity: But for this he offers nothing but the Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, where that Church, or probably the City of *Rome*, is call'd *Potentior Principalitas*.

From hence he proceeds to ſhew the danger of Schiſm, that St. *Paul* conjures the *Corinthians*, *that they all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no Diviſions amongſt them*: That neither Knowledge, Faith, good Works, nor Martyrdom it ſelf, will ſignify any thing to thoſe who are out of the Communion of the Church: For, as St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks, *let a Man's Pretenſions be what they will, whoever is ſeparated from the Church of Chriſt, can be no Chriſtian.* From hence *Cole* argues, that the tranſlating the Common Prayer into the Mother Tongue, is a breach upon the Cuſtom of the Univerſal Church: And that ſuch an Alteration muſt of neceſſity be introductive of an horrible Schiſm.

His next Eſſay is, to prove that Prayers in an unknown Language, has been all along the Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Church. And here by a common miſtake he makes *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, the firſt Preacher of Chriſtianity in *France*: He mentions *Martialis*, and *Auſtin* the Monk, for the Converſion of the Spaniards and Saxons: He takes notice of the Britains and Germans being brought over to the Belief of the *Goſpel*: But when he comes to make out his Point, that the *Service* was perform'd in theſe Churches, in a Language not underſtood by the People, he offers nothing but the Silence of Hiſtorians. However, to give ſomething of the Face of an Argument, he affirms the *Proteſtants* can never prove the *Church-ſervice* in the vulgar Tongue was generally Practis'd, either with reſpect to Place, or Time. From hence he proceeds to argue from the Permanency of the *Latin*: That the Phraſe and Conſtruction of this Language keeps ſteady and fix'd; whereas the reſt ſpoken by the common People, are ſtrangely floating and uncertain: Inſomuch, that one Age is ſcarcely intelligible to another. Now if the Church *Liturgy* ſhould be always

Reform'd

* In Os Chriſtiani hominis priùs intret Corpus Dominicum quam exteri Cibi.

† Epiſt. ad Januar.

Reform'd to the Modern Style, and chang'd as often as Language wears, and Words grow out of Faſhion, ſuch frequent Alterations would leſſen the Veneration for holy Things, ſtrike off the Advantage of Antiquity, and diſſerve the Majeſty of Religion.

He endeavors to fortify his reaſoning, that the *Laity* amongſt the Jews were not permitted to enter, either the Holy of Holies, or the Body of the Temple: And yet the Prieſts officiated in the firſt, and the High Prieſt in the latter. That in the *Greek* Church, the Prieſt Conſecrates with the Curtains drawn before the Altar. *Cùm vela videris retrahi*, ſays St. *Chryſoſtome, tunc supernè Cœlum aperiri cogita.* That the People by not underſtanding the publick Prayer, have a better opportunity for their private Devotion, which would be diſturb'd if they ſhould nothing but attend to anſwer *Amen*: Beſides, in a great Church 'tis impoſſible for every Body to hear what the Prieſt ſays.

His next Effort is ſomewhat ſurprizing: He affirms, that if 'twere neceſſary to Officiate in the vulgar Tongue, it would follow that no Body could be the better for any Prayers, unleſs he underſtood them, and heard them when they were ſaid: From whence the Inference would be, that the Churches Prayers for St. *Peter* in Priſon, ſignified nothing: Each of which Conſequences, as he argues, are no leſs than Hereſy.

His laſt Topick is from the ill Tranſlation of the *Bible*. If we ſhould, ſays he, conſent to the *Engliſh-Service*, we muſt be oblig'd to King *Edward*'s *Common-Prayer-Book*: Now this Book conſiſts of Verſions of the *Pſalms*, and other Parts of the *Scripture*, in which are ſeveral plain Miſtakes and Deviations from the Original: Now this, continues he, is downright depraving the holy *Scriptures*: And if the *Liturgy* muſt be regulated upon this falſe Tranſlation, we may be ſaid to ſerve God with Lies.

We ought not therefore to alter the Form of the *Common-Prayer* to that degree, as to loſe the Benefit of all Devotion: And yet ſuch muſt be the Iſſue of this uncharitable Contention, unleſs our Adverſaries think fit to acquieſce. *The Church of God*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *has no ſuch Cuſtom* as they would bring upon us. And therefore we may put the Apoſtles Queſtion to them, *what? Came the Word of God out from you? Or came it to you only?* Has the whole Church of Chriſt been all along miſtaken, and never ſeen the Fourteenth Chapter of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*? Has the Holy Ghoſt laid down his Office, and diſcontinued *his leading* Chriſtians *into all Truth*, 'till now of late? St. *Auſtin* in his Letter to *Julianus* the *Pelagian*, who complain'd of hard Uſage in the *Eaſtern* Church, anſwers him thus: In my Opinion, ſays this "*Father*, you ought to have been determin'd "by that part of the World, in which our "Bleſſed Saviour Crown'd his Chief Apoſtle "with Martyrdom; and a little after, he tells "him; you had your firſt and ſecond Birth "in the Weſtern Church. What makes you "endeavor to bring in foreign Doctrine upon "her? Or rather, why would you take away "part of that Faith, which you found in her "at your Baptiſm? *(f)*

1 Cor. 11.

1 Cor. 14. v. 26.

(f) Auguſt. lib. 1. contra Julian.

Cole pretends, 'twas in their Power to cite a great many more Authorities, in which, the *Antients* declare ſtrongly againſt breaking the Unity, and diſturbing the Government of the Church: That this reaſoning would affect their Adverſaries: However, he was willing to wave this Advantage for fear of being tedious to the *Audience.* (l)

(l) Ex MSS. Coll. Cor. C. Cant.

That this was *Cole's* Second Diſcourſe for the reading of which, the Biſhops inſiſted ſo ſtrongly at the Second meeting for the *Conference*, (m) will appear farther by *Hornes Paper*, which I ſhall now ſubjoin.

(m) Fox vol. 3. p. 985.

Hornes Paper *for the Reform'd.*

This Divine by way of Preface declares a great regard for the Authority of the Catholick Church: And that they profeſs'd an entire Submiſſion to all the Articles of the *Apoſtolical, Nicene*, and *Athanaſian* Creeds: That they are willing to refer the whole Controverſy to the Holy *Scriptures* and the Catholick Church. But then by the Catholick Church, they don't underſtand the Church of *Rome*, but that Body of Chriſtians which can prove her Title to Catholiciſm from the *Scriptures*, and is under the Directions of the Holy Spirit: And that they have the Warrant of St. *Auſtin*, and other *Fathers*, to reſtrain the Catholick Church to this Notion. *(n)*

(n) Fox vol. 3. p. 981.

From hence he proceeds to State the Queſtion: And firſt, that by the Word of God, the *Proteſtants* mean only the *Written* Word, or Canonical *Scriptures*. And ſecondly, by the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, they underſtand the general Practiſe of the Church for the firſt Five *Centuries*.

The Common-Prayer in an unknown Language, contrary to the Scriptures.

His firſt undertaking is to prove *Common-Prayer* in an unknown Language, contrary to the Word of God. And upon this Head he argues at length, and with ſufficient Force from 1 *Cor.* 14. But I ſhall omit the recital of his reaſoning, and refer the *Reader* to what I have offer'd already in defence of the Engliſh *Liturgy*. *(o)* However, I ſhall mention one Text cited by *Horn* from this *Chapter*: *I will pray by the Spirit, and I will pray with the Underſtanding alſo.* From hence he argues that Common-Prayer in the notion of it, Imports the joint Petitions of the Congregation, declar'd by their Language. That this Definition is approv'd by St. *Auſtin.* (p) There would be no need, ſays he, of forming our Prayers into Words, unleſs to diſcover the Mind of the Underſtanding to the People. *

(o) *See Reign of* Edward *the Sixth.*

(p) De Magiſtro Cap. 1.

* Nihil opus eſt locutione, niſi ut fortè ſacerdotes faciant ſignificandæ Mentis cauſâ, ut populus Intelligat.

The Miniſtration, as he goes on, of the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, are as it were Sermons upon the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt: But Sermons, or Repreſentations, muſt be made in intelligible Language, otherwiſe they are to no purpoſe. 'Tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to abuſe the Gifts of God: But he that Prays in an unknown Language, is Guilty of this Miſmanagement; for the uſe of Speech is only to Communicate Thoughts, and diſcover the Mind to the Hearer. (q) He fortifies his reaſoning from the Practiſe of the Heathen, and the Suggeſtions of natural Light; and obſerves that the *Pagans* in all Countries, tho' never ſo much uncultivated, tho' never ſo ſlenderly improv'd, put up their Prayers to their Deities, and perform their religious Solemnities, in the vulgar Language.

(q) Auguſt. de Doctrin. Chriſtian. lib. 4. Cap. 10. loquendi autem nulla eſt Cauſa, ſi quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.

The Second Part of his Aſſertion, is to prove Prayers in an unknown Tongue, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Primitive* Church.

And to the Practiſe of the Primitive Church. Juſtin Martyr Apol. 1.

He begins with *Juſtin Martyr*'s Apology: Where this *Father* giving an Account of the Chriſtian Worſhip to the Roman Emperors, acquaints them that at their Aſſemblies on *Sundays*, the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets us'd to be Read: That after Sermon they all ſtood up and Pray'd: And that when the Biſhop officiated in the *Communion-ſervice*, the People all anſwer'd *Amen*. From hence 'tis evident the *Scriptures* were Read in the vulgar Language: And that the *Liturgy* was underſtood by the People, otherwiſe which way, as the Apoſtle argues, could they be qualified to ſay *Amen*. (*r*)

(r) 1 Cor. 14. *v.* 16.

This Cuſtom may be farther trac'd in St. *Baſils*, and St. *Chryſoſtome's Liturgies*, where the People have a ſhare in the *Service*. For inſtance, they anſwer, *Lord have Mercy upon Us: And with thy Spirit: We lift them up unto the Lord, &c.* Now which way could they make theſe *Reſponſes*, or adjuſt them to the Time, unleſs the publick Form was drawn up in the common Language? Farther, St. *Baſil* in his Letter to the Clergy of *Neo-Cæſarea*, endeavors to take off ſome Objections againſt the *Pſalmody* us'd in his Church: And having premis'd that their Practiſe in this particular was Uniform and General, takes notice, that the People at Church, after having made their Confeſſion to God, threw themſelves into Two Diviſions, and Sung the Pſalms alternatively. (*s*)

(s) Baſil. Epiſt. 63.

To theſe Authorities he adds farther Teſtimonies from St. *Ambroſe*, on the Fourteenth of the firſt to the *Corinthians*; from St *Jerome* on theſe Words of the ſame *Chapter*, *How ſhall he that Occupies the Room of the unlearned, ſay Amen?* From the ſame Father in the end of his Comment on the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; from St *Chryſoſtome* on 1 *Cor.* cap. 14. From *Dyoniſius*, from St. *Cyprian*, and St. *Auſtin*. (*t*) To theſe the Teſtimony of *Juſtinian* is ſubjoin'd, where the Emperor commands all Biſhops and Prieſts to pronounce the *Liturgick* Prayers, and the Office for Baptiſm, with a loud Voice, that the People may hear, and be aſſiſted in their Devotions: which Benefit they can't have, as the Emperor continues, unleſs they underſtand what is ſaid: And here he founds himſelf upon the Apoſtles reaſoning, and argues from the Fourteenth of the *Corinthians* already mention'd. (*u*)

Verſe 16.

(t) Cyprian Serm. de Oratione Dominic. Auguſt in Pſalm. 18. & de Magiſtro.

(u) Novell. Conſtitut. 113.

When *Horn* had thus Read thro' his Paper, the *Audience* ſeem'd to diſcover their Satiſfaction, and give a Preference to his Argument: Upon which the Biſhops alledg'd they had more to offer upon the firſt *Queſtion*. This was contradicting their former Anſwer: For when *Cole* had ended his firſt Diſcourſe, the Privy Council asking them if they had any thing to ſay farther upon that Head, they anſwer'd no. (*w*) Notwithſtanding, to take off all pretences of Complaint, the *Conference* was adjourn'd 'till *Monday* following, and the Biſhops were order'd to bring in their *Paper* to the Second Propoſition, with a promiſe that what they had farther prepar'd upon the firſt *Queſtion*, ſhould likewiſe be heard: And to this both Parties agreed. (*x*) But when the Day came, the Biſhops inſiſting upon their reading the Supplemental Paper to the firſt Queſtion, and refuſing to abide by the laſt Compromiſe, the *Conference* after ſome ſquabble broke up. *White* and *Watſon* Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, ſhewing more heat than the reſt, and miſbehaving themſelves to a remarkable degree, were committed to the *Tower*, and Fin'd. The reſt were bound in a Recognizance to appear before the *Council*, where moſt of them were deeply Fin'd.

Fox *p.* 981. & deinc.

The Biſhops refuſe to ſtand to the Order agreed.

(w) *Paper Office.*

(x) Fox *p.* 985.

Paper Office.

The Biſhops thus declining to go on with the Controverſy, and falling off from their own Appointment, look'd like deſpairing of keeping their Ground, and being conſcious of an ill Cauſe. However, they pretended themſelves ſtreitn'd in time: That 'twas beneath their Character to go through a Diſputation of this kind, where *Bacon*, a mere Lay-man, was to ſit as Judge: That the Points to be argued had been already determin'd by the Catholick Church, and therefore were not to be farther debated, without leave from the Pope. Theſe Objections being made after the Method of the *Conference* was mutually ſettled, were accounted no better than trifling and evaſion. Particularly; their exception againſt the Preſidency of the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, ſeems to have little Weight: For 'twas no uncuſtomary Practiſe for the Chriſtian Emperors, to appoint Secular Men of Diſtinction, to interpoſe ſo far in Eccleſiaſtical Synods, as to keep good Order in the Debates, to hold the Parties cloſe to the Queſtion, and prevent their flying out into cavilling, and foreign Diſcourſe; and of this, to mention nothing more, we have Inſtances in the general *Councils* of *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*. *Sanders* in reporting this *Conference* commends ſome of the Biſhops for their Magnanimity, and informs us of their Reſolution to Excommunicate the Queen, and the leading Hereticks: But it ſeems the other Biſhops were wiſer, or more tame at leaſt, then to venture on ſo rugged an Expedient. They choſe rather to refer the exerciſe of Diſcipline to the Pope, than exert ſuch a Cenſure upon their Sovereign: They thought ſuch extreme Proceedings might be miſinterpreted, and carried too far in the Conſequence: And over and above, they might exaſperate the Government this way, and draw a Perſecution upon their whole Party. *White* and *Watſon* were the warm Prelates who threatn'd the Queen with Excommunication, which was the reaſon of their Commitment to the *Tower*. (*y*)

Which Occaſions the breaking off the Conference.

(y) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic. lib. 3.

As the *Reform'd* Divines kept cloſe to the conditions of the *Conference*, and came off with advantage upon the firſt Queſtion, ſo they were likewiſe no leſs prepared for the *Second*. I ſhall give the *Reader* part of the ſubſtance of it. The Propoſition is this: *Every particular Church has Authority to inſtitute, change, or ſet aſide Rites and Ceremonies, provided 'tis done to Edification.*

The Paper drawn up by the Reform'd Divines upon the Second Queſtion of the Conference.

Before they proceed to their Proof, they ſettle the Terms of the Queſtion. “ And firſt *by every particular Church*, they mean every Kingdom, Province, or Country, which is form'd into a diſtinct *Society*. By *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church, they underſtand ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as are neither expreſly, nor by neceſſary conſequence forbidden by the *Scriptures*.

“ To make good their Aſſertion, they obſerve in the firſt Place, that *Rites* and *Ceremonies* under the State laſt mention'd, are things which relate to Order and Decency. But matters of this nature are by the Apoſtle St. *Paul* referr'd to the Management of the particular Church of *Corinth*, and by conſequence to all other particular Churches; For the *Corinthians* had no pretences to ſpecial Privilege.

“ Secondly; thoſe Uſages which were ſerviceable at the firſt Inſtitution, may afterwards grow dangerous and inconvenient. For this reaſon the meeting of Men and Women at the Tombs of the Martyrs, on the *Vigils*, was forbidden, and diſcontinued, tho' very much commended by St. *Jerome*.

“ To ſtay for General *Councils* for removing diſorders, and bringing things to a proper regulation, is ſometimes too ſlow a Remedy: For inſtance, the Church was govern'd for near Three Hundred Years before the firſt Oecumenical *Synod* at *Nice*. And ſince that time there have been long intermiſſions of ſuch General Aſſemblies. Now if particular Churches are not impower'd to ſuppreſs Superſtition, and diſcharge ſuch Ceremonies as lead to unlawful Practiſe, a great number of Souls might miſcarry before the Biſhops from all parts could be drawn together.

“ Thirdly; *Aretus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* and *Primaſius* Biſhop of *Utica* teach us, that the Seven Churches in *Aſia* mention'd in the *Revelations*, repreſent all other particular Churches in the reſt of Chriſtendom: From whence it follows, that the Biſhops and Paſtors of every Kingdom and Province were to have the ſame Authoriry with thoſe who preſided in the Seven Aſiatick Churches. But the *Angels* or Biſhops of theſe Seven Churches had Authority to reform what was amiſs, as appears by the Orders St. *John* was commanded to ſend them.

Revel. *Cap.* 1.

“ Fourthly; if a particular Church was tied down to immoral or enſnaring Rites and Ceremonies of human Inſtitution, and had no Authority to ſet aſide an ill Cuſtom; then ſuch a Church would be oblig'd *to obey Man rather than God, and not to do every thing to Edification*, which is a direct Contradiction to the Holy *Scriptures*.

“ That when circumſtances change, things decline from their firſt Condition, and Cuſtoms ſuffer upon the Progreſs, common Senſe ſuggeſts Reformation, and directs to a ſtop of the Miſchief: To apply this reaſoning, 'tis not likely a wicked Ceremony ſhould ſpread to an univerſal Extent, and grow into a general Abuſe, all at once: Now as the Contagion is particular as to Place, the Cure ought to be ſo too. And if the Corruption happens to grow general, St. *Auſtins* Rule muſt govern for the Remedy. A good Husbandman, ſays this *Father*, when he ſees his Corn choaked with Weeds, does not attempt the pulling them out all together, but begins firſt at one Corner of the Field.

“ If 'tis objected that the Ceremonies of Holy Church are privileg'd from Danger and Miſapplication: To this it may be return'd, that the Inſtitutions of Men, like their Nature, are ſubject to change and degeneracy.

“ To give an inſtance of a Ceremony which one would have thought had been fenc'd better than Ordinary. The *Brazen Serpent* was ſet up by *Moſes* for an Antidote againſt Poiſon. But even this was afterwards abus'd to Idolatry, for which Reaſon King *Hezekiah* beat it to Powder. Thus Ceremonies are ſometimes honour'd with Exceſs of Applications, and made Eſſential to Divine Worſhip. And in ſuch Caſes our Saviour pronounces, *In vain do they Worſhip me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*.

“ Sometimes they grow too Bulky for uſe, and multiply to an intolerable Number. St. *Auſtin* complains of this Grievance. *All*, ſays he, *is over-run with human Fancies*. * The Jews under the Law, as this Father goes on, were in a better Condition than the Chriſtians: For tho' they had none of the Privilege of Evangelick Liberty, yet their Servitude was more honourable: The Burthen was layed upon them by God Almighty, and not by any human Invention.

* Omnia ſunt plena humanis Præſumptionibus.

“ Sometimes they are altogether Idle and Uninſtructive, and as one may ſay, Signs without Signification. And this is the Caſe of moſt of the Ceremonies ſo warmly conteſted for at preſent. And ſometimes they are contriv'd purely to make a Penny of the People.

“ Farther; the Apoſtles Authority is deriv'd upon after Ages, and convey'd to the Biſhops their Succeſſors. This muſt be granted by the Roman Catholicks; with what Colour elſe can they preſs Obedience to the Pope's Decrees? Beſides, St. *Jerome* is full for the Point. (z) And St. *Cyprian* makes no Scruple to affirm that the Apoſtles were all equal to St. *Peter* by their Commiſſion. * From whence it follows, that all Biſhops have the ſame Authority for ordering things to Edification.

(z) Hier. ad Evag.

* Hoc utiq; erant cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi,& Honoris & Poteſtatis. Cyprian. de unitat. Eccleſ.

“ And that particular Churches in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity made uſe of this Liberty touching Ceremonies, is evident by variety of Precedents. For the purpoſe; *Ireneus* ſpeaking of the *Lenten Faſt* obſerves, that the Chriſtians did not only differ about the Time, but the Manner: That notwithſtanding this Difference, the Churches kept a good Correſpondence with each other. (a) *Socrates* has a remarkable Diſcourſe upon this Subject. This Hiſtorian affirms, that neither the Apoſtles nor the Goſpel oblig'd to Uniformity in theſe Matters. That the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches kept *Eaſter* on different Days. That this Diverſity did not hinder St. *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, and *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome* from Communicating together: That at *Rome* they Faſt Three Weeks before *Eaſter* excepting *Sunday*: That in *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and *Alexandria* they lengthen their Abſtinence to Six Weeks: And all of them notwithſtanding call it a Quadrageſimal Faſt. The Churches differ likewiſe in other Circumſtances of their Abſtinence. For ſome refuſe Eating any Animals, others make no ſcruple of Fiſh-diet: And a third ſort take the Liberty of feeding both upon Fiſh and Fowl, becauſe they were created out of the ſame Element. Some abſtain from Eggs and all ſort of Fruit: Some eat nothing but dry Bread, and ſome wont venture ſo far as that neither: And in fine, ſome Faſt till three in the Afternoon, and then refreſh themſelves with any ſort of Nouriſhment without diſtinction. And ſince there's no poſitive Precept to determine this Point, 'tis plain the Apoſtles have left every Body to their own Diſcretion. That their ſelf denial being thus at Liberty might have more Commendation in it. (b) The *Hiſtorian* proceeds to Inſtance in other dif-

(a) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ.

(b) Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 5. Cap. 22.

ferent uſages touching the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm and the Holy Euchariſt, the Marriage of the Clergy, *&c.*

“As to the point of Faſting, St. *Auſtins* reaſoning falls in with that of *Socrates*: He grants Faſting is commanded in the *New Teſtament*: But in regard the Days on which we are to Faſt, are not preſcrib'd by our Saviour, or the Apoſtles, he thinks it more convenient this matter ſhould go at large. (c) *Theodoret*'s Comment upon theſe Words in the Fourteenth to the *Romans*, *Let every Man be fully perſwaded in his own Mind* is urg'd to the ſame purpoſe.

“Farther; a Church that has the liberty to receive a Ceremony or not, at firſt, has the ſame liberty to diſcharge it, when 'tis found inconvenient: But every Church has this Liberty; for as St. *Auſtin* writes, to *Januarius*, *whatever is neither Repugnant to Faith or good Manners, is to be look'd on as an indifferent Matter.* “Now if it lies at the choice of particular Churches, to admit or reject an indifferent Ceremony, 'twill be ſtill more reaſonable to grant them a Power to thro' it out, when they find it Blemiſh'd, and grown out of Kind.

“When 'twas objected to St. *Cyprian*, that no Tradition ought to be alter'd, the Martyr replies, whence came this *Tradition* at firſt? Does it ſtand upon any Divine Authority? Was it commanded by our Lord or his Apoſtles, and do we find it in the Canon of the New Teſtament? (d) As much as to ſay, that if it was no more than human Conſtitution, 'twas not to be concluded unalterable. And elſewhere he allows, that changing things for the better, is a very reaſonable Inconſtancy.

“St. *Auſtin* has a remarkable Paſſage to this purpoſe. 'Tis not true, ſays he, which ſome Men pretend, that a thing once well done, muſt by no means be alter'd. For when the Ground of any Practice fails, and the Circumſtances of time are alter'd, we have all imaginable Reaſon to alter the Cuſtom too. (e)

Having now ſupported their Propoſition from *Scripture*, and the Teſtimony of the *Antients*, they proceed to Precedents in the Primitive Church. “They alledge St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtome*'s *Liturgies* were receiv'd without the Authority of a General *Council*: And if 'twas lawful for ſingle Biſhops to ſettle Liturgick Forms, and differ from other Churches in Ceremonies of the greateſt Weight, in Rites annex'd to the moſt ſolemn Part of Religion, how unreaſonable is it to deny the ſame Latitude to a whole Kingdom or Province? In St. *Gregory*'s time there were three *Canons* or Forms for the Adminiſtration of the Holy Euchariſt; the *Canon* of St. *Ambroſe*, the *Canon* of *Scholaſticus*, and the *Canon* of St. *Gregory*. At *Rome* every *Saturday* was a Faſt: But at *Milan* the Practice was otherwiſe: Now when St. *Auſtin* and his Mother liv'd at *Milan* they govern'd themſelves by St. *Ambroſe*'s Cuſtom, and kept no Faſt on *Saturdays*. Farther, St. *Ambroſe* brought in ſomewhat of the Alexandrian Cuſtom of *Pſalmody*, into the Church of *Milan*, as St. *Auſtin* relates in his *Confeſſions*. And as this celebrated Biſhop ſet up one uſage, he put down another. There was a Cuſtom in *Africk* and *Italy*, to bring Entertainments to the Tombs of the Martyrs when the Chriſtians met there: This St. *Ambroſe* look'd on as a heatheniſh Fancy; that it gave occaſion to Intemperance, and therefore ſuffer'd it to continue no longer. Thus *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſuppreſs'd the Office of a publick *Penitentiary*: And which is farther remarkable, this Function was not reviv'd by his Succeſſor St. *Chryſoſtome*.

“They make good their Aſſertion farther, from the Practiſe of our own Country. For the purpoſe; in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. many ſuperſtitious Doctrines and Ceremonies publickly countenanc'd, and long continued, were thrown out: Such as Pilgrimages, Stations, and Pardons, to which may be added many unaccountable Opinions touching Purgatory, Holy Water, *Scala Cæli*, and Maſſes for Cattel: Many Romantick Miracles, and viſionary Relations in the Saints Lives, were diſbeliev'd and diſcharg'd. And yet theſe things were once Eſtabliſh'd by pretended Catholick Authority: And are ſtill kept up in other Countries upon the ſame Ground. However, at the return of Popery in the late Reign, theſe groſs Errors and Corruptions in Practiſe, were not thought fit to be reviv'd.

They proceed to argue from the frequency of *Provincial Councils* in the firſt Ages of the Church: Now ſuch Aſſemblies were conven'd to no purpoſe, unleſs they had a Power for reforming what was amiſs. “They obſerve that ſeveral Heterodoxies relating to Marriage, to reſtraints in Diet, and the liberty of Slaves, were Condemn'd in the *Council* at *Gangra*, that the Hereſy of *Pelagius* was likewiſe cenſur'd in ſeveral provincial *Synods*, before the cauſe was brought to a General *Council*. Now Doctrine is matter of more Importance than Rites and Ceremonies. If therefore Provincial *Councils* have Authority to determine in the firſt Caſe, they muſt *à fortiori* be allow'd it in the latter. And thus, as was obſerv'd before, the Church for near Three Hundred Years was well govern'd with this Aſſiſtance; and had no publick Regulations but what were ſettled in provincial *Councils*. They urge the Fathers of the ſixth Council of *Carthage* check'd the Incroachment of the Biſhop of *Rome*; this Synod complain'd of his attempt to draw a Cauſe before them to his own Juriſdiction. They tell him the *Council* of *Nice* had very wiſely decreed, that all Diſputes ſhould be determin'd where they commenc'd; and that the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt would not be wanting to particular Provinces.

“Theſe Divines proceed to argue, that ſome diverſity in Ceremonies is more ſerviceable to the Church than a nice Uniformity. For by this means the indifferency of things is beſt diſtinguiſh'd, and the Church preſerv'd in her Liberty: And over and above, by this Latitude, the Ceremonies will not be overvalued by the ignorant People, nor ſtrein'd to an equality with what is commanded in *Holy Writ*.

(c) Auguſt. de Jejun. Sabbat. ad Caſulan.

(d) Cyprian. Epiſt. ad Pompiane.

(e) Auguſt. ad Marcell. in Cap. 5.

“As for the Uniformity now viſible in the Popiſh Churches, 'tis not of the higheſt Antiquity. Making all things thus of one Colour, was the Policy of latter Ages; 'twas a conſequence of the Pope's Uſurpation, and a ſtretch of his pretended Supremacy. And thus 'tis rather kept on for a Badge of Servitude, and a Recognition of the Roman Authority, than for any Edification.

They are ſenſible the force of General *Councils* may be objected againſt their Proof; But the diſcuſſion of this Queſtion requiring a long Diſcourſe, they promiſe to conſider it in their Reply to their *Adverſaries*. “And here they intend to diſentangle the difficulties of the Argument, and prove by ſufficient Authority, in what Points, and how far, Chriſtians are bound to acquieſce in General *Councils*.

“And whereas the Roman Catholicks inſiſt upon length of time, and Immemorial Poſſeſſion, they ſhould prove the matters conteſted defenſible, before they inſiſt on their Antiquity: For there's no preſcribing againſt the Word of God. For as St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks, cuſtom without Truth, is no better than antient Error. And laſtly, as to their Adverſaries pretence of *Poſſeſſion*, they think it foreign to the Controverſy, and no good Plea. For if they can't make good the Pope's univerſal Paſtorſhip from the Holy *Scriptures*, the Authority of their Church ſignifies nothing, and by conſequence their Poſſeſſion ſinks with it. Theſe Objections and any others offer'd they undertake to anſwer more at large when the Papers of the other Party ſhall be deliver'd. (*f*)

(f) *Mſs.* C. C. C. C. Synodal.

I ſhall now go back to the *Parliament*, and conſider the Proceedings there with Relation to the Church. As to the Lords Spiritual, none of them had Summons but ſuch as acted in the late Reign. Thoſe who were preſent, were *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, *White* of *Wincheſter*, *Pate* of *Worceſter*, *Kitchen* of *Landaff*, *Bayne* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Scot* of *Cheſter*, *Oglethorpe* of *Carliſle*, and *Feckenham* Lord Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. The Biſhops of *Durham*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, (now Ambaſſador) *Bath* and *Wells*, and St. *Davids* ſent their Proxies, the other *Sees* were vacant by Death.

An Act for the Reſtitution of Tenths, Firſt-fruits, &c.

The firſt *Bill* I ſhall mention, was for the Reſtitution of Tenths, firſt Fruits, and Parſonages Impropriate to the *Crown*, which Queen *Mary* out of her Piety had return'd to the Church. The *Bill*, as a motive to make it paſs, ſets forth the *Huge*, *Innumerable* and *Ineſtimable Charges of the Royal Eſtate*. “That the *Crown* deſcended to her Majeſty very much incumbred, and leſſen'd in the Revenues: And that the *Statute* of the Second and Third of *Philip* and *Mary* for the extinguiſhing Payment of Tenths, *&c.* was made to the great diſheriſon, and decay of the Eſtate Royal. From this *Preamble* the *Statute* goes on to repeal the Second and Third of *Philip* and *Mary* Cap. 4. And thus the Acts for the Payment of *Tenths* paſs'd in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. were reviv'd. By this *Act*, Vicaridges not exceeding the yearly Value of Ten Pounds in the King's Books, and Parſonages not exceeding Ten Marks, are exempted from the Payment of *Firſt-fruits*. The Grants, Liberties, and Immunities, made to the Univerſities by any of the Queen's Predeceſſors, together with the Grants and Privileges belonging to the Colleges of Eaton, *Wincheſter*, and St. *Georges Chappel* at *Windſor*, are likewiſe ſaved. To which may be added the Revenues of Hoſpitals and Schools which are alſo diſcharg'd from this Burthen. (*g*)

1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap. 4.

(g) 1. Eliz. Cap. 4.

The Biſhops all proteſted againſt this reannexing the *Tenths*, *&c.* to the *Crown*. But the Temporal Lords went with the *Bill nemine Contradicente*. This is ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering they were almoſt all of them the ſame *Members* which made the *Act* for returning theſe things to the Church in the late Reign. * However, the Preamble of this *Statute* complains the extinguiſhing the Payment of *Tenths*, *Firſt-fruits*, *&c.* was a *great Diſheriſon and Decay of the Eſtate Royal*. From hence the *Reader* may obſerve the miſfortune of ſome Junctures, and how neceſſitous the *Court* is at one time, more than another! King *Henry* VIII. was the firſt who made this Branch of the Churches Revenue, Parcel of his own. And yet as it happen'd, in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors for many Hundred Years, the Royal Grandeur was kept up, the Functions of Government carried on, and the publick Charge ſupported, without this remarkable Aſſiſtance.

* 2. & 3. Phil. & Mar. cap. 4.

March 22. $155\frac{8}{9}$. D'ewes Journal.

An Act for reſtoring Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the Crown.

The next Parliament buſineſs I ſhall mention is *the Supremacy Bill for reſtoring to the Crown the antient Juriſdiction over the State Eccleſiaſtical, and aboliſhing all foreign Power repugnant to the ſame.* By this Act ſuch Juriſdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, and Preeminences Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical, as by any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority, hath heretofore bin, or may lawfully be exercis'd or us'd, for the viſitation of the Eccleſiaſtical State and Perſons, and for Reformation, Order, and Correction of the ſame, and of all manner of Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities, ſhall for ever by Authority of this preſent Parliament, be United and Annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Then follows the Clauſe for impowering the Queen and her Succeſſors to erect the *High Commiſſion Court* for the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. And by this Branch the Queen and her Succeſſors are enabled to aſſign by Letters Patents under the *Great Seal*, ſuch Perſons, and for ſo long time as they ſhall think fit, (provided they are natural born Subjects) for the exerciſing under the Crown all manner of Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Particularly, by this *Act* the Commiſſioners are impower'd to Viſit, Reform, Redreſs, Order, Correct, and amend all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities whatſoever, which by any manner Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power, Authority, or Juriſdiction, can or may lawfully be Reform'd, Order'd, Redreſs'd, Corrected, Reſtrain'd or Amended, &c. (*h*)

(h) 1 Eliz. Cap. 1.

The Comprehenſive extent of this Statute.

Nothing can be more Comprehenſive than the Terms of this *Clauſe*. The whole compaſs of Church Diſcipline ſeems transferr'd upon the *Crown*. And thus by the Queen's *Letters Patents* paſs'd in the Eighteenth Year of her Reign, her Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners are authoriz'd to viſit, reform, correct, as well in Places exempt, as not exempt, all Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, *&c.* by Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, Deprivation, or otherwiſe. (*i*) And which is particularly remarkable, notwithſtanding the Queen and her Succeſſors, King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt, join'd Churchmen with others, in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, yet by this Branch of the *Statute* they are impower'd to have made Uſe, if they had ſo pleas'd, of none but *Lay-men.*

(i) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. 6. F. 2. *Fol.* 139.

For the better Maintenance of this *Act*, the Oath of Supremacy is annex'd. And here the Subject ſwears to defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminences and Authorities, granted, or belonging to the Queens Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Part of the Oath of Supremacy.

As to the Penalties for refuſing this *Oath*, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the *Statute Book.* 'Tis farther enacted, that if any Perſon ſhall by Writing or otherwiſe maintain, that any foreign Prince or Prelate has any Spiritual Juriſdiction within the Queens Dominions, he is to forfeit all his Goods and Chattels for the Firſt Offence: And over and above to ſuffer a Years Impriſonment, in caſe his Goods don't amount to the Value of Twenty Pounds. And if the Perſon offending was a Clergyman, he was to loſe all his Preferments. The Second Offence incurrs the Penalties of *Præmunire*: And the Third is made High Treaſon.

Penalties for maintaining any foreign ſpiritual Juriſdiction.

To proceed, by a *Proviſo* in this *Statute*, no manner of Order, Act, or Determination, for any matter of Religion, or Cauſe Eccleſiaſtical, had or made by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, ſhall be interpreted or adjudg'd to be any Error, Hereſy, or Schiſm.

And by the next *Proviſo*, 'tis enacted, that no Perſon, nor Perſons who ſhall be authoris'd by the Queen, her Heirs, or Succeſſors, to execute any Spiritual Juriſdiction, ſhall have any Authority or Power to determine or judge any Matter or Cauſe to be Hereſy, but only ſuch as heretofore had been determin'd, order'd, or adjudg'd to be Hereſy by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the Firſt Four General Councils, or any of them, or by any other General Council, wherein the ſame was declar'd Hereſy by the expreſs and plain Words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be order'd, judg'd, or determin'd to be Hereſy by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the Aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation: Any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Aſſent of the Convocation neceſſary for the determining Hereſy.

By this *Act* the following Statutes in the Reigns of *Henry* the Eighth and *Edward* the Sixth, are reviv'd. *viz.* 23. *H.* 8. *C.* 9. 24. *H.* 8. C. 12. 25. *H.* 8. againſt the Payment of Annates to the *See* of *Rome*. 25. *H.* 8. *C.* 19. 25. *H.* 8. *C.* 21. 26. *H.* 8. *C.* 14. 28. *H.* 8. *C.* 16. 32. *H.* 8. *C.* 28. 2. *Ed.* 6. *C.* 23. 37. *H.* 8. C. 17. 1 *Ed.* 6. *Cap.* 1. Four *Statutes* made or reviv'd in the late Reign are likewiſe repeal'd. *viz.* 1. *&* 2. *Phil. & Mar. Cap.* 6. 5. *R.* 2. C. 5. 2. *H.* 4. *Cap.* 15. 2. *H.* 5. *C.* 7. All theſe *Statutes* either reviv'd, or repeal'd by this *Act* relate to Eccleſiaſtical Matters: But having been already mention'd in the Firſt or Second Part of this *Work*, the Purport of them needs not be repeated. And here it may be obſerv'd, that to make the Act more inoffenſive, the Title of *Supreme Head* was changed into that of Supreme Governor.

At the Third Reading of this *Bill*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Vicount *Mountague*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Landaff*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Oxford*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, diſſented: And Two of the Biſhops made Speeches againſt it.

Heath Archbiſhop of *York* deliver'd himſelf to this Effect. (*k*)

(k) Fox *Mſs.* & *Mſs.* Coll. Cor. Chriſt. Cant. Synodalia *Fol.* 75.

Archbiſhop Heaths *Speech againſt the Bill for the Queens Supremacy.*

" He intreats their Lordſhips to conſider, whether the Supremacy granted by this *Bill* conſiſted in Spiritual or Temporal Juriſdiction: If in the latter he deſires to be inform'd what new Authority the *Houſes* can convey to her Highneſs, ſince her Soveraignty deſcends upon her by Hereditary Right, and not by the Grant of the Subject? But if this *Supremacy* conſiſts in Spiritual Government, the Nature and Extent of it ought to be conſider'd. After this, the next Thing to be debated, will be whether the *Houſe* may lawfully grant, and her Highneſs receive, ſuch Juriſdiction.

" The Archbiſhop endeavours to maintain, but without any great Strength of Argument, that they could not quit the *See* of *Rome* without deſerting the Four Firſt General Councils; without renouncing the Article in the *Creed* where they profeſs to believe the *Holy Catholick Church*: That the meaning of this *Article* comprehends a Profeſſion of receiving the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church, and living conformably to her Laws. But theſe Laws as he infers, depend wholly upon the Papal Authority. For as a *Bill* paſs'd both *Houſes*, has no Force without the Royal Aſſent, ſo neither are any Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions binding to the univerſal Church, unleſs confirm'd by the Apoſtolick *See*.

" Farther; by granting the Queen this Spiritual Juriſdiction, we ſhall fall, ſays he, into a great Singularity, and differ from all Chriſtian Princes, as well Proteſtant, as Catholick. For none of theſe Soveraigns, except King *Henry* the Eight, ever aſſum'd the Stile of an Eccleſiaſtical Supreme. If this Spiritual Supremacy belongs to the King *quatenùs* King, as was lately affirm'd in the *Houſe* by a noble Peer, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that King *Herod* was Supreme Head of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, and *Nero* of that at *Rome*, notwithſtanding they were both Infidels. And if our Saviour Chriſt had not intruſted the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors with the Government of the Church, but left it in the Hands of Temporal Princes, 'twould have been a very ſlender Proviſion. For by this Reaſoning, either the Church muſt have been without a Head 'till the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, which was near Three Hundred Years; or elſe this *Society* muſt have been all along under the Spiritual Supremacy of *Pagan* Emperors, who were no Members of her Communion, and often made it their Buſineſs to extinguiſh Chriſtianity. From hence he proceeds to the Inſtance of King *Uzziah*, who was ſtruck with Leproſie for invading the Prieſts Office.

" After this he goes on to conſider the Branches of Spiritual Government: And whether the Houſe can give, or the Queen receive them. Spiritual Government conſiſts principally in theſe Four Particulars. The Firſt is the Power of

“ *binding* and *loſing*, which was convey'd by our Saviour to the Apoſtles, and chiefly to St. *Peter*, as the Archbiſhop will have it. Now he deſires their Lordſhips to conſider, whether 'tis within their Authority to grant her Highneſs *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* If they ſay yes, he would gladly know by what Warrant, and deſires an Oyer of their Commiſſion in the *Holy Scriptures.* If they ſay no, 'tis plainly evident they want ſufficient Authority to conſtitute her Highneſs ſupream Head of the Church in this Realm. The Second Branch of Spiritual Government may be collected from the laſt Chapter of St. *John's* Goſpel, where our Saviour commands St. *Peter to feed his Sheep.* Now to juſtifie their Lordſhips Conveyance of this Function to their Soveraign Lady, 'twill be neceſſary for them to ſhew the Authority they act upon. And here the Archbiſhop obſerves, how by St. *Paul's* Doctrine all Women are entirely unqualified for Spiritual Functions. But this has been mention'd already upon another occaſion. The Third Diviſion of Spiritual Government may be inferr'd from the Twenty Second Chapter of St. *Luke*, where our Saviour bids St. *Peter ſtrengthen his Brethren.* And under this Head, Preaching and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments may be compriz'd. But if a Woman can do neither of theſe, which way can ſhe commence a Spiritual Soveraign? The laſt Branch conſiſts in Excommunication, and exerting the Cenſures of the Church againſt thoſe who miſbehav'd themſelves. But this Authority falls within the Compaſs of *retaining Sins*, and is ſettled by our Saviour upon the Hierarchy. And thus much of Archbiſhop *Heath.* *Scott* of *Cheſter* was the other Biſhop who harangu'd in the *Houſe* upon the ſame Subject.

The Biſhop of Cheſters *Speech upon the ſame Subject.*

This Prelate argues with a great deal of Zeal, but not much Evidence for the Papal Supremacy. “ He pretends the Unity of the Church cannot be maintain'd without a Supreme Paſtor for receiving Appeals, and determining Controverſies. And here he cites a great many Texts of *Scripture*, wide of his purpoſe, to prove the *Pope* this Spiritual Soveraign. After this, he goes on to anſwer ſome Objectious. Firſt, he takes notice 'tis alledg'd the Popes Authority has been diſclaim'd by a *Provincial Council* of the Engliſh Biſhops and Clergy. To this he anſwers, “ that the Reſolutions of a *Provincial Synod* are of no Force againſt the Counter Decrees of the Univerſal Church. He obſerves farther, that thoſe who renounc'd the Apoſtolick See may be rang'd under Two Diviſions; either Dead, or Living. Thoſe who are Dead, repented this *Freedom*, and recanted their Declaration. Thoſe who are Living, and formerly pronounc'd againſt the Popes Authority, are now return'd to their Firſt Belief, and publick Champions for his *Holyneſs.*

“ And whereas it has been alledg'd by the Catholicks, that as a Temporal Prince who has no Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction aſſign'd him by our Saviour can't be Head of the Church himſelf, ſo neither can he ſubſtitute any other Perſons to execute Spiritual Juriſdiction under him: The Reaſon is, becauſe no Man can give that Power to another, which he has not himſelf. To this the *Proteſtants* anſwer, that a Prince may grant another an Authority which he neither has, nor can exerciſe himſelf. For inſtance, they ſay tho' a King is no Judge, 'tis within his Authority to Commiſſionate others for this Function. But the Biſhop not ſatisfied with this Reaſoning replies, “ that the Authority of a Judge is originally in the King: And that the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is deſcrib'd as Part of the Regal Office in *Scripture*: To which he might have added, that ſeveral of our Engliſh Kings have ſat in their Courts, and tried Cauſes. (*l*) The reſt of this Biſhops *Speech* being either coincident with *Heaths*, or not much material, ſhall be omitted. (*m*) Beſides the Oppoſition of the Spiritual Lords, the Viſcount *Mountague* who had been lately Ambaſſador at *Rome*, diſſented to this *Bill* for the Regal Supremacy.

An Act for granting the Crown Mannors, &c. belonging to Biſhopricks in Exchange for Impropriations and Tenths.

The next remarkable Tranſaction with Reference to the Church, is, *an Act giving Authority to the Queens Majeſty upon Avoidance of any Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick to take into her Hands certain of the Temporal Poſſeſſions thereof, Recompencing the ſame with Parſonages impropriate and Tenths.* The Statute runs thus. (*n*)

“ The Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, perceiving how neceſſary it is for the Imperial Crown of this Realm to be repair'd, with Reſtitution of Revenue meet for the ſame: And having aſſented and fully accorded to reſtore to the ſame Imperial Crown the Firſt Fruits, and Tenths, and Parſonages, impropriate for the Increaſe of the Revenue thereof, be alſo deſirous to deviſe ſome good means, whereby the ſaid Revenues of Tenths, and impropriate Benefices, might be in the Governance and Diſpoſition of the Clergy of this Realm, being moſt apt for the ſame. In ſuch ſort, as yet thereby the ſaid Imperial Crown ſhall not in any ways be diminiſhed, by the ſaid reſtor'd Revenue.

“ And therefore beſeech your Majeſty, that it may be enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, in manner, and form hereafter following.

“ That is to ſay, upon the Vacation or Avoidance of any Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick within this your Realm of *England* and *Wales*, and other your Highneſſes Dominions, it ſhall and may be lawful for your Highneſs to elect, and chooſe, and take into your Hands and Royal Poſſeſſion as much, and ſo many of the Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, being Parcel of the Poſſeſſions of any ſuch Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, ſo being void; as the clear yearly Value of all your Majeſties Parſonages appropriate, and yearly Tenths within any ſuch Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick ſhall yearly amount and extend unto. And for the Trial of the very Value of ſuch Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, it ſhall and may be lawful, for your Highneſs from Time to Time, to direct your Letters of Commiſſion under your Highneſs great Seal of *England*, into any ſuch Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, ſo being void; unto ſuch Per-

---

(l) *See Firſt Vol. of this Hiſt. under King* Alfred *and elſewhere.*

(m) Fox *Mſs. Fol.* 75.

(n) Biblioth. Robt. Harley Armig.

ſons as your Majeſty ſhall think meet and convenient, giving them Authority thereby to ſurvey ſuch Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, being Parcels of the Poſſeſſions of the ſame Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, ſo being void; as ſhall by your Majeſty be thought meet and convenient, to be taken into your Highneſſes Hands and Poſſeſſion. And thereupon to certify the very clear yearly Value thereof, over all Charges and Reprizes into your Highneſs Court of Exchecquer, at ſuch Day and Time as by the ſaid Commiſſion ſhall be limited, and appointed. And after ſuch Certificate into the ſaid Court of Exchecquer of the clear yearly Value of ſuch Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments ſo had and made, it ſhall and may be lawful for your Highneſs by your Letters Patents to give, and aſſure unto ſuch Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, of ſuch Archbiſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſo being void; ſo much and as many of your yearly Tenths, Tythes, and Parſonages appropriate, being within the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, as ſhall be of as much, or more yearly Value as the ſaid Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands and Tenements, or Hereditaments, ſo certified into your ſaid Court of Exchecquer, be certified unto.

“And then immediately upon ſuch Gift and Grant, made by your Highneſs, and the ſame by your Majeſty, under your Signet or Sign Manual, ſignified unto your Treaſurer and Barons of your ſaid Court of Exchecquer, together with your Pleaſure for the retaining and keeping of the ſaid Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, ſo certified into your ſaid Court of Exchecquer, in lieu and place of the ſaid Tenths, Tythes, and Parſonages appropriate, the ſame and ſuch Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as ſo ſhall then be certified into your ſaid Court of Exchecquer, ſhall be adjudg'd, veſted, and deem'd by Authority of this preſent Parliament, actually and really in your Highneſs, and your Heirs, and Succeſſors. And be from thenceforth united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm for ever. And from thenceforth ſhall be in the Order, Survey, Rule, and Governance of your ſaid Court of Exchecquer, in ſuch like manner and form, as other your Highneſſes Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments be at this preſent, provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that this Act nor any thing therein contain'd, ſhall not extend nor give any Liberty or Authority to your Highneſs, to take from any ſuch Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, any of the Manſion Houſes commonly us'd for the Habitation or Dwelling of any ſuch Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, or any of the Demeſne Lands commonly us'd or occupied with any ſuch Manſion, or Dwelling Houſe or Houſes, or any of them, or to take any other Lands or Tenements, commonly uſed or kept in the Manurance, Tillage, or Manual Occupation of any ſuch Archbiſhop or Biſhop, for Maintenance of Hoſpitality or good Houſe-keeping; any thing in this Act contain'd to the contrary notwithſtanding.

“Saving to all and every Perſon and Perſons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Succeſſors, and the Heirs and Succeſſors of either of them, other than the ſaid Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and their Succeſſors, all ſuch Eſtate, Right, Title, Term, Intereſt, Rent, Profit, Offices, and Commodities, as they or any of them have, ſhould, might, or ought to have had in, or to, any Honours, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments whatſoever, in ſuch like Manner, Form, and Condition to all Intents and Purpoſes as if this Act had never been, had, or made: Any thing herein contain'd to the contrary notwithſtanding.

This *Bill* begun in the *Houſe* of Lords, was on the Sixth of *April* read the Third Time and paſs'd: The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* diſſenting. (*o*) The Commons were not ſo unanimous as the Lords. For at the Third Reading, the *Houſe* dividing upon the Queſtion, there was a Hundred Thirty Four with the *Bill*, and Ninety againſt it. Could I recover the Names of thoſe Ninety Gentlemen who diſſented, I would do them the Juſtice to tranſmit their Memory to Poſterity. But they will ſuffer nothing by the Silence of Records. For if the reſt of their Lives anſwer'd this Vote, they will always ſtand in a much better *Regiſter* of Honour, than Hiſtory can give them.

Remarks upon the Exchange.

By this *Statute* the *Crown* is oblig'd to return the ſame, or a greater yearly Value to the Biſhopricks, as the Rent of the Honours, Caſtles, *&c.* taken from them, amounted to. But with Submiſſion, this Exchange conſidering the different Condition of the Eſtates, falls far ſhort of an Equivalent: On the one Hand, there are Honours, Caſtles, Lordſhips, *&c.* with Woods, Fines, Sute, and Service, Knights Fees, and a great deal of Juriſdiction, Profit, and noble Incidents belonging to them. And in lieu of this, there is nothing but *Tenths*, and Impropriations, Eſtates upon Rack Rents return'd: And which it may be, many of the Tenants are in no Condition to anſwer. And which is ſomewhat remarkable, this ſuppoſed Equivalent was perfectly left at Diſcretion: 'Twas referr'd to the Conſcience of the *Courtiers*, and no Clergymen order'd to be join'd in Commiſſion with them. Whereas in a reſembling Caſe, tho' the Intereſt of the Church was leſs concern'd, a Parliament of the late Reign provides, the Commiſſioners ſhould be half of the *Spiritualty*, and half of the *Temporalty*, * From hence the *Reader* may perceive, this Queen *Elizabeths* Parliament, was under no Exceſſes of Superſtition, no manner of Partialities to the Church.

If this Uſage had been practis'd upon the Queens *Wards*, as they fell: Had there been a *Bill* brought in to give the *Crown* moſt of the Mannors of the Temporal Lords when they happen'd to die, and leave their Heir a *Minor*: Had ſuch a *Bill* been brought in, we need not queſtion its having been thrown out at the firſt *Reading*. For why ſhould a *Minor* be ouſted of his Inheritance without any Faults of his Anceſtors or his own? If when he

ſued

(o) D'Ewes *Journal p.* 27.

* 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. *c.* 4.

ſued his *Livery*, the beſt Part of his Eſtate had been detain'd: If he had been forc'd upon an unequivalent Exchange, and had nothing but a poor Remainder of his Birthright left him: Had this been the Point, the Queſtion is, whether he would not have thought the *Crown* had overrated the Trouble of being a *Guardian*, and taken too much for Protection? To tell him his Eſtate is legally convey'd away, and his Right transferr'd by Act of Parliament, would ſcarcely make him eaſy. Such an Anſwer gives little Relief. It only clinches the Misfortune, and leaves the Man without Remedy. And therefore peradventure his Thoughts might be ſo mutinous as to fancy he had hard meaſure. Where an Eſtate is entail'd, Treaſon does not work ſo far, as to affect the Deſcent, or diſappoint the Heir. And therefore to have the Bulk of it convey'd off, without any forfeiting Misbehaviour, looks unkindly at firſt Sight. As to the Parallel, I ſhall only obſerve, that the Patrimony of the Church is ſettled upon Succeſſion, and has the Force of the ſtrongeſt Entail. Not to mention the Holy Revenues were given to maintain the Honour and Intereſt of Religion, and are veſted as it were in the Divine Majeſty. To which may be added, that the Queen had lately ſworn to maintain the Rights of the Church, at her Coronation. It may be obſerv'd farther, that one remarkable Conſideration for granting the *Monaſteries* to King *Henry* the Eighth, was not thought neceſſary to this *Bill*. For the Thirty Firſt of *Henry* the Eighth, *Chapter* 13. ſets forth in the *Preamble*, that the Religious Houſes had been freely ſurrendred into the Kings Hands, without any manner of *Force, Coaction*, or *Compulſion*. But here no ſuch voluntary Surrender is alledg'd. On the contrary, the Biſhops declar'd their Diſlike of ſuch an Exchange; remonſtrated loudly againſt the *Bill*, and charg'd the Alienation with no leſs than Sacrilege. But of this more afterwards.

In the mean time, I can't well omit one of our Learned Church Hiſtorians Remark upon this *Act*. (p) He takes notice, *many had obſerv'd, that in* Edward *the Sixths Time, under a Pretence of giving ſome Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church Lands divided amongſt themſelves; ſo it was believ'd the Uſe to be made of this Statute would be the robbing the Church, without the enriching the Crown.*

(p) *Biſhop* Burnet *p.* 394.

A Bill for reviſing the Eccleſiaſtical Laws by Thirty Two Perſons ſunk in the Houſe of Lords.

To proceed, the *Bill* for giving Authority to Thirty Two Perſons to reviſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and digeſt them into a Body, was read the Second Time in the Houſe of Commons and not thrown out, (q) but order'd to be engroſs'd. (r) It paſs'd at the Third Reading, but the Houſe of Lords not being diſpos'd for the Revival of Church Diſcipline, the *Bill* came to nothing. Another intended Proviſion relating to the Church, which miſcarried this *Seſſions*, was the *Bill* that the Queen by Commiſſion might reſtore ſuch Spiritual Perſons as have been unlawfully depriv'd, either for being married, or Nonconformity in Religion. This *Bill* the Learned Hiſtorian laſt mention'd affirms, did not paſs the Houſe of Commons. His Reaſon is, that the Queen order'd it to be laid aſide. (s) Had this been matter of Fact, it would have look'd like a Stretch of the Prerogative, and a Preſſure on the Privileges of Parliament: But this Author is ſomewhat miſtaken, for the *Bill* was thrice read, paſs'd the *Houſe*, and was ſent up to the Lords by Mr. *Sadler* and others. (t) 'Tis true the *Bill* fail'd, and either ſunk in the Houſe of Lords, or miſs'd the Royal Aſſent.

(q) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 396.
(r) D'Ewes *Journal p.* 49.
Strype Annal. *p.* 59.

(s) *Biſhop* Burnet *pt.* 2*d. page* 395.

(t) D'Ewes *Journal p.* 55.

The beſt on it was, there was now no *Statute* in force againſt the Marriage of the Clergy: 'Tis true, Queen *Mary* had repeal'd her Brother King *Edwards* Laws by which 'twas allow'd: But then the Acts of King *Henry* the Eighth, which put the married Clergy under Penalties, were repeal'd by the Firſt of *Edward* the Sixth, *Chapter* 12. Now the Branch of this *Statute* relating to this matter, ſtands unrepeal'd by the Firſt and Second, *Phil. & Mar. Chap.* 8. And thus there was nothing but the *Canon* Law which ſtood in the way: And that in all likelyhood would be overlook'd by the *Reform'd* Biſhops: Who till farther Proviſion, may well be ſuppos'd to govern their Courts by the Thirty Firſt Article ſet forth in the Year 1552.

A *Bill* for annexing Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, Hoſpitals and Chauntries, paſt both Houſes, and was no doubt ſign'd by the Queen, tho' the *Journal* of the Lords does not mention what publick *Acts* had the Royal Aſſent. (*w*) In the upper Houſe all the Lords Spiritual, and the Vicount *Mountague* diſſented. The *Bill* for *Uniformity* of *Common Prayer* in the Church was brought into the Houſe of Commons *April* the 18th. and *April* the 20th, it paſs'd the Third Reading. From this Diſpatch we may collect the *Houſe* was ſtrongly inclin'd to reſtore the *Reform'd Eſtabliſhment*. This *Bill* did not paſs the Houſe of Lords, without ſomething of ſtruggle. For the purpoſe, *Scott* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *Fecknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter* made *Speeches* againſt it. *Fecknam* ſpoke to this Senſe.

May 5. 1559.

(w) D'Ewes *Journal p.* 35. *New Erected Religious Houſes diſſolv'd and granted to the Crown.*

"In the beginning he takes notice, that "Two different Religions being the Subject "of their Inquiry, he look'd upon it as a "Point of the laſt Importance, to reſolve on "the right ſide of the Queſtion. And particularly he conceived himſelf bound in Duty "to God, the Queen, and their Lordſhips, (*x*) "to deliver his Opinion upon the Caſe. And "in Order to ſet their Lordſhips upon a ſure "Bottom, he lays down Three Rules to form "their Judgment upon. Firſt, to diſtinguiſh "the true Religion from that which is counterfit, we muſt conſider which of them has "the beſt Claim to Antiquity, and has been "moſt univerſally received, both as to Time "and Place. Secondly, which of them has "been moſt conſtant and uniform with it "ſelf. Thirdly, whether of the Two Religions is moſt productive of Morality and "Virtue: And in which Communion the "People are moſt exemplary for their Piety "towards God, and their Obedience to the "Civil Magiſtrate.

Dr. Fecknams *Speech againſt the Bill for Uniformity of Common-Prayer.*

(x) Biblioth. Cotton. Veſpaſian. D. 18. *fol.* 8.

"In ſpeaking to the Firſt Point, the "Abbot pretends, the *Reform'd Religion* was "altogether Modern and Novel, and never "receiv'd till the latter End of the Reign "of *K. Edward* the Sixth. Whereas the Roman "Catholick Faith and Worſhip, profeſs'd at "preſent in this Realm, had been the Religion of the Iſland for no leſs than Fourteen Hundred Years. And here he proceeds to

Eliz. Queen.

“to mention the Converſion of the Britiſh King *Lucius*, by *Damianus* and *Faganus*, ſent hither by Pope *Eleutherius* at that Princes Inſtance: Before he parts with this Authority, he cites a Counterfeit Paſſage in *Gildas*, to prove the Church *Service* in *Latin*. He likewiſe takes it for granted, that the Articles and Worſhip of the Chriſtian Religion, when firſt planted here, were the ſame with the preſent Belief and Practice of the Church of *Rome*. And that all Parts of Chriſtendom were agreed in theſe matters.

“From hence he proceeds to his Second Rule, or Teſt of the Two Communions. And here they were to enquire, whether the new or old Religion (as he calls them) was moſt conſtant and conſiſtent with it ſelf. The new Religion (as he goes on) ſet forth in the *Articles* and the *Liturgick Books* of the *Engliſh Reformers*, he charges with Inconſtancy and different Appearance. That theſe *Reformers* floated in their Opinion, quitted their firſt Plan, and refin'd upon themſelves: And yet always pretended to publiſh and decree, nothing but the ſincere Word of God. He proceeds to maintain an Inconſiſtency between the Firſt and Second *Liturgy* in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. That in one *Book* they own the Seven Sacraments, and the Real Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt, which they denied in the other. That at firſt, they allow'd the receiving of the Sacrament in one kind, and order'd the Bread ſhould be unleaven'd. But in their latter *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions*, the Holy Euchariſt is order'd to be receiv'd in both kinds, and in common Bread. And here likewiſe it was decreed, that no Reverence ſhould be payed to the conſecrated Elements, but only to the Body of Chriſt in Heaven. The Abbot continues to acquaint the Lords, that 'twas no wonder to find ſuch Diverſity in the Religious Syſtem of the *Reform'd*, ſince the Men that compos'd it, could neither agree with each other, nor with themſelves. To make out this Charge, he pretends our *Engliſh Reformers* took their meaſures, and were govern'd in their Reſolutions, by the Divines of *Germany*, ſuch as, *Caroloſtadius*, *Melancton*, *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*. And touching the Doctrine of the *Holy Euchariſt*, the Abbot gives an inſtance of their Diſagreement. As for *Caroloſtadius*, he interprets the Words of the Inſtitution of the Holy Euchariſt thus, *accepit Panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque Diſcipulis ſuis dicens, accipite & comedite, hoc eſt Corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur, monſtrans Corpus viſibile ſuum*, i. e. according to *Caroloſtadius*'s Divinity, our Saviour pointed to his viſible Body, and ſaid, *this is my Body which ſhall be betray'd for you*. This Expoſition was condemn'd by *Luther*, who expounded the Words of the Inſtitution to a Senſe of *Conſubſtantiation*. *Zuinglius* makes the Words, *my Body*, ſignify no more than the Figure of my Body. *Peter Martyr* in his late Diſputations at *Oxford*, differ'd from theſe Three, and would have us to underſtand by this is *my Body*, that our Saviours Body receiv'd by Faith, ſhall be *pro Pane vel inſtar Panis*, i. e. inſtead of Bread to the Communicants. From theſe German Divines, he proceeds to charge Archbiſhop *Cranmer* with Self Contradiction, and fluctuating in his Belief. His inſtance is, that in one Year he publiſh'd a *Catechiſm* in Engliſh, and dedicated it to King *Edward* the Sixth, in which he aſſerts the *real Preſence* of Chriſt's Body in the Holy Euchariſt. But ſoon after he printed another Book, in which he plainly maintain'd the contrary Doctrine. Dr. *Ridley*, whom this Abbot ſtiles the moſt Learned of the *Engliſh Reformers*, fell into the ſame Inconſiſtency. For at St. *Pauls Croſs*, in the hearing of this Abbot, (as he pretends) the ſaid Biſhop *Ridley* aſſerted the *real Preſence* of Chriſt's Body in very ſtrong Expreſſions, and ſuch as reach in a manner to *Tranſubſtantiation*. He told the Audience, that *the Devil believ'd the Son of God was able to make the Stones Bread, and we Engliſh People, who confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the very Son of God, will not believe, that he did make of Bread, his very Body, Fleſh and Blood; therefore we are worſe than the Devils, ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt by expreſs Words did moſt plainly affirm the ſame.* But afterwards in the laſt Book, publiſh'd by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Ridley*, the Senſe of our Saviours Words was very much incumbred, and perplex'd with their Interpretation. From hence he infers, that ſince both the Engliſh, and German Reformers, are ſo inconſiſtent with themſelves, their Lordſhips have great Reaſon to queſtion their Belief, and refuſe their Scheme, 'till they are better agreed.

“He comes now to his Third Rule, or Charactariſtick of the true Religion, *i. e.* Whether the Roman Catholick, or the *Reform'd* Communion, affords the beſt People, both with reſpect to Piety and *Civil* Life. And here he is ſo hardy, as to appeal to matter of Fact, and deſires their Lordſhips to conſider how much the Subject is chang'd for the worſe, ſince the Death of Queen *Mary*: Which declenſion in Virtue he lays to the charge of the New *Preachers*. In her late Majeſty's Reign, (ſaith he) your Lordſhips may remember how quiet and governable the People were; 'Twas not then their Cuſtom to preſcribe to Authority, to run before the Laws, nor diſobey the Proclamations of their Sovereign. There was then no ſacrilegious Rapine, no plundering of Churches, no blaſphemous Outrage, and trampling the holy Sacraments under their Feet. 'Twas none of their way, to tear down the *Pix*, and hang up the *Knave of Clubs* in the Place. They did not hack and hew the *Crucifix* in thoſe Times. They were better obſervers of Diſcipline than to Eat Fleſh openly, and fill their Shambles with Butchers Meat, in the holy Solemnity of Lent. In the late Reign, the generality of the People, and particularly the Nobility, and thoſe of the *Privy Council*, were exemplary for their publick Devotion: It being the Cuſtom to go to a Church or Chappel, to beg the Protection of God, before they entred upon the Buſineſs of the Day. But now the Face of things is quite otherwiſe. The New Preachers and the *Stage*, by rallying, and running down the old Religion, have rais'd a turbulent humour in the People, brought on a Diſſolution of manners, and a Contempt of religious Appointments.

“Tho', to do juſtice to the Queen, her Majeſty has endeavor'd both by her Example and Proclamations, to reſtrain ſuch intemperate Sally's. He goes on in his Declamation, and complains that Virtue has in a manner taken her leave of the Kingdom. That Humility, Obedience, Submiſſion, and a governable Temper, regularity and good Behavior, are hardly to be met with. For now, as tho' the Reigns were laid upon their Necks, and they had a Diſpenſation from Heaven, all ſorts and degrees fly out into liberty, and diſorder. Children degenerate from the ſobriety of their Fathers, Servants fly in the Face of their Maſters, and Subjects make no ſcruple of being diſobedient to their Superiors both in Church and *State*.

“From this declenſion in Piety and good Manners, (which he takes for granted) he ſolicits the Lords to expel the *Reformation*, and adhere to the Antient Belief. And to make the deeper Impreſſion, he puts them in mind 'tis ſettled by the *Conſtitution*, and that they are now in Poſſeſſion of it.

“In the cloſe of his *Speech*, he ſuggeſts Four things, which, as he obſerves, ſettled St. *Auguſtin* in the Communion of the Catholick Church, and kept him ſteady to the Doctrines receiv'd. The firſt was, *Auctoritas Eccleſiæ Chriſti, Miraculis Inchoata, ſpe nutrita, Charitate aucta, Vetuſtate firmata, i. e.* The Authority of the Church of Chriſt founded upon Miracles, ſubſiſted with the hopes of Immortality, encreas'd by benevolent Principle and Practiſe, and ſtrengthn'd by length of Time. The Second thing was, *Populi Conſenſus & Unitas, i. e.* The general Conſent, Union, and good correſpondence of the Chriſtian *Society*. The Third was, *Perpetua Sacerdotum Succeſſio in ſede Petri, i. e.* an uninterrupted Succeſſion of Biſhops in St. *Peter's* See. The Fourth was, *ipſum Catholicæ Nomen, i. e.* the Name or Diſtinction of *Catholick*. Theſe Four Conſiderations, continues the Abbot, kept St. *Auguſtin* firm to his Principles: All which Motives he ventures to apply to the preſent Occaſion, and ſuppoſes they lie all on the ſide of the Roman Catholick Communion.

But here *Fecknam*, to remark nothing farther on his Speech, miſreports *Cranmer* and *Ridley* on the Subject of the Holy Euchariſt. For neither of theſe Biſhops had contradicted their Prints or Sermons in King *Edward's* Reign. No; they explain'd themſelves to a Senſe of Conſiſtency, and refuted the Calumnies thrown upon them. (y)

After the Third reading of the *Uniformity Bill*, *Scott* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, deliver'd himſelf againſt it to this Effect.

“My Lords, this *Bill*, though it has been Thrice Read, yet in my Opinion ought neither to have been mention'd, nor regarded, in this honourable Houſe. (z) The deſign of this *Bill* being to expoſe thoſe things to Queſtion, which ought to be receiv'd without farther enquiry: To ſpeak particularly; the Buſineſs of this Bill is to bring on a change in Religion, or more properly a total Suppreſſion of what has been antiently Profeſs'd. As to *Religion* it conſiſts partly in Circumſtances or Externals, and partly of things which relate to the *Subſtance*, and are *Eſſential* to Practiſe. As for thoſe matters which are more *Eſſential*, they may be reduc'd to *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*; and touching the *Externals*, the *Liturgy*, and the *Adminiſtration* of the Sacraments, may be rang'd under this Head. Now with Reference to theſe latter, they are clearly ſunk and extinguiſh'd by this *Bill*. And as for the former, the Efficacy of them is much weakn'd. For firſt, by breaking the Unity of the Church, Charity is loſt, for *nunquam relinquent Unitatem, qui non prius amittunt Charitatem.* And St. *Paul* tells us, that *Charity is the Bond of Perfectneſs.* And when Charity is once departed, there's nothing left to cement a Chriſtian *Society*. And thus we ſplit into Sects and Fractions, which is the Calamity of the preſent Age. And as for *Faith*, ſeveral of the Articles and Myſteries of this Theological Virtue, are not only queſtion'd, but denied. Tho' this Contradiction is not openly avow'd in every Point. Now when *Faith* and *Charity* have thus taken their leave, *Hope* muſt either be in a ſolitary Condition, or (which is moſt likely) Preſumption ſet above it; which Diſorder commonly ends in Deſpair. From what I have already obſerv'd, we ought rather to pay a regard to our holy Religion, then Diſpute upon it. For as a learned Author ſuggeſts, *quæ Patefacta ſunt, quærere; quæ perfecta ſunt, retractare; & quæ definita ſunt, convellere; quid aliud eſt quam de adeptis Gratiam non referre; i. e. To moot upon Points clearly diſcover'd, to touch over things which are well finiſh'd, and to unſettle matters which have paſs'd the Teſt, what is it leſs than Ingratitude for the Bleſſings we have receiv'd?* And to the ſame purpoſe, St. *Athanaſius* argues, *quæ nunc à tot & talibus Epiſcopis probata ſunt, & decreta, clareque demonſtrata, ſupervacuum eſt denuò revocare in Judicium. i. e. 'Tis a very unneceſſary Buſineſs (to ſpeak ſoftly) to bring the Cauſe to a rehearing, which has been throughly examin'd, and ſettled by ſo many Biſhops of Character.* He means the Prelates that aſſiſted at the *Council* of *Nice*; For as St. *Athanaſius* goes on; if their Deciſions muſt be re-examin'd, this Liberty is the way to keep us under perpetual Uncertainty, and hinder the Controverſy from ever coming to an End. For, as we are told, *ſi quotidie licebit Fidem in Quæſtionem vocare, de Fide nunquam conſtabit. i. e. If matters of Faith may be every Day diſcuſs'd, there will be no poſſibility of knowing when we are in the Right.* Now if St. *Athanaſius* thought it unreaſonable to queſtion the Deciſions of the Council of *Nice*, where there were but Three Hundred and Eighteen Biſhops preſent; how much more unaccountable muſt it be in us, to queſtion the *Belief* and practiſe of the whole Catholick Church, where inſtead of Three Hundred, we have Three Hundred Thouſand Biſhops to vouch for Authority. And as for the Grounds and Articles *of Faith*, then which nothing ought to be better fix'd, and more certain; Theſe things, I ſay, muſt be very floating and precarious, if they hang upon an *Act* of Parliament. In earneſt, this is but a weak ſupport for ſo great a Weight: And here I deſire your Lordſhips to underſtand me rightly. I have no Intention to ſay any thing to leſſen the Authority of Parliament. I own the *Acts*

(y) Memor. *of* Cranmer. *p.* 160. Fox Annal. 1553.

Scott *Biſhop of* Cheſter's *Speech againſt the ſaid Bill.*

(z) Cotton *Library* Veſpaſian D. 18. *Fol.* 114.

Eliz. Queen.

“ of this honourable Court are not to be conteſted, when paſs'd upon matters within your Juriſdiction. But as to Religion, I humbly conceive that's a Subject altogether Foreign to the Buſineſs of Parliament. For *Faith*, as I have obſerv'd before, ought to have a firm Baſis, to be as unalterable as the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and not ſtand liable to *Amendments* and *Repeals*, and all other Caſualties of the *Statute Book*. We ought not to waver and be at uncertainties in our *Belief*; for as St. *James* ſpeaks, *he that doubts or wavers, is like a Wave of the Sea*, always rowling from one Figure to another. This Man as the Apoſtle goes on, *is unſtable in all his ways*. Beſides, the *Body* of the *Parliament* conſiſts moſtly of the Temporal Nobility, and the *Commons*, which, tho' Perſons of great Judgment and Learning in civil matters, yet Divinity is none of their Profeſſion. The Expoſition of the *Scriptures*, the reading of the *Antients* has been none of their Employment. Theſe things conſider'd, they cannot be ſuppos'd to be rightly qualified, to pronounce upon the Doctrines and Practiſe of the Church. Neither indeed, do theſe things belong to their Function, or lie within their Character. And for this, my Lords, I appeal to a late Inſtance. I remember this *Parliament* there was a Nobleman's Son put under an Arreſt, and committed. This Confinement was reſented by your Lordſhips, and the Honour of the *Houſe* was thought to ſuffer by it. Upon this Reſolution the Young Gentleman, the Bailiff, and the Perſon at whoſe Suit he was Arreſted, were all order'd to appear before your Lordſhips; But before they were brought into the *Houſe*, 'twas thought proper to debate the matter over again, for fear the *Houſe* might concern themſelves in things *without* their Cognizance. And here the Caſe was found to contain Three Points. The firſt was a Debt, and that your Lordſhips thought proper to remit to the common Law. The Second Point was upon Enquiry found an Encroachment upon the Court of *Chancery*: The Third was the Arreſt and Committment, in which the *Houſe* thought themſelves concern'd. Upon the whole, if by your Lordſhips Reſolution, the Parliament has no Authority to check the Courts of common Law, and *Chancery*, which relate only to *Civil* Juſtice, and turn upon matters which lie open to human Reaſon; then by all force of Conſequence, your Pretenſions muſt be ſtill lower in matters of *Faith*. In matters of Faith and Religion, which ſo far exceed the extent of Reaſon. The Subject of this *Bill* being of this ſublime Nature, there are Three things principally to be conſider'd. Firſt, the importance of the Matter, Secondly, the obſcurity of the Caſe, and the difficulty in trying the Truth; and Thirdly, the danger of miſtaking the Point, and coming to a wrong Reſolution. As to the firſt, the importance of the Matter, nothing can be greater. 'Tis no Temporal Intereſt, no Mony Buſineſs, no Branch of Property, no; 'tis of a much higher conſideration. The Fate of Eternity, Life and Death, Heaven and Hell, are concern'd in it. For now, as the *Scripture* ſpeaks; *Life and Death, Fire and Water, are ſet before us*: Now to judge rightly in a Concern of this Conſequence, is neither every Bodies Talent, nor every Bodies Buſineſs. Farther, we ſhould be eſpecially careful, not to paſs a raſh Cenſure upon the Judgment and Practiſe of our Fore-fathers. Now that Syſtem of Belief, that Form of Religion, which is to be ſet aſide by this *Bill*, is the ſame which was profeſs'd by our Anceſtors for a Thouſand Years and upwards. And, which is more, 'twas likewiſe receiv'd by the Univerſal Church from the Times of the Apoſtles: And here by way of Oppoſition he inſiſts upon the Novelty of the *Reformation*. To go on with the Biſhop. “ A noble Member of this Houſe was lately pleas'd to ſay, that our Fore-fathers Liv'd in the Dark, and therefore we have great reaſon to lament their Ignorance. To this we may Anſwer, that if our Fore-fathers were within the hearing of this Imputation, we have reaſon to believe they would reply, as our Saviour did to the Women that lamented for him; *Weep not for us, but for your ſelves*: Don't trouble your ſelves for our Ignorance, but for your own Preſumption; for being ſo hardy to juſtify your Innovation, and Condemn the Ages before you.

“ Secondly; And as the Subject is of the laſt Importance, ſo the matter is perplex'd, and not to be diſentangled without difficulty and Penetration. The Queſtion to be reſolv'd, relates to the *Maſs Book*, and the *New Common-Prayer*. The firſt by the *Bill* is to be ſuppreſs'd, as Unorthodox and Indefenſible. The other to be Eſtabliſh'd, as agreeable to the holy *Scriptures*. Now the Commendation of the one, and the diſlike of the other, relates to the ſame matter, (*i. e.*) a right Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, purſuant to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt. In which Adminiſtration we are to conſider Three things; firſt, The Inſtitution of our Bleſſed Saviour, which comprehends the Matter and Subſtance of the Sacraments: Secondly, the Regulations of the Apoſtles, from which the Form of the Sacraments may be ſaid to Emerge. To which in the Third Place, we may put the Additions of the holy *Fathers* for the perfecting, and farther advantage in the Adminiſtration. Theſe Three things, as they are neceſſary, ſo they are duly obſerv'd in the *Maſs Book*, or *old Service*. But the other *Book*, which is ſo much magnified, not only ſtrikes Two of them clear out of Practiſe, but makes the Third in a manner Inſignificant. For firſt, as touching the Traditions of the *Antients* in the *Maſs*, as the *Confiteatur*, the *Miſereatur*, Κύριε ἐλέησον *ſequentes Preces*, *Sanctus*, *agnus Dei*, *&c.* To which we may add, the Rites Preſcrib'd by the Apoſtles, as *Benedictions*, and the uſe of the *Croſs*. And in the Adminiſtration of ſeveral of the Sacraments, *Exſufflations*, *Exorciſms*, *Anointing*, *Praying towards the Eaſt*, *Invocation of Saints, and Prayers for the Dead*, *&c.* Theſe Rites and Uſages, I ſay, are either Maim'd, or clear taken away by this *New Book*. Notwithſtanding which Omiſſions, the Compilers pretend it exactly agreeable to our Saviour's Inſtitution, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church. But to wave the inſiſting upon Apoſtolical Regulations, and Primitive Tradition, though theſe things may juſtly challenge our Re-

“gard. However, let us paſs over theſe things at preſent, and come to the Inſtitution of our Bleſſed Saviour; and examine which of theſe Two *Books* comes up cloſeſt to this Standard. And to clear the Controverſy the better, we'll take the *Maſs*, or as they call it, the Lord's Supper, for an Inſtance. And here, as all the *Fathers* Collect from the *Scripture*, our Saviour Inſtituted Three things. Theſe he commanded to be continued in remembrance of his Paſſion until his coming again. *Do this, &c.* The firſt is the Conſecration of the bleſſed Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt: The Second conſiſts in the Offering up the ſame to God the Father. The Third we may call the Communion, (*i. e.*) the eating and drinking the ſaid bleſſed Body and Blood, under the Form of Bread and Wine. As to the firſt Two, he Cites a Paſſage from St. *Chryſoſtom*, to prove the Conſecration in the *Maſs*, and the Oblation of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, as a Sacrifice to God the Father. Now to ſpeak in the Biſhops Perſon.

“Theſe Two things are taken away in the *New Service Book*. This ſaith he, the Compilers of that Book are willing to acknowledge. They declaim againſt the Doctrine which aſſerts Chriſt's being Offer'd oftner than once. Though on the other ſide, the Holy *Fathers* unanimouſly maintain, that Chriſt is ſtill Offer'd in an Unbloody manner. Now if theſe Men would conſider the Conſequences of their Tenents, this Reflection might be ſerviceable to recover them. For if there is no external Sacrifice, then there's no Prieſthood: For the Function of a Prieſt, (as St. *Paul* Informs us) is to offer Gifts and Sacrifices for Sin. Now if there's no Prieſthood under the *New Teſtament*, the next Inference is, that we have no Religion: And thus *we are without God in the World.* For theſe, like the Links of a Chain, have a cloſe Connexion with each other. Farther, I deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, that the *Conſecration* likewiſe fails in this *Modern Liturgy*. Theſe Men talk of nothing but the *Holy Communion*, but fall ſhort of the meaning of that Expreſſion. For the things which ſhould make it *Holy, i. e.* the Body and Blood of Chriſt, is not there. 'Tis true, when the Adminiſtration is duly perform'd, the Communion may well be call'd *Holy*: For then we receive our Saviour's bleſſed Body and Blood into our Bodies; and thus we are united with him, like Two Pieces of Wax, which are melted into each other. This Similitude St. *Cyril* and St. *Chryſoſtom* make uſe of upon this occaſion: And as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *we are made Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone.* But this great Advantage cannot be expected from the *new Book*: For by the Miniſtration preſcrib'd, Chriſt's Body is not truly there. For where there is no Conſecration, there can be no *real Preſence*. But this is the Caſe of the *new Service*. For theſe Men neither obſerve the Form preſcrib'd by Chriſt, nor the Cuſtom of the Church. The Evangeliſt informs us, that our Saviour took *Bread, bleſs'd, broke, and gave it to his Diſciples*, ſaying, *take and eat, this is my Body, do this in Remembrance of me.* By theſe Words we are commanded to take the Bread in our Hands, *to bleſs it and break it*; but by the Order of this *Book* all this is omitted.

“For the Prieſt neither takes the Bread in his Hands, nor *bleſſes* it, nor *breaks* it. And as for the Words, *this is my Body*, by the pronouncing of which, (as St. *Chryſoſtom* teaches us) the *Conſecration* is perform'd. Their Prieſts, I ſay, when they pronounce theſe Words of our Saviour, have no Regard to the Sacramental Solemnity, or the Force of the Expreſſion, or the Effect upon the *Bread*: But make no more of the Words than if they were telling a Story. To proceed, the Doctors of the Church affirm, that an Intention to do that which Chriſt did, *i. e.* to *conſecrate his Body and Blood*, is a Circumſtance of abſolute Neceſſity. For this purpoſe, the Church has appointed certain Prayers in the *Canon* of the *Maſs* to be ſaid before the *Conſecration*: The Words are theſe: *Ut fiat nobis Corpus & Sanguis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti*, i. e. that the Elements may be made unto us, the *Body* and *Blood* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Thus the *Intention* of the *Church*, and of the *Prieſt Officiating*, is plainly declar'd: But in this *New Book* there is neither any ſuch *Intention* declar'd, or any Petition put up to God for that Purpoſe. The contrary does rather appear, by theſe Words in their Office: That *we receiving theſe thy Creatures of Bread and Wine may, &c.* Which Words declare they intend nothing of *Conſecration*. And if ſo, let them value themſelves as much as they pleaſe upon their Communion, 'tis to no manner of purpoſe, in regard the Body of Chriſt is not there. Which, as I have already obſerv'd, is the thing which ſhould be communicated.

“Yeſterday a noble Peer was pleas'd to ſay, be believ'd Chriſt was receiv'd in the *Communion* Preſcrib'd by the *New Service*: But upon his being ask'd, whether he Worſhip'd him there, he anſwer'd, no, nor never intended it. Now this is a ſtrange Opinion, that Chriſt ſhould not be *Worſhip'd*, where-ever he is own'd to be *preſent*. I grant they tell us, they *Worſhip* our Saviour no leſs than we do: But then they diſtinguiſh, and affirm 'tis with reſpect to his being in Heaven, and not as he is *preſent* in the *Sacrament*; which is juſt as if a Man ſhould ſay, that he is willing to pay a Civil Worſhip to his Prince, when he ſits under a *State*, and has his Robes on: But if he comes abroad under a Diſguiſe, or in a plain Habit, they deſire to be excus'd. And yet by their Favor, he's as much a Sovereign in a Frieze-Coat in the Streets, as when he ſits upon the Throne in Gold Tiſſue. And thus he that ſits on the right Hand of God, in the Appearance of a glorified Body, is the ſame Chriſt which is conceal'd in the *Sacrament*, under the *Forms* of *Bread* and *Wine*.

“The *Scripture* (as St. *Auſtin* expounds it) commands us to *Worſhip* our Saviour's *Body* in the *Sacrament*. The *Text* runs thus. *Adorate Scabellum ejus, &c. i. e. Worſhip his Footſtool, for it is Holy.* Upon this Place St. *Auguſtin*'s Comment is, that Chriſt aſſum'd *Fleſh* of the bleſſed Virgin his Mother, in the ſame *Fleſh* he convers'd upon Earth: And the ſame *Fleſh* he gave us to Eat; but no Man will preſume to Eat, before he *Worſhips* it. And in this Senſe we may be ſaid to *Worſhip* his *Footſtool*. And we ſhall not only not Sin in *Worſhipping*,

ſhipping, but we ſhall Sin in not *Worſhipping*. Thus far St. *Auſtin*.

“ Upon a farther conſideration of this matter we ſhall have great reaſon to admire the *Gracious* conduct of Almighty God in this matter: For by this merciful Diſpenſation he has provided for the Converſions even of Hereticks, and brought them towards an Acknowledgment of the Truth. For the *Lutherans* in their Diſputes with the *Zuinglians* prove the *natural Body* of our Saviour in the Holy Euchariſt. Upon this the *Zuinglians* turn their Adverſaries Argument upon them, and infer, that then it will be neceſſary to *Worſhip* him there. And thus by the Conteſt of theſe Two Parties, like the Colliſion of hard Bodies, the ſparkles of Truth fly out. And therefore in my Opinion, to affirm that Chriſt is in the Sacrament, and yet not to be *Worſhip'd*, is a miſ-perſwaſion more without Colour, than to affirm he is not there at all. For either they hold no more than an imaginary *Preſence*, or elſe they believe his Body is *preſent*, abſtracted from his Divinity; and thus they fall into the wicked Hereſy of *Neſtorius*.

“ And now my Lords, I beg you would pleaſe to conſider the Subject of the preſent Controverſy, and whether your Lordſhips are ſufficiently qualified to examine the Points, and pronounce upon the Caſe. *i. e.* whether your Lordſhips are furniſh'd ſo far with Eccleſiaſtical Learning, as to give a Judgment whether the *Body* of Chriſt is *Conſecrated*, *Offer'd*, *Ador'd*, and truly *Communicated*, by the order of this *new Book*. Whether theſe Acts and Circumſtances are made Eſſential by the Inſtitution of our Saviour; and whether this *new Book* follows the direction of that infallible Rule. Theſe things, as I obſerve to your Lordſhips, are weighty and perplex'd. And 'tis no eaſy matter not to fall into an Error. And then your Lordſhips may likewiſe conſider the condition of the other Sacraments: And that theſe are either perfectly ſunk, or mangled after the ſame rate, by this *new Book*.

“ Thirdly, your Lordſhips may pleaſe to remember the great danger you draw upon your ſelves by undertaking to judge in the Cauſe, eſpecially if you ſhould happen to make a wrong Deciſion. For then beſides the Misfortune of your own Perſons, you will prove the unhappy occaſion of miſleading others. King *Jeroboam* has this Mark ſet upon him, as an Aggravation of his Miſbehaviour, that beſides his Perſonal Miſcarriage, *he made Iſrael to Sin*. My Lords I intreat you would be very careful to prevent the Application of this *Text*. To ſpeak freely, in my judgment, if you paſs this *Bill*, you will not only err your ſelves, but be Inſtrumental in miſleading the Nation, for which you muſt expect to give an Account to Almighty God.

“ Thoſe who are well read in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and acquainted with the Methods of the Church, in debating Religious Controverſy, can eaſily inform your Lordſhips, that theſe Matters have been all along decided by the Clergy, and not by the *Laity*. The Arrian Hereſy in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, was Canvaſs'd and Condemn'd in the *Council* of *Nice*. The Hereſy of *Macedonius*, in the firſt *Council* of *Conſtantinople*, in the time of *Theodoſius* the Great. The Hereſy of *Neſtorius* in that of *Epheſus*, in the Reign of *Theodoſius* the Younger. The Hereſy of *Eutyches* in the *Council* of *Calcedon*, under *Martin*, (he means *Marcian*.) But here we are to obſerve that none of theſe religious Emperors ever conven'd their Temporal Nobility, or Commons, to adviſe, or determine in theſe Controverſies. They did not refer the Caſe to the Majority of the *Laity*, nor go to the Poll to diſcover Truth.

“ And to come nearer Home, to the Third *Council* of *Toledo* in *Spain*, in the time of King *Herre* (as he calls him) and to a French *Council* in the Reign of *Charles* the Great: In both theſe Councils, I ſay, the cuſtomary uſage of the Church was obſerv'd: The Prelates had the Popes leave to meet, and then reform'd the Abuſes, and decided the Matters in Queſtion. And here theſe Princes abovemention'd, brought none of the *Laity* to intermeddle in the Affair: Neither did they themſelves offer to debate the Matter, but left the Controverſies entirely to the management of the Clergy, neither need we wonder at this Conduct in Catholick Princes, for even Heretical Emperors declin'd bringing the *Laity* to interpoſe in religious Diſputes.

“ Thus *Conſtantius* and *Valens*, who drew ſeveral *Synods* together, left the Deciſion to the Body of the Clergy. And the Emperor *Zeno*, who was a favourer of the *Eutychians*, manag'd by the ſame Rule. And to this purpoſe I might give many more Inſtances. Nay, in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles the Infidels refus'd to concern themſelves this way. For when St. *Paul* was brought before *Gallio*, and charg'd with teaching the People to worſhip God contrary to the Laws of the Country, this Magiſtrate replied, *if it were any matter of Wickedneſs, O ye Jews, I might well bear with you: But if it be concerning any Queſtions and Doubts in the Law.* *i. e.* If it be a charge concerning your Religion, *I will be no Judge in theſe Matters.* I beſeech your Lordſhips to recollect, that all Princes and Magiſtrates, *Catholick*, *Heretick*, and *Infidel*, have all along refus'd to put themſelves in a Poſt, which your Lordſhips are now going to challenge. But I ſhall diſtreſs your Lordſhips Patience no longer, and conclude with the mention of two Inſtances.

“ The firſt is in the Emperor *Theodoſius* the Great, who makes no ſcruple to confeſs, that *Illicitum eſt qui non ſit ex ordine Sanctorum Epiſcoporum, Eccleſiaſticis ſe immiſcere Tractatibus.* (*i. e.*) *'tis not lawful for a Man, who has not the Epiſcopal Character, to interpoſe in Religious Affairs.* The other is a Saying of the Emperor *Valentinian*, *mihi quidem qui in ſorte Plebis ſum, fas non eſt iſta curioſius ſcrutari: Sacerdotes quibus iſta curæ ſunt, inter ſeipſos, quocunque loco voluerint, conveniant.* (*i. e.*) *'Tis not lawful for me* (ſaith the Emperor) *who am but a Layman, to enter into any curious enquiry upon theſe Matters: This is the Biſhops Buſineſs, and therefore let them meet about it where they pleaſe.* Now if theſe Emperors had nothing to do in ſuch Debates, I muſt crave leave to ſay, your Lordſhips have as little.

And thus deſiring their Lordſhips to conſider what was offer'd, and interpret him favourably, he concludes his ſpeech.

The deſign of this *Work* not being Controverſy, I ſhan't examine the Reaſoning, nor detect the Miſtakes. Moſt *Readers* I conceive may be in a Condition to diſſentangle the matter. It being no difficult undertaking to ſhew the Principles lay'd down, the Authorities produc'd, and the Conſequences drawn, won't bear in the Application. The advantage gain'd by the *Reform'd* at the late Conference in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, ſmooth'd the paſſage for the *Uniformity Bill*, and brought over a Majority of the *Houſes*; and thus the Rhetorick and Learning of *Scot* and *Fecknam* was diſappointed: Tho' it muſt be ſaid, they argued with ſomething of Colour; and made a bold puſh for their *Perſwaſion*. The reaſon why we have no Anſwers to theſe *Speeches* is, becauſe there were no *Reform'd* Biſhops then ſitting in the upper Houſe: For the Controverſy was too much embarraſs'd with Eccleſiaſtical Learning to be manag'd by the temporal Nobility. When the *Bill* paſs'd, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, *London*, *Worceſter*, *Landaff*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, and *Carliſle*; And Nine Temporal Lords, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Vicount *Mountague*, and the Lords *Morly*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, diſſented. (*a*)

And here it may not be improper to obſerve that tho' the uſe of the Engliſh *Common-prayer* was injoyn'd by the *Parliament*, yet the *Book* was not drawn up either by the Council Board, or any Lay Committee of the two *Houſes*. What Biſhops and Clergymen of Eminence compos'd the *Liturgy* us'd in the Reign of *Edward* VI. has been already related. The ſame Method was now taken under Queen *Elizabeth*. And a Committee of Divines order'd to bring the whole *Service* under a Review. They were all Men of Character: Some of them had been Exiles, and adher'd to the Engliſh Eſtabliſhment at *Frankfort* againſt *Knox* and *Calvin*'s Party. Their Names are theſe, Mr. *Whitehead*, Doctor *Parker*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Grindal*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Pilkington*, Doctor *May*, Doctor *Bill*. To theſe Sir *Thomas Smith* a Perſon of Learning and Doctor of Civil Law, was join'd in the Commiſſion, to bring them together and expedite the Affair. Theſe Divines entred upon the *Review* in *December* laſt, but did not finiſh the Performance till ſometime in *April*. The Draught lay'd before the Parliament was paſs'd as far as it appears without any Alteration. 'Tis not found that the Lords and Commons had any conference upon this Subject in the *Painted Chamber*, or that they appointed any Committees to examine the *Book*. They concluded this Regulation was properly the Buſineſs of the Clergy. And therefore relying upon the judgment of the Divines abovemention'd, paſs'd the *Service* in the Form 'twas deliver'd: Paſs'd it, I ſay, without any *Amendments*, excepting in one circumſtance. In the Draught lay'd before the *Houſes* by the Committee of Divines, 'twas left at the Peoples liberty to receive the Communion, either Kneeling or Standing: This poſture, 'tis probable, was reſtrain'd to kneeling by the Parliament: And if ſo, they did no more than follow the Direction of the *Church*, and ſettle the matter by the Rubrick of the *Old Book*. That Kneeling or Standing was left indifferent by the Committee of Divines, ſeems very probable by Doctor *Gueſt*'s Papers, in anſwer to ſome Queries put to him by Secretary *Cecil*. By the way this *Gueſt* was made one of the Committee. (*b*) By the Queſtions put, 'tis not improbable that the Secretary, and it may be the Queen, were not unwilling the firſt *Service Book* ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* ſhould be lay'd before the Parliament: But this motion if made, was over-rul'd by *Gueſt*, and the other Divines. As to their Reſolution, I ſhall object nothing: But ſome of the Anſwers return'd by *Gueſt*, ſeems ſhort of Satisfaction.

The Penalty for *Depraving* the Common-prayer, for the Third Offence, is the forfeiture of all the Criminals Goods and Chattels, and Impriſonment during Life. This Clauſe did not paſs without a Guard for the Honour and Privileges of the Lords: For 'tis expreſly, *provided that all and ſingular Lords of the Parliament* ſhall be tried by their Peers. And thus in the late Reign 'twas Enacted, that all Lords of Parliament having Place and Voice in Parliament, are to be tried by their Peers, in caſe of petit Treaſons, Murder, and Felony. * Now Sir *Edward Coke* makes no ſcruple to affirm, that the Biſhops are Lords of Parliament. His Reaſons are undeniable. *They hold of the King*, ſays he, *by Barony, and are call'd by Writ to Parliament.* * From hence it follows that by the *Statutes* of Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, laſt mention'd, the Biſhops have a Right to be tried by their Peers, no leſs than the Temporal Nobility.

The *Service Book* having paſs'd the *Parliament*, was Printed ſoon after: How far it differ'd from the *Second Book* ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward*, the *Reader* may ſee in the *Records*. (*c*)

Beſides the *Statute* already mention'd for Authorizing the Queen to take Biſhops Lands into her Hands upon a Vacancy, there were other Private *Acts* for the Alienation of Church Eſtates. For inſtance, an *Act* for the aſſurance of certain Lands parcell of the Biſhoprick of *London* to the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Rich*, and the Lord *Darcy*. And an *Act* for aſſuring Lands Parcell of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to King *Edward*'s *Patentees*. (*d*)

There was another *Act* which affected the Patrimony of the Church to a greater Extent, tho' at firſt appearance it carried a friendly Aſpect. By this *Statute* the Biſhops were barr'd making any Grants of their Farms or Mannors for more than One and Twenty Years, or Three Lives at the fartheſt, unleſs it were to the Queen, her Heirs, and Succeſſors. But this exception left the Breach open. For the Courtiers, as *Cambden* obſerves, abuſing the Queen's goodneſs, and practiſing upon ſome mercenary Clergy, got ſome of the beſt Eſtates of the Biſhopricks convey'd to them. * Thus for inſtance, *Crediton* was gain'd from the *See* of *Exeter*, and *Sherborn* from *Salisbury*: Not to mention the Alienation of a great many other wealthy Mannors from *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, and other Biſhopricks.

(a) D'ewes *Journal*. *The Engliſh Common-prayer-book compil'd by the Clergy.*

(b) Coll. Cor. Chriſt. Cant. Synodal. *Fol.* 84.

* 4. & 5. Phil. & Mar. cap. 4.

* Coke Inſtitut. *p.* 1. *Fol.* 97.

(c) *See Records Num.* LXXVII *The Differences between this Book and the Second ſet forth in the Reign of Ed*ward VI.

(d) D'ewes *Journal*.

* Cambden Eliz. Heylin Hiſt. Ref.

During this *Seſſions* a Peace was concluded at *Caſtle-Cambray* with the French and Scots. By the French Treaty, *Calais* was to be reſtor'd to the Queen with the Dependencies, after the Term of Eight Years. (*e*)

(e) Cambden Eliz.

On the Eighth of *May* the *Parliament* was Diſſolv'd; and on the Twenty Fourth of *June* following, the *Act* for the Engliſh Common-prayer-Book enur'd. And now the Oath of *Supremacy* was tendred to the Biſhops and Clergy. 'Twas refus'd by all the Biſhops, excepting *Kitchin* of *Landaff*, who *Cambden* calls *the Calamity of his See*. I ſhall give the *Reader* their Names together with part of the Character given them by this Learned Hiſtorian. *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, who reſign'd the *Broad Seal*, ſpent the remainder of his Time in Study and Retirement at *Cobham* in *Surry*, and had ſometimes the honour of a Viſit from the Queen. *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London* who had gone thro' ſeveral Embaſſies, but loſt himſelf by his Proſecuting Temper, and harſh Management; *Cuthbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, a Prelate thoroughly Accompliſh'd in the Polite part of Learning. *Thomas Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely* the Queen's Ambaſſador at *Cambray*, where he manag'd the Treaty to great Commendation; *Gilbert Bourn* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* who took care of the Intereſt of his *See*. *John Chriſtopherſon* of *Chicheſter* a good Grecian, as appears by what he has Tranſlated of *Euſebius* and *Philo Judeus*. But by the way this Prelate did not live long enough to refuſe the *Oath*: (*f*) He died within ſix Weeks after Queen *Mary*. For the Dean and *Chapter* of *Canterbury*, ſeiz'd the Spiritualties of the *See* of *Chicheſter* vacant by the Death of *Chriſtopherſon January* the Second 1559. And here to make the obſervation bear, the Learned *Harmer* takes it for granted the *Canterbury Regiſter* began their Computation either on *Chriſtmas Day*, or the firſt of *January*. (*g*) To go on with Cambden's Liſt of ejected Biſhops; *John White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* a tolerable Scholar, and as the times went, no ill Poet. *Thomas Watſon* of *Lincoln* a good School Divine, but of a ſower, and unſociable Humour. *Ralph Bain* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, who reviv'd the Hebrew Learning, and was *Regius* Profeſſor of that Language at *Paris* under *Francis* the Firſt. *Owen Oglethorpe* of *Carliſle*, *James Turberville* of *Exeter*, and *David Pool* of *Peterborough*. Theſe ejected Biſhops were Impriſon'd at firſt, but ſoon after, their confinement was made more eaſy, and they were either put into their Friends Hands, or the cuſtody of the *Reform'd* Biſhops. 'Tis true, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*, who had been moſt troubleſome, and threatn'd to Excommunicate the Queen, had no ſhare in this Favour. But as for *Cuthbert Scott* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Richard Pate* of *Worceſter*, and *Thomas Goldwell* of St. *Aſaph*, they had the Liberty of retiring beyond Sea, which they made their Choice. (*h*) When theſe Biſhops were turn'd out, may be accounted for as far as the Province of *Canterbury*, by inſpecting the *Dates* when the Spiritualties of their reſpective *Sees* were ſeiz'd by the Dean and *Chapter* of *Canterbury*. For during the vacancy of this Metropolitical *See*, the Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction was in the Hands of the Dean and *Chapter*. Now the Spiritualties of the *See* of *London*, void by *Bonner's* Deprivation, were thus ſeiz'd *June* the ſecond 1559. The Spiritualties of *Litchfield June* the *24th*. The Spiritualties of *Worceſter June* the *30th*. The Spiritualties of *Lincoln July* the ſecond. The Spiritualties of St. *Aſaph July* the *15th*. The Spiritualties of *Wincheſter July* the *18th*. The Spiritualties of *Peterborough November* the Eleventh. Thoſe of *Exeter November* the *16th*. And thoſe of *Ely November* the 23d, all the ſame Year. (*i*) As for the *See* of *York*, the Dean and *Chapter* there, exercis'd the Spiritual Juriſdiction belonging to that Archbiſhoprick on the 3*d* of *Feb.* 155$\frac{59}{60}$.

The Parliament Diſſolv'd

Biſhops, &c. turn'd out for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy.

(f) Cambden Eliz. p. 37. Bp. Burnet pt. 2. p. 396.

(g) Regiſt. Cant. Harmer Specimen.

(h) Cambden Eliz.

(i) Regiſt. Cant. Harmer's Specimen, &c. Regiſt. Ebor.

Farther, on the *21th.* of *June* this Year, the Biſhops of *Carliſle* and *Cheſter* were Depriv'd by the Queens Commiſſioners, and the Deprivation of the Biſhop of *Durham* followed about Three Months after. In ſhort, they were all Depriv'd by the Queens Commiſſion. And it ſeems *Heath*, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were afterwards Excommunicated.

* Strype Annal.

The whole Number of the Clergy depriv'd at this time ſtands thus: Fourteen Biſhops already mention'd: Three Biſhops Elect: One Abbot, Four Priors, and one Abbeſs: Twelve Deans, Fourteen Archdeacons, Sixty Canons or Prebendaries, One Hundred Prieſts well preferr'd, Fifteen Heads of Colleges in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; to which may be added about Twenty Doctors in ſeveral Faculties. (*k*) But then conſidering there are about Nine Thouſand Four Hundred Spiritual Promotions in *England*, this was no ſurprizing Number upon ſo great a Revolution in the Church. As to the Biſhops they had moſt of them ſworn the *Regale* in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. Not to mention their Compliance with the *Reformation* under Edward VI. But ſince they had now made their Submiſſion to the *See* of *Rome*, and gone all the Religious Lengths of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, they were reſolv'd to make a ſtand, and adhere to their laſt Change. And in regard they threw up their Preferments, and ventur'd the Penalties of the *Act*, 'tis moſt likely they went off upon Motives of Conſcience.

The number of the ejected Clergy, Religious, &c.

(k) Cambden Harmer's Specimen, &c. Biblioth. Cotton. Titus. C. X.

To be ſomewhat more particular: Soon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament the Fourteen Biſhops, together with ſome others of the Clergy, are ordered to attend the Queen. At their coming She put them in mind of the *Act* of *Supremacy*, recommended the Affairs of the Church, preſs'd them to Uniformity, and ſuggeſted the diſcharging the Superſtitious Worſhip of the Roman Communion.

“ Upon this the Archbiſhop of *York* replied, that the Dean and *Chapter* of *Canterbury* with ſeveral Biſhops of both *Provinces* had deſir'd him to move her Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to recollect the late Queen her Siſters Zeal to the Apoſtolick *See*: That the engagements of that Princeſs to his *Holineſs* were binding to herſelf and Succeſſors. And that unleſs theſe Articles were made good, and Hereſy ſuppreſs'd, the Kingdom muſt lie under perpetual Ignominy and Cenſure.

The Biſhops order'd to attend the Queen

The Queen told him, that “ as *Joſhua* declar'd *I and my Houſe will ſerve the Lord*; ſo herſelf and her Subjects were reſolv'd to be govern'd by that Reſolution. That ſhe had call'd her Parliament and the Clergy together in imitation of *Joſiah*, *to*

The Queens Anſwer to the Archbiſhop of York.

“ *make a Covenant with God*, and not with the Biſhop of *Rome*. That 'twas not in her Siſters Power to bind her Succeſſors to an uſurp'd Authority. That her *Crown* being wholly independent, ſhe would own no Soveraign, excepting Chriſt Jeſus the King of Kings. That the Pope's Uſurpation over Princes was intolerable: And that ſhe ſhould look upon all her Subjects both Clergy and Lay, as Enemies to God and the *Crown*, who ſhould from henceforth abett his Pretenſions. (*l*)

(*l*) Sydney Memoir. Annal. *Queen* Elizabeth.

About this time *Jewel* afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*, wrote to *Zurich*, and gave *Bullinger* an Account of the State of Religion in *England*.

May 22. 1559.

Jewels *Letter to* Bullinger.

“ He returns this *Divine* Thanks for his Favours in *Germany*; and for the Letters he had lately written to encourage them to ſtand firm for the Truth. That Arguments for Reſolution were very neceſſary at the preſent Juncture. That the *Reform'd* in *England* had not only their old Antagoniſts, but their late Friends to encounter. That theſe latter had deſerted the Cauſe, join'd the Enemy, and made a more vigorous and obſtinate Reſiſtance than any of the reſt. And which gives us, ſays he, moſt Trouble, we have the Remainder of the Spaniſh Vices, Luxury, Pride, and Libertiniſm, to conteſt with. As yet our Fortunes are unreſtor'd, and we are little the better for returning to our Country. But we hope our Affairs will mend ſhortly. For the Queen is a prudent and religious Princeſs, and inclin'd to favour us. Religion is recover'd to the ſame Foot on which it ſtood in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. And I am ſatisfied the Letters ſent hither by your ſelf and your Republick, had a conſiderable weight in this matter. The Queen won't endure the Style of *Head* of the Church of *England*. She is altogether of Opinion, that Title is too big for any Mortal, and ought to be given to none but our Bleſſed Saviour. And beſides, it has been ſo horribly abuſed by the Pope, that 'tis ſcarcely conſiſtent with a good Conſcience for any Perſon to make uſe of it.

“ The Scottiſh Presbyterians call'd this Diſtinction, a *Blaſphemous Title* when us'd either by Popes or Princes. Their Argument is this; the Church ſay they, is the Spouſe of Chriſt: No Spouſe can be ſaid to have any other Head, but him whoſe Spouſe ſhe is. Now if the Church ſhould acknowledge herſelf to be the Spouſe of any other, but of Chriſt, ſhe were a profeſs'd Whore and Adultereſs. †

† *Reformation of the Church of* Scotland. *Preface.*

“ To return, our Univerſities continues *Jewel*, are in a lamentable Condition, and almoſt quite loſt to all Senſe of Orthodoxy: There are not above Two in *Oxford* of our Sentiment: And thoſe ſo far diſpirited as to be good for nothing. Thus Friar *Soto* and another Spaniſh Monk have entirely deſtroy'd *Peter Martyrs* Plantation, and made a mere *Wilderneſs* of the Lord's *Vineyard*. You can ſcarcely imagine ſo great a Ravage, and Deſolation of Principles, could have happen'd in ſo ſhort a Time. And tho' I ſhould be glad to ſee any thing from *Zurich* in *England*, yet I would not adviſe you to ſend any young Travellers hither at preſent, unleſs you would have them come home with leſs Learning, and a worſe Belief.

The reſt of the Letter relates either to private Perſons, or Buſineſs of *State*. (*m*)

(m) Biblioth. Tigurin. *page* 134.

Some time after the Diſſolution of the Parliament there was a Conſultation at *Greenwich*, whether 'twas adviſeable for the Queen to receive *Martinegoe* the Popes Nuncio: 'Twas carried in the Negative: The Reaſons alledg'd were, that by the Statutes of the Realm no Perſon with a publick Character from *Rome* was permitted to come into the Kingdom: That at the preſent Juncture, 'twould be dangerous to entertain an Agent from his *Holineſs*: That the Countenance of a Nuncio would encourage the Malecontents and hinder their Compliance with the late Eſtabliſhment. *

* Biblioth. Cotton. Julius F. 6. Annal. Eliz. Appen. Num. 20.

The Pope was all along advertiz'd of the Progreſs of the *Reformation*. When the Queen came firſt to the *Crown*, he was extravagantly haughty: He pretended *England* was a Fee of the Apoſtolick *See*. And that the Queen ought to ſubmit her Title to his Deciſion. Thus he continued impolitickly ſtiff, and untractable till Things were paſt Remedy. At laſt, perceiving his *Gaſconades* made him only remarkable, he grew more moderate in his Demands, drop'd his Civil Soveraignty, and only inſiſted there might be no Innovation in *Religion*. Sir *Edward Cairne* the Queens Ambaſſador told him, he had no Inſtructions to anſwer upon that Head: And that the way for his Holineſs to receive Satiſfaction, would be to declare for the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage between King *Henry*, and *Anne Bulloign*. This was a ſhocking Requeſt to the Pope and Conclave, and could not be complied with without putting a Diſgrace upon the former Proceedings of that Court. They choſe rather to riſque the Iſſue, than run upon this Rock. And when by farther Advices from *England*, his Holineſs underſtood a Revolution in the Church was coming forward, he commanded *Cairne* not to depart *Rome* without leave; and in the mean time undertake the Government of the Engliſh *Hoſpital* there. The Popes Aim in putting this Reſtraint upon *Cairne*, was to prevent his giving Intelligence of the Practice carried on by the *French* and the Court of *Rome*, againſt the Queen. But *Cairne* had ſent ſome Advices of this Intrigue already. (*n*) But the Deſign was quickly no Secret, nor needed any Agent to diſcover it. For now the Queen of *Scots*, ſway'd either by the Ambition of the Dauphin her Husband, the Popes Incitement, or the Advice of the *French* King, puts up a Claim to the Britiſh Soveraignty, aſſumes the Title, and quarters the Arms of *England*: She founds her Right upon Deſcent, and pretends her ſelf Heir to the late Queen *Mary*. Theſe Pretenſions could not be ſupported without a Blemiſh upon Queen *Elizabeths* Birth, and plainly declaring her Illegitimate. This was a ſevere Provocation, gave our Queen a laſting Averſion to that Princeſs, and was attended with a very Tragical Event.

The Pope orders the Queens Ambaſſador to continue at Rome.

(n) Cambden Eliz.

The Queen of Scots *puts up her Claim to the Crown of* England.

Heylin Hiſt. Ref. Leſley de Reb. geſt. Scot. *p.* 503.

The Queen thus alarm'd with a Competition, provided for her Defence, and it may be went on with greater Vigour in the *Reformation*.

To this purpoſe, a Body of *Injunctions* was ſet

Queen Eliza*beths Injunctions.*

ſet forth: The Import of them was moſtly the ſame with thoſe of King *Edwards*. However, the Reſemblance admits of ſome Difference. There is a ſingular *Article* relating to the Marriage of the Clergy. 'Tis very myſteriouſly couch'd; and had it not the Face of ſo ſolemn an Authority, would look like Banter and Burleſque. But having taken notice of this Proviſion elſewhere, (o) I ſhall ſay nothing farther. The other new Regulations in theſe *Injunctions* are much more intelligible.

The Firſt is, concerning the uſe of ſinging, which the Queen would have kept up to preſerve the Science and Advantages of Muſick: That therefore all Maintenances ſettled for the Service of the Choirs ſhould be continued. There is likewiſe Care taken that an Affectation of Skill ſhould not be carried ſo far as to make the uſe of the Church *Service* leſs ſignificant: And that the Common-Prayer ſhould be ſung in ſo plain and diſtinct a manner, that the Pronunciation might be altogether as well underſtood, as if it had been read. However, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that were particularly pleas'd with Muſick, a Religious Anthem was allow'd at the beginning or end of the Service. Purſuant to this Order the Pſalms were ſung in plain Song in moſt Pariſh Churches. And in the Queens Chappel, in Cathedrals, and Colleges; the Hymns were ſung in a more awakening and improv'd manner: And to make the Performance farther entertaining and ſolemn, Organs and other Inſtrumental Muſick were made uſe of.

To proceed, the cuſtomary Reverences in Churches are order'd to be continued. For inſtance, when the Name of Jeſus was pronounc'd, all Perſons were to bow, or ſhew ſome other ſuitable Mark of Reſpect.

Farther, there are Directions given for placing the Communion Table. The Article ſets forth, that no Altar ſhould be taken down, but under the Inſpection of the Curate or Church-wardens, and that the Holy Table was to ſtand in the Place of the Altar.

The Form for bidding *Prayers* in the Congregation, is almoſt literally the ſame with that preſcrib'd in the Fifty Fifth Canon of 1603.

The Senſe in which the Queen was willing to receive the Oath of Supremacy.

And becauſe the Oath of *Supremacy* had been miſconſtrued by ſeveral Perſons, as if the Kings or Queens of this Realm, had challeng'd *an Authority and Power of Miniſtry of Divine Service in the Church*; the Queen diſclaims the Supremacy in this Senſe, and that her Majeſty neither does, nor ever will, challenge ſuch Authority: And that ſhe intends to ſtretch the *Regale* no farther than 'twas carried by King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth; *and was of Antient Time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm*: And how far this reach'd, the *Admonition* proceeds to explain: And that is, *under God to have the Soveraignty and Rule over all manner of Perſons born within theſe Realms, Dominions and Country, either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, ſo as no foreign Power ought to have any Superiority over them.* And here the Queen profeſſes herſelf willing to accept the Oath of Supremacy ſworn in this Senſe. Had this *Admonition*, as 'tis call'd, been paſs'd into an Act of Parliament; or the ſame Explanation at leaſt, been made by ſucceeding Princes, it might poſſibly have not been unſerviceable.

At the end of the *Injunctions* there is an Order for removing the Altars, tho' not without the Overſight of the Curate, and one of the Church-wardens. The Order takes notice, that in ſome Places the Altars were not remov'd: And then ſubjoins, *that ſaving for an Uniformity there ſeems no matter of great moment, ſo that the Sacrament be duly and reverendly miniſtred.*

Some Divines perceiving, 'tis probable, the Queen had ſome Inclination to continue the old Cuſtom, and let the Altars ſtand, they drew up a Paper in which they endeavour'd to ſhew the Inconveniency of adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt at an Altar. I ſhall give the *Reader* the Reaſons, omitting that Part of them which has been already mention'd in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

“They argue firſt, that the Holy Ghoſt in the New Teſtament makes mention of a Table, 1 *Cor.* 10. but no where calls it an Altar. *

“Secondly, the Antients frequently uſ'd the Name of a Table, and for this they cite the *Council* of Nice, St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Chryſoſtome*. They grant theſe Fathers call it an Altar ſometimes, but then as they argue, thoſe Places are not to be interpreted to the Letter. For as the Fathers when they call'd the Lord's Supper a Sacrifice, mean no more, as they explain themſelves, than the Commemoration or Reſemblance of a Sacrifice: † So by Parity of Reaſon when they term the Place where the Elements are conſecrated an Altar, yet they mean no more than a Repreſentation or Remembrance, and not the Form of a material Altar: Thirdly, an Altar is a Term of Relation and ſuppoſes a Sacrifice, from whence it follows, that if we allow the Firſt, we muſt grant the Second. Now this was more than theſe Divines were willing to allow, which is a Sign they had no great Regard for the Language of Antiquity.

“Fourthly, 'tis pretended, if the Communion ſhould be adminiſtred at an Altar, the Miniſter could not be heard, and by conſequence the Engliſh Common-Prayer would be as inſignificant as the Latin.

“And granting there was no direct Unlawfulneſs in the Practice, the continuance of Altars, conſidering the Juncture would be attended with great Inconveniencies. For firſt, their Adverſaries would charge them with Inconſtancy, and departing from the Order ſettled in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. Secondly, the greateſt Part of the Reform'd Preachers in *England* have frequently deliver'd themſelves in the Pulpits againſt the Uſe of Altars, and therefore can't recommend them now without Self-contradiction, and owning themſelves in a Fault: For as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *if I build again thoſe Things which I deſtroy, I make my ſelf a Tranſgreſſor.* Fourthly, they urge the People were generally prepoſſeſs'd againſt Altars: That the keeping them on would end in claſhing and Schiſm. That this Iſſue was more likely to be expected, in Regard the Altars in many Places were remov'd alrea-

(o) *Moral Eſſays upon Pride.*

* *This Obſervation ſeems to go upon a Miſtake See* 1*ſt.* Matthew 5. *v.* 23. & Heb. 13. *v.* 10.

† Chryſoſt. 13. Heb. Auguſt. Ep. 23.

“dy. Fifthly, ſince her Majeſty has declar'd her ſelf very unwilling to ſet aſide any Eccleſiaſtical Laws confirm'd by Parliament, her Subjects will be much ſurpriz'd, if any Order ſhould be iſſued out for the replacing of Altars, conſidering the Rubrick of the Common-Prayer which ſtands upon a Parliamentary Authority, ſuppoſes a Table for the Adminiſtration of the Holy Euchariſt, and gives Directions about it. Sixthly, that Biſhop *Ridley* juſtified the King's *Letter* for the removing of Altars, and that *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* was committed for Non-compliance in this matter. Seventhly, they deſire the Queen to remember, that *Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Martyr, Alaſco, Hedio, Capito,* and a great many other eminent Divines had made the taking away the Altars part of the Reformation. And that this was the Practice of the Proteſtants in *Savoy,* and *Switzerland,* and particularly at *Baſil* and *Geneva,* at *Straſbourg, Wormes, Franckfort,* and other Places. That amongſt the Reform'd none but the *Lutherans* made Uſe of Altars: But that their Churches had more Imperfections, as they call them, ſtill remaining, ſuch as the guilding of Images, the Common-Prayer half Latin, and half high Dutch, and the Elevation of the Sacrament of the Altar. Eighthly, they repeat part of their Sixth Reaſon, and argue from the Authority of thoſe Eminent Engliſh Divines who ſuffer'd in the late Reign: They mention *Cranmer* and *Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Bradley,* with an *&c.* That theſe Men of Character had approv'd the Second *Common-Prayer-Book,* publiſh'd in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, and particularly declar'd themſelves for the Preference of a Table. So that by ſetting Altars up again, 'twill look as if we condemn'd ſome part of the Doctrine of theſe good Men, and concurr'd with their Adverſaries that burnt them. And laſtly, they put her Majeſty in mind, that if the Opinion of the Preachers and Learned Men of this Realm were layed before Her, they believe her Highneſs would find them unanimous in this Point. *

* *Mſs.* Petyt. Strype Annal. Eliz.

This Addreſs the *Reader* may perceive was *prior* to the ſetting forth the *Injunctions*: The Application had its Effect, as appears, by the *Article* for removing the Altars already mention'd.

As to the Time of theſe *Injunctions,* they were certainly publiſh'd before the 17th of *November*: For the *Print* tells us they were ſet forth in the Firſt Year of her Reign. And by the Firſt Article it may be probably collected, they came out in the Interval of the Two Religions, between the turning out the old Biſhops, and making the new. For in the Firſt *Article,* there's no mention of any Biſhops, where it might have been expected: The Orders being only directed to Deans, Archdeacons, and ſo downwards. (p) Who form'd theſe *Injunctions* is ſomewhat uncertain. By a Paſſage of Dr. *Cox*'s Letter to a Friend of his at *Wormes,* 'tis not improbable he might be employed in this Affair. For there he acquaints his Correſpondent, they were pulling up the Popes Fences, and cultivating the Lord's Vineyard. (q) That theſe *Directions* were review'd and touched over by Secretary *Cecil,* is pretty plain, as appears by a Paſſage of Archbiſhop *Parkers* Letter written ſome Years after to this *Miniſter.* † Where the Archbiſhop tells him, that whatever the Queens Eccleſiaſtical Prerogative may be, he is afraid, 'tis not ſo large as his Lordſhips Pen had made it in the *Injunctions.*

(p) Sparrows *Collections.*

(q) Strype Annal. Append. Num. 21.

The Injunctions are review'd by Secretary Cecil.

† *This Letter is dated* April 11. 1575.

The next thing I ſhall relate is a Regal *Viſitation* manag'd by Commiſſioners, aſſign'd to ſeveral Circuits. They proceeded upon the Plan of the *Injunctions*: And had over and above, a Book of *Articles* printed for that purpoſe. (r)

A Viſitation.

(r) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref.*

By theſe Directions all carv'd Images, Paintings, of Counterfeit Miracles, and other ſuperſtitious Remains, were remov'd out of Churches, and defac'd. They enquir'd likewiſe into the Preaching, Morals, and Management of the Clergy. In *London* the Commiſſioners were Sir *Richard Sackville,* Dr. *Huick,* Mr. *Horn* afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter,* and one *Salvage.* Theſe Gentlemen calling ſuch Perſons of every Pariſh before them as they thought fit, gave them an Oath to preſent upon the *Articles* deliver'd. And here ſome Peoples ignorant Zeal carried them too far; For not only Images were deſtroy'd, but Copes, Altar Carpets, Prayer-Books, other Church Furniture, and even Crucifixes, were burnt together. There is an odd bantering Letter written from *London* into the Country, upon this occaſion, the Words are theſe.

Images remov'd, and Paintings defac'd and burnt.

“Since the Day before our *Bartholomew* Fair, we have had ſuch Bonefires, as paſſes all the Blazes that were made for the winning of St. *Quintins*: For all our Church Patrons, *Maries, Johns, Roodes,* and all the Rabblement of the Popes Ornaments, were ſent to *Terra Sancta* in this fiery Sacrifice. (s)

29. Auguſt. 1559.

(s) Biblioth. Robt. Harley Armig.

To worſhip Images, is puſhing Regard much too far; 'tis without doubt a Criminal Exceſs, unpractis'd, and condemn'd by the Primitive Church: But then on the other hand, to treat them coarſly and burn them, looks like an Affront to thoſe they repreſent, and is altogether unbecoming Chriſtians. To burn the Figure of the *Croſs,* and eſpecially that of our Saviour, is to ſpeak ſoftly, a horrid Profanation: And if we may reaſon from ſuch Indignities done to Men, muſt be ſuperlatively wicked. The *Reader* therefore is to ſuppoſe, that all this Diſorder was without Commiſſion, and nothing but Mob-Execution: For 'tis evident the Practice of the Queen and Court was quite different, and therefore would give no Countenance to ſuch ſingular Extremes.

The Queen was the more diſpos'd to give way to the Removal of Images, upon the ſcore of an impoſterous Practice lately diſcover'd. At the Arrival of the Earl of *Suſſex* the Queens Lieutenant in *Ireland,* the *Litany* was ſung in Engliſh at *Chriſt Church Dublin.* Some bigotted Papiſts were much diſturb'd at this way of Worſhip, and endeavour'd to retrieve their old *Service* by counterfeiting a Miracle. To this purpoſe, a Marble Figure of our Saviour ſtanding in the Cathedral with a Reed in his Hand,

and a Crown of Thorns on his Head, was obſerv'd to bleed through the Thorns upon the Face of the Crucifix. This wonderful Appearance happen'd in Service time, when the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Privy Council were at Church. When this was perceiv'd by the People, they were ſtrangely affected, eſpecially when one privy to the Contrivance told them, *that our Saviour could not chuſe but ſweat Blood, when Hereſy was come into the Church.* In ſhort, all the Audience being not of the ſame mind, the Miracle occaſion'd a Confuſion, and the Congregation broke up. Several of the People however ſtayed behind, fell on their knees, and prayed before the Image.

The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* ſuſpecting ſome foul Play, order'd the Sexton to waſh and examine the Image. This being done, the Man perceiv'd a Spunge ſoak'd in Blood within the Hollow of the Head. This Spunge one *Lee* formerly a Monk of the Cathedral, had put within the Head that *Sunday* Morning, and being loaded with Blood, 'twas ſtrain'd through the Cracks of the Marble, and fell down in Drops upon the Face. The Cheat being thus diſcover'd, the Archbiſhop preach'd in the Church upon that Subject the next *Sunday*. And to make the more ſerviceable Impreſſion, *Lee* with his Aſſiſtants were planted upon a Table before the Pulpit, with their Hands and Legs tied, and their Crime in Paper upon their Breaſt. In this Equipage they appear'd Three *Sundays*, were impriſon'd for ſome time, and afterwards baniſh'd the Realm. A Detail of this Impoſture was tranſmitted in a Letter by Archbiſhop *Curwin* to *Parker* Elect of *Canterbury*. *Parker* brought it to the Queen, gave a Turn to her Inclination, and prevail'd with her ſo far as to gain her Conſent for the removing Images out of Churches: However, all his Learning and Zeal could not perſwade the Queen to part with the Crucifix, and lighted Tapers in her own Cloſet: She thought 'tis likely that the arguing againſt the Uſe, from the Abuſe, was ſhort of exact Reaſoning. *

* Cecil's *Memoirs.*

On Midſummer Day this Year the Queen ſign'd Commiſſions for a Royal *Viſitation* all over *England*. One of them for the Archbiſhoprick and Province of *York*, is directed to *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward* Earl of *Darby*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Lord Evers, Sir *Henry Piercy*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Sir *James Crofts*, and Sir *Henry Gates* Knights: To theſe are join'd *Edwyn Sandys* Dr. in Divinity, *Henry Harvey* Dr. of Law, *Richard Bows*, *George Brown*, *Richard Kingſmale* and *Chriſtopher Eſcot*, Eſquires.

The Inſtrument ſets forth in the beginning, “that the Queen could not faithfully diſcharge the Buſineſs of her Station without making a Proviſion for the Worſhip of God Almighty, and the propagating the true Religion: From hence ſhe proceeds to declare her Royal Power abſolute, with Reſpect both to Church and *State*. *Nos igitur Regalis & abſolutæ Poteſtatis noſtræ, nobis in hoc Regno noſtro commiſſæ, reſpectu, quoniam utrumque Regni noſtri Statum tam Eccleſiaſticum, quam Laicum viſitare, & certas Pietatis ac Virtutis Regulas illis præſcribere conſtituimus, præfatum Franciſcum Comitem Salop.* &c.

Amongſt theſe Fourteen Commiſſioners, there is never a Clergy-man excepting *Sandys*, unleſs *Harvey* Dr. in Law was in Orders, which is ſomewhat unlikely. Notwithſtanding this, any Two of them are authoriz'd to viſit all Cathedrals, Collegiate, and Parochial Churches; and all Degrees of the Clergy the Biſhops not excepted. They are impower'd to examine them upon the Articles of their Belief, the Qualifications of their Learning, and their Behaviour as to Morals: And in caſe they find them Defective, Heterodox, or Irregular, they are to proceed againſt them by Impriſonment, and Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. Farther, their Commiſſion impowers them to deliver new Injunctions, to declare Spiritual Promotions void, to allow competent Penſions to thoſe who quit their Livings; to examine Letters of *Orders*, to give Inſtitution and Induction, to convene *Synods*, and receive *Synodals*; and to excommunicate thoſe who refuſe to pay: To give Licences to preach to thoſe they judge qualified, to diſcharge Perſons committed to Priſon upon the Score of Religion: To try the Cauſes of Deprivation, and reſtore ſuch as have been illegally diſplaced: In ſhort, their Commiſſion takes in the whole compaſs of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and reaches to every Part of the Epiſcopal Function, excepting Ordination, conſecrating of Churches, and officiating in *Divine Service*. And which is ſtill more ſingular, *Sandys* the Clergy-man is not conſtituted one of the *Quorum*, but any Two of the Lay-commiſſioners are authoriz'd to tranſact all this extraordinary Buſineſs, and to exert the higheſt Cenſures of the Church. * This one of our Learned Hiſtorians obſerves, was more than ſome People underſtood, and ſeem'd a great Stretch of the Queens Supremacy. But the Author appears inclin'd to juſtify the Commiſſion. For he ſubjoins, *'twas thought that the Queen might do that, as well as the late Chancellors did it in the* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts*; ſo that one Abuſe was the Excuſe for another. † But 'tis to be fear'd this Plea won't hold; for the Imitation of an ill Precedent is no ſufficient Defence: Beſides, Lay-chancellors, tho' they ſometimes judge what Crimes deſerve Excommunication, yet they never pronounce the Sentence: That ſolemn Part is always perform'd by a Prieſt. But theſe Commiſſioners were not tied to the Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Courts: Their Juriſdiction was unconfin'd and paramount: And therefore as far as it appears, they might have pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication without exceeding the bounds of their *Deputation*. And laſtly, the *Chancellors* act in the Biſhops Name, and by Virtue of his Commiſſion; of the Biſhop I ſay, who has undoubtedly a Right to admit to the Communion of the Church, and exclude from it. But theſe Fourteen Commiſſioners manag'd purely upon the Strength of the *Regale*. They had no Authority but what they receiv'd from the Queen, who was without Queſtion a Lay Perſon, and by conſequence could make out no Claim to any Share of the Sacerdotal Character, nor produce any Warrant from our Saviour for the Exerciſe of the *Keys*.

* *Biſhop* Burnet *pt. 2d. Records Book* 3d. *n.* 7.

† Id. *pt. 2d. page* 401.

Foreign Princes ſolicit the Queen for the Ejected Biſhops

The Caſe of the Popiſh Biſhops lately turn'd out, was not neglected *Abroad.* The Queen was Solicited by the Emperor, and other Roman Catholick Princes, to deal favorably, with them: And to allow the Papiſts ſome Churches in Cities, and great Towns. To this her Majeſty replied, "that notwithſtanding thoſe "Biſhops had diſobey'd the Laws, and "diſturb'd the Quiet of the Kingdom: "Though they refus'd Compliance with "that Doctrine, which in the Reigns of "her Father and Brother, they had publickly recommended, and maintain'd: "Notwithſtanding this Inconſiſtency, and "Miſbehavior; yet in regard to thoſe "Princes, ſhe was willing to treat them "gently; though this could not be done "without diſguſting the reſt of her Subjects. But to grant them Churches, "to Officiate in their Worſhip, and keep "up a diſtinct Communion, were things "which the publick Intereſt, her own "Honour and Conſcience, could not allow; neither was there any reaſon "for ſuch an Indulgence: For there "was no New *Faith* propagated in *England:* No Religion ſet up, but that "which was commanded by our Saviour, practis'd by the Primitive Church, "and unanimouſly approv'd by the *Fathers* of the beſt Antiquity. Beſides, "to aſſign Churches to different Ceremonies and Perſwaſions, is the direct "way to perplex good People, and make "them unreſolved. To encourage Faction, to break Religion into Sects, "and Parties, and Embroil both Church "and *State.* Now ſuch a Toleration "would be both unwarrantable in it "ſelf, and pernicious in the Preſident: "And which is more, would be neither "convenient, nor ſafe, for thoſe who "ſhould Enjoy it. And therefore, though "out of her own Clemency, and eſpecially at the Requeſt of Crown'd Heads, "ſhe was willing to connive a little, "in order to reclaim thoſe Prelates to "better Temper, yet ſhe was reſolv'd "not to be ſo kind, as to feed their "Diſeaſe, aud cheriſh their Obſtinacy. (s)

Her Anſwer.

The Popiſh Biſhops and other Clergy of Character, quitting their Employments, was not without ſomething of Inconvenience. This turn diſfurniſh'd the Church in ſeveral Places: For there was not a ſufficient number of qualified Perſons, to ſucceed them in the Charge. And thus not a few *Mechanicks,* altogether as unlearn'd as the moſt remarkable of thoſe ejected, were preferr'd to Dignities and Livings. However, the greateſt part of the Roman Catholick Clergy thought it moſt adviſeable to ſwear the *Supremacy,* renounce the Pope, and conform to the *Reformation.* They ventur'd upon this Latitude out of a politick reſerve. 'Twas to keep the Proteſtants out of the Churches, and put themſelves in a condition to ſupport their *Abdicated* Friends. They ſeem'd to applaud this prudential Conduct, and hop'd the Pope would diſpenſe with the whole length of their Compliance.

Id.

The review of the *Common-Prayer,* the throwing out the Petition againſt the Pope in the *Litany,* and reſtoring ſome part of King *Edward*'s firſt Book in the Communion Office, the decency of the Sacerdotal Habits, the Muſick and Solemnity of the *Service,* reconcil'd a great part of the Roman Catholick *Laity* to our Communion. And thus for the firſt Ten Years of Queen *Elizabeth,* they came frequently to Church. This Sir *Edward Coke* declar'd in his Charge at *Norwich* Aſſizes; and in his Speech againſt *Garnet* and other Conſpirators in the *Powder Plot.* And this he affirm'd upon his own certain Knowledge, and gave an inſtance in *Beddinfield, Cornwallis,* and ſeveral others of the Roman Catholick Perſwaſion. And to fortify *Coke*'s Evidence, the ſame thing is averr'd by the Queen her ſelf, in her Inſtructions to Sir *Francis Walſingham:* * Here with reference to the principal Perſons of that Party, 'tis expreſly affirm'd, that they *did ordinarily reſort from the beginning of her Reign, in all open Places to the Churches, and to Divine Services in the Church, without contradiction, or ſhew of miſliking.* Now if the beſt diſtinguiſh'd of the Party, were thus conformable, we may imagine their Precedent was not without Effect, upon thoſe of more private condition. (t)

The Papiſts frequent the Engliſh Service for ſeveral Years.

However, this Compliance was not univerſally approved. Some Roman Catholicks ſtood off from our Communion from the beginning, and endeavor'd to propagate their Sentiment, as appears by a *Paper* Written againſt the Common-Prayer in the beginning of this Reign. (u) This *Paper* privately diſpers'd, was afterwards anſwer'd in Print by *Pilkington* Biſhop of *Durham.* To give the Reader ſome part of it.

Whereas the *Paper* objects that this Engliſh Common-Prayer-Book was ſet forth by the mere Authority of the *Laity,* the Biſhops and the whole Clergy of *England* diſagreeing to this Alteration. To this *Pilkington* anſwers, that in this reſpect, the Proceedings in the preſent Reign were no otherwiſe than in the laſt. That Queen *Mary* in her Parliaments, ſtifled one Religion and reviv'd another, which was the weight of the exception in the preſent Caſe: That the diſſenting Biſhops in Parliament could not reaſonably be ſaid to comprehend the whole Clergy: That many in the *Univerſities*, and elſewhere in the Country, had openly officiated in this *Service*, before it was impos'd by *Act* of Parliament, and which was more, her Majeſties late Parliament did by no means introduce a *New*, but only reſtor'd an old Religion: A Religion reform'd and ſettled by the Clergy and Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth; and afterwards ſuppreſs'd by Violence and Perſecution in the next Succeſſion.

(s) Cambden Eliz. *p.* 41.

* *The Letter is dated* August 11. 1570.

(t) Heylin's *Reformation juſtified. General Preface.*

(u) *See Records.* N°. 78

The *Sees* excepting *Landaff*, being now all Vacant either by Death, or Deprivation, the Reader may expect to find them fill'd: But this Proviſion was not made with that expedition the Church ſeem'd to require. 'Tis true, Dr. *Matthew Parker* was elected to the *See* of *Canterbury* on the firſt of *Auguſt*; and ſome others were thus far preferr'd, about the ſame time: But then there was no Conſecrations 'till the middle of *December* following. Why the compleating the Epiſcopal Character, and furniſhing the Diſtricts with ſpiritual Governors, was thus long deferr'd, is variouſly conjectur'd. Some will have it that the Queen made this Pauſe to gain Time for a regal *Viſitation*: And that the Commiſſioners were to make ſome preparatory Alterations before the Biſhops entred upon their Charge. Others fancy her Majeſty charm'd with the Luſtre of the *Regale*: That ſhe was reſolv'd to exerciſe the Privilege, and take the Satisfaction when 'twas leaſt encumbred. 'Tis not impoſſible but both theſe Conſiderations might have ſome Weight: But the main reaſon of this Conduct muſt be farther look'd for.

The Act for impowering the Queen for taking what Caſtles, Mannors, *&c.* her Majeſty thought fit, was not to enure 'till after the *Seſſions*. Beſides, the *Act* could reach no *Sees* but during the Vacancy. Now the Popiſh Biſhops being turn'd out for Non-Conformity, the Court thought it neceſſary to Poſtpone the Conſecrations of the *Reform'd*, 'till the Queen had time to iſſue out her Commiſſion, and carry a *Survey* through all the Biſhopricks. Now the Church Lands, as has been obſerved, were certified into the *Exchequer* upon the old Rents, without any Conſideration of *Fines*, or other caſual Profits; whereas the Compenſation was made up of poor Eſtates, rated at the utmoſt Extent. In ſhort, this was *Glaucus* his *Change*, excepting its being involuntary on the Churches part.

Parker and ſome other Biſhops Elect, foreſeeing how lamentably the Church would be impoveriſh'd, endeavor'd to prevail with the Queen to drop this ſeeming Advantage. Their Application 'tis confeſs'd, could not be too early: For ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, her Majeſty appointed Commiſſioners to ſurvey the vacant Biſhopricks, and ſend their returns into the *Exchequer*. And over and above, there was a ſpecial Commiſſion directed to the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Richard Sackville*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Mr. *Keilway*, a common Lawyer. Theſe Four, or any Three, or Two of them, are authorized to examine the Certificates of all Biſhops Lands, return'd into the *Exchequer*, and to deliver their Opinions, what quantity of them 'twas proper to annex to the *Crown*, and what Proportion in Impropriations and Tenths, ſhould be given back in exchange. The Churches Patrimony being referr'd to ſo few Hands, and put upon ſo nice an Iſſue, the Biſhops *Elect* thought it highly ſeaſonable to exert themſelves. To this purpoſe they Addreſs the Queen to ſtop the Progreſs of theſe Seizures, for the Commiſſioners had made no ordinary Diſpatch. And here amongſt other things they intreated her Majeſty the new *Sees* erected by King *Henry* might be continued; and that the Biſhops promoted thither might have the common Privileges of diſpoſing of the Prebends: That *Cliff* might be annex'd to the *See* of *Rocheſter*, and the *Benefice* lately laid to the *See* of *Cheſter*, not taken away. (*w*) And to come to the main Buſineſs, *Cox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*, applied himſelf particulary to the Queen, and put a *Paper* into her Hands to diſſwade the taking away the Temporalties of the Biſhops, upon ſuch an unequal Exchange.

September 13. 1559.

The Biſhops Elect, Addreſs the Queen againſt ſeizing the Temporalties of the Sees, *upon an Exchange mention'd in a late* Act.

(w) Strype's Annal.

And here he puts her in mind how happily ſhe has been inſtructed in the beſt Religion: That he had heard her ſay ſhe was not afraid of Dying, but ready to reſign at the firſt Summons of Providence: That from hence 'twould neceſſarily follow, her Majeſty muſt Act upon the Motives of Conſcience, the Fear of God, and the conſiderations of another World. From hence he goes on to an humble Requeſt, that her Commiſſioners may proceed no farther: That her Majeſties putting a ſtop to this Affair, would be a noble Inſtance of Goodneſs: The reaſons of his Petition ſhould come next; but here the *Record* fails. However, there is another *Paper* of the ſame Tendency under *Cox*'s Hands, and Addreſs'd to the Queen in his own Name, and the other Biſhops Elect: And here the Queen is ſolicited with variety of Arguments.

" They ſuggeſt to her Majeſty, that when
" by *Joſeph*'s advice, the *Ægyptians* con-
" vey'd their Eſtates to *Pharaoh*, to ſupport
" themſelves under the Famine, the Prieſts
" loſt none of their Property, nor felt the
" weight of the common Burthen. (*x*) That
when

(x) Gen. 47.

"when King *Artaxerxes* furniſh'd Mony and Materials for building the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and commanded the *Jews* to contribute to the Structure; There was an exception in this Order, to exempt the Prieſts and Levites from all *Toll*, *Tribute*, and *Cuſtom*: (y) That theſe Precedents were recorded by the Holy Ghoſt, for the Inſtruction of Poſterity: And that this was done to put Princes in Mind of extending their Bounty to the Miniſters of God; and not ſink them to a worſe Condition, and treat them with diſtinguiſhing Hardſhips. That the common Bleſſings of Providence were withdrawn and blaſted, becauſe the *Jews* were negligent in building the *Temple*. If therefore thoſe who build the Chriſtian Church, ſhall have their Pains diſcourag'd, and their Salaries leſſen'd, can God be pleas'd with ſuch uſage? God was angry with his People for Offering, and his Prieſts for receiving, the *Blind* and the *Lame* in Sacrifice; therefore if the beſt of the Churches Patrimony is wreſted from her, and a lean Conſideration return'd; both thoſe that take it away, and the Clergy that conſent to the Alienation, will incur the diſpleaſure of the Divine Majeſty. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* does not allow the *Will* of a Teſtator ſhould be alter'd in any particular: This reaſoning muſt evidently hold where things are ſettled for pious and beneficial Uſes. And ſince Men of Conſcience and Quality, have convey'd Lands for the ſupport of the Clergy, and the Service of the Chriſtian Religion, with what Juſtice can their *Wills* be broken through, and their godly Settlements defeated? God declares that the whole *Jewiſh* Nation were curs'd with Poverty, becauſe they fail'd in paying their Tythes, and firſt Fruits: And if the holy Revenues are *thus* leſſen'd, have we not reaſon to apprehend ſomewhat of a reſembling Calamity?

(y) Ezrah 7.

Haggai c. 1.

Mal. 1.

Mal. 3.

"That 'twas foretold in *Eſaiah*, that King's ſhould be *Nurſing Fathers*, and Queens *Nurſing Mothers*, (not *Spoilers* and *Stepdames*, to uſe the Words of the Paper) to his Church. In Obedience to this Prophecy, great Princes have not only regulated their Conduct by the Laws and Diſcipline of the Chriſtian Religion, but endow'd the Hierarchy, and ſupported them in their Function. and to be particular, the Kings and Queens of this Realm, though ſlenderly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, if compar'd to her Majeſty, have all along been Benefactors to the Church, and improv'd her Patrimony. God forbid, ſay they, your Grace ſhould be diſinclin'd to ſo honourable a Bounty, and act Counter to the Piety of your noble Progenitors. Such ſurprizing Meaſures would be acceptable News to your Enemies, diſhearten the Honeſt and Orthodox Clergy, and give an undoubted occaſion to Cenſure, and unſerviceable Reports.

"Your Majeſties Father and Brother, though they Diſſolv'd the *religious Houſes*, and took their Eſtates which had been abus'd, yet they never laid their Hands on the Endowments of the Secular Clergy. * And therefore when the *Univerſity* Colleges were granted them by *Act* of Parliament, in order to an Exchange, they would by no means make uſe of the Advantage. And ſince the preſent Caſe is a reſembling Inſtance, and has no worſe Plea, they humbly beſeech her Majeſty to manage by this Preſident. And ſince ſhe has given ſuch Proofs of a holy Zeal, and a hearty regard to the true Religion, they hope her Highneſs will ſupport the Intereſt of the Clergy, and countenance thoſe who carry our Saviour's Commiſſion.

* *This is a Miſtake.*

As to Impropriations they ſhould look upon it as a great Misfortune to part with their Lands upon ſuch an Exchange: For ſuppoſing the return ſhould amount to an Equivalent, they could not reconcile themſelves to it: Becauſe their Conſcience tells them this Revenue ought to revert to the Parochial Clergy, for otherwiſe the original Settlement is defeated, and the ends of the Endowment not anſwer'd.

"As to the forwardneſs of the *Parliament* for relieving her Graces Neceſſity, they have nothing to object: Tho' by the way 'tis to be fear'd, the force of the expedient will be ſpent in a ſhort time. But waving that Conjecture, they think themſelves bound in Conſcience to lay the matter before her Majeſty, and to ſuggeſt the Tendency of this new *Proviſion*, and that her Majeſty would pleaſe to act with that Reſerve, as may be conſiſtent with the Fear of God, and a regard to his Word and Sacraments: And to make this Remonſtrance the better receiv'd, they promiſe to aſſiſt her Majeſty with a conſiderable Summ, to be paid Yearly out of the Revenues of their Biſhopricks; hoping that when the *State* recover'd, and the exigency of the Juncture was over, the Mony advanc'd would be return'd. On the back ſide of the Addreſs, ſeveral of the *Sees* and Summs are mention'd, which without Queſtion would have been an effectual Preſident to the reſt. "For the purpoſe, *Canterbury* offer'd Two Hundred Pounds, *Ely* as much, *London* a

“ Hundred Pounds, *Hereford* and *Chicheſter* a Hundred Marks each.

At the cloſe of the *Paper*, they make a Solemn Appeal to God, “ that no Mercenary View, no indirect Motives, put them upon this Application : But that 'twas purely the Intereſt of Religion and Learning, and a dutiful regard for her Majeſties Honour, which govern'd them in this Affair. (*y*)

(y) Petit's Mſs. N°.64.

There was another *Paper* under *Cox*'s Hand, to be offer'd to the Queen for a farther Diſſwaſive. 'Tis call'd, *Conſiderations why Biſhops Temporalties ſhould not be taken away.*

The *Paper* ſuggeſts, “ that Biſhops have formerly brought up a great many Scholars at the *Univerſities*, founded Colleges, and promoted Learning to a very ſerviceable Degree : That by this *Exchange* they would be wholly diſabled for ſuch noble purpoſes. That Men will always be ſway'd in ſome Meaſure by Temporal Advantage : And when they perceive the Encouragements of Study withdrawn, they will take care not to Educate their Children to a lean Profeſſion, and make learned Beggars of them. Thus Knowledge, eſpecially with reſpect to Divinity, muſt loſe Ground lamentably in the Kingdom ; Chriſt Jeſus be *in a manner forgotten*, and Truth as much, or more Ecclips'd, as in the Times of Popery.

“ Queen *Mary* return'd thoſe Lands to the Biſhopricks, which had been taken away in her Brothers Reign, and look'd upon ſuch Seizures as down right Sacrilege. Now with Submiſſion, it may reaſonably be expected, a *Reform'd* Church ſhould not be treated with abatement of Favor.

“ Such Rigors upon the *Clergy*, will be blazon'd to diſadvantage, and carry an ill Sound through all Chriſtendom. For indeed the Uſage is without Preſident : There's no Parallel in *Germany*. In ſhort ſuch an *Exchange* will tarniſh the *Reformation*, and draw a blemiſh upon the *Goſpel*. For all People will ſay, *reforming Religion* is nothing but pretence : Nothing but a colour for ſeizing the Church Lands, and impoveriſhing the Biſhops. Beſides, when the Biſhops have loſt their Lands, the *Crown* will never have ſuch a proſpect of preſent ſupply upon occaſion. The reſt of their Arguments are coincident with the firſt *Paper*, excepting that they conclude with a terrible Example in *Belſhazzar* : “ That when this Prince had revell'd in the conſecrated Plate, he was frightn'd with an Apparition, ſtruck with immediate Vengeance, and loſt his Kingdom and his Life the ſame Day. (*z*)

(z) Mſs. Petit. Ibid.

And thus the Biſhops Elect plied her Majeſty with Arguments from Juſtice and good Nature, from Religion and Intereſt, from Credit in this World, and ſafety in the other. How they miſt reaching her Conſcience, and which way ſhe broke through all this reaſoning, is ſomewhat difficult to diſcover. The beſt way to relieve her Memory, is to ſuppoſe this remonſtrance was only prepar'd, but not laid before her. But this will be an unpardonable Omiſſion in the Biſhops who drew it up, and Convict them of want of Courage under their own Hands. Beſides, when they were thus well furniſh'd, 'tis not likely they could be guilty of ſo great a Failure. But which way ſoever the matter of Fact ſtands, 'tis certain the Queen was reſolv'd to take the Benefit of the *Act*, and enrich her ſelf, for ſome little time at leaſt, at the lamentable diſadvantage of the Clergy : And thus the Courtiers had another plentiful *Church Harveſt*. 'Tis granted Truth, and primitive Practiſe, can never be bought too dear : However, by the Conduct of this Reign eſpecially, it appears ſome People were reſolv'd to hold the Bargain upon high Terms ; and make the *Clergy* pay for their Orthodoxy, if they would have it.

To what degree the Biſhopricks were ſtrip'd by this *Exchange*, I can't wholly diſcover. By the Fortune of the large and wealthy *See* of *Lincoln*, where there was but one Mannour left, the *Reader* may give ſomething of a Gueſs how far the reſt ſuffer'd. But how much ſoever the Church might loſe, the *Crown* was no laſting gainer by this expedient. This may be partly collected from a Remonſtrance to the Queen not long after. Where waving what had been convey'd to the Subject by way of Gift, the *Paper* ſets forth, that the Profits of the Abbey and Church Lands, for Four Reigns together, had been intercepted by the Courtiers ; that the *Crown* had been extremely impoveriſh'd by indirect Management : And that none of theſe corrupt Officers were call'd to any Account. (*a*)

(a) *See Records Num. LXXIX.*

To proceed ; the Papiſts, to diſcredit the Engliſh *Reformation*, charg'd the Proteſtant Clergy with Novelty and Hereſy, with Inconſiſtency and ſeditious Principles. To ſhew the injuſtice of this Charge, the Divines, concern'd in the late *Conference* at *Weſtminſter*, and in preparing the Common-Prayer for the view of the Two *Houſes*, drew up a Confeſſion of their Faith, which they intended to publiſh at the receſs of the Parliament. Dr. *Sandy*'s one of the Divines acquainted Dr. *Parker* with this Deſign, and requeſted him to Subſcribe with the reſt. But afterwards, it ſeems, upon Recollection, they found no neceſſity of making this Declaration publick. But the *Inſtrument* is ſtill preſerv'd amongſt Archbiſhop *Parker*'s *Papers* in *Bennet College* Library in *Cambridge*. (*b*)

(b) *Vol.* Synodal.

And here the Articles of their Belief, are not couch'd in the ſame Terms with thoſe concluded in Convocation in the Year 1552; the Senſe is deliver'd in a more diffuſe and paraphraſtical manner: However, they expreſly declare, that tho' they don't preciſely obſerve the Words and Order, yet they diſagree in no particular, but own an intire Aſſent to the whole Body of thoſe *Articles*.

And to take off the Imputation of Diſloyalty thrown upon them by the *Papiſts*, they renounce the rebellious Tenents publiſh'd at *Geneva* by *Chriſtopher Goodman* and *John Knox*.

As for *Goodman*, he afterwards retracted ſomewhat of his Principles before the Lords of the *Council*. He is contented to own, that *good and godly Women* may lawfully ſit at the Helm, and govern Kingdoms: And that he heartily recogniz'd the Queen's Authority. That he never meant to affirm that any private Perſon might lawfully have taken off Queen *Mary*: Nor that the People have any original inherent Authority to puniſh wicked Magiſtrates; or, that *ordinarily* God gives the People a Commiſſion to promote his Service by forceable Expedients; or puts the Sword in their Hands, to carry on a *Reformation* in Church or *State*. (*c*)

(c) *Mß.* Petit.

By the way, this is a lame Recantation: For *Goodman* founds the Queen's Title upon her Moral, not upon her *Civil* Qualifications. *Godly Women*, he ſays, may lawfully Govern: But by this Doctrine, where there's no Virtue, there can be no Claim to Authority: And when their Godlineſs is at an end, their Government muſt be ſo too: This is directly founding Dominion in *Grace*. And when the Prince has ſo precarious a Title, and the Subjects made Judges of the Forfeiture, Peace and publick Order, muſt be *ſlenderly* Eſtabliſh'd: The next part of his Recantation is not one jot better: For by only denying that *private* People may execute their Princes, he ſeems, to allow Magiſtrates and Parliaments, may fairly do it. And by ſaying, that God does not *ordinarily* put the Sword in the Peoples Hands, what can be inferr'd, but that in ſome Caſes 'tis lawful for the People to riſe upon their Soveraign, and Reform the Church and State at Diſcretion? This is ſome of the *Geneva* Doctrine which has more than once been put in Practice, embroil'd Kingdoms; and ſet the World on Fire, to the Scandal and Confuſion of Chriſtendom. (*d*)

(d) Calvin Inſtitut. L. 4. Sect. 31.

The Settlement of the *Reformation* in *England*, encourag'd ſome of *John Alaſco*'s Congregation to return hither, and Petition for their Church in *Auſtin Friars*, granted them by King *Edward* the Sixth. *Utenhovius* a Man of Learning and Condition, who had formerly been a Member of this Congregation, came over with recommendatory Letters from *Bullinger* to the Queen. This *Utenhovius* with one *Peter De Loene* a Miniſter, join'd themſelves at firſt to *Adrian Hampſtedius*'s Congregation. *Hampſtedius* was a learned Preacher who came hither from *Zealand*. And had the Pulpit for his Congregation at *Chriſt's Church*, and elſewhere in *London*. As for *Utenhovius*, the granting him a new *Patent* with the old Privileges was at firſt refus'd. The Biſhops ſuggeſted to the Queen, that the making a Foreigner *Superintendent*, could not be done without maiming the Juriſdiction of the Dioceſan. To take off this Objection, they choſe *Grindal* Biſhop of *London* for their Superintendent. (*e*) The French Proteſtants though formerly incorporated with the *Low Dutch*, and *Germans*, in King *Edward*'s *Patent*, made no attempt to recover their former Privileges: However, they had the Uſe of a Church in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, belonging to the Dean and *Chapter* of *Windſor*. 'Twas part of St. *Anthony*'s *Hoſpital*, and ſtill continues for the uſe of that Nation.

Auſtin Friars *in* London *granted to the* Dutch and Ger*mans*.

(e) *Mß.* Eccleſ. Belgic. Lond. Per. Sim. Ruytinck Strype Annal.

The *Reformation* was now advanc'd beyond *Tweed*, and gain'd Ground through the whole Iſland. The turn in *England* gave the Scots a proſpect of the ſame Succeſs. But here the Scheme, and the Purſuit, had a different Complexion: And both the Form, and the Manner, was leſs intelligible. *John Knox* ſignaliz'd himſelf upon this Occaſion, and did his utmoſt to encourage the Undertaking. This Divine made unuſual Room in the Conſcience, and lay'd down looſe and over indulgent Maxims. In his Letter to the Scotch Nobility † who were concerting a publick Reformation, he acquaints them, he had the Concurrence of the moſt Pious and Learned People in *Europe* to warrant their Conſciences, and engage in the Enterprize: By theſe Men of Piety and Learning *Knox* meant *Calvin*, and other eminent Miniſters at *Geneva*. The Doctrine maintain'd by theſe Divines,

† *From* Diepe Anno Dom. 1557.

Knox *Addreſſes the Scotch Nobility to proceed to a Reformation.*

Some of his Tenents and Character.

which was the ground of the Scottiſh undertaking, was this, *That if Kings and Princes refus'd to reform* Religion, *inferior Magiſtrates and the People being directed and inſtructed in the Truth before by their Preachers, may lawfully reform within their own Bounds themſelves: And if all, or the far greateſt Part be enlighten'd by the Truth, they may make a publick Reformation.* (*f*) This Principle was afterwards maintain'd at large in a Book, call'd, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* ſuppos'd to be Written by *Gentiletus.* The *Tract de Jure Magiſtratuum in Subditos*, of which ſome make *Beza* the Author, and *Paræus*'s Comment upon the *Romans*, are full for the ſame purpoſe.

To proceed, when the Scotch Nobility began to repent the Steps they had taken, and recover themſelves, *Knox* writes them another Letter from *Diepe* to bring them back to their former Reſolution: He makes no ſcruple to tell them, they muſt be loſt both in this World and the other, unleſs they have the Courage to maintain their Religion in the *Field:* Unleſs they defend their Cauſe againſt their Sovereign if need be; and exert themſelves to the utmoſt ſtretch of Violence. He Addreſſes the Lords in this remarkable Language. "No leſs cauſe have ye to enter into your former enterprize, than *Moſes* had to go to the Preſence of *Pharoah:* (for your Vaſſals,) yea, your Brethren, are oppreſs'd, their Bodies and Souls holden in Bondage, and God ſpeaks to your Conſciences, (unleſs you be dead with the blind World) that ye ought to hazard your own Lives, (be it againſt Kings or Emperors) for their Deliverance. For only for that Cauſe are ye call'd Princes of the People. And ye receive of your Brethren Honour, Tribute, and Homage, at God's Commandment, not by reaſon of your Birth and Progeny, (as the moſt part of Men do falſely ſuppoſe) but by reaſon of your Office and Duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your Subjects and Brethren, from all Violence and Oppreſſion, to the uttermoſt of your Power.

And here he refers them to a former Letter upon the ſame Subject, directed to all the Nobility, putting them in mind *that their Conſciences ſhall be one Day compell'd to acknowledge that the Reformation of* Religion, *and of publick Enormities, appertains to more than the Clergy, or chief* Rulers *call'd Kings.* (g)

This *Knox* had formerly at *Frankfort* given a publick Proof of his Regard to Crown'd Heads of a different Communion. Something of this has been already mention'd with Reference to the Emperor. His Satyr againſt Queen *Mary* in *his Admonition to* England runs thus. Firſt, *If* Mary *and her Counſellors had been Dead before theſe Days, then ſhould not her Iniquity and Cruelty ſo manifeſtly have appear'd to the World.* Secondly, Jezabell *never erected half ſo many Gallows in all* Iſrael, *as miſchievous* Mary *hath done in* London *alone.* Thirdly, *Would any of you have Confeſs'd Two Years ago, that* Mary *your Mirror had been Falſe, Diſſembling, Unconſtant, Proud, and a breaker of Promiſes, except ſuch Promiſes as ſhe has made to your God the Pope, to the great Shame and Diſhonour of her noble Father.* Fourth, *The Love of her native Country could not move that wicked Woman's Heart to Pity.* Fifthly, *She declareth her ſelf an open Traitereſs to the Realm of* England, *contrary to the juſt Laws of the ſame, to bring in a Stranger, and to make a proud Stranger King, to the Deſtruction of the Nobility, and Subverſion of the Realm.* Sixthly, *If God for our Scourge, ſuffer'd her and her cruel Council to come to Authority.* Seventhly, *Under an Engliſh Name ſhe hath a Spaniards Heart.* Eighthly, *Much Trouble in* England *for eſtabliſhing that unhappy and wicked Woman's Authority, I mean of her that now reigneth in God's Wrath.*

And after having rail'd againſt the Queen, the Miniſtry, and the Biſhops in the coarſeſt manner, he ſubjoins a Prayer, where he points directly upon them. This Prayer he recommends to the Engliſh: Where by miſapplying the Text, and teaching the Subjects to Curſe the *Higher Powers*, he uſes the *Bible* as ill as he had us'd the Government before. I ſhall give the Reader ſome of the Expreſſions. *Repreſs the Pride of thoſe Bloodthirſty Tyrants, Conſume them in thy Wrath, pour forth thy Vengeance upon them.* * *O let the Vengeance of thy Servant's Blood that is Shed, be openly ſhew'd upon them in our Sight. Delay not thy Vengeance, O Lord, but let Death devour them in haſt, and let the Earth ſwallow them, and let them go down quick to the Hells, for there is no hope of their Amendment; The Fear and Reverence of thy holy Name is quite baniſh'd from their Hearts: And therefore yet again, O Lord, Conſume them, Conſume them in thine Anger, and let them never bring their wicked Councils to effect, but according to the godly Powers let them be taken in the Snare which they have prepar'd for thine Elect.* †

Theſe are the Effects of Blind and Intemperate Zeal: Thus *Knox* wreſts the Scri-

---

(f) *Life and Death of* John Knox *p.* 10.

(g) Hiſt. Ref. of Religion in Scotland page 110. 111.

Page 60. *His Libel againſt* Mary *Queen of* England.

Pſalm 57. 79.

Jer. 10. 11.

† Knox's *Admonition to the Profeſſors of Truth in* England. *p.* 78.

Scriptures to miſlead the Subjects from their Duty, and *turns his Prayer into Sin*. We are charg'd in the Scripture to Honour the King, and not to curſe Him ſo much as in Thought. And the *Higher Powers*, though then Heathen, are call'd the *Miniſters of God*. We are commanded to lay aſide all evil Speaking, to love our Enemies, and pray for them, to *Bleſs, and not to Curſe them*. * Notwithſtanding all this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, *Knox* makes no ſcruple to ſpeak *Evil of Dignities*, and preſcribes a Prayer for the Engliſh to treat their Governors, in much harſher Language, than St. *Michael* thought fit to uſe againſt the *Devil*. †

* Matth. 5. Rom. 12. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2.

† Jude.

For this Seditious and Treaſonable Doctrine, *Knox* was oblig'd to quit *Frankfort* and retire to *Geneva*. During his ſtay here, he wrote a warning to *London*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Berwick*, an Appeal to the Nobility of *Scotland*; and the *firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the Government of Women*. This *Book* was written on purpoſe to throw *Mary* Queen of *England*, and *Mary* of *Lorrain* Regent of *Scotland*, out of the *Seat*. *Knox* deſign'd to have ſounded this *Trumpet* of Rebellion thrice: But the Death of Queen *Mary* of *England* made him halt a little: Beſides, he underſtood there would be an Anſwer publiſh'd to his firſt *Blaſt*, and therefore he delay'd his *Second* 'till he had a farther View of the Strength of his Adverſaries. However, he had made ſome Progreſs in his *Second Blaſt*, of which I ſhall give the Reader ſome Paſſages in his own Words. *Firſt, It is not Birth only, nor Propinquity of Blood, that maketh a King lawfully to reign above a* People, *profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus and his Eternal Verity; but in his Election, the Ordinance, which God hath Eſtabliſh'd in the Election of inferior Judges, muſt be obſerved.* Secondly, *No manifeſt Idolater, nor notorious Tranſgreſſor of God's holy Precepts, ought to be promoted to any publick Regiment, Honour or Dignity, in any Realm, Province, or City, that hath ſubjected themſelves to Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed Evangel.* Thirdly, *Neither can Oath nor Promiſe bind any ſuch People to Obey and Maintain Tyrants againſt God, and againſt his Truth known.* Fourthly, *But if raſhly they have promoted any manifeſt wicked Perſon, or yet ignorantly have choſen ſuch an one, as after declareth himſelf unworthy of Regiment above the People of* God, *(and ſuch be all Idolaters and cruel Perſecutors) moſt juſtly may the ſame Men Depoſe, and Puniſh him, that unadviſedly before they did Nominate, Appoint, and Elect.* (*h*)

(h) *Life and Death of* Knox. Gilby's *Admonition to* England.

To give a farther View of the Temper and Complexion of this Man. When he lay at *Diepe*, in order to Embark for *Scotland*, he wrote a Letter to one Mrs. *Locke*, in which he paſſes the following Cenſure upon the Engliſh *Common-Prayer-Book*. His Words are theſe. *Our Captain Chriſt Jeſus, and Satan his Adverſary, are now at plain Defiance. Their Banners are diſplayed, and the Trumpets blow on either ſide, for Aſſembling of their Armies: Our Maſter calleth upon his own, and that with Vehemency, that they may depart from* Babylon. *Yea, ſeverely he threatneth Death and Damnation, to ſuch, as either in their Forehead, or Hand, bear the mark of the Beaſt. And a Portion of his Mark are all theſe Dregs of Papiſtry, which are left in your great Book of* England, (viz. *croſſing in Baptiſm, kneeling at the Lord's Table, mumbling, or ſinging of the Litany,* à Fulgure & Tempeſtate, * à Subitaneâ & Improviſâ Morte) *any one jot of which diabolical Inventions, will I never Counſel any Man to uſe. The whole Order of your Book appeareth rather to be deviſed for upholding of Maſſing-Prieſts, then for any good Inſtruction, which the ſimple People can receive thereof. Your Sacraments were miniſtred, for the moſt part, without the Soul, and by thoſe who to Chriſt Jeſus are no true Miniſters; and God grant that ſo yet they be not. Without the Soul I ſay, they were miniſtred, becauſe they were miniſtred without the Word truly and openly Preach'd, and your Miniſters before, for the moſt part, were none of Chriſt's Miniſters, but Maſs-monging Prieſts.* And towards the latter End of his Letter, he diſſwades the Gentlewoman from countenancing ſuch ſuperſtitious Prieſts in their corrupt Liturgical Services, affirming with great Vehemence, *that all things ſhould be judg'd abominable, yea execrable and accurſed, which God by his Word has not ſanctified in his Religion.*

His ſcandalous Cenſure of the Engliſh Common-Prayer.

* *From Lightning and Tempeſt, and from ſudden Death,*

Id.

Upon this Occaſion it may not be improper to obſerve, that Dr. *Bancroft*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, affirms that the firſt *Liturgy* ſet forth in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, was carefully Compil'd and Confirm'd by a *Synod*, but ſoon after, to uſe *Fox*'s Words, *thro' the obſtinate and diſſembling Malice of many*, Objections were rais'd againſt it. Theſe unneceſſary Cavils brought on *Bucer*'s Review. Thus the *Second Book* was Publiſh'd, and this Archbiſhop *Cranmer* offer'd to defend againſt the Papiſts, as hath been already related. And when Dr. *Grindal* wrote from *Franckfort* to *Ridley* then in Priſon, and acquainted him with *Knox*'s Oppoſition to the *Engliſh-Service*, the Biſhop lamented *Knox*'s litigious Humour, and juſtified the Liturgy. (*i*)

(i) Bancroft's *Sermon Preach'd at* Paul's Croſs. Feb. 1588.

Knox's *Blaſt*, as he call'd it, *againſt the monſtrous Regiment and Empire of Women*, was not without its Effect. This hot Pamphlet catch'd upon ſome of the Engliſh, fill'd them with treaſonable Scruples, and made them ſtagger in their Allegiance. Queen *Elizabeth*, as ſhe had reaſon, was highly diſpleas'd, and the *Geneva-Exiles* coldly receiv'd at their return. However, *Knox* was reſolv'd to give up no part of his Book, nor make any Abatement. For in a Letter to Secretary *Cecill*, he tells this *Miniſter* he no more queſtion'd the Truth of his main Propoſition, then he queſtion'd the Text in *Geneſis* being the Voice of God, where 'tis ſaid, *in Sorrow ſhalt thou bring forth Children.* And here he boldly declar'd himſelf ready to defend his *Tract* againſt any Perſon that ſhould undertake it. But after all; this Peremptorineſs was not without ſomething of Art: For he recurrs to a nice diſtinction in Favor of Queen *Elizabeth.* He believ'd her rais'd to that Station by extraordinary Providence: *That God had promoted her, for his miraculous Work, comforting his afflicted by an infirm Veſſel.* But this was a particular exception in the Divine Oeconomy: 'Twas contrary to Nature, and God's moſt perfect Eſtabliſhment. And therefore he charg'd the *Secretary*, in the Name of the Eternal God, to acquaint the Queen, that if ſhe would found her Right upon miraculous Bounty, upon extraordinary Diſpenſation with the Laws of God and Nature; upon a Privilege no other Perſon of her Sex could pretend to; if ſhe would Confeſs ſhe ſtood upon this Bottom, none would be more willing than himſelf to maintain her Authority. But if ſhe inſiſted upon humane Conſtitution, Legal Title, and Proximity of Blood, he was then well aſſur'd ſuch *fooliſh Preſumption*, would be highly Offenſive to Almighty God; and was very much afraid her Ingratitude would not go long unpuniſh'd. He had the Courage to Write to the Queen in the ſame Streins of Whimſey, and Arrogance. * He told her, *that if ſhe began to brag of her Birth, and Found her Authority upon the Laws of the Kingdom, her Happineſs would be ſhort Liv'd*: And thus, according to his cuſtomary manner, he pretends to a certainty in future Events, and delivers his Extravagancies with an Air of Propheſy.

Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland. *p.* 226.

His Blaſt againſt the Government of Women.

His Diſtinction in Favor of Queen Elizabeth.

Id. *p.* 23.

* July 28. 1559.

From this introductive Character of *Knox*, I ſhall paſs on to the Church alterations in *Scotland.* In this Kingdom the Queen Regent had been petition'd for Reformation of Religion.

In their firſt Petition they requeſted the Biſhops might be choſen by the Temporal Lords and Gentlemen. †

† Leſley *p.* 504.

The Second Petition ſtands at length in *Knox*'s Hiſtory. || Here after an introductive complaint againſt the Clergy they proceed to the particulars of their Requeſt. The *Reader* ſhall have them in the Words of the Scottiſh Hiſtorian;

|| *Hiſt. Ref.* Scotl. *p.* 130.

Firſt, *humbly we aſk, that as we have by the Laws of this Realm, after long Debate obtain'd to Read the Holy Books of the Old and New Teſtament in our vulgar Tongue, as Spiritual Food to our Souls: So from henceforth it may be lawful, that we may meet publickly or privately to our common Prayers in our Vulgar Tongue, to the end that we may increaſe and grow in Knowledge, and be induc'd by fervent and oft Prayer, to commend to God the Holy Univerſal Church, the Queen our Sovereign, her honourable and gracious Husband, the Ability of their Succeſſion, your Majeſty Regent, the Nobility, and whole State of this Realm.*

Secondly, *if it ſhall happen in our ſaid Meetings any hard Place of Scripture to be read, of which without Explanation, hardly can ariſe any Profit to the Hearers, that it ſhall be lawful to any qualified Perſons in Knowledge, being preſent to interpret and open up the ſaid hard Places to God's Glory, and to the Profit of the Auditory. And if any think that this Liberty ſhould be occaſion of Confuſion, Debate, or Hereſie, we are content that it be provided, that the ſaid Interpretation ſhall underly the Judgment of the Godly, and moſt Learned within the Realm at this time.*

Thirdly, that the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm may be uſed in the vulgar Tongue, that the Godfathers and Witneſſes may not only underſtand the Points of the League and Contract made betwixt God and the Infant, but alſo that the Church then aſſembled, more gravely may be informed and inſtructed of their Duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that Promiſe made unto him, when they were receiv'd into his Houſhold by the Laver of Spiritual Regeneration.

Fourthly, we deſire that the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of his Bleſſed Body and Blood, may likewiſe be miniſtred unto us in the vulgar Tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

And laſtly, we moſt humbly require, that the wicked, ſlanderous, and deteſtable Lives of Prelates, and of the State Eccleſiaſtical, may be reformed, that the People by them have not occaſion (as of many Days they have had) to contemn their Miniſtery and the Preaching, whereof they ſhould be Meſſengers. And if they ſuſpect that we rather envying their Honours, or coveting their Riches and Poſſeſſions, than zealouſly deſiring their Amendment and

Salvation, do travel and labour for this Reformation: We are content, that not only the Rules and Precepts of the New Teſtament, but alſo the Writings of the Antient Fathers, and the godly and approved Laws of Juſtinian *the Emperor, decide the Controverſy betwixt us and them. And if it ſhall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we aſk more than theſe Three forenam'd have required, and continually do require of able and true Miniſters in Chriſt's Church, we refuſe not Correction, as your Majeſty with right Judgment ſhall think need. But if all the forenam'd ſhall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require; then we moſt earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that notwithſtanding the long Cuſtom which they have had to live at their Luſt, that they be compelled either to deſiſt from Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration, or to diſcharge their Duties, as becometh true Miniſters. So that the grave and godly Face of the Primitive Church reduced, Ignorance may be expell'd. True Doctrine and good Manners may once again appear in the Church of this Realm. Theſe Things we as moſt Obedient Subjects, require of your Majeſty, in the Name of the Eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in Preſence of whoſe Throne Judicial, ye and all other that here in Earth beareth Authority, ſhall give Account of your Temporal Regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jeſus move your Majeſties Heart to Juſtice and Equity.*

It muſt be ſaid they laid down good Rules for a Reformation, if they had practic'd up to them. The *Hiſtorian* does not tell us who they were that preſented this *Petition*, he only ſays in general they were Proteſtants. That they were Perſons not much diſtinguiſh'd appears by their *Preamble*: However, they ſeem to have been puſh'd forward, and countenanc'd under hand by Men of Figure. For this Addreſs not meeting with Succeſs, ſome Noblemen and Barons form'd an *Aſſociation*, engag'd by Oaths, and ſubſcrib'd an Inſtrument to aſſiſt each other, and venture their Lives and Fortunes for that purpoſe. The Principals in this Engagement were *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencayrn*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord *Lorne*, Sir *James Sandilands* of *Caldar*, *John Ereskin* of *Dun*, and *William Maiteland* of *Lethington* the Younger. Theſe covenanting Lords and Gentlemen after ſome Debate came to this Reſolution: “That all the Curates of Pariſhes ſhould be oblig'd to read the Prayers and Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament on *Sundays* and other Feſtivals, purſuant to the Form ſet forth in the Book of Common-Prayers: And in caſe they refuſe to comply, that then thoſe of the Pariſhioners who were beſt qualified ſhould perform that Office. But as for preaching and expounding the *Scriptures*, that ſhould be done only in private Houſes, 'till God ſhould diſpoſe the Queen to give farther Liberty. This Order was executed within the Juriſdiction of the *Aſſociation*. And more than that, the Preſident of theſe great Men brought ſeveral Towns and Pariſhes to an Imitation. The Clergy were very much alarm'd, and complain'd of theſe Proceedings to the Queen *Regent*. She told them the preſent Juncture was no proper time for Redreſs: But that it would not be long before an Opportunity would offer. The Clergy apprehending Delays might prove dangerous, went forward to a Remedy themſelves. For this purpoſe a *Provincial Council* met at *Edinborough*. And here they pretended to reform ſeveral Abuſes, and reviv'd ſome old Conſtitutions for better Diſcipline. (*l*)

Id. *page* 130.

Ann. 1558.

Some Noblemen and Barons in Scotland *engage to Reform Religion tho' in Oppoſition to the Government.*

At this *Synod* ſeveral Perſons were condemn'd for Hereſy. The Sentence againſt them went no farther than injoyning a Recantation in the Market Place on St. *Giles*'s Feſtival. This Saint being reputed the Guardian of *Edinborough*, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion on the Anniverſary. When the Day came, the *Mob* riſing in Favour of thoſe who were to recant, diſturb'd the Proceſſion, broke St. *Giles*'s Figure, and reſcued their Friends.

Spotſwood, Leſley. Sept. 1. 1558.

As for the Queen *Regent*, Reaſons of State had for ſome time clogg'd her Zeal, and made her leſs diſpos'd to gratifie the *Clergy*, than otherwiſe ſhe would have been. 'Tis granted, the *Prelates* had concurr'd with her in breaking the Contract of Marriage with *England*, and tranſporting her Daughter the young Queen to *France*. But not long after, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* began to croſs the Queens Meaſures, and entertain a Project in Favour of his Family. He conſider'd that if the young Queen died without Iſſue, the Earl of *Arran* his Nephew might probably gain the Crown; the Duke his Father being then Governor of the Realm. Upon this View he oppos'd the Queens Marriage with the *Dauphin*. This Archbiſhop having the Aſcendant over the Governor his Brother, and a great Intereſt in the Country, brought moſt of the Clergy into his Sentiment. This being a very unacceptable Scheme to the Queen *Dowager*, 'tis no wonder if ſhe endeavour'd to break it. But to put herſelf into the better Capacity for this purpoſe, ſhe was oblig'd to court the Nobility and Barons, to forbear proſecuting the *Preachers* and connive at the Progreſs of their *Reformation*. For 'twas by the Aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant Lords,

Melvils *Memoirs page* 14.

(l) *Hiſt. of Reformation of Religion in* Scotland. Spotſwood's *Hiſt.*

Lords, that ſhe prevail'd with the Duke of *Chatelherault* to reſign the *Regency* into her Hands. The Queen *Regent* having theſe Motives to indulge the *Proteſtants*, made them in a ſhort time an Overballance to the other ſide.

A Tumult at Edinborough.

And now thoſe who were carrying on a Revolution in the Church, endeavour'd to ſtrengthen their Party, and procure more Hands to the *Aſſociation*. This Motion was well entertain'd, and great Numbers gave in to the Deſign. Some engag'd out of Zeal, ſome out of Levity, and ſome to be reliev'd from the Diſcipline and Juriſdiction of the Clergy: And how far Intereſt and a Proſpect of the Church Revenues might prevail, was beſt known to thoſe concern'd. That the Enterprize was not carried on without ſecular Views, may fairly be conjectur'd by the Iſſue. When the Subſcriptions were return'd, when the Reformers had computed upon their Strength, and found themſelves riſe up to a Ballance, they open'd the Scene and went vigorouſly on. And to give the Undertaking the better Complexion, they preſented an Addreſs to the Queen *Regent*, and *Council*. The Heads were theſe.

Firſt, That publick Service and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments might be perform'd in the vulgar Language.

The Congregation addreſs the Queen Regent for a Reformation.

Secondly, That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper might be given the People in both kinds. Thirdly, that for the future the Nobility and Gentry of each Dioceſe might vote at the Election of a Biſhop: And that the Pariſh Curates ſhould be choſen by a Majority of the Pariſhioners: And that thoſe concern'd in the Election ſhould examine the Qualifications of the Candidate, and inſpect the Behaviour and Learning of the Clergy. And this they call'd the Primitive Cuſtom. Fourthly, that thoſe who were unqualified for the Paſtoral Function ſhould be diſmiſs'd, and a preaching Miniſtry put in their Places. And in ſhort, that none either exceptionable in their Lives, or defective in their Learning, ſhould be permitted to adminiſter the Sacraments, or execute any Part of the Sacerdotal Office.

Theſe were unacceptable Requeſts to the *Regent*: However, ſince the Seſſion of the Parliament drew near, where the Matrimonial Crown for the *Dauphin*, and the Naturalization of the French, was to paſs, the Party was kept in hopes, and a ſmooth Anſwer return'd. The Queen *Regent* allow'd them their Service in the vulgar Tongue, upon Condition they held no publick Meetings in *Edinborough* or *Leith*.

The Regent allows them Prayer in the vulgar Tongue.

This Indulgence ſhock'd the Biſhops, and when the Articles were brought to them, they refus'd to give their Conſent. As to the Election of Biſhops and Pariſh Prieſts they inſiſted upon Antient Cuſtom, and the Regulations of the *Canon* Law: To this they added, that the *Crown* and the *Pope*, had an Intereſt in the Choice of Biſhops: And that to innovate in theſe matters during the Queens Minority, would be an Encroachment upon the Prerogative Royal. As to the Article concerning the Management of the Clergy, they were willing to be govern'd by Antient Uſage, and the Decrees of the *Council* of *Trent*: And that all Biſhops, *Religious*, and Clergy, however dignified or diſtinguiſh'd, that within Six Months did not in Perſon diſcharge their reſpective Duties, ſhould loſe their Preferments. But this Conceſſion was too narrow, and gave no Satisfaction. Upon this the Biſhops made a farther Overture, and offer'd a Conference upon the Points in Queſtion. Thoſe of the *Congregation* (for ſo they call'd the *Reformers*) agreed to the Motion upon Two Conditions: One was that the *Scriptures* might be the Rule for deciding the Controverſy: The other, that ſuch of their Brethren that were either baniſh'd, or lay under other Cenſures, might aſſiſt at the Diſpute, and have a ſafe Conduct for that purpoſe. The Biſhops and Clergy refus'd to comply with either of theſe Terms: They would try the Cauſe by no other Records than *Councils* and *Canon Law*, neither would they relax any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. Some of them however, were more pliable, and came farther towards an Accommodation. They told the *Congregation*, that if the cuſtomary Reverence to the *Maſs* might be continued; if they would own Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and Prayers for the Dead, they ſhould be allow'd to pray, and adminiſter the Sacraments in the Language of the Country. Theſe were look'd on as extravagant Demands, and rejected without farther Anſwer.

A Conference propos'd by the Biſhops.

But rejected.

At the Meeting of the Parliament the following Articles were preſented to the Queen Regent by the *Congregation*.

" Firſt, They deſir'd that all ſuch *Acts* of Parliament as impower'd Churchmen to proceed againſt Hereticks, might be repeal'd: Or at leaſt ſuſpended and diſpens'd with, till the Controverſies between the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, ſhould be determin'd in a lawful General *Council*.

Articles touching Religion preſented to the Regent.

Secondly, That Hereſy and Miſbelief, might be tryed by the Temporal Judges: And that Prelates and their Officers might only be allow'd to proſecute.

" Thirdly, That legal Exception againſt " the Evidence, and all other fair Me- " thods of Defence, might be granted " the Parties Accus'd.

" Fourthly, That the Declaration of " the Perſon charg'd with Hereſy ſhould " be believ'd before the Counter Teſti- " mony of any other Witneſs whatſo- " ever.

" Fifthly, That none ſhould be Con- " demn'd for Hereſy, unleſs that Crime " could be prov'd upon them by the " Holy *Scriptures*.

The Queen diſmiſs'd the Addreſſers with a General Anſwer, which look'd favourably enough. She told them, 'twas neceſſary to keep on the Reſerve at preſent: That if ſhe ſhould diſcover her Mind, the Biſhops and Religious would croſs her Meaſures, and diſappoint her Buſineſs in Parliament. But when the publick Affairs were finiſh'd they ſhould be ſenſible how well ſhe ſtood affected.

The *Congregation* by this Anſwer underſtood their Articles would never paſs the Royal Aſſent, and for this Reaſon they declin'd preſenting them to the Parliament. However, reſolving to puſh the Matter as far as 'twould go, they made a *Proteſtation*, part of which I ſhall lay before the *Reader*.

The Congregations Proteſtation.

" Firſt, They proteſted, that ſince they " could not procure a Reformation agree- " able to God's Word, it might be law- " ful for them to be govern'd by their " own Conduct, and follow the Dire- " ction of their Conſcience, 'till ſuch " time as their Adverſaries could main- " tain their Character, prove their Com- " miſſion from Chriſt, and purge them- " ſelves from ſuch Crimes as were now " lay'd to their Charge; And which " the *Reform'd* were ready to make good " as ſoon as the Government would " pleaſe to hear them.

" Secondly, They proteſt that neither " themſelves, nor any of the Godly, " that think fit to join with them in " the Profeſſion of the true *Faith*, groun- " ded on the Word of God, ſhall in- " cur any Forfeiture of Life or Lands, " or any other *Civil* Penalties: That " no ſuch Perſons ſhall be liable to any " Dammage or Danger of this Kind, " for not keeping ſuch *Acts*, as have " formerly been made in favour of their " Adverſaries, or for diſuſing any Cere- " monies of humane Invention.

" Thirdly, They proteſt that if any " Inſurrection or Tumult ſhall happen " upon the Score of difference in Re- " ligion: Or if any Abuſes are Sup- " preſs'd by Dint of Force, they deſire " the Imputation may not lie upon them " who now humbly Intreat for a ſingular Remedy, but that whatever in- " convenience follows for want of ſea- " ſonable Redreſs, the Conſequences may " be charg'd upon thoſe who now re- " fuſe to give way to their Petition for " *Reformation*.

" And laſtly, They proteſt their Ap- " plication proceeds purely from Motives " of Conſcience, and that they have no " other Deſign but reforming Abuſes in " Religion: They humbly deſire there- " fore the *Sacred Authority* to look on " them as Loyal Subjects, and protect " them againſt Tyranny and Oppreſ- " ſion. (*m*)

This *Proteſtation* made before the Parliament they deſir'd might be entred on Record. But this Motion was gently refus'd by the Queen, who told them ſhe would remember the Contents, and take Care to bring things to a good Iſſue.

De reb. geſt. Scot.

Leſley reports, that ſome of the looſer *Religious*, who were either weary of the *Cloyſter*, or wanted Learning to ſupport their Character and Credit, deſerted to the *Congregation*, and declar'd ſtrongly againſt the Church of *Rome*. As for the Queen, ſhe continued firm to the old Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution: And therefore after ſhe had carried her Point in the Parliament, and the *Seſſions* was ended, ſhe diſcover'd her Inclination, and reſolv'd to declare for the *Clergy*. And ſome Diſorders having been Committed in the claſhing about Religion, ſhe thought it neceſſary to check theſe Sallies in the beginning, and call ſome of thoſe to an Account who had rais'd the Ferment, and given the Signal to fall on: For this purpoſe, *Knox*, *Willock*, *John Dowglaſs*, and *Paul Methyn*, all *Congregation* Miniſters, are ſummon'd to appear at *Striveling*, to anſwer to ſuch Miſdemeanors as ſhall be charg'd upon them.

Some of the Miniſters ſummon'd to appear at Striveling. May 10 1559.

The Earl of *Glencairn*, and Sir *Hugh Campbell*, Sheriff of *Aire* were ſent by the *Congregation* to ſolicit the Queen Regent not to put any Hardſhip upon the *Miniſters*, unleſs they could be convicted of falſe Doctrine, or ſeditious Behaviour. The Queen was diſguſted with their Application, return'd a harſh Anſwer, and declar'd thoſe Preachers ſhould be all Baniſh'd. The Noble-men, ſomewhat ſurpriz'd to find her thus diſconcerted, deſir'd her to recollect the Promiſes ſhe had made of kinder uſage. Her Paſſion growing warmer upon this Suggeſtion, ſhe told them Princes Promiſes were not to be ſtrein'd beyond Convenience. To this they replyed, that if her Majeſty was reſolv'd not to keep her Word with the Subjects, the Relation between them was diſcharg'd, and that

---

(m) Spotſwood.

that they ſhould own her Authority no longer. This formal Renouncing their Allegiance, frighted the Queen, and prevail'd to ſoften her Language. And thus, after a ſhort Pauſe, ſhe let them know ſhe would think farther, and apply to gentle Expedients.

But News being preſently brought of a Reformation begun at *Perth*, ſhe was much diſturb'd, and order'd the Lord *Ruthen* to put a ſtop to theſe Novelties. This Lord anſwer'd he could make himſelf Maſter of their Bodies and Eſtates, but as for their Conſciences no Power could reach them. When the time drew nigh for the Miniſters appearing at *Striveling*, great Numbers of their Perſwaſion made ready to go a long with them. The Queen receiving advice, the People were drawing together from all Parts, ſent *Areskin* of *Dun* to order them to diſperſe, promiſing, the Court at *Sterling* ſhould break up, and nothing be done to the Diſadvantage of the Miniſters. The principals of the *Congregation* ſuſpecting the Miniſters might ſuffer by not obeying the Summons, ſent home the Commons. As for themſelves with the Barons and Gentlemen they continued at *Perth* with the Preachers. Notwithſtanding the *Regents* promiſe, the Miniſters were proclaim'd Rebels for not appearing at *Striveling.*

Knox Preaches againſt Images &c.

Knox, who was now at *Perth* with the Lords of the *Congregation*, declaim'd ſtrongly in a Sermon againſt the Worſhip of Images: And maintain'd that ſuch marks of Idolatry and Superſtition, ought to be pull'd down. After Sermon, a Prieſt going to ſay *Maſs*, open'd a Caſe, and ſhew'd ſeveral fine figures of the Saints. For which being Reprimanded by a little Boy, he return'd him a Correction. The Boy receiving a Box of the Ear, threw a Stone at the Prieſt, and broke one of the Figures. Upon this the *Mob* roſe, Inſulted the Prieſt, broke the Images, and defac'd the Church. And now their numbers increaſing they attack'd the Monaſteries, pull'd down the Building, and made Prize and Plunder of what they found. Thus the *Franciſcans*, the *Dominicans*, and *Carthuſians*, were undone at a Heat. The Prior of the Order laſt mention'd had ſome Favour, being allow'd as much Gold and Silver Plate, as he could carry off. All this Booty was given to the Poor, for the Wealthy, it ſeems, were ſo ſcrupulous as not to take their ſhare in the Adventure. But after all did not this largeſs to the *Mob* look ſomething like a retaining Fee? Was it not like Impreſs Mony to liſt them in the Cauſe, and fleſh them for farther Enterprize? Their Zeal was ſurprizingly Expeditious in carrying off the Remains of Superſtition: For the *Charter-houſe*, a noble Structure both for Curioſity and Largeneſs, was demoliſh'd to that degree, that in leſs than Two Days there was nothing of the Materials left. When the News of this ſucceſs came to *Couper* in *Fife*, they carried on the Undertaking with the ſame Warmth and Fury, ruſh'd into the Church, deſtroy'd the Ornaments, and broke the Images and Altars.

The Monaſteries pull'd down at Perth. *Hiſtory of the Reformation in* Scotland.

And at Couper.

The Queen Regent was highly diſpleas'd with this Riot at *Perth*, and ſent to the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, to come Immediately to Court. The French Forces were likewiſe order'd to March. The Burghers of *Perth* being ſenſible of what might follow, diſpatch'd their Agents to all Parts of the Kingdom. Upon this Alarm, they were quickly reinforc'd with a conſiderable Body. Thoſe of the beſt Quality, were the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords of *Boyde*, and *Ochiltrie*, the Sheriff of *Aire*, the Lairds of *Craigie*, *Seſnock*, *Carnal*, *Bar*, and *Garthgirth*.

The Burghers of Perth *aſſiſted by great Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry.*

The Queen underſtanding the Earl of *Glencarn* was at the Head of the Malcontents, and that there were Seven Thouſand ſtout Gentlemen, beſides Townſmen, in *Perth*; Her Majeſty having Intelligence of this formidable Preparation, ſent the Earl of *Argyle*, and Lord *James*, *Prior* of St. *Andrews*, to demand the Reaſon of their drawing together, and move for an Accommodation. By the way this Lord *James* was natural Son to King *James* the Fifth and bred a Religious: But having no Fancy for a Monaſtick Profeſſion, he deſir'd the Queen to make him Earl of *Murray*. The Queen, by the Advice of the Regent her Mother, endeavour'd to perſwade him to go on in the courſe of his Education, and maintain that Choice the King his Father had made for him. And for his Encouragement ſhe promis'd to prefer him to the beſt Poſt of Wealth and Honour, a Church Man could expect. But all this Proſpect of Favour was ſlighted by the Prior. By being denied the Earldom, he was diſoblig'd to the higheſt degree, and made it his Buſineſs to play his Revenge upon the Regent ever after.

Lesley.

To return, the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Laird of *Dun* being appointed to treat with the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *James*, told them in Anſwer to their firſt Queſtion, that their Troops March'd to *Perth* to protect their Friends, and preſerve the Town. And as to the Accommodation propos'd by the Queen's Commiſſioners, they declar'd, that provided her Majeſty would forbear diſturbing the Profeſſors of the true Religion, and ſuffer the *Reformation* to proceed, they were ready to obey her Commands in all other things.

The Character of theſe Commiſſioners not being unacceptable to the Forces in *Perth*, made the Propoſals the better receiv'd: Eſpecially ſince they engag'd, that if either the Queen rejected reaſonable Terms, or made the leaſt Infraction upon the Accommodation, they would then immediately joyn the *Congregation*, and run the ſame Riſque with them. And thus at the Inſtance of theſe two Noble-men, the following Articles were ſign'd. Firſt, That both the Armies ſhould be disbanded, and the Town left open for the Queen. Secondly, That none of the Burghers ſhould be call'd to an Account, or any way diſturb'd for the late Alterations in Religion. Thirdly, That no French ſhould enter the Town, nor March within Three Miles of it. Fourthly, That all other Differences ſhould be referr'd to the next Parliament, or the meeting of the Eſtates.

May 29. 1559. *A Treaty ſign'd between the Regent and the Congregation.*

As ſoon as the Forces were disbanded, the Queen Regent March'd into the Town with ſome Scotch Troops in French Pay. Theſe were conſtrued French Forces, and complain'd of as a Breach of the Articles. Beſides, ſome of the Burghers were fin'd, and others Baniſh'd, the Magiſtracy was diſplac'd, a Garriſon left in the Town, and Orders given that none but the Roman Catholick Religion ſhould be allow'd.

When this unexpected Uſage was complain'd of, ſhe replied, as *Spotſwood* reports, that Promiſes were not to be kept with Hereticks: And that Princes ſhould not be preſs'd too cloſe upon their Words. She is likewiſe ſaid to drop ſome very hard Expreſſions againſt thoſe of the *Congregation*. And thus by indulging her Paſſion, by ſtreining her Honour, and diſcovering her Diſaffection, ſhe loſt her Intereſt, and made her Authority little conſider'd. (*n*)

(n) *Hiſt. Ref. of* Scotland, *p.* 151.

The Second Covenant at Perth.

The *Congregation* ſuſpecting the Queen might forget the Capitulation, renew'd their Covenant or Confederacy at *Perth*. And here the *Congregations* of *Fyfe*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, *Angus*, *Mearns*, and *Monroſſe*, enter into a Solemn Engagement to aſſiſt each other, in *doing all things requir'd of God in his Scripture, that may be to his Glory: And at their whole Powers to deſtroy and put away all things that doth Diſhonour to his Name; ſo that God may be truly and purely Worſhipp'd.* And in Caſe any Perſon of the *Congregation* ſhould receive any Trouble or Dammage in proſecuting the Buſineſs abovemention'd, that then the whole Body ſhould ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all Perſons whatſoever, that ſhould diſturb them in the Exerciſe of Religion, or any thing relating to that Affair. This *Second Covenant*, as they call it, is in the Name of the whole *Congregation* Subſcrib'd by Two Earls, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, Two Lords and a Gentleman of Condition.

Ibid.

June 14.

The Queen failing in the Articles, the Earl of *Argyle*, and Lord *James* left her, and went over to the *Congregation*. And now things growing towards a Rupture, there was a Rendevouz of the Party appointed at St. *Andrews*. In the mean time, ſome of the principal Noblemen went to *Craile*, where they were join'd with conſiderable Numbers. And here *Knox* plaied his Rhetorick in the Pulpit, and endeavor'd to raiſe their Spirits for a Conteſt with the Government. “He put them in mind, how he had told them at *Perth*, that there was no clear dealing to be expected from the Queen, and that the Treaty would not be made good. That ſince this Prediction was now matter of Fact, he exhorted them not to rely upon deluſive Promiſes any longer: That where there was no regard to good Faith, 'twas in vain to expect any ſolid Peace. That 'till the Foreigners were expell'd the Kingdom, and one of the Parties had cruſh'd the other, there was no likelyhood of publick Repoſe: That there was nothing therefore left but to prepare for Extremities, to exert themſelves like Men, and reſolve either to die, or conquer. (*o*)

Knox *Preaches up Reſiſtance againſt the Government in Defence of Religion.*

(o) Spotſwood.

This Diſcourſe work'd ſo ſtrongly upon the *Audience*, that they fell immediately to pulling down Altars and Images, and proceeding with their Reformation in the ſame tumultuous manner they had done before. From *Craile* they march'd to *Auſtruther*, and from thence to St. *Andrews*. Here *Knox* mounted the Pulpit, and preaching upon the *Text* of our Saviour's purging the Temple, he applied the Corruption in the Jewiſh Church, to the preſent Caſe. And from thence went on to dilate upon the Duty of thoſe to whom God had given Authority; taking it for granted that thoſe who headed the *Congregation* were a legal Magiſtracy, and had their Commiſſion from Heaven. And thus by begging the Queſtion, and arguing from falſe Premiſes, the Concluſion paſs'd. The People being thus prepar'd, and Preach'd into a Ferment, immediately took the Signal, ravag'd the Churches, levell'd the Monaſteries, and in ſhort, *Reform'd*, like the *Goths* and *Vandals*, at the Sacking of *Rome*.

The Queen Regent receiving Advice of what was done, order'd the *French* Troops to march towards St. *Andrews*, and iſſued her *Proclamation* to the Liege Subjects to equip themſelves for the Field, and attend her at *Couper*.

The Lords of the *Congregation* endeavour'd to ſeize ſome Paſſes, and prevent the Regent in her Rendevouz. And now the Two Armies fac'd each other at *Couper-moor*, and nothing but a ſmall River was between. The *French* Part of the Regent's Army were commanded by Monſieur *d'Oſell*, and her *Scotch* Troops by the Duke of *Chattelerault*. The Queen diſtruſting the Affection of her Forces, offer'd a Peace, but that being not accepted upon the Conditions propos'd, a Truce was agreed to for Eight Days: During which Time, Commiſſioners were to be ſent to St. *Andrews* with ſufficient Powers for a full Accommodation. The Queen not ſending the Commiſſioners to St. *Andrews* within the Time expected, ſhe was deſir'd to withdraw the Garriſon from *Perth*, purſuant to the late Treaty, but returning no Anſwer to the Lords of the *Congregation*, they ſet down before the Town, and obliged the Garriſon to ſurrender. From hence they advanc'd to *Schone*, demoliſh'd the Monaſtery, and burn'd the Church. And receiving Intelligence the Queen intended to put a *French* Garriſon in *Sterling*, to ſecure that Paſs, and cut off their Communication with their Friends in the Southern Parts, they made a Night march thither: And here, according to their cuſtomary Zeal, they raz'd the Monaſteries, and defac'd the Churches. From hence they mov'd forward to *Linthingow*, which they entertain'd with the ſame Uſage. From *Linthingow* they come on to *Edinborough*: But before they arriv'd there, the *Reforming* Mobb roſe upon the Magiſtracy, plunder'd all the Monaſteries, and then pull'd them down.

June 13. 1559.

Idem.

The Queen Regent being too weak to arreſt this Motion, publiſh'd a Proclamation to this Effect.

The Queen Regent's Proclamation.

She declares, That a ſeditious Party of the *Leiges*, calling themſelves the *Congregation*, had rais'd an Army, and cover'd their Proceedings with Religion: That to make all People eaſy in Matters of Conſcience, and to compoſe the preſent Differences, ſhe had offer'd to call a Parliament in *January* next, or ſooner; that their Religion was to be ſettled by the Advice of the Eſtates: And that in the mean Time, every one had the Liberty of enjoying his *Perſwaſion*. That theſe Overtures were granted by the Advice of the Lords of the Privy *Council*. But that all this Lenity and fair Propoſals had been diſregarded by the *Congregation*. 'Twas plain therefore, Religion was none of their Buſineſs: But that ſubverting the Government, and ſeizing the Crown was what they aim'd at. She commands therefore the *Congregation* to live like Subjects and diſperſe immediately, under the Penalties of High Treaſon.

The Defence of the Lords of the Congregation.

Againſt this Charge in the *Proclamation*, the Lords of the *Congregation* make a lame Defence. They declare their Intention was only to extirpate Idolatry, countenance the true Religion, and protect thoſe that preach'd it: And that, provided Liberty of Conſcience was allow'd them, they were ready to *continue in all Duty towards their Sovereign, and her Mother the Regent*. That is in other Language, unleſs they could pull down Monaſteries, diſfurniſh Churches, ſet ſet up what Religion they pleas'd, and enjoy it without Diſturbance, they were reſolv'd to take the *Field*, and defy the Government. But here 'tis ſomewhat ſuprizing, that *Knox* and the other *Preachers*, who inſiſted ſo much upon *Scripture*, ſhould forget to put their *Audience* in Mind of the Apoſtle's Command, *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God: Whoſoever therefore reſiſts the Power, reſiſts the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.* And as for the Pretence of extirpating Idolatry, what Precedent have they in *Scripture* that this was ever done by the *Jewiſh Mobb*, or by any other Direction than that of the ſupreme Magiſtrate? The Brazen Serpent ſtood, the Groves were not cut down, nor the Idols deſtroy'd, till the Kings gave Order about it. (*p*) Beſides, how Criminal ſoever the Worſhip of Images, and the Adoration of the *Hoſt* may be, it certainly falls far ſhort of the Malignity of the *Pagan* Idolatry: For the *Heathens* addreſs'd ſcandalous Beings, and worſhip'd Devils: Their religious Rites were Savage and licentious, they ſacrific'd their Children to their pretended Deities, and Impurity and Debauch were Part of their Religion. Now ſince nothing of this kind can be objected to the *Papiſts*; they ought not to be blackn'd beyond Equity and Truth, rang'd with Heathen Idolaters, and made as bad as the *Canaanites* in the *Old Teſtament*.

Idem.

Rom. 13.

The Methods of their Reformation unwarrantable.

(*p*) 1 Kings 15. 2 Kings 23.

To proceed; not long after the Lords Defence, a Truce was concluded upon theſe Articles.

Firſt, That all the Forces of the *Congregation* ſhould immediately quit *Edinborough*, but as to the Burghers, they might either ſtay, or remove at Pleaſure. *Secondly*, That the *Congregation* ſhall ſurrender the Palace of *Edinborough*, reſtore the Furniture, and return the *Mint* into the Queen's Hand. *Thirdly*, That the Lords and all other Members of the *Congregation* ſhould live in Obedience to the Government, and ſubmit to the Regent's Authority. *Fourthly*, That the *Congregation* ſhould not diſtreſs any of the Clergy in their Perſons, or Eſtates. *Fifthly*, That the *Congregation* ſhould not inſult any *Religious* Houſes, pull down Churches, nor rifle them. *Sixthly*, That the Burghers of *Edinborough* ſhould profeſs what Religion they pleas'd till the 10th of *January* next. *Seventhly*, And that in the mean Time, neither the Queen Regent, the Magiſtracy, nor the Biſhops, were to give any Manner of Diſturbance to the Preachers or to their *Audience*, upon the Score of Religion. (*q*) After the Signing theſe Articles, the *French* Troops march'd into *Leith*, and the Lords of *Congregation* retir'd towards the weſtern Counties.

Another Treaty concluded.

(*q*) Spotſwood, Leſley.

The Queen Regent, tho' inclin'd to make good the Treaty, was willing to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Catholick Worſhip as far as the Caſe would bear. To this Purpoſe ſhe ſent the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and Lord *Seton*, to acquaint the Magiſtracy and Common Council of *Edinborough*, that ſhe deſir'd St. *Giles*'s Church for the Exerciſe of her Religion; and that the Miniſter, *John Willock*, might Preach in ſome other Pariſh. The Magiſtrates anſwer'd, That St. *Giles*'s Church was ſecur'd them by an Article in the Truce, and that they could not part with it; the Earl of *Huntly* replied, That the Queen did not inſiſt on this Matter as a Right, but requeſted it as a Favour. And then going lower in his Application, he deſired, That if they would not quit the Pulpit at St. *Giles*'s, they would permit, at leaſt, that *Maſs* might be ſaid, either before or after Sermon, in that Church: Their Anſwer was, *The Queen Regent refuſ'd St. Giles's Church in* Edinborough *for the Exerciſe of her Religion.*

they were now in Poſſeſſion of that Church, and would never conſent to the Return of Idolatry: Concluding with a menacing Expreſſion, that in Caſe any Violence was offer'd, they would apply to the next Remedy.

The *French* Officers thought the Magiſtrates of *Edinborough* much too ſtiff and uncourtly with the Queen: And being reſolv'd to take ſome Revenge for this Affront, they came into St. *Giles*'s in Sermon-time, and talk'd ſo loud that the Preacher could not be heard. The Behaviour of theſe foreign Troops was no leſs diſagreeable at *Leith*: For here they cut the Preacher's Pulpit in Pieces, ſet up the *Maſs*, and ſuppreſs'd the *Reform'd* Common-Prayer. This Common-Prayer, as the learned *Heylin* obſerves, was the *Service* uſed in *England*. For the *Scots*, to recommend themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Protection, had receiv'd the *Engliſh Liturgy* with the Rubrick annex'd: And for ſome Time the *Kirk* of *Scotland* us'd no other Form. (r)

The Engliſh *Common-Prayer us'd in* Scotland.

(r) Heylin Hiſt. Ref. *pag.* 127. Idem Reformat. *juſtified, General Preface.* Buchannan Hiſt. Scot. Lib. 19.

About this Time, Monſieur **Crook**, a *French* Gentleman, was diſpatch'd from the King and Queen of *France*, to acquaint the *Regent* that a farther ſupply of Men and Money would quick arrive. By the Way, *Henry* the II. King of *France*, being lately killed at Tilting, he was ſucceeded by his Son *Francis*, who married the Queen of *Scots*. The Agent *Crook* brought Letters from theſe Two Princes to Lord *James*, *Prior* of St. *Andrew*'s: I ſhall only mention that from the Queen.

The Queen of Scots Letter to the Lord James.

Couſin,

“I Am extremely ſurpriz'd that a Perſon ſo nearly related, and ſo much oblig'd, ſhould diſcover ſuch ill Temper and Preſumption, as at the ſame Time to diſhonour the divine Majeſty, and break in upon my Authority, and that of the King my Huſband. For 'tis an aſtoniſhing Thing to conſider, that you who had formerly charg'd the Duke of *Chatelerault*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, with Incroachments upon my Prerogative, ſhould now appear at the Head of a Faction your ſelf, and give the laſt Inſtances of Diſregard and Diſloyalty. I am extremely afflicted to find my Expectation thus lamentably diſappointed, and could ſooner have ſuppos'd ſuch Miſbehaviour in any of my Subjects, than in you. Indeed, I am willing rather to queſtion my Intelligence, than believe you ſo far loſt to Principle and Senſe, as to fall into ſuch hideous Miſconduct.

“No Body is more willing to make the beſt Conſtruction, than my ſelf: I pray God enlighten your Mind that you may recover your wrong Steps, alter your Management, and prove your ſelf a Man of Honour and Loyalty. I earneſtly deſire you to make what Satisfaction you can for your former Miſbehaviour: This is your only expedient to abate our juſt Diſpleaſure, for without Recollection, and ſpeedy Return, you'll certainly find a very ſenſible Correction; I ſhould be extremely ſorry the King and my ſelf ſhould be forc'd upon this Method. I pray God protect you from all Danger,

Leſley.

July 24*th*. 1559. *Your good Couſin,*

MARY.

The Lord *James*, inſtead of asking Pardon, made a bold Juſtification of his Conduct. “He told Monſieur **Crook**, he was not the leaſt Conſcious of failing in his Duty to his Sovereign. He own'd his joining the *Reforming* Nobility; but this he was far from reckning a Fault: That the late enterprize had no ſecular View: Nothing was intended but the Advancement of God's Honour, and the Purity of Religion. That to deſiſt from promoting ſuch worthy Ends, was in Effect to renounce his Saviour. That with Reſervation of Liberty as to this Point, himſelf, and the reſt charg'd with Rebellion, would give the utmoſt Obedience to their Majeſty's Commands.” This Anſwer he deliver'd in Writing to Monſieur *Crook*, who ſhew'd it to the Queen Regent: The Regent return'd it with this Cenſure: *That ſuch a proud and rebellious Anſwer was never given to a King and Queen.* (s)

His Apology.

(s) Spotſwood *pag.* 131.

John Knox, and the reſt of his *Fraternity*, had inſtructed Lord *James* in this conditional Loyalty, and furniſh'd the *Congregation* with Principles to turn *Faith* into *Faction*, and fly in the Face of the Government. To give the *Reader* ſome of their Doctrine in the Words of their own *Hiſtorian*. They make no Scruple to declare *the Authority of Princes to be of God, and that they ought to be honour'd and obey'd, even for conſcience ſake, provided they command nothing expreſly repugning to God's Commandment, and plainly reveal'd Will.* But, *That if wicked Perſons move Princes to command Things manifeſtly wicked*; in this Caſe they affirm, *That ſuch as can, and do, bridle thoſe inordinate Appetites of ſuch miſled Princes, cannot be accus'd as Reſiſtaries of the Authority which is God's good Ordinance: To bridle the Rage and Fury of miſled Princes in free Kingdoms and Realms, appertains to the Nobility, and alſo to the Barons and People, whoſe Votes and Conſent are to be required in all great and weighty Matters of the Commonwealth; which if they do not, they declare themſelves criminal with their miſled Princes, and ſo ſubject to the ſame Vengeance of God which they deſerve, for that they pollute the Seat of Juſtice, and do as it were, make God the Author of Iniquity.* (t)

The Opinion of the Scotch *Miniſters, touching Obedience to Magiſtrates.*

(t) Hiſt. *Reformation of Religion in* Scotland, *pag.* 184.

By this Doctrine, the Nobility and People have not only a Liberty to reſiſt upon the Score of Male-Adminiſtration; and when that happens, themſelves are the only Judges: So that in ſhort, they are to be govern'd no longer than they think fit. But this is not the hardeſt of the Caſe, for if the Prince falls into Male-Adminiſtration, if he preſſes upon Property, or countenances a Religion the People don't like, they are then under a Neceſſity of embroiling the Government, of fighting their Sovereign, and redreſſing their Grievances by Force. If the Nobility and Perſons of Condition don't head the Peaſantry, and go all this Length, they are ſaid to have a Share in their Prince's Guilt, they are falſe to their Truſt, they *pollute the Seat of Juſtice, and make God, as it were, the Author of Iniquity.*

The Regents receiving a ſmall Reinforcement from *France*, and fortifying the Port of *Iſith*, gave diſguſt to the Lords of the *Congregation*, who ſent her a remonſtrating Letter upon this Occaſion. 'Twas ſubſcrib'd by the Duke of *Chatelerault*, and the Earl of *Arran* his eldeſt Son, *&c.* I mention theſe Two noble Men, becauſe they had lately quitted the *Court*, and come into the *Aſſociation*.

The Queen Regent to leſſen the Credit of the confederate Lords, put out another Proclamation. Here amongſt other Things, ſhe declar'd, That Rebellion was the Meaning, and Religion only the Cover of their Enterprize: That this was plain by their taking *Broughtre*

Caſtle, and diſcharging the Governour; by the Duke of *Chatelerault*'s Slighting her offer, with reference to an Accommodation: By that Duke's diſpatching Orders to the free Burroughs to chuſe ſuch Magiſtrates as the *Congregation* thought ſerviceable to their Cauſe: And farther, by their ſtopping the Conveyance of Proviſion to her Court: She likewiſe charg'd them with correſponding with *England*, and making the Earl of *Arran* a Promiſe of the *Crown*.

Spotſwood.

The Lords endeavour'd to purge themſelves by a *Declaration*, and drawing their Forces together, march to *Edinborough*; and at the ſame Time, the Queen with the *French* Troops, and ſome of the *Scotch* Nobility, entred *Leith*.

The Differences being kept on Foot, and growing wider, the Lords of the *Congregation*, with a conſiderable Number of Barons and Burgeſſes, met in Council to conſult upon farther Meaſures. And here the Lord Preſident *Ruthen* ſuggeſted, that ſince the Queen Regent had refus'd their Petition; ſince there was no likelihood the foreign Troops would be ſent home, and the Garriſon of *Leith* evacuated; ſince this was the Caſe, they were now to apply to another Expedient. The regard for the *Regent*'s Authority was ſomewhat of a Reſtraint at firſt, and kept many of the *Council* from declaring their Opinion. After ſome Pauſe, they got over this Difficulty, and began to propoſe the diſplacing Her Majeſty: This lively Motion carried ſomething of Danger in't for Want of Precedents. They granted, ſuch a Method had ſometimes been uſed, but then 'twas always recommended with the Colour of Authority, and done in the Name of the *Sovereign*. But that the Nobility and *Eſtates*, ſhould venture thus far without, and which is more, againſt the Prince's Conſent, was altogether new, and would never paſs without Cenſure. Others were of Opinion, That ſince ſhe was only *Regent*, ſhe might have a Stop put to her Adminiſtration, and not be ſuff*e*r'd to uſe the King and Queen's Name, to the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *Board* being thus divided, 'twas thought proper to conſult the *Preachers*: And *John Willock* and *John Knox* being ſent for, gave in their Opinions to this Effect.

The Lords of the Congregation conſult about depoſing the Queen Regent.

Willock told them, That "notwithſtanding Magiſtracy was God's Ordinance, and that Governors have their Commiſſion from the divine Majeſty, yet their Power is not altogether Abſolute, and without Reſerve: Their Authority is convey'd with Reſtrictions, and has its Limitations in the Word of God. 'Tis granted, God has made Magiſtrates his Vicegerents, done them the Honour of his own Title, and call'd them *Gods*. But notwithſtanding this Privilege, he has never ſo unalterably fix'd any in their Stations, as not to allow their being ſet aſide when Juſtice requires. For as Subjects are commanded to obey their Magiſtrates, ſo Magiſtrates are not without Reſtraints and Obligations on their Part: And the Duties both of one and the other, are mark'd in *Scripture*. In depoſing Princes, God does not always exert his Omnipotency, and act by immediate Power, but ſometimes makes Uſe of humane Means for this Purpoſe. Thus by *Aſah* he remov'd *Maacha* that Prince's Mother from that Poſt of Honour and Authority ſhe had ſometime held: By *Jehu* God deſtroy'd *Jehoram* and all *Ahab*'s Family: And by ſeveral others he depos'd even thoſe Princes who had been placed in the Throne by his ſpecial Appointment.

Willock *and* Knox's *Opinion upon the Queſtion.*

From theſe Precedents he inferr'd, "That ſince the Queen *Regent* had miſmanag'd her Character, and fail'd in the Main of her Duty, ſince ſhe had not perform'd the Functions of Juſtice, ſince ſhe had not protected her Subjects from foreign Invaſion, and refus'd to ſuffer the Word of God to have its free Courſe: In ſhort, ſince ſhe countenanc'd Superſtition, and diſregarded the Advice of the Nobility, he thought they might juſtly ſet her aſide, and cancel her Authority.

John Knox being deſir'd to ſpeak next, after he had approv'd his Brother *Willock*'s Opinion in every Part, thought fit to throw in a Sentence or Two by Way of Moderation: "The Iniquity of the Queen Regent, ſays he, ought not to alienate the Affection of the Subjects, or make them withdraw their Obedience due to their Sovereign: He likewiſe wiſh'd there might be a Reſervation of Favour in the Sentence againſt the *Regent*: And that when ſhe recollected her Miſtakes, alter'd her Management, and reſign'd to good Council, ſhe might be re-admitted to the Adminiſtration of which ſhe was now juſtly depriv'd.

Upon this Reſolution of *Knox* and *Willock*, the learned Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* makes the following Remark: *Firſt*, He taxes them with Want of Diſcretion, for declaring themſelves at all upon the Queſtion. *Secondly*, He pronounces their Opinion faulty and unwarrantable. 'Tis true, the ſupreme Magiſtrate's Power is not without Limitation: They have Rules ſet them by God Almighty, and they may ſometimes fall into great Miſmanagement: But granting all this, as he continues, Subjects are no where permitted to riſe upon their Sovereigns, and call them to an Account: His Reaſon is, becauſe God has reſerv'd the Puniſhment of Princes to himſelf.

Spotſwood's Hiſt. pag. 137.

And as for their *Precedents*, they are nothing to the Purpoſe; for *Aſah* was King of *Judah*, and ſupreme Magiſtrate; and tho' *Maacha* was his Mother, ſhe was his Subject at the ſame Time: What ſhould hinder therefore but that the King her Son, might lawfully recal his Favour, and remove her from that Poſt of Authority in which ſhe had ſo remarkably misbehav'd herſelf? As to the Inſtance of *Jehu*, 'tis no leſs wide of the Point: For *Jehu* was anointed King by a Prophet, and had an expreſs Order to ſet up againſt *Jehoram*, and deſtroy *Ahab*'s Family: And tho' God who gives Kingdoms may take them away at his Pleaſure; yet, to uſe the Archbiſhop's Words, *No Man hath this Power, and they that preſume otherwiſe, go expreſly againſt the Commandment of God, and the Duty of Chriſtian Profeſſion.*

Ibid.

Notwithſtanding the falſe Reaſoning upon which *Willock* and *Knox* form'd their Reſolution, the *Council* approv'd their Caſuiſtry: For the Queſtion being put to the Vote, all the Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes, declar'd unanimouſly for the *Regent*'s Deprivation. Thus an Inſtrument was drawn up, in which, making uſe of the King and Queen's Name, they ſuſpended her Commiſſion, and diſcharg'd her Authority till the next Parliament ſhould be ſummon'd by their Advice. This Ordinance order'd to be publiſh'd in all the great Towns of the Kingdom, was ſign'd in this Form; *By us the Nobility and Commons of the Proteſtants of the Church of* Scotland.

The Lords of the Congregation publiſh an Ordnance to diſcharge the Regent's Authority.

Octob. 23. 1559. Spotſwood.

The Lords of the *Congregation* ſent a Herauld to acquaint the Queen Regent with what was done, deſire her to quit *Leith*, and command the *French* Garriſon to march out. The

Regent refuſing to comply, the Lords reſolv'd to ſit down before the Town, and attempt to carry it by Scalado; but finding ſome of their Party go off, their Secrets diſcover'd to the Regent, and their Troops mutiny for Want of Pay, they grew jealous of each other, and drop'd the Deſign: To furniſh their Troops, the Noble-men agreed to coin their Plate, but they wanted the Tools of the Mint to make this Expedient practicable. Their only Remedy was a Remittance from *England*: But this, they were afraid, could not reach them till 'twas too late: And for farther Diſcouragement, they had ſome unfortunate Skirmiſhes with the *French*. In ſhort, they found themſelves oblig'd to quit *Edinborough*, and retire to *Striveling*: And now they were much perplex'd, and at a Stand which Way to manage, 'till *Knox* reliev'd them with his Rhetorick, and recover'd their Spirits. They had lately written to Secretary *Cecill* to ſolicite Queen *Elizabeth* for ſupplies: This *Miniſter* returning a cold and ambiguous Anſwer, the Lords almoſt deſpar'd of Succeſs at the *Engliſh* Court. They reſolv'd therefore to make no farther Application, but gave *Knox* the Liberty of purſuing that Affair as he thought fit. *Knox* having this general Commiſſion, ſent *Cecill* another Letter; told him 'twas evident the *French* deſign'd a Conqueſt of *Scotland*: That the Lords and their Party were extremely diſtreſs'd: And that unleſs they were ſpeedily aſſiſted with Money from *England*, they would be oblig'd to diſband their Forces, and leave the Country to the Enemy: That if the *Engliſh* ſtood neuter, and ſuffer'd the *French* to make a Province of *Scotland*, 'twas eaſy for them to foreſee the Conſequence: At laſt he preſſes *Cecill* for a poſitive and ſpeedy Anſwer. (*u*)

(*u*) *Hiſt.* Ref. *of* Scotland, *Page* 234.

The Progreſs of the *French* Troops, and the Reſentment Queen *Elizabeth* had taken againſt the Courts of *Scotland* and *France* for quartering her Arms, claiming her Crown, and wearing her Title, prevail'd with her to conſider *Knox*'s Letter, and engage with the Lords of the *Congregation*. Before this Reſolution was taken, the Matter was debated in *Council*, where ſome of the *Board* declar'd, That the ſupporting the Subjects of another Prince in their Rebellion, would be an ill Precedent, and might draw a dangerous War on her Majeſty: But by others 'twas argued, That to protect her Neighbours from the Oppreſſion of Strangers, and ſtop the *French* from fortifying themſelves in *Scotland*, was both defenſible and neceſſary.

Feb 27. 15$\frac{59}{60}$.

Queen Elizabeth *makes an Alliance with the Lords of the Congregation.*

The Queen going in with this laſt Opinion, an Anſwer was immediately return'd, and a Promiſe given of Aſſiſtance with Men and Money. And not long after the Duke of *Norfolk* came to *Berwick*, where being met by the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Lord *Ruthen*, and ſome other Commiſſioners from the *Congregation*, a Treaty was ſign'd. By the laſt Article the Confederate Lords declar'd, 'Twas not their Intention by this Alliance to diſengage themſelves from their Allegiance to their Sovereign Lady the Queen, but to ſhew themſelves Obedient both to her Majeſty, and the *French* King her Husband, in every Thing not ſubverſive of the Liberties of their Country.

The English *Exiles move for a Liberty of conforming to the Reformation in foreign Churches.*

To look back a little, and return to *England*: Some of the *Engliſh* Exiles, who had been friendly entertain'd in *Swizzerland* and *Geneva*, came Home prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Model of thoſe Churches: And thus being diſaffected to our Common-Prayer, they would gladly have ſet up a foreign Eſtabliſhment. To this Purpoſe, they had prevail'd with ſome Perſons of Character abroad, to ſolicit the Queen to indulge them a Latitude, and leave them to their Inclination in theſe Matters. But the Queen, foreſeeing the Inconvenience of ſuch a Permiſſion, return'd theſe Strangers an Anſwer, that 'twas not conſiſtent with her Intereſt and Honour, to allow a Diverſity of Religious Practice: That in *Germany* the Princes and States owning a Dependance on the Pope or Emperor, were oblig'd to govern accordingly, to compound for their Quiet, and relax upon ſeveral Heads; but that in *England*, where none but herſelf and *Council* govern'd, the Caſe was different. (*w*)

(*w*) *Sir* H. Sydney's *Memor. Foxes and Firebrands*, Part 3.

The depriv'd Biſhops Addreſs to the Queen concerning Religion.

The Popiſh Biſhops, not long after their Deprivation, addreſs'd the Queen to return to their Communion: They put her in Mind Chriſtianity was firſt planted in *England* by the Church of *Rome*: They deſired her Majeſty to recollect the *Supremacy* of that *See*: And in Proof of this Privilege they mention *Athanaſius*'s being Cenſur'd by Pope *Liberius* and a *Roman Council*: And that the Emperor reprimanded *Athanaſius* for oppoſing the Head of the Church. But in this laſt Inſtance they plainly miſreport the Caſe; for *Athanaſius* never received a Rebuke from the Emperor for Non-ſubmiſſion to the Papal Supremacy. Nothing of the Modern Pretenſions were challeng'd at that Time of Day: On the contrary, the Emperor *Conſtantius* gave Pope *Liberius* a Reprimand for refuſing to comply with the *Arrian* Biſhops, and ſign the Condemnation of *Athanaſius*. He told the Pope he was ſurprized to find him ſo hardy in his Incompliance: And that being but a ſingle Biſhop, he ſhould ſtand out againſt ſo great a Majority of the ſame Order. (*x*.)

(*x*) Baron. Annal.

Dec. 4. 1559.

The reſt of the Biſhops Addreſs 'tis not material to relate: 'Twas ſubſcrib'd by *Nicholas Heath*, *Edmund Bonner*, *Gilbert Bourne*, *James Turberville*, and *David Pool*. (*y*)

(*y*) Sydney's *Memor.*

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

The Biſhops having ſuggeſted the Queen's being miſled by evil Counſellors, and reflected on her Father and Brother's Memory, put her upon returning a rugged Anſwer. I ſhall omit the Terms, and only mention ſome Part of the Matter. Her Letter written in the *Council-Chamber* replies, That the Chriſtian Faith was not firſt propagated in this Iſland by any Miſſionaries from *Rome*: And that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* was the *Britiſh* Apoſtle. But here her Majeſty, or her Council, miſt the Matter of Fact, as the *Reader* may ſee in the firſt Part of this Work. *

Dec. the 6th.

As for *Athanaſius* being Cenſured by *Liberius*, her Majeſty turns that Inſtance upon them with Force enough. She takes Notice how noble a Champion this Biſhop was for the Catholick Faith: Do you not, ſays her Majeſty, own his *Creed* to this very Day? Dare any of ye affirm him a Schiſmatick? You are not, I conceive, arriv'd to ſuch a Pitch of Confidence. Now if *Athanaſius* was right, and the Pope was wrong in the *Arrian* Conteſt; if the Matter ſtands thus, Why mayn't other Chriſtians quit your Church without the Imputation of Schiſm?

The Conſecration of Archbiſhop Parker, *and other Biſhops.*

In the Middle of *December*, this Year, Doctor *Parker* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And here none of the Cuſtomary Forms of *Congè d'eſlire*, (*z*) Certificate of the *Dean* and *Chapter*, (*a*) *Confirmation* at the *Arches*, the Archbiſhop's Homage to the Queen, (*b*) nor any requiſite Preliminary, was omitted. Now the Inſtruments for theſe Purpoſes not being commonly met with, I have put them in the *Records*. When the Ceremony of the Confirmation was over, the Vicar-General, the Dean of the *Arches*, and

(*z*) *See* Records, *Number* LXXX.

(*a*) *See* Records, *Number* LXXXII.

(*b*) Records, *Nu.* LXXXI.

---

* *Page* 7. *to* 12.

and other Officers of that Court, were entertain'd at the *Nag's-Head Tavern* in *Cheapſide*. This Treat gave Occaſion to the ſenſleſs Story of the *Nag's Head-Conſecration*. A full Diſproof of this Calumny may be ſeen in *Parker's Regiſter*, where both the Solemnities of the Conſecration, and every Thing præ-required, is enter'd at large. To throw in a Word or two: This Prelate was conſecrated in *Lambeth*-Chappel on *Sunday* the 17th of *December*. *Pearſon*, the Archbiſhop's Chaplain read the *Service*, and the Sermon was preached by *Scory*, *Elect* of *Hereford*, who was one of thoſe who officiated in the Conſecration. The other three were *William Barlow*, late Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Elect of *Chicheſter*, *Miles Coverdale* late Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *John Hodſkins*, Suffragan of *Bedford*. But ſince this whole Solemnity ſtands on Record both in *Bennet*-College and the *Lambeth*-Regiſter; ſince 'tis tranſcribed at length by Archbiſhop *Bramhall*, and other Writers of Character, there's no need of going farther in the Relation. The Reader, if he pleaſes, may ſee it in my *Supplement* to *Morery's* Dictionary. I ſhall only add, that having compared the printed *Record* with a Copy in the *Paper-Office*, I find them both agree.

To proceed; Though the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick were not *ſeculariz'd* to that Degree, as to ſtand in need of a *Commendam*, yet ſince this Relief is ſometimes granted by the *Crown* to more Indigent *Sees*, I thought it might not be improper to give the *Reader* a View of the *Form*. (c)

(c) *See Records, Number* LXXXIII.

Dec. 21. 1559.

After the *See* of *Canterbury* was thus fill'd, Thirteen other Biſhops were conſecrated within the Compaſs of a Year, and Eight of them before the End of *January*. Their Names are, Dr. *Edmund Grindal*, who was conſecrated Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Richard Cox* was promoted to the *See* of *Ely*, Dr. *Edwyn Sandys* to *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Rowland Merrick* to that of *Bangor*. Dr. *Nicholas Bullingham* was conſecrated to *Lincoln*, Mr. *John Jewel* to *Saliſbury*, Dr. *Thomas Young* to St. *Davids*, and Mr. *Richard Davis* to St. *Aſaph*. To proceed; There were Three other Biſhops conſecrated on the 24th of *March*; that is, Mr. *Thomas Bentham* for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Mr. *Gilbert Berkley* for *Bath* and *Wells*, and Dr. *Edmund Gueſt* for *Rocheſter*: And not long after, *William Alley* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Mr. *John Parkhurſt* of *Norwich*.

July 14.
Sept. 1.

Goodwin reckons the Death of *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, to this Year. He was born at *Hatchford*, in the County of *Richmond*, and deſcended from an Ancient and Conſiderable Family. As to his Learning, he was an exact *Grecian*, not unacquainted with *Hebrew*, an Eminent Mathematician, a Famous Orator, and no leſs Commendable for his Knowledge in Divinity and Law. For theſe Attainments he was recommended to Archbiſhop *Warham*, who made him his Vicar-General. This Archbiſhop preſented him to the King, who made him Maſter of the Rolls, Privy-Seal, and Biſhop of *London*, from whence he was tranſlated to *Durham* in the Year 1530. He diſcharg'd ſeveral Embaſſies to great Commendation. He was a very moderate *Roman* Catholick, diſown'd the Pope's Supremacy in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, and approv'd the Marriage of Prieſts. He was of an unproſecuting Temper, and managed with great Gentleneſs and Good-nature in Queen *Mary's* Reign. He was depriv'd, as hath been obſerved, in this Reign for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, and committed to the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who treated him Generouſly. He died in his 86th Year, was buried in *Lambeth* Church, and had the Reſpect of a Pompous Funeral.

Godwin de Præſul. Angl.

The next remarkable Occurrence is, Biſhop *Jewel's* Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs*: 'Twas preach'd in *Lent* this Year upon theſe Words of the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, *I have received of the Lord that which alſo I deliver unto you*. * From this *Text* he took Occaſion to make that remarkable Challenge in Defence of the *Reformation*. The Church of *England* was reproach'd with Novelty by the Papiſts, and charg'd with departing from Primitive Doctrine and Practice. To wipe off theſe Aſperſions, the Biſhop put the Cauſe upon a bold Iſſue, and declared in the Pulpit, “ That if any Learned Men of all our Adverſaries, or if all the Learned Men that are alive, are able to bring any one ſufficient Sentence out of any old Catholick Doctor or Father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one Example of the Primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly prov'd, that for the firſt Six hundred Years after Chriſt there was any private Maſs in the World: Or that there was then any Communion adminiſter'd under one Kind, or that the People had their Common-Prayer in a Language which they did not underſtand: Or that the Biſhop of *Rome* was then called Univerſal Biſhop, or Head of the Univerſal Church: Or that the People were then taught to believe, that Chriſt's Body is really, ſubſtantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally, in the Sacrament: Or that his Body is, or may be, in a Thouſand Places, or more, at one Time: Or that the Prieſt did then hold up the Sacrament over his Head: Or that the People did then fall down and worſhip it with Godly (that is Divine) Honour: Or that the Sacrament was then, or now ought to be, fix'd depending under a Canopy: Or that in the Sacrament, after the Words of Conſecration, there remains only the Accidents and Appearances, without the Subſtance, of Bread and Wine: Or that the Prieſt then divided the Sacrament in three Parts, and afterwards received himſelf all alone: Or that whoſoever had affirmed the Sacrament a Figure, a Pledge, a Token, or a Remembrance, of Chriſt's Body, had been condemn'd for a Heretick: Or that it was then lawful to have Thirty, Twenty, Fifteen, Ten or Five Maſſes to be ſaid in a Church in one Day: Or that Images were then ſet up in Churches for People to worſhip them: Or that the Laity were then forbid to read the *Scriptures* in the Language of the Country: Or that 'twas then lawful for the Prieſt to pronounce the Words of Conſecration ſo low, as to be heard by none but himſelf: Or that the Prieſt had then Authority to offer up Chriſt to his Father: Or to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do: Or to apply the Virtue of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion to any Man by the Means of the *Maſs*: Or that 'twas then thought ſound Doctrine to affirm that the Maſs *ex opere Operato*, that is, by the bare Force of the Adminiſtration, and without Regard to the Qualifications of the Perſon receiving, is able to diſcharge any Part of our Sins: Or that then any Chriſtian call'd the Sacrament his Lord, and his God: Or that the People were then taught to believe the Body of Chriſt remains in the Sacrament, as long as the Accidents of the

* 1 Cor. 11. v. 23.

Biſhop Jewel's *Challenge to the Papiſts at* Paul's-Croſs.

“ Bread continue without Corruption: Or that when Chriſt ſaid, *This is my Body*, the Word [*This*] does not refer to the Bread, but to an *Individuum Vagum*, as ſome of them ſay: Or that the Accidents or Appearances of Bread and Wine are the Sacraments of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and not rather the very Bread and Wine it ſelf: Or that the Sacrament is a Sign of the Body of Chriſt that lies hidden under it: Or that Ignorance is the Mother of true Devotion.

“ If any one of his Adverſaries were able to make good but a ſingle Propoſition amongſt all theſe, either by ſufficient Declarations in *Scripture*, or by the Teſtimony of the Ancient *Fathers* and *Councils*, he was ready to give up the Conteſt, and ſubſcribe himſelf a Proſelyte. (*d*)

(*d*) *Biſhop* Jewel's *Works*, Page 58.

Several Roman *Catholicks undertake the Controverſy.*

This *Challenge* made a great Noiſe, and the *Papiſts* thought themſelves oblig'd to anſwer it. Dr. *Cole*, late Dean of St. *Paul's*, was the firſt who undertook the Conteſt: His Manner was ſmooth and friendly; and ſome Letters paſt between him and the Biſhop upon this Subject. *Raſtall* enter'd the Liſts, and engag'd with more Heat, but with as little Succeſs. Theſe were ſeconded by *Dormer* and *Marſhall*: The firſt was encounter'd by *Nowel*, and the other by *Calfhill*. Dr. *John Harding*, an *Engliſh* Divine, who retir'd to *Lovain*, was the moſt conſiderable Adverſary. This *Harding* had been a ſtrong Proteſtant in the Reign of King *Edward*, but relapſed to Popery when Queen *Mary* came to the Crown: And for this Inconſtancy, the *Reader* may remember he was ſharply reprimanded by the Lady *Jane*. *Jewel* was likewiſe overborn with Fear, and ſubſcribed a Recantation; but he quickly recover'd himſelf, and made a publick Confeſſion of his Infirmity. This *Harding* appear'd to the moſt Advantage, offer'd at a thorough Anſwer, and conſider'd the *Challenge* from Point to Point: But then his Teſtimonies don't all reach up to the Age and Authority for which they are cited: He makes uſe of counterfeit *Records*, and, for Inſtance, cites the *Decretal Epiſtles* as if they were written by the Popes whoſe Names they carry. The Biſhop firſt publiſh'd an *Anſwer*, and afterwards a *Rejoinder* to *Harding*'s Performances. Which of theſe two Learned Men were the faireſt Repreſenters, came cloſeſt up to the Difficulties, and argued with moſt Learning and Strength, may eaſily be diſcover'd by peruſing what paſs'd between them. The Biſhop, to give him his Due, wrote with great Perſpicuity and Force, prov'd himſelf an Accompliſh'd Divine, and has, in a Manner, exhauſted the Controverſy. But theſe Polemical Tracts, though occaſion'd by *Jewel's Challenge*, did not appear in Print 'till ſome Years after.

About this Time a *Parliament* was held at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, in which ſeveral *Acts* were paſs'd relating to Church Affairs. The firſt is entituled, *An Act for reſtoring to the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction over the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtical.* By this *Statute* all Manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction for Viſiting and Reforming all Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes, *&c.* are granted to the Queen and her Commiſſioners. The Oath of Supremacy is enacted, and the Penalty for abetting any foreign Juriſdiction is Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels for the firſt, *Præmunire* for the ſecond, and High Treaſon for the third Offence. And here the *Regale* is farther preſs'd than in *England*: The determining Points of *Faith* are tranſlated from the Church upon the State: And the Parliament, without the Concurrence of the *Convocation*, is made the laſt Judge of Hereſy. *

* Iriſh *Acts*, 2 Eliz. cap. 1.

The next *Statute* eſtabliſhes the *Engliſh Common-Prayer* paſs'd by the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* in the Fifth and Sixth Year of *Edward* the Sixth. And here the Queen, with the Advice of the Lord Deputy and Privy-Council, is impower'd to Ordain and publiſh ſuch farther Ceremonies and Rites as may be moſt for the Advancement of God's Glory, the Edifying of this Church, and the due Reverence of Chriſt's Holy Myſteries and Sacraments. There is likewiſe a Proviſion for the Common-Prayer to be uſed in *Latin* in ſome Places of that Kingdom. The Paragraph runs thus: Foraſmuch as in moſt Places of this Realm there cannot be found English Miniſters to ſerve in the Churches or Places appointed for Common-Prayer, or to miniſter the Sacraments to the People; and that if ſome good Mean were provided that they might uſe the Prayer, Service, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, ſet out and eſtabliſhed by this Act, in ſuch Language as they mought beſt underſtand; the due Honour of God ſhould be thereby much advanc'd: And for that alſo, that the ſame may not be in their native Language, as well for Difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole Realm can read the Iriſh Letters: We do therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty that with your Highneſs's Favour and Royal Aſſent it may be enacted, ordain'd, eſtabliſh'd, and provided, by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that in every ſuch Church or Place, where the common Miniſter or Prieſt hath not the Uſe and Knowledge of the Engliſh Tongue, it ſhall be lawful for the ſame common Miniſter or Prieſt to ſay and uſe the Mattens, Even-Song, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Adminiſtration of each of the Sacraments, and all their Common and Open Prayer, in the Latin Tongue, in ſuch Order and Form as they be mention'd and ſet forth in the ſaid Book eſtabliſh'd by this Act, and according to the Tenour of this Act, and none otherwiſe, nor in other Manner: Any Thing before expreſs'd and contain'd in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. *

* Id. 2 Eliz. cap. 2.

By the next printed *Statute* the Firſt *Fruits*, *Tenths*, and Impropriated Parſonages, return'd to the Church by Queen *Mary*, are now brought back to the ſame Condition they ſtood by 28*H.*8.*c.*14. and veſted in the *Crown*. By the Way; in *Ireland* the 20th Part of the annual Profit of Biſhopricks and *Livings* were only payable to the *Crown* in Lieu of the Tenths. There is a cuſtomary ſaving Clauſe in the *Act* for the Intereſt of Bodies Politick and Corporate: And thus great Care is taken, that no Body ſhould be a Loſer but the Church. *

* Id. 2 Eliz. cap. 3.

The next *Statute*, relating to the Conſecration of Biſhops, enacts, That for the future there ſhould be no *Congè d'eſlire* granted, nor any Election made by the Dean and *Chapter*: But that Biſhops ſhould be conſtituted by the Queen's *Letters-Patents*, or by the Lord Deputy by Vertue of Letters-Miſſive, or other Warrants ſign'd by the Queen, or her Succeſſors; and that after ſuch Collation by the Queen, or the Lord Deputy, the Archbiſhop or Biſhop to whom 'twas ſignified was obliged to conſecrate the Perſon preferr'd, under the Penalty of *Præmunire*. *

* Id. 2 Eliz. cap. 4.

The laſt *Act*, which I ſhall juſt mention, returns the Priory or Hoſpital of St. *John's Jeruſalem* in *Ireland* to the Crown. Several Mannors, *&c.* belonging to this Priory, and alienated in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, had been granted by King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* to the Prior Sir *Oſwald Maſſingburgh* Knight, at the Revival of the Foundation. * Theſe Eſtates are now all veſted in the Queen.

*Id. 2 Eliz. cap. 12.

Aug. 1559.

Upon the Death of Pope *Paul* the IVth, the *See*, after a Vacancy of Four Months, was fill'd with *John Angelo*, Cardinal of *Medicis*, who took the Name of *Pius* the IVth. This Pope was not of ſo haughty and impetuous a Temper as his Predeceſſor: He wiſely conſider'd, that proceeding to Extremities without a proportionable Power, was a dangerous Experiment; that violent Meaſures had more than once prov'd unſucceſsful; and that ſeveral Kingdoms had been loſt by unſeaſonable Stiffneſs and Rigour. By this rough Treatment, for the Purpoſe, *England* went off from *Clement* the VIIth; and when 'twas afterwards recover'd, the imperious Demands of the late Pope diſguſted Queen *Elizabeth* to that Degree, that ſhe immediately gave in to the *Reformation*. However, this Pope did not deſpair of gaining her by ſmooth Applications. To this Purpoſe he diſpatched *Parpalia*, Abbot of St. *Saviour's*, with a Letter and private Inſtructions. I ſhall tranſlate the Letter from *Cambden*.

Pope Pius the IVth's Letter to Queen Elizabeth.

“ *Deareſt Daughter in Chriſt*, Health and Apoſtolical Benediction. How much the Salvation of your Soul, the Honour of your Reign, and the Intereſt of your Kingdom, is deſir'd by us, is known to God the Searcher of Hearts; and may be underſtood in ſome Meaſure by the Inſtructions which our Nuncio *Vincentio Parpalia*, a Perſon of Fidelity, and not unknown to your Majeſty, has Orders to lay before you. We earneſtly exhort your Highneſs, Deareſt Daughter, that you would be no longer govern'd by Unhappy Adviſers; By Men who love nothing but their own Intereſt and Pleaſures: We entreat you therefore to give the Fear of God the principal Sway in your Councils; *to know the Time of your Viſitation*, and to reſign to the Admonitions of us your Spiritual Father. Your Majeſty may promiſe your ſelf any reaſonable Length of Compliance which lies within the Compaſs of my Station, not only with Reference to your Spiritual Advantage, but likewiſe for the Service and Security of your Royal Dignity. And that when you return to the Communion of the Church, as we hope you will, you ſhall be receiv'd with the ſame Marks of Affection and Regard as the Father in the *Goſpel* entertain'd his Son with at his coming Home. Though our Satisfaction will be much greater than that mentioned in the Parable; for there the Joy was only for the Recovery of a ſingle Perſon; whereas your Highneſs's Return will draw your Subjects Happineſs along with you, and give a ſtrong Occaſion of Pleaſure to the Univerſal Church. And beſides, Heaven it ſelf will be, as it were, tranſported with the News, and you'll make an Addition to the Joys of the Bleſſed: Such a glorious Recollection will raiſe your Character, prove ſerviceable to your Memory, and give you a much brighter Crown than that you wear already. But concerning this Affair, my Agent *Vincentio* ſhall diſcourſe with your Highneſs more at large, and give you farther Proof of our Paternal Affection, *&c. Dated at* Rome May *the* 5th, 1560.

St. Luke *the 15th.*

Cambden Eliz.

1560. *The Common-Prayer turn'd into* Latin.

Somewhat before this Time, the Queen order'd the *Engliſh Common-Prayer* to be turn'd into *Latin*. Dr. *Walter Haddon*, as ſome ſuppoſe, had a Share in this *Verſion*. The Queen in her *Letters-Patents*, of the 1ſt of *April*, recommends this Book to the Uſe of both *Univerſities*, and to the Colleges of *Eaton* and *Wincheſter*. There are likewiſe Occaſional Services added for the Commemoration of Benefactors, together with ſome Funeral Hymns. Theſe Additions not being provided for by the late *Statute*, were authoriz'd a with *Nonobſtante*. All this was probaby done to juſtify our *Reformation* to foreign Princes, and acquaint them with the publick Devotions. Whether the Pope could reconcile himſelf to theſe Alterations or not, is a Queſtion. For the learned *Cambden* affirms he could never learn the Certainty of *Parpalia's* Propoſals. However, he owns 'twas commonly reported the Pope had engaged to confirm the *Engliſh Liturgy*, to grant the Laity the Holy Euchariſts under both Kinds, and to reverſe the Sentence which had paſs'd in the Court of *Rome* againſt her Mother's Marriage. And that theſe Conceſſions were made upon the Condition of her returning to the *Roman* Communion, and owning the Primacy of that *See*. I mention *Cambden's* Reſervedneſs in reporting this Matter, becauſe ſome of our *Hiſtorians* have made him ſpeak in a more Categorical Manner, and mention it as undoubted Matter of Fact. (e)

About this Time a Form of *Belief*, digeſted into Eleven *Articles*, was ſet forth by the Biſhops, and order'd to be read publickly by all the Clergy at their firſt Entring upon their Cures. 'Twas printed the next Year by *Richard Jugg*, the Queen's Printer, and entituled, *A Declaration of certain Principal Articles of Religion of both the Archbiſhops Metropolitans, and the reſt of the Biſhops; for the Unity of Doctrines to be taught and holden of all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, as well in Teſtification of their common Conſent in the ſaid Doctrine, to the ſtopping the Mouths of them that go about to ſlander the Miniſtry of the Church for Diverſity of Judgment, as neceſſary for the Inſtruction of their People. To be read by the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, at their firſt Poſſeſſion-taking, or firſt Entry into their Cures. As alſo after that, yearly at two ſeveral Times; that is to ſay, the* Sundays *next following* Eaſter-Day, *or* St. Michael *the Archangel.* (f)

Articles to be owned by the Clergy.

The Articles being drawn upon a very near Reſemblance with thoſe publiſh'd in 1552, and two Years forward in the preſent Reign, I ſhall paſs them moſtly over. However, to obſerve ſomething. The ſecond Article declares, that all Errors and Hereſies may be ſufficiently confuted by *Scripture*. The fifth affirms the Queen's Prerogative and Superiority in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, to be agreeable to God's Word, and rightfully belonging to her Highneſs in the ſame Senſe and Extent, as 'tis declar'd in the late Act of Parliament, and explain'd in her Majeſty's *Injunctions*.

The eighth affirms, that the Diſuſe of *Exorciſm*, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallowing of the Water in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, is no exceptionable Omiſſion. The Reaſon is, becauſe theſe Ceremonies are no Part of the Subſtance of the Sacrament.

The laſt diſallows the uſual Flouriſhing upon Images, Relicks, and counterfeit Miracles. And here, all Repreſentations of the inviſible God in the Figure of an Old Man, or of the Holy Ghoſt in that of a Dove, and all other Modes of divine Worſhip unwarranted by *Scripture*, ſuch as Pilgrimages, ſetting up Candles, and praying upon Beads, are directly cenſur'd.

(e) Heylin *Hiſt. Ref. Biſhop* Burnet *Hiſt. Ref.*

(f) Biblioth. Coll. Cor. Chriſt. Cant.

Tho' this laſt *Article* is capable of a favourable Conſtruction with reſpect to Images, yet moſt of the Biſhops ſeem to have gone towards an Extremity in this Point. They had ſollicited the Queen more than once for their Removal out of Churches: But had hitherto fail'd of Succeſs. The Queen was not without a Regard for the ancient Appearances of Religion: She thought Ornament and Repreſentation no unſerviceable Circumſtances: She was of Opinion the Service of God in her Brother's Reign wanted ſomething of Beauty and Magnificence to recommend it. In ſhort, her Aim was to ſettle both Ceremonies and Doctrine upon a Temper, that there might be a due Latitude for general Approbation and Belief. This ſhe apprehended the beſt Expedient to unite the Nation, and preſerve a great Part of her Subjects from going off to the Church of *Rome*.

The Biſhops addreſs the Queen againſt Images.

As to the Buſineſs of Images, the Biſhops were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Uſe of them. They were reſolv'd therefore to repeat their Requeſt, and try their Fortune once more in a formal Addreſs.

And here they begin with the Neceſſity of the Occaſion: And that 'twas no Spirit of Oppoſition, no conteſting Humour, which put them upon this Application: That 'twas purely a Regard to the Majeſty of God: 'Twas for Fear of giving Offence to the little *Ones*; and digging a Pit for the Blind to fall in, that they took this Liberty. And as they had ſeveral Times already petition'd her Majeſty upon this Head, without repreſenting their Reaſons, ſo now they thought themſelves oblig'd to mention the Grounds they went upon, and recommend them to her Majeſty's Conſideration.

Deut. 27.

“Their Arguments are drawn from *Scripture*, and ſome Authorities of the ancient Fathers. I ſhall only report the Subſtance of what they alledge. They take Notice the *Second Commandment* forbids the Making any Images as the Reſemblance of God. And that there was a Curſe denounc'd againſt thoſe who *made an Image, an Abomination to the Lord, and put it in a ſecret Place*: This they expounded of ſome Chappels in private Houſes; and among the Cautions given the *Iſraelites* to guard againſt Idolatry, 'tis particularly forbidden them, *not to make an Image*. For the Uſe of theſe, as they argue, does naturally advance to Idolatry. Of this ill Conſequence the *Jews* were ſo ſenſible after the Captivity, that they would rather die, than ſuffer an Image to be put in their Temple. The *Book of Wiſdom* calls an Image, *a Snare for the Feet of the Ignorant*. And St. *John* commands us, *to beware of Idols*. To this purpoſe *Tertullian* affirms, 'twas not enough to ſtand clear of the Worſhip, but of the very Figures: That laying a *ſtumbling Block* in the Way of the *Blind*, was forbidden among great Crimes in the *Old Teſtament*: But to leave ſuch an Occaſion of Miſcarriage before the undiſcerning Multitude, was a Breach of Duty of worſe Conſequence. That there could be nothing of Edification in the Caſe, ſince it ſerv'd only to fortify the Ignorant in their Superſtition, and fix them in their former Dotage. That others would diſlike the publick Worſhip upon this Account: So that if the Numbers of thoſe who would ſtand off from Communion if they were continued, and the reſt that would abuſe them were computed, the Remainder that would uſe them rightly, would not be conſiderable: The Luſtre of their Appearance would be apt to make too ſtrong an Impreſſion: And thus the People, if not carried to direct Idolatry, might have their Thoughts too much engag'd: Both *Origen* and *Arnobius* report, the Primitive Chriſtians had no Images, and *Irenæus* blam'd the *Gnosticks* for carrying the Figure of our Saviour about with them. St. *Auſtin* commends *Varro* for affirming the *Old Romans* for ſome Time made no uſe of Images in their religious Worſhip: And that this Reſerve in Ceremony was better ſuited to the Nature of the Deity. *Epiphanius* pull'd a Piece of Hanging in Pieces, and order'd it to be taken out of the Church, becauſe there was a Figure upon it: And *Serenus* another Biſhop broke the Images in *Gregory* the Great's Time. They obſerve farther, That the Emperors *Valens* and *Theodoſius* made a Law againſt Painting or Engraving the Picture of our Saviour. And laſtly, That the Uſe of Images in the *Eaſtern* Church embroil'd that Empire, and expos'd it to the Arms of the *Infidels*.

After theſe Reaſons, “They entreat the Queen not to preſs the Uſe of Images upon them, nor be offended with the Plaineſs of their Application. That ſuch Freedoms in Diſcharge of Conſcience, had always been favourably conſtrued by religious Princes. And to this Purpoſe, they cite a Paſſage of St. *Ambroſe* to *Theodoſius* the Great, *That 'twas not the Part of an Emperor to deny Freedom of Speech, neither did it become a Prieſt to ſtifle his Thoughts, and decline delivering his Judgment.* (g)

“They deſire her to conſider, That her Permiſſion of Images in Churches, would make the reform'd Prelates look Inconſiſtent with themſelves, and weaken their Character: That 'twould ſtick a Blemiſh upon the Reign of her pious Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, and diſſerve the Memory of thoſe eminent Clergymen who had loſt their Lives in Defence of the Truth. And to conclude, they intreat her that both this, and other religious Controverſies, might be referr'd to the Deciſion of a *Synod*: That this was the Method taken by *Conſtantine* the *Great*, and other Chriſtian Emperors. (h)

Some of the Reaſons examin'd.

Notwithſtanding the Zeal and good Meaning of theſe Biſhops, 'tis plain their Reaſons are not altogether cogent. For firſt, The Diſpenſations of the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Religion, are different in many Points, and therefore there is no arguing from the one to the other: There's no arguing, I ſay, either from Precept or Preſident, unleſs where the Grounds are the ſame; but this cannot be affirm'd in the preſent Caſe. For becauſe a corporeal Repreſentation of the unincarnate Deity was forbidden, we can't by any Parity of Reaſon infer the Unlawfulneſs of making a Figure of our bleſſed Saviour, who was Man as well as God. And that the Worſhip, and not the Uſe of Images, was altogether forbidden the *Jews*, may be collected from *Solomon*'s carving Cherubims upon the Walls of the Temple, and embelliſhing the molten Sea with Oxen and Lions. (i) Their Citation from the *Book of Wiſdom* is an Apocryphal Teſtimony, and therefore can amount to no Proof upon the Principles of theſe Prelates: And St. *John*'s charging the Chriſtians *to keep themſelves from Idols*, concludes as little. Neither can *Tertullian*'s Caution againſt having any Thing to do with Images of the *Pagan* Deities, be ſtrain'd to a Parallel. As for

(g) Ambroſ. Epiſt. Lib. 5.

(h) M.S.S. Biblioth. C.C.C.C.

(i) 1 Kings cap. 6 & 7.

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

for what they mention of *laying a ſtumbling Block before the Blind*, the Argument might poſſibly be turn'd upon them. For ſome People would take Check at the Removal of the Images, and conſtrue it a Diſregard to our Saviour and the Saints: Thus the pulling down the Emperors Statues was always look'd on as a Mutiny againſt the Government, and an Affront to the Prince himſelf. Farther, theſe *Prelates*, confeſs ſome People, would ſtand clear of Superſtition, and ſuffer nothing from Images in Churches: From whence it follows, they did not believe there was any Neceſſity of going too far upon ſuch a Permiſſion. Now to argue againſt the Uſe from the Abuſe, unleſs where the Miſchief is inſeparable, is to make Art and Nature unſerviceable, and reaſon us out of the Significancy of our Senſes: For what Convenience of Life, what Part of the Bounty of Providence, what Furniture either of Mind or Body is there, which has not been abus'd? As for the Luſtre and Pomp in Things of Religion, 'tis far from any dangerous Amuſement. Had this been an exceptionable Circumſtance, the Temple-Service at *Jeruſalem* of God's Inſtitution, would not have been carried on with ſo much Magnificence and Expence. But my Buſineſs being not to debate the Controverſy at length, I ſhall wave conſidering the reſt of their Authorities, and refer the *Reader* to what has been obſerv'd upon this Head in the former Part of my *Hiſtory*. (*k*)

One of our learned *Hiſtorians* (l) obſerves, "That theſe Reaſons of the Biſhops prevail'd "with the Queen to put it in her *Injunctions* to "remove all Images out of Churches: But with Submiſſion, this Remark is wide of Matter of Fact: For a ſuperſtitious Regard to Images, and thoſe Figures which repreſented counterfeit Miracles, are only ſtruck at, as the *Reader* may ſee by Peruſing the 2d and 23d Articles of the *Injunctions*. To which I may add, That the *Injunctions* were publiſhed in the firſt Year of the Queen's Reign, whereas this Addreſs of the Biſhops was not made till the Second.

This Year Archbiſhop *Parker* ſet forth his *Admonition* or *Table*, to point out the prohibited Degrees in Marriage: But this being every where to be ſeen in Churches, I ſhall paſs it over. 'Twas printed by *Reginald Wolfe*: And at the End of the firſt Edition, there's an Order annex'd relating to the Clergy. Here none under the Degree of a Maſter of Arts are allow'd to preach or expound the Scriptures: They are only to read the Homilies: They are likewiſe injoin'd not to make any Omiſſions, nor uſe any unauthoriz'd Rites in divine Service.

It has been already obſerv'd, That upon the *Roman Catholick* Clergy's throwing up their Preferment, the Neceſſities of the Church requir'd the admitting ſome Mechanicks into Orders. The Diſadvantage of this Expedient was ſoon obſerv'd: The Ignorance and improper Behaviour of theſe Men made them diſregarded and inſignificant: To prevent this Inconvenience, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent his Mandate to the Biſhop of *London*, to be communicated to the other Suffragans of the *Province*, not to ordain any *Mechanicks*, or other Perſons unqualified by their Education: That the Matter ſhould reſt in this Condition till the Meeting of a *Convocation*.

The Archbiſhop's Letter takes Notice that theſe Men by the Uncreditableneſs of their former Buſineſs, and their Converſing out of Character, made them deſpicable with the People: That Religion ſuffer'd under their Management, and that they did much more Harm than Good. *

Elizabeth Q.

The Courſe of the *Hiſtory* will now lead me to ſay ſomething of the Affairs in *Scotland*. Soon after the Signing the Alliance between Queen *Elizabeth* and the Lords of the *Congregation*, the *Engliſh* Troops commanded by the Lord *Gray*, march'd and ſate down before *Leith*. And being join'd by the confederate Lords, bore hard upon the Garriſon. The *French* King receiving Advice his Forces were diſtreſs'd at *Leith*, and being too much embarraſs'd to furniſh a Reinforcement, diſpatch'd Count *Randan* and *Monluck* Biſhop of *Valence* with a publick Character to the *Engliſh* Court. Their Inſtructions were to deſire the Queen to withdraw her Army out of *Scotland*, with Propoſals of the Reſtitution of *Calais* upon that Condition. Her Anſwer was, *She did not value that Fiſher-Town ſo much, as to hazard the Repoſe of* Britain *upon that Account*. The *French* perceiving the Peace would be made upon no other Terms than recalling their Troops out of *Scotland*, and looking upon it as diſhonourable for their King and Queen to capitulate with their own Subjects: Upon theſe Conſiderations they ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* to ſend her Ambaſſadors to mediate an Accommodation. This Motion being agreed to, Secretary *Cecil* and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* were order'd to accompany *Randan* and *Monluck* into *Scotland*, and endeavour compoſing the publick Diſturbances.

The French *Ambaſſadors move for an Accommodation of the Diſferences in* Scotland.

June 10. 1560.

The Queen Regent dies.

While theſe Ambaſſadours were on their Journey, the Queen *Regent* fell ſick, and died in the Caſtle of *Edinborough*. During her Sickneſs ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencayrn*, *Marſhal*, and Lord *James*. To theſe Noble-men ſhe declar'd herſelf much afflicted for the preſent Diſturbances, preſs'd them to make for Peace, adviſ'd the ſending both the *French* and *Engliſh* out of the Country, ſuggeſted Loyalty to the Queen their Sovereign, and deſir'd the ancient good Correſpondence with *France*, might be kept on. After this, ſhe ask'd Pardon of thoſe ſhe had any Ways offended, and declar'd ſhe forgave all Injuries againſt herſelf. And then ſaluting the Noble-men on the Cheek, and giving her Hand to thoſe of inferior Rank, ſhe bid them farewel. When the Company had taken their Leave, ſhe turn'd her Thoughts wholly to the other World, and at the Recommendation of the Lords, ſent for *John Willock* the *Preacher*, diſcours'd with him for ſome Time, and publickly declar'd, That ſhe *relied only on the Death and Merits of Jeſus Chriſt*: And thus ſhe departed this Life in a moſt Chriſtian manner. (*m*)

Her Character.

This Princeſs was furniſh'd with very honourable Qualities. She had a Genius for Government: Her Judgment was good, and her Humour condeſcenſive and obliging: She had a great Regard for Juſtice, was remarkably Compaſſionate to the Poor, and beſtow'd her Charities with great Tenderneſs and Diſcretion: Her Court was unuſually regular: She would endure nothing of Indecency and Licenſe: The Ladies of her Attendance were always commendably employ'd; and in this they did no more than follow the Example of their Miſtreſs, who was eminently unexceptionable in her private Life. Her quieting the Tumults in the North, and the *Iſles*, were ſufficient Proof of her Talent for Governing.

As to the *Civil* Commotions which harraſs'd the Kingdom in the latter End of her Regency, they were by no Means any Part of her Inclination. She was overborn into theſe unacceptable Meaſures by foreign Direction. *Leſley*, an Hiſtorian of her Communion, reports, That if

---

(k) *Vol.* I. *pag.* 65, 66, & 141, 142.

(l) *Biſhop* Burnet's *Hiſt. Ref. pag.* 398.

* Regiſt. Grindal.

(m) Spotſwood, *pag.* 146.

ſhe had manag'd by her own Judgment, the Miſunderſtandings between the Court, and ſome of the Nobility had never happen'd. But Monſieur *D'Oſſell*, *Bonot*, and other *Frenchmen* overrul'd her Fancy, prevail'd with her to exclude the Natives of Quality, and promote themſelves to the higheſt Poſts in the Adminiſtration: This diſguſted the People, and provok'd them to Sedition, To which they were farther puſh'd when they found their Liberties affected, and new Burthens laid upon them. Tho' after all, the real Grievances were heightned by Miſreports and magnifying the Miſcarriages of the Government. (n) To which may be added, that this Princeſs was barbarouſly us'd by the hot headed Preachers, and by no Means well, by the Lords of the *Congregation*. (o)

(n) De Reb. Geſt. Scot. Lib. 10.

(o) Cambden, Eliz. *pag.* 23.

Soon after the Death of the *Regent*, the *Engliſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors came to *Edinborough*, and entred upon a Treaty; which after ſome Days debate, was concluded: I ſhall mention only ſome of the *Articles*. *Firſt*, The Town of *Leith* was to be evacuated, and the *French* Forces ſent home again within Twenty Days. *Secondly*, An Act of Oblivion was to be made for extinguiſhing the Memory of all Injuries, and indemnifying the Subjects from Proſecution for all Miſdemeanors and Practiſe againſt the State, from the 6th of *March* 1558, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1560. *Thirdly*, That all Biſhops, Abbots, or other Churchmen that could prove themſelves damnified, either in their Perſons or Eſtates, ſhould have their Grievances redreſs'd in the next Parliament. And that in the mean Time no Body ſhould inſult their Perſons, or diſturb them in the Enjoyment of their Revenues. *Fourthly*, That the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould hold a Parliament in *Auguſt* next: And that for this Purpoſe a Commiſſion ſhould be ſent them from the King and Queen of *Scotland*: That a Committee of Noble-men nominated by the next Parliament ſhould be ſent to their Majeſties to report what farther Alterations 'twas neceſſary to make in Religion: And that the Articles then agreed ſhould be preſented with the Ratification of the Eſtates, and return'd with their Majeſties Confirmation. And laſtly, That for the Future, the Queen of *Scotland* and the King of *France* ſhould not carry the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, nor quarter the Arms of thoſe Crowns upon their Plate and Furniture. This Treaty was to be ratified within Sixty Days, and an Oath taken by the reſpective Sovereigns for farther Security.

A Treaty ſign'd at Edinborough.

Spotſwood, Cambden.

Before the Time expir'd, Queen *Elizabeth* ratified the Treaty with all the Solemnity requir'd, and order'd her Ambaſſadors *Throgmorton* and *Mewtas* to move the Queen of *Scots* and the *French* King to the ſame Compliance. But theſe Princes, notwithſtanding they had promis'd in the Biſhop of *Valence*'s Credentials, to ſign what was done; notwithſtanding this Engagement, as *Cambden* reports, they refus'd to ratify the Treaty. (p) The Reaſons of their Refuſal were, becauſe the *Scots* had, contrary to their Duty, entred into an Alliance with the *Engliſh* at *Berwick*, without any Authority from their Sovereigns: That none but Rebels were concern'd in the Negotiation. And that to make the better Shew of a general Concurrence, they had counterfeited the Hands and Seals of ſeveral Loyal Subjects: And laſtly, That they had not perform'd, that Duty to the *Crown*, which was promis'd in the Treaty. While theſe Things were debating at the *French* Court, King *Francis* the II. died in the 18th Year of his Age, and left the Queen of *Scots* a Widow.

The French *King and the Queen of* Scots *refuſe to ratify it, and why.*

(p) Cambden, Eliz. *pag.* 60.

Notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, a Summons was ſent by the *Scotch* Lords of the *Congregation* for the Meeting of a Parliament: When the Day came, there was a numerous Appearance: But all the Members had not the ſame Senſe of the Legality of the Proceedings. Some urg'd, That ſince they had no Commiſſion from their Sovereigns, nor any Authority to repreſent their Perſons, there could be no ſuch Thing as a Parliament. To this the other Party replied, That by an Article of the late Treaty, a Parliament was to be held in *Auguſt* following: And that this Meeting ſhould be as legal in all Reſpects, as if it had been expreſly order'd by their Majeſties. But to this it might be replied, that the Treaty not being ratified by the Queen of *Scots*, was not binding upon the *Crown*: And by Conſequence their convening without the Royal Warrant, muſt be a Breach upon the Conſtitution. However, this latter Opinion, ſupported by a Majority, prevail'd. After a Week had been ſpent in this Conteſt, and the Point carried not without great Struggle, they began to enter upon Buſineſs. But having no Commiſſion from the Queen, the cuſtomary Solemnities of carrying the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, were omitted. Of the ſpiritual Eſtate there appear'd the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblaine*, *Galloway*, *Argyle*, and *Iſles*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Couper*, *Landers*, *Culroſs*, St. *Colms-Inch*, *Newbottle*, *Haly-rood Houſe*, *Kinloſe*, *Deire*, and *New-abbey*, with the Priors of *Coldingham*, and St. *Mary-Iſle*: Thoſe of the Nobility were the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Marſhall*, *Caſſils*, *Kathneſs*, *Athol*, *Glencayrn*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*; the Lords *Ruthen*, *Glammies*, *Ereskin*, *Boyde*, *Ochiltre*, *Carliſle*, *Levingſton*, *Ogilvy*, and *Sommervile*. Many of the Barons were likewiſe there, and all the Commiſſioners of Burroughs. By this ſlender Liſt the *Reader* may collect, a great Party of the Nobility look'd upon the *Meeting* as illegal, and therefore declin'd appearing. And 'tis plain, the Government when ſettled, gave it no better Conſideration. For nothing that paſt in this *Convention* was touch'd by the *Scepter*, a neceſſary Circumſtance to make the *Bills* Law. Neither are their Proceedings entred amongſt the printed, or unprinted Acts of this Reign. And thus the Parliament held in the Year 1563, ſtands regiſtred immediately after that held in 1558.

The Parliament conven'd in Scotland *without any Authority from the Crown.*

Spotſwood.

The Authority of this Meeting defective.

And having premis'd this concerning the Authority of the Meeting, I ſhall proceed to other Particulars.

In the Choice of the *Lords of the Articles*, the Noble-men who were to nominate thoſe of the Clergy, paſs'd by the diſaffected Biſhops, and elected their Friends, tho' ſomewhat out of Form. The Perſons pitch'd on were the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Argyle*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Abberbrothock*, *Kilwining*, *Lundor*, *Newbottle*, and *Kulroſs*: The Prelates remonſtrated loudly againſt this Election, objecting that ſome of them were Lay-men, and that all of them had deſerted the Church: But theſe Allegations not being reckoned any reaſonable Exceptions, their Complaint was overrul'd. And becauſe the general *Reader* may not be acquainted with the Meaning of the *Lords of the Articles*, a Word or Two concerning them may not be amiſs. By the ancient Conſtitution of *Scotland*, the Parliament conſiſts of Three *Eſtates*, the Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, the Temporal Nobility, and the Commiſſioners for the Shires, and Royal Burroughs. The Lords and Com-

The Lords of the Articles what, and how elected.

Commons ſit together in one Houſe. When the Members are all plac'd, the King, or Commiſſioner makes a Speech; and then their firſt Buſineſs is chuſing the *Lords of the Articles*. There are Eight of theſe choſen for each of the Three Eſtates. The Manner of their Election has been ſomewhat different: Sometimes the Biſhops and temporal Nobility elected their reſpective Numbers out of their own Body: But commonly the Biſhops made choice of Eight Lords of the Temporalty; and the Nobility choſe the ſame Number of Biſhops or Abbots, to repreſent the ſpiritual Eſtate. And thus the Conſtitution ſtood in the Year before us. Theſe Sixteen chuſe Eight Commiſſioners for the Shires, and the ſame Number out of the Commiſſioners for the Burroughs. Theſe Two and thirty are a ſtanding Committee to prepare Matters, and draw all the Bills for the Parliament. (q)

This laſt mention'd Method of chuſing the Lords of the *Articles* was paſt into an *Act* in the Reign of King *Charles* II.

A Petition for Reformation of Religion.

To return; the firſt Thing brought into the *Houſe* was a Petition of the Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and others concerning Religion. This conſiſted of Three Branches. *Firſt*, That the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church ſhould be condemn'd and ſuppreſs'd by Act of Parliament: The exceptionable Doctrines ſpecified were, *Tranſubſtantiation, Adoration of the Hoſt, Merit of Works, Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and Invocation of Saints.* Theſe they accounted all damnable Errors, and deſir'd the maintaining of them might be made Penal. “ *Secondly*, They petition'd for a Revival of the Diſcipline of the ancient Church, and that the Profanation of the holy Sacraments might be puniſh'd. And *thirdly*, That the Pope's uſurp'd Authority may be diſcharg'd, and the Patrimony of the Church converted to the Maintenance of the Miniſtry, the Endowment of publick Schools, and the Support of the Poor.

Auguſt 17. 1560.

This laſt Clauſe diſguſted ſeveral of the Nobility. They were willing enough to be rid of the Pope and his Doctrine, but the giving back the Patrimony of the Church, which they had ſeiz'd during the late Diſturbances, was an unacceptable Motion. To this therefore making no Anſwer, they deſir'd the *Miniſters* to draw up a Syſtem of Belief: This was done accordingly, and Four Days after preſented to the *Eſtates* under the Title of *the Confeſſion of the Faith and Doctrine believ'd and profeſs'd by the Proteſtants of* Scotland. The whole is rang'd under Five and twenty Articles, concerning ſome of which, a Word or Two may be ſufficient.

The Confeſſion of Faith paſſes the Houſe.

Part of the Ninth Article ſeems ſomewhat crudely digeſted. They affirm, That our bleſſed Saviour in his Agony on the Croſs, *ſuffer'd for a Seaſon the Wrath of his Father, which Sinners had deſerv'd*: But that notwithſtanding this, *he remain'd the only well beloved Son of his Father, even in the midſt of his Anguiſh and Torment.* Now if our Saviour ſuffer'd the Wrath of God the Father, which is due to Sinners, then God the Father was certainly diſpleaſed with him during that Time: And if ſo, how can this be reconcil'd to the other Part of their Propoſition, that our Saviour was even then the well Beloved of his Father. This laſt Aſſertion is true, but then 'tis wholly Inconſiſtent with what was affirm'd before; for which Way is it conceiveable, that God ſhould be intirely pleaſ'd and diſpleaſ'd with the ſame Perſon at the ſame Time? Can any Thing be altogether an object of Hatred and Love, of Favour and Averſion? Beſides, our bleſſed Saviour's ſuffering upon the Croſs was an *Act* of the higheſt Obedience to the Will of God the Father, and the moſt meritorious that was ever perform'd in humane Nature: And can we imagine that God the Father ſhould be diſpleas'd with ſo great a Submiſſion upon ſo glorious an Account?

Their Sixteenth Article makes the Church conſiſt of none but the Elect: That the Members are inviſible, and only known to God. (r)

They aſſign Three Notes of the true Church; true Preaching of the Word of God; the right Adminiſtration of the Sacraments: And Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline *uprightly miniſtred, as God's Word preſcribes*: But as for Succeſſion, and uninterrupted Conveyance of Authority from the Apoſtles, there is no mention of that. The Nineteenth Article concerning the Authority of the *Scriptures* is ſomewhat ſingularly worded. They declare *the Authority* of the inſpired Writings *to be of God, and neither to depend on Men or Angels.* From hence they advance to cenſure thoſe as guilty of Blaſphemy who affirm the *Scriptures* have no Authority, *but that which is receiv'd from the Church.* But here if their Meaning is ſound, 'tis myſteriouſly expreſs'd. 'Tis granted, the Authority of the *Scriptures* is founded on the Infallibility of the Holy Ghoſt by whom they were dictated: But how to diſtinguiſh divine Revelations, from humane Compoſitions, muſt be known by ancient Records, by the Evidence of Tradition, and the Conſentient Teſtimony of the Church. And this was the Reaſon why St. *Auſtin* affirm'd he ſhould not have believ'd the *New Teſtament* the Word of God, had it not all along been handed down under that Character by the *Catholick* Church. In their Twenty firſt Article, they deſcribe the Myſtery and Benefits of the holy Euchariſt with great Reverence and Solemnity of Expreſſion. To uſe their own Words, *In the Supper rightly us'd, Chriſt Jeſus is ſo join'd with us, that he becomes the very Nouriſhment and Food of our Souls.* Then after declaring againſt Tranſubſtantiation, they add, *this Union and Communion which we have with the Body and Bloud of Chriſt Jeſus in the right Uſe of the Sacraments, is wrought by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt. And notwithſtanding the Diſtance of Place between our Saviour's Body in Heaven, and Us upon Earth, we moſt aſſuredly believe, That the Bread which we break is the Communion of Chriſt's Body, and the Cup which we bleſs is the Communion of his Bloud.* And that the *Faithful in the right Uſe of the Lord's Table, ſo do eat the Body, and drink the Blood of the Lord Jeſus, that he remains in them, and they in him.*

From hence they proceed to dilate upon the Privileges and Myſteriouſneſs of the Operation, much in the ſame Language made Uſe of by *Calvin* in his *Confeſſion* already mention'd.

The Twenty fourth *Article* ſpeaks very honourably of *Civil* Government, owns it the Ordinance of God, and condemns thoſe who reſiſt the ſupreme Powers, *doing that which appertains to their Charge.* This Clauſe was added to ſecure the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, and juſtify the late Practice againſt the *Crown.* And thus by throwing theſe dead *Flies into the Ointment*, the Perfume is loſt, and the Ingredients made good for nothing. Eccleſ. 10.

This Confeſſion being read in the Houſe, and put to the Vote, none of the Nobility, excepting the Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Sommervile*, and *Bothwick*, diſſented. The *Popiſh* Prelates offering nothing in Defence of their Religion, the Earl-

---

(q) Car. II. Parl. 1. Sect 3. c. 1.

(r) Hiſt. Ref. of Scotland, *pag.* 271.

Marſhal inferr'd they were conſcious of the Orthodoxy of the *Proteſtant Confeſſion*: And that all the Cenſures of the *Roman* Catholick Religion contain'd in the *Articles* were well founded. And thus the *Confeſſion* paſs'd the Houſe.

Hearing or ſaying Maſs capitally puniſh'd at the third Offence.

There were Two other *Acts* carried in Favour of the *Reformation*. By one of theſe *Statutes* 'tis ordain'd, that for the future the Pope ſhall have no Juriſdiction or Authority in the Realm; and that thoſe who abet his Supremacy ſhall ſuffer Proſcription and Baniſhment, and incur the Forfeiture of all Offices and Honours. The other *Act* directed againſt the *Maſs*, ordains that if any Perſon ſhall either ſay *Maſs*, or be preſent at it, he ſhall for the firſt Fault forfeit all his Goods, and undergo ſuch corporal Puniſhment as the Magiſtrate ſhall think fit to put upon him: The ſecond Fault is Baniſhment, and the third Death.

And here by puniſhing the Saying or Hearing *Maſs* with Death, they ſeem to have fall'n into thoſe Exceſſes of Rigour againſt which they had ſo ſtrongly declar'd: They complain'd of the *Papiſts*, and that juſtly, for making Miſperſwaſions in Religion capital Crimes, and yet do the ſame Things themſelves. To affirm they are in the Right, and the other in the Wrong, as to Matters of Belief, is foreign to the Point: For every one that ſuffers for Religion thinks himſelf in the Right, and therefore ought not to be deſtroy'd for his Sincerity, for the Prejudices of Education, or the Want of a better Underſtanding. I ſay, he ought not to be thus ſeverely dealt with, unleſs his Opinions have Mutiny and Treaſon in them, and ſhake the Foundations of *Civil Society*.

A Book of Church Diſcipline laid before the Convention.

Upon the Receſs of the *Eſtates*, a Conſultation was held for eſtabliſhing a Form of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. For this Purpoſe a Commiſſion was directed to Maſter *John Winrame* Sub-prior of St. *Andrews*, Maſter *John Spotiſwood*, *John Willock*, Maſter *John Dowglaſs* Rector of St. *Andrews*, Maſter *John Rew*, and Maſter *John Knox*, to draw a Scheme of Diſcipline for the Church. (s) Theſe Miniſters executed their Orders, and preſented their Draught to the *Convention* held at *Edinburgh*. This Diſcipline was moſtly form'd upon the *Geneva* Plan, ſomething of which has been related already. I ſhall therefore preſent the *Reader* with only ſome ſmall Part of it.

Jan. 1560.

The Election of Miniſters.

They reject Impoſition of Hands, and why?

Under the 4th Head, concerning *Miniſters and their lawful Election*, 'tis laid down for an unqueſtionable Propoſition, That none ought to preſume to preach or adminiſter the Sacraments unleſs they are *orderly* call'd. And to an *ordinary* Vocation, Election, Examination, and Admiſſion, are requir'd. Every diſtinct Congregation has a Right to chuſe their Miniſter: But in caſe they omit the Election Forty Days, the Superintendent and his Council may preſent them a Perſon, who is to be admitted after due Examination. And here they lay it down for a general Rule, that the Conſent of the Congregation, and the Approbation of the Examiners, muſt concur to the Admiſſion of a Miniſter. Theſe Examiners, by the Way, were always to be ſome Learned Divines. This Conſtitution ſeems ſomewhat embarraſs'd and defective: For in caſe the Congregation and the Examiners ſhould happen to diſagree about the Perſon, there is no Appeal elſewhere to decide the Difference. They have no Ordination-Ceremonies for conveying the Character: They grant the Apoſtles uſed Impoſition of Hands; but refuſed to be govern'd by that Precedent, becauſe the Miracles are ceas'd which accompanied that ſolemn Circumſtance. But this Inference of theirs is not well drawn: For how do they prove, that in they Times of the Apoſtles all Perſons ordain'd work'd Miracles? To make this out by any *Text* or Implication of *Scripture*, is a difficult Undertaking. Nay, the contrary ſeems pretty plainly inſinuated by St. *Paul*; for mentioning thoſe who could change the Courſe of Nature, amongſt the Governors of the Church, he immediately puts the Queſtion, *Are all Workers of Miracles?* Plainly intimating they were not. (t) Beſides, if they muſt not uſe Impoſition of Hands becauſe they can't work Miracles like the Apoſtles, or thoſe ordain'd by them, why do they venture to preach, or adminiſter the Sacraments, without this Supernatural Qualification?

Readers for the Common-Prayers.

The next Proviſion under this *Head* orders, That where the Pariſh can't be furniſh'd with Preaching-Miniſters, *Readers* may be appointed for officiating in the *Common-Prayers*, and reading the *Scriptures*. What *Common-Prayers* theſe were, has been already obſerv'd.

The 5th *Head* ſettles the Office of *Superintendents*, limits the Number to Ten or Twelve, and deſcribes the Extent of their Juriſdiction. Theſe *Superintendents* are obliged to preach thrice a Week, to viſit their whole Precinct, and not to reſide above three or four Months in one Place. 'Twas part of their Buſineſs to inſpect the Conduct of the Miniſters, and the Behaviour of the People: To ſee the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Education of young People, well managed. They are likewiſe to admoniſh where Occaſion requires, and to take Notice of all ſcandalous Practice in order to farther Cenſure by the Church.

The Choice and Office of Superintendents.

As to the Election of *Superintendents*, 'tis at preſent in regard to the Exigency of the Juncture referr'd to the Council, who may either nominate the Perſons themſelves, or give Commiſſion to others for that Purpoſe. And here 'tis added, that the Gentlemen and Burgeſſes within the *Dioceſe* ſhould be always preacquainted with the Election. But this was only a Temporary Proviſion; for afterwards, upon the Death or Depoſing any *Superintendent* all the Churches of the *Dioceſe* were to have an Intereſt in the Election, which was to be made in the Capital Town. And here the Candidate was to paſs the Teſt of the Miniſters of the *Province*, and the neighbouring *Superintendent*: By theſe he was to be examin'd upon the Points of Learning, Probity, and Diſcretion. And here no cuſtomary Solemnities were thought neceſſary: Nothing farther than the Approbation of the Miniſters and *Superintendent*, together with the publick Conſent of the *Elders* and People, were requir'd to compleat his Character.

And to conclude this *Head*, the *Superintendent* is ſubjected to the Cenſure and Correction of the *Elders* and Miniſters of his Province: And in caſe of Remiſſneſs, Male-adminiſtration, or Immorality, may be depos'd.

The Regulation and Privileges of Univerſities.

Their Proviſion for Scools and *Univerſities* are not uncommendable: St. *Andrews*, *Glaſcow*, and *Aberdeen*, are named for Univerſities; the Faculties, Profeſſors, and Principals, are named; the Exerciſes, Salaries, Officers, and Servants, ſettled. As to Matter of Privilege, they ſeem rather willing to rely upon inoffenſive Behaviour, than legal Advantage: And therefore, when any Member of the Univerſity is ſued by any Perſon foreign to their *Body*, they would have him appear in the Provoſt's, or Bailiff's Court; but then they move the Rector of the Univerſity may ſit upon the *Bench*, and be join'd as an Aſſeſſor with the Magiſtrates: But if a Diſpute happen'd between any of the *Students*, the Cauſe was only to be tried by the *Rector* and his *Aſſeſſors*.

(s) *Hiſt. Reform. of* Scotland, *p.* 283.

(t) 1 Cor. 12. *v.* 28, & 29.

The Rector, and all other Members of the Univerſity are exempted from all Taxes, and other publick Contributions to the Government. They are likewiſe privileg'd from all Offices which are likely to interrupt their Studies, and take up too much of their Time; ſuch as the Buſineſs of Truſtees, Guardians, Executors, *&c.*

A Complaint of the Alienations of the Revenues of the Church.

The 6th *Head* complains loudly of the Alienation of the Patrimony of the Church. And here, to uſe their own Words, they take Notice, "That ſome Gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the Tythes, and other Duties paid before to the Church, than ever the Papiſts were; and ſo the Tyranny of Prieſts is turned into the Tyranny of Lords and Lairds. For this we require, ſay they, that the Gentlemen, Barons, Lords, Earls, and others, be content to live upon their own Rents, and ſuffer the Church to be reſtor'd to her Right and Liberty. (*u*)

Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, for what Crimes, and under what Direction.

The 7th *Head* takes in Church Cenſures. Blaſphemy, Adultery, Murder, Perjury, and ſuch capital Crimes, are ſaid not to fall properly under Eccleſiaſtical Correction; for thoſe who are guilty of ſuch raging Diſorders, ought to be cut off by the Sword of *Juſtice*: But Intemperance in Eating and Drinking, Fornication, Exceſſes in Clothes, Oppreſſion of the Poor, Circumvention in Commerce, licentious Diſcourſe, and unguarded Behaviour; theſe Inſtances of Miſconduct lie within the Diſcipline of the Church.

If the Miſbehaviour is not publickly known, or can be reach'd rather by violent Preſumption than direct Proof, the Offender ought to receive a private Reprimand; and upon Promiſe of Amendment the Diſcipline was to proceed no farther. If the Reproof is contemn'd, the Promiſe broken, and the former Negligences and Indiſcretion continue, the Miniſter's Buſineſs is to reprove him; and in caſe of Diſobedience, to report the Matter to the Church, and go farther in the Diſcipline, according to our Saviour's Direction.

Where the Crimes are publick and heinous, ſuch as Fornication, Drunkeneſs, Swearing, *&c.* the Offender muſt be convented before the *Miniſter*, *Elders*, and Deacons; and here the Quality and Aggravation of the Sin muſt be ſet forth: If he ſhews himſelf penitent, and deſires to give publick Satisfaction, a Day muſt be aſſign'd him to appear before the Congregation, and own his Repentance. If theſe Conditions are accepted, and perform'd, he ought be received and treated as formerly.

If the Offender continues obſtinate and unmanageable, he muſt be diſmiſs'd with an Exhortation to conſider the Danger of his Condition, and menac'd with a ſharper Proceſs. If he recovers himſelf within a proper Time, and acquaints the Miniſter with his Recollection, he may be preſented to the Congregation, and admitted to Church Communion: But if there are no Signs of Reformation, the Fault and Impenitence, but not the Name of the Perſon, muſt be notified to the Congregation. And here the Miniſter is to deſire the People to call upon God that the Conſcience of the Criminal may be awaken'd, and brought to Remorſe and Compunction. If his Stubborneſs holds on, his Name muſt be publiſh'd the next *Sunday* to the Congregation, and his Friends requeſted to uſe their Intereſt to make him ſenſible of his Fault: And now ſolemn Prayers are to be made for his Converſion. The third *Sunday* the Miniſter is to demand whether the Offender has made any Step towards a Recovery, and ſhewn himſelf ſorry for his Miſbehaviour. If no Body can teſtify thus far in his Behalf, the Miniſter with the Conſent of the Elders and Deacons, and by the Order of the Church, is to pronounce the Criminal excommunicated. When this Sentence is paſs'd, no Body, excepting his Wife and Family, is allow'd to eat and drink, to trade, to converſe, or ſo much as ſalute him, without a Licence from the Miniſtry; that by ſeeing himſelf thus abandon'd and abhorr'd, he may be ſham'd into Repentance. His Children born after he ſtands excommunicated are not admitted to Baptiſm 'till they are either adult, and deſire it, or elſe are preſented by the Mother, or ſome other Friends, who at the ſame Time muſt declare their Abhorrence of the Father's Incorrigibleneſs. *

Thoſe guilty of capital Crimes, tho' pardon'd by the State, are excommunicated by the Church.

Thoſe guilty of Murder, Manſlaughter, Adultery, and other Crimes which deſerve Death by the Law of the Country, ſuch Perſons, though pardon'd by the Civil Magiſtrate, are not to be receiv'd to Church Communion without offering themſelves to Penance: However, notwithſtanding this commendable Diſcipline, they are permitted to hear the Sermon. When a Perſon under theſe Circumſtances petitions for Communion, a Day is ſet him to appear before the Congregation; and here he is to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Crime, and intreat being receiv'd into their *Society*. When the Miniſter has examin'd his Diſpoſition, put his Sincerity to a proper Teſt, and inſtructed him in the principal Points of Religion, he is to ask the Congregation whether they are willing to readmit him. Upon their anſwering in the Affirmative, Prayer is made for the Penitent; after which the *Elders*, and one or two of the Congregation, take him by the Hand, and embrace him in Behalf of the whole Church. In the Cloſe, the Miniſter recommends Circumſpection, and precautions him againſt a Relapſe; and after this Exhortation, publick Thanks are return'd to God for the Converſion of their Brother. All Perſons whatever are to be ſubject to theſe Spiritual Cenſures; and no Quality, or publick Office either in Church or *State*, muſt be pleaded for an Exemption.

The 8th *Head* relating to *Elders* and *Deacons* ſhall be paſs'd over, ſomething of this Kind having been already mention'd upon another Occaſion.

Common-Prayer not to be at Sermon, and why.

The 9th *Head* goes upon the *Polity* of the Church, as they call it. In Villages when there is no Sermon, certain Portions of *Scripture* are order'd to be read, and *Pſalms* ſung, though not without a Latitude for Omiſſion in ſome Caſes as to the latter Appointment. In great Towns they think it proper that either Sermon, or *Common-Prayer* with the *Leſſons* ſhould be had every Day. When a Sermon is preached, they don't think the Common-Prayer neceſſary: The Reaſon of this odd Opinion is, for fear the People ſhould be encourag'd to Superſtition, and come to the *Prayers* as they do to the *Maſs*; or imagine at leaſt, that the Pulpit-Prayers before and after Sermon ſignify nothing. However, they have ſome Reſerve of Regard for the Liturgical Miniſtrations; for where there is neither Preaching nor Catechiſing on *Sundays* in the Afternoon, they order the Reading the Common-Prayer.

(*u*) Spotſwood, p. 152. & dein.

* Knox's *Liturgy, or the whole Form of Diſcipline and Prayers, according to the Church of* Scotland.

As to Baptiſm, tho' they conclude this Sacrament may be adminiſter'd whenever there is a Sermon, they give notwithſtanding a Preference to the *Sunday*. On Week Days they would have this Office perform'd only after Sermon: They aſſign Two Reaſons for this Settlement; Firſt, This is done, ſay they, to diſcountenance the groſs Error of thoſe who affirm that Children dying without Baptiſm are damn'd. And Secondly, To retrieve the Honour of the Solemnity, that People may recover a right Notion of the Dignity of the Sacrament, and behave themſelves with more Devotion than commonly they do.

The Holy Euchariſt adminiſtred four Times a Year.

They conceive four Times a Year may be ſufficient for adminiſtring the *Holy Eucharist*. And here, as to the Circumſtance of Time, their overſcrupulous Apprehenſion of Superſtition runs them upon Singularity, and diſconforming with the ancient Church: And thus inſtead of the Feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, the firſt *Sundays* of *December*, *March*, and *June*, are fix'd for this Purpoſe; to which, to compleat the Number of the Regulation, the firſt *Sunday* of *September* is added.

They don't deny but that the Church may change the Time, and increaſe the Frequency. They are wholly of Opinion the Holy Euchariſt ought not to be given without previous Examination, eſpecially where the Ignorance of the Perſon is either known or ſuſpected; and that none who can't repeat the Lord's-Prayer, the *Creed*, and the Ten Commandments, none that do not underſtand the End and Efficacy of the Inſtitution, ſhould be admitted to this Holy Myſtery. They order an *Engliſh* Bible for every Church, and recommend the reading *Common-Prayer* Morning and Evening in private Families by the beſt qualified Perſon.

Liberty of Propheſying.

They proceed to determine for the Exerciſe of *Prophecy*, or interpreting the *Scriptures* in publick Aſſemblies: They ground this Practice upon the Precedent of the Church at *Corinth*; (*w*) though by the Way, there's a great Diſparity in the Caſe; for theſe *Corinthians* were furniſh'd with miraculous Aſſiſtance, and govern'd by ſupernatural Impulſe. Thoſe who drew the *Diſcipline* ſeem'd ſomething ſenſible of this comparative Diſadvantage, and therefore confine the Exerciſe within ſeveral Rules. 1*ſt*, All curious and unſerviceable Enquiries were to be avoided. 2*dly*, They were to decline all Expoſitions inconſiſtent with the Analogy of Faith, or the Practice of Charity: And under this Reſtraint, all Interpretations which ſeem to imply a Contradiction to other plain Texts of *Scripture* are comprehended. 3*dly*, The Expoſitor muſt keep cloſe to his Text, and not run out into Digreſſion and common Place, nor form his Diſcourſe to the Air and Amplification of a Sermon. 4*thly*, He muſt not take the Freedom of Invectives, unleſs in the Confutation of Hereſies. 5*thly*, He muſt be brief in his Exhortation, and ſpend the Time moſtly in explaining the Senſe of the Text, ſhewing the Connexion, and making ſuch Remarks as may be moſt ſerviceable to the Audience. 6*thly*, There muſt be no Squabbling nor School Diſputes; but every one that puts a Queſtion muſt reſolve it himſelf. 7*thly*, After thoſe concern'd in this Exerciſe have deliver'd their Opinions, and finiſh'd their Diſcourſe, they are to withdraw, that the Miniſters and the reſt of the Aſſembly may examine their Performance. When this is done, the Perſons were to be called in, and gently advertis'd of their Miſtakes, if they made any; and now all intervening Queſtions and Difficulties were to be ſatisfied and diſentangled.

(*w*) 1 Cor. 14.

The Judgment of thoſe who drew the Diſcipline concerning ſome Caſes about Marriage.

Under this *Head* of *Polity* they prohibit all Clandeſtine Marriages, without Exception of Privilege for the beſt Quality whatever: And here they injoin the publiſhing the *Banns* three *Sundays*, unleſs where the Perſons are well known; in which Caſe the Notice may be ſhorten'd at the Diſcretion of the Miniſter. They allow of no Divorce unleſs upon the Proof of Adultery: When this Charge is made good, they would have the injur'd Party declar'd free to engage elſewhere, and the Criminal executed. If the Government is ſo merciful as to give the Offender his Life, the Church muſt notwithſtanding proceed to Excommunication. If the Party ſubmits to Penance, and recovers Communion, he may be allow'd to marry again upon his Requeſt; but with this Condition, that provided the injur'd Perſon ſhould be willing to paſs by the Breach of Faith, and renew the Relation; when this happens, the Criminal muſt not be permitted to engage with any other. But after all, they think it moſt adviſable to be govern'd by God Almighty's Command in the *Old-Teſtament*, to puniſh Adultery with Death, and not give Occaſion for the Reſolution of ſo difficult a Queſtion.

The *Articles* concerning Burial, having been touch'd already in the Diſcipline at *Frankfort*, ſhall be omitted.

Thoſe who officiate in the *Maſs*, adore the Hoſt, and carry it in Proceſſion, they would have ſeverely corrected: And though they don't venture ſo far as to preſcribe the Penalty, yet they make no Scruple to affirm the Practice deſerves Death; and that thoſe Perſons deſerve the ſame Puniſhment, who preſume to adminiſter the Sacraments in publick Aſſemblies without either Reverence or Spiritual Character.

And laſtly, They don't ſtick to declare, that the Clergy in the *Roman* Communion have no Authority to adminiſter the Sacraments. Their Reaſon is very ſingular; 'Tis becauſe, ſay they, *God has not put the Word of Exhortation in their Mouths*. From hence, after ſome hard Language, they proceed to affirm, that the paſſing through the Requiſites and Teſts above mentioned, are the only lawful Methods for making Miniſters. But here they throw in a Proviſion for privileg'd Caſes: They ſuppoſe, there is ſometimes an extraordinary *Call* to the Miniſtry, and then the cuſtomary Forms are diſpens'd with. *

(*x*) Spotſwood, *p.* 152, ad 174.

The Diſcipline not paſt by the Eſtates.

This *Church Diſcipline* was laid before the Nobility, who took ſeveral Days to peruſe it. Some were willing to acquieſce in the Regulation, and paſs it into a Law; but the Majority diſſented: And thus the Matter was poſtpon'd, as *Felix* diſmiſs'd St. *Paul*, *to a more convenient Seaſon*. There were ſome *Articles* which call'd loudly for Reſtitution, wreſted the late gain'd Juriſdiction out of the Hand of the rich Laity, and ſate hard upon Intereſt and Pleaſure. (*y*) The *Eſtates* therefore let this Scheme lie by, and went upon a more acceptable Proviſion; and that was an Act for demoliſhing Cloiſters and Abbey-Churches. The Execution of this Order was intruſted with four of the Nobility, and ſeveral Barons, well affected to the Service. (*z*) They had their ſeveral Ranges, and the Kingdom was divided amongſt them: This was done that no Corner might eſcape a thorough *Reformation*. The Cauſe having thus the Countenance of the *Eſtates*, and ſome of the *Quality* giving the Onſet, the leſſer People came in amain. And now the Churches were every where either pull'd down

(*y*) *Hiſt. Reform. of* Scotland, *p.* 283.

An Ordinance for razing Monaſterys and Abbey Churches.

(*z*) Spotſwood, *p.* 174.

down or defac'd: For though the Ordinance of the *Eſtates* was pointed only againſt *Religious Houſes*, the Populace thought their Zeal defective, and their Commiſſion too ſhort; and therefore, not to do the Work by Halves, they fell on with undiſtinguiſhing Rage, and like a Torrent carried all before them. The *Preachers* had inflam'd their Ignorance, puſh'd them to Sacrilege and Fury, and blown them up to this Pitch of Diſtraction. Theſe Pulpit-Incendiaries cried out, *That the Places where Idols had been worſhipp'd ought to be deſtroyed by the Law of God*; and that the ſparing them was *reſerving the Accurſed Thing.* And thus every Building with a *Steeple* was a Mark of the *Beaſt*, a Seat of Idolatry deſcrib'd by *Moſes*, and a Houſe of Devotion for the *Amorites.* By the Help of this Divinity, the Churches were all raz'd or batter'd, the Beauty of the great Towns ſcandalouſly blemiſh'd, and the publick Ornaments of the Kingdom laid in Rubbiſh: The Communion Plate was made Prize, and the Bells, Timber, and Lead, ſet to Sale in the Market. *Regiſters* and Libraries were deſtroy'd, and the Remains of Learning and Antiquity thrown into the Fire. The Grave was no Protection againſt theſe *Zealots*: They rifled Monuments and Tombs, did what they could to extinguiſh the Name of thoſe in the other World, and murder them in their Memory. Thus what eſcap'd the Fury of the Mob in the late Commotions, was now ſeized and ſacrific'd.

To ſee noble Structures conſecrated to the Honour of the Ever Bleſſed Trinity, where all the Articles of the Apoſtles *Creed* were profeſs'd, the Chriſtian Sacraments adminiſter'd, and all the *Inſpir'd* Writings receiv'd as ſuch; Places, where there was no Polytheiſm, no Addreſſing Devils, no Roaſting of Children, no Licentious Worſhip ſo much as pretended; in ſhort, where there was no Reſemblance of a Parallel with the Heathen Idolatry mentioned in the *Old* and *New-Teſtament*: I ſay, to ſee the Houſes of God thus ravag'd and raz'd, the Holy Furniture made Plunder, and the Church Eſtates ſeiz'd, gives a frightfull Idea of ſome of theſe *Reformers*: And to conſider the Fact without knowing the whole Hiſtory, would almoſt make a Man believe ſome rough unconverted Nation had made an Invaſion, and carried the Country. 'Tis true, theſe extraordinary Proceedings had ſomething of the Face of Authority; but when the Matter is a little examin'd, the *Reader* will find there is nothing but Colour and Varniſh in this Appearance; for theſe *Undertakers* in Religion had neither the Concurrence of the Spiritual *Eſtate*, nor any Commiſſion from the *Crown.* They could not ſo much as preſume upon their Queen's Conſent: They well knew ſuch Methods muſt be highly affrontive to her Majeſty. So that upon the Whole, this Part of their *Reformation* was a plain Violation of the Conſtitution.

After the Receſs of the *Convention*, ſeveral Noblemen and Barons met at the Inſtance of *John Knox*, and ſign'd the *Diſcipline*. Thoſe who ſubſcribed this Draught were, beſides the Duke of *Chatelerault*, Seven Earls, Six Lords, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and the Dean of *Murray*, Four Lairds, and ſeveral Burgeſſes. The *Diſcipline* had this *Proviſo* annex'd, *That the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other benefic'd Men who had join'd themſelves to the Religion, ſhould enjoy the Rents of their Benefices during their Lives, they ſuſtaining the Miniſters for their Parts as was preſcrib'd in the ſaid Book.* (a) But this Security turn'd to no Account, for moſt of thoſe who ſubſcrib'd, ſeiz'd the Eſtates of the Clergy, and could never be prevail'd with to part with them. In ſhort, theſe Men, as *Spotſwood* obſerves, were moſt averſe to Reſtitution, and greater Enemies to the Patrimony of the Church, than thoſe of any other *Perſwaſion* whatever.

Ibid.

The Geneva Bible *publiſhed.*

To return to *England*: This Year the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the *Scriptures*, commonly called the *Geneva Bible*, was publiſh'd at *Geneva.* There are two Epiſtles prefix'd to the Work, one to the Queen, and another to the *Reader.* Theſe Addreſſes charg'd the *Engliſh Reformation* with Remains of Popery, and endeavour'd to prevail with the Queen to ſtrike off ſeveral Ceremonies. This offenſive Application, to ſpeak ſoftly, might probably be the Reaſon why theſe *Epiſtles* were omitted in the next Impreſſion.

The Queen's Proclamation for Anabaptiſts, and other foreign Sectaries, to depart the Realm.

The Queen's indulging a *French* Presbyterian Church in *England*, as has been already obſerv'd, encourag'd great Numbers of that Nation, and of the *Dutch*, to come over, and plant themſelves in Maritime Towns. And here, under the Shelter of the Reformed Religion, they maintain'd ſeveral groſs Errors and Hereſies. Some of theſe were *German* Anabaptiſts, and others propagated Opinions of a very dangerous Tendency; And thus Misbelief gain'd Ground, and ſome of the ignorant Natives were miſerably miſled. To ſtop the ſpreading of this Infection, the Queen by a Proclamation order'd theſe Hereticks, both Aliens and natural-born *Engliſh*, to depart the Kingdom within One and twenty Days: The Penalty of ſtaying longer was Impriſonment, and forfeiting their Goods. Notwithſtanding this Order, ſeveral ſcreen'd themſelves with their *Proteſtancy*, and join'd the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations both in *London* and the Coaſt-Towns. And here by venting ſome of their Dotages they occaſion'd ſuch warm Conteſts, that *Peter Martyr* found it neceſſary to interpoſe his Intereſt for bringing them to more Temper. To this Purpoſe he wrote a Letter ſuperſcrib'd *To the Church of Strangers in the City of* London. *

Another Proclamation to prohibit the defacing of Churches.

About this Time another *Proclamation* was ſet forth relating to the Church. It has been already obſerv'd, the Queen by her *Injunctions* had order'd the removing all Paintings and other Monuments of Counterfeit Miracles and Idolatry, both from Churches and private Houſes. Some People either out of Avarice or *Puritaniſm*, or both, had miſapply'd the Execution of this Order, and carried it much farther than her Majeſty intended. Thus under the Colour of theſe *Injunctions* they defac'd the Images of our Bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles, and deſtroy'd the Hiſtorical Repreſentations of *Scripture* in the Church-Windows: And which is more, their Zeal carried them to the pulling away Coats of Arms, and Monumental Inſcriptions, where they found any Pictures in their Neighbourhood. And becauſe the Bells had been conſecrated, and the Churches abus'd to Superſtition and Idolatrous Worſhip, they took down the Bells, and made Money of them, turn'd the Steeples to Pigeon-houſes, and ſtripp'd the Roof for the Lead. “All this Sacrilegious Ravage and Diſorder was “forbidden by the Proclamation, under Pain “of Impriſonment during her Majeſty's Plea-“ſure, and ſuch farther Fine for the Contempt “as ſhall be thought meet. A Charge was “likewiſe given to Biſhops, and all other Or-“dinaries, to enquire of all ſuch Contempts “done from the Beginning of her Majeſty's “Reign, and to enjoin the Perſons offending to

---

(a) Spotſwood, p. 175.

* His Letter is dated from Zurick Feb. 15. 1561.

“ repair the ſame within a convenient Time; “ and of their doing therein to certify the Privy-Council, or the Council in the *Star-Chamber*, that Order may be taken therein.

The collegiate Church of Weſtminſter *new founded.*

To proceed, the collegiate Church of St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*, which had frequently chang'd its Foundation, and ſuffer'd ſo many Revolutions in Figure and Fortune within Twenty Years, had now a more laſting Settlement. *Flecknam* the laſt Abbot and his *Convent*, as *Sanders* reports, had an offer to keep their Preferment, upon Condition of Swearing the *Supremacy*, and officiating by the *Engliſh* Liturgy: But theſe Conditions being refus'd, the Abbey was diſſolv'd by *Act* of Parliament. And now the Queen having made Choice of Parcel of the beſt Lands, convey'd the reſt to that Church. By Her Majeſty's *Letters Patents* bearing Date the Second Year of her Reign, the Foundation is ſettled for a Dean, Twelve Secular Canons, Two Schoolmaſters, Forty Scholars, petty Canons, and others belonging to the Choir, to the Number of Thirty, and Twelve Alms-Men: To which may be added Stewards, Receivers, and Servants belonging to the College. The Dean has the Cuſtody of the *Regalia*, aſſiſts at Coronation Solemnities, and is conſtituted Juſtice of Peace within *Weſtminſter* and the Liberties, by Act of Parliament. The Dean and *Chapter* have the Privilege of great Juriſdiction both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil within the City, and Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, the Precincts of St. *Martins le Grand*, and ſome Pariſhes in the County of *Eſſex*. (*b*)

Towards the latter End of this Year, *Robert Horn* Dr. of Divinity, formerly Dean of *Durham*, and who had lately ſignaliz'd himſelf in maintaining the *Engliſh* Liturgy at *Franckfort*, was preſerr'd to the *See* of *Wincheſter*, and conſecrated in Form on the 16th of *February*. At the ſame Time *Edmund Scambler*, Batchelor of Divinity, and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Peterborough*. During the Vacancy of this *See*, and whilſt *Scambler* was Biſhop, Secretary *Cecil* carried off the beſt Manours in the *Soke* belonging to the Biſhoprick. 'Tis to be ſuſpected *Scambler*'s Promotion was owing to this criminal Compliance. For by the Intereſt of this *Miniſter* he was afterwards tranſlated to *Norwich*, to which *See* he proved no leſs Unfortunate than to the Former. * The ſame Month Dr. *Young* was tranſlated from St. *Davids* to *York*: And in *March* following Dr. *James Pilkington* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *John Beſt*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, in *January*.

Anno 156$\frac{0}{1}$.

This Year the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; to the Biſhop of *London*, and the reſt of her Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, to review the *Kalendar* for the *Common-Prayer*, to ſtrike out ſome of the *Leſſons*, and appoint others which they ſhould judge more ſerviceable and inſtructive. The *Letter* complains, many Churches were unrepair'd to a ſcandalous Degree: That they were Unornamented and very negligently kept: This indecency and diſregard is order'd to be rectified. Towards the latter End, the Queen takes Notice of her Permiſſion of the Common-Prayer in *Latin* to collegiate Churches, and Commands theſe Commiſſioners to take Care that this Allowance of hers may not be diſappointed or miſmanag'd. * That there was Occaſion for ſome Alterations in the *Kalendar* appears by the Defectiveneſs of the laſt Common-Prayer ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth, where there was no Direction for proper Leſſons on Sundays: But in a 4*to* Common-Prayer, printed in the Year 1560, there is a *Kalendar* of Firſt Leſſons for Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays throughout the Year: And for ſome Sundays the Second Leſſons are appointed. This Common-Prayer was printed before the Queen ſent her Letter to the Commiſſioners above-mention'd, as may be collected from the Dates: 'Tis likely therefore the Archbiſhop and the reſt might ſettle the Second Leſſons for Sundays, then unappointed; and make ſome farther Alterations in the reſt of the *Kalendar*.

Ann. Dom. 156$\frac{0}{1}$.

On the Firſt of *January*, this Year the Queen came to St. *Paul's*, and was diſpleas'd with Dean *Noell*, for preſenting her with a Common-Prayer Book with Cuts. Her Majeſty gave him a ſevere Reprimand for this intended Reſpect. The *Reader* may poſſibly fancy the Queen's Diſpleaſure was ſomewhat myſterious upon this Occaſion, for 'twas not long ſince ſhe had diſcover'd herſelf in Favour of Images, and was difficultly prevail'd with to conſent to their Removal: Beſides, both now and ſeveral Years forward, ſhe had a Crucifix in her Chappel. Now if an ornamental Figure, or a religious Repreſentation was ſo dangerous, why did her Majeſty ſet the Example? If any one, I ſay, asks this Queſtion, I muſt leave him to anſwer it himſelf. *

This Summer the Queen went a Progreſs into *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*. It ſeems the Figure and Behaviour of the Clergy did not pleaſe her: She did not find them every where ſo conformable in their Habit, ſo perfect in their Office, nor ſo diſcreet in their Management, as ſhe expected. She was particularly diſconcerted at ſeeing their Wives in Cathedrals and Colleges. She iſſued out an Order therefore to forbid all Heads and Members of any College, or cathedral Church, within the Realm, having their Wives, or any other Woman within the Precinct of ſuch Places; the Penalty was forfeiting all Eccleſiaſtical Promotions belonging to any Cathedral, or collegiate Church.

Auguſt 9. 1561.

Secretary *Cecil* ſent this unacceptable Order to Archbiſhop *Parker*. And to explain himſelf the better to *Parker*'s Satisfaction, he told him in a *Letter*, that the Queen ſtood ſtrongly diſaffected to Matrimony in the Clergy. That had it not been for ſomething of Courage and Dexterity in himſelf, ſhe had abſolutely forbidden Churchmen that State: That he was glad to compound with her Majeſty, and propoſe this Expedient to prevent her going farther. However, he had taken Care to ſend Copies of the *Injunction* only to his *Grace*, to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and to the Chancellors of each Univerſity: And that he recommended this Method to hinder the *Inſtruments* coming out in a more publick Manner. *

The Archbiſhop's Letter to Secretary Cecil.

Archbiſhop *Parker* ſent this *Injunction* thro' his *Province* purſuant to her Majeſty's Order, but was very much diſſatisfied with the Contents. And afterwards upon his waiting on the Queen, he was ſurpriz'd with her Majeſty's Diſcourſe upon this Subject, as appears by his Letter to Secretary *Cecil*: “ He acquaints this *Miniſter*, he “ was aſtoniſh'd to the laſt Degree to hear ſo “ learned and conſcientious a Princeſs, treat “ the holy Inſtitution of Matrimony with ſo “ much Satyr and Contempt: Such unexpected “ Language put him in a *Horror*, as he ſpeaks; “ I wonder, ſays he, that State ſhould be made “ a Crime in the Clergy, which will ſtand the “ Teſt of the laſt Day: And that an Engage- “ ment which pleaſes God Almighty, ſhould

---

(*b*) Stow's *Survey of* London. Cambden Eliz.

* Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.* Harmer's *Specimen*, &c.

* *Regiſt.* Parker, *fol.* 215.

* Strype's *Annal. pag.* 238.

* MS. Petyt. Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 107.

“not pleaſe her Majeſty: I am at a Loſs to underſtand why her Highneſs ſhould gratify our Adverſaries ſo far, as to put us under Diſfavour upon this Account. If our Reputation is thus diſabled, we ſhall be thrown out of Capacity of doing God and her Majeſty Service. As far as my Reading and Information reaches, it has been the Cuſtom of all Princes both Chriſtian and *Pagan*, to Countenance the Miniſters of Religion: They thought this a neceſſary Expedient to recommend the Rules of Duty, to preſerve the Force of Conſcience, and Support the Government; but now 'tis our Misfortune to be ſingled out from the reſt of Mankind for Infamy and Averſion: To be expos'd to the Ignorant and Malicious, with Marks of the laſt Diſadvantage: To be cenſured as if we had no Regard to the Circumſtances of our Profeſſion: As if we were wholly reſign'd to Appetite, without the leaſt Check of Diſcretion. The Queen was ſo poſſeſs'd with the Senſe of our Miſmanagement in this Matter, that ſhe repented our being truſted with the Function, and wiſh'd it had been otherwiſe. This Diſcovery muſt be Sport to the Clergy of the late Reign. It muſt be Diverſion to ſuch People to ſee in what manner we are handled, and with what diſtinguiſhing Hardſhip we are treated by the Government. But this we ſhall paſs over with Patience, and reſt the Event with God Almighty. However, I muſt needs ſay, we have all of us great Reaſon to be much diſcourag'd.

“Her Majeſty, continues the Archbiſhop, talk'd of ſetting forth *Injunctions* of another Nature; but I hope God will ſtop this Motion, and alter her Purpoſe: And that as by the divine Aſſiſtance ſhe has begun a good *Work*, ſhe will hold on the ſame Courſe: I don't queſtion but theſe *Æſtus humani*, theſe Sallies of Paſſion, were occaſion'd by Miſreports, and that her Majeſty will acquit herſelf to Advantage, and like *Theodoſius* the Great, take Time for a mature Deliberation: And not proceed to a ſudden Reſolution in Things of the laſt Importance. It would trouble me if the Clergy ſhould be forc'd upon any Incompliance, and declare with the *Apoſtles*, that we muſt *Obey God, rather than Men*: But let thoſe who ſuggeſt theſe Thoughts be never ſo Conſiderable, we have no ſmall Numbers in our contemptible Party, that have Courage and Conſcience enough to Sacrifice their Lives in Defence of their Religion.

By this laſt Paragraph, 'tis plain the Archbiſhop was Apprehenſive the Queen had ſome Intentions of returning Popery upon them. From hence he proceeds to complain of her forbidding the married Clergy to live with their Families in Cathedrals. “What Policy, ſays he, can this be, to drive Hoſpitality out of ſuch Quarters. To drive away the Preachers from the beſt Towns in the Kingdom? And yet when ſuch Places are well inſtructed, the Example reaches the Country, and the Villages are kept in Order the better: But on the other Side, for the dignified Clergy to ſtay at their Cathedrals upon ſuch Terms of publick Diſgrace, which Way is it to be endur'd? What Perſon that has any Regard for his Credit, will live under Affronts, and continue in a Place where his Character is maim'd and murder'd? To ſee the Clergy thus particularly diſcourag'd, when all other People have their Liberty, is a melancholy Reflection. Beſides, this *Injunction* might have had its Force in preventing Abuſes, without raking upon the Reputation of the Clergy. For my Part, I wiſh I had never engag'd in this Station, ſince her Majeſty has been pleas'd to diſcover her Diſeſteem in ſo remarkable a Manner. I have endeavour'd to ſerve her Majeſty to my Power, and I humbly conceive, have done it in no contemptible Inſtances. By the punctual Execution of her Orders, I have gain'd the ill Will both of Papiſts and Proteſtants: But my being conſcious of ſerving God and her Highneſs, made me eaſy under Obloquy and Cenſure. But the Reception I had yeſterday from her Majeſty, and the earneſt forcing that *Progreſs-Hunting-Injunction* upon the Clergy; an Order drawn up without adviſing with any Eccleſiaſtick: This, has put me quite under *Hatches*, and indiſpos'd me for all other Buſineſs; ſo that I can only mourn to God Almighty in *Amaritudine Animæ meæ, ut dicam cum Sara, peto Dominum, ut de Vinculo Improperii hujus abſolvas me, aut certè deſuper terram eripias me.* *

Whether the *Secretary* acquainted the Queen with this Letter, or what Succeſs it had with her, does not appear. *However*, it ſhews the Archbiſhop was a plain Dealer, and well furniſh'd with Courage.

The Queen of Scots *deſires a ſafe Conduct to paſs thro' the Chanel, and is refus'd.*

Upon the Death of *Francis* the Second, the Queen of *Scots* diſpatch'd Monſieur *D'Oyſſell* to deſire Queen *Elizabeth* to grant her a ſafe Paſſage by Sea into *Scotland*, and that *D'Oyſell* might have leave to travel through *England* into that Kingdom. Queen *Elizabeth*, before a numerous Attendance, denied both Parts of this Requeſt: Her Reaſon was, becauſe the Queen of *Scots* had not ratified the Treaty at *Edinborough*, purſuant to her Promiſe: Adding withal, that provided this was done, ſhe might have a ſafe Conduct to make her Voyage either by Sea or Land, and be treated like a Neighbour and Relation. The Queen of *Scots* diſconcerted with this Refuſal, ſends for Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ambaſſadour at *Paris*, and having order'd the Company to withdraw, expoſtulated with him to this Effect: “She told him ſhe did not know how far the Diſadvantage of her Sex, and the Warmth of her Temper might carry her: However, ſhe was reſolv'd not to have ſo many Witneſſes of her Weakneſs, as his Miſtreſs furniſh'd herſelf with when ſhe gave Audience to the Ambaſſador *D'Oyſell*. That nothing troubled her ſo much as her making an unneceſſary Requeſt: That with God's Aſſiſtance, ſhe could as eaſily return into her Kingdom without Queen *Elizabeth*'s Leave, as ſhe arriv'd in *France* againſt the Inclination of her Brother *Edward*. 'Tis true, ſhe had a Mind to try Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friendſhip in the Firſt Place, and to maintain a fair Correſpondence with her: But it ſeems his Miſtreſs was not diſpos'd to take her by the Hand; otherwiſe ſhe would never have denied ſo ſlender a Favour: But it may be ſhe had rather engage with the *Scottiſh* Male-Contents, than with their Queen, a Perſon of equal Quality with her Highneſs, nearly related to her, and Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown.

1561.

She expoſtulates with the Ambaſſador Throgmorton.

And thus, after ſome length of Complaint, and Juſtification, ſhe concludes with ſaying, ſhe had fail'd in no kind Offices to her Siſter of *England*. But notwithſtanding ſhe had omitted nothing to oblige her, her Profeſſions of Friendſhip were either ſlighted, or diſbeliev'd: And being at a Loſs to account for her Siſter's Cold-

* Petyts MS. Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

neſs and Diſaffection, ſhe deſired the Ambaſſador to acquaint her with the Cauſe.

Sir *Nicholas* anſwer'd, That tho' he had no Inſtructions to diſcourſe upon that Head, yet if her Majeſty pleas'd, he would lay aſide his Character, and inform her of the Grounds of his Miſtreſſes Diſguſt. At the Queen my Miſtreſſes Acceſſion to the Throne, ſays he, your Majeſty quarter'd her Arms, and ſnatch'd her Title, which was not done by you in the Reign of Queen *Mary*: Now I refer it to your Majeſty's Wiſdom to judge, whether a greater Provocation than this could poſſibly be given to a Prince?

Her defence for uſing the Arms and Title of England.

To this the Queen of *Scots* replied, That ſhe was over-ruled by her Husband, and his Father King *Henry*: That ſince the Death of thoſe Princes, ſince ſhe was at her own Diſpoſal, ſhe had wholly declin'd making uſe of the Arms and Title of *England*: Tho' after all, ſhe did not know what Injury 'twould be to Queen *Elizabeth*, if ſhe ſhould quarter thoſe Arms upon the Score of her Grandmothers being eldeſt Siſter to King *Henry* the Eighth; for ſhe was well inform'd that ſome who ſtood more diſtant upon the Royal Line, had been allow'd the ſame Privilege. (*c*)

(*c*) Cambden Eliz. *pag* 64. & deinc.

The Precedents this Princeſs meant, were *Courtney* Marquiſs of *Exeter*, and the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, King *Henry* the Eighth's Niece by his younger Siſter, who gave the Arms of *England* with the Difference of a Border: But then this, as *Cambden* reports, was rather ſpecial Favour, than Matter of Right.

She makes a farther endeavour to ſatisfy Q. Elizabeth, *but without Effect.*

This Anſwer not ſatisfying Queen *Elizabeth*, the Queen of *Scots*, who was now upon her Journey to embark, ſent for *Throgmorton* to *Abbeville*, and ask'd him if he could ſuggeſt any Thing which he thought might prove acceptable to his Miſtreſs? He told her the only Expedient would be for her Majeſty to ratify the Treaty at *Edinborough*. She replied, "That Buſineſs was over and ſatisfied as to the Main: That all hoſtile Preparations were ceas'd, the *French* Garriſons evacuated, their Troops recall'd, the Fortification of *Aymouth* raz'd, and the Arms and Title of *England* laid down: And as for the Article touching her ſeditious Subjects, ſhe hop'd they would have no Reaſon to complain of Rigour: But your Queen, continues this Princeſs, by endeavouring to ſtop me in my Return, is willing, I perceive, to hinder the Proof of my Clemency. As to any unexecuted Part of the Treaty, I can't imagine which Way it can be prejudicial to your Miſtreſs. However, to ſatisfy her farther, I intend to write to her more at large my ſelf; tho' it has been her Cuſtom to correſpond with me only in the Hand of her *Secretary*. As for your Part, I deſire you would anſwer the Character of an Ambaſſador, and make your Report in a friendly Manner.

Idem.

She arrives in Scotland.

But nothing ſhort of ratifying the *Edinborough*-Treaty would content Queen *Elizabeth*. In the mean Time the Queen of *Scots* embark'd at *Calais*, and by Advantage of a Miſt paſs'd undiſcover'd by the Men of War, which lay to intercept her; for notwithſtanding it was given out the *Engliſh* Fleet was cruſing to clear the Channel of Pirates, or as others pretended, to wait on the Queen of *Scots* to her own Dominions; yet 'tis much more probable there was no ſmooth Meaning at the Bottom. For to heighten the Jealouſies of the *Engliſh* Court, the Lord *James*, who had lately been there, in his Return to *Scotland*, told our Queen, that the Intercepting the Queen of *Scots* was the only Expedient to ſecure her *Crown* and Religion. The ſame Advice was ſuggeſted by *Lethington* a *Scotch* Gentleman: He acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* in a Letter, That it was to be fear'd the Arrival of their Queen would prove fatal to *Scotland*: That the former Commotions would be reviv'd: That all Intercourſe between the Two Nations, either by Writing or Meſſages, would be impracticable: That the Party which favour'd the *Engliſh* Intereſt would be cruſh'd, and the *Scotch* Proteſtants treated like Traitors and Hereticks: And in ſhort, That *Mary* of *Scotland* would Reign like *Mary* of *England*. Notwithſtanding this uncharitable Conjecture, the Queen of *Scots* at her Arrival manag'd very gently, allow'd her Subjects their Reformation, ſettled the Kingdom, and govern'd to great Commendation. She diſpatch'd *Secretary Lethington* to Queen *Elizabeth* to court her Friendſhip. Our Queen ſtill inſiſted upon the Ratification of the Treaty at *Edinborough*: This was not denied by the Queen of *Scots*. However, ſhe deſir'd the Matter might be poſtpon'd till the Affairs of her Kingdom were better ſettled. In the mean Time, her Uncles the Duke *D'Aumale*, the Grand Prior, the Marquiſs *D'Albeuf*, and ſeveral other *Frenchmen* of Quality who attended her to *Scotland*, had the Liberty to return through *England*, and were very honourably entertain'd by Queen *Elizabeth*. This Courteſy was not anſwer'd at the *French* Court: For by the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Order, ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchant Men were made Prize on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*: He likewiſe privately endeavour'd to get Queen *Elizabeth* excommunicated at *Rome*: But *Pius* the Fourth was a more moderate Prelate, and declin'd Extremities. He renew'd his Attempt to gain the Queen, gave her an Invitation with other Proteſtant Princes to the *Council* of *Trent*, and diſpatch'd Abbot *Martinengo* into *England* with Letters of a very ſmooth Contents. Amongſt other Things, he acquainted her, that if ſhe would pleaſe to ſend either Biſhops, or Ambaſſadors to the *Council*, he did not queſtion giving them ſuch Satisfaction as might open a Way to a farther Accommodation.

The Pope ſends another Nuncio to Queen Elizabeth.

The Council debates the Receiving him, and reſolves in the Negative.

The *Nuncio* ſtopping in *Flanders*, ſent to the Queen for Leave to come forward. Upon this a *Council* was call'd, and the Matter argued on both Sides. Thoſe who deſir'd the *Nuncio*, ſuggeſted that the preſent Pope was by no Means of ſo rugged a Temper as his Predeceſſor: That he had addreſs'd the Queen very ceremoniouſly the laſt Year; that 'twas apparent the Repoſe of Chriſtendom lay ſtrongly at his Heart: That the Admitting the *Nuncio* would draw no Reſtraint: That 'twould ſtill be at her Majeſty's Choice to engage or not. That the Refuſing him an Audience would Diſoblige the Princes of the *Roman* Communion, and diſturb the Harmony between them and her Majeſty.

On the other Side the Precedent of King *Henry* the Eighth was urg'd againſt this Latitude: That this Prince, who had a hearty Regard for the Peace of Chriſtendom, proteſted notwithſtanding againſt the *Council* conven'd by *Paul* the 3d. That a Perſon with the Character of a *Nuncio* implied an Acknowledgment of the Papal Supremacy, diſcharg'd by *Act* of Parliament: That the Popes have always made their Advantage of ſlender Conceſſions, and therefore 'twas moſt prudential to guard againſt ſurprize, and ſtand off at the remoteſt Diſtance: That even the late Queen *Mary*, in Favour of *Poole*, forbid Cardinal *Peyto*'s coming a-ſhore, tho' recommended with the Diſtinction of *Legate à Latere*. That a great Part of the Nation were uneaſy at the Change of Religion, and wanted nothing but ſuch an Opportunity to diſcover themſelves farther, and break out into Diſturbance. Theſe Reaſons were thought to have moſt Weight, and the *Board* was govern'd accordingly. The Queen and *Council* were brought to this Reſolution by the Indiſcretion of ſome *Engliſh* Papiſts, and the hoſtile Proceedings of the Pope's Agents in *Ireland*. In *England*, the Noiſe of the Nuncio's coming over had made ſome *Roman* Catholicks troubleſome and overhardy: They made no Scruple to break the *Statutes* againſt Papal Encroachments, and ſpread Reports that the Queen was diſpos'd to change her Religion. Some of them are ſaid to have calculated her Nativity, and enter'd into a Confederacy with evil Spirits to be inform'd of the Length of her Reign. In *Ireland* the Pope's *Legate* gave the higheſt Provocation by abetting ſome Rebels there, and pronouncing againſt her Majeſty's Right to that Kingdom. (*d*)

The Biſhop of Viterbo *ſolicites the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador, but to no Purpoſe.*

The Nuncio *Martinengo* being refuſed to come into *England*, the Biſhop of *Viterbo*, another Agent of the ſame Character in *France*, ſolicited *Throgmorton* to perſwade Queen *Elizabeth* to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Council of *Trent*: She was likewiſe importun'd by ſeveral Princes and great Men; by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the King and Cardinal of *Portugal*, and more eſpecially by the Duke of *Alva*; importun'd, I ſay, to rely upon ſo ſolemn a Repreſentation of the Biſhops of Chriſtendom, rather than reſign to the Judgment of a few private Perſons, tho' never ſo well qualified with Learning. The Queen's Anſwer was, That though ſhe heartily deſir'd a General *Council*, ſhe would ſend no Body to *Trent*: That the Pope's Authority had been renounc'd in *England* by *Act* of Parliament, and therefore ſhe would have no farther Correſpondence with that *See*: That 'twas not the Pope's, but the Emperor's Privilege, to call a *Council*: And that ſhe did not underſtand that Prelate had any Advantage of Authority above another Biſhop.

About the Time of this *Nuncio*'s being refuſed, who was the laſt that was ſent to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Edward Cairne* departed this Life at *Rome*. This Gentleman, who was a learned *Civilian*, and well qualified for Buſineſs, was Knighted by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, and had for ſeveral Reigns ſerv'd the Crown of *England* under a publick Character at *Rome*. (*e*)

St. Paul's burnt.

In *June* this Year a terrible Fire happen'd in the Cathedral of St. *Paul's London*: It broke out near the Top of the Steeple, burnt down the Spire to the Stone-work, and in four Hours conſum'd the Timber and Lead of the whole Church. This Church was one of the largeſt in all Chriſtendom: 'Twas Seven hundred and twenty Foot in Length, a Hundred and Thirty in Breadth, and in Heigth, from the Floor to the Roof, a Hundred and fifty. The Steeple, from the Ground to the Croſs or Weathercock, amounted to Five hundred and twenty Foot, of which the ſquare Tower made Two hundred and ſixty, and the Spire by Conſequence as many more. (*f*)

The Cathedral was generally ſuppos'd to have been ſet on Fire by Light'ning: But the Learned Doctor *Heylin* informs us, That within thirty Years of the Writing his *Church Hiſtory*, an old Plummer confeſs'd on his Death Bed, that the Church was burnt through his Negligence. 'Twas by leaving a Pan of Coals careleſly in the Steeple when he went to Dinner. *

Soon after this Calamitous Accident the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to conſult the Biſhops of his *Province*, and principal Clergy, to fix upon a Method of Contribution for the Re-edifying St. *Paul's*: And here her Majeſty leaves the Proportion and Method of raiſing the Money to the Direction of the Biſhops. By Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Letter to the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, (*b*) the Clergy of that Dioceſs, thoſe who had paid their *Firſt-Fruits* were to be charg'd in the Thirtieth Part of their Spiritual Promotion, and thoſe who had not paid their Firſt-Fruits were let down to the Fortieth: Theſe reſpective Valuations were to be made by the Rate enter'd in the Queen's *Books*. Farther, ſuch Stipendiary Prieſts, who received Twelve Pounds *per Annum* for ſupplying the *Cure*, were to pay the Fortieth Part of their Annual Stipend. With Submiſſion, I humbly conceive thoſe of the Laity, to whom ſome of the beſt Manors belonging to St. *Paul's* had been granted, ought to have been charg'd with the Reparation of that Church: For to take away the Lands which were ſettled for the Maintenance of the Cathedral, and then throw the Burthen upon the impoveriſh'd Clergy, and ſet a Tax upon the *Province*, looks ſomewhat myſterious.

The Clergy of the Province charg'd with rebuilding it.

Sept. 1561.

Calvin's Anſwer to ſeveral Queſtions put by the Engliſh *Preciſians.*

About this Time *Calvin* wrote a Reſolution of ſome Queſtions put to him by the *Engliſh Preciſians*. One of the Queſtions was concerning the Expediency of Abſolution after the publick Confeſſion. *Calvin* determin'd this Point in Favour of the Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*. He was ſo frank as to declare that it was always his Inclination to bring this Practice into the *Geneva Office*; but being afraid 'twould be complain'd of as a Novelty, he complied too eaſily with the Omiſſion. Their next Queſtion was concerning the Significancy of repeating a Form of Words to every Communicant at the Lord's-Supper. To this he anſwer'd, that in adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt he ſometimes pronounc'd St. *Paul*'s Words; but becauſe the going through with the Repetition would take up too much Time, he commonly diſus'd it.

The third Queſtion was, How often the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper ought to be adminiſter'd? Whether every Month, or only three Times a Year? And here he floated at firſt in his Opinion, but at laſt declar'd for a Monthly Celebration, though he could not bring up the Church of *Geneva* to this Frequency; for there, as he relates, the Holy Euchariſt was only received at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*.

August 12. 1561.

Their laſt Queſtion was, Whether 'twas convenient to communicate the Sick? And if ſo, with what Number? Whether the Publick Office ſhould be us'd upon this Occaſion? And whether the Conſecrated Bread was to be brought from the Church? To the ſeveral Branches of this *Quære Calvin* anſwer'd, That the Sick ought not to be denied the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Sacrament: That ſome of his Friends and Neighbours ſhould communicate with him to make the Action the more ſolemn, and bring it up to the Face of the firſt Inſtitution; and that the Myſtery and Benefits ſhould likewiſe be explained at the ſame Time: That the Cuſtomary Form of the Office ſhould be obſerv'd: And laſtly, He thought it more guarding againſt Superſtition, to conſecrate at the Sick-Man's Houſe, than bring the Holy Elements from the Church. (*i*)

How far thoſe who put the Queſtions acquieſc'd in the Anſwer, I ſhall not examine: But that theſe *Heads* did not take in all their

---

(*d*) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.*

(*e*) Cambden *Eliz. pag.* 69.

(*f*) Stow's *Annal and Survey of* London.

* Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.* Fuller.

(*b*) Parker *Regiſt. Part* 1. *fol* 232.

(*i*) Calvin's *Epiſt. Num.* 361.

Scruples is pretty plain. Some of the *Exiles* and their Proſelytes quarrell'd the Church of *England* much farther. Nothing would pleaſe theſe People but the Modes and Diſcipline of *Frankfort* and *Geneva*. This Fondneſs for Novelties and foreign Uſage, made them break through the Conſtitution, exceed a private Character, and uſurp the Authority of their Governors. Thus, for Inſtance, they began to throw Things into a new Form, and make Alterations at Diſcretion: In ſome Places they took down the Steps where the Altars ſtood, and brought the Holy Table into the Middle of the Church. Inſtead of the ancient Cuſtom of Godfathers and Godmothers, they left the Father to anſwer at the Font for the Child. Keeping *Lent*, and other Faſts commanded by the Church, they diſlik'd as ſuperſtitious Practice. Nothing of this Kind would paſs but Occaſional Abſtinence, and Humiliations of their own Appointment. The *Feſtivals* fell under the ſame Cenſure and Neglect. And to fortify theſe Fancies with Arguments and Appearances of Reaſon, they prevail'd with ſome of the inferior *Ordinaries* to recommend *Calviniſtical* Sermons and Expoſitions of *Scripture* to ſeveral Pariſhes.

To ſtop the Progreſs of theſe Innovations, the Archbiſhop, with Advice of ſome of the Biſhops, ſet forth a Book of *Orders* for his *Province*: And in this Regulation all the Singularities above mention'd were directly forbidden. *

* Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.*

The Queen concurr'd with the Archbiſhop, for this Year there was a ſtrict Proclamation for the Keeping *Lent*, which was likewiſe the conſtant Cuſtom of this Reign.

This Year the Archbiſhops and Biſhops publiſh'd a Regulation, call'd, *Reſolutions and Orders* to be obſerv'd in both Provinces. The Contents are as follows; " That Licenſes for Preaching, " granted by the late general Viſitors, ſhould " be recall'd: That none ſhould be admitted to " preach without a previous Examination of " their Doctrine: That Preachers ſhould be " admoniſh'd to be careful and reſerv'd in their " Diſcourſes, and not ſpend themſelves upon " Points of Controverſy: That they ſhould " frequently inculcate the Dignity and Benefits " of both the Sacraments, and preſs Conformi" ty to the Common-Prayer and the Queen's " *Injunctions*: That publick Baptiſm ſhould be " adminiſter'd in the Font, and not in Baſons: " And that private Baptiſm ſhould be given " when the Perſon was in Danger of dying.

To go back a little to the Affairs of *Scotland*: Moſt of the Nobility, after the Convention was over, continued at *Edinborough* during the Winter, and were very intent upon ſettling the *Reformation*. To this Purpoſe, they ſummon'd ſeveral People from the chief Towns to appear before them, and account for their Belief. Amongſt other Learned Men of the Clergy, *John Leſley*, Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, *Patrick Mirton*, *James Stracquin*, and *Alexander Anderſon*, Doctor of Divinity, were ſent for from *Aberdeen* to *Edinborough*, where they diſputed in the *Toll-Booth* with *John Knox*, *John Willock*, and *Chriſtopher Goodman*. After theſe *Roman* Catholicks had made a Profeſſion of their Faith, and declar'd their Reſolution of abiding by it, *Anderſon* engag'd the Proteſtant *Preachers* upon the Articles of the Holy Euchariſt, and the Sacrifice of the Altar. Upon theſe Heads, if *Leſley*'s Teſtimony may be taken, who was a Party, the Proteſtants were ſo remarkably baffled, that they declin'd venturing themſelves in a publick Conteſt ever after. (*k*) However, the Nobility had a different Senſe of the Iſſue: They order'd theſe *Roman* Catholicks not to ſtir from *Edinborough*, nor abſent themſelves from the *Miniſters* Sermons. Notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage the Proteſtants came off with at the laſt Conference, they were not it ſeems all of them ſo far diſhearten'd, as to avoid another Engagement; for, as the ſame Hiſtorian relates, *Willock*, who had formerly been a *Dominican*, diſputed publickly at *Edinborough* with *John Black*, a Monk of the ſame Order. The Controverſy held two Days upon the Articles laſt mentioned: They parted without yielding on either Side. The common People hearing the Cauſe debated *pro* and *Con*, and the Learned ſo remote from each other, were more and more unhing'd in their Religion, and almoſt at a Loſs what to believe.

Conferences between ſome of the Popiſh and Proteſtant Clergy of Scotland.

(*k*) Leſley de reb. Geſt. Scot. Lib. 10.

Idem.

When *Lethington* was diſpatch'd to the *Engliſh* Court, he was charged with a very friendly Letter from his Miſtreſs to our Queen, as hath been obſerv'd: The *Scotch* Nobility likewiſe wrote by this *Agent* in the ſame Strein of Regard; adding withal, that the beſt Expedient to keep on an inviolable Friendſhip between the two Princeſſes, was for Queen *Elizabeth* to declare the Queen of *Scots* Heir to the Crown of *England*, in caſe ſhe ſhould leave no Iſſue. This Point being ſtrongly urg'd by *Lethington* purſuant to his Commiſſion, Queen *Elizabeth* replied, She was pleaſed to find the *Scotch* Nobility ſo forward in promoting the Intereſt of their Queen, in Cultivating a laſting Friendſhip, and guarding againſt the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, which would follow in all likelihood upon a diſputable Title to the Crown: But notwithſtanding this, ſhe had a great many weighty Reaſons to keep her ſelf upon the Reſerve. Amongſt other Things, the declaring her Succeſſor might draw off the Affection of her Subjects, and weaken her Government. However, ſhe ſhould always prove juſt to her Siſter of *Scotland*, and do nothing in Prejudice of her Title. *Lethington* at his next *Audience* put the Queſtion again, in hopes of a more favourable Anſwer: But the Queen told him, She could explain her ſelf no farther upon that Head 'till his Miſtreſs had made good her Promiſe touching the *Edinborough*-Treaty. To this *Lethington* replied, He had no Commiſſion to ſpeak to that Buſineſs; neither would he examine at preſent into the Managers of that Treaty, the Time when 'twas ſet on Foot, the Manner of the Proceedings, the Authority to enter upon it, or the Ends projected: Plainly intimating all theſe Circumſtances were liable to Exception. At laſt Queen *Elizabeth* was prevail'd with to agree that the Treaty ſhould paſs under a Review, and be ſettled upon the following Amendments: *That the Queen of* Scots *ſhould forbear the* Engliſh *Arms and Title; and that the Queen of* England *ſhould oblige her ſelf and her Iſſue to do nothing in Prejudice of her Siſter's Succeſſion.* (*l*)

The Scotch *Nobility move their Q. may be declared Heir to the Crown of* England.

Queen Elizabeth*'s Anſwer.*

Anno 1561.

The Queen of England *engages not to do any Thing to the Prejudice of the Queen of* Scots*'s Succeſſion.*

(*l*) Spotſwood.

About this Time *Jewel*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, return'd an Anſwer to an expoſtulatory Letter, written by Seignior *Scipio*, a Noble *Venetian*. This Nobleman had formerly made an Acquaintance with *Jewel* at *Padua*. The Letter goes upon the Subject of Religion.

Biſhop Jewel*'s Anſwer to Seignior* Scipio.

" *Scipio* tells him, That himſelf and a great " many others were extremely ſurpriz'd at the " Singularities of the *Engliſh* Nation: That they " took no Notice of the Council of *Trent*: That " they neither ſent any Repreſentatives, nor ex" cus'd their Abſence by *Agents* or Letters: That " they had made a ſudden Alteration in Religion, “and taken Leave in a Manner of every Thing that had been for ſo many Ages eſtabliſh'd: That, as far as he could judge, this look'd like Pride in the Management, and Schiſm in the Iſſue: That 'twas a moſt unwarrantable Neglect to ſet aſide his *Holineſs*'s Authority, and not appear at the *Council* upon his Summons: That 'twas not lawful to diſcuſs Matters of Religion elſewhere: That at ſuch general Aſſemblies the Patriarchs and Biſhops might be conſulted. Here the Learning of Chriſtendom, and the Flower of the Church, was to be met with: This was the Place where People might expect the Oracles of Truth, and the Reſolutions of the Holy Ghoſt: That when any Controverſy happen'd about the Worſhip of God, it had been the Cuſtom of Pious Princes to refer the Matter to a publick Aſſembly of the Biſhops: That the Apoſtles and Primitive Fathers held *Councils* as the beſt Expedient for diſcovering Truth, and ſettling Controverſies. By this Means the Hereſies of *Arrius* and *Eunomius*, of *Eutyches*, of *Macedonius* and *Pelagius*, were ſuppreſs'd. And thus the modern Differences may be agreed, and the Breaches in the Church made up, if the Parties would lay down their Animoſities, and apply to this Remedy: But to go about the adjuſting theſe Matters without the Deciſion of a *Council*, is an irreligious Attempt.

This being the Subſtance of *Scipio*'s Letter, the Biſhop replies, “That his Buſineſs was not to undertake the giving an Account of the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Government: That Princes often times kept the Motives they went upon to themſelves. But though he did not pretend to look into the Cabinet, he ſhould endeavour to ſatisfy his Requeſt, and diſcover his own Thoughts upon the Subject.

I ſhall juſt touch upon his Anſwer to *Scipio*'s Charge.

“Firſt, He takes Notice the *Engliſh* were not the only Nation which declin'd coming to *Trent*: That the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, ſtood off: That the Church of the *Abyſſines*, the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, the Chriſtians in *Egypt* and *Barbary*, in *Perſia* and *India*, ſent no Body to appear at the *Council*.

“And to inſtance in *Europe*: Did the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, ſays he, the Princes of *Germany*, the Republicks of *Switzerland*, the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to mention no more, comply with the Summons? And ſince ſo many other Countries are unrepreſented at *Trent*, 'tis ſomewhat odd to wonder at the *Engliſh*. And beſides, the Pope himſelf does not appear at a *Synod* of his own convening: This *Jewel* thinks his Friend ought to reckon a ſtrange Omiſſion.

“The Biſhop goes on in his Objections, and remonſtrates againſt the *Council* becauſe 'twas conven'd by the Pope, and not by the Emperor. He ſuppoſes *Trent* was not large enough to accommodate ſuch Numbers as were neceſſary: That the *Engliſh* Biſhops were imploy'd in inſtructing and governing their Charge, and could not be abſent from their Dioceſſes without deſerting their Function in ſome Meaſure: That the preſent Pope *Pius* the IVth made his Way to the *Chair* by Symony, and bribing the Cardinals: That inſtead of paying his Debts to Cardinal *Caraffa*, who procur'd him a Majority, he confin'd that Prelate, and diſpatch'd him in Priſon.

Theſe Exceptions are not of the ſtrongeſt Kind: What comes next preſſes cloſer.

“*Jewel* obſerves, That the ancient Fathers declin'd coming to *Councils*, when they had Reaſon to believe them pack'd and prejudic'd againſt them. Thus St. *Athanaſius* refuſed to come to the Council of *Sirmium*: Thus St. *Chryſoſtome* took no Notice of the *Synod ſub quercu*: Neither would *Paulinus*, Biſhop of *Triers* appear at the *Council* of *Milan*, where he foreſaw every Thing would be carried in Favour of the *Arrians*. To make this bear in the Application, he obſerves the *Fathers* of *Trent* had preingag'd themſelves to the Pope, and ſworn away their Freedom in Voting.

“And laſtly, He wonders the Pope ſhould ſummon the *Engliſh* to the *Council*, who had been already pronounc'd Hereticks by his Predeceſſors. What Character could they appear under? 'Tis not likely the *Council* would allow them the common Privilege, conſidering the Cenſure paſs'd upon their Doctrine. What then muſt they take ſo long a Journey to be ſet to the Bar, and plead as Criminals? By this Method, they could expect nothing more but either to recant, or have the *Cenſure* repeated upon them. But to ſtand to the Pope's Juſtice when they have ſuch weighty Exceptions to his Authority, is more than they can ſubmit to. *

* Epiſt. Jewelli, &c. *at the End of the Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

An Order againſt Papiſts reſiding in Edinborough.

The latter End of this Summer the Queen of *Scots* went a Progreſs to *Sterling*, from thence to *Perth*, *Dundee*, *St. Andrews*, and other Places: She was every where receiv'd with all imaginable Marks of Loyalty and Regard. She returned to *Edinborough* about *Michaelmas*. At this Time the Burghers chuſe their Magiſtracy for the enſuing Year, and make By-Laws for the Government of the Corporation. Amongſt other Regulations they paſs'd an Order, That *no Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Maſs-Prieſt, or obſtinate Papiſt, ſhould live or be entertain'd in the Town, under Penalties appointed.*

The Queen, as ſhe had Reaſon, interpreting this Ordinance as an Incroachment upon Sovereignty, and affrontive to her Religion, committed the *Provoſt*, *Archibald Dowglaſs*, to the Caſtle of *Edinborough*, and commanded the *Common-Council* to proceed to a new Election, which was done accordingly. A Proclamation was likewiſe publiſh'd for granting Liberty to all good Subjects to come to *Edinborough*, and continue there as long as their Buſineſs ſhould require.

Theſe Things, which were far from Arbitrary Stretches, gave great Offence. Theſe Diſcontents were heighten'd by the Queen's Exerciſing her Religion in a more publick Manner, and performing the Ceremonies with the cuſtomary Solemnities. And now the Preachers kindled againſt the Government, and declaim'd with much more Warmth than Diſcretion upon this Occaſion. The Nobility manag'd themſelves with more Decency and Temper. It muſt be ſaid, the Queen had ſhewn her ſelf inclined to give them Satisfaction; for her *Privy-Council* conſiſted moſtly of the Lords of the *Congregation*.

Books publiſh'd againſt the Scottiſh *Confeſſion of Faith*

About this Time *Nynian Wyniet*, a Schoolmaſter of *Linlithgow*, publiſh'd a Book of Quæries againſt the late *Confeſſion of Faith*. *Wyniet* was a Man of Learning, and the Performance, it ſeems, was not heavily manag'd. He was cited to a Conference, and appear'd; but proving too Stiff to lay down his Miſtakes, the *Reformed-Church* proceeded to Cenſure. Upon this he retir'd to *Germany*, and was made Abbot of the *Scotch* Monaſtery at *Ratiſbon*. Much about the ſame Time the Abbot of *Corſragnel*, of the Houſe of *Caſſils*, publiſh'd a *Counter-Confeſſion* of *Faith*. To this *John Knox* made a Reply; but with what Succeſs is more than I can acquaint the *Reader*. However if this Adverſary's Management did the Abbot no Service, his Age and Quality cover'd him from Proſecution.

The Scotch *Clergy ſurrender the Thirds of their Revenue to the Crown.*

The Lords at *Edinborough* were now imploy'd about Ways and Means for the *Civil-Liſt*, and furniſhing of Funds for the Expences of the Court. The Revenues of the Church were thought the moſt practicable Expedient; for the Clergy having now loſt their Intereſt, might be forc'd upon any Compliance. To this Purpoſe the Prelates and other Churchmen of Diſtinction were order'd to appear before the *Council*. And now being ſenſible of the Niceneſs of the Juncture, and the ill Poſture of their Affairs, they were glad to compound and come to the *Terms* of the *Board*. Thus after a Defence of their Property for ſome Time, they ſurrender'd a Third of their Profits to the Queen's Diſpoſal: But then 'twas upon this Condition, that the remaining two Thirds ſhould be ſecur'd them during their Lives, and that they ſhould be diſcharg'd from ſubſiſting the *Miniſters*.

Idem.

An Interview propos'd between the Queens of England *and* Scotland.

An. Dom. 1562.

In the Beginning of the next Summer, an Interview between the two Queens was much diſcours'd. The Motion coming from the Queen of *Scots*, the Expediency of it was debated by the *Engliſh* Court. Some of the *Board* were of Opinion this Princeſs had her own Advantage too much in View; and that ſhe expected the Papiſts in *England*, and her Relations, the *Guiſes* in *France*, would find their Account in this Buſineſs. Others were of a different Sentiment: They believ'd ſuch a perſonal Correſpondence was the Way to cultivate their Friendſhip, to looſen the Engagement between *France* and *Scotland*, and to reconcile that Queen by Degrees to the Proteſtant Religion. To this 'twas objected, that Interviews oftentimes ſpoil Friendſhip, rather than make it: The Diſadvantages in Magnificence or Perſon, are apt to diſoblige, and awaken a Spirit of Envy. Beſides, at laſt the Queen of *Scots* began to ſcruple the putting her ſelf in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Power, conſidering the Claim ſhe had formerly ſet up, and the Miſunderſtandings which had paſs'd betwixt them. She was likewiſe apprehenſive her Uncles the Cardinal and Duke of *Guiſe* might be diſoblig'd by ſo cloſe a Correſpondence with Queen *Elizabeth*; and that by ſuch a ſeeming Preference of the *Engliſh*, ſhe might loſe her Dower, and ſtand ill at the *French* Court. And thus after the Interview had been treated ſeveral Months, and moſt of the Conditions ſettled, it fell and came to nothing. *(m)*

(m) Cambden Eliz. *pag.* 75.

The Commiſſioners of the Kirk Petition the Queen againſt the tolerating Popery.

And now the Queen of *Scots*, inſtead of a Journey to *York*, where Queen *Elizabeth* was to meet her, went a Progreſs into the *North* of her own Kingdom. While ſhe was at *Sterling* ſome Commiſſioners of the Church addreſs'd her to ſuppreſs the *Maſs*, and other ſuperſtitious Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Religion: That Matters of Divorce might be referr'd to the Deciſion of the Church, (meaning the *Reformed*) or at leaſt put in the Hands of Men of Sufficiency, and regular Behaviour: And that the Popiſh Clergy might be excluded the *College* of *Juſtice* and *Privy-Council*. They likewiſe mov'd the Profanation of the Sacraments might he puniſh'd; meaning that thoſe who adminiſter'd them according to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, were guilty of that Crime. There were ſeveral other Things; but theſe were the moſt Shocking. When the Queen had read their Petition, ſhe was diſturb'd at the Ruggedneſs of the Application: And thus being off her Guard by her Reſentment, ſhe told them *ſhe would do nothing in Prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſs'd, and hop'd before the Year was ended to reſtore the Catholick Profeſſion thro' the whole Kingdom.* *(n)*

(n) Spotſwood.

Queen Elizabeth *concludes an Alliance with the* French *Proteſtants.*

To return to *England*: This Year the Queen concluded an Alliance with the *Proteſtants* in *France*. To give a brief Account of this Matter: The *Reform'd* Religion had made ſome Progreſs in that Kingdom in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt. And notwithſtanding the Sanguinary Methods taken to ſuppreſs them, the *Reform'd* gain'd Ground againſt Fire and Sword thro' the ſucceeding Reigns of *Henry* the Second, and his Son *Francis*. The Neighbourhood and Character of *Calvin*, and their allowing the *Laity* a Share in the Government of the Church, were Circumſtances of Advantage. But nothing was more ſerviceable to theſe *Hugonots*, as they are call'd, than their being join'd by the Princes of the *Bloud*. The *Guiſes*, who had treated them with great Barbarity, practis'd upon the Minority of *Charles* the Ninth, and engroſs'd the Government. The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, finding themſelves neglected, and thrown out of the Adminiſtration by the Queen Mother, and the *Guiſes*; theſe Princes of the Bloud, I ſay, upon this Uſage, retir'd from the Court, and headed the *Hugonot-Party*. *(o)* The Duke of *Roan*, Admiral *Coligni*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction were in the ſame Intereſt.

(o) D'Avila.

Queen *Elizabeth* was apprehenſive, that unleſs the Power of the *Guiſians* was broken, and their Affairs ſomewhat perplex'd, they might probably invade her from *Normandy*. Upon this View ſhe form'd an Alliance with the *French Proteſtants*, and for the Conſideration of a Hundred thouſand Crowns, and Six thouſand Men, with which ſhe furniſh'd the *Confederates*, ſhe had *Havre de Grace* put into her Hands; which ſhe was to keep as a cautionary Town till the Reſtitution of *Calais*. *(p)*

(p) Cambden Eliz.

She publiſhes a Manifeſto to juſtify this Engagement.

The Day the *Treaty* was ſign'd, the Queen publiſh'd a *Manifeſto* to juſtify her Meaſures, and prevent Miſconſtruction. And here ſhe declares her Forces were not ſent into *Normandy* to revive an ancient Claim, and ſeize that Province: Her Expedition had a quite different View: 'Twas to preſerve the *French* King in his Minority, and retrieve him from the Tyranny of the *Guiſes*. The *Guiſes* who had perſecuted the *Reform'd* in a moſt inhumane Manner, injuriouſly detain'd her Town of *Calais*, and now were fortifying themſelves in the Ports of *Normandy* to fall upon *England*. That ſhe could do no leſs than endeavour the putting a Stop to their Incroachments: That without an Attempt of this Kind, ſhe muſt fail in her Friendſhip to the young King, her Brother and Confederate; abandon his diſtreſs'd Subjects, envy the Repoſe of Chriſtendom: And which was moſt to be regarded, betray her own Intereſt and Religion.

Idem.

By this *Declaration*, 'tis plain, the Queen took Care to guard againſt Cenſure: Her *Manifeſto* ſets forth 'twas not her Intention to ſupport the Subjects againſt the Government, or to engage in a War purely upon the Score of Religion. No, her Deſign was, as ſhe expreſſes herſelf, to reſcue the King from a Court-Faction, who kept him under Reſtraint, and abus'd his Authority; and that her Majeſty might be underſtood in this Senſe, there was a farther Proviſion in the publick Devotions. For in the *Prayer* which was drawn up by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for the Succeſs of this *Expedition*, the *Guiſes* are charg'd with Diſloyalty, and call'd Enemies to *their own natural Prince*, no leſs than to the true Religion. (q)

(q) Regiſt. Grindal.

An. Dom. 1562.

Biſhop Jewel's *Apology publiſh'd.*

This Year Biſhop *Jewel's Apology* was publiſh'd in *Latin*: 'Twas approv'd by the Queen, and ſet forth with the Conſent of the Biſhops. 'Tis a Defence of the *Engliſh Reformation*, with a brief Declaration of the Religion profeſs'd in our Church. The Papiſts had drawn up a high Charge of Novelty and Heterodoxy againſt the *Engliſh Reformers*. "They declaim'd loudly againſt them as a Company of Hereticks, that they had deſerted the Faith, and made a Breach in the Unity of the Church. That they had reviv'd the old cenſur'd Hereſies, propagated new *Sects*, and embroil'd Chriſtendom to ſuch a Degree, as was never heard of: That they had no good Underſtanding amongſt themſelves: That they were ſplit into Parties, oppos'd each other, and could by no Means ſettle in any uniform Belief. (r) That they were a curſed Race of Mankind, that they attack'd Heaven like the old Giants, and lived without any Regard to divine Worſhip: That they endeavour'd to ſubvert Monarchy and civil Government, and referr'd every Thing to the Deciſion of the Ignorant, and giddy Multitude: That they had fallen off from the Catholick Church, made a wicked Schiſm, and diſturb'd the Repoſe of the Univerſe. And that as *Dathan* and *Abiram* made an Inſurrection againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, ſo theſe Reformers have renounc'd the Biſhop of *Rome* without any warrantable Motive: That they have ſet aſide the Authority of the ancient Fathers and *Councils*: That they have thrown out the old Ceremonies with unparallell'd Preſumption; Ceremonies approv'd by our Anceſtors for many hundred Years laſt paſt, and introduced in Times of unexceptionable Credit: And that without the Authority of any general Council, they have made new Regulations for the Church: And that all this was done only for the ſake of Singularity and Squabbling. But as for themſelves (the Papiſts) on the other Side, they had innovated in nothing, but kept cloſe to Apoſtolical Tradition, and the Uſages of the beſt Antiquity."

(r) *Defence of the Apology of the Church of* England, *pag.* 10. & deinc.

The Reaſon of the Publication.

Idem.

The Deſign of the *Apology* was to take off theſe Imputations, and juſtify the Doctrine and Eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* Church. This *Tract* was penn'd with great Learning, Clearneſs, and Strength: The Biſhop, to do him right, was a nice Maſter of *Style*, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. The *Papiſts* finding themſelves ſenſibly touch'd, appear'd in Print againſt him: *Cope*, *Sanders*, *Stapleton*, *Raſtal*, *Dorman*, *Heskins*, and *Harding*, undertook the Controverſy. This laſt, who lived at *Louvain*, was the moſt conſiderable Champion. He publiſh'd a Book, entitled, a *Confutation* of *Jewel's Apology*. And tho' the Character of a learned Perſon cannot be denied him, yet it muſt be ſaid, his Zeal is remarkably imbitter'd, and diſcovers a great Deal of unfriendly Paſſion: He treats the Biſhop with coarſe Language, and fails much in Decency and Temper. Beſides, he ſometimes Miſtakes in his Authors,and writes without any Taſt of Antiquity. For inſtance, he cites the *decretal Epiſtles*, the counterfeit *Dionyſius*, and other ſpurious Records. (s) In maintaining the Pope's Supremacy, nothing can be more Unorthodox and Extravagant; nothing a greater Contradiction to the Belief and Practice of the Firſt Ages. To give the *Reader* a Sample of theſe Singularities.

(s) Jewel's *Defence of his Apology.*

Harding's *heterodox and extravagant Aſſertions.*

Harding aſſerts the Biſhop of *Rome* is always infallible in his Determinations: That he is under the conſtant Direction of the holy Spirit: That we are to learn God Almighty's Pleaſure only from him: That he is the Centre of Unity, and the main Support of the Church: That whoever ſeparates from his Communion, is an Heretick of Courſe: And that there is no hopes of Salvation without Submiſſion to the Apoſtolick *See*. That the Pope has a regal, no leſs than a ſacerdotal Authority: That the Managing of both *Swords*, Temporal and Spiritual, belongs to his Juriſdiction: That all Kings and Emperors receive their Authority from his Hand, and ought to ſwear Homage and Fealty to him: For in his Book which he dedicates to Queen *Elizabeth*, he has the Aſſurance to expreſs himſelf in theſe Words, *'Tis a great Eyeſore*, ſays he, *to the Miniſters of Antichriſt, to ſee the Vicar of Chriſt above the Lords and Kings of this World, and to ſee Princes and Emperors promiſe and ſwear Obedience to him*: And in mentioning the Inſtance of Pope *Zachary*'s Concurring with the rebellious Nobleſs of *France*, depoſing *Chilperick* the rightful Sovereign, and ſetting the Crown on the Head of the Uſurper *Pepin*, he makes this extraordinary Remark; *Lo*, ſays he, *you muſt needs confeſs that this was a divine Power in the Pope*; *for elſe he could never have done it*. Thus to varniſh over a Revolt, and give his Benediction to Treaſon, are, in ſome Mens Opinion, unqueſtionable Marks of a divine Power! (t)

(t) Jewel's *Works Epiſt. Ded. to Queen* Elizabeth.

General Objections againſt the Apology.

As to *Jewel*'s Performance, 'twas objected in General by *Harding*, that 'twas publiſh'd in the Name of the Church of *England*, without the Privity of that *Society*: That 'twas neither addreſs'd to Pope, Emperor, or any other Prince; not to the Church, nor to the general *Council* then conven'd: That 'twas an *Anonymous* Tract, and printed without Royal Privilege, which was a Breach upon the Conſtitution: That 'twas neither allow'd by Parliament, nor Proclamation, nor Synodically agreed in a *Convocation*: And therefore that 'twas to be look'd on as no better than a ſcandalous Libel.

To this Charge, the Biſhop replied, That the Doctrine defended in the *Apology* was laid before the whole Catholick Church, and by Conſequence before the Pope and *Council*, if they were any Part of that *Body*: That if Authorities were ſo Neceſſary, he had the Concurrence of the whole *Engliſh* Clergy; and that *Harding* himſelf was of the ſame Opinion in the Reign of King *Edward*: That the Printer could inform him the Book was not Unfurniſh'd with the Queen's Licenſe: That the Objection of its being ſuch an obſcure *Libel* might eaſily be diſprov'd by its being printed in *Latin* at *Paris*, and afterwards tranſlated into *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *Dutch*: That 'twas afterwards ſent into *France* and *Flanders*, into *Germany* and *Spain*, into *Poland* and *Hungary*, into *Scotland*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, into *Italy*, and particularly to *Naples* and *Rome* it ſelf: That it was throughly examin'd by the *Council* at *Trent*: That 'twas menac'd with an Anſwer, and the Buſineſs undertaken by Two learned Biſhops; but that neither of them made any Progreſs in the Enterprize. And *Laſtly*, That ſeveral *Engliſh* Papiſts had tried their Strength upon it, but to little Effect.

Idem.

It was well receiv'd by the Proteſtants abroad.

That the *Apology* was well receiv'd by the *Proteſtants* beyond-Sea, appears by *Peter Martyr*'s Letter to Biſhop *Jewel*. He acquaints the Biſhop,

ſhop, that himſelf, *Bullinger*, and other Divines read his *Apology* with great Satisfaction. He congratulates him upon his Learning and Elocution: He ſeems tranſported with the Strength of the Argument, and the Beauty of the Style; And that the *Reformation* was furniſh'd with a Perſon ſo admirably qualified to defend it.

Depredations upon the Church.

This Year *Richard Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hereford* and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, was conſecrated to the *See* of *Glouceſter*: He held *Briſtol* in *Commendam*, and ſo did *Bullingham* his Succeſſor; that is, they had the Juriſdiction with the Fees annex'd. But as for the Lands, they were ſeiz'd by the Courtiers, which was much the Cuſtom of theſe Times: Particularly, the Biſhoprick of *Oxford* was in a Manner quite ſtrip'd by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*; and for that Purpoſe, as may reaſonably be conjectur'd, kept void the greateſt Part of this Reign. In ſhort, all the Biſhopricks of King *Henry* the Eighth's Erection were ſo lamentably impoveriſh'd, that the new Biſhops at their Firſt Promotion were forc'd to beg for their Living, and ſubſiſt on the Benevolence of their Clergy. (*u*)

A Parliament call'd.

My Lord Keeper's Speech touching Religion.

On the 12th of *January* a new *Parliament* met at *Weſtminſter*. "The Lord Keeper, Sir *Nicholas Bacon* in his *Speech* pointed out the Buſineſs of the Seſſion, under Two general Heads; the one relates to Religion, and the other to *Civil* Government. I ſhall only mention what concerns the Firſt. And here he lays it down for an undoubted Principle, that without a Deference to Religion, and a due Acknowledgment of God Almighty, nothing could proſper: That Perſons in eminent Stations, when they fail of their Duty, do the greateſt Diſſervice, becauſe they draw Example, and make a Faſhion of their Miſbehaviour. And here he can neither Excuſe the Spiritualty, nor the *Laity*: For as the Firſt don't execute their Function, and preach with that Application it were to be wiſh'd; ſo neither are the *Laity* ſo commendable in Hearing, and Practice, as they ought. He complains of the great Want of Paſtors, and that ſome of them are much underqualified. This Defect ought to be born with conſidering the Juncture; and he refers making the moſt of that Matter to the Biſhop's Conduct. He takes Notice of great Nonconformity in the Kingdom, and that the Churches were much unfrequented. This he imputes to the Relaxation of Diſcipline: If the Statute *for Uniformity*, ſays he, in the late Parliament, is too gentle, let the Penalties be ſet higher: For Want of Diſcipline is a great Calamity, and encourages to obſtinacy, looſe Tenents, and Contempt of Religion. (*w*)

The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons's Speech upon the ſame Subject.

The *Speaker* of the Houſe of *Commons*, *Thomas Williams* Eſquire, has ſomething upon the ſame Argument, which he deliver'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, the Queen being then preſent. He takes Notice in General of Abuſes in the Kingdom, but ſpeaks only to Three, Neceſſity, Ignorance, and Error: Theſe he calls notable Monſters. "As for *Neceſſity*, 'tis lately, ſays he, grown to a prodigious Size: Deſire is ſtrangely ſo diſproportion'd to Merit and reaſonable Expectation: No body is contented with their Circumſtances and Station: For let People's Fortunes be never ſo large, their Fancy and their Ambition reaches beyond it. Theſe extravagant Wiſhes, this over-rating of our own Worth, draws a Senſe of Neceſſity: Now Neceſſity, as the Proverb ſays, has no Law, nor Scruples any Method of Proviſion. This falſe Appetite puſhes Men upon Avarice and Raking: Thus many of the Schools and Benefices are ſeiz'd, the Education of Youth diſappointed, and the Succours for Knowledge cut off. For I dare aver the Schools in *England* are fewer than formerly by a Hundred; and thoſe which remain, are many of them but ſlenderly ſtock'd: And this is one Reaſon the Number of learned Men is ſo remarkably diminiſh'd.

"The Second Monſter, as he calls it, is *Ignorance*, the Iſſue of Neceſſity: But then theſe Misfortunes are occaſion'd for Want of Livings and Preferments: For Covetouſneſs has laid her Hands upon the *Impropriations*; and thus the Encouragements of Learning are ſtop'd in their Courſe, and turn'd into a new Channel. Thus the Tree of Knowledge grows downward to the Diſhonour of God, and the Common-Wealth: The Univerſities are decayed, and great Market Towns without either School or Preacher: For the poor Vicar is turn'd off with Twenty Pounds, and the Bulk of the Churches Patrimony is impropriated, and diverted to foreign Uſe. Thus the Pariſh has no Preacher: And thus for Want of a Fund for Inſtruction, the People are bred to Ignorance and Obſtinacy. The *Impropriations* therefore which are ſo Fundamental to our Misfortune, ought to be reſtor'd to the Church, and the Laws repeal'd which lie Croſs to the Redreſſing this Grievance.

"The Third Monſter is *Error*, a *Hydra* with many Heads: He means ill Principles and ill Practice: And here he Inſtances in *Pelagians*, *Libertines*, and *Papiſts*, and ſuch others who ſet up their own Traditions, their Appetites and Miſtakes for a Rule of Life. And ſpeaking to the Queen, he puts her in Mind of the Spreading of Immorality and Profaneneſs: That in walking the Streets of *London* he had often heard Oaths the greateſt Part of People's Language: He obſerves that this Contempt of the Deity was puniſh'd with Loſs of Limbs, and ſometimes with Death, amongſt the *Pagans*: And is there, ſays he, to be no Puniſhment for this Miſbehaviour amongſt Chriſtians? Does Baptiſm give us a Liberty to affront our Maker? And muſt the *Creed* be a Protection for Wickedneſs? 'Tis true, we have God's Word very near us: 'Tis much in our Mouths, but never leſs in our Practice: For tho' we talk like Chriſtians, we live like *Infidels*: And here he moves in the Name of the Commons, that her Majeſty would put a Stop to this lamentable Diſſolution of Manners.

"And *Laſtly*, he takes the honeſt Freedom to ſuggeſt to her Majeſty, That the Fear of God is the only firm Baſis, for the Happineſs of Prince and Subject. He Inſtances in *Saul* and *David*, in *Jehoſaphat* and *Joſiah*, in *Hezekiah* and *Ahaz*: Theſe Princes, ſays he, as long as Religion had the Aſcendant, were great and ſucceſsful: But when they fail'd in their Duty to God Almighty, they grew little, and miſcarried: Let therefore the Honour of God be your Majeſty's main Concern, and then your other Motions will be graceful and ſtrong, and you will have no Reaſon to diſtruſt the Security of your Government. (*y*)

The learned Sir *Simonds D'Ewes* in his Remarks upon this *Parliament*, obſerves, That the Houſe of Lords ſometimes forbore ſitting on *Convocation* Days, upon the Score of the Spiritual Lords being

---

(*u*) Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.*

(*w*) D'Ewes's *Journal*, &c.

(*y*) D'Ewes's Journal, *pag.* 64, 5.

being Abſent: For this he produces a Precedent from the original Journal of the upper Houſe, where 'tis thus entred. *Dominus Cancellarius propterea quod Domini Spirituales in Convocatione craſtino die Occupandi ſunt, continuavit præſens Parliamentum uſq; ad Diem lunæ.* (z)

The Act of Aſſurance.

The Firſt *Statute* made this *Seſſions*, as it ſtands in the Print, is the Act of *Aſſurance of the Queen's Power over all Eſtates.* 'Tis pointed againſt thoſe who maintain'd the *Juriſdiction of the* See *of* Rome, *formerly unjuſtly claim'd and uſurp'd within this Realm.*

To prevent the ill Conſequences ariſing from *hence*, thoſe who maintain or defend by Printing, Preaching, or Teaching, the Pope's Authority or Juriſdiction upon any Part of her Majeſty's Dominions, as alſo their *Aiders*, *Aſſiſtants*, and *Comforters*, ſhall for the Firſt Offence incur the Penalties provided by the Statute of *Præmunire*.

“ 'Tis likewiſe enacted, That all Perſons mention'd in the *Act* made in the Firſt Year of the preſent Reign, (a) for reſtoring the ancient Juriſdiction over the State Eccleſiaſtical; that all ſuch Perſons there nam'd ſhall take the Oath appointed by that *Statute*. But now there is a farther Proviſion for all Perſons that have been, or ſhall be promoted to holy Orders, or admitted to any Degree in the Univerſities, all publick and private Schoolmaſters, all utter Barriſters, Benchers, Readers, and Ancients, in any Inns of Court, all principal Treaſurers, and ſuch as are of the grand Company of every Inn of *Chancery*, all Attorneys, Prothonotaries, and Philizers, all Sheriffs, Eſcheaters, and Feodaries; and in general, any that have or ſhall be admitted to any Office belonging to the Common Law, or any other Laws allowed within this Realm: 'Tis now provided, That all theſe Perſons ſhall take the Oath of Supremacy, appointed by the *Act* made in the Firſt Year of this Reign. (b) And here the Firſt Refuſal of the Oath is made *Præmunire*. The Second Offence both for Abetting the Pope's Authority, and refuſing the Oath, is High Treaſon. However, there's a Clauſe thrown in to prevent ſome of the Conſequences of High Treaſon. For 'tis expreſly provided, that nothing in this Act ſhall extend to the *working any Corruption of Bloud*, the *Diſheriting any Heir*, or *any Forfeiture of Dower*. 'Tis farther enacted, That all Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, or Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, elected to ſerve in Parliament, ſhall take the ſaid Oath: And that without this Qualification, their Election is declar'd void, neither ſhall they be allow'd to enter the Parliament Houſe, or vote in it.

“ It is provided, that none ſhall be compell'd to take this Oath at the Second Time 'tis offer'd, unleſs the Perſon has been or ſhall be an Eccleſiaſtick in one of the Reigns of King *Henry* the VIIIth, King *Edward* the VIth, Queen *Mary*, or the preſent Queen *Elizabeth*, her Heirs or Succeſſors: Or unleſs ſuch Perſon or Perſons has had, or ſhall have ſome Office or Miniſtry in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts of this Realm: Or unleſs they ſhall refuſe to obſerve the Orders and Rights for divine Service us'd in the Church of *England*, or ſhall deprave the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, or ſhall ſay, or hear private Maſs: Thoſe who come under any of theſe Exceptions, are oblig'd to take the Oath at the Second Tender, under the Penalties above-mention'd.

The Oath of Supremacy to be taken no farther than requir'd by the Queen's Injunctions.

“ And to aſcertain the Senſe, and ſet forth the Extent of this ſolemn Engagement, 'tis provided that the Oath of Supremacy made in the Firſt Year of this Reign ſhall **be taken and expounded in ſuch Form as is ſet forth in an Admonition annex'd to the Queen's Majeſty's Injunctions, publiſhed in the Firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign: That is to ſay, to confeſs and acknowledge in her Majeſty, her Heirs and Succeſſors, none other Authority than that was challeng'd and lately uſed by the noble King** Henry **the VIIIth, and King** Edward **the VIth, as in the ſaid Admonition more plainly may appear.**

By the laſt *Proviſo* which I ſhall mention, 'tis enacted, That no Perſon of, or above the Degree of a Baron, ſhall be oblig'd to take this Oath. (c)

When this *Bill* was brought into the Houſe of Lords, *Anthony Brown*, Vicount *Mountague*, made a Speech againſt it to this Senſe.

The Lord Mountague's Speech againſt the Bill.

“ Upon the making any Law, Three Things ought to be conſider'd by the Legiſlature. *Firſt*, Whether the Law is Neceſſary; *Secondly*, Whether it is juſt; And *Thirdly*, Whether 'tis likely to be ſmooth and eaſy in the Execution: Under theſe Three Things all the Qualities eſſential to a good Law may be comprehended. To apply theſe general Rules to the preſent Caſe. And here this Noble-man throws in a Preliminary Caution againſt Miſconſtruction. He declares it is not his Intention to charge the preſent Church of *England* either with Error, or Schiſm: His Buſineſs is only to examine, whether 'tis defenſible to make a Law with a capital Penalty, by virtue of which the Papiſts ſhall be oblig'd to ſwear the Orthodoxy of the Religion now eſtabliſhed. In ſpeaking to this Matter, he endeavours to prove in the Firſt Place, that ſuch a Law is by no Means *Neceſſary*: His Reaſon is, becauſe the *Roman Catholicks* give no Diſturbance, check no publick Motions, hinder not the Adminiſtration of any Affairs, either Spiritual or Temporal: They neither Diſpute nor Preach. The Queen is not diſobey'd by them, neither can they be charg'd with making any Ferments, or awakening ill Humour amongſt the People. They have brought in no religious Novelties, neither can it be ſaid the Kingdom ſuffers by them: And ſince there's both Truth and Evidence in this Apology, what Neceſſity can there be for making new Laws againſt them? Where there is no Diſeaſe, Phyſick is altogether Unſeaſonable: To put a ſound Conſtitution to ſuch Penance, is both needleſs and dangerous.

From hence he proceeds to the Second *Requiſite*, and argues againſt the Juſtice of the *Bill*. “ And here he thinks it extremely Unreaſonable that the *Papiſts* ſhould be thus ſolemnly oblig'd to profeſs their Belief of the Proteſtant Perſwaſion: And that under the Forfeitures of Life and Fortune. This he conceives implies a ſtrong Repugnancy to the Laws of Nature. It ties up the Freedom of the Will, forces People upon a moral Impoſſibility, and makes our reaſonable Faculties a Miſfortune. To compel a Man to ſwear the Certainty of that which he believes uncertain, is very hard Uſage of the Conſcience, and the heavieſt Oppreſſion of natural Liberty Arguments may work, and alter the Opinion, but to drive the Underſtanding by Terror and Violence, is to treat a Man like a Creature below his Kind.

(z) An. 7. Hen. 8. die 30 Novemb. D'Ewes, pag. 67.

(a) 1 El. cap. 1.

(b) 1 El. cap. 1.

(c) 5 El. cap. 1.

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Elizabeth Q.

“ The Doctrine of the *Proteſtants*, continues this Nobleman, was oppos'd by the Lords Spiritual and *Convocation*, at the laſt Parliament; neither has it any better Agreement with the major Part of Chriſtendom: 'Tis a Contradiction to what has been determin'd by General *Councils*, and former Parliaments: And is not this Preſcription of Time, this Overbalance of Authorities and Numbers, ſufficient to keep on Doubts, and make *Proteſtancy* uncertain? If the *Proteſtant* pretends his Belief is Catholick, the Queſtion will be, how this Term is to be underſtood? And are not the Learned divided here, and broken into ſeveral Opinions? Now till we are all of the ſame Sentiment, and come up to an Uniformity of Notion, we can't pretend to perſpicuity, nor pronounce infallibly upon Things.

But this is a wrong Inference. For general Agreement is not always Neceſſary to the Proof of a Truth. To reſolve our Faith into ſuch Principles, and ſet Certainty upon ſuch a precarious Foot, is the Way to reaſon our ſelves out of all Religion. Beſides, this Lord argues againſt the Maxims of his own Communion, and deſtroys the pretended Infallibility of the *Roman* Church. For by his Logick the Proteſtant's Denial of this Claim is ſufficient to deſtroy the Right, and make the Doctrine uncertain.

To go on with the Lord *Mountague*, who taking his Premiſſes for granted, forms his Concluſion accordingly. “ Conſidering the Uncertainty of the Proteſtant Perſwaſion, ſays he, there's no Juſtice in forcing People to affirm it true. To make them ſwear Counter to their Conſcience, is to enact Hypocriſy or Ruin; Death, or Perjury. Since therefore the *Proteſtants* have the Poſſeſſion of the Churches and Revenues, ſince they have an Authority for Preaching and Excommunication, they ought to be contented, and preſs no farther. As for the Catholicks, they give them no Diſturbance in their Function: They hinder them not in haranguing the People, and propagating their Doctrine.

From hence this Lord proceeds to ſpeak to the Third Head: That is, the Conveniency and “ Practicableneſs of the Law; this, ſays he, will depend very much upon what has been remark'd under the Second Requiſite. Now 'tis eaſy to imagine, that a Law which claſhes ſo apparently with Reaſon, and bears ſo hard upon the Liberty of Mankind, cannot be executed without great Difficulty and Struggle. For what Man is there ſo abandon'd to cowardice, ſo loſt to all Conſcience and Honour, as to ſuffer himſelf to be drag'd into a new Religion, and to ſwear a Contradiction to his Belief? To lie quiet, and keep their Perſwaſion to themſelves, is intelligible Caution, and Things which People may reconcile themſelves to. But to be forc'd either to forſwear one's ſelf, or die, is an Alternative which no Body can digeſt. 'Tis to be fear'd, therefore, that rather than ſubmit to the Practice, or the Penalty, the Subject may be provok'd to extremities, and apply to Methods of Defence. Now theſe Sallies of Deſparation are Conſequences which the Prudence of a Government ought to prevent. (d)

Mr. Adkinſon's *Speech againſt the Bill of Aſſurance.*

One Mr. *Adkinſon*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, made a Speech againſt the *Bill* in that *Houſe*. I ſhall mention ſome Part of it, where he offers ſomething not touch'd on by the Lord *Mountague*. “ After having complain'd the Refuſal of the Oath is charg'd with too deep a Penalty, he proceeds to anſwer an Objection: It had been affirm'd in the *Houſe*, That the Maintaining a foreign Juriſdiction was Treaſon by the Common Law: That it implied a Transferring of the Crown from the King to the Pope: Were this true, he thinks no Puniſhment too great, and that the Firſt Offence ought to be Death. To give the Objection its full Strength, he puts the Caſe of the King's bringing a *Quare Impedit* againſt a Spiritual Perſon: This, ſays he, is a Plea merely Temporal, and belongs to the Cognizance of the Temporal Courts. Suppoſe the Biſhop had appeal'd to *Rome* in Arreſt of Judgment, would this foreign Application have been Treaſon? Not at all; it would not have been ſo much as *Præmunire*, had the Appeal been made before the 27th of *Edward* the Third: However, 'tis an Offence againſt the King's Crown and Dignity, and ſo are a great many other Miſdemeanors, which fall far ſhort of Treaſon.

“ And ſince the Owning the Pope's Juriſdiction in a Caſe where Property and Prerogative are concern'd, was no Treaſon, which Way could the Affirming his Authority in Matters purely Spiritual, mount to ſo high a Crime? For Inſtance, that the Conſecration of Archbiſhops belongs to his *Holineſs*, or that the Adminiſtration of the divine Service ſhould be under his Direction. How could the Aſſerting the *Supremacy* of the Apoſtolick *See* in this Senſe be Treaſon by the Common Law, when our Kings and Parliaments were all Papiſts, and own'd the Pope for their Spiritual Father? But notwithſtanding this Deference the Lords and Commons, both Spiritual and Temporal took Care to defend the Prerogative, and maintain the Conſtitution againſt Papal Encroachments. And for this he gives Inſtances in the Reigns of *Edward* the Firſt, *Richard* the Second, and *Henry* the Sixth; which the *Reader* may find remark'd in the Firſt Part of this *Hiſtory*.

“ He argues for an Abatement of the Penalty from the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants. I have heard, ſays he, ſome of theſe Preachers affirm, that Religion ought to be propagated by Perſwaſion, and not by Force and Terror. For this Reaſon they call the *Act* of the *Six Articles* made in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, *the Whip with Six Laſhes*. And as for the Proſecutions in the late Reign, they declaim'd loudly againſt them. They call'd the Biſhops *Bloud-ſuckers, Men that made it their Diverſion to deſtroy innocent People, and that they were worſe than* Caiaphas *and* Judas; He is ſurpriz'd therefore to find theſe Men preſs for ſanguinary Laws, and abet thoſe Rigours they declar'd ſo ſtrongly againſt.

“ He argues againſt the Severity of the *Bill* from the Authority of the *Fathers*, who diſlik'd proceeding to Extremities for Matters of Belief. He obſerves, That when the Emperors made any penal Laws againſt Hereticks, they ſeldom went any farther than Fining, Impriſonment, and Baniſhment. And here, unleſs the Party was convicted by Witneſs, the Penalty could not take Place. But by this *Bill*, tho' a Man intends to acquieſce, and makes no Complaint or Remonſtrance: Tho' he behaves himſelf never ſo inoffenſively, and keeps his Conſcience to himſelf, yet we are reſolv'd to purſue him to his Thoughts, and ſee what lies within him; And to drive him

---

(d) Foxii MSS.

“out of all Shelter, we offer him an inſnaring Oath. If he can't paſs this Teſt, he falls immediately under *Præmunire*; that is, his Lands and Goods are forfeited, and his Perſon impriſon'd during the Queen's Pleaſure. And which is more; after all this, his Life has but a ſlender Security; for a Man attainted of *Præmunire* is out of the Protection of the Laws: And thus any Body may kill him, without being call'd to an Account for it.

The Statute declares it not lawful to kill a Man under Præmunire.

Mr. *Atkinſon*'s urging this Point, 'tis likely, occaſion'd an Amendment in the *Bill*, and brought in the Clauſe; by which 'tis enacted, It ſhall not be lawful to **kill any Perſon attainted upon Premunire, any Law or Statute, or Opinion or Expoſition of any Law or Statute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.** (e)

“To proceed, this *Member* conceives the Penalties for refuſing the Oath, already enacted, (f) are ſufficient to anſwer the Ends, and ſecure the Government: For is it not a more likely Expedient to gain People, and reconcile them to the Oath? Is it not more likely to do this by tempting their Compliance with Profit and Preferment, than by menacing them with Ruin, in Caſe they refuſe? On the other Hand, Is it not Puniſhment heavy enough for a Man to be thrown out of the common Privileges of his Birthright? To have his Parts and Learning lie dead upon his Hands, and receive no Countenance from the Government?

“But ſuppoſe, ſays he, the *Bill* was paſs'd, what publick Benefit can be expected from it? You'll ſay, We ſhould be diſencumber'd from the obſtinate Papiſts, who if they are ſuffer'd to live amongſt us, would be buſy in diſturbing the *State*. To this he anſwers, That if every Body who ſcruples the Oath ſhould refuſe it, and be executed for their Non-Compliance, the Kingdom would be extreamly weaken'd, and in a much worſe Condition to defend it ſelf. This may in ſome Meaſure be collected by the Declenſion of the *Univerſities*: For here the Conteſts about Religion, the diſcouraging of Opinions, the diſplacing of *Members*, has brought Senſe and Learning to a very low Ebb; and without timely Proviſion, we are all in Danger of falling back to a remarkable Ignorance.

“But ſuppoſe the Bulk of the People ſhould not decline the Oath, can you imagine all that take it will change their Opinion: No; Menacing and Terror may command the Practice, but not the Perſwaſion. Violence may make a Coward, but never a Convert. And thus many a Man will lay his Hand upon the *Book*, when his Heart keeps off at a Diſtance. Beſides, the frighting People out of their Sentiment, and ſtarving them into Perjury, does but heighten their Diſaffection, and puſh them forward to Revenge at the firſt Opportunity.

“Let us therefore, continues this Gentleman, not be lean temper'd: Let not Difference in Religion put us upon Proſecution and harſh Uſage. To love one another is much more becoming our Profeſſion: For I am ſure 'tis far from Chriſtianity, to hate our Neighbour: Let us lay down our Animoſities and Squabbling. Such Miſunderſtandings, beſides the Miſchief they do at Home, give our Enemies an Advantage, and invite them to fall upon us. And whatever we may think on't at preſent, we ſhall come to this Remedy at laſt; For tho' the ſuffering Part will have the Worſt on't, the Proſecutors won't always be eaſy: And thus both Sides at laſt will make for Repoſe. For is not this the Iſſue of the Controverſy in *Germany*? That Country has been miſerably harraſs'd with religious Diſputes: But now they are ſenſible of their Error, and ſeem tir'd into Charity and Good-nature. Now, *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* can converſe together like Friends, and never fall out about Difference in Belief. And ſince the Lords and Gentlemen of theſe two *Houſes* have the Sword in their Hands, I hope they will be cautious how they uſe it: For if you ſtrike, your Countrymen and Fellow-Chriſtians, and ſome of your near Friends and Relations, muſt feel the Smart. I deſire it may be remember'd, that People who ſuffer for refuſing this Oath, are not to be conſider'd as common Malefactors, as Thieves or Murderers: They don't offend from wicked Intention, and Malice prepenſe: No, 'tis Conſcience and good Meaning which makes them claſh with the Law. I don't deny but they may be miſtaken; but when this happens, the Caſe is ſtill harder; for if we let the Penalty looſe upon them under ſuch Miſperſwaſion, we bar Recollection, and deſtroy both Body and Soul. 'Tis poſſible ſome of this Religion may have given Offence: Granting this, I hope you won't draw a Puniſhment upon the Innocent on their Account. You will rather incline to the gentler Side: You'll forgive the Obnoxious for the Sake of the much greater Number, who have done no Harm. (g)

There was another *Speech* of a *Member* of the Lower Houſe in Anſwer to this laſt mention'd. 'Twas made by one learned in the Law; but does not ſeem to diſentangle the Caſe. His Arguments are ſome of them wide of the Queſtion; and where his Reaſonings are ſtrongeſt, they conclude but for an Oath of Allegiance. He pretends the *Oath touches no ſpiritual Thing, but only binds the Subject to recognize the Sovereignty in his Prince*: (h) But this is a great Miſtake, as the *Reader* may perceive by the Form; for here the Subject ſwears two Things, in which Religion is materially concern'd: Firſt, *That the Queen's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realm in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things or Cauſes.* And Secondly, *That no foreign Prelate or Potentate has, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm.* Now no Perſon, who believes the Pope the Principle of Unity, and the Spiritual Head of the Catholick Church, can poſſibly take this Oath, with a good Conſcience. But notwithſtanding the Error of this Perſwaſion, if the Papal *Supremacy* is thus reſtrained to Matters purely ſpiritual, thoſe who maintain it have Room enough for their Allegiance, and may be loyal Subjects to their Prince.

All Lords of Parliament to be tried by their Peers.

To go on to ſome other *Statutes* of this Parliament: By the Act which makes Clipping the Coin High-Treaſon, 'tis provided, That if any **Lords of Parliament, or Peers of the Realm, ſhall happen to be indicted of any Offence made Treaſon by this Act: That then they, and every of them, ſhall have their Trial by their Peers.** (i) From hence I infer, that Biſhops ought to be tried by their Peers in Caſes of Treaſon, becauſe no Body queſtions their being Lords of Parliament: Sir *Edward Coke* himſelf makes no Scruple to confeſs thus much. (k)

(e) 5 El. cap. 1.

(f) 1 El. cap. 1.

(g) Foxii Mſs.

(h) Strype Annal. p. 270.

(i) 5 El. c. 11.

(k) Coke Inſt. part 1. Fo. 91.

The next *Act* I ſhall mention puniſhes the publiſhing any Fantaſtical Propheſy upon *Arms, Fields, Badges*, &c.

An Act againſt Fantaſtical Prophecies.

The *Statute* ſets forth, it had been the Practice of ſome Malecontents to prognoſticate Fortunes and Events from *Colours*, and *Charges*, and *Creſts*, belonging to Perſons of Quality; and that this conjectural Preſumption had made bold with the Queen her ſelf. The Penalty of doing this with an Intention of raiſing any Inſurrection or publick Diſturbance, is the Forfeiture of ten Pounds, and a Year's Impriſonment, for the firſt; and Impriſonment during Life, and the Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels, for the ſecond Offence. (*l*)

(*l*.) 5 El. c. 15.

The next *Statute* is levell'd againſt Witchcraft.

The Preamble takes Notice, That ſince the *Statute* made in the 23d Year of King *Henry* the VIIIth was repealed in the 1ſt Year of King *Edward* the Sixth, **Many Fantaſtical and Deviliſh Perſons have deviſed and practiſed Invocations and Conjurations of evil Spirits, and have uſed and practiſed Witchcrafts, Enchantments, Charms, and Sorceries, to the Deſtruction of the Perſons and Goods of their Neighbours, and other Subjects of this Realm, and for other lewd Intents and Purpoſes, contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, to the Peril of their own Souls, and to the great Infamy and Diſquietneſs of this Realm.**

An Act againſt Witchcraft.

The Body of the *Statute* enacts, That in caſe any Perſon *practiſes Witchcraft, or uſes Charms, whereby any Body happens to be kill'd or deſtroy'd, the Puniſhment for ſuch Offenders, their Aiders and Counſellers, is Death upon legal Conviction, without Benefit of the Clergy.*

“ And if any Perſon happens to be diſabled in his Limbs, or brought to a Conſumption, by the Practice of Witchcraft upon him, that then the Criminal, his Aiders, and Counſellors, ſhall ſuffer a Year's Impriſonment for the firſt Offence, and ſtand in the Pillory once a Quarter in ſome Market-Town, and there make publick Confeſſion of his Offence. And in caſe of a Relapſe into the ſame Crime, to ſuffer Death as a Felon, without Privilege of Clergy or Sanctuary.

“ And farther, If any Perſon by Witchcraft or Divination pretends to diſcover any hid Treaſure of Gold or Silver, to tell where Things loſt or ſtoll'n may be found, to excite any unlawful Affection, or to prejudice any Body in Perſon or Goods, the Penalty is a Year's Impriſonment, and ſtanding once a Quarter in the Pillory, for the firſt Offence; and for the ſecond, he was to incur the Forfeiture of all his Goods and Chattels, and ſuffer Impriſonment during Life. (*m*)

(*m*) 5 El. c. 16.

An Act for the better Execution of the Writ de Excommunicato capiendo.

The Biſhops, 'tis likely, having complain'd that the Writs *de Excommunicato capiendo* were oftentimes ſunk with the Sheriff, and the Cenſures of the Church baffled by ſuch Prevarication, there was a *Bill* paſs'd this Parliament for preventing this Abuſe. 'Tis enacted, That in caſe the Sheriff makes a falſe Return, he was to forfeit Forty Pounds: And if he returns a *Non eſt Inventus* out of his Bailiwick, that then a *Capias* was to be awarded with the Forfeiture of Ten Pounds for not appearing upon the firſt *Capias*, Twenty Pounds upon the ſecond, and the ſame Forfeiture to continue upon every *Capias*, 'till the Perſon excommunicated makes his Appearance. (*n*)

(*n*) 5 El. c. 23.

By another *Statute* relating to Religion, 'tis enacted, That the whole **Bible both Old and New-Teſtament, with the Book of Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as now uſed within the Realm in Engliſh, ſhould be tranſlated into the Welch Language.** The *Act* puts the Direction of this Work into the Hands of the Biſhops of *Hereford, St. David's, St. Aſaph, Bangor*, and *Landaff*, who were to inſpect the Tranſlation, and take Care for the printing of ſuch a Number, that every Cathedral, Collegiate, and Pariſh Church, and Chappel of Eaſe, within their reſpective Dioceſſes, where *Welch* was commonly ſpoken, might be furniſh'd with one. The Price of the Books was to be ſet by the Biſhops, the Incumbents to pay one half of the Charge, and the Pariſh the other.

An Act for tranſlating the Bible and Common-Pray*er into* Welch.

And to take Leave of this *Parliament*, there was a Confirmation of a Subſidy of Six Shillings in the Pound granted by the Clergy. (*o*)

(*o*) 5 El. c. 29.

This Year the Lady *Katherine Grey*, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and Siſter to the Lady *Jane Grey*, was committed to the *Tower*. This Lady had, ſoon after her Marriage, been legally divorc'd from *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, Eldeſt Son to the Lord *Pembroke*. She was ready to lie in when impriſoned: She declar'd her ſelf married to *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*. This was publickly own'd by the Earl himſelf at his Return from *France*, who notwithſtanding was ſent to the *Tower*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Commiſſioners, were delegated to try the Cauſe, and give final Sentence. The Parties not being able to produce any Witneſs of their Marriage within the Time aſſign'd, the Archbiſhop pronounc'd the Correſpondence between them unlawful, and that they ought to do Penance for Fornication. Tho' there was no appealing from this Sentence, one *John Hales*, a Man of Learning, but much given to Singularities, ventur'd to cenſure it for a Nullity; and that the Conſent of the Earl and Lady was ſufficient for a lawful Marriage. For this Paradox *Hales* was committed. The Lady had two Sons by this Nobleman, *Edward* and *Thomas*. The Earl was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, fin'd Five thouſand Pound, and ſuffer'd Nine Years Impriſonment. He ſtill inſiſted on his Marriage, and by the Advice of ſeveral *Civilians*, threw in an Appeal againſt the Archbiſhop's Sentence, which was withdrawn by him publickly afterwards. The Lady thought her ſelf harſhly uſed, and fell into a deep Melancholy, which put an End to her Life about Six Years after. (*p*) Notwithſtanding the Sentence, her eldeſt Son *Edward* carried the Title of Lord *Beauchamp*, and dying in his Father's Life-time left Iſſue *William*, who by *Letters-Patents* was created Earl of *Hertford* by King *James* the Firſt. (*q*)

The Earl of Hertford *and the Lady* Katherine Grey *cenſur'd by the Archbiſhop.*

(*p*.) Cambden Eliz.

(*q*) *Vide* Dugdale's *Baronage Union of Hon. by* York.

By the *Act* of *Aſſurance* the Archbiſhops and Biſhops were impower'd to tender the Oath of *Supremacy* to their *Clergy*. Archbiſhop *Parker* was ſenſible of the Severity of the *Statute*, and that the Execution of it would draw an Imputation of Cruelty upon the Biſhops. For would not preſſing this ſanguinary Law look like a Spirit of Revenge? Would it not look like Repriſals for what had been ſuffer'd by the Proteſtants in the late Reign? And beſides, 'tis likely that *Parker* being a good-natur'd Prelate, might think the Penalty over-charg'd: And therefore to ſcreen the *Papiſts* from ſuffering, and the Biſhops from Cenſure, he wrote to his *Suffragans* to manage themſelves with great Caution and Reſerve in executing the *Act* of *Aſſurance*. And in caſe the Stubbornneſs and Misbehaviour of ſome Peo-

The Archbiſhop's Tenderneſs in offering the Oath of Supremacy to the Roman Catholick *Clergy.*

ple

Parker (Matter) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

ple ſhould force them to offer the *Oath*; if ſuch Perſons refuſed to ſwear the *Supremacy*, the Biſhop concern'd ſhould immediately inform the Archbiſhop of their Refuſal, and not tender the Oath a ſecond Time 'till an Anſwer was return'd in Writing. He deſires theſe Suggeſtions may not be interpreted as if he was a Favourer of ſuch obſtinate Recuſants. "My Deſign, ſays "he, is only to recommend the Governing our "Flocks with a Paſtoral Care; it being Part of "our Character not to be ſway'd by Reſentment and private Regards, but to proceed by "gentle Motions, and endeavour to gain the "Miſled by Methods of Lenity. In the Cloſe, he deſires the Biſhops to believe this Advice was ſent them upon weighty Conſiderations. However, for ſeveral Reaſons he thought it beſt to keep it to themſelves, and doubted not their being of the ſame Mind. (r)

Parker ſent a Copy of theſe Directions to *Secretary Cecil*. He likewiſe gave this Miniſter an Account of his ſending this Advice to the Biſhops in his own Name, and not in the Queen's. He lets him know her Majeſty approv'd the Expedient, and was willing the Rigour of the Law might be diverted. He thought the Writing in the Queen's Name might affect the Reputation of the *Legiſlature*, diſhearten the Proteſtants, and give the *Papiſts* too much Encouragement. He owns he had no Warrant in Writing to halt in the Execution of the Act: However, ſince he knew the Queen's Mind, he was willing to ſtand a Cenſure, and hazard his Credit for her Majeſty's Service. He concludes with referring the Matter to the *Secretary*, who approv'd his Method. (s)

By this Temper none of the Popiſh Biſhops or Clergy had the Oath of *Supremacy* offer'd them, excepting *Bonner*. (t)

Having done with what related to the Church in the Parliament, I ſhall proceed to the *Convocation*, which was held at the ſame Time.

A Convocation at St. Paul's.

Upon the 13th of *January* * the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans met at St. *Paul's*: And being all in their Habits, the Archbiſhop went into the Dean's Stall, and the Biſhops into thoſe of the Prebendaries on each Side of the Choir. After this the *Litany* and the *Veni Creator* were ſolemnly ſung in *Engliſh*. Then *Day*, Provoſt of *Eaton*, made a Sermon in *Latin*. After Sermon the firſt *Pſalm* was ſung in *Engliſh*, and the Archbiſhop and Biſhops receiv'd the Holy Euchariſt at the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*. After the Communion, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops went into the *Chapter-Houſe*. The Archbiſhop had a Seat in the Middle, the Suffragans ſitting on each Side. Their Names were as follow; *Edmund London*, *Robert Winton*, *William Chicheſter*, *John Hereford*, *Richard Ely*, *Edwyn Wigorn*, *Rowland Bangor*, *Nicholas Lincoln*, *John Sarum*, *Richard Meneven*, *Edmund Roff*, *Gilbert Bath and Wells*, *Thomas Coventry and Litchfield*, *William Exon*, *John Norwich*, *Edmund Peterborough*, *Thomas St. Aſaph*, *Richard Glouceſter*, and *Commendatory* of *Briſtol*. The Clergy of the Lower Houſe were likewiſe in the *Chapter-Houſe*, attending the Archbiſhop.

The Preliminary Ceremonies.

And now the Biſhop of *London* made a Return of his Certificate for ſummoning the *Suffragans*. The Certificate being read by the Archbiſhops Chancellor, and the Biſhops called, their Appearance was enter'd by the Regiſtrary. When this was done, the Archbiſhop made a ſhort Speech, acquainting them they had now a fair Opportunity for giving the laſt Hand to the *Reformation*: That the Queen was favourably diſpos'd for ſuch an Undertaking. Then he ſuggeſted the Choice of a *Prolocutor* to the Clergy of the Lower Houſe, and recommended *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul's*. After this he order'd his Chancellor to receive the Biſhops Certificates, to take an Account of the Proxies of the Abſentees, and examine the Reaſons of their Abſence. And thoſe who neither appear'd in Perſon nor Proxy were pronounced Contumacious, and a Puniſhment referr'd to the next Seſſions. (u)

At which Time the Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the Biſhops came to St. *Paul's*. His Grace officiated in the *Chapter-houſe* in *Latin*, a new Prayer being made for the Occaſion. When the *Service* was over, the Laity were diſmiſs'd, and the lower Clergy withdrew to their *Houſe*. Soon after being ſent for by the Archbiſhop, they came and preſented *Nowel* for their *Prolocutor*, who was introduc'd between the Deans of *Weſtminſter* and *Chriſt-Church*. The Firſt made a Speech upon the Merit and Qualifications of the *Elect*: *Nowel* on the other Side, in a modeſt Application, endeavour'd to throw off the Panegyrick, to diſclaim the Character, and diſable himſelf. However, at laſt he was contented to conſtrain his Inclination, and reſign to their Choice. The Archbiſhop diſcourſing this Matter with the Biſhops, they unanimouſly agreed upon his Fitneſs for the Employment. Then the Archbiſhop made a Speech, and with ſome touches of Commendation, confirm'd the Election. The Clergy of the *Lower Houſe* now diſmiſs'd, the Archbiſhop deſir'd the Biſhops to recollect the Defects and imperfect Regulations in their reſpective Dioceſes, and propound them at the next *Seſſion*.

Having now given the *Reader* a View of the preliminary Ceremonies, I ſhall proceed to the Buſineſs of this *Meeting*. There were ſeveral Things aim'd at: But excepting a *Subſidy*, together with ſome Additions, Omiſſions, and Alterations in the doctrinal *Articles*, nothing paſs'd. There was a Project amongſt other Things, for making an Alteration in the *Ceremonies*. To this Purpoſe, *Sandys* Biſhop of *Worceſter* brought in a Paper conſiſting of Three Heads.

A Motion for the Ateration of ſome Rites and Habits.

Firſt, That by her Majeſty's Authority, and the Aſſiſtance of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Rubrick* in the Common-Prayer which gives Women a Liberty to Baptize in Caſe of Neceſſity, might be alter'd.* This Matter the Biſhop would have govern'd by the Direction of an *Act* of Parliament to be made for that Purpoſe. His Reaſon for an Alteration is, becauſe the holy *Scriptures* declare Women uncapable of Adminiſtring the Sacraments. *Grindal* Biſhop of *London* was of *Sandys*'s Opinion as to the Thing, but differ'd as to the Manner of Settling it. He thought a *Synod* was the propereſt Authority to regulate this Point.

Secondly, *Sandys* mov'd, That the making a Croſs in the Child's Forehead might be raz'd out of the *Office*, and the Raſure confirm'd by the ſecular Authority above-mention'd. It ſeems he thought this Ceremony unneceſſary and Superſtitious.

Thirdly, That purſuant to the Preſidents of King *Henry* the VIIIth, and King *Edward* the VIth, a Committee of Biſhops and other learned Men may be appointed by her Majeſty to draw a Scheme for Church Diſcipline and Government: And that the Regulations agreed by them might be confirm'd this *Seſſion* by the Parliament. (w)

There

(r) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *p.* 125.

(s) Petyt Mſs. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

(t) Nowel's *Reproof, p.* 11.

* Synodus Anglicana Append. *p.* 194. Anno Dom. 156⅔.

(u) *Journal of the Convocation Penes*, F. Atterbury, *S. T. P.*

Idem.

* *See the Conference at* Hampton-Court. Leſtrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices, p.* 241.

(w) Petyt Mſs.

Another Attempt of this Kind.

There was another *Paper* laid down before the *Convocation*, and ſubſcrib'd by Three and thirty of the Lower *Houſe*: 'Twas digeſted into Seven Articles.

I. That the Pſalms appointed by the Common-Prayer might be ſung diſtinctly by the whole Congregation, or elſe read wholly by the Miniſter: And that all Streins of Skill, Muſical Performances, and playing on the Organs, ſhould be diſcharg'd.

II. That none of the *Laity* may be allow'd to Baptize, upon any Pretence whatſoever, and that the Sign of the Croſs may be diſus'd in the Adminiſtration of that Sacrament.

III. That Kneeling at the holy Euchariſt may be left to the Diſcretion of the *Ordinary*. Their Objection is, becauſe ſome don't only knock in Kneeling, but behave themſelves ſuperſtitiouſly. It ſeems theſe Men had forgotten that knocking on the Breaſt was a Geſture commended by our Saviour in the Publican.

IV. That the Copes and Surplices may be laid aſide, and that the Habit of the *Deſk* and the *Pulpit* may be the ſame.

V. That the Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments may not be forc'd to wear ſuch Gowns and Caps as the Enemies of the Goſpel have made the diſtinguiſhing Habit of their Function.

VI. That in the 33d Article of Doctrine concerning Ceremonies, the Cenſure of thoſe who diſconform may be ſoften'd, and let down to a gentler Diſlike. They refer to the *Articles* paſs'd in the Year 1552; And the Clauſe they would have reform'd is this: **Whoſoever thro' private Judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordain'd and approv'd by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of weak Brethren.**

Idem.

VII. That all Feſtivals kept in Honour of the Saints, might be abrogated, or at leaſt kept on with ſome Circumſtances of Abatement: That the Memory of the Saints might be only retain'd in Sermons, Homilies, or the publick *Liturgy*: And that after the People had been thus inſtructed in their Hiſtory, and done their Devotions, they might have the Liberty of working the reſt of the Day. The *Prolocutor Nowel* ſubſcrib'd this *Paper*.

Feb. 13th.

The *Articles*, excepting the Sixth, were ſtrongly debated in the Lower *Houſe*, and put to the Scrutiny. But being couch'd in Terms explanatory, and in ſome Things different from others, I ſhall mention Part of them. The Firſt ſtands thus,

“That all Sundays and principal Feaſts of Chriſt be kept Holy-Days, and all other Feſtivals abrogated.

“*Secondly*, That in all Pariſh Churches, the Miniſter in Common-Prayer, turn his Face towards the People.

“The 3d and 4th Are the ſame with thoſe of that Number already related: Only the latter Cenſures knocking on the Breaſt more plainly than the other.

“The 5th is more moderate than the 4th of the former Seven: It allows the Uſe of the Surplice in the Deſk, and only ſtrikes off the Cope, and other ſacerdotal Diſtinctions. (x)

Six Articles debated in the Lower Houſe.

Theſe Six *Articles* were warmly conteſted: And dividing upon the Queſtion, ſome of the Members were willing to refer the Controverſy to the Upper *Houſe*: Others proteſted againſt this Com-promiſe, and declar'd themſelves reſolv'd againſt any Alteration in the preſent Eſtabliſhment. When they went to the Suffrage, they found the *Innovators* a conſiderable Number: But notwithſtanding the Struggle, the *Proteſting* Party carried it. And thus the Ceremonies and religious Decorations continued in their former Condition. However, 'tis plain by the Conteſt, the *Franckfort* and *Geneva* Preciſians, had no ſmall Intereſt. Many of the *Engliſh Exiles* were willing to Reform away the Ornaments and Solemnity of divine Worſhip; and thought *Calvin's* Platform a much better Regulation than that of the Primitive Church. But God be thank'd, the Majority of our *Reformers* had a different Senſe of theſe Matters: And had more Learning and Judgment, more Steadineſs and Reſolution, than to be over-rul'd with Noiſe and Novelty.

The Church Eſtabliſhment continues.

Feb. 19.

The Archbiſhop ſends ſome Articles of Enquiry to the Lower Houſe.

Some few Days after, the Archbiſhop ſent for the *Prolocutor*, and delivering him certain Articles, order'd him to communicate them to the lower *Houſe*: That thoſe Members ſhould examine the Heads, and return their Opinion in Writing. The Articles were, whether, if the Writ *de melius Inquirendo* was iſſued out upon the Eſtates of the Clergy, the Queen would find her Account in that Enquiry. *Item*, Whether ſome Benefices are not already over-rated. *Thirdly*, They were to enquire into Dilapidations, and other Waſtes upon Livings, and by whom they were done. *Fourthly*, They were to make their Report how they had been us'd in the levying Arrearages of Tenths and Subſidies. *Fifthly*, How many Benefices they find charg'd with Penſions for religious Perſons: And *Laſtly*, they were to certify how many Livings were void in every Dioceſe. (y)

Theſe Enquiries were directed by the Archbiſhop to diſcover the Poverty of the Clergy, and how lamentably they had ſuffer'd in their Revenues: And when the lower *Houſe* had purſued the Archbiſhop's Inſtructions, and made their Report upon the *Queries*, 'twas to be hoped ſuch Proof of the Indigence of the parochial Clergy, might move the Court to Compaſſion, and put a Stop at leaſt to any farther Oppreſſion. But it does not appear the Archbiſhop's Intention was anſwer'd, or that any Progreſs was made in this Matter by the Lower *Houſe*.

The main Buſineſs of this *Synod*, was the Settling the doctrinal Part of the *Reformation*. That the Number of the *Articles* paſs'd in 1552, was retrench'd, and ſome Amendments made upon the reſt, has been already related. That which remains to be done, is to vindicate the Church from the Charge of Forgery, in the Head of the 20th Article paſs'd in this *Synod*. The pretended Interpolation ſtands thus; **The Church has Power to decree Rites, or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith.**

The Prelates of the Church of England *charg'd with forging a Clauſe in the 20th Article.*

In the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, one *Burton* a puritanical Clergyman, charg'd Archbiſhop *Laud*, and the Prelates of that Reign, with this foul Practice. In his Letter to the Temporal Lords of the *Privy Council*, he complains in this Language: *That the Prelates to juſtify their Proceedings, had forg'd a new Article of Religion, brought from* Rome, *(which gave them full Power to alter the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church at a Blow,) and had foiſted it into the Beginning of the*

(x) Petyt Mſs. Strype Annal. p. 288.

(y) *Journal of the Convocation*, Penes Fra. Atterbury, S. T. P. Acta in ſuperiori Domo Convocat. Synodus Anglicana in Append. p. 210.

20th *Article of our Church*; *and that this was in the then laſt Edition of the Articles*, viz. *That of the Year* 1628, *in Affront of his Majeſty's Declaration before them*, &c. *That to forge an Article, either in whole or in Part, and then thruſt it upon the Church, is a moſt heinous Crime, and far worſe than forging a Deed.* (z) *Burton* endeavours to ſupport the Charge, by alledging, this Clauſe *was not to be found* in the *Latin* or *Engliſh Articles of* Edward VI. *or Queen* Elizabeth, *ratified by Parliament: Nor* (as the Archbiſhop underſtood him) *in any Copies before that printed* Anno 1628, *with the King's Declaration before it.* And *Fuller*, to ſet *Burton*'s Objection in its full Strength, obſerves this Clauſe concerning the Authority of the Church was omitted in the *Engliſh* and *Latin* Edition of the Articles ſet forth in the Year 1571, when, as this Hiſtorian pretends, they were firſt confirm'd by Parliament. He takes Notice likewiſe, that Dr. *Mocket*, Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, omitted this Clauſe in his *Latin* Tranſlation of the *Articles.* (z)

(z) *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Speech in the* Star-Chamber, Remains, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 82.

(a) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9 *p.* 74.

Archbiſhop Laud *diſproves the Charge in his Speech in the* Star-Chamber.

To return to *Burton*: This was charging home, and touching the Reputation of the Church in a very ſenſible Part. To wipe off this Aſperſion, Archbiſhop *Laud* replies, *That the Articles of* Edward *the* VIth, *and thoſe made under Queen* Elizabeth, *differ'd very much: That by Conſequence thoſe of* Edward *the* VIth, *were not then binding: And that therefore, whether the controverted Clauſe were in or out of them, was not material. But as to the Articles of Queen* Elizabeth, *he had Four ſeveral Copies by him: In all theſe Editions printed before the Year* 1628, *the conteſted Clauſe was to be ſeen. Three of theſe Editions were in* Engliſh, *and printed in the Years* 1593, 1605, 1612; *The Fourth Edition, which was in* Latin, *was publiſh'd in the Year* 1563: *This* ſays the Archbiſhop, *was one of the Firſt printed Copies, if not the Firſt of all, for the Articles were agreed on but the 29th of* January, Anno 1563. Or as we write, 156$\frac{2}{3}$. This the Archbiſhop thought was a ſufficient Diſproof of the Imputation of Forgery.

He produces a Copy of the Original atteſted by a Publick Notary.

But to make the Matter plainer, *for 'tis not fit*, (as he ſpeaks to the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*) *concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of ſuch Conſequence for the Order, Truth, and Peace of this Church, you ſhould rely upon my Copies, be they never ſo many, or never ſo ancient; therefore I ſent to the publick Records in my Office, and here, under my Officer's Hand, who is a publick Notary, is return'd me, the 20th Article, with this Affirmative Clauſe in it, and there is alſo the whole Body of Articles to be ſeen. By this your Lordſhips ſee, how free the Prelates are from forging this Part of the Article. And now let theſe Men* (meaning *Burton* and his Party) *quit themſelves and their Faction as they can, for their* Index expurgatorius, *and their foul Raſure in leaving out this Part of the Article. For to leave out of an Article, is as great a Crime as to put in; And a main Raſure, is as cenſurable in this Court, as a Forgery.* (b) This producing an atteſted Copy of the original *Record*, knock'd down the Diſpute, expos'd the Calumny, and was Evidence beyond Contradiction.

(b) *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Speech*, Id. *p.* 83.

Heylin *perus'd the original Record, which is now deſtroy'd by the great Fire of* London *in the Year* 1666.

But to add a Word or Two farther: The learned *Heylin* not only takes Notice of the Archbiſhop's Shewing the Lords an exemplified Copy of the Original, but adds from his own Knowledge, that having Occaſion to conſult the *Records* of *Convocation*, he found the controverted Clauſe *Verbatim* in theſe Words; *Habet Eccleſia Ritus Statuendi jus, & in fidei Controverſiis Authoritatem.* And therefore he has reaſon for Wondering at *Fuller*, who had the Liberty of peruſing theſe *Records*, and tranſcrib'd them frequently into his Hiſtory; he had reaſon, I ſay, to wonder at this *Hiſtorian*, for pretending himſelf unfurniſh'd with Proof to decide the Point: And that he was at a Loſs to pronounce whether the *Biſhops were Faulty in their Addition, or their Oppoſites in their Subſtraction.* *

* Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum, *p.* 144. Fuller, *Church Hiſt. Book* 9. *p.* 74.

And turns the foul Practice upon the Puritans.

To proceed: Since the Fraud was thus demonſtrably turn'd upon the Accuſers, it may not be amiſs to acquaint the *Reader* how the Archbiſhop endeavour'd to trace this ſcandalous Practice: And to give the Relation in the Words of this famous Prelate: If the Explaining this Myſtery of Iniquity was demanded, he anſwers, *truly, my Lords, I cannot certainly tell; but as far as I can, I'le tell ye. The Articles you ſee were fully and fairly agreed to, and ſubſcrib'd in the Year* 1562: *But after this, in the Year* 1571, *the Articles were printed both in* Latin *and* Engliſh, *and this Clauſe of the Church left out of both. And certainly this could not be done, but by the malicious Cunning of the oppoſite Faction. And tho' I ſhall ſpare dead Mens Names, where I have not Certainty, yet if you be pleas'd to look back, and conſider who they were that govern'd Buſineſſes in* 1571, *and rid the Church almoſt at their Pleaſure; and how potent the Anceſtors of theſe Libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard Matter to have the Articles printed, and this Clauſe left out. And yet 'tis plain, That after the Stir about Subſcription in the Year* 1571, *the Articles were ſettled and ſubſcrib'd unto at laſt, as in the Year* 1562, *with this Clauſe in them for the Church. For looking farther into the Records which are in my own Hand, I have found the Book of* 156$\frac{2}{3}$, *ſubſcrib'd by all the Lower Houſe of Convocation in this very Year of Contradiction* 1571; *Dr.* John Ailmer (who was afterwards Lord Biſhop of *London*) *being their Prolocutor: Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s having been *Prolocutor in* 1562, *and yet living, and preſent, and ſubſcribing in* 1571. *Therefore I do openly here in the Star-Chamber, charge upon that pure Sect, this foul Corruption of falſifying the Articles of the Church of* England: *Let them take it off as they can.*

(c) *Prieſtcraft in Perfection.*

The Two Mſs. *of the Articles in* Bennet-College *Library no Authentick Records.*

Notwithſtanding this Evidence of clear Dealing in the *Church*, the Charge of Forgery has lately been renew'd againſt her. (c) The Author engag'd in this Service, lays the main Streſs upon Two *Manuſcripts* in *Bennet* College Library in *Cambridge.* Theſe are Parcel of Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Papers which he gave that College. Theſe *Manuſcripts* are a Body of the *Articles* of the Church of *England*, and ſubſcrib'd by Two Convocations: The Firſt by the Convocation held in the Year 1562. And here we have a Liſt of both Houſes of the Province of *Canterbury*, together with ſome Biſhops of the Province of *York.* The other Manuſcript bears date 1571: This is ſubſcrib'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Ten of his Suffragans: And that both theſe Manuſcripts are Originals, is endeavour'd to be prov'd by the Hands of the Subſcribers. Now the controverted Clauſe concerning the *Power of the Church*, is wanting in both theſe Manuſcripts: And for this, the Author refers to Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Expoſition* on the 39 *Articles*, and Mr. *Strype*'s *Annals.*

This prov'd with Reſpect to both of them.

That the conteſted *Clauſe* is to be found in neither of theſe Manuſcripts, is granted: But that they are Originals, and the laſt authentick Acts of thoſe Convocations, is more than this Author has prov'd. On the other Side, That they have nothing of this Authority, has been lately evinc'd by a learned and judicous *Writer.* (d) What I ſhall obſerve farther upon this Argument, ſhall be moſtly extracted from this Author. To begin, That theſe Manuſcripts are not Originals, may be prov'd by Evidence, which

(d) *Vindication of the Church of* England *from the Aſperſions of Prieſtcraft in Perfection*, &c.

will affect them both together; and likewiſe by other Reaſonings which will diſable them, ſingly conſider'd.

Firſt, becauſe not engroſſed on Parchment.

Firſt, With Reſpect to them both, it may be obſerv'd, that finiſh'd Records are generally engroſs'd on Parchment in black large Characters; but theſe Two Manuſcripts are on Paper, neither of them engroſs'd, and the latter in a pale ſmall Hand, not very correctly written. (e)

(e) *Vindication of the Church of* England, &c. *pag.* 79.

Secondly, *Becauſe not ratified under the* Broad Seal.

Secondly, Neither of theſe Manuſcripts have the Royal Authority annex'd; but this Circumſtance was abſolutely Neceſſary to make them Authentick: Of this the *Reader* may be ſatisfied from the *Act* of Submiſſion. (f) By this *Statute* the Clergy can execute nothing paſs'd in *Convocation*, unleſs their *Ordinances* and *Conſtitutions* are confirm'd by the *Crown*, under the *Broad Seal*. Now the Records of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Acts or Conſtitutions being the laſt Inſtruments, and executed as the Acts of the *Body*, either by Voting or Subſcription; ſuch Records, I ſay, having the laſt Hand thus put to them, and made the final Reſolution of the *Convocation*, muſt of Neceſſity be fortified with the *Broad Seal* to give them a legal Paſs, and cover the *Houſes* from the Statute of *Præmunire*: The Inference is, That the Manuſcripts of both theſe *Articles*, had they been finiſh'd Originals, muſt have been confirm'd by the Queen's Aſſent, and that Aſſent teſtified by affixing the *Broad Seal*. And that the 39 Articles were thus ratified by Queen *Elizabeth*, the *Reader* may ſee in *Coke*'s *Inſtitutes*. (g) And thus after the Poſtſcript in *Wolfe*'s Edition of the *Articles* printed in the Year 1563, we have theſe Words, *Quibus omnibus Articulis Sereniſſima Princeps* Elizabetha —— *per ſeipſam diligenter prius lectis & examinatis, Regium ſuum Aſſenſum præbuit*: Now this *Poſtſcript* being a Copy of the Certificate of the *Regiſter* annex'd to the original Record of the *Articles*, it evidently follows, that the Royal Aſſent was given to that Record: The next Conſequence is, That theſe Two Manuſcripts which want this Royal Ratification, were only rough Draughts, and preparatory Inſtruments; but neither of them paſs'd the laſt concluding Forms, nor had the Strength and Atteſtation of authentick Records.

(f) 25 H. 8. c. 19.

(g) *Part* 4. *cap.* 74. *fol.* 323.

Thirdly, *Becauſe not lodg'd in the proper Repoſitory.*

Thirdly, Theſe Two Manuſcripts being given by *Parker* to *Bennet* College, is another good Argument againſt their Authority: For the Archbiſhops *Regiſtry*, as 'tis well known, is the Repoſitary for *Convocation-Records*. Theſe Inſtruments are not at the Archbiſhop's Diſpoſal; He has no more Propriety in them, than in any other Records belonging to his *Offices*. All ſuch Inſtruments are to remain in the Places aſſign'd, for publick Uſe and Inſpection. Had theſe Manuſcripts therefore been original Records, they would never have been lodg'd in the College: For we can't imagine that either the Archbiſhop would have been capable of ſo great an Injuſtice, as to remove ſuch valuable Inſtruments from the proper and cuſtomary Place, or that the College would have been allow'd the Poſſeſſion of them by his Succeſſors. 'Tis granted, all imperfect *Papers* leading to Buſineſs belong to the Archbiſhop as Preſident of the *Convocation*: And thus a preparatory Subſcription to Articles or Canons being a conſiderable Advance towards a final Agreement, might be afterwards lodg'd in the Hand above-mention'd. Thus for Inſtance, when theſe *Articles* of 1562 were ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes of Convocation in the Year 1604, the Book thus ſubſcrib'd, was order'd to be put into the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *London* then Preſident. (h) And thus in the very next Paper to theſe Manuſcripts of Archbiſhop *Parker*, there is a reſembling preparatory Subſcription of the *Canons* of the Convocation held in the Year 1571. * But as to finiſh'd Records, they are no private Property: They are the Right and Intereſt of the Community. And thus, as the Originals of *Acts* of Parliament are lodged either in the *Tower*, or at the *Rolles*; ſo *Convocation-Records* are always kept in a publick *Office*.

(h) *Extracts of the Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation.*

* C. C. C. C. Vol. Synodalia.

A farther Diſproof of them ſingly conſider'd.

And thus much may ſuffice to diſprove the Authority of theſe Manuſcripts taken together: From hence I ſhall proceed briefly to the Proofs which diſable them ſingly conſider'd: And Firſt with Reference to the Manuſcripts ſign'd by the Convocation held in the Year 1562. And here it may be obſerv'd Firſt: That,

The Daſhes diſprove the MSS. ſubſcrib'd Anno 1562.

The Argument advanc'd to prove it an original Record (i) proves the Contrary. For, as the Author of *Prieſtcraft, &c.* obſerves from Mr *Strype*, this Manuſcript is only *a fair Draught of King* Edward *the* VIth's *Articles accurately written out for the ſerious Conſideration of the Archbiſhop: That there were Strokes drawn in many Places by a Red-Lead Pen, which was the Archbiſhop's cuſtomary Way of making Remarks in reading a Book: That theſe Strokes were ſometimes drawn thro' ſingle Words, and ſometimes thro' whole Lines. That ſome of theſe Articles are wholly ſuperſeded by the Archbiſhop*'s Minium, *and divers of them ſhorten'd; daſhing that thorough which he was minded to have omitted.* And of this he gives ſeveral Inſtances: And in ſome Places takes Notice of ſomething interlin'd in the Archbiſhop's own Hand. And which is very remarkable in the *Sixteenth Article*, where the Title was *de Peccato in Spiritum ſanctum*, the Three laſt Words are daſh'd out, and over them **After Baptiſm** is interlin'd in the Archbiſhop's Hand. Now to make an *Engliſh* Correction in a *Latin* Draught, is a very ill Sign of a finiſh'd Record. Are not theſe Strokes and Interlineations, this mixture of different Languages, indiſputable Proofs of a foul Draught? Is an Inſtrument thus maim'd and undreſs'd, proper to ſtand upon Record? To ſtand upon Record, I ſay, as the Senſe of a *Convocation* in Matters of the laſt Importance? Is it imaginable the Convocation ſhould make their Corrections upon a fair Draught, and paſs the Articles upon a foul one? Or were they ever actually paſs'd upon theſe Corrections? What Copy of theſe Articles is there, either Manuſcript or Printed, in which the *Engliſh* and *Latin De Peccato After-baptiſm* ſtand jumbled together?

(i) *Prieſtcraft*, &c.

This MSS. wants the Subſcriptions of Two Biſhops.

Secondly, Notwithſtanding the Number of Subſcriptions of both *Houſes* is urg'd to ſupport the Manuſcript, yet 'tis plain the Liſt is imperfect; for the Names of the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and *Glouceſter* are wanting: And yet 'tis evident from the *Journals* of the *Convocation* that both theſe Biſhops ſubſcrib'd the Articles. (k) Now ſince theſe Biſhops Names are not to be found in *Bennet* College Manuſcripts, nothing can be a plainer Diſproof of that *Paper*'s being no authentick Record.

(k) *Extracts of the Journal of Convocation, fol.* 114.

Seſs. 8.

Ann. Dom. 1562.

The conteſted Clauſe in the Extract of the Journal of the Upper Houſe.

And having mention'd the *Journal* of Convocation, I ſhall tranſcribe the Words of the *Extract*, where the Paſſing the conteſted Clauſe is mention'd at Length. “ *Friday Jan.* the 29th at Eight in the Morning, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops being met in the *Chapter-Houſe* of St. Paul's, *Poſt Tractatum aliquem inter eos habitum, tandem ſuper quibuſdam Articulis Orthodoxæ fidei inter Epiſcopos quorum Nomina iis ſubſcribuntur unanimiter Convenit; quorum quidem Articulorum Tenor ſequitur, & ſunt Tales.*

“*Articuli quibus in Synodo Londinenſi Anno Domini juxta Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Computationem* 1562, *ad tollendam Opinionum Diſſentionem, & firmandum in verâ Religione Conſenſum inter Archiepiſcopos Epiſcopoſq; utriuſq; Provinciæ, nec non etiam univerſum Clerum, convenit.*

And here the Beginning of the Firſt Article is juſt mention'd thus in the *Extract. Unus eſt verus & vivus Deus, &c. ut in Syntagmate Confeſſionum.*

The 20th Article, with the Title and *conteſted Clauſe* at length, ſtands thus, “*De Eccleſiæ Authoritate. Habet Eccleſia ritus ſtatuendi Jus, & in Fidei Controverſiis Authoritatem, quamvis Eccleſiæ non licet quicquam inſtituere, quod verbo Dei adverſatur.*

After which the next Paragraph informs us theſe Articles were paſs'd and ſubſcrib'd, not only by the Biſhops of both *Provinces*, but by the whole repreſenting Clergy: The Words run thus,

“*Hos Articulos Fidei Chriſtianæ Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi utriuſque Provinciæ regni Angliæ in ſacra Synodo Provinciali legitimè Congregati, unanimi Aſſenſu receperunt & profitentur, & ut veros & Orthodoxos manuum ſuarum Subſcriptionibus approbant*, Jan. 29. *Anno* 1562; *Cleruſq; univerſus eoſdem etiam unanimiter & recepit & profeſſus eſt, ut ex manuum ſuarum Subſcriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & depoſuit apud eundem Reverendiſſimum quinto die Februarii prox. ſequent.*

Extract of the Journal of the Convocation, ibid.

Thirdly, As the learned *Vindicator* obſerves, the Strokes and Alterations made by Archbiſhop *Parker* in the *Bennet* College Manuſcripts abovemention'd, muſt be either Prior or Poſterior to the Subſcription: If theſe Animadverſions paſs'd upon them before the Signing, then the Subſcription cannot belong to the 39 *Articles* now in Force. No, all theſe Hands of the Members of both Houſes muſt upon this Suppoſition, be given to a different Set of Forty two *Articles*: For to this Number, the Manuſcripts, daſh'd with the Archbiſhops Red-Lead Pencil, reaches: And if ſo, they are nothing to the Point; neither is any Member of the Church of *England* concern'd in them.

The Omiſſion of a Memorandum *deſtroys the Credit of this* MS.

But if theſe Daſhes and Alterations were Prior to the *Subſcription*, and made for finiſhing Strokes, and the laſt Regulation: If this was the Caſe, there muſt have been ſome atteſted *Memorandum* of the Time, when ſuch Alterations were made; this was neceſſary and a cuſtomary Practice. For without this it would be impoſſible to diſcover whether ſuch Alterations were Prior, or Poſterior to the Subſcription. * And beſides, ſuch a *Memorandum* was particularly Neceſſary in the preſent Caſe, becauſe the Strokes of Red-Lead are finely drawn, and not full enough to deface the Original. And therefore, without ſuch a *Memorandum*, it might be a Queſtion whether ſome of the Words were daſh'd for *Deletion*, or mark'd for greater Streſs and Conſideration. Now this undiſtinguiſhing Management, this Omiſſion of ſo neceſſary a *Memorandum* to make the Inſtrument intelligible, and inform the *Reader* whether the Subſcription was made to our 39 *Articles*, or to a different Set conſiſting of 42; this grand Defect, I ſay, is a plain Proof that this Manuſcript of 1562, cannot be an original Record of the 39 *Articles* now receiv'd.

* *Vindication of the Church*, &c. *pag.* 86, 7.

Another Argument againſt the Credit of this MS.

Fourthly, The Manuſcript it ſelf, by the Form juſt before the Subſcription, is ſufficient to diſprove its being the authentick Original. At the End of the Articles, the Words written by Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Direction are theſe: *Hos Articulos Fidei Chriſtianæ continentes in Univerſum novendecim Paginas in Autographo quod aſſervatur apud Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto patrem Dom. Mathæum Cantuar. Archiepiſcopum totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum: Et in prima Pagina quatuor Articulos, & lineas triginta quatuor, &c.* (Naming alſo how many Articles and Lines are contain'd in all the following Pages) *Nos Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi utriuſque Provinciæ Regni Angliæ in ſacra Synodo Provinciali legitimè congregati, recipimus & profitemur, & ut veros atque Orthodoxos manuum noſtrarum Subſcriptionibus approbamus, viceſimo nono die Menſis* Januarii, *anno Dom. ſecundum Computationem Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ, Milleſimo quingenteſimo, ſexageſimo ſecundo, & Illuſtriſſimæ Princip.* Elizabethæ *D. G.* Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, *Reginæ, Fidei Defenſ. &c. Dominæ noſtræ Clementiſſimæ anno quinto.* (*m*)

(*m*) Strype's *Annal, pag.* 289.

The MS. *refers to it ſelf, which is an Argument of its not being an Original.*

After theſe Remarks upon the Manuſcript, the Liſt of the Subſcription follows. Theſe Directions at the End of the Manuſcript refer to an *Autegraphum*; from whence it may be reaſonably inferr'd this Manuſcript cannot be the Original, unleſs we can ſuppoſe it ſhould refer to it ſelf, which is very unuſual. And if this had been the Caſe, why was not the Language more clear and deciſive? Why was it not ſaid *In hoc Autographo*, as well as *Hos Articulos*? Why was not *Aſſervabitur*, or *Aſſervandum eſt*, made Uſe of, inſtead of *Aſſervatur apud Reverendiſſimum, &c*? Farther, what Occaſion was there of mentioning either the *Autographum*, or where 'twas kept, ſince without the Sight of the Manuſcript, the Directions could ſignify nothing. 'Tis granted, the Poſtſcript of the Firſt *Latin* Edition printed by *Wolfe* in the Year 1563, is couch'd in the ſame Terms: Now this Poſtſcript is without Queſtion, a true Certificate of the Regiſter, tranſcrib'd in all Probability from the Record it ſelf; but then, if that Record was the ſubſcrib'd Original, theſe Words, *In Autographo quod Aſſervatur*, tho' neceſſary in the Certificate to direct where to find the *Autographum*, yet ſuch a Direction was of no Service in the *Autographum*, and therefore may be ſuppos'd not to have been inſerted. (*n*)

(*n*) *Vindication, pag.* 89.

To proceed, the learned *Vindicator* argues againſt the Authority of the other *Bennet* College Manuſcript ſubſcrib'd, *Ann.* 1571.

The other MS. *diſprov'd firſt from the imperfect Liſt.*

Firſt, From the Incompleatneſs of the Liſt. This Manuſcript is ſo far from being an authentick Record, that it falls ſhort of the preparatory Advances of that above-mention'd. For tho' 'twas deſign'd, as appears by the Form, to be ſubſcrib'd by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, (*o*) yet, as it happen'd, there are no more Hands to it, than that of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Ten of his Suffragans. This Manuſcript therefore receiving a Check in the Progreſs, and failing in the Execution, can paſs for no more than an imperfect Memoir.

(*o*) *Biſhop* Burnet's *Expoſition of the* 39 *Articles, pag.* 15.

Secondly, *From the Number of the Articles.*

Secondly, As this Subſcription is Defective with Reſpect to the Liſt, 'tis likewiſe no leſs with Regard to the *Articles*: For here the Number falls ſhort: The Form of the Subſcription reckons them no more than 38 Articles: Tho' thro' all the Impreſſions from that Year downwards, they have always reach'd to 39. And here the earlieſt Editions of the *Articles*, with Numbers annex'd, are thoſe of this Year 1571: All which Editions were printed after the *Articles* had been ſubſcrib'd by this Convocation, as appears from the expreſs Mention of that Subſcription in the *Ratification*. Is it therefore at all likely, that the Firſt Impreſſion after this Subſcription ſhould differ ſo remarkably from the Original? Is it likely they ſhould be publiſh'd with the addi-

Ibid.

tional Diviſion, if the Record had made no ſuch Diſtinction? Or can we imagine they would have outſtretch'd the Number fix'd by the Convocation, and printed them 39, if they had found no more than 38 in the Original? From hence it appears this Manuſcript is a Paper of no Authority, and has not ſo much as the Face of an authentick Record.

Several Copies ſtill remaining of the Articles, with the conteſted Clauſe printed in the Year 1563.

To go on in the Year 1563, the *Articles* were printed by *Renault Wolfe* in *Latin*: This in all likelihood was the Firſt Impreſſion, and publiſh'd ſoon after the *Articles* were agreed in the *Convocation*: For the Printers are particularly early in their Dates, and reckon the Year from *Michaelmas*-Term. Now according to this Computation, the *Articles* were both paſs'd, and printed in the Year 1563. There are Three Copies of this *Latin* Impreſſion ſtill remaining in our Univerſities: One in *Bennet* College, *Cambridge*, and Two in the *Bodleian* Library. (*p*) This Impreſſion of *Wolfe* was, as the Author of *Prieſt-craft* obſerves, cited by Archbiſhop *Laud* in the *Star-Chamber*, and has the controverted Clauſe of the 20th *Article* in it. One of theſe printed Copies in the *Bodleian* Library has a Parchment-Roll tack'd to it, ſubſcrib'd by the Lower Houſe of *Convocation*. This Subſcription the Author of *Prieſt-craft* endeavours to prove a Forgery, becauſe the Liſt of the Subſcribers are not the ſame with thoſe in Mr. *Strype*'s *Annals*.

(*p*) *Vindication*, &c. *pag.* 152.

But this Objection has no Weight: For what Wonder is it if the Names and Titles are not the ſame, ſince the Liſt belongs to Two diſtinct *Convocations*? To Two *Convocations* which ſate at Nine Years diſtance from each other. That in Mr. *Strype*'s *Annals* belongs to the *Convocation* of 1562. But the other with a Roll tack'd, is a Liſt of the *Convocation* which ſate in the Year 1571. *Nowel* was Prolocutor in the Firſt, and *Ailmer* in the latter.

Id. *pag.* 44, 5.

The Credit of the Copy in the Bodleian *Library vindicated.*

This original Subſcription tack'd to the printed *Articles*, was preſerv'd by the famous *Selden*, a Man whom the *Reader* has no reaſon to ſuſpect of Partiality to the Church. This learned Antiquary, when the Queſtion was put whether the conteſted Clauſe was fraudulently thrown into the 20th *Article*, anſwers categorically, *That 'tis moſt certain they* (that is thoſe Words diſputed) *were in the Book of Articles that was confirm'd, tho' in ſome Editions they have been left out.* (*q*) That this Subſcription-*Roll* was Authentick, and tack'd to the Book confirm'd by the Convocation of 1571, *Selden* was well aſſur'd, by finding the Copy carefully reviſ'd, and all the Errors of the Preſs corrected by a Hand of that Age. Which nice Correction was no more than Neceſſary to prepare it for the Subſcription of a *Synod*. *Selden* likewiſe had farther Evidence of the Genuineneſs of this Roll, by comparing the Hands of this Liſt, with thoſe Members of the ſame Name who ſate in the *Convocation* of 1562. This was no difficult Task to ſo great an Antiquary, conſidering many of the Members of both theſe Convocations were Men of Character, and publick Buſineſs. And thus their Hands ſtanding upon Record on the Regiſters of Colleges, or Chapters, the comparing them with the *Labell* above-mention'd, was very practicable. And as the Undertaking was feiſable, we have no Reaſon to queſtion *Selden*'s Inclination and Induſtry: *Selden*, I ſay, to whom a Proof of Forgery in this Matter, would have been a very acceptable Diſcovery. But the Caſe being ſo clear, this learned Adverſary makes no Scruple to vouch the Copy in the moſt determining Language. And for the *Reader*'s farther Satiſfaction, the learned *Vindicator* has carried his Enquiry to the utmoſt Nicety, procur'd the Hands compar'd, and receiv'd Satiſfaction of their being exactly the ſame.

(*q*) Selden's *Table Talk*, *pag.* 54. *Vindication*, &c. *pag.* 179.

This Copy atteſted by Selden.

Id. *pag.* 180.

Farther, we may imagine a Perſon of *Selden*'s Curioſity and Temper, would fly the Game home, bring the Point to the ſtricteſt Teſt, and Conſult the Records themſelves. That this was Matter of Fact, we are aſſur'd by an Author the *Prieſt-craft writer* has no Reaſon to queſtion. (*r*) This Gentleman affirms, That *during the long Parliament and ſitting of the Aſſembly at* Weſtminſter, *Mr.* Selden *was employ'd to ſearch the Archbiſhop's Office.* But here was no ſerviceable Matter for the Faction: No Report made upon Enquiry, to prove foul Play upon the Archbiſhop. Neither was any Thing of this Kind attempted in a long Anſwer to *Laud*'s *Speech*, publiſh'd a Year after it was ſpoke in the *Star-Chamber*: To which may be added Archbiſhop *William*'s ſhort Notes upon the Margin of a Print of this *Speech*. In theſe Remarks, where tho' Warmth of Temper and Miſunderſtanding between this Prelate and *Laud*, makes him exceed in his Cenſure, yet he advances nothing to blaſt *Laud*'s Credit, with Reſpect to the conteſted *Clauſe*.

(*r*) Hamilton. *Some Neceſſity of Reformation pag.* 14. *Vindication*, &c. *pag.* 185.

Id. *pag.* 57. & 185.

Id. 186.

As to *Selden*'s Search, 'twas probably made at the ſame Time that a Committee of the Houſe of *Commons* ſent to the Archbiſhop then in the *Tower*, to give them an Account under his Hand what Originals of the *Articles* were in his Cuſtody. The Archbiſhop believ'd the Deſign of this Meſſage was to make a Search about the controverted Clauſe of the 20th *Article*. Upon this, he thought it proper to repeat ſomething of what he had deliver'd in the *Star-Chamber*, and declares expreſly, That the conteſted Paſſage (*tho' left out in divers printed Copies, yet*) *in the original Articles of* 1562, *the Words are plain, and manifeſt without any interlining at all.* (*s*) And which is ſtill more remarkable, this pretended Forgery was never objected againſt the Archbiſhop at his Tryal. This we may be aſſur'd was not overlook'd out of Tenderneſs: This, could it have been made good, would have ſtuck the moſt indelible Blemiſh upon his Memory: And would have been one of the worſt complexion'd Articles of the Impeachment: To which may be added, neither did the *Aſſembly* attempt to purge the *Article*, or venture upon a Cenſure of the Archbiſhop for conveying in the ſpurious *Clauſe*.

(*s*) *Hiſtory of Archbiſhop* Laud's *Troubles, pag.* 208, 9.

Archbiſhop Laud *not charg'd with any Forgery of this Kind at his Tryal.*

Beſides *Wolfe*'s *Latin* Edition of the Year 1562, there's an *Engliſh* Impreſſion of the ſame Year, with the conteſted Clauſe in it. This is expreſly affirm'd by the learned *Heylin*, and may likewiſe be fairly collected from Sir *Simon D'Ewes*'s *Journal* of Parliament. (*t*)

(*t*) Heylin's *Hiſtory of Preſbytery, pag.* 248. *Sir* Simon D'Ewes's *Journal, pag.* 132, 3.

And laſtly, the controverted Clauſe is to be ſeen in *Day*'s *Latin* Edition, Anno 1571, and in Three *Engliſh* Editions of *Jugg* and *Caw-wood* printed the ſame Year.

And to conclude this Matter, if we had no other Evidence, the Unreaſonableneſs of this Charge might be collected from the Silence of thoſe Times when the *Articles* were firſt publiſh'd. A Forgery of this Kind lay open to Detection, and could never have been practis'd without being obſerv'd. In Caſe the Imputation could have been prov'd, what Clamours would there have been when *Wolfe*'s Edition appear'd? What Entertainment would ſuch groſs Inſincerity have been to Papiſts and Preciſians? And what Advantage would they have made of ſuch a Diſcovery? What a ſenſeleſs Piece of Confidence would it have been to have ventur'd on ſo Clumſey a Falſification, when the Cheat lay expos'd to View, when the Articles were lately paſs'd, and the Convocation probably ſtill ſitting? For this *Aſſembly* did not riſe 'till the 14th of *April*, 1563, (*u*) before which Time the *Articles* were printed and diſpers'd. Had not the Honour and Authority of the Church been conſiderably engag'd, I ſhould have wav'd the Report of this Controverſy: And now having obſerv'd enough to diſprove the Calumny, I ſhall diſmiſs the Subject. If the *Reader* is deſirous to ſee the Author of *Prieſt-craft* farther detected and expos'd, he may conſult the Learned *Vindicator of the Church of* England, *&c.*

(*u*) *Extract of the Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation,* Fo. 126.

Some Heads of projected Diſcipline.

There was a Draught of *Diſcipline* drawn for the View of this *Convocation*. Had it paſs'd, 'twas to be offer'd to the Queen and Parliament for the Civil Sanction. The firſt Paper having *William Exon* on the Top, to ſhew it was either pen'd or approv'd by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, is ſomething of an Argument 'twas not the ſame Scheme of *Diſcipline* which the Lower Houſe deliver'd to the Biſhops.

Id. Fo. 123.

I ſhall mention ſome of the more remarkable Heads of this *Diſcipline*. 'Tis directed that the Juriſdiction of Biſhops may be farther extended: That they may be authoriz'd to reform all Diſorders in *Peculiars*, and Places exempt: That the Privileges of theſe latter were no better than Sanctuaries for Licence and Schiſm.

That Witchcraft may be capitally puniſh'd.

That if any one gains his Preferment by Simony he may be diſabled from holding any Benefice during Life: And that the Patron may loſe the Preſentation of that Turn, and the next Avoidance.

In another *Paper* for this Purpoſe, drawn by the Archbiſhop's Secretary, with ſome Corrections and Additions in *Parker* and *Grindal*'s Hand, there are ſome Things worth obſerving.

The Second Paper.

'Tis mov'd, that as there is one Grammar appointed for all Schools, ſo there may be one *Catechiſm* authoriz'd for the ſame publick Uſe, and for Univerſities and private Families. The Paper takes Notice this Catechiſm, was almoſt finiſh'd by *Nowel*, Dean of *Paul*'s; but before 'twas thus recommended to the Kingdom, it was to paſs in *Convocation*.

This *Paper*, which was to be preſented to the Queen, and moſt probably to the Parliament, ſuggeſts the making *ſharper Laws* againſt Fornication, Adultery, and Inceſt, Crimes committed with great Frequency and Boldneſs.

That the *Ordinaries* may not be check'd in their Correction of ſuch ſcandalous Practice by *Prohibitions* from the Temporal Courts.

That in impropriated Pariſhes, the Impropriators may be obliged to augment the Livings to a competent Subſiſtence: That the People may not be furniſhed with an unqualified Paſtor; nor depriv'd of the Benefits of Common-Prayer and Sacraments: That this Calamity was very common in a great many Towns where the Patrimony of the Church was alienated, and carried off by Impropriations.

That a farther Proviſion may be made for the Recovery of Tythes.

That ſome Regulation may be ſettled to prevent Diſpenſations for Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and marrying without Banes. There are ſeveral Things in both theſe Papers which I have left unmention'd.

Id. Fo. 123.

What Reſemblance there was between this Draught and that of the Lower Houſe, laid before the Biſhops, is uncertain.* However, this latter, as the *Prolocutor* reports, was paſs'd by the *Lower Houſe*: Upon which the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans return the Book with their Conſent for the inſerting ſome Additions deſir'd by the *Prolocutor*. Theſe Additions were inſerted, and brought up to the Biſhops. But here, for what Reaſon is not mention'd, the Matter ſlept, and nothing was done.

Nowel's *Latin Catechiſm paſs'd in Convocation.*

The Acts of the Upper Houſe, printed in the Synodus Anglicana, *take Notice only of its being paſs'd in the Lower Houſe.*

The *Latin Catechiſm*, drawn up for the Uſe of Schools, was paſs'd in this Convocation. *Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, at the Inſtance of Secretary *Cecil*, was the Author of this Performance. He form'd it pretty much upon the Model of the *Catechiſm* publiſh'd in the latter End of the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth. Being finiſh'd and dedicated to *Cecil*, the Convocation perus'd it before 'twas printed; and having made ſome Corrections, put their own Authority upon it, and recommended it to publick Uſe. *Nowel* having received it blotted and interlin'd, tranſcrib'd the Alterations, and ſent the corrected Copy to *Cecil*, not as his own private Compoſition, but as the Work of the *Convocation*. He deſir'd him to give his Opinion at his Leiſure, whether the Book might not deſerve being made publick with the Queen's Authority prefix'd. He conceiv'd ſome ſhort comprehenſive Treatiſe of Religion with a publick Character, was no more than neceſſary: And that the Learned beyond-Sea thought the *Engliſh* defective for want of ſomething of this Kind. This *Catechiſm* lay unpubliſh'd 'till the Year 1570, when, at the Inſtance of the two Archbiſhops, 'twas printed with a Dedication to them and their Suffragans. 'Twas afterwards by the Dean's Order, tranſlated into *Engliſh* and *Greek*. Though for the Main, 'twas much the ſame with that ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth, yet, as was obſerv'd, there were ſeveral material Alterations. To mention one: In the Expoſition upon the Petition in the *Lord's-Prayer, Thy Kingdom come*, King *Edward*'s *Catechiſm* aſſerts our Saviour's Reign upon Earth after the Deſtruction of Antichriſt, and declares in Favour of the Millenary Doctrine: And with this Teſtimony *Mede* fortifies his Opinion in one of his Letters to *Twiſſe*. And now, excepting the granting a Subſidy, all that was done by this *Synod* has been related.

Extract of the Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation, Page 123.

Vid. Synod. Anglic. Append. *p.* 215.

Hooper's Apology printed.

This Year an Apology, written by *Hooper* late Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, was publiſh'd. The Deſign of it is to wipe off ſome Aſperſions of Diſloyalty; and to purge himſelf from the Imputation of encouraging ſome People, who had uſed Unchriſtian Expreſſions in their Prayers againſt Queen *Mary*. "The Biſhop denies his Countenancing any ſuch intemperate Devotions: "And for a farther Defence, declares he had "always been true to the Conſtitution: That "when Queen *Mary*'s Intereſt was at the loweſt "Ebb, when the Face of the Government was "againſt her, and her Rival *Jane* proclaimed "Queen; when the Tide run thus ſtrong againſt "her Highneſs, he rode from Place to Place to "ſtop the Revolt, and recover the People to "their Duty: And that at this unpromiſing Juncture he ſent Horſes and Men into her Ser-"vice. And ſince he was with her in Times of "Danger and dark Proſpect, when he had Liberty of Motion, and Invitation enough to "have gone over to the other Side; ſince he had "given ſuch Proofs of Firmneſs to her Highneſs "when her Succeſs was almoſt deſpair'd of, and "ſhe had no Power to puniſh or reward; what "likelihood is there he ſhould declare againſt "her now, when her Majeſty had ſurmounted

---

* Acta in ſuperiori Domo Convocat, Synodus Anglicana in Append. *p.* 213, 14.

" the Hazzard of the Conteſt, was in full Poſ-
" ſeſſion of the Crown, and himſelf at the ſame
" Time a Priſoner at her Mercy?

This Spring there was a Peace concluded between the *Hugonots* and the Crown of *France*: And here theſe *French* Proteſtants forgot to comprehend their Patroneſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, and left her to ſhift for her ſelf.

The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's *committed for hearing Maſs.*

June.

1562.

To ſay ſomething of *Scotland*: About this Time *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*, was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinborough* for ſaying and hearing Maſs. The Abbot of *Coſragnel* and the Prior of *Withern* had the ſame Uſage; and ſeveral Prieſts and Monks were ruggedly treated upon this Account. Theſe Rigours againſt the Papiſts gave ſomething of an Expectation of the Queen's coming over to the *Reformation*: Theſe Hopes were farther confirm'd by her paſſing ſeveral *Acts* in Favour of the Proteſtant Church in her Parliament held this Summer. This Parliament there was an *Act* of Oblivion paſs'd, to indemnify the Subjects from all Proſecutions, either by the *Crown* or Biſhops, for any Thing done from the Sixth of *March* in the Year 1558, to the Firſt of *September* 1561. (*w*) But this *Act* of Indemnity, how gracious ſoever, did not extend to the Ratification of the Treaty at *Leith*. This *Accommodation* being made without the Privity and Conſent of the *Crown*, the Queen would never acknowledge. (*x*)

(*x*) Q. M. Parl. 9. c. 67.

(*z*) Spotſwood, *p.* 188.

Holyrood-House insulted.

An. 1563.

When the Queen was upon her Progreſs there happen'd an unfortunate Diſturbance at *Edinborough*. Some of her Majeſty's Family, who ſtaid behind at *Holyrood*-Houſe, had the Aſſiſtance of a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt, who officiated in the Chappel. Several of the Burghers of *Edinborough* frequenting the Service, the *Preachers* were much diſconcerted, and complained of the Liberty. The Proteſtant Townſmen thus harangued to a Ferment, went in a Body to *Holyrood*-Houſe, and being denied Entrance, forc'd the Gates. Some of the People at *Maſs* were ſeiz'd, and dragg'd to Priſon; the reſt with the Prieſt making their Eſcape the Back-way. When the Queen receiv'd Advice her Palace was thus inſulted, her Family hurried to Gaol, and that the Mob had ſeiz'd her Authority, and turn'd it upon her; when the Queen receiv'd Advice of this Misbehaviour, ſhe was very angry, as may be eaſily imagin'd. She declar'd her ſelf reſolv'd never to come to *Edinborough* 'till ſome exemplary Juſtice was done upon this outragious Riot: However, at the Inſtance of the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencayrn* ſhe dropp'd the Reſentment. In ſhort, the Matter was in a Manner paſs'd over, and none but *John Knox* call'd to an Account. This *Preacher* was ſummon'd before the *Council*, charg'd with raiſing the Sedition, and drawing the People together by ſending out his Circular Letters. To this his Anſwer was, *That he never preached Rebellion, nor affected ſtirring up Tumults: On the contrary, he taught all the People to obey their Magiſtrates and Princes in God.* By this Term [*in God*] he had an Evaſion for limiting the Subjects Obedience at Pleaſure: By this Diſtinction, whenever the Prince fail'd in his Duty, and bore hard upon Religion, *Knox* had a Warrant to preach Reſiſtance: And thus, notwithſtanding the Bar of the Conſtitution, the Subjects might fight the Government without Rebellion. To go on with *Knox*'s Defence in his own Language: *As to the Convocation of the Subjects,* he ſaid, *he had receiv'd a Command from the Church to advertiſe his Brethren when he ſaw a Neceſſity of their Meeting, eſpecially if he ſaw Religion to be in Peril; and had often craved to be exonerated of that Burthen, but was ſtill refuſed.* Then addreſſing the Queen with a ſurpriſing Aſſurance, *He charg'd her in the Name of Almighty God, and as ſhe deſir'd to eſcape his heavy Wrath and Indignation, to forſake that Idolatrous Religion which ſhe profeſſed, and by her Power maintain'd againſt the Statutes of the Realm.* To what length he would have have gone on in this extraordinary Manner is uncertain; for he was check'd in his Application, and order'd by the Earl of *Morton*, Lord Chancellor, to hold his Peace, and be gone. This Way of haranguing the *Mob* to ſuppreſs *Miſperſwaſion*, to out-rage the Government, and do Juſtice without Authority, was not the Method of the Primitive Chriſtians. *Tertullian* acquaints us that the Chriſtians were very numerous in his Time: That the Court and Camp, the Towns and Countries, were fill'd with them: But notwithſtanding this Advantage of Strength, 'twas not their Way to raiſe their *Poſſe*, to attack the *Temples*, and ſtorm their Emperor's Religion. And if they did not think it lawful to manage in this Manner againſt a *Pagan Belief*, we may be well aſſur'd they would never have allow'd the bringing Force and Tumults upon *Chriſtian Princes*.

Knox's bold Anſwer at the Council Board.

Idem.

Apologet.

(*a*) Q. M. Parl. 9. c. 74.

Adultery Death by Act of Parliament.

And having mention'd the *Parliament* held at *Edinborough* this Summer, I ſhall give the *Reader* another of their *Acts* againſt Adultery. (*a*) By this *Statute*, to give the Words, **All notour and manifeſt Committers of Adulterie in onie Time to cum, after the Dait hereof, ſall be puniſh'd with all Rigour unto the Death, alſeweil the Woman, as the Man, Doer and Committer of the ſamin, after that dew Monition be maid to abſtain fro the ſaid manifeſt and notour Crime, and foꝛ uther Adulterie, that the Aas and Laws maid theirupon of befoꝛe, be put to Execution with all Rigour.**

Q. Elizabeth entertain'd at Cambridge.

This belongs to the Year 1564.

To return to *England*: This Summer Queen *Elizabeth* made a Progreſs through *Cambridge*. She was honourably receiv'd by the Univerſity. She was lodg'd in *King's*-College, and during her Stay entertain'd her ſelf at the Philoſophy, Phyſick, and Divinity Acts. She had likewiſe the Diverſion of Plays for the Evening. At the Philoſopy Act *Cartwright* and *Preſton* were two of the Opponents: The firſt of *Trinity*, and the other of *King's*-College. *Preſton* was a graceful Perſon, ſpoke handſomely, and manag'd with Addreſs: Theſe Advantages gave him the Queen's Favour, and a ſenſible Preference to the other. *Cartwright*, who was not ſo well poliſh'd, coming off with a comparative Abatement, is ſaid to have been very uneaſy: And ſtanding well in his own Opinion, projected the retrieving his Credit. For this Purpoſe he travell'd to *Geneva*, inform'd himſelf thoroughly in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of that Church; and at his Return made it his Buſineſs to eſtabliſh that Model in *England*, was the Champion of the Cauſe, and appear'd at the Head of the Diſſenting Party. But whether the Mortification he met with at *Cambridge* was the Occaſion of his Diſaffection to the Church of *England*, is more than I ſhall affirm.

The Oath of Supremacy offer'd Bonner *by* Horn, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

The Biſhops, as hath been obſerv'd, being impowr'd by *Act* of Parliament to tender the Oath of *Supremacy*, *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* put it to *Bonner*, late Biſhop of *London*, who was now Priſoner in the *Marſhalſea* in *Horn*'s Dioceſe. *Bonner* refus'd the Oath, which being return'd into the *King's-Bench*, he was indicted for his Recuſancy. *Bonner* at his Appearing confeſs'd the Fact, and travers'd the Indictment: And at his Motion for

Council

Parker (Matthew) Archbiſhop of Cant.

Council, the famous *Ployden*, and *Wray*, afterwards Chief Juſtice, were aſſign'd him. 'Twas pleaded,

Bonner traverſes the Indictment for refuſing the Oath.

Firſt, That *Bonner* was indicted with the Addition of Doctor of Law, and one in Holy Orders; but that his being either Clerk or Biſhop were omitted. For this Omiſſion the Certificate was challeng'd, but the Court would not allow it.

1563.

Secondly, 'Twas argued that the Certificate was thus enter'd upon Record: That 'twas brought into the Court *tali Die & Ann' per A. B. Cancellarium dicti Epiſcopi Winton', & non dicit per Mandatum Epiſcopi.* The Want of which Clauſe [*per Mandatum Epiſcopi*] was excepted againſt by *Bonner*'s Council: But the Exception would not paſs, becauſe the Record of it by the Court is not neceſſary.

But the main Streſs of the Matter which was debated in the Chief Juſtice's Chamber by all the Judges, was this: Whether *Bonner* could give in Evidence, upon the Iſſue of his not being guilty, that *Horn* was not Biſhop at the Time when he offer'd the *Oath*? Upon this Queſtion the Judges unanimouſly reſolv'd, that upon Suppoſition of the Truth of the Fact *Bonner* might give it in Evidence upon that Iſſue: And whether the Fact was ſo or not, was to be tried by the Jury; that is, the Jury was to try whether *Horn* was a Biſhop or not when he tender'd the *Oath* to *Bonner*. This was a nice Point, and the *Reader* will be apt to imagine, the Jury and *Bench* too ought to be well furniſh'd with Eccleſiaſtical Learning to pronounce upon the Caſe. (*b*)

(*b*) Dyer's *Reports*, fo. 234.

Before the Cauſe came on, *Bonner* drew up a Plea againſt *Horn*'s Character, in his own Hand. I ſhall mention ſome of the Heads of his Exceptions.

His Plea.

He pretends Mr. *Robert Horn*, as he ſtiles him, was no better than an Intruder into the *See* of *Wincheſter*: That he was neither elected nor conſecrated purſuant to the Canons of the Catholick Church, nor the Laws and *Statutes* of this Realm. Againſt the Legality of his Conſecration he cites 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 20. by which *Statute*, as *Bonner* underſtands it, he that is to be conſecrated muſt have one Archbiſhop and two Biſhops, or elſe four Biſhops, to perform the Ceremony; which Circumſtance was wanting at *Horn*'s Conſecration.

He likewiſe urg'd, That the Form for conſecrating Archbiſhops and Biſhops, confirm'd in Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward*, was repeal'd in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*, and remain'd in that Condition at *Horn*'s pretended Conſecration.

Farther, he ſets forth, That the *Statute* 5 *Eliz.* provides that the *Oath* ſhall be offer'd in a publick Place, where there ſhall be a convenient Aſſembly to atteſt its being tender'd: But in the Indictment there's no mention made of the *Oath*'s being offer'd before any Aſſembly.

The *Defendant* complains, That the ſaid *Horn* made a falſe Certificate into the *Queen's-Bench*: In which Certificate it is ſuggeſted *Bonner* peremptorily and obſtinately refuſed to take the ſaid Oath requir'd by the *Statutes* of *Anno primo & Anno quinto Eliz.* whereas *Bonner* gave no ſuch poſitive Refuſal, but only that he was not bound to ſwear the ſaid Oath for reaſonable Cauſes then expreſs'd.

Bonner objects farther, which is the laſt Exception I ſhall mention againſt taking this Oath, That the Defendant can't ſwear with the three neceſſary Requiſites of *Truth*, *Judgment*, and *Juſtice*: *Firſt*, In caſe he ſhould take the Oath of *Supremacy*, 'twould be ſwearing that which he believes falſe, and by Conſequence falling foul upon the firſt Qualification of *Truth*. And *Secondly*, It cannot be reconciled to the next Circumſtance of *Judgment* or Diſcretion. And in the *Third* Place, 'Twould force him to fail in the Point of *Juſtice*; becauſe by this Virtue we are bound to give God, and every one elſe their Due. (*b*)

(*b*) Foxii Mſs. Strype Annal. p. 340.

Some Part of this Argument might poſſibly have embarraſs'd *Horn*, and puzzled the Cauſe, had not the Suit been kept depending 'till the next *Parliament*: Then an *Act* paſs'd, which made a kind of Compromiſe, put the Legality of the Plaintiff's Title more out of Queſtion, and ſcreen'd the Defendant from Proſecution.

Cranmer's *Mſs. recovered.*

'Twas this Year that Archbiſhop *Parker* recover'd *Cranmer*'s, his Predeceſſor's Manuſcripts. They were in the Hands of Dr. *Nevinſon*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*. *Nevinſon* denying their being in his Cuſtody, the Archbiſhop procur'd a Letter from the Privy-Council to ſearch *Nevinſon*'s Study, where they were found. They are two *Volumes in Folio*, collected from the *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, *Councils*, and *Schoolmen*, and digeſted into common Places. The Deſign of them was to juſtify the *Engliſh Reformation*, and ſhew how far the modern Church of *Rome* had deſerted the Primitive Doctrine, and gone off from the Plan of Antiquity. Theſe Volumes were tranſcribed by *Parker*, and are now lodg'd in the Library of the Lord Biſhop of *London*. (*c*)

(*c*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, p. 138.

A Conteſt about the Habit of the Clergy.

The next Year is remarkable for a Conteſt about the Eccleſiaſtical *Habit*: The ſquare Cap, the Surplice, and the Tippet, would by no Means paſs with ſome of the late *Exiles*: They made it their Buſineſs to cry down theſe cuſtomary Decencies, and proſelyte the People to their Singularities. Theſe ill ſupported Scruples, this Miſapplication of Zeal, made the Church look ſtrangely ununiform and particolour'd. How much the Clergy were divided in this Point, may be collected from a remonſtrating Paper ſent up to Secretary *Cecil*. The Particulars are theſe:

An. Dom. 1564.

Service and Prayer.

Different Cuſtoms in officiating.

“Some ſay the Service and Prayers in the Chancel; others in the Body of the Church: Some officiate in a Seat, ſome in the Pulpit with their Faces to the People: Some keep cloſe to the *Rubrick*; others entertain the People with ſinging *Pſalms* between the *Service*: Some read with a Surplice, and others without it.

Table.

“In ſome Places the *Communion-Table* ſtands in the Body of the Church; in ſome Places it ſtands Altar-wiſe, at a little Diſtance from the Wall; in others in the Middle of the Chancel.

Adminiſtration of the Communion.

“Some adminiſter with a Surplice, and others with none: Some with a Communion-Cup, and others with a common one.

Receiving.

“Some receive kneeling, ſome ſtanding, and others ſitting.

Baptizing.

“Some baptize in a Font, and others in a Baſon: Some ſign with a Croſs, and others omit it: Some adminiſter this Sacrament in a Surplice, and others appear without it.

Apparel.

“ Some of the Clergy wear ſquare Caps, ſome round ones, and ſome Hats: Some appear in the Habit of *Scholars*, and others without this Diſtinction. *(d)* Thus far this *Paper*.

(d) Mſs. Cecilian: *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker. Id. *pag.* 151, 153.

Theſe Diſputes about the *Habit*, and Uſages of the Church, were manag'd with Heat and Indecency by ſome of the Diſſenters. They were not contented with bare Nonconformity: Some of them took the Liberty to expoſe the Ceremonies, and run out into Raillery and Satyr. This Variety of Judgment and Practice, together with the Indiſcretions of ſome Zealots, broke the People into Parties, created Miſunderſtandings, and weaken'd the Authority of the Government both in Church and State.

The Queen writes to Archbiſhop Parker *to preſs Conformity.*

To put a Stop to theſe Diſorders, the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop, requiring him, and the other Biſhops in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, together with all other *Ordinaries*, Heads of Colleges, and Perſons of Juriſdiction in Collegiate Churches, to aſſert the Conſtitution of the Church, and manage their Authority with more Vigilance and Vigour. She complains of their Remiſſneſs, and commands them to preſs Conformity, and execute the Laws without any unſeaſonable Connivance: That ſuch Variety of Practice, ſuch Diſagreement in *Religion*, ſuch Diſregard of the Eſtabliſhment, was productive of very ill Conſequences, diſturb'd the publick Harmony, and diſſerv'd the Government. By a Progreſs in theſe Differences and Diſputes Charity muſt be deſtroy'd, the Bleſſings of Peace and Union loſt, and the Nation made unworthy the divine Protection. In ſhort, ſhe requires the Archbiſhop, and the reſt, to exert themſelves in their Poſts, to make Uſe of their Diſcipline, and recover the People from their Miſtakes: That ſhe was reſolv'd to bring her Subjects to Conformity, not to indulge Peeviſhneſs and Clamour, nor ſuffer any Man's Obſtinacy to ſerve for his Protection: And that in caſe the Biſhops ſhould manage languidly, and fail of Succeſs, ſhe threaten'd to reduce the *Diſſenters* by ſharper Methods. *(e)*

(e) Mſs. Cecilian: *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker *Appendix.*

Pilkington, *Biſhop of* Durham, *writes to the Earl of* Leiceſter *in Favour of the Diſſenters, with reſpect to the Habit.*

The *Diſſenters* being apprehenſive of Rigour, applied to their Patrons to ſoften the Queen. By the Way, they had ſeveral great Men, who favour'd their Intereſt both in Church and State. Amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks *Pilkington*, Biſhop of *Durham*, wrote to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, another of their Friends, in their Behalf. This Prelate was one of the *Engliſh* Refugees, and had brought ſome *Calviniſtical* Fancies home with him. He ſtuck in the Scruples of the *Habit*, diſlik'd the *Cap* and *Surplice*, though not to that Degree, as to refuſe the wearing them: However, he was by no Means for forcing Compliance upon other People. “ In his Letter to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, he deſires that Nobleman to conſider that in all *Reform'd* Countries the *Belief* and *Habit* of the *Roman* Church are diſmiſs'd together: He wonders therefore the *Engliſh*, who pretend to be the beſt Part of the *Reformation*, ſhould be fond of the Pope's Equipage, and keep it as a Relick: That there are a great many Miniſters in all Parts of the Kingdom, who will chuſe rather to reſign their Livings and their Function, than appear in the Figure of Popiſh Prieſts, or make uſe of their Ceremonies: That by ſtraining the Point of Conformity, a great many worthy Men would be loſt for Trifles, and many Pariſhes, diſfurniſhed of a *Preacher*: That the Godly in other Countries would break off their Correſpondence, and be ſtrangely ſhock'd with theſe Rigours. Shall we, continues the Biſhop, be ſmitten with thoſe Things which are accounted ſcandalous by the reſt of the *Reformed*? God forbid. St. *Paul* commands Women to dreſs themſelves like Perſons who *profeſs Godlineſs*. This Rule holds ſtronger in Men, and eſpecially in *Preachers*: For if Popery is a bad Religion, how can we reconcile the *Habit* of that Church to the Character of Saints, and a holy Profeſſion? The Apoſtle commands us to *abſtain from all Appearance of Evil*: But if Popery is evil, and we affect the Figure and Ornaments of it, which Way can we be ſaid to ſtand off from the *Appearance* of what is ill? And as People of Condition are diſtinguiſh'd in their Clothes from the Vulgar; ſo 'tis neceſſary we ſhould keep this Diſtance from an oppoſite Communion, and neither *believe* Popery, nor *wear* it. That in this Caſe we are not to rack our Inventions to apply to nice Diſtinctions, and carry our Liberty to the utmoſt Stretch: We are rather to conſider what are the moſt edifying Expedients; what is moſt likely to maintain Charity, and advance the Purity of Religion: That our Borrowing of the Adverſaries, and ſtanding up ſo ſtiffly for their Cuſtoms, gave them too much Pleaſure, and was Matter of Sport and Triumph: That *Siſinius*, an Heretick *Novatian* Biſhop, was the firſt Precedent for *white Rochets*; and that other Ceremonies were handed down from as uncreditable an Original.

This Biſhop was ſenſible his Practice lay ſomewhat unguarded: That it might be objected the wearing theſe diſputed *Habits* was either lawful, or not? If they were not, why did *Pilkington* comply, and ſhew ſo dangerous an Example? If they were lawful, why did he ſolicit the Earl of *Leiceſter* againſt them? What made him encourage the *Diſſenters* in their unreaſonable Scruples? Why did he endeavour to diſable the *Rubrick*, and plead againſt the publick Settlement. To this *Dilemma* his Anſwer, like the reſt of his Letter, is not very convincing: He replies, “ That though ſome Things may be complied with for a Time for the Sake of Chriſtian Liberty; though this may be done for a Time to open Peoples Underſtandings, to diſentangle their Ignorance, and gain them to a farther Improvement; yet when Things that are indifferent in themſelves are bound upon Practice, and turn'd to Neceſſity, then the Matter has a new Face; the Quality of the Action is chang'd, and the Liberty is loſt. And thus that which had a temporary Permiſſion for recovering the Weak, has now a contrary Effect, and confirms the Perverſe in their Obſtinacy. To make this bear in the Application, he obſerves Saint *Paul*, though he ſometimes countenanced Circumciſion; yet when 'twas urg'd as a neceſſary Qualification, he refus'd to give Way to it. *(f)*

(f) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, Append. Num. XXV.

This is the Subſtance of the Biſhop's Letter. By this Diſcourſe his Genius does not ſeem to lie towards Controverſy; his Inclination appears more than his Argument, and his Compaſſion is much ſtronger than his Logick. *Whittingham* Dean of *Durham*, wrote to the Earl of *Leiceſter* upon this Subject. He goes partly upon the ſame Topicks, but then he argues from more Authorities, works the Point with more Heat, and makes the Colours more glowing. This Dean by his Repreſentation ſeems not to have comply'd himſelf in this Circumſtance. “ He pre-

Whittingham, *Dean of* Durham, *writes to this Earl upon the ſame Subject.*

"pretends the only Thing which makes the wearing the *Habit* look warrantable, is the Opinion of its *Indifferency*. But before we can argue from this Ground, it muſt be prov'd the Thing tends to the Glory of God, the Edification of his Church, the Maintenance of Chriſtian Liberty, and agrees with what is deliver'd in holy Writ. But can God's Glory be promoted by the Equipage of idolatrous Worſhip? What Agreement is there between ſuperſtitious Invention, and the inſpired Writings? What Edification can there be where the *Spirit of God is griev'd*, Chriſt's *Little ones offended*, the Faith of the *weak* Brethren ſhaken, and the Papiſts confirm'd in their Errors? Can this be call'd Chriſtian Liberty which *lays a Yoke on the Neck of the Diſciples*, Clogs the Conſcience, Menaces the *Preachers*, lays an embargo upon the Pulpit, leaves the Congregation without their Guides, and ties the Sacraments to an idolatrous Appearance.

He goes on, and cites ſeveral of the *Fathers*, tho' wide of his Purpoſe. "He obſerves from St. *Auſtin*, that Faſting on the Sunday was a ſcandalous Cuſtom, eſpecially ſince the Manichees made it a ſtated Day of Abſtinence. (*g*) He refers the Application of this Teſtimony to the Earl's Judgment: He argues from the Authority of *Tertullian*, from his Book *de Coronâ Militis*, where this *Father* juſtifies the Soldier, who choſe rather to be caſhier'd, and venture the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, than wear a Garland on his Head, and comply with a *Pagan* Ceremony. Thus the Biſhops in *Spain* order'd the Perſon baptiz'd ſhould be but once immerg'd to avoid Reſemblance with the Hereticks, who dipp'd thrice. (*h*) From hence he inferrs, that to imitate the Cuſtoms of an heretical or dangerous Communion, is to approve their falſe Doctrine.

From hence he goes on to anſwer an Objection, "That this Habit had no Affinity with Popery: And that 'twas only kept on for Decency, Order and publick Advantage. This he declaims againſt as a lamentable Expedient. He thinks it impracticable to purge off the Nature of Superſtition, and refine the Uſage by any ſuch Conſideration. And here he falls into Vehemence and coarſe Language, which I ſhall omit. "He argues God Almighty would not allow the *Jews* to take up the Cuſtoms of their Heathen Neighbours, but commanded them to ſtand off from all Reſemblance, and deſtroy the Appendages of Idolatry and Superſtition. That Reaſons of *State* and publick Convenience, was *Jeroboam*'s Argument for his Calfes in *Dan* and *Bethel*. That if Religion muſt give Way to politick Views, then Images and Candles, Tonſures and Croſſes, Oil and Criſm, Palmes and Beads, and all that Luggage of Superſtition may be reviv'd, and thrown upon us. That what St. *Auſtin* affirm'd of the Jewiſh Ceremonies is applicable to the Popiſh Veſtments: That whoever wears them either out of Principle, or prudential Conſideration, *Antichriſti Mancipium eſt*. (*i*) That neither *Tertullian* would bath in the Morning of the *Saturnalia*, becauſe 'twas a *Pagan* Uſage, nor St. *John* ſtay in the ſame Houſe with the Heretick *Cerinthus*, nor the *Fathers* allow the Chriſtians the Diverſion of the *Cirque* and Theatre. That St. *Ambroſe* has ſhewn his diſlike of Richneſs of Habit in a Biſhop; and that Pope *Cæleſtine* writing to the Biſhops of *Gaul*, puts them in Mind he was inform'd that ſome of our Saviour's Prieſts were more concern'd for their Dreſs, than their Belief.

And then this Admonition follows: "That the Clergy ought to be diſtinguiſh'd from the *Laity* more by their Learning than their Habit, and ſhould rather ſtrive to mark their Character by their Piety, than their Equipage.

He returns to the *Old Teſtament*, and urges, "That when *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, and other Princes of famous Memory, reform'd Religion, they did not oblige the Miniſters of God to wear the Habit of *Baal*'s Prieſts. On the contrary, *Hezekiah* order'd the Remains of Idolatry to be thrown into the Brook *Kidron*, *Joſiah* burn'd all the Decorations and Veſtments for *Baal*'s Service; and *Jehu* commanded the Prieſts of that Idol to put on their *Habits* for Execution.

And thus by Miſapplication, and not diſtinguiſhing between *Heathens* and *Chriſtians*, he falls into very uncharitable Miſtakes, and makes his reaſoning Barbarous and Sanguinary. However, the Application being well receiv'd by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was not without its Effect. (*k*) For now the Queen ſeem'd not unwilling to relax in the Diſcipline of the Church, and come towards an Indulgence for the *Diſſenters*. But the Biſhops receiving no countermand to their former Directions, drew up ſeveral *Articles*, entitled *Advertiſements*. They were firſt ſtiled *Ordinances, accorded by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, &c. *in his Province*. But the Queen's Zeal growing cool, and refuſing to inforce the Book with the Authority of the Privy Council; for this Reaſon, I ſay, 'tis probable the Title was alter'd from *Ordinances* to *Advertiſements*.

Advertiſements for Conformity in Habits, &c. Anno Dom. 1564.

In theſe Advertiſements, amongſt other Things, 'tis enjoin'd that all Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould appear in the cuſtomary Habit; that all Deans, Archdeacons, Maſters of Colleges, Dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity and Law, ſhould wear, (when they went abroad,) a Side Gown with Sleeves, ſtreight at the Hand, without any Cutts or falling Cape: And that they ſhould wear Tippets of Sarſenet, as 'twas lawful for them by Act of Parliament, 24 H. 8. *That all Doctors of Phyſick or any other Faculty having any Living Eccleſiaſtical, or any others that may diſpend by the Church an hundred Mark ſo to be eſteem'd by the Fruits or Tenths of their Promotions, and all Prebendaries whoſe Promotions are valued at* 20 *Pounds or upwards, wear the ſame Apparel. That they and all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, or others having any Eccleſiaſtical Living, do wear the Cap appointed by the* Injunctions, *and not Hats, excepting on Journeys. That in their Journeys they wear Cloaks with Sleeves. That all inferior Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhall wear Gowns and Caps of the ſame Faſhion: And that all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who give over the Exerciſe of their Function, and refuſe to take the* Oath of Obedience *to the Queen, ſhall not be allow'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Habit abovementioned, but appear like* Lay-men. (*l*)

There are other Regulations for the Pulpit, touching the Habit in which the Clergy were to officiate; and how often the Holy Euchariſt was to be adminiſtred in Cathedrals and Colleges. "Such *Societies* were to *Receive* upon the Firſt or Second Sunday of every Month at leaſt: That in the Adminiſtration of the Holy Euchariſt, the chief Perſon that Officiates in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, ſhall wear a Cope; and that thoſe who read the *Goſpel* and the *Epiſtle* ſhall appear in the ſame Habit: But at the reſt of the *Service* read at "the

(*g*) Auguſt. Epiſt. 86.

(*h*) Concil. 1. Tolet. Can. 5.

(*i*) Auguſt. Lib. Solil.

(*k*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, Appen. Num. XXVII.

(*l*) *Theſe Advertiſements were printed by* Wolfe *in the Year* 1564. *See* Sparrow's *Collections.*

"the Communion-Table, only Surplices are to be us'd. That all Communicants receive Kneeling: That when any Sick Perſon is ready to expire, the Bell ſhould be knell'd, and the Curate ſent for to give his Aſſiſtance: That in *Rogation* Days of Proceſſion, Two Pſalms, beginning *Benedic Anima mea, &c.* ſhould be ſung or ſaid in *Engliſh*. And that to this *Service*, the *Litany* and Suffrages, together with a Homily of Thankſgiving, ſhould be added." There's another *Chapter* relating to *Viſitations*, which I ſhall omit.

A Proteſtation.

That theſe *Advertiſements* might paſs with a better Regard, there's a *Preface* prefix'd to them. And here the Queen's Letter directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, is mention'd. And to prevent the Return of different Uſages, and the Diſorders conſequent upon it, there's a *Proteſtation* to be taken by all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, annex'd. By this Engagement they promiſe, "That they would only read what was appointed by publick Authority, and neither preach nor expound without the Biſhop's ſpecial Licence under his Seal: That they would read the *Service* plainly, diſtinctly, and audibly: That they would keep the *Regiſter* purſuant to her Majeſty's *Injunctions*: That they would conform in their Habit to the Order appointed, and eſpecially when they officiated. That they would exhort their Pariſhioners to good Correſpondence, and do their Utmoſt to put an end to the Miſunderſtandings between them. That they would at leaſt read one Chapter of the *Old*, and another of the *New Teſtament* every Day. That they would execute their Office in Perſon, maintain Uniformity, and keep Cloſe to the eſtabliſh'd Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: And laſtly, That they would not employ themſelves in any mechanick Buſineſs, provided their Living amounted to the annual Revenue of 20 Nobles."

Sparrow's *Collections.*

Theſe *Advertiſements* were agreed and ſubſcrib'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Lincoln*, Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

The Queen impower'd by Act of Parliament to appoint new Ceremonies.

(m) 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

The Queen, as was obſerv'd, refus'd to confirm theſe *Advertiſements*, tho' drawn at her Direction: Her Majeſty's Ratification would have given them a conſiderable Strength from the *Statute* of *Uniformity*: By which 'tis provided, **That in Caſe of Contempt of the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by Miſuſing the Order appointed in the Book of Common-Prayer, the Queen's Majeſty may by the Advice of the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, or the Metropolitan, ordain and publiſh ſuch farther Ceremonies and Rites as may be moſt for the Advancement of God's Glory, the Edifying his Church, and the due Reverence of Chriſt's holy Myſteries and Sacraments.** (m)

(n) Regiſt. Grindal. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 160.

The *Advertiſements* were check'd at preſent by the Interpoſing of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, of *Knolles*, and ſome other Court Patrons of the *Diſſenters*: However, afterwards they recover'd their Firſt Title of *Ordinances*, and were given in Charge at a metropolitical *Viſitation* in the Year 1576. (n)

Sampſon and Humphrey's *ſummon'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.*

They addreſs for Forbearance.

(o) See Records Num. LXXXIII.

To return; the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners not being countenanc'd by the Court, met with great Difficulties. The *Diſſenters* having ſome of the *Favourites* in their Intereſt, refus'd to pay that Submiſſion, which might have been expected; the Archbiſhop, who was prompted to publiſh the *Advertiſements* by Secretary *Cecil*, complains to this *Miniſter* of the Diſcouragements the Biſhops lay under: And that it had been much better to have attempted nothing, than to be thus underfurniſh'd to carry the Point. That the *Diſſenters* were rather provok'd, than reform'd by a weak Proviſion. That now they run off to farther Diſtances, and their Scruples encreas'd upon them. However, himſelf, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, were reſolv'd to exert their Authority, and do their own Part. To this Purpoſe, *Thomas Sampſon*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and *Lawrence Humphrey*, Preſident of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, were ſummon'd to appear before them. Theſe Men were *Exiles* in the late Reign, and Perſons of Character and Learning, but ſcrupled wearing the *Habit*. The Archbiſhop endeavour'd to diſentangle their Conſcience, and amongſt other Things, preſs'd them with the Authorities of *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*. But their Prejudices were ſtrong, and no Arguments could reach them. They deſir'd Leave to return to *Oxford*, but being denied, and not meeting with all the Favour they expected, they drew up a Petition in *Latin* to the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners. In this Addreſs they ſet forth the Reaſons of their Non-Compliance, and plead their Cauſe at Length. And tho' their Topicks are much the ſame with thoſe already related, yet conſidering the Men are particularly diſtinguiſh'd for their Abilities, and were look'd on as the Principals of their Party, it may not be improper to give the *Reader* their Letter in the Language 'twas penn'd. (o) And to finiſh this Subject, I ſhall ſubjoin a *Paper* written this Year, in which are Six Reaſons alledg'd againſt wearing the ſacerdotal Habit. I ſhall mention them as they ſtand, together with the Subſtance of *Gueſt*'s Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Anſwer.

Firſt, *'Tis argued that Cloaths ought to be worn, as Meat ought to be eaten. But according to St.* Paul, *Meat offer'd to Idols ought not to be eaten. Therefore Prieſts Apparel, which has been ſuperſtitiouſly us'd, ought not to be worn.*

Reaſons againſt wearing the Prieſt's Habit.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter's *Anſwer to the Firſt Reaſon.*

1 Cor. 10.

To this the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* replies, That the making new *Habits* is ſufficient to diſable this Objection. For if they have never been worn, they can't be ſaid to have any of this pretended Infection about them. If 'tis alledg'd theſe Diſtinctions in Cloaths are of the ſame Kind and Figure with thoſe which have been worn out of ſuperſtitious Motives: To this it may be return'd, that this Argument proves too much, and leads to the ſame Abſurdity as this which follows. Meat not offer'd to Idols, is of the ſame Kind with that which is offer'd to Idols; the Concluſion is therefore, we muſt eat no Meat at all: And thus by this ſtrait-lac'd Principle, we bring our ſelves to a *Pythagorean* Abſtinence. Beſides, the Apoſtle is miſreported in this Argument. For he does not abſolutely forbid eating Things thus groſly miſapplied. He tells us expreſly that he that eats it only as a Bleſſing of Providence, is diſcharg'd from Blame. That the Chriſtians of thoſe Times were not to deny themſelves this Liberty upon the Score of their own Conſcience; but for the Sake of their weak Brethren. Of their weak Brethren who might be diſturb'd, or miſled by ſuch Practice. Who might think the Eating what was offer'd in Sacrifice, imply'd the Lawfulneſs of *Pagan* Worſhip; and by this Means be encourag'd to Idolatry. And if this was not their Inference, they might conclude the Perſon who took this Freedom, went too far: Now this Cenſure muſt of Conſequence alienate Affection, and draw to different Communions.

munions. The ſame Apoſtle writes thus to the *Coloſſians, Let no Man judge you in Meat or Drink, or in Reſpect of a Holiday:* And yet the Obſervation of theſe *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, upon the Perſwaſion of their being Neceſſary, was unwarrantable Practice: From hence the Biſhop infers, That no Man ought to cenſure the *Engliſh* Clergy for wearing the ſacerdotal *Habit*, notwithſtanding it had been worn upon Motives of Superſtition.

Coloſ. 2.

1 Cor. 8.

'Tis objected farther, That St. *Paul* forbids eating Meat offer'd to *Idols* where this Liberty can't be taken without *Offending our Brethren.* And from hence the *Preciſians* conclude the Unlawfulneſs of Wearing the Prieſts *Habit*, becauſe this can't be done without giving Scandal.

To this the Biſhop anſwers, *1ſt.* That by this Argument it follows, That *where no Offence is given*, which is the Caſe of many Places, the Habit may be worn without any Enquiry touching the Superſtition which may formerly have hung about it.

Rom. 14.

Secondly, St. *Paul* terms thoſe who were offended with the eating Meat offer'd to Idols, *Weak in Faith*: That is their Informations touching the Privilege of their Religion were ſhort, and their Notion of the Goſpel-Liberty too narrow. The ſame Cenſure may be paſs'd upon thoſe who condemn the *Habit*. And therefore being under theſe imperfect Attainments, they ought not to preſcribe: Inſtead of pronouncing upon the Point, they ought to ſubmit to Inſtruction, and get their Underſtanding farther improv'd.

Thirdly, Thoſe that *are weak in Faith*, tho' they may be born with for a Time, tho' they ought to have Leiſure for full Inſtruction, yet if theſe Opportunities are loſt upon them; if they hang about their Errors, and refuſe to part with their old Opinion: In this Caſe weakneſs can be no longer their Excuſe. Now, 'tis plain there's Affectation and Pride, and Obſtinacy at the Bottom. This, ſays the Biſhop, is the Caſe of the *Diſſenters*: They have been conniv'd at a long Time, and indulg'd almoſt Six Years to diſentangle their Scruples. If they ſtill continue to take Check, we are to regard their Diſlike, no more than our Saviour did that of the *Phariſees.*

S. Mat. 15. v. 2.

The *Diſſenters* Second Reaſon goes much upon the former, againſt *giving Offence*: But becauſe the Anſwer is ſomewhat different, I ſhall touch upon it.

The 2d Reaſon anſwer'd.

The Biſhop replies, 'tis well known to the whole Kingdom both Proteſtants and Roman Catholicks, that the *Habit* is not worn upon the Score of Neceſſity: And that 'tis only Decency, Order, and Obedience to Authority, which governs the Practice. From hence it follows the ſcrupling Party are only to blame; and that the Scandal is taken, not given. Theſe Men by pronouncing ſuch Circumſtantials unlawful, condemn the reſt of the *Proteſtants*, who either wear theſe ſacerdotal Diſtinctions, or at leaſt allow them. Thus theſe *Diſſenters* by their weak Exceptions bring an Imputation of Diſagreement upon the *Reformation*: As if the Proteſtants differ'd in Matters of Subſtance and Moment. Thus Truth is miſreported, the Majeſty of Religion ſuffers, and the Progreſs of the *Reformation* is diſſerv'd. From hence the Biſhop turns their own Argument upon them. Miniſters muſt wear no Apparel that *gives Offence* to others; but their appearing in a *Habit* different from that of Prieſts, offends others; therefore they muſt appear in no other than the ſacerdotal Habit.

An Anſwer to the 3d Reaſon.

Their 3d Reaſon ſtands thus: *Durand, Rabanus Maurus*, and other *Ritualiſts*, inform us, That the Veſtments of Prieſts have many ſuperſtitious Significations: That they are, as it were, conſecrated by Ceremonies appointed for that Purpoſe. That theſe Things are reckn'd Neceſſary, and that the Clergy can't officiate to the beſt Advantage without them. This Objection the Biſhop anſwers upon the Ground above-mention'd, and therefore I ſhall paſs it over.

1 Theſ. 5.

Their 4th Reaſon urges, That the *Apoſtle* commands us to *abſtain from all Appearance of Evil:* But to go habited like a Popiſh-Prieſt, carries an Appearance of Evil: Therefore,

The 4th Reaſon anſwer'd.

The Biſhop denies that any Sort of Cloaths has an Appearance of Evil. He gives an Inſtance to the preſent Caſe, and obſerves that Lawyers wear Tippets and Gowns like Popiſh Prieſts, and yet no Body Cenſures them for this Faſhion, or reckons them Papiſts. If 'tis ſaid that the ſacerdotal *Habit* has an *Appearance* of *Evil* becauſe 'tis a diſcriminating Mark, and diſtinguiſhes a Prieſt from another Perſon. To this the Biſhop anſwers, That ſuch Circumſtances of Diſtinction have no ill Face. On the other Hand, ſince the Function of a Prieſt is different from that of the *Laity*, 'tis reaſonable his Character ſhould be mark'd, and his Commiſſion made legible, by ſome outward and obvious Diſtinction. If 'tis objected the Prieſt's *Habit* was invented to point out a Perſon ordain'd for the Support of ſuperſtitious Worſhip: To this 'tis anſwer'd, That the Prieſts of the Church of *England* ſerve for no ſuch Purpoſe, therefore the Conſequence won't hold.

The Biſhop's Reply to the 5th Reaſon.

Fifthly, That Things indifferent when commanded, change their Nature and become Neceſſary, and therefore are not to be us'd. Therefore ſince the Prieſt's Habit is commanded, the Liberty of wearing it is altogether loſt.

To this the Biſhop anſwers Firſt, That if the Indifferency of the *Habit* is deſtroy'd, and becomes Neceſſary by being commanded, he would gladly know why the *Diſſenters* make the Caſe neceſſary, abſtracting from ſuch a Command. For by refuſing to uſe it, declaiming againſt the Lawfulneſs of it, and bringing Conſcience into the Queſtion, they make the Refuſal no leſs than Neceſſary. Farther, if we are not to comply with indifferent Things when injoin'd by Authority, becauſe their being commanded makes the Practice neceſſary, then we are not to Obey the Laws of the *Civil* Magiſtrate, becauſe the Matter of theſe conſiſts of Things indifferent. For as to Things of a moral and unchangeable Nature, the Lines are already chalk'd out, and our Duty fix'd prior to any humane Legiſlature. The Being and Bounds of Virtue and Vice, are ſettled by natural Religion, and the *Holy Scriptures*: From hence it follows, the *Civil* Magiſtrate's Authority lies wholly within the Compaſs of *Indifferency*. If therefore the bare Command of Superiors Changes the Quality of the Thing, and makes that ſinful which was lawful before; if the Caſe ſtands thus, the Authority of Princes is lamentably diſabled, and they have no Power to form Regulations upon general Principles, nor provide for the Exigencies of Government. This, beſides other Abſurdities, is a direct Contradiction to the Apoſtle's Command, *who bids us be Subject to the higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.* The Biſhop preſſes the Objection farther, and replies, That if we are not allow'd to comply with Things indifferent when commanded, becauſe the Command makes them Neceſſary, then

then Obedience to the *Apoſtle*'s Command muſt be impracticable. To the *Apoſtle*'s Command where he charges the *Romans* neither to eat controverted Meat, nor break a *Jewiſh* Holiday, provided ſuch Liberty ſhould give Offence to our *weak Brethren*. For by the Apoſtle's Commanding the Keeping a *Jewiſh* Holiday, and forbearing ſome Meats, that which was indifferent before, was made Neceſſary in the Caſe of *giving Offence*; and therefore by the *Diſſenters* Reaſoning ought not to have been comply'd with. But whether this will hold, *ad Hominem*, or not, I ſhall leave with the Reader.

Laſtly, The Biſhop obſerves there is a double Senſe in the Term *Neceſſary*; Things may come under this Denomination for moral Reſpects, or ſome neceſſary Relation to divine Worſhip: And thus Things are ſaid to be Neceſſary, becauſe they are appointed by *Revelation*, or contain'd within the Precepts of natural Religion. Other Things are neceſſary only on the Score of political Order, and humane Appointment: Now the *Habit* conteſted comes under this laſt Diviſion. (*o*)

(*o*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, Appendix Num. XXXI.

The *Diſſenters* Sixth Reaſon being too ſlender to be mention'd, I ſhall proceed to the Biſhop's Reſolution of the Caſe, who after having examin'd the Objections, and debated the Queſtion, ſubſcrib'd the Lawfulneſs in theſe Terms.

Miniſtri in Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ, in quâ Dei Beneficio pura Chriſti Doctrina, & fidei Evangelicæ Prædicatio jam viget, quæque Manifeſtum Deteſtationem Antichriſtianiſmi publicè profitetur, ſine Impietate uti poſſunt Veſtium Diſcrimine publica Authoritate jam preſcripto, tum in Adminiſtratione ſacra, tum in uſu externo modo omnis Cultus, & Neceſſitatis Opinio amoveatur.

A Reſolution ſubſcrib'd by the Biſhops and other Divines.

This Determination was ſubſcrib'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, by Dr. *Robinſon* Chaplain to *Parker*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Bangor*; by *Bickley* another of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and one *Hill*. Two other Divines who ſeem willing to conceal their Names under the Letters *N. N.* ſubſcrib'd with this qualifying Clauſe; *Modo omnis Cultus Opinio & Neceſſitas amoveatur, eorumque quibus perſuaſum non eſt, Ratio, juxta Charitatis Regulam à Divo Paulo preſcriptam, habeatur.*

Nowel's *Exceptions.*

Nowel, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, went farther towards the *Diſſenters*: He granted the Lawfulneſs of the *Habit*, but mov'd againſt the wearing it, for Fear it might open a Way to farther Abuſes. His Second Reaſon was for a ſtronger Declaration againſt Superſtition. *Thirdly*, That the Liberty of the Chriſtian Religon might be more fully aſſerted; And *Fourthly*, To put an End to the Diſputes with their Brethren. The relaxing Part of his Opinion begins with theſe Words, *Optamus tamen hoc Veſtium Diſcrimen propter has cauſas tolli*; and then his Four Reaſons already related, follow: In ſhort, he refus'd to ſubſcribe, unleſs his Opinion might ſtand at Length without Alteration.

Humphrey's *and* Sampſon's *equivocating Subſcription.*

Humphreys and *Sampſon* ſubſcrib'd the Biſhop's Determination, but in an equivocating, or rather diſſenting Manner. They ſeem to allow the Lawfulneſs of wearing the *Habit*: But then believing it wanted the Recommendation of Expediency, they declin'd uſing it. Their Subſcription ſtands thus,

Omnia mihi licent, ſed non omnia Expediunt. Omnia mihi licent, ſed non omnia Edificant. (*p*)

Laurentius Humphredus.
Tho. Sampſon.

(*p*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 173.

October the Second, the Funeral of *Ferdinand* the Second, Emperor of *Germany*, was celebrated with great Solemnity in St. *Paul*'s, *London*. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was chief Mourner, and repreſented the Queen: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Dean of St. *Paul*'s, together with the whole *Chapter*, made Part of the Appearance. Beſides theſe, there was a conſiderable Number of Quality belonging to the Court.

The Sermon was preach'd by *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*. In his Diſcourſe he touch'd firſt upon this Prince's Royal Anceſtors, and the Luſtre of his Genealogy. "He mentions his Advances from Archduke of *Auſtria*, to King of *Bohemia* and the *Romans*; from thence to the Crown of *Hungary*; and at laſt to the *German* Empire: From hence he proceeds to commend him for his Abilities and moral Qualifications. He repreſents him as a Lover of Juſtice and Truth, that he was remarkable for Clemency, Temper and Condeſcenſion: That he was well ſkill'd in *Latin*, and moſt other Languages of Chriſtendom: That he was particularly eminent for Three Virtues; Firſt for his martial Fortitude, and ſupporting the War againſt the *Ottoman* Infidels, thoſe ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. *Secondly*, For his peaceable Diſpoſition towards the Princes of Chriſtendom. 'Twas not his Method to project the Enlarging his Empire with the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. He brought no Armies into the Field, nor embroil'd the Empire upon Pretence of Religion: He made it his endeavour to keep a good Underſtanding amongſt the Princes of the Empire, and ſettled the publick Repoſe. And thus he left *Germany* in a better Condition both for Men and Money, than it had been for 100 Years before. *Thirdly*, He dilates upon the Sobriety of his private Life, and his Keeping true to the Engagements of Marriage. And for this he declares God had bleſs'd him with a numerous and promiſing Iſſue. At laſt, he commends him for Moderation of Principle, and being far from a Bigot to the Court of *Rome*. He takes Notice, this Emperor promis'd the *Electors* never to be crown'd by the Pope: That he made his Word good, and reign'd all along with this Liberty: That his Ambaſſador made a Speech in the *Council* of *Trent*, for granting the *Laity* the Communion under both Kinds. And to conclude, the Biſhop added, that in *Auguſt* laſt paſt, he ſaw a Letter from a good Hand, that this Emperor *Ferdinand*, not long before his Death, gave all the Subjects of his Hereditary Dominions, the Liberty of Receiving the *Cup*. *

From this honourable Character of a *Roman* Catholick Emperor, and from the Part manag'd by him in this Solemnity, 'tis plain *Grindal* was no Preciſian, no Proteſtant of *Knox*'s Complexion.

To go back a little and ſay ſomething of *Scotland*.

The Queen of *Scots* had now reſolv'd to marry the Lord *Darnly*, Son to the Earl of *Lenox*. This young Noble-man was recommended from ſeveral Regards. He was of the Royal Blood, and ſtood next the Queen on the Line. This, beſide the Advantage of his Perſon, and Temper, was look'd on as a Conſideration of Weight: For if he ſhould happen to match into one of the greateſt Families of *England*, 'twas to be fear'd the Queen of *Scotts*'s Succeſſion to that Kingdom might

* *Printed by* John Day.

might be ſomewhat embarraſs'd. Beſides, Her marrying the Lord *Darnly*, born in *England*, would be a Compliance with Queen *Elizabeth*'s Motion, who adviſ'd her to marry ſome *Engliſhman*. That a Buſineſs of this Nature might be concluded with general Satisfaction, a Convention was ſummon'd to *Sterling*. The Majority of the *Eſtates* voted for the Marriage without making any Exception to the Queen's Choice. None made any Oppoſition, excepting *Andrew*, Lord *Ochiltrey*, who took the Freedom to proteſt *he would never Conſent to admit a King of the Popiſh Religion*.

The Aſſent of the *Eſtates* being publiſh'd, the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earl of *Murray*, and Three other Noble-men of the ſame Quality, form'd an Aſſociation to prevent the Marriage, pretending danger and publick Inconvenience might follow upon it. The Burghers of *Edinborough* broke out in a Mutiny, and ran to Arms. The Queen proclaim'd the chief Incendiaries Rebels. But afterwards reſtor'd their Effects, and gave them her Pardon. (q)

An Aſſembly at Edinborough, An. 1564.

At this Time there was an Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinborough*. *Secretary Lethington* open'd the *Meeting* with a Speech. He told them the Liberty of Conſcience they enjoy'd ought to be reckn'd a great Bleſſing, and that the Queen's Allowing them their Religion, tho' different from her own, was a Proof of a gracious Adminiſtration. That this Favour call'd for a Return, and that the *Miniſters*, eſpecially, were oblig'd to promote her Majeſty's Intereſt, and recommend themſelves to her good Opinion. And laſtly, that their Diſagreeing in the Form of Prayer for her Majeſty, was a Thing of ill Conſequence. He deſir'd them all to be very careful and inoffenſive upon theſe Heads, and particularly *John Knox* was requeſted to ſoften his Prayer for the Queen, and make his Doctrine touching Obedience to Sovereigns more Unexceptionable: As for his *Prayer* 'twas extremely ſhocking and coarſe. To give the *Reader* a little of it.

O Lord, if thy good Pleaſure be, purge the Heart of the Queen's Majeſty from the Venom of Idolatry, and deliver her from the Bondage and Thraldom of Satan, into the which ſhe has been brought up, and yet remains for the Lack of true Doctrine.—— And that this Realm may alſo eſcape that Plague and Vengeance which inevitably follows Idolatry.

Knox's *lame Defence of his Prayer and Doctrine.*

Knox maintaining his Practice and Opinion, *Lethington* argues with him upon this Subject. *Knox* juſtifies his coarſe Uſage of the Queen, by reſembling Freedoms taken by the Prophets in the *Old Teſtament*. Now unleſs *Knox* was a Prophet, he had no Privilege for that Liberty, by his own Reaſoning. If he was a Prophet, he ought to prove his Miſſion by Prediction and Miracles. But this was a Teſt, I preſume, he had not Aſſurance enough to be tried by. (r)

Knox's *Three treaſonable Aſſertions.*

After *Knox* had argued with *Lethington* to a conſiderable Length, and endeavour'd to prove from ſeveral Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*, that Princes may be treated with the laſt Degree of Freedom upon Occaſion; and more than that, call'd to an Account and puniſh'd for Male-Adminiſtration; after he had miſconſtrued and miſapplied ſeveral Texts, he concludes with the utmoſt Aſſurance, that he had made good theſe Five Things, which I ſhall ſet down in his own Words. 1ſt. *That Subjects have deliver'd an Innocent from the Hands of their King, and therefore* (or in doing ſo) *offended not God.* 2dly. *That Subjects have refus'd to ſtrike Innocents when the King commanded, and in ſo doing, denied no juſt Obedience.* 3dly. *That ſuch as ſtruck at the Commandment of the King, were reputed Murtherers.* 4thly. That God has not *only of a Subject made a King, but alſo he arm'd Subjects againſt their natural King, and commanded them to take Vengeance upon him according to his Law.* 5thly. *And laſtly, That God's People have executed God's Law againſt their King, having no farther Regard to him in that Behalf than if he had been the moſt ſimple Subject in the Realm.* To which he adds, That God's People not only may take the Liberty of ſuch Executions, but they are bound to it, where the ſame Crimes are committed, and when God has given them the ſame Power. The Second and Third of *Knox*'s Propoſitions may hold in ſome Caſes, but the other Three are ſcandalous and ſubverſive of all Government.

After *Knox* had deliver'd himſelf in this extraordinary Manner, Mr. *John Dowglaſs*, Rector of St. *Andrews*, being requir'd to declare his Opinion, referr'd himſelf to the *Superintendent* of *Fyfe*, as being of the ſame Sentiment. They both agreed, That in Caſe the Queen oppos'd the *Reformation*, the Nobility and *Eſtates* might lawfully reſiſt her; but as to her Religion, tho' they knew there was Idolatry in it, yet whether her Highneſs might be barr'd the Exerciſe of it by Force, was farther than they could affirm at preſent. Some of the Nobility concurr'd with this Suſpenſion of Judgment. But others were bolder in their Reſolution, and declar'd without Heſitancy or Reſerve, that the *Maſs* ought to be every where ſuppreſs'd, and that to deny the Queen the Liberty of ſuch Devotions, was no more Injury to her Majeſty, than if they ſhould ſnatch a Glaſs of Poiſon from her, againſt her Will. When Maſter *John Craig*, a Preacher at *Edinborough*, was call'd upon to give his Judgment, he premis'd a *Proteſtation*, that nothing deliver'd ſhould affect the Freedom of the *General Aſſembly*: After this he made a Report of a Determination in the Univerſity of *Bononia*, upon a ſolemn Occaſion: 'Twas made at a general *Chapter* of the *Black-fryers* in the Year 1554, *Craig* being then preſent. The Propoſition maintain'd and determin'd for, was this; *All Rulers, be they Supreme or Inferior, may and ought to be reform'd, or bridled* (*to ſpeak moderately*) *by them by whom they are choſen, confirm'd, or admitted to their Office, ſo oft as they break that Promiſe made by Oath to their Subjects; becauſe that the Prince is no leſs bound by Oath to the Subjects, than are the Subjects to the Prince. And therefore it ought to be kept and reform'd equally according to Law and Condition of the Oath that is made of either Party.* (s) And here to make the Application ſerviceable, *Knox* and his Brethren muſt take it for granted, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* is elective, and that in the Coronation-Oath there's a plain Clauſe for Reſiſtance in Caſe of Male-Adminiſtration.

A Determination at Bononia.

To proceed to the *Aſſembly*, who by their Commiſſioners addreſs'd the Queen with the following Petitions.

The Aſſembly's Petition to the Queen.

Firſt, That the *Maſs* with all the Appurtenances of Popiſh Idolatry, ſhould be ſuppreſs'd thro' the whole Kingdom: That the Queen's Perſon and Family ſhould be included in this *Reformation*, and that Offenders upon Conviction, ſhould be puniſh'd according to Law.

Secondly, That the true Religion ſhould be profeſs'd by the Queen as well as by the Subject: And that People of all Ranks ſhould be oblig'd to come to Church upon Sundays at leaſt, to join in the *Prayers*, and hear Sermons.

Thirdly, That a ſettled Proviſion ſhould be made for a competent and independent Maintenance of the Miniſtry; and that vacant Benefices ſhould be diſpos'd of to qualified Perſons, that is, to ſuch as have paſs'd the Teſt of the *Superintendent*.

(q) Spotſwood.

(r) *Hiſtory of the Reformation of* Scotland, pag. 382. & deinc.

(s) Id. p. 397. & deinc.

Fourthly, That no Biſhoprick, Abbey, Priory, Deanery, or other Benefice having more Churches than one annex'd, ſhould be beſtow'd for the future on any ſingle Perſon; but that the Plurality of the Foundation being diſincorporated and diſſolv'd, the Incumbents might equal the Number of the Pariſhes. And that Glebes and Manſes, or Parſonage-Houſes, might be aſſign'd for the Miniſters, and for repairing the Churches: And that an *Act* of Parliament might be made for that Purpoſe.

Fifthly, That none ſhould be permitted to teach in publick Schools, to be Heads of *Colleges* and *Univerſities*, or to have the Care of the Education of young Children in private Houſes, 'till they had been tried and paſs'd by the *Superintendents*.

Sixthly, That all Lands founded for Hoſpitality ſhould be reſtor'd, and applied to the Benefit of the Poor: And that the Lands, Rent-Charges, and other Revenues, formerly belonging to the Monks of what Order ſoever, and likewiſe the Annuities, Obits, and other Perquiſites, ſettled upon Prieſts, ſhould be employ'd to the ſame Uſes, and for the Support and Encouragement of Schoolers within their Situation.

Seventhly, That Idolatry, Blaſphemy, Witchcraft, Adultery, Murder, Theft, Oppreſſion, *&c.* may be ſeverely puniſh'd.

Eighthly, That ſome Remedy may be thought on for the Eaſe of poor Husbandmen.

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

To theſe Petitions the Queen return'd them an Anſwer in Writing: "Firſt, As to the pulling down *Maſs* with reſpect to her own Perſon and Family, ſhe told them ſhe was not at all convinc'd there was any *Impiety* in that *Service:* And ſhe hop'd her Subjects would not ſollicit her to act againſt her Conſcience. And to deal plainly with them, ſhe was reſolv'd not to quit the Religion in which ſhe was bred, being well aſſur'd 'twas founded on the Word of God. And that as 'twas her Duty, ſo 'twas no leſs her Intereſt to keep firm to her preſent *Belief:* That by throwing up her Religion, the King of *France*, and other great Princes and Confederates, would break with her; and that no new Alliance could come up to an Equivalent. She therefore deſir'd her loving Subjects to recollect her Indulgence, and treat her at leaſt upon the Level; and that as ſhe had always reſign'd her People to their own *Perſwaſion*, that as ſhe never intends to force any Body's Conſcience, ſo they would not grudge their Sovereign the ſame Privilege, nor preſs her to any Thing ſhe could not underſtand.

"As for the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion amongſt the Subjects, ſhe told them that could only be effected by the Conſent of the three *Eſtates* in Parliament; and that when the *Parliament* met, ſhe ſhould be ready to ſign the *Bills*, and concur with the Reſolutions of the *Houſe*. And in the mean Time, they might be aſſur'd no Body ſhould be diſturb'd for their Conſcience, or diſtreſs'd in their Fortunes.

To the Third and Fourth *Articles* 'twas anſwer'd, Her Majeſty did not think it reaſonable to quit ſo conſiderable a Branch of the Patrimony of the *Crown*, as the Patronage of Benefices: That the Exigencies of Government requir'd that a great Part of the Revenues of ſpiritual Promotions ſhould remain in her Hands. However, when her own neceſſary Occaſions were anſwer'd, ſhe was willing a competent Aſſignment ſhould be made to the Miniſters, and that upon ſuch Places and Revenues as might be moſt commodious for them.

Spotſwood's *Hiſt. p.* 190. MS *Acts of the Aſſembly.* An. Dom. 1564.

As to the Proviſion ſuggeſted for the Poor, ſhe promis'd to be as kind to them as could be reaſonably expected.

For the reſt of the *Articles*, ſhe engag'd to comply with the Meaſures agreed in Parliament.

July. *The Queen marries the Lord* Darnly.

The Queen being related to the Lord *Darnly* within the prohibited Degrees, ſent to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation. When ſhe receiv'd this *Inſtrument*, ſhe was ſolemnly married in the Chappel of *Holyrood*-Houſe, the Dean of *Reſthalrig* performing the Ceremony. The next Day the Lord *Darnly* was proclaimed King by ſound of Trumpet, and join'd with her Majeſty in the Government.

The diſcontented Lords declar'd againſt the Marriage, but found no Account in their Remonſtrance. The King, to ingratiate himſelf with the People, to unmask the Faction, and take off the Objection of a Counter-Religion, went to St. Giles's Church in *Edinborough*, and heard a Sermon. *John Knox*, whether out of Diſtruſt of his Majeſty's Sincerity, or Friendſhip to the *Faction*, is uncertain; whatever his Motive was, he fell upon the King with his uſual Warmth and Coarſeneſs. For this he was cited before the Queen and *Council*, where he juſtified his Miſbehaviour, and ventur'd to ſay over and above, That *as the King for her Pleaſure had gone to Maſs, and diſhonour'd the Lord God, ſo ſhould he in his Juſtice make her the Inſtrument of his Ruin.* But upon what Grounds *Knox* could affirm the King went to *Maſs* for the Queen's Pleaſure, is hard to conjecture, ſince he was bred in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and had all along profeſs'd that Religion. The Queen was much diſturb'd with this raſh unmannerly Anſwer. And *Knox*, to bring him to better Temper and Decency, was ſilenc'd for ſome Months by the *Council*.

Knox's *Miſbehaviour.*

The Aſſembly's Reply to her Majeſty's Anſwer.

The *General Aſſembly*, now conven'd again at *Edinborough*, receiving the Queen's Anſwer to their *Addreſs*, replied to this Effect. After a Commendation of the *Reformed* Doctrine, they take the Liberty to tell her Majeſty that *Turciſm* ſtood upon as good a Bottom as Popery, and *Judaiſm* upon a better: That Antiquity, Countenance of Princes, Number of Proſelytes, or any other Pretences, made uſe of to recommend the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, might with equal Advantage be urg'd by *Jews* and *Mahometans:* Wherefore they require her, in the Name of the Eternal God, to make uſe of the ordinary Means for better Information; ſuch as frequenting their Sermons, and Conferences with Learned Men. And here they offer to diſpute with their Adverſaries when and where her Majeſty ſhall appoint them.

Touching the Queen's Anſwer to the *Article* for maintaining the Miniſtry, they declare 'twas never their Intention that her Majeſty, or any other Patron, ſhould ſuffer in their Right. They only deſir'd, that upon the Avoidance of any Benefice, a qualified Perſon ſhould be preſented to the *Superintendent*, in order to be examin'd: For as *preſenting* a Perſon is the Patron's Privilege, ſo the collating and inſtituting belongs to the Church. Without this Check upon *Preſentations*, there could be no Security for the Fitneſs of the Incumbent; for if the Patron's Choice was to ſtand without Trial or Inquiry into the Merits, all Places might be fill'd with Ignorance and Confuſion.

As to what her Majeſty mention'd concerning keeping a great Part of the Benefices in her own Hands, they replied, That ſuch Meaſures were inconſiſtent with good Conſcience, and a Breach upon the Laws of God and Man: That if this Courſe was purſued, a great many poor People muſt periſh for want of Inſtruction.

And as to her Majeſty's Offer for making Aſſignments to the Church when her own Neceſſities were ſatisfied, their Anſwer was, That this was inverting Order, and beginning at the wrong End: That the Miniſters ought to have a Proviſion in the firſt Place: That the Schools and the Poor ſhould be ſupported, and the Churches repair'd: That the Tythes being the proper Patrimony of the Church, ought to be applied for theſe Purpoſes: That when all this was done, if there was any Remainder, it might be diſpos'd of as her Majeſty and the Council ſhould think fit. They conclude with Thanks to her Majeſty for the Offer of Aſſignments, and humbly deſire ſhe would pleaſe to alter her Anſwer in the reſt of the *Articles* to farther Satisfaction.

To return to *England: Sampſon* and *Humphreys*, above mentioned, being ſummon'd, and refuſing to comply with the *Habit*, were both confin'd; and *Sampſon* was turn'd out of his Deanery of *Chriſt-Church*, the Archbiſhop, and the other Commiſſioners, having receiv'd a ſpecial Order from the Queen for that Purpoſe. *Humphreys* was enlarg'd, and ſuffer'd to keep his Preferment: And after Ten or Eleven Years Recollection broke through his Scruples, and complied.

Some of the common Lawyers diſputed the Legality of *Sampſon*'s Deprivation, and would have brought a *Præmunire* upon the Commiſſioners. They argued, That *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* incurr'd a *Præmunire* in the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, and was obliged to ſue out his Pardon for depriving the Dean. The Reaſon of his falling under this Penalty was becauſe the Deanery of that Church was a Donative. From hence the Caſe is brought to a Parallel, and the Queſtion is asked, By what Authority *Sampſon* was deprived of the Donative Deanery of *Chriſt-Church*? Of a Preferment which he had *pro termino Vitæ*, under the Broad-Seal? If the Deanry of *Chriſt-Church* is a *Lay-Fee*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion reaches only to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, it muſt follow, the Stretch in the one Caſe, is as great as that in the other. (*s*) Thus far the Argument.

Notwithſtanding theſe Proſecutions upon *Sampſon* and *Humphreys*, the Queen and her Commiſſioners conniv'd in many Inſtances, and ſuffer'd ſeveral Non-complying Divines to hold Dignities in the Church. Upon this Indulgence *John Fox*, the Martyrologiſt, ſent her a Panegyrick in *Latin*.

Fox's Panegyrick upon the Queen.

"In the Beginning of his Addreſs he mentions her Majeſty's recalling the Exiles, and retrieving the Kingdom from the laſt Degree of Miſery and Declenſion: That ſhe had reform'd Religion and the *Statute-Book*: That ſhe had corrected Idleneſs, ſuppreſs'd Robbing, and made the Country Orthodox and quiet: That ſhe had recover'd the Mint to the old Standard: And that the Manners of her Subjects were no leſs refin'd and brighten'd than the Coin. That theſe State-Regulations, tho' very valuable in their Kind, came ſhort of the Bleſſings in Religion: That now Truth was no longer perſecuted, Conſcience had its juſt Liberty, and Superſtition gave Way to the *Goſpel*. And of this, ſays he, we have a remarkable Inſtance in your Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition of ſome Divines concerning the Eccleſiaſtical *Habit*. What Satisfaction this gracious Indulgence gave the Univerſal Church, what an Advantage After-ages would receive by it, and what an immortal Honour would deſcend upon her Memory, is ſcarcely to be imagin'd. From hence he proceeds to commend her for her Encouragment of Learning, and the Expectations of Favour ſhe had given to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

Where, by the Way, when ſhe took her Leave of that Univerſity in a *Latin* Speech, ſhe promis'd them not to come ſhort of her Anceſtors in ſome publick Benefaction. (*t*)

Fox in the Cloſe acquaints her Majeſty he "deſign'd to write her Hiſtory, and had prepar'd ſome Materials for that Purpoſe: But that theſe Advances would be imperfect without farther Information from her Majeſty: And after all, he thought her own Genius nobly furniſh'd to deſcribe her Reign; and that no Body could do her Juſtice better than her ſelf. (*u*)

To return to the Controverſy about the *Habit*: Notwithſtanding *Sampſon* preferr'd Deprivation to Compliance, he was not always of this narrow Opinion; for upon his retiring to *Strasbourg* in the late Reign, he wrote to his Pariſhioners of *All-Hallows Bread-Street, London*, to conform to the Ceremonies ſettled in the Reign of King *Edward*. He told them, That theſe Things not being Matters of Faith, might be alter'd at the Diſcretion of their ſpiritual Governors: And that provided nothing prejudicial to Piety and Edification was injoin'd, they ought to comply. This laſt Condition was thrown in to diſtinguiſh the *Reform'd Common-Prayer Book* from the *Miſſals* and *Breviaries* then us'd under Queen *Mary*.

Gualter *and* Bullinger's *Anſwer to the Queſtion concerning the Habit.*

But *Sampſon*'s Travelling made him ſuffer in the Compaſs of his Judgment, and fill'd him with unſerviceable Scruples. *Humphreys* and himſelf conſulted *Gualter* and *Bullinger*, two eminent Divines of *Zurich* upon this Queſtion. The Anſwers they receiv'd were in Favour of Conformity. *Gualter* declar'd that for ſuch Circumſtantials they ought not to perplex their Conſcience, and throw up their Function: And that the Church might probably ſuffer very much for ſuch Non-compliance.

In their Letter to *Bullinger* they broke the Controverſy into ſeveral Heads; that by this Means all their Objections might be conſider'd, and the Anſwer made more diſtinct and ſatisfactory.

Humphreys's *Quæries.*

Bullinger gratifies them in their Method, and replies in the firſt Place to the Quæries propos'd by *Humphreys*. The firſt Queſtion is, *Whether a particular Habit ought to be impos'd on Eccleſiaſticks to diſtinguiſh them from the Laity? Bullinger* anſwers, That the Term [*ought*] is capable of two Senſes: If we take it for a Buſineſs of Neceſſity, and that 'tis eſſential to Salvation, he believes the Impoſers never intended to be underſtood in this Senſe. But if there's no more meant than that this *ought* to be done for the Sake of Decency, Diſtinction, and Regard; in this Caſe, he can't conceive which Way either thoſe that command the *Habit*, or thoſe that comply, are guilty of any Fault.

In the next Place 'tis enquir'd, Whether 'tis lawful to bring the Ceremonial Worſhip of the Levitical Prieſthood into the Chriſtian Church?

To

(*s*) Biblioth. Cott. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

(*t*) Cambden Eliz.

(*u*) Foxii MS.

To this *Bullinger* anſwers, “That the Cap, Gown, and Surplice, is no manner of Revival of *Judaiſm*. To this he adds ſomething of *Peter Martyr*'s Reply to this Objection. He owns the Sacraments of the *Moſaic* Law ought not to be continued in Chriſtianity: But notwithſtanding this Reſtraint, he believes there were ſeveral Cuſtoms in the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy which may be ſerviceably retain'd. For Inſtance, the Apoſtles, for the better Coalition of the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, commanded the latter to abſtain from *Things ſtrangled, and from Blood:* But theſe were plainly legal Obſervances. Beſides, in many Places the Tythes are aſſign'd for the Support of the Miniſtry, and ſinging of *Pſalms* is cuſtomary in Religious Aſſemblies. Theſe are plainly Levitical Uſages taken into the Church. Now who can affirm this Practice ought to be cenſur'd, and ſet aſide upon the Score of it's being a Remainder and Imitation of the *Old Law*? From whence it follows, that all *Levitical* Obſervances are not forbidden under the *Goſpel*.

“To the Queſtion, *Whether we may comply with the Papiſts as far as the Circumſtance of Habit*? He anſwers, It does not appear this Diſtinction of Dreſs was any Papal Order: He affirms this Diſcrimination was long before the Encroachments of the Church of *Rome*. Beſides, he can't apprehend why we mayn't correſpond with the Papiſts in Matters of Decency and civil Regard. If we are bound from all Reſemblance and Conformity with them, 'twill follow we muſt be oblig'd to quit our Churches, to receive no ſettled Maintenance, to forbear the Sacrament of Baptiſm; neither to repeat the *Apoſtles* nor the *Nicene Creed*, and diſcharge the *Lord's-Prayer*. And over and above, he puts them in Mind they do not borrow their Ceremonies from the Papiſts. The Diſtinction of *Habit* was all along kept on from the firſt of the *Reformation*; and is ſtill continued, not by any Papal Conſtitution, but in Vertue of her Majeſty's *Injunctions*.

“If therefore this *Habit* is worn only as a *Civil-Regulation*, and a Mark of *Character*, there is neither *Judaiſm* nor *Monkery* in it. Thus *Euſtachius*, Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*, was not condemn'd for the Peculiarity of his *Habit*, but for tacking ſomething of Merit and Religion to it. And here he refers them to the Canons of the Synods of *Gangra*, of *Laodicea*, and the *Quiniſex* Council. The *Laity* who make *Judaiſm* or *Popery* of theſe Matters, muſt be better inſtructed: But as for thoſe who clamour upon this Head, and harangue the Vulgar to Scruple and Diſcontent, let them take Care they don't drag more Weight upon their Shoulders, provoke her Majeſty, and involve a great many of the Miniſtry in inextricable Difficulties.

The reſt of *Humphreys*'s Queſtions have been mention'd already, I ſhall therefore proceed to ſome of thoſe put by *Sampſon*.

Sampſon's *Queries.*

And Firſt, *Whether any particular Habit, diſtinct from the Laity, was ever appointed the Miniſtry? And whether any ſuch Conſtitution is lawful in a Reform'd Church.* To this *Bullinger* anſwers, “That in the ancient Church the Clergy were diſtinguiſh'd from the Laity in their Dreſs; and for this he cites *Socrates* and *Theodoret*. (w) He takes Notice from *Euſebius*, that the Apoſtle St. *John* wore a Gold Plate at *Epheſus* in Reſemblance of that on the High Prieſt's Forehead: That St. *Cyprian* appear'd in a *Clerical* Dreſs at his Martyrdom: (x) And that St. *Chryſoſtom* makes mention of a white Garment belonging to the Hierarchy.

Sampſon deſir'd to know, *Whether the preſcribing a Habit was conſiſtent with Chriſtian Liberty?* *Bullinger* anſwers, “That indifferent Things lie within the Limits of Authority, and may fairly come under Command: For Inſtance, Times and Places for Religious Aſſemblies may be rang'd amongſt Things indifferent; and yet unleſs theſe Circumſtances were ſetled, what Diſorder and Confuſion muſt follow?

To the Queſtion, *Whether any new Ceremonies uncommanded in holy Writ may be put upon the Church?* “He anſwers in the Affirmative, provided the Appointment is made only for the Sake of Order and Diſcipline. To maintain his Reſolution, he ſuggeſts, that our Saviour kept the *Dedication Feaſt*, though unpreſcrib'd by the Law. In ſhort, he would by no Means have the Controverſy about theſe Matters indulg'd ſo far as to make Miſunderſtandings, and break the Union of the Church.

Sampſon demands farther, *Whether thoſe Ceremonies which give Offence, and draw Scandal along with them, may be retain'd?* The Anſwer is, “Giving Offence ought to be avoided; but then they ought to take Care not to cover their Paſſions under this Pretence. Beſides, 'tis one Thing to give Scandal, and another to be paſſive under it without juſt Occaſion: And whether out of Diſguſt to an indifferent Circumſtance they can throw up their Commiſſion, and deſert the Flock without great Scandal, he leaves to their Conſideration.

To the Query, *Whether any Conſtitutions which have no Tendency to Edification are to be tolerated in the Church?* To this he replies, “That Appointments of this Kind, when impos'd by ſovereign Authority, ſhould be born with rather than quit the Miniſtry: That the Church will ſuffer much more by being disfurniſh'd with Paſtors, than by Conformity to the *Habit*: That where there's nothing impious in the Command, we ought to give Way to Authority, and acquieſce under ſomething of Oppreſſion. Though by the Way, this does not ſeem to be the preſent Caſe: For what Servitude is there in a Cap or Surplice? In wearing a Habit deſign'd only for Ornament and Diſtinction?

The laſt Queſtion I ſhall mention is, *Whether the Prince has Power to preſcribe any Church Ceremonies, without the Conſent of the Eccleſiaſticks.* To this he replies, “That if the Conſent of the Hierarchy had been always neceſſary, *Jehoſaphat* and *Hezekiah*, *Aſah* and *Joſiah*, and other good Princes, could never have reform'd the *Jewiſh*, or *Chriſtian* Clergy. However, he would by no Means have the Biſhops ſhut out from Conſultations relating to the Church. On the other Hand, he won't allow them to ſtrein their Character upon the *State*, encroach upon Princes, and carry their Claim to a Reſemblance of Popiſh Pretenſions. And to prevent being over paſſive, and reſigning too far, he adds, Biſhops ought not to be ſilent under Rigours upon Conſcience, nor give their Conſent to the unrighteous Conſtitutions of Princes. (y)

This Controverſy about the *Habit* diſturbed the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and made no ſmall Impreſſion amongſt the young People. Secretary *Cecil*, their Chancellor, being inform'd of the Diſorder, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor to diſ-

(w) *Socrat.* Lib. 6. c. 22. Theod. Lib. 2. c. 27.

(x) Pontius Diaconus in vit. Cyprian.

(y) Strype Annal. Append. Numb. XXIV.

diſcountenance this Claſhing, and preſs Conformity. He likewiſe wrote to St. *John's*-College, which was particularly remarkable for Non-compliance. He reprimanded them ſharply for their Singularities; told them their Scruples had nothing but Vanity and Affectation, Popularity and Contempt of Government, at the Bottom. He admoniſh'd them to acquieſce, to recover their former Practice, and return to the Uſe of the Ceremony. (z) On the other Hand, they appeal'd to God for their Sincerity; and told the Secretary, that nothing but Motives of Duty, and Dint of Conſcience made them *diſſent*.

(z) MS. Cecilian. Strype Annal. An. Dom. 1565.

Some of the Univerſity of Cambridge *ſcruple the* Habit.

Theſe *Diſſenters* in the Univerſity growing warm and unmanageable in the Cauſe, were ſo hardy as to draw up two Letters, one to the Queen, and the other to the Chancellor, in unexpected Language. And here they are ſaid to have fail'd both in Truth and Diſcretion. But this raſh Application was ſtopp'd; and a third Letter ſent to the Chancellor in Terms of more Decency and Reſpect. 'Tis ſubſcrib'd by *Robert Beaumont*, *Roger Kelk*, *Matthew Hutton*, *Richard Longworth*, and *John Whitgift*. Some of theſe were Heads of Colleges, and all of them Perſons of Character. In their Addreſs they acquaint the Chancellor, that a great many Perſons of Piety and Learning in their Society were fully perſwaded of the Unlawfulneſs of the *Habit*; and therefore if Conformity was urged upon them, they would be forc'd to diſengage: And thus the Univerſity would be in a Manner deſerted. They intreat him to uſe his Intereſt with the Queen: That in their humble Opinion, Indulgence in this Matter could be attended with no Inconvenience. But on the other Hand, they were afraid Religion and Learning would ſuffer very much by Rigour and Impoſition. (a)

(a) *Archbiſhop* Parker's *Life*, Append. Nu. XXXIX.

But notwithſtanding this Countenance from ſome Perſons of *Diſtinction*, the Majority of the *Heads* and *Seniors* were of a different Sentiment. For the Purpoſe, one *Bartholomew Clerk*, a Doctor of Law of *King's*-College, and afterwards Official in the *Arches*: This Gentleman, in a Letter to the Chancellor, endeavour'd to vindicate the Main of the Univerſity, and throw off the Scandal to a ſmall Party. He calls theſe *Diſſenters, Fanatici Superpelliceani & Galleriani*: That they ſquabbled about Trifles: That had they not over-valued their own Notions, and been ſmitten with themſelves, they would have reſign'd to Authority, and dropp'd the Conteſt. That this Wrangling *de lana Caprina* had taken off People from uſeful Reſearches, and diſturb'd the Courſe of their Studies: That thoſe who firſt injected theſe Scruples, tho' commendable in ſome Reſpects, were certainly to blame for laying ſo much Weight upon their Singularities, for drawing Conſcience into the Diſpute, and poiſoning young People with Anabaptiſtical Dotages: That by this Management they had diſſerved the Reputation of the *Univerſity*, and brought a Scandal upon it: And that ſome People made uſe of the Pretence of Conſcience to cover their Miſbehaviour. And here he tells a Story of a Sophiſter, who being chid by the Dean for appearing in the Choir without a Surplice, excuſed himſelf by ſaying his Conſcience would not give him Leave; whereas the Truth was, the Scholar had indulg'd his Palate too far, and pawn'd his Surplice to the Cook for Commons extraordinary.

Some London *Divines publiſh a Book to the ſame Purpoſe.*

This ſuperſtitious Fancy of ſcrupling the *Habit* had reach'd ſome of the *London* Clergy. I call it a ſuperſtitious Fancy: For to ſtand off from Things *indifferent* is no leſs Superſtition, than to lay too great Streſs upon them, and over-charge them with Neceſſity and Merit. However, ſome of the *London* Miniſters were ſo entangled in theſe Cobwebs, that the Church thought it requiſite to ſet them aſide. Thoſe deprived upon this Non-compliance publiſh'd a Book entituled, *A Brief Diſcourſe againſt the outward Apparel and Miniſtring Garments of the Popiſh Church.* One of the moſt plauſible Arguments they made uſe of to juſtify their Non-conformity was, that ſuch Compliance would carry an Appearance of Idolizing the *State*, and reſolving all Religion into the Prince's Pleaſure.

I ſhall cloſe the Relation of this Diſpute with a Letter of *Beza's* to *Bullinger*: For the *Diſſenters* it ſeems had conſulted *Beza* upon this Subject. I ſhall tranſlate Part of his Letter to acquaint the *Reader* with the Temper of this Divine, and how much he was diſaffected to the *Engliſh Reformation*.

Beza's Remonſtrance againſt the Church of England.

He gives *Bullinger* to underſtand, That the *Engliſh* Church was in a lamentable Condition: That as he was inform'd from ſome of the *Brethren* there, Popery was never thrown out, but rather tranſferr'd from his *Holineſs* to her *Majeſty*. He formerly hop'd the Diſpute had only been about Caps and Surplices; but now, to his great Grief, he finds the Controverſy goes much farther. In the firſt Place he makes the Peoples Choice of their Paſtor's Fundamental to their *Calling*. And here he complains againſt the Biſhops for giving them Orders by their ſole Authority, and after they have ſworn the Queen's ſpiritual Supremacy, and promiſed Conformity to the Laws, and the *Common-Prayer*, preferring them to any *Cures* without Diſtinction.

As to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, he makes Deans, Chancellors, Archdeacons, and Officials, no better than Appendages of Popery. Excommunication for Money-Matters, and Abſolution upon Satisfaction, is another of his Exceptions. He falls foul upon the Archbiſhop for granting Diſpenſations for Non-reſidence, for Pluralities, for eating Fleſh in *Lent*, for marrying at prohibited Times, and for inſtituting or collating Perſons under Age by the *Canons*: That there's nothing of more Blemiſh and Scandal than this Practice in *Rome* it ſelf: That Women are allow'd to baptize in Caſe of Neceſſity: That thoſe few Miniſters who come up to the Purity of the *Goſpel* are either thrown in Gaol, or depriv'd, or both, unleſs they ſolemnly engage to go the utmoſt Lengths of Conformity, and reſemble *Baal's* Prieſts in their ſquare Caps, Tippets, Surplices, and ſuch Sort of Equipage. Neither is it poſſible to know how far theſe Impoſitions may reach. For by their Act of Parliament the Queen, without adviſing with any excepting the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is impower'd to innovate and alter the Church Ceremonies at Diſcretion: For theſe Reaſons he concludes the Church of *England* in a miſerable and intolerable Condition. Afterwards, he takes Notice that Queen *Elizabeth* had ſo ſtrong an Averſion for the *Geneva* Church, that ſhe received the Preſent of his *Annotations* without the leaſt Sign of its being welcome: That one Reaſon of her Diſguſt is the Rigour and Cenſoriouſneſs of the *Genevians*; for thus they are repreſented by thoſe who are apprehenſive of juſt Reproof. The other Ground, ſays he, of the Queen's Diſaffection, was becauſe in her Siſter's Reign there were two Books printed in *Engliſh* with us, one againſt the Government of Women by *Knox*, and the other concerning the Power of the Magiſtrate by *Goodman*. The Doctrine of both theſe Books were upon Peruſal diſlik'd by us, and the Sale of them prohibited. However, the Queen not thinking this Diſcouragement enough, continues diſſatisfied. (*b*)

(*b*) Strype Annal. App. Nu. XXIX.

Withers's Indiſcreet Diſcourſes againſt the Paintings in Glaſs Windows.

The Diſpute about the *Habit*, and other Uſages of the Church, were ſtill kept on Foot at *Cambridge*. One *George Withers* a warm *Puritan*, (for ſo the Diſſenters were now call'd) and one who had a tolerable Talent for the Pulpit, declaim'd ſtrongly againſt the ſuperſtitious Figures in Glaſs Windows. And thus being ſeconded by ſome Zealots, a great many fine Paintings were deſtroy'd. This *Withers*, notwithſtanding his intemperate Holding-forth, was countenanced by *Parkhurſt*, Biſhop of *Norwich*. The Archbiſhop being inform'd of the ill Effects of his Preaching, order'd him to appear before himſelf, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. His Licence to preach being demanded at his Appearance, he produc'd the Letters of the Univerſity, ſign'd by Dr. *Hawford* Vice-Chancellor. The Archbiſhop, upon the Peruſal of the *Inſtrument*, found it defectively pen'd: 'Twas drawn only in the Name of the *Vice-Chancellor*, *Maſters*, and *Scholars*, whereas the Chancellor's Name ought to have been inſerted. Chancellor *Cecil* being acquainted with this Omiſſion, ſent for his Vice-Chancellor to juſtifie the Form: And that *Cecil* might be the better prepar'd to argue the Point, the Archbiſhop furniſh'd him with ſome Records upon which this Univerſity Privilege of granting Licences was originally founded. The firſt Precedent reaches no higher than King *Henry* the VIIth: In this Reign, at the Inſtance of *Thomas Habold*, the Pope's Pænitentiary, *Julian*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, by Commiſſion from *Alexander* the VIth, granted *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and his Succeſſors, Leave to chuſe every Year twelve Doctors, Maſters, and Graduates in Prieſts Orders, to preach through the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. There were ſome Limitations in the *Bull* or Charter, which the *Reader* may ſee in the *Records*. (*c*)

Univerſity Licences for preaching firſt granted by the Pope.

(*c*) *See Records*, Numb. LXXXIV.

That the Omiſſion of the Chancellor's Name was a material Defect, may be farther collected by obſerving that the Incorporation of that *Society* is made to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars: And beſides, the Chancellor's Name is expreſly mention'd in Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Letters Patents* for this Purpoſe. (*d*) Farther, the Term in *Withers*'s Inſtrument ran *durante Vita*, which was look'd on as a Stretch; for in Authorities of this Kind granted by *Ordinaries*, the Style is *quamdiu nobis placuerit, & dum laudabiliter te geſſeris*. But after all, whether *Withers*'s Inſtrument was recall'd upon theſe Exceptions, is more than appears. 'Tis probable the Reformation of the Univerſity Statutes, ſent down by the Chancellor, and receiv'd by that *Body*, might provide againſt Inconveniencies of this Kind.

(*d*) *See Records*, Numb. LXXXV.

This Year there was a Deſign for reprinting the *Geneva Bible*, already mention'd; and ſome Time had been ſpent in Review and Correction. *John Bodleigh*, one of the principal Undertakers, applied to Secretary *Cecil* for the Grant of a longer Term in the Property of the *Copy*. The Secretary refuſed to aſſiſt them 'till he had conſulted Archbiſhop *Parker*, and *Grindal*, Biſhop of *London*. 'Tis probable *Cecil* might demur to the encouraging another Impreſſion, becauſe the Biſhops intended ſhortly to publiſh a *Tranſlation* of their own. However, the Archbiſhop and *Grindal* wrote to him in Behalf of the Undertakers: But this was not done without ſome Conditions for Security. They aſſur'd the Secretary to bring the Undertakers under an Engagement, that the Impreſſion ſhould paſs under their Regulation, and not be publiſh'd without their Conſent and Advice. This Caution, 'tis probable, was thrown in that the Biſhops might have it in their Power to alter ſome miſtranſlated Paſſages, and expunge ſome exceptionable *Annotations* relating to civil Government. The Undertakers, it ſeems, not being willing to come under theſe Reſtraints, deferr'd the Impreſſion 'till after *Parker*'s Death. That the Buſineſs ſlept thus long appears by the Author of a Tract call'd, *The Troubles of Frankfort*, printed in the Year 1575. This Writer complains, “ That if the “ *Geneva* Bible be ſuch as no Enemy of God “ could juſtly find Fault with, then may Men “ marvel that ſuch a Work, being ſo profitable, “ ſhould find ſo ſmall Favour as not to be printed again. (*e*)

The Reprinting of the Geneva Bible deferr'd, and why?

(*e*) *Troubles at* Frankfort, *pag.* 164.

To proceed, *Fecknam* late Abbot of *Weſtminſter* had been put in the Cuſtody of *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, partly for a gentler Confinement, and partly to give him an Opportunity of Diſengaging from his Miſtakes. *Fecknam* had lately written ſomething in Defence of his *Belief*, to which *Horn* publiſh'd an Anſwer this Year. The Abbot ſtuck very much in the Point of the Queen's Supremacy, as the Parliaments in this Reign had explain'd, and ſettled it. He offer'd to put the Cauſe upon this Iſſue, that provided the Biſhop could prove that any Prince or Emperor had any ſuch Authority as the Queen claim'd in Spiritual Matters, either by Commiſſion from our Saviour in the *New Teſtament*; or that the Fathers and Eccleſiaſtical Writers from the Firſt Ages downwards, had aſſerted any ſuch Privilege in the *Civil* Magiſtrate; or that the Point had been ſettled in Favour of them by general Councils; or that the Eccleſiaſtical Government had been lodg'd in the *Crown* in any one Church, or that any Part of Chriſtendom had practis'd upon the Principle of the *Regale*: Provided theſe Things could be made good, he promis'd to acquieſce, and give up the Conteſt. (*f*)

Anno Dom. 1565.

(*f*) Strype's *Annal. p.* 460.

The Biſhop in his Anſwer, amongſt other Things, puts *Fecknam* in Mind, that this Opinion touching the *Regale* was formerly his own. That he ſurrendred his Abbey of *Eveſham* into King *Henry* the VIIIth's Hands, and preach'd up the *Civil* Supremacy during that Reign, and the next. And to finiſh what belongs to *Fecknam*, this Abbot, about Fifteen Years forward, made a nearer Approach to the *Reformation*, as appears by a Confeſſion under his Hand, and atteſted by the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Dean, and one of the Biſhop's Chaplains.

Dr. *Fecknam's Confeſſion.*

“ *Firſt*, He declares before God, that he firmly “ believes the Fourteenth *Chapter* of the *Firſt Epiſtle* “ to the *Corinthians* is to be underſtood of Common-Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue, no leſs “ than of Preaching or Propheſying.

“ *Secondly*, That he finds no Fault with any “ Thing in the Common-Prayer Book now us'd “ in the Church of *England*: But then he conceives it ſhort in the Matter. He deſires “ therefore, the *Old Service* thrown out, may be “ reſtor'd. And here he Inſtances in Invocation of Saints, Praying for the Dead, the Seven Sacraments, and external Sacrifice as he “ calls it; provided this Book was return'd to “ this Form, he ſhould willingly join in the Offices. As for the Adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt under both Kinds to the Laity, he likes

“ it very well: But with the Condition that this Practice was ſettled by the Authority of the Church.

“ *Thirdly*, He can eaſily reconcile his Opinion to the Queen's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, as it ſtands explain'd in her Highneſſes's *Injunctions*: That is, that the Queen under God is Sovereign over all Perſons, whether Eccleſiaſtical, or Temporal, born in her Majeſty's Dominions: And that he is always ready to take the Oath in this Senſe, whenever it ſhall be tender'd by Authority.

Fourthly, Being aſk'd why he refus'd to join in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, ſince he has no Exceptions to any Part of it, and grants the Lawfulneſs of having Common-Prayer in the Mother-Tongue: To this his Anſwer is, “That he thinks himſelf oblig'd to ſtand off from our Communion upon the Score of the Diviſions amongſt us; for as he goes on, ſome of the *Engliſh* are *Proteſtants*, ſome *Puritans*, and ſome of the *Family of Love*. He objected farther, that our Common-Prayer is not ſet forth or confirm'd by a general Council.

“ *Laſtly*, The Rapine and Sacrilege of the Reformers was another Reaſon againſt his communicating with them. And unleſs an effectual ſtop be put to theſe Depredations, Ignorance in the Clergy, General Diſſolution of Manners, and the Subverſion of Chriſtianity, muſt inevitably follow. (g)

Richarde Ely. *John Feckman* Prieſte.
Andreas Perne.
Gulyhelmus Stanton.

This Year *Malta* in the *Mediterranean* was beſieg'd by a formidable Army of the *Turks*. While the Town and Iſland was thus preſs'd, a publick Prayer was appointed to be ſaid every *Wedneſday* and *Friday* for the Deliverance of the Chriſtians. “The Preface to this Prayer, which was to be uſed thro' the whole Dioceſe of *London*, ſets forth, That the Iſle of *Malta* or *Melite* where St. *Paul* arriv'd in his Voyage to *Rome*, lay near *Sicily* and *Italy*; and was as it were the Key of that Part of Chriſtendom. That 'twas now attack'd with a great Army and Fleet of *Turks*, of *Infidels*, and ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. That the Danger did not only Point upon the Beſieg'd, but menac'd the adjacent Countries of Chriſtendom. That ſince the Diſtance would not give us Leave to ſuccour them with our Arms, we ought to aſſiſt them with our Prayers.

A publick Thankſgiving for raiſing the Siege of Malta.

Afterwards, when News arriv'd of the *Turks* being beaten off, and gone home, there was a Form of Thankſgiving for the raiſing the Siege. 'Twas ſet forth, and probably drawn by Archbiſhop *Parker*. 'Twas to be us'd Six Weeks thro' the Province of *Canterbury* on *Sundays*, *Wedneſdays*, and *Fridays*. The Office conſiſted of a Hymn extracted from ſeveral Pſalms, and a *Collect* which ſtands thus.

The Collect.

O Heavenly and moſt merciful Father, the Defender of thoſe who put their Truſt in thee, the ſure Fortreſs of all them that fly to thee for Succour: Who of thy moſt juſt Judgments for our Diſobedience againſt thy holy Word, and for our ſinful and wicked Living, nothing anſwering to our holy Profeſſion, (which hath been an Occaſion, that thy holy Name hath been blaſphem'd among the Heathen) haſt of late moſt ſharply corrected and ſcourg'd our Chriſtian Brethren thy Servants, with terrible Wars and dreadful Invaſions of moſt deadly and cruel Enemies Turks, *and* Infidels: *But now of thy fatherly Pity and merciful Goodneſs, without any Deſert of ours, even for thine own Name's Sake, haſt, by thy Aſſiſtance, given to divers Chriſtian Princes and Potentates, at length, when all our hope was almoſt paſt, diſpers'd and put to Confuſion thoſe Infidels, being thine and our mortal Enemies, and graciouſly deliver'd thy afflicted and diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the Iſle of* Malta, *and ſundry other Places in Chriſtendom, to the Glory and Praiſe of thy Name, and to the exceeding Comfort of all ſorrowful Chriſtian Hearts. We render unto thee moſt humble and hearty Thanks for theſe thy great Mercies ſhew'd unto them that were thus afflicted and in Danger: We laud and praiſe thee; moſt humbly beſeeching thee to grant unto all thoſe that profeſs thy holy Name, that we may ſhew our ſelves in our Living, thankful to thee for theſe and all other thy Benefits. Endue us, O Lord, and all other Chriſtian People with thy heavenly Grace, that we may truly know thee, and obediently walk in thy holy Commandments; leſt we again provoke thy juſt Wrath againſt us. Continue thy great Mercies towards us; and as in this, ſo in all other Invaſions of* Turks *and* Infidels *ſave and defend thy holy Church, that all Poſterities enſuing, may continually confeſs thy holy Name, praiſing and magnifying thee with thine own Son Jeſus Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt, to whom be all Laud, Praiſe, Glory, and Empire, for ever and ever,* Amen. *(h)*

I have tranſcrib'd this *Collect* as an Inſtance of the Charity and Chriſtian Temper of our Church. Theſe *Malteſe* were all Roman Catholicks. But this was no Bar to the good Wiſhes, and Prayers of our Biſhops. The *Collect* expreſſes a Sympathy for the calamitous Condition of the Garriſon and Inhabitants of *Malta*. They call them the Servants of God, and their Chriſtian Brethren: They diſcover a generous Concern for their Welfare, and return ſolemn Thanks for their Deliverance. Was this Preſident imitated by the different Communions: Did they forbear Invectives, and treat each other with ſmooth recommending Language: Was there more Prayers, and leſs Heat and Satyr upon each other: Was this healing Method purſued, 'tis probable they might come to a good Underſtanding at laſt. Thus their Differences might leſſen with their Diſaffection, and the Breaches in the Church be made up.

This Year *Cecilia*, Siſter to the King of *Sweden*, with her Huſband the Marqueſs of *Baden*, arriv'd at *Dover*: They were honourably convey'd to *London*, where after Four Days the Princeſs was deliver'd of a Son. The Child was chriſtned in the Queen's Chapel, her Majeſty being God-Mother, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Duke of *Norfolk* God-Fathers.

The Queen's Proclamation for Conformity to the Habit.

Archbiſhop *Parker* having lately mov'd the Queen and Secretary *Cecil* to aſſiſt him in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline, her Majeſty iſſued out her *Proclamation*, requiring Conformity to the *Habit*: And thus the Biſhops *Articles* or *Advertiſements*, were in ſome Meaſure ratified. The Penalty of Diſobeying the Order, was Deprivation, and Diſability for Preaching. And ſince the Archbiſhop complain'd the *London* Clergy had ſhewn themſelves more ſtiff in their Nonconformity, and that their Practice made an Impreſſion upon the Country, the *Secretary* acquainted him, the Queen was willing the Reformation ſhould begin there; and that in Caſe of Non-compliance, it would be expedient to preſs their Authority, and proceed with Reſolution: And to countenance their Proceedings, and take off the Imputation of Rigour, her Majeſty deſign'd to join ſome ſecular Perſons of Quality, in Commiſſion with them.

(g) MS. Burleighan Strype's *Annal.* Appen. Num. 31.

(h) See Regiſt. Parker.

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* **Cant.**

March 20. 156$\frac{5}{6}$.

Upon this Encouragement, *Parker* and *Grindal* having conſulted ſome Perſons learned in the Law, reſolv'd to call all the *London* Rectors and Curates before them at *Lambeth*. And here 'twas agreed, to ſuggeſt the Reaſons why they ought to conform, with Intimation of the Penalty for Recuſancy. After they had thus endeavour'd to prevail with them all together, they intended to deal with them apart, and bring them to a Promiſe of Compliance under their Hands. That if they continued obſtinate, Suſpenſion and Sequeſtration was to follow: And if this Correction prov'd too feeble, they were to be depriv'd within Three Months.

March 26. An. Dom. *1566.*

The Twenty ſixth of *March* was appointed for this Tryal, and *Cecil* ſent the Archbiſhop Word, that the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and himſelf, intended to be there: But none of them came: It ſeems they recollected themſelves, and declin'd having a Share in ſuch unacceptable Buſineſs. The City Clergy appear'd at *Lambeth*, and ſeveral of them were perſwaded to quit their Prejudices and preſerve themſelves. The Archbiſhop ſent the Secretary a particular Account of the Proceedings. The Iſſue was this, Sixty one of them promis'd Conformity, Nine or Ten refus'd to appear, and Thirty ſeven could not be brought to Compliance. Some of this laſt Number were Preachers, and Men otherwiſe not ill diſtinguiſh'd. But ſeveral of them, as the Archbiſhop reports, ſeem'd to have a great Deal of Zeal and good Meaning, but with a very moderate Proportion of Learning and Judgment. And now according to the Meaſures præconcerted, thoſe who continued unreclaim'd, had the Diſcipline driven home upon them. *Cox* Biſhop of *Ely* approv'd the Archbiſhop's Proceedings; and which is ſomewhat remarkable, *Grindal* concurr'd with him thus far. And now the Penalties of Silencing and Sequeſtration being executed, and no Signs of Relaxation upon what was to follow, the *Diſſenters* broke out into Remonſtrance, and complain'd loudly of hard Uſage. Dr. *Humphreys* wrote a moving Letter to the Secretary to ſtop the Execution, and wave the *Advertiſements*. That the Silencing the *Pulpit* was a moſt calamitous Rigour: That People were aſtoniſh'd at this Management: That ſuch Meaſures for Unity would ſplit the *Reformation* into Parties, diſconcert the common Harmony, and make more Diſagreement than ever. (*i*)

The London *Clergy ſummon'd to* Lambeth *upon this Occaſion.*

April 23.

(*i*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

The Queen of Scots *deliver'd of a Son afterwards* King James *the* VIth.

In *June* this Year the Queen of *Scots* was deliver'd of a Son in the Caſtle of *Edinborough.* Sir *James Melvil* was diſpatch'd with this News to Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to the *Scottiſh* Court to congratulate upon the Occaſion. The general *Aſſembly* now conven'd in *Edinborough*, ſent the Superintendent to *Lothian* to pay their Duty to the Queen, and to requeſt the Prince might be baptiz'd by the Reform'd. To this the Queen return'd no Anſwer, but the reſt of their Addreſs was kindly receiv'd. Her Majeſty calling for the Prince that the Superintendent might ſee him, he took him in his Arms, fell upon his Knees, made a ſhort Prayer, and then ſpoke to the Infant to ſay *Amen* for himſelf: This the Queen was particularly pleas'd with, and the Prince when he was grown up, always call'd him his *Amen*, and treated him with the Regard of his Spiritual Father.

About the End of *Auguſt* the Prince was convey'd to *Sterling*, and Preparation made for his Chriſtning. To honour this Solemnity, the Count *de Briance* was ſent Ambaſſador from the *French* King, Monſieur *de Croque* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Earl of *Bedford* from the Queen of *England*. This Earl brought a Font of Gold of Two Stone Weight, with a Baſon and *Ewer*. The Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church were made Uſe of upon this Occaſion; and thus none but the Nobility and Gentry of that *Perſwaſion* appear'd in the *Chapel*. The Prince was carried thither by the *French* Ambaſſadour, and receiv'd by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dunblaine*, and *Roſs*, with ſeveral other Eccleſiaſticks of Diſtinction, being preſent.

The Counteſs of *Argyle* was the Queen of *England*'s Deputy, and held the Child at the Font. This Sacrament, as I obſerv'd, was adminiſtred with all the cuſtomary Ceremonies of the *Roman* Communion, excepting Spittle, which was omitted by the Queen's Order. When the religious Part of the Solemnity was over, the Prince was proclaim'd by his Name and Titles, Charles James, *Prince and* Stewart *of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rotheſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of the* Iſles, *and Baron of* Renfrew. Then the Muſick began, and having play'd for ſome Time, the Prince was convey'd to his Apartment.

The *Aſſembly* it ſeems, took it ill that the Queen refus'd their Requeſt relating to the Prince, and would not ſuffer her Son ſhould be Baptiz'd into a Communion different from her own. But that which diſoblig'd them moſt, was a Commiſſion granted to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. By this Inſtrument he was reſtor'd to his former Juriſdiction in the probate of *Wills*, in collating to Benefices, and other Branches of Juriſdiction in the Spiritual Courts. This being highly reſented, they drew a Petition to the *Reform'd* Nobility of the ſecret Council. “In this Addreſs, they acquaint the Lords, that the Cauſes tried in theſe Courts did moſt of them belong to the Cognizance of the true Church: That notwithſtanding they had hitherto conniv'd at Royal Commiſſions of this Kind; yet this Acquieſcence was, becauſe the Majority of the Perſons impower'd, were of their own *Profeſſion*: But they could never Reſign ſo far to a known Enemy of Chriſt and his Truth, as they expreſs themſelves: That this Juriſdiction would give him a Colour of recovering his pretended Authority: Thus he might uſurp the Cognizance of Hereſy, and then 'tis eaſy to gueſs what Sentence he would paſs upon the *Reform'd*. Their Requeſt was therefore, that the Queen ſhould be acquainted, this Commiſſion was a Revival of the Papal Supremacy, a Breach upon the *Conſtitution*, and acting Counter to ſeveral Proclamations publiſh'd by her Majeſty. What Anſwer they receiv'd to this Addreſs, or whether the Archbiſhop acted upon his Commiſſion, or not, is farther than *Spotſwood* could diſcover. But whatever he might do for the preſent, 'tis certain the *State*-Revolution, which happen'd the next Year, put an End to his Privilege. (*k*)

The Aſſembly Addreſs the Privy Council againſt a Commiſſion granted to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews.

(*k*) Spotſwood.

About this Time, *Knox* had leave from the *Aſſembly* to travel into *England*, and make his Sons a Viſit at *Cambridge*. At his going off he brought a Letter from the *Aſſembly* in Favour of the *Diſſenting* Miniſters. By the Superſcription and Contents of their Letter, it appears they had a good Opinion of Epiſcopal Government, and were far from the Cenſure of the modern *Presbyterians*. The Superſcription runs thus:

The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, *to their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, &c.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

The Aſſembly's Letter to the Engliſh *Biſhops,* &c. *in Favour of the Diſſenting Miniſters.*

In their Letter they complain, that ſeveral of their Brethren are ſilenc'd in the Pulpit, and barr'd the Exerciſe of their Function. That this was only becauſe their Conſcience won't give them leave to wear the Appendages of Idolatry. They have no Intention to enter into the Merits of the Cauſe, or diſpute the Queſtion at preſent; which, as they are inform'd, is argued with too much Heat on both Sides. Waving the Controverſy therefore, they conjure them to Tenderneſs and Charity, and that they would not put ſuch Uſage upon others, which they could not but diſlike in the Return. They put them in Mind that People's Underſtandings are different: That Conſcience is a nice Thing, and ought to be gently treated.

They ſuggeſt that the Non-conforming Miniſters in *England* don't cenſure thoſe who wear the *Habit*, nor give them any Diſturbance upon that Score. They deſire therefore the ſame Liberty may be allow'd them. And they hope that Biſhops and other Conformiſts will be more prudent than to trouble the Godly for ſuch *vain Trifles*. And now to uſe the Words of the Letter, *if the Commandment of the Authority*, ſay they, *urg'd the Conſciences of you and your Brethren farther than they can bear, we pray you Remember that ye are called* the Light of the World, and the Salt of the Earth. *All Civil Authority has not ever the Light of God ſhining before their Eyes in their Statutes and Commandments, but their Affections ſavour too much ſometimes of the Earth, and of wordly Wiſdom. Therefore we think that ye ought boldly oppone your ſelves, not only to all Power that dare extol it ſelf againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as dare burthen the Conſciences of the Faithful, farther than God hath burthen'd them in his own Word.*

Dec. 27. 1566.

In the Cloſe, they renew their Application for Lenity and Forbearance, and hope the Biſhops won't diſown them for Brethren, nor give them the leſs Conſideration for the Slenderneſs of their Figure, and becauſe they don't appear with Equipage and Grandeur. (*l*)

The *Reader* may perceive this Application was not every where guarded with Ceremony and Addreſs: For they make no Difficulty to determine for the *Diſſenters*, to call the Diſtinctions of the *Habit vain Trifles*, and *to exhort* the Biſhops *to deal more wiſely than to trouble the Godly with ſuch Vanities*.

And now to give ſome Satisfaction to the *Scotch* Miniſters, who were ſtrongly ſolliciting for a Maintenance, the Court offer'd the *Aſſembly* certain Aſſignments for preſent Relief. Theſe Terms were accepted with a *Proteſtation* for ſaving their Right to the Tythes: For theſe they look'd on as an unalienable Branch of the Churches Patrimony: And that no Part of them ought to be detain'd by the *Laity*, upon any Pretence whatever. (*m*)

An Anſwer to a Book publiſh'd by the Diſſenters.

To return to *England*: About this Time an Anſwer came out to a Book printed under the Name of the *London* Miniſters. The Book is call'd a *Brief Examination of the Diſſenters Declaration*. 'Tis ſuppos'd to be either Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Performance, or at leaſt written by his Direction. The Author amongſt other Things complains the *Puritans* had made their *Title* too bulky, and ſwell'd it beyond Matter of Fact: That many of the *London Miniſters* were of a different Sentiment: That tho' ſome of them might pauſe upon the *Habit*, yet they were far from thinking there was any downright Immorality in it; neither did they cenſure their Brethren who conform'd in this Particular. And laſtly, he tells them that thoſe who appear'd with ſo much Warmth in theſe Singularities, were but a ſmall Number, moſt of them Mechanicks, and much more remarkable for their Aſſurance than their Learning: And that if they continued to indulge their Fancies, he was afraid they would turn *Anabaptiſts*, or *Libertines*, at laſt. (*n*)

Another Anſwer, ſuppos'd to be written by Jewel.

Another Paper upon the ſame Subject was written this Year: 'Tis call'd a *Brief and lamentable Conſideration of the Apparel now us'd by the Clergy of* England: By the Style it ſeems to have been penn'd by Biſhop *Jewel*. His Reaſoning againſt the *Diſſenters* is much the ſame with what has been mention'd already. But his Addreſs to them in the Cloſe is particularly remarkable.

“ Don't ſuffer Satan, ſays he, to perplex your
“ Conſciences: Throw up your Conteſt, and
“ make for Unity: Be not aſham'd to repent,
“ nor afraid of loſing your Credit with the
“ People. We are commanded to go to *Nineveh*,
“ and denounce the Judgments of God:
“ Inſtead of this, we deſert our Buſineſs, and
“ lie idle in the *Hold*. This Miſbehaviour draws
“ the Storm upon us, and unleſs *Jonah* repents,
“ the Ship is in danger of being Loſt. You
“ have Churches, continues the Author, why
“ do ye quit them, and run to Field Conventicles?
“ You have publick Places to officiate in,
“ what makes ye affect private Meetings? You
“ have the Chriſtian Religion preach'd to you
“ in its original Purity, what Reaſon then can
“ ye have to be diſguſted? Are not the Holy
“ *Scriptures* read to you? Have ye not the Liberty
“ of peruſing them at Pleaſure? And is
“ not Popery diſcharg'd? As for thoſe who conform
“ to the *Habit*, were they not baniſh'd for
“ their Orthodoxy? And did they not give up
“ their Fortune with all the Reſignation imaginable?
“ Who takes more Pains in Preaching?
“ Who writes to better Purpoſe? Who manages
“ with more Vigilance and Vigour in their reſpective
“ Stations, than theſe Men? You talk
“ of Reformation, but they practiſe it. If you
“ love Chriſt, feed his Sheep, and don't quarrel
“ in his Vineyard: Let us help to bear one anothers
“ Burthens, love our Brethren, and not
“ diſturb the publick Repoſe. (*o*)

Archbiſhop *Parker* not being ſeconded with that Vigour by *Grindal* which might be expected, was much embaraſs'd with the *Diſſenters*: He acquainted Dr. *Haddon* the Queen's Ambaſſador at *Bruges* with the State of this Affair, and ſent him the Opinion of *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* upon the Controverſy. *Haddon* in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop's Letter affirms, that tho' the bare Authority of theſe Two learned Divines was ſufficient to diſable the *Novelties*, and bring ſuch Peaſants to ſubmiſſion, yet the intrinſick Strength of the Argument was ſuch, that all Perſons of Probity, and without Prejudice, muſt be ſatisfied with it. 'Twas his Opinion therefore the Biſhops had gone far enough in their Inſtructions: That Doctrine ſhould be ſupported with Diſcipline: And that ſuch troubleſome People who took the Freedom to make a Noiſe againſt the Conſtitutions of Church and *State*, ſhould be reſtrain'd, and taught more Modeſty. (*p*)

The Diſſenters complain of Archbiſhop Parker's *Rigour.*

Some of the moſt clamorous *Diſſenting* Miniſters were put under gentle Confinements. Some were ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſome to *Ely*, and ſome to *Norwich*. They were thus diſpos'd of partly for better Inſtruction, and partly to prevent the Spreading their Singularities, and doing diſſervice in the Capital of the Kingdom: But 'twas not long e'er they were enlarg'd from

(*l*) Id. *pag.* 198. MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly, fol.* 183. Penes Honorab. Archibald Cambell Armig.

(*m*) Spotſwood, *p.* 200.

(*n*) Strype's *Annal*, p 481.

(*o*) *Life of* Parker, Append. Num. XLIX.

(*p*) MS. C. C. C. C. inter Epiſt. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 222.

from this Durance. *John Fox* the Martyrologiſt held with the *Diſſenters* in this Controverſy. However, he was not for carrying the Diſpute to a Schiſm. In his Letter to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners in Favour of one *Weſt* his Acquaintance, he laments the Diſtractions in the Church, and that we had neither Peace with Enemies or Friends: From hence he goes on to a Satyr upon the Times. He complains, Scepticiſm was bold and inſulting: That Licentiouſneſs had neither Shame nor Puniſhment: That Covetouſneſs was rampant, and Simony common, with ſeveral other Inſtances of ſcandalous Practice.

Id. Appen. Num. I.

Some of the *London* Miniſters being ſuſpended, or depriv'd for Non-conformity, the Diſſenters complain'd the Church doors were ſhut, and no Body to officiate in ſeveral Pariſhes. And tho' the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *London* had taken Care to ſupply the Vacancies by their own Chaplains, yet the Clamour was kept on, and the Odium thrown upon the Archbiſhop. *Parker* vindicated himſelf in a Letter to Secretary *Cecil*, and return'd the Charge upon the Peeviſhneſs and Miſbehaviour of the *Diſſenters*. He complain'd of his being burthen'd with foreign Buſineſs, and glanc'd at the Remiſneſs of the Biſhop of *London*. As to the *London-Puritans* they had been very diſorderly and mutinous: There had been fighting in the Church about the *Habit*. The Elements had been ſacrilegiouſly ſnatch'd from the Communion-Table, becauſe the Bread was Wafers, and not in the common Figure. The Clergy when officiating had been violently thruſt out of the Church, only becauſe they appear'd in Surplices: And to expoſe the Conformiſts, they made a ſcandalous Perſon do Penance in a ſquare Cap. Theſe intemperate Sallies were ill Symptoms, and unleſs timely prevented, might end in ſomething worſe. This was an open Contempt, both of the Biſhops and the Queen: I ſay of the Queen, for her Majeſty, beſides her former *Injunctions* and *Proclamations*, had lately ſent Orders to the Archbiſhop of *York*, to preſs Conformity thro' that *Province*. *Parker* therefore being well appriz'd of the Stomach and Stubborneſs of that Party, deſir'd the Countenance of the Government, and that the Privy-Council would ſupport him in the Execution of Diſcipline. This Favour he told the Secretary had been formerly afforded *Cranmer* and *Hooper* upon a reſembling Occaſion. There are ſome Strokes in the Archbiſhop's Letter to *Cecil*, which diſcovers he had been menac'd by ſome of the *Diſſenters*, and was not without Apprehenſion of loſing his Life, by diſcharging his Office. However, he declares himſelf reſolv'd to maintain his Poſt, exert his Character, and run the utmoſt Hazzard.

Outrages committed by the Puritans.

May, Anno Dom. 1566.

Cox Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Grindal* of *London*, concurr'd with the Archbiſhop againſt the *Diſſenters*: The Firſt wrote him a Letter not to ſink under Fatigues, nor be diſheartned at a dark Proſpect. *Be ſtrong*, ſays he, *and of a good Courage, for the Lord thy God is with thee.* (q) *Time and Truth ſhall put folly to Flight.* And *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*, who had mov'd very gently hitherto, finding the *Diſſenters* extravagantly perverſe, endeavour'd to reclaim them. To this Purpoſe he publiſh'd *Bullinger*'s Judgment concerning the *Habit* in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. The Reſolution of this learned Divine was not without its Effect: Several, both of the Miniſters and Laity, were brought off their Prejudices by it. (r) This the Reader may ſee in Biſhop *Grindal*'s Letter to *Bullinger*, in which there are ſome Paſſages particularly remarkable. *

However, the Bulk of the *Puritan-Party* ſtood firm in their old Miſtakes. And for their Encouragement, they were not without Countenance at Court. The great Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Sir *Francis Knowles*, Vice-Chamberlain, were their Friends: And to mention no more, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, afterwards Secretary of State, is reckned in the ſame Intereſt. Theſe Men, the Two Firſt at leaſt, were great Politicians, had Deſigns upon the *Church-Eſtates*, and made Tools of the *Puritans*. To this I may add, That *Parkhurſt*, *Sandys*, and *Pilkington*, Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, and *Durham*, lean'd to the *Diſſenters* ſide in this Controverſy. Some of theſe Prelates, out of an exceſſive Averſion to Popery, would have the Church metamorphos'd to a ſtrange Degree, and the old Ceremonies diſcharg'd. But the Queen had more Ballaſt, and would not endure any ſuch Innovation. (s)

They are ſupported by great Men at Court.

Some of the Biſhops willing to indulge the Omiſſion of the Habit.

Nicholas Robinſon, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Parker*, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Bangor*: He was a Perſon of Elocution and Learning, and had ſuffer'd for his Religion in the late Reign. There's a remarkable Diſcourſe of his, in Manuſcript mark'd with the Archbiſhop's Hand: 'Twas preach'd before ſome great Audience, either at Court, or at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, about this Time. I ſhall give the *Reader* a Sight of his Manner, of his bold Honeſty, and of the prevailing Diſorders of the Times. He complains the Pulpit made no Impreſſion: “That Prayers were frequented without Devotion: That People faſted without Mortification, and kept Holidays without any Godlineſs: That there was no Diſcipline in *Lent*: That People came to Church to ſatisfy the Statute, heard Sermons, and receiv'd the Sacrament, to avoid Singularity. That Religion was little more than Mode and Decency, with a great many. That ſome People pretended to Orthodoxy for ſecular Views, and Liberty of Practice. This Man, ſays he, is a great Enemy to Superſtition, becauſe he has a Mind to live at large. He is for the *Reformation*, becauſe a Monaſtery, or ſome Part of it, has fall'n to his Share: And thus *Popiſh* Lands, make *Proteſtant* Landlords. And thus he goes on in his Satyr upon Hypocriſy to a conſiderable Length. (t)

In *Auguſt* this Summer, the Queen went a Progreſs, and made a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Oxford*. She was entertain'd for a Week with great Solemnity. The Beauty of the Buildings, and the publick Exerciſes gave her great Satiſfaction. She took Leave of them in a *Latin* Speech, and thank'd them for their Entertainment. *

Upon the 30th of *September* the Parliament, after ſeveral Prorogations, met at *Weſtminſter*. On the 7th of *October* a *Bill* to avoid Sanctuaries for Debt, was read a ſecond Time, and order'd to be engroſs'd. Upon this, the Dean of *Weſtminſter* pleaded the Exemption of his Church, and deſir'd to be heard by himſelf and his Council in Defence of that Privilege. This being granted, on the 16th of *October*, the Dean appear'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, made an Argument, and endeavour'd to ſupport his Claim by alledging ſeveral Grants from King *Lucius* downwards. His Council were Mr. *Plowden* of the Middle-Temple, and Mr. *Ford* a *Civilian*. *Plowden* pleaded *Edward* the Confeſſor's Charter, and offer'd ſeveral other Authorities from Hiſtory and Law. *Ford* likewiſe inſiſted upon reſembling Topicks. Upon this, the *Bill*

The Dean of Weſtminſter *pleads himſelf for the Exemption of his Church.*

(q) Joſhua 1. *v.* 6, 8, 9.

(r) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 229

* See Records, Num. LXXXVI.

(s) Strype's *Annal* Append. Num. XXXV, VI

(t) Id. *Archbiſhop* Parker's *Life.* MS. C. C. C. C. *pag.* 234.

* Cambden Eliz.

was committed to the Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome others to peruſe the Grants, and report the Senſe of the Law. Upon the Third Reading the *Bill* was thrown out by a Majority of Seventeen Voices. (*u*)

The next Thing I ſhall mention, as being the only Church Buſineſs in this Parliament, is the making a Statute for Confirming all the Conſecrations of this Reign. *Bonner*'s Exceptions againſt the Legality of *Horn*'s Character, gave Occaſion to this Proviſion. Now this *Act* being particularly Remarkable, both for the Weight of the Caſe, and the Drawing the *Bill*, I ſhall tranſcribe the greateſt Part of it. It begins thus:

An Act for confirming the Conſecration of Biſhops.

Foraſmuch as divers Queſtions by overmuch Boldneſſe of Speach and Talke amongs many of the common Sort of People, beying unlearned, hath lately growen upon the Makyng and Conſecratyng of Archbiſhops and Biſhops within this Realme, whether the ſame were and be duely and orderly done, according to the Law, or not, which is much tending to the Slaunder of all the State of the Clergy, beyng one of the greateſt States of this Realme: Therefore for the avoyding of ſuch Slaunderous Speach, and to the Intent that every Man that is willing to know the Trueth, may plainly underſtande that the ſame evylle Speach and Talke is not grounded upon any juſt Matter or Cauſe: It is thought convenient hereby partly to touche ſuch Authorities as doth allowe and approve the Makyng and Conſecratyng of the ſame Archbyſhops and Byſhops to be duely and orderly done, according to the Laws of this Realme, and thereupon farther to provide for the more Surety thereof, as hereafter ſhall be expreſſed.

Firſt, It is very well knowen to all Degrees of this Realme, that the late King of moſt famous Memorie, King Henrie the Eight, as well by all the Clergie then of this Realme, in theyr ſeverall Convocations, as alſo by all the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons aſſembled in diverſe of his Parliamentes, was juſtly and ryghtfully recogniz'd and acknowledg'd to have the ſupreme Power, Juriſdiction, Order, Rule, and Authoritie, over all the State Eccleſiaſtical of the ſame, and the ſame Power, Juriſdiction, and Authoritie, did uſe accordingly: And that alſo the ſayd late King in the xxv Yeere of his Raigne, did by Authority of Parliament, amonges other Thyngs, ſet forth a certain Order of the Manner and Fourme how Archbiſhops and Biſhops within this Realme, and other his Dominions, ſhould be elected and made, as by the ſame more plainly appears. And that alſo the late King of worthy Memory, King Edward the Syxth, did lawfully ſucceed the late Kyng Henry his Father in his Imperial Crown of this Realm, and did juſtly poſſeſſe and enjoye all the ſame Power, Juriſdiction, and Authority, before mention'd, as a Thing to him deſcended with the ſame Imperial Crown, and ſo uſed the ſame duryng his Life. And that alſo the ſaid late King Edward the Sixth, in his Tyme, by Authoritie of Parliament, cauſed a Godly and vertuouſe Book, entituled, The Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other Rytes and Ceremonies in the Church of England, to be made and ſet forth, not only for one Uniforme Order of Service, Common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to be uſed within all this Realme, and other his Dominions: But alſo did adde and put to the ſame Book a very good and godly Order, of the Manner and Fourme howe Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and Miniſters, ſhould from tyme to tyme be Conſecrated, made and Ordered within this Realme, and other his Dominions, as by the ſame more plainly will and may appear. And altho' in the tyme of the late Queen Mary, aſwell the ſaid Act and Statute made in the xxv Yeere of the Raigne of the ſaid late King Henry the Eight, as alſo the ſeveral Acts and Statutes made in the ſecond, third, fourth, fyfth, and ſyxth Yeeres of the Raigne of the ſaid late Kyng Edward, for the Authorizing and allowyng of the ſaid Booke of Common Prayer, and other the Premiſſes, amonges divers other Acts and Statutes touching the ſaid ſupreme Authoritie, were repeal'd. Yet never the leſſe, at the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in the firſt Yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lady, the Queen's Majeſty that now is, by one other Act and Statute there made, all ſuch Juriſdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, and Preheminences, Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical, as by any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Authoritie hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be uſed over the Eccleſiaſtical State of this Realme, and the Order, Reformation, and Correction of the ſame, is fully and abſolutely, by the Authoritie of the ſame Parliament, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realme. And by the ſame Act and Statute, there is alſo given to the Queen's Highneſſe, her Heyres, and Succeſſors, Kings or Queens of this Realme, full Power and Authoritie by Letters Patents under the Great Seale of Englande, from Tyme to Tyme, to aſſign, name, and authorize ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhe or they ſhall think meete and Conveniente, to exerciſe, uſe, occupie, and execute under her Highneſs, all Manner of Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences, and Authorities, in any wyſe touching or concernyng any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Juriſdiction within this Realme, or any other her Highneſſe Dominions or Countreys. And alſo by the ſame Acte and Statute, the ſaid Acte made in the xxv Yeere of the Raigne of the ſaid late King Henry the Eyght, for the Order and Fourme of the Electing and makyng of the ſaid Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, togeather with divers other Statutes touching the Juriſdiction over the State Eccleſiaſtical is reviv'd, and made in full Force and Effect, as by the ſame Acte and Statute more plainly appeareth. And that alſo by an other Acte and Statute made in the ſayde Parliament, in the firſt Yeere of the Reigne of our ſayde Sovereign Lady, entituled, An Act for the Uniformity of common-Prayer, and Service in the Churche, and Adminiſtration of Sacramentes, the ſaid Book of common-Prayer and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other the ſayde Orders, Rytes, and Ceremonies beforemention'd, and all Things therein conteyn'd, with certayne Additions therein

---

(*u*) D'Ewes's *Journal of the Houſe of Commons.*

therein newly added and appoynted by the ſayde Statute, is fully eſtabliſh'd and authoriz'd to be uſed in all Places within this Realme, and all other the Queen's Majeſties Dominions and Countreys, as by the ſame Acte amonges other Thinges more plainly appeareth. Whereupon, our ſayde Sovereigne Lady, the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſtie, being moſt juſtly and lawfully Inveſted in the Imperial Crowne of this Realme, with all Authorities, Preheminencies, and Dignities thereunto appertayning: And thereby havyng in her Majeſties Order and Diſpoſition, all the ſayde Juriſdictions, Power, and Authorities, over the State Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, as well in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, as Temporal, within this Realm, and other her Majeſties Dominions and Countreyes, hath by her ſupream Authoritie, at divers Times, ſythence the Beginning of her Majeſties Raigne, caus'd divers and ſundry grave and well Learned Men, to be duely Elected, made, and Conſecrated Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, of divers Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks within this Realme, and other her Majeſties Dominions and Countries, according to ſuch Order and Fourme, and with ſuch Ceremonies, in, and about their Conſecrations, as were allowed and ſet foorth by the ſayde Actes, and Statutes, and Orders annex'd to the ſayde Booke of Common-Prayer beforementioned. And further, for the avoyding of all Ambiguities, and Queſtions that might be Objected againſt the lawfull Confyrmations, Inveſtyng, and Conſecrations of the ſayde Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, her Highneſs in her Letters Patents under the Great Seale of Englande, directed to any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or others, for the Confyrming, Inveſting, and Conſecratyng of any Perſon, elected to the Office or Dignitie of any Archbiſhop or Biſhop hath not only uſed ſuch Woordes, and Sentences, as were accuſtomed to be uſed by the ſaid late King Henrie, and King Edwarde, her Majeſties Father and Brother, in theyr like Letters Patents, made for ſuch Cauſes: But alſo hath uſed and put in her Majeſties ſaid Letters Patents, divers other general Woordes and Sentences, whereby her Highneſs, by her Supream Power and Authoritie, hath diſpenſed with all Cauſes, or Doubts of any Imperfection or Diſabilite, that can, or may, in any wiſe be objected agaynſt the ſame, as by her Majeſties ſayde Letters Patents remayning of Recorde, more plainly will appear. So that to all thoſe that will well Conſider of the Effect and true Intent of the ſayde Laws and Statutes, and of the ſupream and abſolute Authority of the Queen's Highneſs, and which ſhe by her Majeſties ſayde Letters Patents hath uſed, and put in Ure, in, and about the makyng and conſecratyng of the ſaid Archbiſhops and Biſhops; It is, and may be very evident and apparant, that no Cauſe of Scruple, Ambiguitie, or Doubt, can or may juſtly be Objected againſt the ſaid Elections, Confyrmations, or Conſecrations, or any other material Thing, meet to be uſed or had, in, or aboute the ſame: But that every Thynge requiſite and material for that Purpoſe, hath been made and done as preciſely, and with as great Care and Diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was doone before her Majeſties Tyme, as by the Recordes of her Majeſties ſayd Father and Brothers Tyme, and alſo of her own tyme, wyl more plainly teſtifie and declare.

The Act of the 1ſt of Eliz. cap. 2. An. 5 & 6 Ed. 6. cap. 1. *confirmed or revived.*

Thus far the Preamble: “By the enacting Part, the 1ſt of *Eliz. cap.* 2. touching the Book of Common-Prayer and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is confirm'd; and the Form for conſecrating Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and for ordaining Prieſts and Deacons, is declar'd to ſtand in full Force and Effect, purſuant to the *Act* paſs'd in the 5th and 6th of *Ed. 6. cap.* 1.

“'Tis farther enacted, That all Conſecrations, Confirmations, and Elections, made by Vertue of the Queen's *Letters Patents* or Commiſſion ſince the Beginning of her Reign ſhall be judg'd good and perfect, to all Reſpects and Purpoſes: And all Perſons that have been, or ſhall be conſecrated Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordain'd Prieſts and Deacons, purſuant to the Form or Ordinal abovemention'd, are declar'd and enacted to be rightly conſecrated and ordain'd; any Statute, Law, Canon, or other Thing, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A Proviſo *in Favour of Recuſants.*

The Statute concludes with a *Proviſo* in Favour of *Bonner*, and other *Recuſants*. By this *Proviſo* 'tis enacted, That no Body ſhould ſuffer in Perſon or Property for having refus'd the Oath of Supremacy, or by Means of any Certificate made by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or to be made, before the laſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament. And that all Tenders of the ſaid Oath made within the Term laſt mention'd, ſhall be void, and of none Effect. (*w*)

(*w*) 8 El. c. 1. *Statutes at large.*

The Biſhops Character not Parliamentary.

Notwithſtanding this State-Proviſion for Conſecration, there's no Reaſon to reproach the *Engliſh* Hierarchy upon this Score, or call the Biſhops Parliamentary Prelates: There's no juſt Ground, I ſay, for any Raillery or Reflection of this Kind. For as to the *Engliſh* Biſhops of the *Reformation*, the Force of their Character, and the Authority of their Miſſion, depends upon Conſecration and Spiritual Conveyance; neither doth ſuch Conſecration derive its Significancy from any Regulations of the Civil Legiſlature. Thus much I conceive may be collected from the Act, in which the Biſhops and Prieſts are called the **Miniſters of God's Holy Word and Sacraments.** Now this Denomination ſuppoſes a Divine Commiſſion: For as no Body can repreſent a Prince without a Deputation, ſo neither can any Perſon ſeal Covenants in our Saviour's Name, and govern in his Church, without a Delegated Power for that Purpoſe. Farther, by the *Statutes* confirming all Conſecrations, Confirmations, *&c.* made by the Direction of the Queen's *Letters Patents*, we can fairly infer no more, than that the Biſhops ſo conſtituted lie under the Protection of the *State*, are guarded in their legal Privileges, and cover'd from Cavil and Proſecution in the Temporal Courts.

The *Convocation* ſate with this Parliament, but no Buſineſs was done, excepting the Grant of a Subſidy.

A Decree in Favour of the Dutch *Church.*

The *Dutch* Church, ſettled at St. *Auſtin-Friers, London*, complained of ſome of their Members to the Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. Some of theſe Foreigners, it ſeems, had miſbehav'd themſelves, refus'd to ſubmit to their Paſtors, and for Fear of Cenſure revolted from their Communion. This Caſe coming frequently ly up, made the governing Part addreſs the Commiſſioners, that thoſe who had thus deſerted might be obliged to return, and make their Submiſſion. The Biſhop of *London*, with other Commiſſioners, made a Decree in Favour of the Complainants. The Subſtance of this Order was, That this *Dutch* Church ſhould continue in its Diſcipline and Government. And here the Miniſters, Deacons, and *Elders*, are confirm'd in their reſpective Functions. There's likewiſe an Exhortation to all Reformed Foreigners in the City of *London* to communicate with this Church, and acquieſce in its Regulations. And laſtly, All thoſe who had occaſion'd any Diſturbance, or broke looſe from this Communion, are declar'd Refractory Perſons; and unleſs they recollect themſelves, and make Satiſfaction, are threaten'd with Diſcipline. (*x*)

The Puritans form ſeparate Congregations.

This Year the Controverſy touching the *Habit* occaſion'd farther Miſunderſtandings, and ended in an open Rupture: For now the Puritans drew off from the Church, form'd ſeparate Congregations, and laid the Common-Prayer Book wholly aſide. They pretended that Methods of Compulſion, and tying the *Ceremonies of Antichriſt to the Service of God*, was the Reaſon of their going off. However, they did not at firſt truſt to Extemporary Effuſions, but officiated by the *Book* made uſe of by the *Engliſh* Refugees at *Geneva*, already mentioned. To this there are ſome additional Prayers ſubjoin'd. And thus they quitted the Communion of the Church, and form'd a Schiſm. However, ſeveral of their Miniſters thought they carried their Exceptions too far, and refuſed to join them in their Revolt.

June 19. 1567.

Theſe ſeparate *Meetings* provok'd the Government, and put the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners upon looking after them. About a Hundred of theſe *Diſſenters* met in *Plummer's-Hall* under the Pretence of a Wedding; but this Excuſe being thought too ſlender, about Fifteen of them were committed. The next Day Seven of them, *viz.* *Smith, Nixon, White, Ireland, Hawkins, Rowland,* and *Morecraft*, were examin'd. They were brought before the Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Roger Marten* Lord Mayor, the Dean of *Weſtminiſter*, and other Commiſſioners.

Some of them convented before the Biſhop of London.

The Queen and *Council* being inform'd of theſe *Meetings*, wrote to the Biſhop of *London* to bring them to Conformity by Gentleneſs and Perſwaſion; but that in Caſe of Obſtinacy, they ſhould firſt loſe their City Freedom, and be afterwards farther puniſh'd. The Biſhop laid his Inſtructions before them, and told them over and above, That in ſeparating from the publick Communion, they not only condemn'd the preſent Church, but likewiſe the whole *Reformation* in the Reign of King *Edward*: A Reformation for which many good Men had ſacrificed their Lives. He demanded of them, whether they had not the Goſpel preached in its Purity, and the Sacraments unexceptionably adminiſter'd? That the Church of *England*'s differing from other Communions in Circumſtance and Ceremony, was no juſt Ground for Deſertion: That theſe were Things indifferent, ſettled for the Sake of Order, and lay within the Prince's Power.

The Reformed abroad declare againſt the Engliſh *Diſſenters.*

And becauſe they inſiſted on the Platform of foreign Churches, and pretended to be governed by their Preſident, the Dean of *Weſtminſter* told them, All the Men of Learning in *Europe* were of a different Sentiment as to their Caſe. To this the Biſhop of *London* added, That even the Learned in *Geneva* were againſt them. He produc'd a Letter from ſome of the Miniſters in that City. The Expreſſion which moſt affected them was this, *That they ſhould exerciſe their Office againſt the Will of their Prince and Biſhops, we do ſo much the more tremble at.* (*y*)

The Biſhop of *London* to reconcile them to the Eſtabliſhment, ask'd them this Queſtion; *Have we not a Godly Prince? Speak: Is ſhe Evil?* To this three of them made their ſeveral Anſwers thus:

William White. *What a Queſtion is that, the Fruits do ſhew.*

Thomas Rowland. *No, but the Servants of God are perſecuted under her.*

Robert Hawkins. *Why, this Queſtion the Prophet anſwereth in the Pſalms: How can they have Underſtanding that work Iniquity, ſpoiling my People, and that extoll Vanity?* (*z*)

In the Progreſs of their Examination they objected againſt the Form of the Conſecrated Bread. Their Cavil was becauſe 'twas given in Wafers: This they ſaid was going too near the *Roman* Communion. The Biſhop of *London* replied, That the Church of *Geneva*, for whoſe Practice they had ſo great a Regard, *receiv'd* in Wafer-Cakes. When Arguing and gentle Applications made no Impreſſion; when inſtead of promiſing to forbear their *Meetings* they diſcover'd a Reſolution of maintaining their Sentiments and Schiſm, ſome of them were remanded to Priſon; but 'twas not long before they were diſcharged.

Some of the Diſſenting Miniſters condemn'd the Practice of the Separatiſts.

The more learned and conſiderable Miniſters of this Party diſlik'd theſe Exceſſes, as has been already obſerv'd. 'Tis true, they ſcrupled the Practice of the Ceremonies, ſuffer'd in their Preferments, and choſe rather to throw up their Buſineſs than to comply: But notwithſtanding their Diſagreement in theſe Matters, they would by no Means drive the Conteſt to a Schiſm. They avoided the Lengths of theſe *Separatiſts*, and would neither preach nor pray with them. Amongſt theſe Men of ſome Moderation, *Sampſon* and *Leaver, Coverdale, Fox,* and *Humphreys*, may be reckon'd. Theſe Men had gentle Uſage: Their Preaching was over-look'd, and ſome of them were ſuffer'd to hold Preferments. (*a*)

Beza's Opinion.

The *Diſſenters* had ſent to *Beza* for his Judgment upon the Caſe. What Freedom he took in cenſuring the Conſtitutions of the *Engliſh* Church, has been already obſerv'd from his Letter to *Bullinger*. But notwithſtanding his Singularities againſt the *Habit*: Tho' he complain'd of it as ting'd with Superſtition: Notwithſtanding he was ſo hardy as to affirm that thoſe who introduc'd it, diſſerv'd the Church, and muſt account for it another Day: Notwithſtanding all this Scruple and Vehemence, he pronounc'd againſt the *Separatiſts*, and declar'd the Miniſters ſhould rather comply than quit their Buſineſs. And that the *Laity* were to blame who choſe rather to loſe the Benefit of publick *Service*, than hear a Preacher that wore a Surplice. However, he adviſ'd the Paſtors to disburthen their Conſcience, to publiſh their Diſlike of theſe Ceremonies before their Congregation: And over and above, to addreſs the Queen and Biſhops with a modeſt Remonſtrance againſt them. He will by no Means have them ſubſcribe the Juſtifiableneſs of theſe Ceremonies, or ſo much as to ſtand neuter and ſilent in the Controverſy. And yet after all this diſſuaſive Diſtance, he conjures the Brethren, that laying aſide Animoſities and Diſaffection, they would patiently bear with one another, and ſubmit to the Orders of the Queen, and Biſhops: That they would keep a good Correſpondence with

---

(*x*) MS. in Eccl. Latino Belg. Strype Annal.

(*y*) *Archbiſhop* Parker's *Life.*

(*z*) Regiſt. Grindal. Fol. 33.

(*a*) *Archbiſhop* Parker's *Life.*

with the *Conformiſts*, tho' at preſent they differ'd from them in ſome Matters. (*b*)

(*b*) Beza Epiſt. 12.

This Year *Beza*, who ſucceeded *Calvin* at *Geneva*, made a Preſent to Biſhop *Grindal* of his *Annotations upon the New Teſtament*. The Biſhop return'd him an Acknowledgment, with a Commendation upon his Performance. *Beza* writing him another Letter of Thanks, took an Opportunity of ſuggeſting a cloſer Correſpondence. He put him in Mind that the laſt Year the *Reform'd* Churches of *France*, of *Geneva*, and *Swizzerland*, had ſubſcrib'd a common Confeſſion of Faith. And ſince the Church of *England*, as he ſeem'd to be well aſſur'd, was of the ſame Sentiment, he thought a publick Atteſtation of ſuch an Union, might be a ſerviceable Expedient. He deſir'd the Biſhop therefore to recommend this Buſineſs to the Queen and the reſt of his Order. But this Propoſal of *Beza* came to nothing: The *Engliſh Hierarchy* thought it more adviſeable to ſtand upon their own Bottom, than incorporate their Belief with foreign Syſtems, and make themſelves anſwerable for every Thing defin'd by the Reform'd *Abroad*. *

Beza recommends the Subſcribing a Confeſſion of Faith aſſented to by the Reform'd Churches abroad.

* Beza Epiſt. 8.

This Year *Nicholas Wootton*, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law, and Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, departed this Life. He was a Gentleman of Condition, but more conſiderable for diſtinguiſhing himſelf in eminent Stations both at home and abroad. He was Privy Counſellor to *Henry* the VIIIth, and *Edward* the VIth, to Queen *Mary* and *Elizabeth*: He had perform'd Nine Embaſſies to the Emperor, the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and other Princes. He was Plenipotentiary at the concluding Three Treaties between the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Scotch*: And by King *Henry* the VIIIth's Will, was conſtituted one of the 16 Governors, during the Minority of *Edward* the VIth.

Cambden Eliz. *pag.* 129.

To ſay ſomething of the *Scottiſh* Church Hiſtory of this Year. And here by Way of Introduction, I ſhall briefly touch ſome Paſſages relating to the State.

The King of *Scots* lodg'd in *Edinborough*, in Order to his Recovery, was found murder'd at ſome Diſtance in a Garden. The Houſe, to conceal the Villany, was blown up with Gun-Powder. *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, being ſuſpected of this Practice, was brought to his Tryal, and acquitted. Not long after he projected marrying the Queen, and procur'd a Subſcription from ſeveral Noblemen to conſent to the Enterprize. The Queen making a Viſit to the Prince at *Sterling*, *Bothwel* ſeiz'd her in her Return, and carried her to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*. 'Twas commonly ſaid her Majeſty was in the Concert; for ſoon after *Bothwel* was not only pardon'd all Miſdemeanors, but gain'd her Conſent for the Marriage. To make Way for this Sovereign Relation, *Bothwel* ſued a Divorce from his Wife the Lady *Jane Gordon*. The Cauſe was heard in the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*'s Court: 'Twas likewiſe tried by Judges commiſſionated by the Queen. The Sentence was given for the Divorce in both Courts, but the Grounds were different. In the Archbiſhop's Court 'twas prov'd *Bothwel* and his Lady were of Kin in the Fourth Degree: And that they had procur'd no Diſpenſation of the Pope to remove this Obſtruction. In the other Court, Sentence paſs'd upon the Proof of the Earl's Adultery. (*c*)

(*c*) Spotſwood.

The Queen now return'd to the Caſtle of *Edinborough*, *Bothwel* ſent to the Church to publiſh the Banes between her Majeſty and himſelf. The *Reader* refuſing, *John Craige* the Preacher was deſir'd to perform that Office, *Craige* anſwer'd, *He could ask no Banes, eſpecially ſuch as theſe were, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Church*. The Buſineſs was propounded in a Seſſion of the Church: And after ſome length of Diſpute with the Juſtice-Clerk, 'twas at laſt concluded, That the Three next preaching Days, the Queen's Pleaſure ſhould be publiſh'd.

Craige proteſted he could reſign to their Order only upon Condition of having the Liberty to ſpeak his own Mind; and that he ſhould not be oblig'd to officiate in the Solemnity. The Firſt preaching Day, before an Audience of Noblemen and Privy Councellors, he declar'd, That in his Opinion the Marriage between the Queen and the Earl, was unlawful: That he was prepar'd to give his Reaſons to the Parties themſelves: That in Caſe he was denied this Liberty, he would deſiſt from publiſhing the Banes, or elſe acquaint the Congregation with the Grounds of his Remonſtrance.

Craige *a* Scotch *Miniſter declares againſt the Marriage between the Queen and Earl* Bothwel.

In the Afternoon, being brought before the *Council*, *Bothwel* call'd for the Reaſons pretended againſt his Marriage. *Craige* anſwer'd Firſt, That in the laſt Aſſembly the Church had prohibited the Marriage of Perſons divorc'd for Adultery. 2*dly*. He let him know that the Divorce from his Lady was manag'd by Concert: That the Unfairneſs of the Practice was apparent by the Præcipitation of the Sentence, and ſubſequent Contract with the Queen. And laſtly, he had the Courage to charge *Bothwel* with forcing the Queen, and a Suſpicion of being guilty of the King's Murther.

The Sunday following he publickly repeated his Diſcourſe to the Council, told his Congregation, that he had now diſcharg'd his Conſcience, and that he deteſted the Marriage as a moſt ſcandalous Engagement. But ſince the Flattery or Silence of the great Men ſeem'd to approve it, he deſir'd the People to pray that God would turn ſo unrighteous a Reſolve to the Benefit of the Church and Kingdom. Theſe were look'd on as exceſſive Freedoms, and extremely Shocking to the Court. And being ſent for before the Council, and reprimanded for going beyond his Bounds: He told them, the Bounds of his Commiſſion were natural Reaſon, good Laws, and the Word of God: That he had kept himſelf within due Compaſs: And that from all theſe Topicks he was ready to prove the Marriage, if it went on, would be foul and ſcandalous. He was going to ſomething more, but *Bothwel* commanded him Silence: And thus he went off without farther Puniſhment.

His hardy Expreſſions before the Council.

To proceed; the Queen and *Bothwel* were married in *Holyrood-Houſe* by *Adam*, Biſhop of *Orkney*: And to make the Manner more agreeable to the People, the Solemnity was perform'd with the Ceremonies of the Reform'd Church. There was but a ſlender Appearance of the Nobility; and thoſe who were preſent ſeem'd unpleas'd. Monſieur *le Crock* the *French* Ambaſſador excus'd his Abſence from the Entertainment: For both his Maſter and the Queen of *England*, had earneſtly diſſwaded the Match: But the Queen was ill adviſ'd, and betray'd to this Error. In ſhort, the People were generally diſguſted: And ſeveral Noblemen apprehenſive of foul Practice from *Bothwel*, entred into an Aſſociation for the Preſervation of the young Prince. The Queen ſet forth a Declaration to aſſure them of her Care for her Son's Safety and Education, and that ſhe intended no Alterations in the Government. But ſhe was unbeliev'd, the aſſociated Noble-men ran to Arms, and making an unexpected

May 15. 1567. *The Queen married to Earl* Bothwel.

pected March, ſet down before the Caſtle of *Borthwick*, where the Court then reſided. But not having ſufficient Force to inveſt the Place, both *Bothwel* and the Queen made their Eſcape.

She is impriſoned at Locklevin.

Upon this rough Treatment, her Majeſty provides for her Defence, levies Forces, marches towards *Edinborough*, and drew up her Army againſt the Lords at *Carberry-Hill*; but perceiving her Men diſinclin'd to engage, ſhe ſurrenders to the *Aſſociation*, and was ſent Priſoner to *Locklevin* under a Guard.

Theſe Noblemen having thus diſpos'd of the Queen, began to break amongſt themſelves. The Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, and others, were diſpleas'd with the Outrages committed by the Earl of *Glencayrn* in the Chappel of *Holyrood-Houſe*: They lamented the Queen's Misfortune, and were willing to retrieve her Affairs.

The Lords of the Faction being thus diſappointed, applied to the general *Aſſembly* to bring off the other Party from their Adherence to the Queen. The *Aſſembly* approving the Motion, wrote to the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, *Cathneſs*, *Rotheſs*, *Crawford*, *Menteith*, and others, to repair to *Edinborough* for the ſettling of Matters in Church and State. To make their Addreſs more conſider'd, *John Knox*, Mr. *John Dowglaſs*, Mr. *John Roe*, and Mr. *John Craig*, were appointed Commiſſioners. Theſe Agents had Inſtructions to acquaint the Lords, that the *Aſſembly* was prorogued to the 20th of *July*: That this was done to give the Noblemen, Barons, and Burgeſſes an Opportunity of convening at *Edinborough*: That now the Juncture preſented fair for diſcharging the Remains of Popery, for eſtabliſhing the *Polity*, and reſtoring the Patrimony of the Church. And therefore ſince Providence had favour'd them ſo far, and brought Things to ſo happy a Criſis, they intreated them to appear and give their Aſſiſtance: Not forgetting to intermix ſomething of Menace and ill Character, in Caſe they fail'd. Thus far the Commiſſioners Inſtructions.

The Letters they brought with them, beſides their being much of the ſame Tenor, ſuggeſted a Union or League amongſt the *Profeſſors*: That by ſuch a Conjunction they might be in a Condition of Defence againſt the *Violence of their Enemies*. Their Meaning was, that they might be ſtrong enough to cruſh the Loyal Party.

Id. *pag.* 209.

But neither theſe Commiſſioners, nor the Letters they were charg'd with, did any Buſineſs. The Lords at *Hamilton* (for there the Commiſſioners found them) excus'd themſelves upon the Score of the publick Diſtractions, occaſion'd by the Queen's Impriſonment: That *Edinborough*, appointed for the Place of Meeting, having a conſiderable Body of diſciplin'd Men in it, they did not think it ſafe to venture their Perſons there. However, they declar'd themſelves willing to concur with the Church in any Expedient that might be ſerviceable to Religion.

This in General: But the Earls of *Argyle*, and the Lord *Boyd*, were more particular in their Anſwers. The Firſt deliver'd his Mind with Reference to the publick Scheme, and deſir'd that Reſolutions of this Kind might be poſtpon'd, and nothing alter'd before a general Meeting of the Eſtates. The Lord *Boyd* promis'd to ſubſcribe their *Policy*, as they call'd their Book of Diſcipline, but with the Limitation of, *ſo far as it might ſtand with Law.*

Idem.

The Noble-men at *Edinborough* perceiving the other Party were not to be gain'd, reſolv'd to finiſh without them. And to recommend themſelves to the *Aſſembly*, they agreed to all the *Articles* propos'd. I ſhall mention ſome of them.

Firſt, That the Acts made in the Parliament held at *Edinborough* in *Auguſt*, 1560; That theſe Acts touching Religion, and the Diſcharge of the Pope's Authority, ſhould be copied from the Regiſters, and have the Force of Law. And that this Parliament, ſo far as Matters of Religion were concern'd, ſhould be declar'd a lawful Parliament.

Articles agreed between the Aſſembly and the Lords of the Faction.

Secondly, That 'till a Settlement was made for recovering the Patrimony of the Church, the Aſſignments of the Thirds of Benefices ſhould be duly paid for the Maintenance of the Miniſtry. By the Way, after the Year 1560, the *Roman* Catholick Clergy were allow'd to enjoy Two Thirds of the Profits of their Preferment. As to the other Third, 'twas paid into the Exchequer for the Benefit of the *Reform'd*. But the Miniſters found great Difficulty to get Part of this ſlender Subſiſtence out of the Courtiers Hands.

Thirdly, To proceed; 'Twas agreed that in the Firſt enſuing Parliament, or ſooner if the Matter was practicable, the Patrimony of the Church ſhould be fully reſtor'd, and nothing done till this and other Church Buſineſs was perfectly ſettled.

Fourthly, That all Crimes againſt the Law of God, ſhould be puniſh'd by the Direction of *God's Word*, and Judges aſſign'd for that Purpoſe. And in Caſe the Conſtitution happens to be ſhort in either of theſe Points, that then a ſupplemental Proviſion be made in the Firſt Parliament. To explain this Matter, the *Reader* is to obſerve, that the *Scotch Kirk* thought Chriſtians oblig'd to proceed by the Standard of the *Judicial* Law: And that, for inſtance, Idolatry, Murder, and Adultery, ought to be puniſh'd as *Moſes* preſcrib'd.

Fifthly, That for the Future, all Kings of *Scotland*, before they are crown'd, ſhould take an Oath to maintain the true Religion now profeſs'd in the Realm.

The laſt Article I ſhall mention provides, "That the Nobility, Barons, and others ſhall "faithfully engage to appear in Arms for the "extirpating Idolatry, without Exception of "Place or Perſon." By this Clauſe the Queen is particularly ſtruck at. "They were likewiſe "to promiſe the removing all Idolaters, and "others not admitted to the Preaching of the "Word, from executing any Function in the "Church, which may diſſerve the Miniſtry in "any Reſpect." And in the Place of the *Roman* Catholick Clergy thus caſhier'd and diſabl'd, there ſhould be a Subſtitution of Superintendents, Miniſters, and other neceſſary Diſtinctions in the Church.

Idem.

Theſe Articles, and ſome others I have paſs'd over, being unanimouſly agreed, were ſubſcrib'd in the *Aſſembly* by the Earls of *Morton*, *Glencayrn*, and *Marr*, the Lords *Home*, *Ruthen*, *Sanghar*, *Lindſay*, *Grahame*, *Innermaith*, *Ochiltrey*, a great many Barons, beſides Commiſſioners of Buroughs.

Thus the *Aſſembly* had fair Promiſes for lending their Credit. But when the Lords had maſter'd the Difficulties, and gain'd their Point; they diſappointed the Kirk, forgot their Engagement, and ran counter to the main Articles. *

Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of the Outrages upon the Queen her Couſin, reſented the Indignity, gave the *Scotch*, that thus mal-treated their

---

* Spotſwood. Hiſt. *p.* 209.

their Sovereign, the hardeſt Names imaginable, and ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to expoſtulate with them, and concert Meaſures for reſtoring the Queen.

The Engliſh *Ambaſſador remonſtrates againſt the Uſage put upon the Queen of* Scots.

When the Ambaſſador arriv'd in *Scotland*, he perceiv'd the Queen had a great many Enemies; and that her Confinement was ſo cloſe, that neither himſelf, nor the *French* Ambaſſador were permitted to wait on her. The Rebels were ſomewhat divided, and at a Loſs how to diſpoſe of her Majeſty. *Lethington*, and ſome few others mov'd for her being reſtor'd upon theſe Conditions; that the Regicides ſhould be proſecuted and puniſh'd according to Law; that Care ſhould be taken for the Security of the young Prince; that *Bothwell* ſhould be divorc'd from her, and that the Reform'd Religion ſhould be firmly ſettled. Others ſuggeſted perpetual Baniſhment, either into *France* or *England*; but with this Proviſo, that the *French* King, or Queen *Elizabeth*, would engage to prevail with her to reſign the Crown, and transfer the Government upon her Son. A Third Party were ſtill more extravagantly unjuſt and barbarous: They were for bringing the Queen to a formal Tryal: And taking it for granted, ſhe would be caſt, their Sentence was for perpetual Impriſonment, and that her Son ſhould be crown'd immediately. The Fourth Diviſion thought this Puniſhment too little, and declar'd for her Execution. And this Doom was thunder'd out of the Pulpits by *John Knox*, and ſome others of his Brethren. (*d.*)

(*d*) Cambden Eliz. *From the Ambaſſador* Throgmorton's *Letters, pag.* 118.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* on the other Side, interpos'd for the Queen with a great Deal of Vehemence and Argument. He inſiſted on the Apoſtle's Commanding *every Soul to be ſubject to the higher Powers: That the Powers were ordain'd of God, That they ought to be Subject, not only for Wrath but for Conſcience Sake.* That the Queen was accountable to none but God Almighty for her Adminiſtration: That no Court upon Earth had any warrantable Pretence to bring her before them: That all the Power of the *Scottiſh* Magiſtracy was deriv'd from the Queen, and revocable at Pleaſure. To this the confederate Revolters replied, That by the *Scotch* Conſtitution the Subjects had a particular Proviſion, and that in extraordinary Caſes, they were to apply to extraordinary Expedients. They were furniſh'd with a Colour for their Diſloyalty by *George Buchanan:* Who at the Inſtance of the Earl of *Murray*, had lately written his *damnable Dialogue*, as *Cambden* calls it, *de jure Regni apud Scotos.* In this *Tract*, continues *Cambden*, he affirms a Right in the *Scots* for making, and depoſing their Princes, which is no leſs than a downright Contradiction to the Hiſtory and Records of that Kingdom. (*e*)

Rom. 13.

(*e*) Cambden Eliz. *pag.* 118.

The Queen of Scots *forc'd to reſign the Government to her Son and declare the Earl of* Murray *Regent.*

But the Queen's Enemies were too numerous, and had gone too far, to alter their Reſolves: And therefore upon the Receſs of the *Aſſembly*, the Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindſay* were ſent to perſwade her to reſign to the Prince: And that ſhe would comply ſo far as to appoint a Regent during his Minority. The Queen, as ſhe had Reaſon, was extremely ſhock'd at the Propoſal, and replied with an Air of Majeſty and Reſentment, that ſhe would rather part with her Life, than her Crown. But being menaced, and roughly treated by the Lord *Lindſay*, and adviſ'd by the Earl of *Athol* and *Lethington*, of the Danger of ſtanding her Ground, ſhe ſubſcribed the Reſignation Inſtrument. She was farther diſpos'd to yield this Length, by a Letter deliver'd to her by *Robert Melvil*, from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton.* In this Letter the Ambaſſador aſſur'd her, that a Reſignation made under ſuch Dureſſe was void, and of no Force either in Juſtice or Law.

The Prince crown'd. July 29. 1567.

The Queen being thus reſtrain'd to reſign her Sovereignty, the Prince was immediately crown'd, and anointed in the Church at *Sterling*; the Biſhop of *Orkney*, aſſiſted by Two Superintendents, officiating at the Solemnity. *John Knox* preachd the Sermon. The Earl of *Morton*, and the Lord *Home* ſwore for the King, that he would maintain the Reform'd Religion, and do Juſtice impartially to his Subjects. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, tho' in Town, refus'd to appear at the Ceremony: He thought his Preſence might be interpreted an Approbation of the Proceedings againſt the Queen. When the News of this Revolution was brought to *France*, the Earl of *Murray* made haſt to embark, and arriv'd at *Edinborough* the Eleventh of *Auguſt* following. As to *Bothwell*, and the Fate attending him, a Word or Two may not be amiſs. After his Retreat from *Carberry*, and a ſhort Stay in the Fort of *Dunbar*, he went on Board, and ſet Sail for *Orkney* with Two or Three Ships: And being denied Entrance into the Caſtle of *Kirkwall*, he was oblig'd to put to Sea again, and liv'd upon Piracy: But not long after being chas'd by a greater Force mann'd out by the *Regent*, he was ſeiz'd upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, and convey'd to *Denmark:* Where being diſcover'd by ſome *Scotch* Merchants, he was confin'd in a very Offenſive Priſon. This Misfortune threw him into a Frenzy, as *Spotſwood* reports. However, he liv'd Ten Years, but without his Liberty.

The Parliament conven'd at Edinborough.

The Regent now eſtabliſh'd, convenes a Parliament, which met in *December* following. The Firſt Act ſets forth the Queen's Reſignation of the Crown, with the Conſent and Approbation of the Earls, Lords, Prelates, Barons, *&c.* And here the Form of the Reſignation is inſerted: I ſhall give the *Reader* Part of it, to ſhew the Hypocriſy of the Inſtrument, and that the Queen was *forc'd* to declare ſhe was willing. It begins thus:

The Form of the Queen's Reſignation.

“ *Marie* be the Grace of God Queen of *Scots*,
“ to all and ſindrie our Judges, and Miniſters
“ of our Lawes, Liegis and Subjects, quhom it
“ Effeiris, to quhais Knaledge, thir our Letters
“ ſall cum, greeting: Foraſmeikle, as after
“ lange greate and intollerable Paines, and La-
“ bours taken bee us, ſen our Arrival within our
“ Realme, for Government thereof, and keep-
“ ing of the Leigis of the ſamin Quietneſs, we
“ have not only beene vexed in our Spirite,
“ Body, and Senſes thereby, bot als at length
“ are altogidder ſa wearyed thereof, that our
“ Habilitie and Strength of Body, is not abil
“ langer to indure the ſamin.

“ Therefoir, and becauſe nathing Earthlie
“ can be more comfortabil and happy to us in
“ this Earth, than to ſee our Deare Son the Na-
“ tive Prince of this our Realme, plac'd in the
“ Kingdom thereof, and the Crown Royal ſet
“ on his Head, Wee of our awin free Will, and
“ ſpecial Motive, have dimitted and renounc'd
“ the Government, guyding and governing of
“ this our Realme of *Scotland*, Lieges and Sub-
“ jects thereof, in Favours of our ſaid Sonne,
“ *&c.* (*f*)

(*f*) James 6. Parl. 1. cap. 1.

“ By another *Act*, the Pope's Authority is diſ-
“ charg'd, and the *Act* made by the Parliament
“ held at *Edinborough, Auguſt* the 24th, 1560, for
“ renouncing the pretended Juriſdiction of the
“ Court of *Rome*, is confirm'd, and all *Acts* paſs'd

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

“in former Reigns for the Maintenance of Idolatry and Superſtition, are annull'd and extinguiſh'd, ſo far as any of the foreſaid Acts are repugnant and contrary to the Confeſſion Faith and Word of God, ratified and approv'd by the Eſtates in this preſent Parliament.

Then their Confeſſion of Faith and Doctrine follows, of which I have given ſome Account already.

The general Aſſembly the laſt Judge of the Qualification of Miniſters.

Saying or hearing Maſs is made Death upon the third Offence by this Parliament. The Proteſtant Miniſters, and thoſe of their Communion, are by another *Act* declar'd to be the only True and Holy Kirk within this Realm. 'Tis farther enacted, that the Examination and Admiſſion of Miniſters ſhall be only in the Power and Diſpoſition of the Church. And then follows a ſaving Clauſe for the Right of Lay-Patrons: And in caſe of any Diſpute between the Patron and *Superintendent* concerning the Qualifications of the Perſon preſented, 'tis lawful for the Patron to appeal to the Superintendent and Miniſters of the Province where the Benefice lies: And if the Perſon preſented is refuſed by them, the Patron may appeal to the General *Aſſembly*, where the Cauſe is to be finally decided. (*g*)

(*g*) Jam. 6. Parl. 1. cap. 7.

By another Act made this Parliament, the Kings at their Coronation were to take an Oath to maintain the Reformed Religion then profeſs'd.

An Act for puniſhing Fornication and Inceſt.

The next Act I ſhall mention, provides for the Puniſhment of Fornication: For the firſt Offence upon Conviction the Parties were to pay Forty Pounds *Scotch*, or be impriſon'd eight Days with no better Diet than Bread and Small-Beer; after this they were to ſtand bare-headed at the Market-Place. For the Second Offence they were to forfeit a Hundred Marks, their Impriſonment was to be doubled, and both of them to ſtand in the Market-Place with their Heads ſhaven. For the third Fault a Hundred Pound, or elſe their Impriſonment was to be tripled with the Diſcipline in Diet abovemention'd; after this they were to be duck'd thrice in foul Water, and for ever baniſh'd the Town where they liv'd. Theſe Corporal Puniſhments of Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and the reſt, were to be executed upon all thoſe who either refuſed, or were unable to pay the Forfeiture in Money. As to the Fines, they were to be diſpoſed of to pious Uſes in the Place were the Crime was committed. Inceſt, that is, as the *Act* explains it ſelf, Cohabitation within the Degrees prohibited in the 18th Chapter of *Leviticus*, is made Death. But all other Approaches of Conſanguinity, unforbidden in the Old Teſtament, are no Bar againſt Marriage. (*h*)

(*h*) Jam. 6. Parl. 1. c. 14, 15, 16.

There is another remarkable Proviſion relating to the Terms of Communion. 'Tis entituled, *Anent the True and Holy Kirk, and of them that are declar'd not to be of the ſame.*

Item, Forasmeikle as the Miniſters of the Bleſſed Evangel of Jeſus Chriſt, whome God of his Mercy hes now raiſed up amongſt us, or heirafter ſall rayſe, agreeing with them that now livis, in Doctrine and Adminiſtratioun of the Sacraments, and the Peopil of this Realme, that profeſſis Chriſt, as he now is offered in his Evangel, and do communcicat with the holy Sacraments (as in the Reform'd Kirkes of this Realm they are publiklie adminiſtrat) according to the Confeſſioun of the Faith: Our Sovereigne Lord, with the Advice of my Lo d Regent, and three Eſtaitis of this preſent Parliament, hes declar'd, and declaris the foreſaid Perſons, to be the only true and halie Kirk of Jeſus Chriſt, within this Realm. And decernis and declaris that all and ſindrie, quha outher gaynſayis the Word of the Evangel, received and approved, as the Heads of the Confeſſioun of Faith profeſſed in Parliament of befoꝛe, in the Year of God 1560 Yeares, as alſo ſpecified in the Actes of this Parliament mair particuliarlie dois expreſſe, and now ratified and approoved in this preſent Parliament, or that refuſes the Participatioun of the halie Sacramentes as they are now Miniſtrate, to be na Members of the ſaid Kirke within this Realme now preſently profeſſed, ſa lang as they keep themſelves ſa divided fra the Society of Chriſt's Body.

Elizabeth Q.

Ja. 6. 1. Parl. c. 6.

By the laſt *Act* of this Parliament, which I ſhall mention, none but thoſe who profeſs the Religion eſtabliſh'd are allow'd to be Judges, Proctors, or Publick Notaries, or to practiſe under any Qualification in the Courts of Juſtice. But this Act has a *Proviſo* for ſaving the Rights of Offices, either Hereditary, or for Life.

Ibid. c. 9.

The Biſhop of Orkney *brought to Penance by the Aſſembly.*

About this Time the Biſhop of *Orkney* was convented before the *Aſſembly* for marrying the Queen to *Bothwell*. And here theſe Men, who, as far as it appears, were moſt of them ſelf-originated,* and had not ſo much as the Character of Canonical Prieſthood, took the Freedom to depoſe a Biſhop. They likewiſe cited the Counteſs of *Argyle* for aſſiſting at the King's Chriſtning, perform'd with the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*. This Lady, tho' no farther concern'd than by repreſenting Queen *Elizabeth*, ſubmitted to their Diſcipline. She was order'd to make ſuch publick Satisfaction in the Chapel at *Sterling*, as the Superintendent ſhould appoint.

* Knox's *Hiſt. p.* 127.

Leſley, *p.* 496.

The Queen cleared from having any Knowlege of the King's Murder.

In *January* following one *John Hepburn*, and three Servants of *Bothwell's*, were tried for the King's Murder. *Spotſwood* reports they confeſs'd the Crime; but their Speech at the Place of Execution was more than the *Regent* expected. Here they declar'd before God, that *Bothwell* inform'd them the Murder of the King was ſuggeſted and carried on by the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*: And as for the Queen, they clear'd her from all Suſpicion of any ſuch Practice. *Bothwell* likewiſe did her the ſame Juſtice, though a Priſoner in *Denmark*; and to his laſt Hour ſolemnly averr'd ſhe was wholly unacquainted with what happen'd to the King. And Fourteen Years after, when *Morton* was beheaded for Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and concealing the Deſign of Murdering the King, he confeſs'd that *Bothwell* had tamper'd with him to come into the Plot; and that he refuſed to engage, unleſs he had an Order to ſecure him under the Queen's Hand: Upon which *Bothwell* replied, His Demand was impracticable; for the Queen was by no Means to be acquainted with the Enterprize. (*i*) I grant *Spotſwood*'s Narrative is ſhort upon this Occaſion; but this Prelate's *Church-Hiſtory* was printed after his Death, and the Manuſcript not well us'd, as I am credibly inform'd. (*k*)

(*i*) Cambden Eliz. *p.* 121.

(*k*) *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examin'd*, &c. *p.* 118.

She makes her Eſcape from Lockleven.

The next Spring the Queen making her Eſcape from *Lockleven*, was convey'd to *Hamilton*, and join'd by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Caſſils*, *Eglington*, and *Rotheſs*, by the Lords *Sommervile*, *Teſter*, *Borthwick*, *Levingſton*, *Herris*, *Maxwell*, *Sanghar*, and *Roſs*, and with a great Number of Barons and Gentlemen. A Council being call'd, the Queen declar'd the Reſignation of the *Crown* extorted, which Allegation was confirm'd by the Teſtimony of *Robert Melvil*, and others then pre-

An. Dom. 1568.

May 13.

Retires into England, *where ſhe is kept a Priſoner.*

Melvill's *Memoirs, p.* 92.

ſent. Upon this the Inſtruments for reſigning the Government were declared void, and Proclamations ſet forth in her Majeſty's Name, commanding all the Lieges to rendezvous at *Hamilton*, and aſſiſt the Queen againſt the Rebels. In ſhort, the Queen fought the *Regent* near *Glaſcow*, and loſt the Battle. After this Misfortune ſhe made towards the *Borders*, and contrary to the beſt Advice put to Sea, ſet Sail for *England*, and landed at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*. She fell into theſe Meaſures in Confidence of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friendſhip. The Queen of *England* had given her a ſtrong Expectation of Shelter in Caſe of Diſtreſs, and had preſented her with a Diamond as a Mark of her Affection. The Queen of *Scots*, ſome Days before ſhe quitted her Dominions, ſent one *Beaton*, a Gentleman of her Train, to Queen *Elizabeth* with this Ring. He was inſtructed to acquaint our Queen that his Miſtreſs intended to caſt her ſelf upon her Protection, if ſhe happen'd to be farther preſs'd. This Gentleman return'd with large Promiſes of Favour and kind Uſage: But when Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood her *Siſter* was actually in *England*, ſhe drew in her Kindneſs, and ſent down Orders not very inviting. For now the Lord Lieutenant of *Cumberland* was requir'd to convey the Queen of *Scots* to *Carlile*, where, under Pretence of more Security, ſhe was deſir'd to ſtay 'till Queen *Elizabeth* was farther inform'd of the Juſtice of her Cauſe.

The Queen of *Scots*, who had wrote to Queen *Elizabeth* to be convey'd with all Speed to Court, was ſomewhat ſhock'd at this Reſtraint. She was now ſenſible of her Miſtake in venturing the Chance, and relying ſo far upon the Aſſiſtance of *England*: But that wrong Step was paſt retrieving. And thus being in no Condition to complain, ſhe diſſembled her Diſappointment, and ſent the Lord *Herris* to ſolicit Queen *Elizabeth* for Admiſſion to her Perſon, and to hear her Defence: That ſhe was prepar'd to vindicate her Conduct, and prove the Miſbehaviour of her Subjects: That in Caſe Queen *Elizabeth* refuſed to ſee her, ſhe deſir'd the Liberty of quitting the Kingdom: That 'twas Choice, and not Neceſſity, which brought her hither: And for this ſhe mention'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s kind Aſſurances both by Meſſages and Letters.

(*l*) Cambden Eliz *p.* 137.

How our Queen ſtood affected is uncertain: It muſt be granted her Mind was ſomewhat myſterious. But how friendly ſoever ſhe might be diſpos'd in her own Fancy, her Council adviſ'd her not to part with this Princeſs. (*l*) And thus, as far as it appears, the Queen of *Scots* was kept at a Diſtance, and made Priſoner upon Reaſons of State. As to this Reſolution, though of no bright Appearance, I ſhall determine nothing: However, I can't forbear ſuggeſting that Intereſt has oftentimes too much the Aſcendant in publick Debates; and thus *Politicks* prove the Bane of Conſcience and Honour, of Good Nature and Good Faith. As to the Detail of this Princeſs's Misfortune, it not being the Buſineſs of a Church-Hiſtorian, I ſhall paſs it over.

This Year *Thomas Harding* and *Nicholas Sanders*, Doctors in Divinity, lately receiv'd an Authority from the Pope to abſolve all the *Engliſh* who return'd to their Communion: They were likewiſe impower'd to diſpenſe in Caſes of Irregularity, Wilſul Murder excepted: Their Commiſſion extended to Abſolution for Hereſy, provided the Perſons reconcil'd abſtain'd three Years from officiating at the Altar. The Church of *England* was no leſs batter'd from another Quarter: For now *Coleman*, *Button*, *Halingham*, *Benſon*, and ſome others, profeſs'd an ardent Zeal for farther Degrees of Reformation. Theſe Men would endure nothing, not ſo much as in Government or Ceremonies, but what lay upon the *Letter* of the *Holy Scriptures*: And thus either out of a Principle of Conſcience, Novelty, or Faction, they declar'd ſtrongly againſt the *Liturgy* and Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd. They firſt queſtion'd the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy, and afterwards flatly condemn'd it. They went upon this falſe Ground, That all Manner of Reſemblance and Conformity to the Church of *Rome* was plainly wicked. And though ſome of theſe Men were impriſon'd, as has been related, yet what through the Obſtinacy of the Party, the Remiſſneſs of the Biſhops, and the Countenance of ſome great Courtiers, who lay at Catch for the Patrimony of the Church, they came ſtrangely forward, and increas'd to a formidable Number in a ſmall Time.

Id. *p.* 133.

The Univerſities encouraged to ſtudy Divinity.

(*m*) Strype Annal. *p.* 515.

The Diſcouragement the Univerſities lay under for the Study of Divinity, was a Circumſtance of Service to both *Papiſts* and *Puritans*. The ſeizing the Church Revenues, and beſtowing a great Part of the Remainder on Court-Clergy and Noblemen's Chaplains, made young Students very backward in ſpending their Time and their Fortunes this Way. The Queen being ſenſible that People of the moſt promiſing *Genius* would ſtand off from the Prieſthood, and faſten upon other Profeſſions, ſent a Countenancing Letter to *Cecil*, Chancellor of *Cambridge*. She let him know, That thoſe who ſtudied Divinity ſhould receive particular Marks of Regard; that upon a Recommendation from the Heads their Merits ſhould be anſwer'd; that ſhe would ſee them preferr'd to Places of Dignity and Wealth; and that ſhe intended to promote none but ſuch as had a fair Teſtimony either from the Biſhops or the Univerſity. This Letter ſent down to the Vice-Chancellor, and communicated to the Body, determin'd their Studies, rais'd their Inclinations, and puſh'd them upon Improvement. (*m*)

Articles drawn up by the Dutch *Congregation in* London, *and ſent to* Geneva, *with ſome Animadverſions of* Beza *and the reſt of that Church upon them.*

They were printed by Jugg, *the Queen's Printer.*

About this Time there happen'd a Miſunderſtanding between the Members of the *Dutch* Congregation in *London*. The Conteſt began about the Uſe of Godfathers and Godmothers. The Miniſters were for keeping on this Cuſtom, which no ſmall Number of the People would have laid aſide. There were ſeveral Attempts and Overtures made to adjuſt theſe Differences, but to no Effect. At laſt they drew up certain *Theological Propoſitions*: In ſome of which they declar'd their Opinion touching the Obligation of Things indifferent, and how far the Members of a Church ought to reſign to their Governors in ſuch Matters. To procure a greater Regard to this Draught, 'twas ſent to the Church at *Geneva* for their Approbation. *Beza*, with the reſt of the *Genevians*, agreed with them in the Main, as appears by their Letter: But ſome *Articles* they excepted to, as crudely or obſcurely expreſs'd; and ſomething they wiſh'd had been wholly omitted. The *Dutch* Church brought this *Letter* from *Geneva* to Biſhop *Grindal*, their *Superintendent*. And becauſe ſome of the Articles were determin'd for the *Engliſh* Church againſt the *Diſſenters*, 'twas thought fit to publiſh them in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. * The *Articles* are Thirty two, and are likewiſe printed in *Beza*'s *Epiſtles*, with ſome Notes and Corrections upon them. I ſhall only mention ſome few of theſe Propoſitions, which ſeem remarkable.

To begin; In their 15th *Article*, they maintain the Church is ſome Times *hidden*, by which, 'tis ſuppos'd, they muſt mean Inviſible. The 20th Article aſſerts, That the Government of the Church is lodg'd with the Miniſters and *Elders*; and that the Authority of the Univerſal Church is no leſs repreſented by theſe Perſons, than that of the *State* is by the Magiſtracy. The 30th *Article* ſets forth, *That as 'tis the Duty of the Magiſtrate to maintain and defend the Church of God with the Sword, even ſo 'tis the Duty of the Miniſters of the Church, in Behalf of the ſame, to crave his Help againſt Rebels, Hereticks, and* Tyrants, *as often as they think Need ſhall require.*

The next *Article* is ſomewhat more remarkable. It ſtands thus:

If any Man, againſt the Laws and Privileges of his Country, advance himſelf as a Lord or Magiſtrate; or if he who is confirm'd in the Office of a Magiſtrate, do wrongfully ſpoil his Subjects of the Privileges and Liberty which he hath ſworn unto them, or by open Tyranny oppreſs them; then ought the ordinary Magiſtrates to oppoſe him, who, according to God and their Duty, ought to defend the Subjects as well againſt Domeſtical, as Foreign Tyrants.

Upon the laſt Clauſe of this Article, *Beza* and the *Genevian* Church make ſome Remarks. I ſhall tranſcribe the Words as they ſtand in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

“Your Concluſions, ſay they, concerning the Authority of Magiſtrates, as ye ſent them to us, we do not doubt in general to approve, as Godly and Orthodox. Only we could not conjecture, why in *Art.* XXX. ye make mention of *Tyrants*, and in *Art.* XXXI. which ſeems to arm Inferior Magiſtrates againſt the Superior, we are forc'd [ἐπέχειν] to forbear our Aſſent; not only becauſe it is very dangerous, in our Times eſpecially, to open ſuch a Window, but alſo becauſe this Matter ſeems not ſimply to be argued, (as the Thing is handled of you in this *Theſis*) but from very many, and very weighty Circumſtances. In this Aphoriſm therefore we abſtain; and that not at all out of any Fear of Men, but that we pronounce nothing raſhly in a Matter of ſo great Moment. *

* Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Grindal Append. Numb. XVIII. *from Biſhop* Moor's *Library.* Beza Epiſt. 24.

Theſe Animadverſions are ſurprizingly extraordinary. In the firſt Place they palliate the Doctrine, and ſoften the Senſe of the Thirty firſt Article: *It only ſeems*, as they expreſs themſelves, *to arm Inferior Magiſtrates againſt the Superior*; whereas the laſt Clauſe is ſufficiently plain and poſitive for Reſiſtance in Caſe of open Tyranny, of which the People muſt be the Judges. This Propoſition has an odd Face, and appears very ill both in Sound and Senſe. The Church of *Geneva* declare themſelves ſenſible of the deſtructive Conſequences. What Remedy then do they apply to prevent the Miſchief? Do they cenſure the Doctrine as directly unlawful? By no Means: This would be deſerting from their great Maſter *Calvin*. What then? Are they hardy enough to defend it? Not ſo neither: They are too cautious to venture their Credit thus far. They think it moſt prudential to pitch upon a Temper, to keep in a State of Neutrality, and ſuſpend their Aſſent. And why are they thus reſerv'd and unpronouncing? One Reaſon is, Becauſe, ſay they, the *Doctrine is very dangerous in our Times eſpecially, and opens a Window to Injuſtice and Rebellion.* Why did they not then proceed to a Categorical Cenſure, and ſtop the Paſſage? Their next Words explain this Myſtery: They don't believe the Doctrine of Reſiſtance abſolutely unlawful; but find Fault with the *London Dutch* Church for aſſerting the Propoſition in too general Terms; whereas it ought to have been guarded with Diſtinctions, reſtrain'd to particular Caſes, and lain under the Protection of *many very weighty Circumſtances*. In ſhort, the Remarks upon this *Article* are ſtrangely Artificial and Evaſive, and not much becoming the Pretenſions to clear Dealing of thoſe who ſent them.

To proceed, The Duke of *Alva*, Governor for the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*, was barbarouſly cruel againſt thoſe of a different Religion. This Perſecution drove ſeveral of the *Reformed* into *England*, where they were hoſpitably entertain'd. But all theſe Refugees were not of the ſame Innocence and Complexion: Some were extremely wrong in their Belief, and others no leſs ſcandalous in their Manners. This general Entertainment of all Comers, brought a Reproach upon the Government; as if *England* not only encourag'd all Sorts of Hereſies, but afforded Protection to Thieves, Murderers, and Rebels. The Queen thought it was Time to wipe off this Calumny, and diſtinguiſh in her Compaſſion. To this Purpoſe ſhe wrote to the Archbiſhop with Orders, that himſelf and his *Suffragans* ſhould make diligent Inquiry into the Character and Religion of theſe Foreigners: That a *Viſitation* ſhould be made in every Pariſh, and the Names of all Strangers enter'd in a Regiſter, together with their Country, Quality, and Circumſtances. They were likewiſe to enquire into the probable Motives of their coming over, the Manner of their Behaviour, and what Churches they frequented. And where any Perſons were ſuſpected, they were to give Notice of them to the Juſtices of Peace, in order to Trial and Puniſhment. And here they were not only to ſuffer for Crimes againſt the State, but likewiſe for Nonconformity to the Religion eſtabliſh'd, provided they did not belong to Places particularly privileg'd for foreign Worſhip. (*n*) This Proviſion was no more than neceſſary; for the *Dutch* Anabaptiſts held private Conventicles in *London*, and perverted a great many.

An Inquiry into the Behaviour and Belief of Foreigners.

(*n*) Strype Annal & *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker. Regiſt. Parker.

A General Aſſembly at Edinborough.

In *July* this Year a General Aſſembly of the Church was held at *Edinborough*. Mr. *John Willock*, Superintendent of the *Weſt*, was elected Moderator. He refuſ'd to manage that Buſineſs, unleſs upon the Promiſe of better Order than had formerly been kept: For the great Numbers, and indiſcreet Behaviour of ſome People, made the Meeting very noiſy and ill-govern'd. But upon an Engagement of more Temper and Submiſſion he undertook the Function.

Who were allow'd the Privilege of Voting.

At this Aſſembly an Act paſs'd, *That none ſhould vote in theſe General Meetings excepting Superintendents, Viſitors of Churches, Commiſſioners of Shires and Univerſities, and ſuch Miniſters as the Superintendents ſhould chuſe in the Dioceſan Synod, and bring along with them.*

And that the Aſſembly might not be troubled with unneceſſary Buſineſs, 'twas ordain'd, “That no Buſineſs ſhould be propoſed which lay within the Cognizance of the Superintendents, and ought to be determined in their Synods.

Conſtitutions for Diſcipline.

And as for Acts of Diſcipline, 'twas decreed, “That Papiſts continuing obſtinate after due Admonition ſhould be excommunicated: And that thoſe who were guilty of Murder, Inceſt, Adultery, and other ſuch heinous Crimes, ſhould not be admitted to make Satisfaction in any particular Church, 'till they had made their Appearance in a penitential habit before the General Aſſembly, and received Orders there for a Courſe of Diſcipline.

A Petition was likewiſe put up to the Regent and Council, That the Committee, nominated in Parliament for adjuſting the Polity or Juriſdiction of the Church, ſhould have Inſtructions to meet at a Day prefix'd for finiſhing that Matter.

The Biſhop of Orkney *makes his Submiſſion.*

*Spotſwood's *Church Hiſt. p.* 219. MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

At the breaking up of the Aſſembly the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who had been depos'd for marrying the Queen and *Bothwell*, was reſtor'd upon his Submiſſion. However, this Favour was not without a Mixture of Penance; for in his firſt Sermon he was injoin'd to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Fault, and aſk God, the Church, and the State, Forgiveneſs. *

And here it muſt not be omitted, that at a Convention of the Eſtates this Year, in which, beſides the Commiſſioners of *Burroughs*, the greateſt Part of the Nobility and Barons were preſent, there was a Settlement agreed for reſtoring the Patrimony of the Church, and particularly the Tythes, by whomſoever detain'd ſince the *Reformation*. This Article was ſign'd by all the Nobility, Barons, and Commiſſioners of Burroughs, who ſolemnly promiſed it ſhould be paſſed into an Act the next Parliament. *

* Spotſwood Refutatio Libel. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic. *p.* 25.

Thomas Heath *a Jeſuit taken in the Diſguiſe of a Puritan.*

This Year one *Thomas Heath*, a Jeſuit, Brother to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, was ſeized at *Rocheſter*. He was ſent over Miſſionary by his *Superiors* with Inſtructions to pretend himſelf a *Diſſenter*. He was furniſh'd with ſeveral Anabaptiſtical and *Arrian* Tracts; and was to throw in a Mixture of *Puritan* Doctrines. This *Heath*, after Six Years preaching about the Country in the Habit of a poor Miniſter, applied himſelf to the Dean of *Rocheſter* for Preferment. The Dean, to try his Talent, gave him a Turn in the Cathedral. In his Sermon he refin'd a little upon the Church of *England*, and warp'd towards *Puritaniſm*. His Text was, that *Prayer was made without ceaſing unto God for St. Peter.* From hence he took Occaſion to obſerve, that theſe Prayers were not ſuch as were then us'd in the *Engliſh Liturgy*. As it happen'd, a Letter drop'd out of his Pocket from the Pulpit, which was taken up by the Sexton, and deliver'd to *Gueſt* the Biſhop. 'Twas ſuperſcrib'd to him by the Name of *Thomas Fine*, from one *Malt*, a Jeſuit of Character in *Madrid*. The Purport of it was to inſtruct him in the Management of his Miſſion. Upon this Diſcovery the Biſhop examin'd him cloſely. At firſt he own'd no more than that he had been a Jeſuit, but was now of another Perſwaſion: That he was not intirely of the Sentiment of the Epiſcopal Party, but endeavour'd to carry Proteſtancy to a farther Improvement, and ſet the Reform'd at more Diſtance from the Church of *Rome*. After this, upon ſearching his Chamber, they found a Licence from the Jeſuits, and a Bull from Pope *Pius* the Vth. In this Inſtrument there was a Diſcretionary Latitude for preaching what Doctrine his Superiors thought fit. This Compaſs was allow'd in order to make Miſunderſtandings amongſt the Proteſtants. In his Trunk there were ſeveral Books againſt Infant-Baptiſm, with other Heterodoxies. For this foul Practice he was ſentenc'd to ſtand three Days in the Pillory at *Rocheſter*, his Ears were cut off, his Noſe ſlit, and his Forehead mark'd with the Letter [*R.*] He was over and above condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, but Death releaſed him in a few Months after. *(o)*

Acts 12. *v.* 5.

A Proclamation for eating Fiſh on Wedneſdays.

This Year a Proclamation was ſet forth for keeping Fiſh-Days, and particularly *Wedneſday*. This Order was to inforce the Execution of an *Act* made the 5th of this Reign. By this *Statute* all *Wedneſdays*, excepting in *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter* Weeks, are to be kept with the ſame Reſtraint of Diet as *Saturdays*, and no Perſon allowed to eat Fleſh. This Proviſion was not upon the Score of Diſcipline, but for Politick Reaſons. 'Twas, as the *Præamble* ſpeaks, for the better *Maintenance and Increaſe of the Navy*. However, the Penalty ran high; for every Breach of the *Statute* was three Pounds Forfeiture, or three Months Impriſonment. *(p)* This Faſt is rallied by *Sanders* according to his Cuſtom. He ſays 'twas call'd *Cecil's-Faſt*, and that this Miniſter was ſuppos'd to ſuggeſt the Clauſe.

(p) 5 El. c 5.

De Schiſmate Anglicano.

A Complaint againſt the Biſhop of Glouceſter.

To proceed; *Cheney*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and *Commendatory* of *Briſtol*, had lain under the Imputation of being popiſhly affected; though the Charge, as far as it appears, was only Ignorance or Ill-will. He preach'd three Sermons at *Briſtol* in Vindication of himſelf; but was ſo far from giving Satiſfaction, that Dr. *Calfill* and one *Norbrook* took the Freedom to attempt a Confutation of his Doctrine in his own Hearing, at the Cathedral: And more than this, ſome of the Aldermen, and other Burghers, ſent a Letter of Complaint againſt him to the Privy Council. There were ſeveral pretended exceptionable Clauſes inclos'd, which were likewiſe tranſmitted to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. The Expreſſions were extracted from his Sermons preached in that City. I ſhall give the *Reader* ſome of the moſt remarkable.

He begins with acquainting the *Audience* that he was not come to retract any Thing he had formerly aſſerted: That as to Matters of Controverſy his Opinion was ſtill the ſame; and that if he had one Foot in the Grave, he ſhould deliver the ſame Doctrine: That he gave them no other Directions than what he follow'd himſelf, and reſted his own Happineſs upon. After this Introduction, he caution'd them not to reſign too implicitly to the *new Writers*; for as yet they had not ſtood the Teſt of Time, neither was their Credit ſo well eſtabliſh'd as that of the *Fathers*.

Octob. 1568.

To report the Biſhop in his own Words: “ Theſe *new Writers*, ſays he, in Matters of “ Controverſy, as Mr. *Calvin*, and others, agree “ not together, but are at Diſſention amongſt “ themſelves, and are together by the Ears: “ Therefore take heed of them. Yet read them: “ For in opening the Text they do paſs many of “ the old *Fathers*. And they are excellently well “ learn'd in the Tongues. But in Matters now “ in Controverſy follow them not, but follow “ the old *Fathers* and Doctors, tho' Mr. *Calvin* “ denies ſome of them. As for your *new Doctors*, “ 'tis good to pick a Sallet out of them now and “ then.

His Doctrine moſtly unexceptionable.

“ *Scriptures, Scriptures* do you cry? Ben't too “ haſty: For ſo the Hereticks always cried, and “ had the *Scriptures*. I would aſk this Queſtion; “ I have to do with an Heretick: I bring *Scripture* againſt him. And he'll confeſs it to be “ *Scripture*. But he'll deny the Senſe that I bring “ it for. How now? How ſhall this be tried? “ Marry, by Conſent of the *Fathers* only, and “ and not by others. *(q)*

“ In reading the *Scriptures* be you like the “ Snail; which is a goodly Figure. For when “ he feels a hard Thing againſt his Horns, he “ pulls them in again. So do you; Read *Scripture* o' God's Name, but when you come to “ Matters of Controverſy, go back again: Pull “ in your Horns. I never brought *Free Will* into the Pulpit. I would to God it had never “ been brought into that Place. *Luther* wrote “ a very ill Book againſt *Free Will*; wherein he did very much Hurt. But *Eraſmus* anſwer'd him very learnedly. In this Point I “ am of *Eraſmus*'s Opinion.

(o) Regiſt. Rocheſter, Foxes *and* Firebrands, *Part* 1.

(p) Strype Annal.

“—— Let them not ſay, as was lately preach'd here, that the *Fathers* had their Faults; which they had indeed: But let them all bring me the Conſent of the *Fathers* for theſe Matters now in Controverſy; otherwiſe I will not yield to them, nor be of their Judgment.

His Miſtake.

2 Kings 5.

The laſt Article I ſhall mention ſeems a Paradox, to ſpeak ſoftly. It ſtands thus: “A Queſtion may be ask'd, continues the Biſhop, between the young Maid and *Nahaman*: Whether a godly Man may be at Idol-Service with his Body, his Heart being with God, without Offence or Sin? I ſay he may; and becauſe you ſhan't think I am of this Opinion only, I will bring you *Peter Martyr*, a learned Man, and as famous as ever was in our Time, being your own Doctor. He ſays, a Man may be preſent without Offence. His Words are theſe, *Non enim ſimpliciter & omnibus modis interdictum eſt piis hominibus nè in Fanis præſentes adſint, dum profani & execrandi Ritus exercentur.*

Id. *v.* 18, 19.

This Inſtance of *Nahaman* ſuppoſes *Eliſha* gave him Leave to attend the King his Maſter in the Houſe of *Rimmon*; This is inferr'd from the Prophets bidding him *go in Peace*, after he had declar'd his Caſe, and ask'd Pardon. But in Anſwer to this, 'tis obſerv'd by ſome Expoſitors, that the 18th Verſe is not rightly tranſlated as to the Marks of Time. And that *Nahaman* did not ask Leave for any Future Latitude, but begg'd Pardon for the former Liberty he had taken, by bearing a Part in idolatrous Worſhip. And this Senſe, ſay they, ſeems to be confirm'd by the 17th Verſe, where he makes a Profeſſion, that from henceforth he would offer *neither burnt Offering nor Sacrifice unto other Gods, but unto the Lord.*

The Advantages of the Fathers, with Reſpect to the Moderns.

To return; thus the Main of the Charge againſt this Biſhop, was his Vindicating the *Fathers*, and preferring their Authority to the *Novelliſts*. Now one would think the Biſhop laid down a very ſafe Rule for Direction of Conſcience. The *Fathers* liv'd neareſt the Apoſtles, and ſome of them convers'd with them. From this Circumſtance they had the Advantage of traditionary Expoſitions. They muſt be beſt acquainted with the proverbial Expreſſions of the *Jewiſh* Nation, with the Cuſtoms to which the *Scriptures* allude, with the Force and Phraſeology of the Language; beſides, extraordinary Illumination, and ſupernatural Effuſions of the holy Spirit, were not uncommon in the Firſt Ages. And as for Matters of Government, and Ceremonies, the *Ancients* have ſtill a farther Claim to Regard: For here the Apoſtle's Practice, and that of their immediate Succeſſors, was an Evidence of their Approbation, and the beſt Comment on their Writings.

As to the Remonſtrance, 'tis ſuppos'd the Privy-Council ſaw thro' the Weakneſs of it. To prevent an ill Impreſſion, the Biſhop wrote to Secretary *Cecil*, acquainted him with the Caſe, and that ſome of the *Briſtol* Preachers had miſbehav'd themſelves. This *Cheny* in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign; was one of the Proteſtant Divines who argued in the *Convocation*.

The Queen aſſiſts the French *Hugonots.*

Cambden Eliz.

The next Year the Civil War between the *Hugonots* and the *French* King was reviv'd. The Queen by Secretary *Cecil*'s Advice, treated with the Prince of *Condé*'s *Agent*, and agreed to aſſiſt theſe Proteſtants: Tho' by the Way, they overlook'd her in the late Pacification between them and their Prince. The Queen ſuffer'd in her Honour upon this Score. The abetting Subjects againſt their Sovereign was not every where underſtood. For Inſtance, Seignior *Bertano*, an *Italian* Gentleman, wrote an expoſtulatory Letter to *Cecil* upon this Head. The *Secretary* in his Anſwer, acquaints the Gentleman, that the Queen had done nothing indefenſible, and that her Conduct might eaſily be juſtified to indifferent Judges: But he neither argued the Point, nor aſſign'd the Reaſons for Satisfaction.

This Summer one *Tilney*, a Gentleman, mov'd for a Marriage Diſpenſation. The Caſe was at laſt brought into the *Arches*, where the Archbiſhop, the Lord Keeper, and Secretary *Cecil* were preſent. The Queſtion was double, whether the Caſe would admit of a Diſpenſation, and if ſo, who had a Right to give it. The Secretary affirm'd the Queen might do it, for ſhe, ſays he, *may do as much as the Pope.* The Archbiſhop look'd upon this as a crude Aſſertion, and diſcover'd his Diſlike: But afterwards, to prevent miſconſtruction, he explain'd himſelf on this Head in a *Letter* to the Secretary. “He told this *Miniſter* he would by no Means diſpute the Queen's abſolute Power, or Prerogative Royal; nor how far her Highneſs might claim a *Papal* Juriſdiction, or act upon Precedents in the Court of *Rome*: But yet, if a Subject ſhould receive a Diſpenſation from the *Crown*, not warranted by the Laws made by her Majeſty, and the Three Eſtates, in this Caſe he queſtions whether the Subject might not ſome time or other be call'd to Account, and loſe the Benefit of ſuch a Grant; eſpecially ſince the Extent of Diſpenſations are preciſely ſettled by Act of Parliament: 'Tis true, during the Prince's Life ſuch Grants might be cover'd from Diſpute; but then another Reign might call for Retroſpections. And here he declares himſelf diſguſted with ſome Lawyers who make the *Injunctions* of a Prince during his own Life, not to have equal Force with the Canon Law upon the ſame Queſtion. He inſtances in the Queen's Injunctions upon all Miniſters, relating to their Marriage: And puts the Queſtion whether they are capable of any Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, in Caſe they happen to omit the Circumſtances preſcrib'd. This *Order* already related the Archbiſhop approves, provided the Printer had not made a groſs Miſtake in publiſhing it. For the *Injunctions* in the original Manuſcript run thus: *That the Parties marriable muſt be ſo allow'd by Two Juſtices of the Peace;* **Or** *by the Ordinary. Whereas 'tis printed,* **And** *by the Ordinary.* Now this latter Reading makes the Order much more remarkable, and ſevere upon the Clergy. However, the Lawyers were of Opinion an overlooking or Contempt of this Part of the *Injunctions* drew no Incapacity along with it, nor was any diſabling Omiſſion. *

A groſs Miſtake in the Queen's printed Injunctions relating to the Marriage of the Clergy.

* Stype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *pag.* 277.

The Earls of Northumberland *and* Weſtmoreland *raiſe a Rebellion in the North.*

About this Time the Duke of *Alva* ſent an *Agent* to the *Engliſh* Court: His Pretence was to adjuſt ſome differences relating to Commerce: But the bottom Deſign was to countenance an intended Inſurrection, to give Advice of the Progreſs, and Head the Reinforcement which was to be ſent from *Flanders*. To touch upon this Matter, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland* were ſuſpected for Malecontents, and commanded to Court to purge themſelves: But inſtead of Obeying the Queen's Summons, they diſcover'd their Practice, rung the Bells backwards to raiſe the Country, and form'd an Army. To impoſe upon the People, and bring them into a Revolt, they threw out ſeveral ſpecious Pretences. Some of them were made to believe theſe Forces were levied to guard the Queen. Others were told all the *Engliſh* Quality had engaged to reſtore the *Roman* Catholick Religion:

ligion: And to others they pleaded a Neceſſity of appearing in Arms to reſcue the ancient Nobility from the Inſults of Upſtarts, and to ſecure the Country from being betray'd to foreign Intereſt. One *Nicholas Morton* was a great Incendiary in this Commotion. He is ſaid to have been ſent from the Pope for this Purpoſe, and had Inſtructions to declare the Queen an Heretick, and that ſhe had forfeited her Dominions for her Misbelief. *

* Cambden Eliz.

The Rebels now increas'd to a conſiderable Number, and rang'd in Military Order, publiſh'd a *Declaration*, " That they had taken the Field only to reſtore the Religion of their Anceſtors, to remove evil Counſellors, to enlarge the Duke of *Norfolk*, lately impriſon'd, and recommend other diſcountenanc'd Men of Quality to the Queen's Favour: As for her Majeſty they were, and reſolv'd to be always, her moſt obedient Subjects, and ſhould never attempt any Thing againſt her.

Beſides this Manifeſto, they ſent circular Letters to the *Roman* Catholicks to exert themſelves, and join them. But theſe Men, as *Cambden* reports, were ſo far from cloſing with the Invitation, that moſt of them ſent up their Letters, with thoſe that brought them, to the Queen: And from all Quarters of the Kingdom, offer'd the *Crown* their Aſſiſtance againſt the Rebels of their Religion.

Their Outrages at Durham.

However, the Inſurrection went on, and the Rebels made their Firſt March to *Durham*: And here, going into the Churches, they tore the *Engliſh* Bible, and the Common-Prayer: They officiated in the Service of the *Maſs*, had the Five Wounds of Chriſt repreſented in ſome of their Colours, and a Chalice in others. One *Richard Norton*, an ancient Gentleman, carried the Standard with a Croſs in it: And thus they came to *Clifford Moore* not far from *Wetherby*. Here they muſter'd their Army, and found themſelves no more than 600 Horſe, and 4000 Foot. When they underſtood the Queen of *Scots*, whoſe Reſcue they deſign'd, was convey'd from *Tutberry* to *Coventry*, and that the Queen's Forces were almoſt ready to incloſe them, they countermarch'd to *Raby* the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*'s Seat. From hence they ſet down before *Bernard*'s Caſtle, and had it ſurrendred. But now the Earl of *Suſſex* moving towards them with 7000 effective Men, they retreated Firſt to *Aukland*, then to *Hexham*, and afterwards to *Naworth* Caſtle. And here, receiving Intelligence that the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, was coming down upon them from the *South*, with a Body of 12000, the Two Earls, with a few of their Friends, ſlip'd away into *Scotland*. When thoſe who headed the Revolt were miſſing, the reſt quickly diſpers'd. There were Threeſcore and ſix Conſtables, and others executed at *Durham*, amongſt which, *Plumptree* a Prieſt, and *Struther* an Alderman, were the moſt Remarkable. *Simon Digby*, *John Fullthorp*, *Thomas Biſhop*, and *Robert Pennyman*, ſuffer'd at *York*, and *Chriſtopher* and *Thomas Norton* at *London*. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland* made his Eſcape into *Flanders*, where he commanded a Regiment under the King of *Spain*; but the Earl of *Northumberland* was afterwards diſcover'd, put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* by the Earl of *Murray*, and beheaded at *York*. (r)

The Rebellion Miſcarries.

(r) Cambden Eliz.

Sanders makes a Martyr of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and reports, that his Life was promis'd him on Condition of changing his Religion. (s) This Hiſtorian, whoſe Principles are deſperate, and his Zeal almoſt mounted to diſtraction, lays the Miſcarriage upon the Defect of Conduct, and the Immaturity of the Project. 'Twas becauſe, ſays he, the Pope had not publickly excommunicated the Queen, and abſolv'd her Subjects from their Allegiance. But *Cambden*, as hath been obſerv'd, tho' of a different Religion, reports the *Papiſts* to better Advantage, and gives a more honourable Account of this Matter. Upon this Diſappointment, continues *Sanders*, the Catholicks began to be apprehenſive, that Time and Perſecution might wear off the Remainder of their Party. To prevent this Misfortune, they projected the Founding the tranſmarine *Seminaries*: That by ſuch a Reſerve they might be furniſh'd with *Engliſh* Miſſionaries to perpetuate and encreaſe their Communion. This Scheme was executed, and the College of *Doway* founded this Year, at the Charge of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*: Dr. *William Allen* an *Engliſh-man* was made Head of it. In the Year 1579, a College at *Rome* was founded for the ſame Purpoſe, by *Gregory* the XIIIth, who ſettled 4000 Crowns *per Annum*, to ſubſiſt the *Society*. The famous *Robert Perſons*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, was Rector of this College. King *Philip* founded another of theſe Nurſeries at *Valladolid* in the Year 1589, and one at *Seville*, in 1593. The ſame Prince founded St. *Omers* in *Artois*, *Ann.* 1596. Beſides theſe, in the next Century, *Madrid*, *Lovain*, *Liege*, and *Ghent*, afforded each of them a Foundation for the ſame Buſineſs.

(s) De Schiſmate Anglicano, lib. 3. pag. 417.

English *Seminaries founded in* Flanders, *and elſewhere.*

The Two Colleges of *Doway* and *Rome* receiv'd ſuch Encouragement, and flouriſh'd to that Degree, that when *Sanders* wrote, above 300 Prieſts had been ſent off from thence into *England*. And here he breaks out into Admiration of the Zeal and Reſolution of theſe Miſſionaries; That in Catholick Countries the Prieſthood was often courted for Intereſt and Honour: But thoſe who were ſent over hither had no ſuch Mercenary Regards to tempt them. On the Contrary, they had nothing but Poverty, Reproach, and the utmoſt Hardſhip to expect: But no Diſſuaſives of their Parents, no Loſs in their Fortunes, no Proſpect of Danger and Death, could ſhake their Conſtancy, or diſcourage them from the Enterprize.

Id. *pag.* 420.

To engage the Members of theſe Societies more firmly, and harden them for the Buſineſs to which they were bred, they oblig'd them to take the following Oath at their Admiſſion, provided they were grown up to Man's Eſtate.

I A. B. one bred in this English *College, conſidering how great Benefits God hath beſtowed upon me, but then eſpecially, when he brought me out of mine own Country, ſo much infected with Hereſy, and made me a Member of the Catholick Church, as alſo deſiring with a thankful Heart, to improve ſo great a Mercy of God, have reſolved to offer my ſelf wholly up to Divine Service, as much as I may to fulfil the End for which this our College was founded. I promiſe therefore, and ſwear, in the Preſence of Almighty God, that I am prepar'd from mine Heart, with the Aſſiſtance of divine Grace, in due Time to receive Holy Orders, and to return into* England, *to convert the Souls of my Countrymen, and Kindred, when, and as often, as it ſhall ſeem good to the Superior of this College,* &c. (t)

The Oath taken by the Members of the Engliſh *Seminaries.*

(t) *Continuation of* Sanders de Schiſmate Anglicano.

To give farther Encouragement, Pope *Pius* the Vth ſent his *Brief*, to the Students of theſe Colleges to execute the Scheme, and undertake the Miſſion for *England*: And that they might act without claſhing, and with the better Harmony, he put them all under the Direction of Dr. *Alan*, afterwards Cardinal.

Fuller's *Church Hiſtory Book* 9. *p.* 91.

And now the Court of *Rome* having waited a long Time for Queen *Elizabeth*'s Recollection, and deſpairing of her Recovery, reſolv'd to proceed to Extremities, and declare her excommunicated. I ſhall tranſlate the *Bull* as it ſtands in *Sanders*'s Book, *De Schiſmate Anglican.* (*u*)

(u) pag. 423.

The Pope's Bull for excommunicating the Queen and abſolving the Subjects from their Allegiance.

A declaratory Sentence of our Holy Lord Pope Pius *the* Vth, *againſt* Elizabeth, *pretended Queen of* England, *and all Hereticks adhering to her. By Virtue of which Sentence all her Subjects are abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and all other Engagements whatſoever: And thoſe who for the Future ſhall obey her, are pronounc'd excommunicated.*

“*Pius* Biſhop, Servant to the Servants of God, for a Memorial of the Matter.

“He that reigns Above, to whom all Power in Heaven and in Earth is given, has conſign'd his one holy Catholick Church, out of which there's no Salvation, to the ſole Government of St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, and his Succeſſor the Biſhop of *Rome*. This Succeſſor he has conſtituted Supreme over all Nations and Kingdoms *to root out, and to pull down, to deſtroy, to build and to plant*; to the End, that the Faithful being incorporated by mutual Charity, may be preſerv'd in the Unity of the Spirit, and preſented unblemiſh'd and acceptable to their Saviour. The Goodneſs of God having pleas'd to ſet us at the Helm, and intruſt us with the Preſidency in his Church, we have omitted no Opportunities, but exerted our ſelves to the Utmoſt that Unity and Catholick Religion might be inviolably maintain'd, which God for the Tryal of Integrity, and for the Puniſhment of Misbehaviour, has ſuffer'd to labour under ſo great a Calamity.

Jer. 1.

“But now the Ungodly are grown up to ſuch a Degree of Power, that there is no Part of Chriſtendom in which they have not endeavour'd to ſcatter their Infection and Poiſon with their Heterodoxies; that Vaſſal of Iniquity, the pretended Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, being particularly active, and affording Shelter and Sanctuary to the moſt Criminal of this Kind. This Woman having ſeiz'd the Crown, and by a monſtrous Uſurpation challenging the Authority and Juriſdiction of ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, has brought the Kingdom, lately recover'd to the Catholick Faith, to a lamentable Condition: And thus having by Force prohibited the Profeſſion of the true Religion, formerly ſuppreſs'd by that Revolter King *Henry* the VIIIth, and with the Aſſiſtance of this *See*, reſtor'd by the lawful Queen *Mary*, of famous Memory, ſhe has given in to the Misbelief of the Hereticks, diſmiſs'd the Nobility from the Council *Board*, and furniſhing it with People who have neither Birth nor Principles to recommend them, has diſcountenanc'd the Catholicks, and reſtor'd the ſcandalous Preachers and Miniſters of Iniquity to their former Poſts. The Sacrifice of the Maſs, the ſtated Prayers and Faſts, the Diſtinctions of Diet, *Cœlibacy*, and other Catholick Ceremonies, are thrown out of Uſe. And inſtead of theſe, ſhe has order'd Books ſtuff'd with downright Heresy, to be publickly recommended to the Kingdom, and commanded her Subjects to comply with ungodly Myſteries, practis'd by her ſelf upon *Calvin*'s Directions: She has farther preſum'd to deprive the Biſhops, Rectors of Churches, and other Catholick Prieſts of their Churches and Benefices, and barr'd them the Exerciſe of their Function, diſpos'd of their Preferments to Hereticks, undertaken the Cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, forbid the Prelates, Clergy, and Laity, the Acknowledgment of the Superiority of the Church of *Rome*, or to obey the Precepts and canonical Sanctions of that Communion, brought a great many to a Compliance with her ſcandalous Laws, to a Renunciation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to forſwear all Obedience to him, and by the ſame ſolemn Engagement of an Oath, to acknowledge her ſole Sovereign, both in Temporal and Spiritual Matters: Executing the Penalties of her *Statutes* upon thoſe who continue in the Unity of the Catholick Faith, pay their cuſtomary Obedience to us, and refuſe to ſubmit to her Innovations: To which may be added her Impriſoning the Catholick Biſhops and Prieſts: In which Durance, a great many after a long Hardſhip, have ended their Days.

“All theſe Things being ſo notorious over all *Europe*, and prov'd by ſo much unqueſtionable Evidence, as not to admit of any Excuſe, Apology, or Colour of Evaſion: Conſidering wicked and intolerable Practice has been multiplied to ſo many Inſtances, that the Perſecution of the Faithful grows worſe and worſe, and the Batteries are played with more Force upon Religion, and all by the Means and Inſtigation of the ſaid *Elizabeth*; Conſidering her Mind is ſo far harden'd, as not only to deſpiſe the wholeſome Advice and Sollicitations of Catholick Princes, for her Converſion, but likewiſe to refuſe admitting the *Nuncio* ſent to her from this *See*: Theſe Things conſider'd, we are conſtrain'd to have Recourſe to thoſe Remedies which Juſtice ſuggeſts, being extremely troubled at the Neceſſity of ſuch an Application; and that we ſhould be driven to the Uſe of rugged Expedients againſt a Lady, whoſe Anceſtors have been ſo ſerviceable to the Intereſt of Chriſtianity.

“In Virtue therefore of his Authority, who has been pleaſed to advance us to the ſupreme Seat of Juſtice, tho' underproportion'd to ſupport ſo great a Weight, we out of the Plenitude of our Apoſtolical Authority, declare the aforeſaid *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and an Encourager of Hereticks. And that thoſe who adhere to her in the Practices above-mention'd, lie under the Cenſure of an *Anathema*, and are cut off from the Unity of the Body of Chriſt: We likewiſe declare the ſaid *Elizabeth* depriv'd of the pretended Right to the Kingdom above-mention'd, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege whatſoever: And that all the Nobility and Subjects of the ſaid Realm, who have ſworn to her in any Manner whatſoever, are for ever abſolv'd from any ſuch Oath, and from all Obligation of Fidelity and Allegiance; and by Virtue of theſe Preſents we actually abſolve them, and deprive the ſaid *Elizabeth* of the pretended Right to the Crown, and all other Pre-eminencies and Privileges above-mention'd. We likewiſe command all the Nobility, Subjects, and others above-mention'd, that they don't preſume to obey her Orders, Commands, or Laws for the Future: And thoſe who Act otherwiſe, are involv'd in the ſame Sentence of Excommunication. And becauſe the conveying this original Inſtrument to all Places "requiſite, may be impracticable, our Pleaſure "is, that a Tranſcript atteſted by a publick "Notary, and ſeal'd with the Seal of a Prelate, "or that of his Court, ſhall have the ſame Credit every where, both judicially and extrajudicially, as if the Original it ſelf was exhibited. Dated at *Rome*, at St. *Peters*, in the Year "of the Incarnation of our Lord, One thouſand five hundred and ſixty nine, and the Fifth "Year of our Popedom.

Cæ. Glorierius.
H. Cumyn.

De Schiſmate Anglicano, Pag. 427.

Cambden Eliz. p. 182.

About Two Years after, one *John Felton* was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd for publiſhing this *Bull*, and paſting it up on the Gates of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace. *Sanders* takes the Freedom to commend him for his Zeal and Conſtancy in Suffering. But he is not ſo well pleas'd with the Paſſiveneſs and loyal Behaviour of others of his Communion. The reſt of the Catholicks, ſays he, either becauſe they did not believe the *Bull* publiſh'd in Form, or that they perceiv'd foreign Princes of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, continued their Correſpondence with Queen *Elizabeth*; or that becauſe *Pius* the Vth dying ſoon after, they were not aſſur'd of the *Bulls* being confirm'd by his Succeſſor; or out of Fear of expoſing their Lives and Fortunes: In ſhort, *Sanders* is at a Loſs upon which of theſe Motives the *Roman* Catholicks govern'd themſelves. However, he grants they kept on their Allegiance, and own'd the Queen for their Sovereign. And as to the Grounds of their Acquieſcence, 'tis charitable to interpret them to the beſt Senſe; eſpecially ſince ſome of them, as will appear afterwards, have ſolemnly declar'd for unexceptionable Principles.

Interrogatories put to the Students in the Inns of Court.

Ann. Dom. 1569.

This excommunicating Bull, and the late Rebellion in the North, made the Government more ſtrict in looking after the *Papiſts*: The *Inward* and *Middle-Temple* in *London* was mark'd for Perſons of this Communion, who declar'd againſt the *Reformation*: 'Twas thought fit therefore to put Interrogatories to ſome of the *Students*. To this Purpoſe they were brought before Archbiſhop *Parker*, and ſome other Commiſſioners of the *Star-Chamber*: And here, ſome of them not giving Satisfaction, were committed to the *Fleet*. Theſe Commiſſioners were furniſh'd with Inſtructions from the Privy *Council*, amongſt which the Queſtions to be ask'd, are mention'd. Theſe Interrogatories are interlin'd with the Archbiſhop's Hand: Some of them are theſe,

"*Firſt*, Whether you have commonly frequented the *Temple*-Church at Service-Time? "*Item*, Whether you have receiv'd the Communion in the *Temple*-Church as others of the "Houſe have done? *Item*, Whether you ſaid of "late Time, that the Marriage of Prieſts was "unlawful, and their Children Baſtards? *Item*, "Whether you have in your Keeping, a certain "lewd Libel, entitled, *An Act to know a Knave*, "or any other ſuch like, or whether any other "to your Knowledge has any ſuch? *Item*, You "being requeſted in your Chamber to go to a "Sermon at *Paul*'s Croſs, whether you ſaid, "*you would not hear one Knave of them all?* And "that Mr. *Alvey*, Maſter of the *Temple*, ſtood in "the Pulpit like a Crow-keeper? (*w*) The "Two firſt Interrogatories, and the laſt but one were to be put to all the diſaffected Perſons convented before them. *Paget* and *Stone*, *Students* of the Temple were examin'd upon more Queſtions. That is, whether they heard *Maſs* in the *Temple, White-fryers*, or the *Spittle*? Whether at Maſs they pray'd for the Queen? Whether they had the Books of *Harding* and *Dorman* againſt her Majeſty's Supremacy? Whether they had no *Bulls* of Abſolution in their Cuſtody?

(*w*) Petit's MSS. Parker's Life, p. 287.

And to prevent the Spreading of Popery, and preſs Conformity in the Country, the Privy Council wrote to the reſpective Sheriffs of Counties, that all ſuch as were in Commiſſion for the Peace ſhould ſubſcribe an Inſtrument for obſerving the *Uniformity Act*, and for frequenting divine Service in the Pariſh Churches. Theſe Papers were ſign'd by the Juſtices in many Counties, and ſent up to the Privy *Council* with Letters of Information touching their Proceedings, and the Iſſue of this Affair.

Inſtruments for Conformity ſign'd by the Juſtices of Peace.

"One of the Inſtruments runs thus:

"Our humble Duties remembred unto your "Lordſhips. This is to ſignify to the ſame, "that we, whoſe Names are by our ſelves underwritten, do acknowledge, that it is our "bounden Duty to obſerve the Contents of the "Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the* "*Uniformity of the Common-Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* "And for Obſervation of the ſame Law, we do "hereby firmly promiſe; and every of us and "our Families, will, and ſhall repair and reſort, "at all Times convenient, to our own Pariſh "Churches, and upon reaſonable Impediment, "to other uſual Chapels and Places for the ſame "Common-Prayers, and there ſhall devoutly "and duly hear, and take Part of the ſame "Common-Prayers, and all other divine Service. And ſhall alſo receive the Holy Sacrament from Time to Time, according to the "Tenor of the ſaid Act of Parliament. Neither ſhall any of us that hath ſubſcrib'd, do "or ſay, or aſſent, or ſuffer any Thing to be "done, or ſaid by our Procurement or Allowance, in Contempt, Lack or Reproof of any "Part of Religion eſtabliſh'd by the foreſaid "Act. In Witneſs whereof, we have ſubſcrib'd "this preſent writing. (*x*)

(*x*) Strype's *Annal.* p. 556.

On the other Hand the *Puritans* believing the Juncture favourable, were buſy in projecting new Schemes, and bringing the *Reformation* to the *Geneva* Standard.

One *Chriſtopher Forſter* alias *Coleman* took the Freedom to remonſtrate againſt the Church in a Letter to Secretary *Cecil*, and ſolicit for a great many Amendments. And ſince he delivers the Senſe of his Party, ſpeaks in their Phraſe, and argues in their Manner, I ſhall tranſcribe Part of his Letter. —

The Diſſenter Coleman's *Letter to Secretary* Cecil.

Right Honourable,

"I write in Zeal, and Love has compell'd me "out of a ſimple Heart; Praying your Honour "that you will not be offended with nothing; "beſeeching God to make your Honour Zealous in promoting hereafter. The godly Prophets have been many Times ignorant of "God's Will, and have done Things of their "own Affection. As when *David* ask'd *Nathan* "of the Building of the Temple, the Prophet "knowing that he was a godly King, and that "God did proſper him in many Things, bid "him do what his Heart thought good, and yet "afterwards forbad him. Again, *Samuel* would "have anointed the eldeſt Son of *Saul*. *

* *He means* Jeſſe.

"Even ſo the Prophet told *Ezechias*, that he "ſhould die. Yet afterwards he came again, "and told him that he ſhould live. It is the Nature

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of Cant.*

“ Nature of the Godly, when they know further of God's Will revealed, they are not aſhamed to tell it, and amend it. The Lord knoweth what great Imperfection is in the Holieſt. *David* had a great Zeal in bringing home the Ark, yet he fail'd in the Means: *Gideon* made an Ephod; it was the Deſtruction of his Houſe. *Uzzah* in touching the Ark did not well; for God will not have Man's Devices in his Buſineſs, but Obedience to his Word. *Jeroboam*'s Policy in ſetting up the Calves, the Lord deſpiſed it. The Altar that *Achaz* would have in *Samaria*, it was to garniſh the Temple; and a fairer Altar than the firſt, was a jolly Shew for worldly Men, deſiring always outward Things to pleaſe their Senſes. *Manaſſes* builded a new Altar, and was reproved for it, *&c.* (y)

(y) Strype Annal.

This is ſufficient to give a Sketch of the Performance, the reſt, which I have omitted, runs in the ſame ſtrein. The Addreſs, 'tis probable, was honeſtly intended: But notwithſtanding this Air of Sincerity and Concern, the Man had no Talent for Logick and cloſe Thinking: His Reaſonings are incoherent, and his Inſtances foreign to his Purpoſe.

In *September*, this Year, *Gilbert Bourn*, late Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, departed this Life. He was a Perſon of good Learning, of a gentle unperſecuting Temper, and recover'd ſeveral Eſtates to his *See* which had been ſacrilegiouſly wreſted from it. After his being depriv'd for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Dean of *Exeter*, where he was well uſed. *

* Godwin de Præſul. Angl.

The Earl of Murray *aſſaſſinated.*

In the latter End of this Year the Earl of *Murray*, *Regent* of *Scotland*, was piſtoll'd as he rode through *Lithgow*, and died of the Wound. He was ſhot by one *Hamilton*, upon a private Quarrel. This Gentleman, who was in the Queen's Intereſt, had been impriſon'd by *Murray*, and menac'd with Execution; and at laſt he was glad to make his Peace by parting with an Eſtate to one of *Murray*'s Dependents. His Wife, by whom this Eſtate came, fell diſtracted upon the Loſs. *Hamilton* being inrag'd with this Uſage, broke Priſon, and aſſaſſinated *Murray*. After this he made his Eſcape into *France*: And being taken Notice of for a bold enterprizing Perſon, he was ſolicited to repeat the ſame Practice upon Admiral *Coligny*. But he refuſ'd the Service, and told them, He had no Warrant from *Scotland* to murder in *France*; and that though he had taken Satiſfaction for the Injury done to himſelf, he ſhould not engage this Way upon any Motive in other Mens Diſputes. (x)

(z) Cambden Eliz. Spotſwood.

As to the Character of the Earl of *Murray*, 'tis differently drawn. Thoſe who overturn'd the Government, and forc'd the Queen to reſign, commended him for ſuppreſſing Popery, for preſerving the young Prince, for the Juſtice of his Adminiſtration, for his Bounty to Men of Learning, and particularly to *Buchanan*. On the other Side, the Queen's Friends, who were the Loyal Party, loaded his Memory. They made him no better than a Hypocrite in Religion: That he pretended a Zeal for the *Reformation* only to carry on his Deſigns of Sacrilege, and to inrich himſelf and his Favourites with the Church-Lands: That he had been ſhamefully ungrateful to the Queen his Siſter, and inſulted the Diſadvantage of her Sex: And that there was little Reaſon to expect that he who had us'd the Mother thus barbarouſly, would have ever prov'd true to the Son. The Queen of *Scots* was troubled at the News of his being thus ſuddenly taken off: She lamented his not having Time to recollect himſelf, and repent his Miſbehaviour to his Prince and Country.

Elizabeth Q.

Cambden, Ibid.

Hamilton *excommunicated by the Aſſembly.*

The *Aſſembly* of the Church at *Edinborough* publiſh'd an Abhorrence of the *Regent*'s Murder, and order'd the Aſſaſſine ſhould be declar'd excommunicated in all the chief Burroughs of the Kingdom; and that whoever afterwards were convicted of being either Principal or Acceſſary, ſhould lie under the ſame Cenſure. At this *Meeting*, amongſt other Regulations for Diſcipline, an Act paſſed for the publick Inauguration of Miniſters. This Solemnity was deſign'd to tie them to their Functions, and keep them from rambling into foreign Profeſſions: For it ſeems ſome of them had deſerted from the *Pulpit* to the *Bar*, and pleaded before the *Lords of Seſſion*. (a)

An. Dom. 1570.

(a) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſt.*

Upon the Death of *Murray*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntley*, with ſome other Noblemen, attempted to reſtore the Queen, publiſh'd a Proclamation in her Majeſty's Name, and ſummon'd a Parliament to be held at *Lithgow* in *Auguſt* following: But by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Aſſiſtance this Party was over-born, and the Earl of *Lenox*, the young Prince's Grandfather, declar'd *Regent*.

Id *Page* 241.

The Church held a General *Aſſembly* in *Edinborough* at the ſame Time. And here one Mr. *James Carmitchel*, Maſter of the School of St. *Andrews*, preferr'd an Information againſt Mr. *Robert Hambleton*, Miniſter of the City. The Charge related to ſome Points of Doctrine deliver'd by *Hambleton* in the Pulpit. The Articles are not particularly mention'd. But in the Sixth *Seſſion* of this *Aſſembly* Mr. *James Mackgill* Clerk of the *Regiſter*, Mr. *John Bellanden* of *Aucknoule*, Juſtice *Clerk*, and Mr. *Archibald Dowglaſs*, one of the Lords of the College of Juſtice, were ſent from the Chancellor and *Council* to require them “To forbear deciding any Thing upon the Matter in Hand: That the King's Authority was concern'd in the Caſe: That ſome of the Articles border'd upon Treaſon: And that Things of this Nature belong to the Cognizance of the Nobility and *Council*. Notwithſtanding this Reſtraint, the Meſſage gave them Liberty to proceed in the Management of ſuch Things as lay within the *Verge* of their Juriſdiction.

July the 11th 1570.

This Order was thought reaſonable, and agreed to by the Church. (b) In the ſame *Aſſembly* Mr. *David Lindſey* and Mr. *Andrew Hay* were commiſſionated to ſolicit the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Eglinton*, and *Caſſils*, the Lord *Boyd*, and other Barons and Gentlemen in the Weſt Parts, to quit the Queen's Intereſt. The Laird of *Dun* had another Reſembling Commiſſion to gain the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Ogilvy*, and their Abbetors in *Angus*. And here they had Inſtructions to add Menaces to Perſwaſion, and to acquaint theſe Noblemen, *&c.* that in Caſe they did not return to the King's Obedience, the Sword of Excommunication ſhould be drawn, and the Thunder of the Church diſcharg'd upon them.

(b) MS *Acts of the Aſſembly.* Fol 433.

Spotſwood.

The Aſſembly threatens to excommunicate the Lords in the Queen's Intereſt.

Ibid.

As to *State* Matters, the *Regent*'s Party by Countenance of the *Engliſh* Court gain'd upon their Enemies, and with other Advantages, ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*. There were ſeveral Perſons of Quality in this Place, and amongſt others *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who was afterwards convey'd to *Sterling*, and executed on a Gibbet ſet up for that Purpoſe.

The Archbiſhop of St. Andrews *executed.*

He was the firſt Biſhop that ſuffer'd by Forms of Juſtice in this Kingdom. As to his Character, he had a competent Share of Learning, a good Head for Buſineſs, and was of an enterprizing

Temper. The Ignominy of his Death was much cenſur'd, as very unſuitable to his Quality and Station; but his lying under a Suſpicion of incouraging the Murder of the King, and *Regent*, made him fall unpitied by the Generality. 'Tis ſaid, that being queſtion'd for the *Regent*'s Murder, he confeſs'd he might have prevented it for ſome Time at leaſt, and was ſorry for not doing what lay in his Power: But as to the King's Death, he denied his being the leaſt guilty in that Matter. But this Relation ſeems ſomewhat without Ground: For 'tis certain the Archbiſhop moved earneſtly for a Trial, and was refuſed; but the *Regent*'s Parliament had declar'd him a Rebel, and for this he ſuffer'd, without other Formalities: And to make ſure of him, his Execution was hurried, for fear Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould interpoſe for his Reſcue.

Id. Page 252.

The Kirk Miniſters refuſe to pray for the Queen as their Sovereign.

The Regent having ſummon'd a Parliament to meet at *Edinborough*, the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, the Lords *Herris*, *Boyd*, and others, who ſtood for the Queen, march'd hither. And here to prevent the Meeting of the Eſtates, they order'd the Clerks to deliver up the Council-Books and Records of Parliament, and ſeized every Thing which they conceiv'd might make the Meeting impracticable. The Miniſters were likewiſe commanded to pray publickly for the Queen as their Sovereign: But this Order was diſobey'd by *Knox*, and the reſt. And here ſetting aſide the Debate of the Queſtion, not examining whether they were right or wrong, I can't help commending them for the Conſiſtency of their Practice. They might be Rebels; but 'tis certain they were no Hypocrites: They had Courage to maintain their Sentiment, to face the Danger, and ſtand the Event.

The Queens Declaration publiſh'd in the Star-Chamber.

The Roman Catholicks came to Church for Nine or Ten Years together.

To return to *England*; The Queen notwithſtanding the Provocations from the Court of *Rome*, was willing to ſcreen the *Roman* Catholicks from unneceſſary Proſecutions, and aſſure them of her Protection upon peaceable Behaviour. To this Purpoſe, the Secretary had Directions to draw a Declaration in her Majeſty's Name, to be publiſh'd by the Lord Keeper in the *Star-Chamber*. The Subſtance of it was, "That whereas certain Rumours had been ſpread, that her Majeſty intended to make Enquiry into the Conſciences of her Subjects, and examine them ſtrictly *in Matters of Belief*, ſhe would have them underſtand that theſe Reports were altogether groundleſs, and Suggeſtions of Malice or Miſtake: For though ſome Perſons have been lately brought before her Majeſty's *Council*, and queſtion'd in Matters of Religion; yet this Trouble was altogether occaſion'd by their own Miſbehaviour: 'Twas becauſe they had broke the Laws; becauſe they declin'd coming to Church, to Common-Prayer, and Divine Service, as they had uſually done for Nine or Ten Years together: And that unleſs they had broke off their Conformity, and liv'd in open Contempt of her Majeſty's Laws, they had never been in the leaſt moleſted.

"The Queen therefore warns all her Subjects not to entertain any Jealouſies of Rigour, nor give Credit to falſe Reports: For that 'tis not her Intention to preſs into the Retirements of Conſcience; but that all who conform to her Laws ſhall be look'd on as good Subjects, and treated accordingly.

While the Government was watching the Motions of the *Roman* Catholicks, and ſtanding upon their Guard againſt the Court of *Rome*, the *Puritans* gain'd Ground another Way. Under the Favour of this Juncture they ſtarted new Scruples, beat out their Scheme farther, and plaid their Force againſt the Church; for now more Objections were advanc'd, and the Breach made wider. The *Habit* of the Clergy, and the Sign of the Croſs, were formerly the only Things they ſtuck at: But now their Conſciences grew more narrow and perplex'd: Now they came forward in their Demands of Reformation, and attack'd the Government of the Church. Theſe Malecontents were numerous in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and headed by *Thomas Cartwright* already mention'd. This Man at his Return from *Geneva* had a ſtrong Party in the Univerſity; inſomuch that upon Dr. *William Chaderton*'s Reſignation of the Divinity-*Lecture*, founded by the Lady *Margaret*, *Cartwright* ſucceeded in the *Chair*. And here he manag'd in a very Heterodox Manner; and, as *Chaderton* wrote to Chancellor *Cecil*, read dangerous Lectures, and maintain'd Opinions intolerable in a Chriſtian Commonwealth. *Cartwright* was now Fellow of *Trinity*-College, where there was one *Chapman*, who at a Divinity-Act denied Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, and aſſerted the Unlawfulneſs of having two Livings. About this Time one *Some*, another of *Cartwright*'s Party, preach'd a Sermon at St. *Mary's* againſt Non-reſidence and Pluralities. In this Diſcourſe he threw out ſeveral ſcandalous Aſſertions againſt the Government both in Church and *State*: With Reference to the *State*, he declar'd the Queen's Laws not only permitted, but enacted a great many Damnable and Deviliſh Things. As to the Church, he declaim'd againſt the Court of *Faculties*, and call'd it a Deviliſh and Deteſtable Regulation, and that he hop'd to ſee it pull'd down. 2. The Epiſcopal Function he lik'd well enough; but the modern Method of Election diſpleas'd him: And beſides, he thought they graſp'd too much Juriſdiction, and ſtretch'd their Authority too far over the Clergy. 3. He maintain'd that thoſe who had Paſtoral Charges were oblig'd to conſtant Reſidence, unleſs their Pariſh would ſometimes give them Leave to be Abſent: But Prebendaries, he ſaid, were only Exhibitioners, and at Liberty to live where they pleaſed. 4. That Excommunication, as 'twas now manag'd, had no Warrant from *Scripture*, neither ſhould ſuch Cenſures be lodg'd in any ſingle Hand.

Cartwright *attacks the Government of the Church in his Lectures at* **Cambridge.**

Some's *Intemperate Diſcourſe.*

Diſorders in the Univerſity.

To ſecond theſe Singularities, Seditious Libels were publickly ſcatter'd in the Schools: They contain'd a Remonſtrance againſt Wealth and Diſtinction, reviv'd ſomething of the Frenzies of *Jack Straw* and *Wat Tyler*, and moved for Levelling. Poor Men, they ſaid, were held to Labour and Servitude; but the Prince and the Doctors carried off the Product, and made their Figure out of the Common Calamity. In ſhort, this Univerſity grew mutinous to a remarkable Degree, ſeem'd prepar'd to fly in the Face of the Government, and attempt an Alteration both in Church and State.

Dr. *Chaderton* acquainted the Chancellor *Cecil* with this ill Condition of Affairs, and preſs'd for a ſpeedy Remedy: That according as he thought proper, he might either act upon his ſingle Authority, or ſtrengthen his Character by an Order of *Council*: That *Cambridge* was in a great Meaſure diſturb'd with a turbulent Humour: That Schiſm and Error were openly maintain'd without Modeſty and Reſerve: That this Miſchief, unleſs ſeaſonably check'd, would not only deſtroy the Repoſe of the Univerſity, but might ſpread from thence through the whole Church and Kingdom.

Grindal, now *Archbiſhop* of *York*, foreſeeing the Conſequences of theſe Diſputes, wrote to *Cecil* upon the ſame Subject. And here to do Juſtice to the Biſhop's Memory, and clear him from all Imputations of *Puritaniſm*, I ſhall give the *Reader* the Letter in his own Words.

Archbiſhop Grindal's Letter to Cecil concerning Cartwright.

June 24. An. Dom. 1570.

“ I am to move you for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; which if you help not ſpeedily, your Authority will ſhortly grow to great Diſorder. There is one *Cartwright*, B. D. and Reader of my Lady *Margaret*'s Divinity-*Lecture*, who, as I am very credibly inform'd, maketh in his Lectures daily Invectives againſt the extern Policy and Diſtinction of States, in the Eccleſiaſtical Government of this Realm. His own Poſitions, and ſome other Aſſertions, which have been utter'd by him, I ſend herewith. The Youth of the Univerſity, which is at this Time very toward in Learning, doth frequent his Lectures in great Numbers; and therefore in Danger to be poiſon'd by him with Love of Contention, and Liking of Novelties; and ſo become hereafter not only unprofitable, but alſo hurtful to the Church. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houſes proceed not ſo roundly in this Caſe as were requiſite, in my Judgment. For reforming whereof, if it pleaſe you to know my Opinion, I wiſh you wrote your Letters to the Vice-Chancellor with Expedition, willing him to command the ſaid *Cartwright* and all his Adherents to Silence, both in Schools and Pulpits; and afterward, upon examining and hearing the Matters paſt, before him and ſome of the Heads, or all, either to reduce the Offenders to Conformity, or to proceed to their Puniſhment by Expulſion out of their Colleges, or out of the Univerſity, as the Cauſe ſhall require. And alſo, that the Vice-Chancellor do not ſuffer the ſaid *Cartwright* to proceed Doctor of Divinity at this Commencement, which he now ſueth for. For, beſides the Singularity above rehearſed, the ſaid *Cartwright* is not conformable in his Apparel, contemning alſo many other laudable Orders of the Univerſity. Thus I ceaſe to trouble, and commend you heartily to the Grace of God. (e)

To this Letter theſe Aſſertions of *Cartwright* are ſubjoin'd, *viz.*

Some of Cartwright's Opinions.

Archiepiſcoporum & Archidiaconorum Nomina Suſpecta ſunt.

1. *Archiepiſcoporum, Archidiaconorum, Cancellariorum, Commiſſariorum, &c. (ut hodie apud nos ſunt) Munera, Apoſtolica Inſtitutione non nituntur, cui reſtituendæ quiſq; pro ſua Vocatione ſtudere debet; (Intelligo autem id pro Vocatione ſua) ut Magiſtratus Authoritate, Eccleſiæ Miniſtri Verbo, ſinguli eam promoveant. Ita tamen ut nihil tumultuariè, aut ſeditioſè fiat.*

2. *Miniſtrorum Electio quæ apud nos eſt ab Inſtitutione Apoſtolica deflexit, cui reſtituendæ, ſic ut prædictum eſt, ſinguli ſtudere debent. Nolim autem me putet quiſpiam omnes damnare, tanquàm a Miniſterio alienos, qui ad illam Inſtitutionem hactenus non fuerint Cooptati.*

Theſe Propoſitions were deliver'd by *Cartwright* to the Vice-Chancellor as his Opinion. The Archbiſhop inform'd the Chancellor of ſome other Heterodoxies held by this Divine; but thoſe ſhall be poſtpon'd a little to be mention'd with the reſt.

On the other Hand, *Cartwright* and his Friends wrote to the Chancellor, and endeavour'd to juſtify their Conduct.

Being thus ſolicited, *Cecil* endeavour'd to take up the Controverſy, and give Satisfaction, by gentle Applications. In his Letter wrote to the Heads of the Univerſity, he premis'd a favourable Conſtruction of *Cartwright*'s Singularities: That he ſeem'd to advance theſe Novelties out of no Ill-meaning or Pride: That he thought it Part of his Buſineſs to examine the Reſemblance of the preſent Church, with that in the Apoſtles Time, and draw a Compariſon between them. After this gentle Repreſentation of *Cartwright*'s Caſe, he in direct Terms forbids him diſcuſſing theſe Queſtions, either in his Lectures or Sermons, 'till farther Order: And that in the Interim, the other Party ſhould forbear Diſputing upon the Points conteſted. And as for ſilencing and ſettling the Controverſy, the Chancellor is willing to refer that Matter to the Deciſion of the Heads.

Aug. 1570.

The Matter being thus put into the Hands of the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, *Cartwright* was injoin'd to forbear reading, not only upon the Points debated, but had Orders not to appear in the Chair. During this Suſpenſion Endeavours were uſed to bring him off his erroneous Opinions. But it ſeems Favour and Application was loſt upon him: He grew more harden'd in his Miſtakes by kind Uſage; ſo that at laſt they concluded it neceſſary to remove him from the Chair. And with this Reſolution *Whitgift*, the Vice-Chancellor, and the reſt of the Heads, acquainted *Cecil*. In their Letter to this Chancellor, they incloſ'd a Copy of *Cartwright*'s Propoſitions, ſign'd by himſelf. Theſe were more crudely expreſs'd, and more liable to Cenſure, than thoſe complain'd of by Archbiſhop *Grindal*: For *Cartwright* was now gone off to remoter Diſtance, and grew worſe upon Time. The Aſſertions are theſe:

He goes farther in his Heterodoxies.

I. The Names and Functions of Archbiſhops and Archdeacons ought to be ſuppreſs'd.

II. The Names of lawful Miniſters in the Church, ſuch as Biſhops and Deacons, when abſtracted from the Office deſcribed in the *Holy Scripture*, are likewiſe to be rejected, and the whole brought back to Apoſtolical Inſtitution. And thus the Biſhops Function ought to be limited to Praying and Preaching, and the Deacons to taking Care of the Poor.

III. The Government of the Church ought not to be entruſted with Biſhops Chancellors, or Archdeacons Officials, but lodg'd in the Hands of the Miniſter and Elders of the ſame Church.

IV. That the Miniſtry ought not to go looſe and at large; but that every one ought to be tied to a particular Congregation.

V. That no Body ought to ſolicit for the Function of a Miniſter, nor ſtand Candidate, as it were, for that Imployment.

VI. That Miniſters ought not to be ordain'd by the ſole Authority of the Biſhop, much leſs are they to receive Orders in a Study, or ſuch private Place; but this Office ought to be conferr'd by a publick Choice of the Congregation.

Aſſertions maintain'd by him and his Party.

Beſides theſe Heterodoxies and Miſrepreſentations of the Government of the Church, there were ſeveral other unſound Propoſitions maintain'd by *Cartwright* and his Party. And of theſe the *Chancellor* had an Account ſent him this Year. They are rang'd under the following Articles:

I. In Reforming the Church 'tis neceſſary to proceed upon the firſt Model, and bring every Thing up to Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

II. None ought to be admitted into the Miniſtry unleſs qualified for Teaching. And thoſe who have no Talent for this Function, ought to forfeit their Character, and be diſcharged.

(e) *Paper Office.*

III. Preaching, Prayers, and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, ought to be perform'd by the ſame Perſon. From hence it follows, that thoſe who are not *Miniſters of the Word*, that is, thoſe who can't preach, ought neither to pray publickly for the Congregation, nor adminſter the Sacraments.

IV. Popiſh Prieſts have no Authority to be Miniſters of the Goſpel by Virtue of their own Ordinations.

V. Nothing but Canonical *Scripture* ought to be publickly read in the Church.

VI. The Church *Liturgy* ought to be ſo form'd for Publick Service, that no Allowance ſhould be left for private Prayer or Reading; but that all the Audience ſhould attend to the Miniſter, whether Preaching or Praying.

VII. That the Office of burying the Dead belongs no more to the Miniſter than to the reſt of the Pariſh.

VIII. That all Portions of *Scripture*, all Names and Diſtinctions of God Almighty, are to be be treated with the ſame Reverence and Regard. And therefore 'tis againſt Reaſon to enjoin the People to ſtand at the reading of the *Goſpel*, or to bow and pull off their Hats at the Name of *Jeſus*.

IX. That Sitting at the Holy Communion is as lawful and defenſible a Poſture as Kneeling or ſtanding; and over and above, is more convenient, becauſe it gives the better Image of a Supper.

X. That the Sacraments ought not to be adminiſter'd in private Places, not by the Miniſters themſelves, much leſs by Women and private Perſons; as Baptiſm is ſometimes adminiſter'd to Infants, and the Lord's-Supper to thoſe in Danger of Death.

XI. That to make uſe of the Sign of the Croſs in the Baptiſm of Infants is a ſuperſtitious Practice; and giving the cuſtomary Reaſons for the Uſe of this Ceremony, makes it ſtill more intollerable.

XII. 'Tis very reaſonable the Father ſhould preſent the Child to the Church for Baptiſm, and make a Confeſſion of that Faith in which he intends to inſtruct him: And that this ought to be done without a repreſenting Form, or anſwering *I will*, *I will not*, *I believe*, and ſo forth, in the Name of the Infant. Neither is it to be ſuffer'd that the Child's Name ſhould be given by a Woman in the Church, or that an ignorant Boy ſhould engage for the good Education of the Infant: By an ignorant One is meant a Perſon not qualified to receive the Lord's-Supper.

XIII. That in giving Names at Baptiſm all Reſemblance with *Paganiſm* ſhould be avoided: And beſides, the Names of *Offices* ſhould be declin'd upon ſuch Occaſions, ſuch as that of *Chriſt*, *Angel*, *Baptiſt*, *&c.*

XIV. That to forbid Matrimony at certain Times of the Year, is a Popiſh Fancy: But to take Money for a Licence within the Times prohibited is ſtill more intolerable.

XV. To give any Perſons liberty to marry without acquainting the Congregation, who are the proper Judges of the Impediments, (in caſe there ſhould be any) is unlawful.

XVI. The keeping *Lent*, together with *Friday* and *Saturday*, either upon Motives of Superſtition, or otherwiſe, is unlawful; neither is it a ſufficient Defence to ſettle the Keeping theſe Faſts upon Reaſons of *State*.

XVII. Keeping Holidays is unlawful; and ſo are Fairs upon the Lord's Day.

XVIII. Theſe Words [*Receive the Holy Ghoſt*] at the Ordination of Miniſters, is a ridiculous and wicked Expreſſion.

XIX. Kings and Biſhops ought not to be anointed. (*f*)

As to *Cartwright*, there was no prevailing with him to retract his Errors. Being thus incorrigible, he was depriv'd of his *Profeſſor*'s Place, and ſoon after of his Preferment in the College.

This Year Archbiſhop *Parker* made ſome Regulations for his Court of *Faculties*.

Regulations in the Archbiſhop's Court of Faculties.

I. By this Order no Faculty was to be granted but upon Petition made in Writing to the Archbiſhop, which was to be examin'd and ſign'd by him, or by the Maſter of the Faculties, with theſe Words, *Fiat Petitio prout petitur*.

II. The ſtated Fee for every ſuch Faculty was to be inſerted at the Bottom of the Petition by the Archbiſhop, or Maſter of the Faculties. The Petition thus ſign'd, was to be a Warrant to the Clerk of the Faculties to make out the Inſtrument.

III. The Clerk of the Faculty was to enter at the Bottom of the Inſtrument the Fee he received.

IV. The Maſter of the Faculty was to make a ſtrict Inquiry into the Grounds of the Diſpenſation, the Condition and Qualifications of the Perſon, whether the Repreſentation is true, and the Cauſe reaſonable.

V. That a great *Regiſter* ſhall be kept by the Maſter of the Faculties, or ſuch as the Archbiſhop ſhall appoint, in which all Diſpenſations ſealed ſhall be recorded at Length, with a Specification of the Day and Time.

VI. That all Bonds taken for the Indemnity of the Office ſhall be kept in the Archbiſhop's Houſe, in the Cuſtody of ſuch as he ſhall appoint.

VII. That no Diſpenſation ſhall paſs *pro Minore* under Eighteen Years at leaſt, without the expreſs Aſſent of the Archbiſhop. And here a true Certificate of the Perſon's Age was to be given in, and his Friends bound for his being a Clergyman. (*g*) There are ſome other Regulations, but what is already mention'd may be ſufficient to ſhew the Archbiſhop's Precaution to prevent the Miſmanagement of his Courts.

Diſputes about the Form and Kind of the ſacramental Bread.

Notwithſtanding the Care which had been taken for Uniformity in the Ceremonies of the Church, ſome ſingularities were ſtill kept on Foot, even by thoſe who frequented our Communion. For Inſtance, there was different Practice in the Form of the ſacramental Bread. In moſt Churches it was round like a Wafer: But in others the Figure was different, and like Pieces of common Bread. The Wafer Form had been ſettled by the Archbiſhop, and *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*: However, the People were not every where reſigning enough to be govern'd by their Authority. The Court was ſhock'd at the Diſagreement in ſo ſolemn a Part of Religion. And Secretary *Cecil* deſir'd *Parker* to inform him how the Biſhops had order'd this Matter. The Archbiſhop acquainted him in a Letter, that the Biſhop of *London* and himſelf had ſettled this Circumſtance in the Manner above-mention'd: And that they conceiv'd their Order conformable to the Queen's *Injunctions*. He therefore deſires the Secretary to think upon ſome Expedient for general Compliance. And whether this was to be done by Proclamation or otherwiſe, (*h*) is referr'd to the Prudence of this Miniſter.

There was a farther Controverſy about the Kind of the Bread, whether it was to be Wafers, or common Bread. The Archbiſhop determin'd for Wafer-bread: And thus it was directed in his *Injunctions* to the Clergy. But tho'

(*f*) Strype Annal.

(*g*) Archiv. Eccleſ. Cantuar. Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

(*h*) MS. Petyt.

this Order generally prevail'd, yet in ſome Places, both at Court and elſewhere, the Uſage was otherwiſe. This Diverſity occaſioning ſome Diſputes, the Archbiſhop wrote another Letter to Secretary *Cecil* in Defence of his Conduct.

“ He acquaints him what Difference of Opinion there was in the Kingdom touching this Matter: That the greateſt Part of Proteſtants thought it moſt proper to adminiſter the Holy Euchariſt in Wafer-bread, as the *Injunctions* preſcrib'd: But that diverſe others, of what Spirit he could not tell, would have the Loaf-Bread. That once at an Aſſizes, one *Fogg* would have indicted a Prieſt for uſing Wafer-Bread; Where, by Conſequence, the Charge would have fall'n upon the Archbiſhop for injoining it. Mr. *Southcotts* and Mr. *Gerrard*, two of the Judges, viſited the Archbiſhop, and debated this Matter. And here *Parker* gave his Reaſons why the Controverſy ought to be determin'd by the *Injunctions*.

The Archbiſhop's Letter to Secretary Cecil.

“ *Firſt*, He acquainted them, that the Queen diſcourſing him upon this Point, inſiſted upon the *Proviſo* in the *Act* of *Uniformity*: By this Clauſe, in Caſe any Contempt or Irreverence ſhould be us'd in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, the Queen by the Advice of her Commiſſioners or Metropolitan, is impower'd to ordain and publiſh ſuch farther Ceremonies as may be moſt for the Reverence of Chriſt's Holy Myſteries and Sacraments. That by Virtue of this *Proviſo* her Majeſty publiſh'd farther Orders in her *Injunctions*, both for the Communion-Bread, and for placing the Tables within the Choir. That the Preſſing the *Statutes* againſt the *Injunctions*, and making Compariſons between them, is a Failure of Reſpect to the *Crown*: And beſides, this Reaſoning goes upon a Miſtake; for theſe Two Authorities are ſo far from claſhing, that the *Injunctions* are ſupported by a *Proviſo* in the *Statute*.

And whereas 'tis ſaid in the *Rubrick* that, *To remove the Superſtition which any Man has, or might have in the Bread and Wine, it ſhall ſuffice that the Bread be ſuch as is uſually eaten at the Table with other Meats.* Now theſe Words the Archbiſhop interprets to a Toleration, rather than an Appointment: And that the *Rubrick* only indulges ſuch a Latitude when either Wafer-bread cannot be procur'd, or when there is any juſt Fear of ſuperſtitious Opinions in the Uſe of it. Theſe Reaſons determin'd the Archbiſhop, and others of his Order for Wafer-bread. He thinks the Matter not very Material in it ſelf, but the Queen's *Injunctions*, as he goes on, ought to be obey'd: And over and above, the greateſt Part of her Subjects are not reconcil'd to receiving the Sacrament in common Bread, tho' as he was inform'd, the Court had begun this Uſage. (*i*)

(*i*) MSS. Petit. Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

And to the Queen.

About this Time the Archbiſhop wrote to the Queen to ſtop the Innovations projected, and Redreſs the Grievances of the Church. He complains that ſome People out of miſtaken Opinion, and others upon mercenary Views, mov'd for ſuppreſſing the Name and Function of Archbiſhops: That if theſe Men could compaſs their Deſigns ſo far as to put down the Office, or maim the Juriſdiction, he humbly conceives her Majeſty's Privy Council might be ſomewhat embarraſs'd: And that neither the Clergy, nor the *Laity* would be ſo eaſily govern'd: And here he laments the Diſſolution of Manners in the Latter, and the Avarice of Patrons in preſenting upon unreaſonable Conditions. He proceeds to put her Majeſty in mind to what Degree the Clergy were impoveriſh'd: That Arrearages of Tenths and Subſidies paid in a great Meaſure by their Predeceſſors, were exacted of them: And that as far as the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth: Their Poverty was ſo Remarkable that he was forc'd to ſink his Revenues, and wave the Rights of his *See*, to make their Condition more tolerable: That if the Clergy were reduc'd to beggary, Religion muſt ſuffer with them: That ſuch Circumſtances of Diſadvantage would unqualify them for their Function: And thus, as 'tis found upon Experiment, their whole Buſineſs would be not to Study, but to *Live*. And of this he gives ſomething of an Inſtance in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he tells the Queen there were not Two Men able, or willing, to read the Lady *Margaret*'s *Lecture*: And tho' they had a great many Preachers, yet he was afraid ſeveral of them were but ſlenderly furniſh'd for that Employment.

Decemb. 27.

Idem.

The Queen of Scots *Two Letters to the Pope.*

The Queen of *Scots* during her Reſtraint, had by this Time written Thrice to the Pope. In her Second Letter, dated Two Years ſince, ſhe intreats his Holineſs to recommend her Cauſe to the Princes of Chriſtendom: That they would uſe their Intereſt at the *Engliſh* Court, and ſolicit Queen *Elizabeth* for her Enlargement: That ſhe came into *England* purely upon Promiſe of Aſſiſtance. And that provided Queen *Elizabeth* is reſolv'd not to part with her, ſhe may at leaſt be prevail'd with to allow her the Exerciſe of her Religion: That to her great Regret, this Liberty hath been hitherto denied her. That being cloſely confin'd, an *Engliſh* Miniſter had ſaid certain Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue; and that not being at her own Diſpoſal, nor permitted the Uſe of any other Religion, ſhe had not refus'd to hear him. However, if ſhe had fail'd in this, or any other Matter, ſhe begs his Holineſſes Abſolution, with a Proteſtation, that whatever her Miſtakes may have been, ſhe never had any wavering Intention: Nor meant to act otherwiſe than what might be expected from a moſt obedient Daughter of the Holy Catholick *Roman* Church. This Letter is dated from *Caſtlebolton*, *Novem.* 30. 1568. (*k*)

(*k*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, Book IX.

In her 3d Letter ſhe mentions the Pope's Writing to her in *July* this Year. She returns his Holineſs Thanks for endeavouring to promote her Intereſt in the Courts of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. She earneſtly wiſhes the Pope may be ſo ſucceſsful in taking up the Differences between Chriſtian Princes, that they might all unite in a Confederacy againſt the Turk. And that in Caſe the Condition of her Affairs would give Leave, no Perſon would be more forward in ſuch Service than her ſelf. From hence ſhe proceeds to lament her Miſfortune, and that ſhe had loſt the Sovereignty of a Prince, and the Liberty of a common Subject: That her Country had been miſerably harraſs'd by the Incurſions of the *Engliſh*: That unleſs ſhe would run the Hazzard of loſing her Life, and expoſing her Subjects to farther Calamities, ſhe muſt be forc'd to conſent to a Treaty of Diſadvantage with the *Engliſh*: Tho', as they ſaid, nothing inconſiſtent with Conſcience or Honour, ſhould be offer'd. However, ſhe acquaints the Pope one Article was very Shocking. The *Engliſh* inſiſted upon having the young Prince her Son put into their Hands for Security of the Treaty. But to make this Condition the more Eaſy, ſhe might aſſign him what Governors and Houſhold ſhe thought fit. She had likewiſe the Liberty of coming into

Octob. 31. 1570.

Idem.

to *England* to ſee him, or ſending what Perſons ſhe pleas'd. And notwithſtanding he was to reſide in an unfortunate Nation, ſhe deſires the Pope not to ſuſpect the Miſcarriage of his Education. For effectual Care would be taken to inſtruct him in the Catholick Faith, and Form him to a Regard to the Apoſtolick *See.* And becauſe 'twas ſomewhat impracticable to report her Affairs at length by Way of Letter, ſhe refers the Pope to her Agent the Biſhop of *Dublin,* for farther Information.

This Year *Barlow,* formerly Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells,* and now of *Chicheſter,* departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by Dr. *Richard Curtois,* who was conſecrated in *May* this Summer.

The Poverty of the Iriſh *Reform'd Clergy.*

It has been already obſerv'd, That the *Reformation* was oftentimes miſmanag'd to the Impoveriſhing the Clergy. But *England* was not the only Scene of Oppreſſion: The *Iriſh* Church lay under the ſame Diſadvantage, as appears by a Letter of the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*'s to Secretary *Cecil.* His Application to this Miniſter relates to the Deanery of St. *Patricks.* He deſires *Cecil* would move the Queen that this Preferment might not be beſtow'd upon any Layman, nor made a Fee for the Lord Chancellor; but that the *Chapter* might enjoy the Privilege of their Charter, and chuſe ſome learned Divine. And here he complains of the great Want of Preachers in this Kingdom. And that the Diſloyalty of the Subjects is occaſion'd in a great Meaſure by their Ignorance. That the greateſt Number of Benefices within the *Engliſh Pale* are impropriated to her Majeſty, and farm'd out to ſuch as have no Care for the *Cure:* And that Religion ſuffers very much upon this Score. That 'tis to be wiſh'd her Majeſty would rather be pleas'd to quit ſome Part of her Impropriations for the Maintenance of the Miniſtry, who are now in a very miſerable Condition; 'tis to be wiſh'd her Majeſty would rather reſign ſomething upon this Conſideration, than convert the Deanery into a Fee for a *Civil* Officer, which unqueſtionably belongs to the Church. (*l*)

Upon 2d of *April* the next Year, the Parliament was conven'd at *Weſtminſter.*

The Queen open'd the Seſſions with this ſhort Speech.

The Queen's Speech.

My right loving Lords, and you our right faithful and obedient Subjects, We in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here Aſſembled to his Glory. I hope and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the common Quiet of Us, Yours, and all Ours for ever.

After this, Sir *Nicholas Bacon,* the Lord Keeper, was order'd to acquaint the Houſes with her Majeſty's Reaſons for ſummoning this Parliament. This Miniſter delivering himſelf in a long Harangue, told them the Motives for calling them together were Two; one to make or repeal Laws; the other to pitch upon proper Meaſures for the Adminiſtration; to conſider what may be moſt ſerviceable for the Honour and Security of the Government.

Part of the Lord Keeper's Speech.

Under the Firſt Head he obſerves, That in all publick Councils, the Honour of God ought to have the Preference. That Religion is the Foundation of publick Happineſs: That the Motions of the State ought to be directed by this Rule: And that this World is principally ſupported by a Regular Practice, with Reference to the other. For the Right Management therefore of that Branch of their Buſineſs, concerning Laws they were to conſider in the Firſt Place, whether the Diſcipline of the Church was ſufficiently guarded: And in Caſe there was any Thing wanting, the Care of a ſupplemental Proviſion ought chiefly to be referr'd to the Biſhops, who are beſt acquainted with the Defects, and to whom the Execution principally belongs. * The reſt of his Speech relating to the State ſhall be omitted.

The Commons made Choice of *Chriſtopher Wray,* Serjeant at Law, for their *Speaker.* † He was led up to the Bar of the Upper Houſe, where after making Three Reverences to the Queen, he began his Speech with Suggeſting, "That for the good Government of a Common-Wealth, Three Things were requiſite, "Religion, Authority, and Laws. By Religion, ſays he, we are not only directed to a "right Knowledge of God Almighty, but likewiſe inſtructed in our Duty to the Queen, "whom we ought to obey, not only in Temporal Cauſes, but in Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical, "in which wholly her Majeſty's Power is abſolute."

Serjeant Wray's *Proofs of the Regale inſufficient.*

And here, leaving all Proofs of Divinity to the Biſhops, he Attempts to make good his Aſſertion from the Practice of Princes within this Realm. But here the *Speaker* does not ſeem to be aware, that the main Streſs of the Queſtion lies within the Compaſs of Divinity, and that all Arguments from other Topicks are ſhort of the Point: But having evinc'd this already, I ſhall purſue it no farther.

To engage this Serjeant a little in his own Way.

His Firſt Authority for the Abſoluteneſs of the *Regale,* is Pope *Eleutherius* his Letter to *Lucius* the Firſt Chriſtian King of *Britain:* In this Addreſs he tells him he was Chriſt's Vicegerent, and that he might extract Laws out of the Holy *Scriptures* for his own Conduct, and that of his Subjects. But not to diſpute the Senſe of this Paſſage, this Letter to King *Lucius* is plainly a counterfeit Record, and of much later Antiquity than the Age for which 'tis cited. This I have made appear in the Firſt Part of this *Work,* from ſeveral Circumſtances relating to the Matter and to the Stile. *

Secondly, He cites the Conquerors diſcharging *Battle-Abby* from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction: But this Inſtance has likewiſe been ſhewn Unſerviceable to his Purpoſe. †

His 3d Inſtance is in *Ranolph* or *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* He cites Part of King *Henry* the IIId's Letters Patents, in theſe Words,

Rex, &c. Sciatis quod, dedimus Dilect. noſtro Ranulpho *Archiepiſcop. Cantuarien. quem inſtituimus Annulo & Baculo.* From hence the *Speaker* argues from the Emblem. The Ring, ſays he, denotes Perfection, and the Staff is a Mark of paſtoral Authority. And therefore, ſince the Kings gave Biſhops theſe Hieroglyphicks of Spiritual Juriſdiction: This Authority muſt be Originally lodg'd in the *Crown.*

Where the *Speaker* found this Piece of a Record, I ſhall not examine, but 'tis certainly good for nothing. For *Firſt,* There was no ſuch Perſon as *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury,* in *Henry* the IIId's Time. In the Reign of *Henry* the Firſt, I grant there was an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* of this Name; but then this King had parted with the Privilege of Inveſtitures, and given up his Claim to *Anſelm, Ralph*'s Predeceſſor. * And beſides, this Delivery of the *Ring* and *Croſier* was but a late Practice of the *Saxon* Kings, as I have already prov'd from good Authority. And thus the *Reader* may perceive this Serjeant *Wray,* tho' a good Lawyer, was but a ſlender Antiquary.

Laſtly, He urges a Law Caſe in the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt. * The Precedent ſets forth, that the bringing an Excommunication from the

(*l*) *Paper Office.*

* D'Ewes's *Journal,p.* 137.

† *He was afterwards Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.*

* *Church Hiſtory, pag.* 14.

† Id. *pag.* 257.

* Id. *pag.* 291.

* *See* Coke's *Reports, Part* 5. *fol.* 12.

See of *Rome* in Abatement of an Action at Common Law, was adjudg'd High-Treaſon. Granting all this, the Inference is far from reaching home. The Judges Reſolution amounts to no more than that the Over-ruling the Courts of Juſtice by a papal Cenſure, ſtopping the Practice of Law, and making the Government impracticable, was an Attempt againſt the King's Crown and Dignity, and deſerv'd Death.

But tho' the Pope had no Right to check the *Civil* Adminiſtration, it does not follow they denied him a Spiritual Authority. 'Tis plain, both theſe Judges, and the reſt of the Kingdom, practis'd on a contrary Belief, and own'd the Biſhop of *Rome* for the Head of the Chriſtian Communion. *

* D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 140.

To proceed to the Buſineſs of this Parliament, where I ſhall give the *Reader* an Account, *&c.*

I ſhall give the *Reader* an Account of Part of thoſe Statutes which relate to Religion.

Firſt, 'Tis made High-Treaſon, to publiſh, that the Queen is an Heretick, a Shiſmatick, a Tyrant, an Infidel, or an Uſurper. (*m*)

(*m*) 13 El. cap. 1.

Treaſon to put any Bulls of Abſolution, &c. *in Ure.*

The next *Statute* ſets forth, That diverſe Bulls had been tranſmitted hither from the Court of *Rome* **to abſolve and reconcile all thoſe that will be contented to forſake their due Obedience to her Majeſty. And that by Colour of the ſaid Bulls, ſundry ſimple and ignorant Perſons have not only withdrawn and abſented themſelves from all Divine Service now moſt godly ſet forth within this Realm, but have alſo thought themſelves diſcharg'd from all Obedience, Duty, and Allegiance to her Majeſty, whereby moſt wicked and unnatural Rebellion has enſued.**

Anno Dom. 1571.

"For a Remedy of this Miſchief, the putting in Ure any Bull of Abſolution or Reconciliation to the Biſhop of *Rome*: The taking the Authority of Abſolving or Reconciling by Virtue of ſuch Inſtruments, the procuring and publiſhing ſuch Bulls, or receiving Abſolution upon them, is made High-Treaſon, and all thoſe who aid or abet the ſaid Offenders," **to the Intent to uphold or allow the Execution of the ſaid uſurp'd Power, ſhall incur the Penalties in the Statute of** Præmunire. Farther, by this Statute the Concealing or not diſcovering a Bull or Reconciliation offer'd, is made Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

'Tis farther Enacted, "That thoſe who bring in *Agnus Dei*, or any Croſſes, Pictures, or Beads from the Biſhop of *Rome*, or from any Perſons claiming Authority from him, ſhall fall under the Forfeitures and Penalties of the *Præmunire* Statute. By the Way, an *Agnus Dei* was a Loaf of Wax, with a Figure of a Lamb upon it, conſecrated by the Pope on Low Sunday. (*n*)

(*n*) Dupin's *new Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Cent. 16. *under* Onuphrius Panvinius, 13 Eliz. c. 2.

An Act to prevent the Alienation of the Church Revenues.

To prevent fraudulent Conveyances to the Prejudice of Succeſſion, 'twas enacted, "That no Spiritual Perſon, College, or Hoſpital, ſhall make any Leaſes, Gifts, or Grants of Eſtates for more than One and twenty Years, or Three Lives, reſerving the accuſtom'd yearly Rent or more, to be paid during the ſaid Term. But here 'tis provided, that nothing in this Act ſhall be conſtrued to make good any Leaſe made by any College or collegiate Church, for more Years than are limited by the private Statutes of the ſame College. (*o*)

(*o*) 13 Eliz. cap. 10.

This Remedy, tho' not without ſome Effect, did not reach every Part of the Grievance. For the *Crown* not being expreſly mention'd, was left in the ſame Condition of receiving Grants and Leaſes from the Clergy, as before: And thus by the Strength of the Prerogative the Courtiers made Prize of the Church: And by this Omiſſion, the Benefit of the *Statute* was in a great Meaſure loſt.

An Act to oblige the Clergy to declare their Aſſent to the 39 *Articles.*

By the next *Act* relating to the Church, all Prieſts or Miniſters under the Degree of a Biſhop, that have been ordain'd by any Ordinal, or Form different from that ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth, and now in Uſe, are oblig'd **to declare their Aſſent to all the Articles of Religion, which only Concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments compriz'd in a Book, entitled,** *Articles by which it was agreed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy and Convocation holden at* London *in the Year of our Lord* 1562, *for the avoiding Diverſities of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion put forth by the Queen's Authority.*

"If any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon **adviſedly maintains** any Doctrine directly contrary to any of the ſaid Articles, and refuſes to revoke his Error after being convented before his *Ordinary*, or the Queen's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, or relapſes after ſuch Retractation, he is liable to be depriv'd by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe.

The Age and other Qualifications of Perſons to be admitted to Benefices.

The *Statute* proceeds to enact, "That no Perſon ſhall be admitted to any Benefice with Cure, unleſs he is at leaſt 23 Years of Age, and ſhall Firſt have ſubſcrib'd the Articles in the Preſence of the Ordinary, and publickly read them in his Pariſh Church, with a Declaration of his unfeigned Aſſent; and that every Incumbent who omits the Performing this Condition by the Space of Two Months after his Induction, ſhall *ipſo Facto* be immediately depriv'd.

'Tis farther enacted, "That no Perſon now permitted by any Diſpenſation or otherwiſe, ſhall retain any Benefice with Cure, being under the Age of One and twenty Years, or not being Deacon at the leaſt. And that none ſhall be made Miniſter, or admitted to preach or adminiſter the Sacraments, being under the Age of Twenty four Years, nor unleſs he brings the Biſhop of the Dioceſe's Teſtimonial of his regular Life, and of his profeſſing the Doctrine expreſs'd in the ſaid *Articles*: Nor unleſs he is able to give the *Ordinary* an Account of his Faith in *Latin*, according to the ſaid *Articles*.

"And laſtly, All Admiſſions to Benefices, Inſtitutions, and Inductions contrary to the Form and Proviſion of this *Act*, and all Tolerations, Diſpenſations, Qualifications and Licenſes whatſoever to be made to the Contrary hereof, ſhall be void in Law. (*p*)

(*p*) 13 El. cap. 12.

To proceed; The Attainders of *Charles* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſeveral others attainted for Treaſon in the late Rebellion, are confirm'd. And here the Lands of the ſaid Offenders which lay within the County Palatine of *Durham*, are granted to the Queen, notwithſtanding *Pilkington* claim'd *Jura Regalia*, in Right of his Church: The Tryal of which Challenge and Claim, as the Statute goes on, was then depending in Sute between the Queen and the Biſhop in the Court of *King's-Bench*, and was not yet diſcuſs'd or determin'd. But notwithſtanding the Cauſe was undecided, the Parliament in Conſideration the Queen had ſpent a great Deal of Treaſure in ſup-

The Forfeitures of Treaſon claim'd by the Biſhop of Durham, *granted* pro hâc Vice *to the Crown.*

ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, and preſerving the Biſhop and his Dioceſe: For this Conſideration all the Honours, Manors, Lands, *&c.* within the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, forfeited by the Rebels, and claim'd by the Biſhop, are granted to the Queen. But then, 'tis for this Time only, and without any Prejudice to his *See* for the Future. 'Tis farther enacted, That in Caſe the Biſhop ſucceeds in the Tryal againſt the Queen, that then her Majeſty may be pleas'd to beſtow ſome Part of the Forfeitures above-mention'd upon the ſaid Biſhop, or his Succeſſors. And here the Proportion is left wholly to her Majeſty's Pleaſure: That is, if by the Court of *King's-Bench* all the forfeited Eſtates were adjudg'd to the Biſhop, then the Queen might return him ſomething of his *Own*, and as little a Part of that too as ſhe pleas'd. (*q*) This Right of the *See* of *Durham* to forfeited Eſtates in Caſe of High-Treaſon, had been enjoy'd by the Biſhops for ſeveral Hundred Years; 'twas once conteſted in the Reign of *Edward* III, and Judgment given againſt the *Crown*. But for the Particulars I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory. *

(*q*) 13 El. c. 16. *Statutes at large.*

* *pag.* 532.

An Act againſt going beyond-Sea without the Queen's Leave.

To prevent dangerous Practices againſt the State, 'tis provided by another *Statute*, that thoſe who had tranſported themſelves into foreign Countries without the Queen's Leave, ſhould, unleſs they return'd within a certain Term, forfeit the Profit of their Manors, Lands, Tenements, and all their Goods and Chattels whatſoever: And in Caſe they were Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, all their Preferments were declar'd void: And provided any fraudulent Conveyances were made to cover their Fortunes, ſuch Grants and pretended Alienations are likewiſe declar'd of none Effect. (*r*)

(*r*) 13 El. c. 3. *Statutes at large.*

There were ſeveral *Bills* touching Religion brought in, and ſome of them gone thorough in the Houſe of Commons, *viz.* A *Bill* for Reſidence of Paſtors; A *Bill* to avoid corrupt Preſentations, and ſome others: But the Proceeding upon theſe Matters was check'd by the Queen, who ſeem'd apprehenſive of Encroachment upon the *Regale*. For this Reaſon, ſhe order'd ſome of the Lords to report her Pleaſure to the Committees of the Commons. The Meſſage was, "To tell them ſhe approv'd their good "Endeavours, but would not ſuffer theſe Things "to be order'd by Parliament. (*s*)

(*s*) D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 185.

The *Commons* engaging ſo much this Way, 'tis probable diſappointed the paſſing the Body of *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* drawn up in the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth. The Enacting this *Book* into Law, was mov'd in the Houſe of Commons. * The Matter ſeems to have been concerted by ſome Church-men before the *Seſſion*, for the Book was newly printed from Two Manuſcript Copies. The one belong'd to *Parker*, and the other to *Cranmer*. *Fox* publiſh'd it with a Preface, in which, after having dilated on the Serviceableneſs of the Performance, he recommended it to the Countenance of the Parliament. But, the Queen being willing to keep the whole *Regale* in her Hands, the Deſign miſcarried, and the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the 29th of *May*.

* D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 137.

The Convocation meets.

To go back a little to the *Convocation* who met in the *Chapter-Houſe* of St. *Paul*'s on the 3d of *April*. The Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Whitgift*, his Text was, *ver.* 6. of the 15th of the *Acts*. *The Apoſtles and Elders came together to conſider of this Matter.* From hence he took Occaſion to diſcourſe upon the Inſtitution and Authority of Synods, touch'd upon the Oppoſition made to the Church by Puritans and Papiſts, dilated on the Uſe of diſtinct Habits and religious Ornaments: And laſtly, mention'd ſeveral Things which requir'd Reformation. *John Ailmer*, Dr. of Divinity, was choſen Prolocutor.

In the 3d *Seſſion*, *Cheney*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter* was excommunicated for not appearing at the Convocation, nor conſtituting a Proxy. The Denouncing the Sentence was committed to *Eaton*, Archdeacon of *Glouceſter*, with a Purſuivant attending him.

This unuſual Cenſure was paſs'd upon the Biſhop for Contempt. It muſt be ſaid this Prelate's Conduct was extraordinary. For tho' he was in Town at the Meeting of the Convocation, he never appear'd: And, over and above, went into the Country without Leave from the Archbiſhop: That this was the Reaſon of Proceeding againſt him, appears by the Form of the Sentence. The Excommunication was pronounc'd by the Archbiſhop, but not without the Aſſent of the Upper Houſe.

See Records, Number LXXXVII.

May 12.

After ſome little Time, *Higgins*, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*'s Chaplain, exhibited Letters of Proxy for his Lord, and mov'd the Biſhop might receive Abſolution, which was granted. (*t*)

(*t*) *Extracts of the Convocation Journal.*

The Canons of Diſcipline paſs'd in this Synod.

This *Convocation* paſs'd ſeveral Canons for Diſcipline, which the *Reader* may ſee in *Sparrow*'s *Collection*.

In the Firſt Article, *de Epiſcopis*, the Biſhops are injoin'd to call the Preachers in their Dioceſe before them, and demand a Sight of their Licenſe, which they may either Cancel or keep by them. And after they have examin'd the Parties, and found them qualified for their Employment, they are to furniſh them with a new Faculty, but upon the Condition of their Subſcribing the *Articles* of Religion paſs'd in *Convocation*; and ſolemnly engaging to maintain the Doctrine contain'd in thoſe *Articles*, as altogether agreeable to the Word of God.

The Statute requires Subſcription to all the Articles.

Notwithſtanding this Caution, by the Firſt Branch of the *Act* of Parliament above-mention'd, the Clergy's Subſcription is requir'd to ſuch Articles as **Only** *contain the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Holy Sacraments.* By this Reſtriction in the Word **Only**, all *Articles* relating to the Homilies, the *Ordinal*, the Churches Power in impoſing Rites and Ceremonies, and her Authority in Controverſies of Faith, ſeem omitted on Purpoſe, as if it had not been the Deſign of the Statute to bring theſe Articles within the Subſcription. However, the following Branches require Subſcription to the Articles without any Exception. And that this was the Meaning of the Legiſlature, is farther made good by Sir *Edward Coke*'s Authority, who poſitively affirms, That the Subſcriptions requir'd by the Clergy takes in all the Nine and thirty Articles. And that by this Statute the *Delinquent* is diſabled and depriv'd, *ipſo Facto*. He adds farther, "That when one *Smith* ſubſcrib'd the Nine "and thirty Articles with this Addition (ſo far "forth as the ſame were agreeable to the Word "of God) 'twas reſolv'd by Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, "Chief Juſtice in the *King's-Bench*, and all the "Judges of *England*, that this Subſcription was "not according to the Statute of 13 *Eliz. cap.* 12. Becauſe the Statute requir'd an abſolute Subſcription, whereas this Subſcription made it conditional. And farther, this Act was made for avoiding Diverſity of Opinions, *&c.* But by this Qualification or Addition, the Party might by his own private Opinion take ſome of the Articles to be againſt the Word of God: And ſo by this Means diverſity of Opinions would not be avoided: And thus the Scope of the Statute, and

Coke's *Reports*, Lib. 6. *fol.* 29. Green's *Caſe*.

and the very Act it ſelf made touching Subſcription, would be of none Effect. Thus far Sir *Edward Coke*. *

* *Inſtitutes, Part* 4. *fol.* 323, 324.

However, the Puritans took their Advantage of the Ambiguity of the firſt Part of the Statute, and made this their Defence againſt their ſubſcribing the whole Number of the Articles.

In the laſt *Article* concerning Patronage the Biſhop is injoin'd to put the Patrons in Mind of the Truſt lodg'd with them; to regard the Intereſt of Religion, and recollect the Account they muſt give of their Management at the Day of Judgment: That they ſhould be eſpecially careful not to preſent any Perſons but ſuch as have Learning, Diſcretion, and unblemiſh'd Life, to recommend them: And that in the Conduct of this Affair, no indirect Conſiderations, no Motives of Pride or Profit, ſhould govern them. Adding withal, that he himſelf would omit no proper Inquiry to find out the Truth: And if any Fraud or Simoniacal Contract is diſcover'd, if either Money or Part of the Iſſues of the Living are ſecur'd to the Patron; in this Caſe the Biſhop is bound to make the Simony publick in his Cathedral, and elſewhere, to the Diſgrace of ſuch a ſcandalous Patron. And as for the Clerk who was thus wretchedly preferr'd, he is not only to loſe the Benefice, but be ſuſpended the Exerciſe of his Function, and expell'd the Dioceſe. (*u*)

(*u*) Sparrow's *Collection, pag.* 240.

This *Convocation* order'd every Archbiſhop and Biſhop to furniſh themſelves with *Fox's Martyrology*; that the Deans ſhould place it in their Cathedrals; and that Archdeacons, Reſidentiaries, and the reſt above-mention'd ſhould let it lie in ſome publick Room for the Inſtruction of their Domeſticks, and others who were occaſionally entertain'd by them. But from hence it can't be inferr'd that the *Convocation* believed all the Matters of Fact reported, or approv'd all the Remarks and Reaſoning of this *Hiſtorian*. The Church allows the Reading of the *Apocrypha*, and the Binding it up with the reſt of the *Canon*. But to argue from hence that all the Hiſtorical Paſſages are unqueſtionable, the Cuſtoms warrantable, and the Doctrine without Exception, would be a wrong Conſequence.

This *Convocation* granted the Queen a Subſidy of Six Shillings in the Pound, which was confirm'd by the Parliament. They were diſſolv'd on the 30th of *May*: And thus as they met a Day after, they ſat a Day longer than the *Parliament*.

Archbiſhop *Parker* being inform'd that *Grindal* deſign'd a general Viſitation, ſent him the Canons of Diſcipline above-mention'd. Theſe Canons, though ſubſcribed by the Biſhops of both Provinces, wanted the Queen's Ratification. The Queen was acquainted with what paſs'd in the Synod, and approv'd the Proceedings; but, as it happen'd, the Royal Aſſent was not given in Form. Archbiſhop *Grindal* therefore demurr'd to the Execution of theſe Canons: He was afraid a *Præmunire* might reach him. And it ſeems his Scruples were not without Reaſon; for by venturing thus far, he would have been liable to Proſecution, and muſt have caſt himſelf upon the Queen's Mercy. *

* 25 H. 8. cap. 19.

Archbiſhop Grindal's *Articles of Viſitation.*

Grindal, notwithſtanding he could have no Aſſiſtance from theſe Canons, went on with his Viſitation, and gave Fifty Articles in Charge. And ſince they diſcover'd the Condition of the Church in a great Meaſure, I ſhall mention ſome of them which are moſt remarkable.

By the *Articles* in which the Clergy are concern'd, " Thoſe who adminiſter the Communion are order'd not to put the conſecrated " Bread into the Peoples Mouths, but into their " Hands. The Prieſts are likewiſe forbidden the " uſing any Ceremonies or Geſtures not appointed by the Book of Common-Prayer.

" They were to adminiſter the Holy Euchariſt " to none under Fourteen Years old, unleſs they " could repeat the Ten Commandments and " Lord's-Prayer; nor to none above that Age, " unleſs they could repeat the Catechiſm.

" Thoſe likewiſe who either were not perfect in the Catechiſm, or refuſ'd to rehearſe " it to the Miniſter, were not to be married.

" The Communion is order'd to be received " three Times a Year, beſides *Aſhwedneſday*, that " is, on one of the two *Sundays* before *Eaſter*, " on one of the two *Sundays* before *Whitſuntide*, " and one of the two *Sundays* before *Chriſtmas*.

This Order, in preferring common *Sundays* to Feſtivals of the higheſt Solemnity, looks ſomewhat particular.

To go on: " The Articles of Religion were " to be read in Churches on ſome *Sunday* twice " every Year, the Queen's *Injunctions* were to be " read once every Quarter, and the Archbiſhop's " Injunctions once every half Year.

" No Miniſter (being unmarried) was to keep " any Woman in his Houſe under Sixty Years " of Age, excepting ſhe was his Mother, Aunt, " Siſter, or Niece.

The following Articles concern the *Laity*.

" And here no Perſon, not being a Miniſter, " (that is, a Prieſt,) Deacon, or at the leaſt tolerated by the Ordinary in Writing, ſhould " execute the Office of a Prieſt or Deacon in " ſaying Divine Service in any Church or Chapel.

" All Altars were to be pull'd down, and the " Altar-Stones defac'd, and put to ſome common " Uſe." Whether this was not over reforming, and going too far from Popery, the Reader muſt judge.

" At Burials, all yearly Commemorations of " the Dead, all Ceremonies which ſeem'd to " countenance Prayer for thoſe departed, or the " Popiſh Purgatory, are forbidden.

" The Miniſter is not permitted to make any " Stop between the Morning-Prayer, the Litany, " and the Communion; but to go through the " whole Service without Pauſe or Intermiſſion. " The Meaning of this Article is to keep the " Congregation together, and prevent their going out of the Church 'till the whole Service " was over.

" No Perſons are allow'd to wear Beads, or " to pray upon them in *Latin* or *Engliſh*; nor to " burn any Candle in the Church ſuperſtitiouſly " upon the Feaſt of the Purification. —— Nor " ſuperſtitiouſly to make the Sign of the Croſs " when they enter the Church.

But ſuppoſing they did not do theſe Things *ſuperſtitiouſly*, 'tis poſſible they might not come within the Cenſure of the Article. But if the Archbiſhop thought the making the Sign of the Croſs was always ſurperſtitious, he goes Counter to the Practice of the Primitive Church. (*w*)

(*w*) Tertull. de Coron. Mil.

That in *Perambulations* in *Rogation*-Week, the Miniſter ſhould uſe no other Ceremonies than reading the two Pſalms beginning, *Benedic Anima mea, Domine*,* and ſuch Sentences of *Scripture* as are appointed by the Queen's Injunctions, with the Litanies and Suffrages annex'd. There was likewiſe an Homily to be read, ſet forth for that Purpoſe. But then there was no Surplice to be worn, no Banners or Hand-bells carried, or any Reſting at Croſſes, allow'd at theſe Proceſſions.

* *That is the Hundred and third and fourth Pſalm.*

And by the laſt which I ſhall mention, the Miniſters and Church-wardens were not to ſuffer any Fiddlers, Morrice-Dancers, or Buffoons, to bring their ridiculous Diverſions into any Church or Church-yard. *(x)*

(x) Regis Eccleſ. Eborac. *Life of Archbiſhop* Grindal.

To ſecure the Government from the Papiſts on one Hand, and the Puritans on the other, there was a Proteſtation drawn up to be taken by each of them. That for the Papiſts ſtands thus:

A Proteſtation for Papiſts and Puritans.

I do profeſs and confeſs before God, that I do firmly believe in my Conſcience, that Queen Elizabeth, *my Sovereign Lady, now reigning in* England, *is rightfully, and ought to be and continue Queen, and lawfully beareth the legal Crown and Power of this Realm; and ſo to be obey'd, notwithſtanding any Act or Sentence that any Pope or Biſhop hath done or given, or can do or give: And that if any Pope or other ſay or judge the contrary, whether he ſay it as Pope, or howſoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth Error.*

The other made for the Puritans was as follows:

I do profeſs and confeſs before God, that I do firmly believe in my Conſcience, that Queen Elizabeth, *my Sovereign Lady, now reigning in* England, *is, and ought to be and continue lawful Queen, and lawfully beareth the Regiment, Crown, and Power, of this Realm, and ſo to be obey'd, notwithſtanding any Act or Sentence that any Church, Synod, Conſiſtory, or Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly, hath done or given, or can do or give: And that if any ſay or judge the contrary, in what Reſpect ſoever he ſaith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth Error and Falſhood. (y)*

(y) Petit's MSS.

Whether theſe Forms were drawn by the Convocation, or how far they were executed, does not appear.

As for the *Puritans*, they grew more hardy againſt the Church Eſtabliſhment: They either uſed the *Geneva* Form, or maim'd the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and miſled the People by preaching or praying in Churches or Private Houſes. To ſtop their Progreſs, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners ſent down a ſtrict Order to the Church-wardens throughout the Province of *Canterbury*, not to ſuffer any Perſon publickly or privately to teach, read, or preach, in any Churches, private Houſes, or other Places, unleſs ſuch as were licenſed by the Queen, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Another Condition was, that the Licenſe of the Perſon officiating was to be of no older Date than the Firſt of *May* laſt paſt. And laſtly, That he was not under Deprivation by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, or any other lawful Authority. *(z)* This Order is ſign'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, beſides ſeveral Civilians and others.

June *the 7th, 1571. The Commiſſioners Order to the Church-wardens*, &c.

(z) MSS. C. C. C. C. *Append. to Parker's Life.*

About this Time *Goodman*, *Leaver*, *Sampſon*, *Walker*, *Whyborne*, *Gouff*, all leading Puritans, were cited to *Lambeth*: They were examin'd by the Archbiſhop; but that they either complied, or loſt their Preferments, does not appear. *Deering*, another *Puritan*-Miniſter of Note, was brought before the Archbiſhop, and others of the High Commiſſion. He was charg'd with maintaining “That breaking the Laws of the Civil Government was no Sin in its own Nature, but only upon the Score of the Scandal: That Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell relates only to the Force and Efficacy of his Paſſion; but that neither his Body nor his Soul went to that Place: That 'tis lawful to take Oaths when the Forms are written or printed, to mark the Senſe of the Impoſer; but to make Uſe of the Book for a Circumſtance of Solemnity in Swearing, is a ſacrilegious Addition. His laſt Propoſition cenſures the Sacerdotal *Habit*, becauſe worn by the Papiſts.” Theſe Aſſertions were drawn up in *Latin*, and ſigned by him. They ſtand thus:

In violata lege Principis, Peccatum eſt Scandali, non Facti.

Chriſtus deſcendit ad Inferos virtute Paſſionis, nullo neq; Corporis, neq; Animæ Itinere.

Juramenta ſunt licita, libris tanquam Teſſaris conſignata. Librum vero ipſum ad Juramenti Fidem adhibere, omnino eſt Sacrilegum.

Veſtes, quas verè Papiſticas vocamus, mihi videntur plenæ Offenſionum, ac mihi ſecus ad Veritatem perſuadere libentiſſimè cupiverim.

Edward Deringe.

Deering's *Singularities.*

Whittingham and *Gilby*, two other active Diſſenting Preachers, were not forgotten by Archbiſhop *Parker*, who deſir'd the Archbiſhop of *York* to undertake them: But as for the latter, he lived at *Leiceſter*, out of *Grindal*'s Province, neither does it appear he was ſucceſsful enough to gain the other.

Robert Brown, who gave the Denomination to the *Browniſts*, began to diſcover ſome of his Singularities about this Time. He was cited before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. What Cenſure he received is more than I have met with: That he lay under ſome publick Diſcountenance may be collected by his withdrawing into *Holland*, where himſelf and one *Harriſon*, a Schoolmaſter, printed a Book againſt the Church of *England*.

Robert Johnſon, Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, was mark'd for ſome Diſaffection to the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. He was convented before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*. Being requir'd to ſign Three Articles tender'd to thoſe ſuſpected for Non-conformity, he refuſed to comply, and was ſuſpended.

What the Articles were may be collected from his Letter to the Archbiſhop, and the reſt, where he endeavours to come towards the Appointment, and offers his Utmoſt for Satisfaction.

Three Articles to be ſubſcribed.

Firſt, He promiſes to officiate by the *Service-Book*, and keep cloſe to the *Rubrick*; and that he would neither publickly, nor of ſet Purpoſe, make any Diſcourſes againſt the *Liturgy*: That he thought the Imperfections in theſe *Offices* might be born with upon the Score of Union and Charity: That this might be done 'till an Opportunity for a thorough *Reformation* preſented; to which happy Juncture every Man in his Vocation ought to contribute.

Secondly, The Miniſters Apparel he conceived might be uſed, though neither generally expedient, nor edifying.

The Third Article requiring his Aſſent to the Thirty nine Articles, agreed by the *Convocation* in 1562, he complied with without Scruple.

Some Endeavours had been uſed to bring the *Dutch* Churches, particularly thoſe of *London* and *Norwich*, under the Government of the Reſpective Dioceſans.

Sandys, Biſhop of *London*, inſiſted on his Juriſdiction over theſe Foreigners: And in this he was fairly juſtifiable by the Practice of Antiquity, and the Laws of the Church, as a Spiritual *Society*. For as a Man who travels owes the Prince of the Country where he reſides a local Allegiance, ſo a Chriſtian of what Country ſoever ought to be ſubject to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe where he dwells, provided he is Catho

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

lick and Orthodox; for a Biſhop within his Precinct is an Eccleſiaſtical Prince, and has an Independent Commiſſion from our Saviour.

To return; *Parkhurſt*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, on the other Hand, being a Man of Latitude and low Principles, left theſe *Dutchmen* to themſelves, and diſclaim'd all Pretentions upon them. Neither was *Sandys* in much Likelihood of ſucceeding in his Claim; for theſe Foreigners pleaded a Privilege for Liberty, and that they were exempted from the Biſhops Government by Vertue of their Charter. This ſeems to have been no more than Matter of Fact; and thus the Point was overborn by the Weight of the *Regale*.

The Dutch *Churches demur to the Juriſdiction of the* Engliſh *Biſhops.*

To ſay ſomething concerning the Affairs in *Scotland:* The Lord *Claud Hamilton*, the Earl of *Huntley*, and ſome others of the Queen's Party, being inform'd that the *Regent* paſs'd his Time in an unguarded Manner at *Sterling*, reſolv'd to make a Night March, and endeavour to ſurprize him. Their Motions being unſuſpected, they ſucceeded in the Enterprize, enter'd the Town at Break of Day, and made the *Regent* Priſoner. But the Town being alarm'd before they could carry him off, he was ſhot by one Captain *Calder* for Fear of a Reſcue. He was recover'd from the Enemy by his Men, but died ſoon after of his Wound, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of *Marre*.

Spotſwood.

As to the Buſineſs of the *Church*, where the Queen's Intereſt prevail'd the Miniſters own'd her in the Pulpit, and pray'd for her as their Sovereign. This was a hardy Motion, and quite counter to the Appointment of the General *Aſſembly*. *Knox*, as hath been obſerv'd, withdrew from *Edinborough* to St. *Andrews* upon this Score. And here he met with great Oppoſition from *Archibald* and *John Hamilton*, Profeſſors of Philoſophy in the *New College*. Theſe Gentlemen ſtood firm to the Queen, and gained over a great many of the Students. Upon this Diſadvantage in the Conteſt, and finding the Cauſe ſomewhat unproſperous, *Knox* grew melancholly, and fell into a Sickneſs, of which he never perfectly recover'd. And now being acquainted with the Meeting of a General Aſſembly at *Sterling*, he ſent them a kind of Paſtoral Letter, in which there are ſome Paſſages not unbecoming a Perſon of Integrity and Courage.

Knox *diſappointed at* St. Andrews, *and falls Sick.*

His Letter to the Aſſembly at Sterling.

Aug. 13. 1571.

He tells them, "That the Decay of his Conſtitution giving him certain Expectation of "approaching Death, he thought it his Duty "to exhort and charge them *to take heed to them*"*ſelves, and to the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt* "*had made them Overſeers.* As to the Mention of "Particulars, he ſuppoſes it unneceſſary: To "acquit themſelves well in their Function, and "maintain their Poſt, will put them upon a *hard* "*Battle*, as he calls it. But, as he goes on, there "is a ſecond Conteſt which will be harder; and "that is to withſtand the mercileſs Devourers of "the Church Patrimony. If Men will ſpoil, "let them do it to their own Peril and Condemnation, but communicate not ye with their "Sins, of what Eſtate ſoever they be, neither "by Conſent nor Silence; but with publick "Proteſtation make known to the World that ye "are innocent of ſuch Robbery, and that ye "will ſeek Redreſs thereof at the Hands of God "and Man. God give you Wiſdom, Strength, "and Courage, in ſo good a Cauſe, and me an "happy End.

A general Aſſembly at Leith *reſtores Epiſcopacy.*

In *January* following the *General Aſſembly* met at *Leith*. And here the *Regent* and *Council* were ſolicited to ſettle the Polity of the Church, and bring Things to a more perfect Form. Six of the *Council*, and the ſame Number of the *Aſſembly*, were order'd to join in a Committee for concluding this Buſineſs. Thoſe who repreſented the *Council* were *James* Earl of *Morton*, Chancellor, *William* Lord *Ruthven*, Treaſurer, *Robert* Abbot of *Dumferling*, Secretary, Mr. *James Macgille*, Keeper of the Rolls, Sir *John Bellenden*, Juſtice Clerk, and *Colin Campbell* of *Glenorchy*. Thoſe for the *Church* were Mr. *John Ereskin* of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus*, Mr. *John Winraine* Superintendent of *Fiſe*, Mr. *Andrew Hay* Commiſſioner of *Cliddiſdale*, Mr. *David Lindeſay* Commiſſioner of the Weſt, Mr. *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Orkney*, and Mr. *John Craig* one of the Miniſters of *Edinborough*. Theſe Twelve, after ſeveral Meetings and Debates, came to a Reſolution upon the following Articles.

Firſt, That the Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks now void ſhould be diſpos'd of to thoſe of the Miniſtry beſt qualified.

Secondly, That the ſpiritual Juriſdiction ſhould be manag'd by the Biſhops within their reſpective Dioceſes.

Thirdly, That all Abbots, Priors, and other inferior Prelates, preſented to *Benefices* ſhould be examined by the Biſhop, or Superintendent, within whoſe Precinct the Preferment happens to lie: That amongſt other Marks of their Ability, their Fitneſs to repreſent the Church in Parliament ſhould be examin'd. And laſtly, That upon the Biſhops or Superintendents Collation or Inſtitution, they ſhould be admitted to the Benefice, and not otherwiſe.

Fourthly, That to *Sees* vacant at preſent, or which ſhall happen to be void afterwards, the King and Regent ſhould nominate Perſons well qualified: That after ſuch Nomination, the Election ſhould be made by the *Chapters* of the reſpective Cathedrals: And that in Regard ſeveral of the *Chapters*-Churches were poſſeſſed by Incumbents preferr'd thither before his Majeſty's Coronation; and that theſe Men in ſeveral Pariſhes forbore the Exerciſe of their Function; to remedy this Inconvenience, a Nomination of Miniſters was to be made in every Dioceſe to ſupply the Cures of theſe unofficiating Clergy till the Benefices ſhould fall void.

Fifthly, That all Benefices with Cure, beneath Prelacies, ſhould be diſpos'd of to none but Miniſters who actually officiate.

Sixthly, That the Miniſters ſhould have Ordination from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, and where no Biſhop was yet fix'd, from the Superintendent of the Bounds.

Seventhly, That the Biſhops and Superintendents, at their reſpective Ordinations, ſhould oblige the Miniſters to ſwear an Oath for recognizing his Majeſty's Authority; and likewiſe an Oath of Canonical Obedience to their *Ordinary*.

Theſe and ſeveral other ſerviceable Orders were agreed to ſtand in Force 'till the King was a Major, or 'till the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould otherwiſe determine. (*a*)

Thus the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Polity was reviv'd, the Patrimony of the Church ran much in the uſual Chanel, and expreſs Proviſion was made for ſecuring the Rights and Privileges of *Chapters*, Abbots, and Priors.

By the Firſt and Fourth Article it appears that ſeveral of the *Sees* in *Scotland* were full at the Sitting of the *Aſſembly*. Now theſe muſt of Neceſſity be Biſhops of the *Roman* Catholick Communion; for there was very few others in *Scotland* before this Settlement; neither do I find any Biſhops, excepting thoſe of *Orkney*, *Galaway*, and *Argyle*, gain'd over to Proteſtancy. To make this

(*a*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſt. p.* 260.

this Matter clear the *Reader* is to obſerve, that at the Beginning of the Reformation, though the *Roman* Catholick Biſhops who refuſed to come in were ouſted of their Juriſdiction, and barr'd the Exerciſe of their Office, yet they had a friendly Conſideration in other Reſpects: Their Revenues were allowed them during Life, together with their Privileges of voting in Parliament. And as for thoſe few Biſhops who turned Proteſtants, theſe Prelates, beſides the Privileges above-mention'd, were permitted ſome Share of Juriſdiction, (*b*) that is, as much as would fall in with the reformed Scheme, and their *New Book of Diſcipline*.

The Roman *Catholick Biſhops allow'd their Revenues and their Right of Seſſion in Parliament.*

(*b*) Spotſwood Refut. Libel. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic. *p.* 4.

The Church all along repreſented in the Scotch *Parliaments.*

That the Biſhops continued to ſit in Parliament from the firſt Beginning of the *Reformation* 'till ſeveral Years after this Agreement at *Leith*, is plain from the *Scotch* Hiſtory and Records. Indeed thoſe who drew up the firſt *Book of Diſcipline*, though they had no great Regard for the Diſtinction of *Biſhops*, yet allow'd the Clergy to aſſiſt in Parliament *when the ſame is called.* Here the Presbyterian *Calderwood* interpolates the Text, and throws in a falſe Gloſs; for inſtead of theſe Words [*when the ſame is call'd,*] he puts in theſe, [*if he be call'd;*] as if the Summoning the Clergy might be dropp'd by the Conſtitution. And then as to their Aſſiſtance, he interprets to *Advice*, and not to a Right of Voting. But this is downright miſreporting the Caſe, for nothing is more evident than that a Repreſentation of the Church was always thought eſſential to a *Scotch* Parliament. Thus in the Year 1560, to give the Reformation a Face of Law, the Biſhops, as hath been obſerv'd, were ſummon'd to the Parliament. To give ſome more Inſtances: When the Marriage between the Queen and *Bothwell* was on Foot, not only the Temporal Nobility were prevail'd with to ſign their Aſſent, but for farther Satisfaction to the Kingdom, all the Biſhops then in *Edinborough* were ſent for to Court, and requir'd to ſubſcribe the ſame Inſtrument. (*c*)

(*c*) Buchan. *pag.* 667.

In the Year 1568 a Charge was exhibited againſt the Queen of *Scots* before the Queen of *England*'s Commiſſioners. That this Impeachment might look like the joint Act of all the Eſtates, and carry the Appearance of a national Conſent, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Abbot of *Dunfermline*, were appointed to repreſent the *Spiritual Eſtate*.

Id. *pag.* 698. July 12.

Farther, in the Year 1571, when each of the two Parties pretended to hold a Parliament, thoſe in the Queen's Intereſt met at *Edinborough*, where notwithſtanding the Members made a thin Appearance, they had two Biſhops in their Seſſion. (*d*)

(*d*) Buchan. *pag.* 766. *Compar'd with* Spotſwood, *pag.* 254.

In their next *Seſſion*, held at *Edinborough* about five Weeks after, though there were but Five Members who had a Right of Voting, two of this ſmall Number were Biſhops, as *Spotſwood* reports. (*e*) *Buchanan*'s Account is ſtill more remarkable; for one of theſe two Prelates appear'd againſt his Will. So that it ſeems the three Temporal Noblemen which made up the Five, forc'd this Biſhop into the Houſe. And if the Queſtion is ask'd, why this was done? The moſt probable Anſwer is, 'Twas out of an Opinion, that the Eccleſiaſtical *Eſtate* was eſſential to a Parliament.

(*e*) Spotſwood, *p.* 256.

That the Biſhops ancient Right for Voting in Parliament was continued by the Agreement at *Leith* above-mention'd, I think needs not be queſtion'd: For ſince the Popiſh Biſhops enjoy'd this Privilege during their Lives, there is no Reaſon to ſuppoſe the *Reform'd* of that *Order* ſhould be denied it.

This Point may be farther made good by obſerving, that when the Presbyterian Project for Parity was ſet on Foot by *Andrew Melvil*, in the Year 1575, when this Deſign was carrying on, the main Difficulty to be ſurmounted was this: 'Twas objected that Prelacy could not be ſupprefs'd without ſinking one of the three *Eſtates* of Parliament. This, not to mention other Evidence, appears by two Letters written to *Beza*, one by the Lord *Glamis*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, about the Year 1576. This Lord, who without Doubt ſtated the Caſe upon the Senſe of the Generality of the *Scotch* Nation, ſpeaks thus:

“ Since every Church has its own Paſtor, and the Power of Paſtors ſeems to be co-ordinate by the Chriſtian Inſtitution, the Queſtion is, Whether the Epiſcopal Function is neceſſary for drawing theſe Paſtors into a Synod upon Occaſion, for ordaining Paſtors, and for exerting the Cenſures of the Church? Or whether 'tis more eligible that the Paſtors managing upon Terms of Equality, and under the Check of no Prelatick Superiority, ſhould elect Perſons into the Miniſtry with the Conſent of the Patron and People, and likewiſe be impower'd to cenſure, depoſe, *&c.* For keeping on the Biſhops, continues this Lord, we have theſe two Motives: Firſt, The ſtiff and ungovernable Temper of the People. The Dealing with this Stubborneſs would in all likelihood be impracticable, were it not for the Force of the Epiſcopal Character and Juriſdiction. The other Motive is, That by the ancient Conſtitution of the Realm, nothing can paſs in Parliament without the Biſhops, who make the *Third Eſtate*. Now to change this Uſage, and ſink this *Third*, would be extremely dangerous. (*f*)

(*f*) *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery diſproved.*

Melvil's Letter to *Beza*, in the Year 1579, ſpeaks to the ſame Senſe.

“ Notwithſtanding, ſays he, the Oppoſition we have met with from many of the Nobility, we have attack'd Pſeudepiſcopacy for five Years together. The Noblemen againſt us object, that if Epiſcopacy be put down one of the three *Eſtates* is diſſolv'd; and that Preſbyteries cannot be ſet up without maiming the Prerogative Royal. Thus *Melvil*.

Idem.

And when Epiſcopacy was aboliſh'd by the *Kirk-Aſſembly*, in the Year 1580, the King ſent ſeveral Times to acquaint them, “ He could not diſpenſe with the Loſs of one of his *Three Eſtates*; and put the Queſtion to them, Which Way they could make good this Defect, and raiſe a new *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*.” To this their Anſwer was, “ That they had no Diſlike of Churchmens having a Vote in Parliament; but their Opinion was, that none ought to repreſent the Church in Parliamentary Buſineſs unleſs the Church gave them a Commiſſion.” And upon this Foot they ſettled the Point in the *Second Book of Diſcipline*. (*g*)

(*g*) 11 Chap. Art. 17, & 18.

To give one Inſtance more: The *Aſſembly* held at *Dundee*, *March* the 7th, 1598, came to this Reſolution, That 'twas *neceſſary and expedient for the Well-being of the Kirk that the Miniſtry, as the third Eſtate of this Realm, in the Name of the Church, have Vote in Parliament.* (*h*)

(*h*) MS. *Act of the Aſſembly,* Petry, *p.* 545. Spotſwood, *p.* 449. Calderwood, *p.* 420.

And thus to ſhew the ancient Conſtitution of *Scotland*, and the Intereſt the Churchmen had in the Legiſlature, and publick Debates, I have exceeded the Order of Time for the Sake of the Unity of the Matter.

To return to the *Aſſembly* at *Leith*: One Reaſon which ſeems to have diſpos'd them to con-

The Conveyance of the Character of the Reform'd Biſhops in Scotland.

ſent to a Review of the Church *Polity*, was an *Act* of Parliament lately paſs'd, by Virtue of which, thoſe who formerly held Lands of *Religious Houſes*, were from henceforwards to hold them of the *Crown*. This *Statute* awaken'd the *Aſſembly* into a Jealouſy of hard Uſage. Thoſe of the *Laity* who had ſeiz'd the Patrimony of the Church, had hitherto nothing but Poſſeſſion for their Title. The Reform'd Miniſters were not without Hopes therefore of recovering theſe Eſtates, and turning them to Uſes more ſerviceable. But now, ſince the Monaſteries were veſted in the *Crown*, they knew 'twould be no difficult Matter for the Courtiers to procure Grants from the Minor King: And thus their Title would be indefeaſible. The Monaſtery Lands being thus given up for Loſt, they were not without Apprehenſions the rich *Laity* might advance to farther Inroads: They might not unreaſonably ſuſpect the Biſhop's Lands, and other Branches of the Church's Revenue, might be mark'd for ſeizure by the ſame Hands. And now 'tis likely they were ſenſible of their Miſtake in breaking the old Church Scheme, and Refining too far in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline.* And that the beſt Way to retrieve their Affairs, and ſtop the Progreſs of Sacrilege, was to reſtore Epiſcopacy. For when Epiſcopacy was incorporated with the *Reformation*; when the Biſhops Authority was recover'd, and the *Sees* kept full, the ſeizing their Eſtates, and the Projects of Alienation, were not ſo practicable.

Jac. 6. Parl. 2. cap. 38.

This Settlement of Epiſcopacy at *Leith* ſeems not without ſome remarkable Omiſſion. For it does not appear they receiv'd their Character by primitive Conveyance, by conſecrated Hands, and Catholick Solemnity. 'Tis true, there were ſome old Biſhops living who came into the *Reformation:* But 'tis pretty evident the new Ones could receive no Conſecration from theſe: For by their *Book of Diſcipline*, Impoſition of Hands was ſet aſide, and cenſur'd as unlawful. And as they had no new Form for the conſecrating Biſhops, ſo we may be aſſur'd the old Popiſh one would by no Means be allow'd. And as theſe Biſhops had no more Juriſdiction than the Superintendents, tho' ſomewhat different in the Manner and Adminiſtration; ſo it appears clear enough they had the Call to their Office, and their Character convey'd by no other Ceremonies and Authority than what was us'd in the making Superintendents.

The Power of Superintendents more particularly related.

Farther, ſince the Power of the Biſhops reſtor'd by the *Leith-Aſſembly* was the ſame in Subſtance with that of the *Superintendents*; it may not be improper to add ſomething farther to what has been already related, concerning the Power and Superiority of theſe Latter. To be ſomewhat Particular on this Subject: *Superintendents* by Virtue of their Office, were conſtant Members of the general *Aſſemblies:* They were to examine the Qualifications of thoſe who entred into the Miniſtry. 'Twas Part of their Privilege to fill Benefices void: They had likewiſe the Power of Ordination or *Admiſſion*, as they call'd it: And all Pariſh Miniſters were oblig'd to pay them canonical Obedience: 'Twas Part of their Juriſdiction to viſit all their Churches within their Precincts, to inſpect the Studies of the Miniſters, and examine their Proficiency. Farther, 'twas within their Power to oblige the Miniſters to Reſidence, and to deprive them for Miſbehaviour: 'Twas likewiſe Part of their Authority to nominate Members for the general *Aſſembly*. The Superintendents were impower'd to appoint the Meetings of Synods within their reſpective Precincts, twice in the Year: They appointed publick Faſts, and aſſign'd Stipends to Pariſh Miniſters: They receiv'd Appeals from Kirk-*Seſſions*. 'Tis true, the Party pretended to be griev'd by their Deciſion, might make a farther Application to a general Aſſembly. But then, if this Conteſt was kept up, and the laſt Appeal made againſt Reaſon and Juſtice, the Superintendent and his *Synod*, were impower'd to fine the Appellant. The Superintendents were conſtituted publick Caſuiſts for their Precincts, and authoriz'd to decide Differences in Matters relating to Church Government: And in Caſe Miniſters or others, ſhould trouble the *Aſſembly*, and not acquieſce in the Judgment of the Superintendent, provided the Caſe lay within the Compaſs of their Character: When the Matter lay thus, ſuch litigious Applications were to be rejected by the general *Aſſembly*. To take the Cognizance of Divorces, and give Judgment upon the Controverſy, was another Branch of the Superintendent's Authority. The injoining Penance for great Crimes was lodg'd with the Superintendents, and ſo was the Power of Excommunication in Caſes of Contumacy. It belong'd to Superintendents to delate Criminals more remarkably Scandalous to the Civil Magiſtrate, in Order to corporal Puniſhment. And to draw towards an End, they had a Vote in the Elections of Principals of Colleges, and confirm'd ſuch as were choſen, and none were allow'd *to have Charge of Schools, Colleges, or Univerſities*, but ſuch as had paſs'd the Superintendent's Examination. And laſtly, no Book upon the Subject of Religion was to be publiſh'd without the Licence of the Superintendent, or of ſuch as were deputed by him for that Purpoſe. This Extent of Authority and Juriſdiction, was granted by Aſſembly-Regulations, and all paſs'd in Favour of Superintendents, between the Years 1560, and 1572; That is, before the Revival of Epiſcopacy, at the *Leith-Agreement*. (*i*)

(*i*) MSS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.* Spotſwood. *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery diſprov'd, &c. pag.* 123, & deinc.

The Death of Biſhop Jewel.

To return to *England*. This Year *John Jewel*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, departed this Life. He was extracted from a Gentleman's Family in *Devonſhire*, and educated in *Oxford*. He died on the Twenty third Day of *September*, in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, having govern'd that *See* almoſt Twelve Years. He was an extraordinary Genius, well improv'd. He was thoroughly acquainted with Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, a great Maſter of Style, and one of the beſt controverſial Divines of the *Engliſh* Hierarchy. He was no leſs Exemplary in his Life, than eminent for his Parts and Learning. But his Character and Performance having been touch'd already, I ſhall add no more.

The Queen Orders no Bills touching Religion ſhould be brought into the Houſe of Commons till examin'd and approv'd by the Clergy.

On the 8th of *May* the next Year, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The printed *Statutes* mention little relating to the Church: But Sir *Simon D'Ewes*'s *Journal* takes Notice of a *Bill* for Rites and Ceremonies read Thrice in the Houſe of Commons. The Purport of this *Bill* was to weaken the Eſtabliſhment of the Church: To diſcharge ſeveral Paſſages in the publick Offices, and to temper the whole to the *Puritan-Guſt:* But the Queen, as far as it appears, was neither pleas'd with the Matter, nor the Method: And over and above, ſhe might think her ſelf attack'd in her Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy:* But whatever the Grounds of her Averſion were, 'tis certain ſhe ſent a Meſſage to the Commons to acquaint them, 'twas her Pleaſure, that for the Future no *Bills* concerning Religion ſhould be brought into the *Houſe*, 'till they had firſt been examin'd

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

examin'd and approv'd by the Clergy: And that her Majeſty's farther Pleaſure was, that the Two laſt *Bills* touching Rites and Ceremonies read in their Houſe, ſhould be ſent to her: Upon which an Order paſs'd the Houſe that thoſe *Bills* ſhould be deliver'd to her Majeſty by ſome of the Privy Council who ſate there. (*k*)

(*k*) D'Ewes's *Journal*, pag. 213.

One *Wentworth* made a tragical Harangue upon the Subject of this Meſſage in the next Parliament: But how well his Freedom was taken, and in what Manner he was diſpos'd of, ſhall be related afterwards.

The Houſe of Commons came to a Reſolution, that the ſpeedy Tryal of the Queen of *Scots* for High-Treaſon, was neceſſary for the Safety and Preſervation of the Queen's Perſon. And to prevail with her to this extraordinary Motion, a Paper was put into her Hands upon this Argument. Sir *Simon D'Ewes* is of Opinion 'twas drawn up in the Houſe of Commons; And if ſo, 'tis probable it might be *Wentworth*'s Performance; for this Gentleman was a *Member* of a warm Temper, and overgrown with *Puritaniſm*. However, there is ſomething in the *Paper* which ſuppoſes it to be written, or ſuggeſted at leaſt, by ſome Biſhop. Whether this was a Piece of Art or not, to make it paſs the Better, is more than I ſhall determine. But whoever was the Author, the Reaſoning is Weak and Sanguinary. To give the *Reader* Part of the Subſtance of it.

Rom. 13.

A Sanguinary Paper deliver'd to the Queen for executing the Queen of Scots.

The Text of St. *Paul* to the *Romans* is alledg'd to ſhew, that the Magiſtrate is God's Miniſter for the Puniſhment of *Evil-doers*. But what then? this Puniſhment ought to be executed on none but Subjects, and not ſtretch'd to Princes independent of the Government. In the Second Place 'tis obſerv'd, That *Saul* loſt God's Protection, and had the *Crown* transferr'd from his Family, for ſparing *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*. But here the Author forgot to take Notice, that *Saul* had an expreſs Command to deſtroy the *Amalekites*, without Exception of Perſons. The Third Reaſon affirms, That every good Prince ought to purſue thoſe to Death who endeavour to debauch the People of God in their Religion, and miſlead them to Idolatry. This is endeavour'd to be made good from *Deuteronomy* 13, where the neareſt Relations are commanded to be delated, and executed for ſuch Apoſtacy. In Anſwer to this, I have formerly obſerv'd, that there is no drawing a Parallel between Popery and *Paganiſm*.

1 Sam. 15.

Secondly, There is no arguing from the *Old* to the *New Teſtament*. The Goſpel is a much gentler Diſpenſation than the *Law*. And therefore the Diſciples who went upon the Precedent of *Elias*, and call'd for Fire upon thoſe of a different Religion, are reprimanded by our Saviour, and charg'd with Ignorance.

Luke 9.

'Tis urg'd farther, that *Conſtantine* the Great put *Licinius* to Death for Relapſing to *Paganiſm*, and endeavouring to ſuppreſs *Chriſtianity*: That he ſtands commended in Hiſtory for this Length of Juſtice: And yet *Licinius* was no Subject of *Conſtantine*'s, but a Sovereign upon the ſame Level. To this it may be anſwer'd Firſt, That 'tis a Queſtion whether *Licinius* was an independent Prince. *Euſebius* in comparing theſe Two Princes together, calls *Conſtantine* Κρείτων, which may probably refer to the Superiority of his Title, and not only to the Extent of his Dominions. But let this be as it will, *Licinius* after having given ſome Provocation, made a Peace: And here amongſt other Things, engag'd not to moleſt the Chriſtians: But not long after he fail'd in the Performance of what had been ſtipulated; and thus the Two Emperors came to a Rupture: But which was the Aggreſſor *Socrates* does not relate. (*l*) But *Euſebius* is clear in the Point; he tells us *Licinius* acted inſidiouſly, broke the Articles of the Treaty, and began the War upon *Conſtantine*. (*m*) And ſince the Fact ſtands thus, *Conſtantine*'s making Uſe of his Victory, and taking his Enemy's Life may be fairly accounted for. However, *Conſtantine* was too generous to take the Firſt Forfeiture. He gave *Licinius* his Life, and his Liberty in a great Meaſure: He did not proceed to the laſt Extremities, till that ungrateful Perſon endeavour'd to embroil the Empire, and rebell'd upon his Benefactor.

Elizabeth Q.

(*l*) Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 3, 4.

Licinius began the War upon Conſtantine.

(*m*) Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtan. Lib. 1, cap. 50.

The Inſtance of *Joſhua*'s killing Five Kings dragg'd out of the Cave, is miſerably miſapplied: For the Queen of *Scots* was neither Enemy nor Priſoner of War. She came into *England* upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Invitation, and in Confidence of Protection.

Joſhua 10.

Elijah's killing the Prophets of *Baal* is alledg'd as another Reaſon for diſpatching the Queen of *Scots*. But this Princeſs, notwithſtanding the Clamour againſt her, had done nothing that might bring her to ſo ſcandalous a Parallel. Beſides, *Elijah* was under a ſupernatural Direction, and had a Warrant from God Almighty for theſe extraordinary Proceedings. That he did nothing without an immediate Commiſſion from God, appears by his bringing down Fire upon the Sacrifice in ſo miraculous a Manner.

1 Kings 18.

The *Paper* has ſeveral other Arguments: But what has been obſerv'd may ſufficiently ſhew the Unwarrantableneſs of the Principles it goes upon.

Before the Receſs of the Parliament, the *Puritans* drew up Two *Admonitions*, as they call'd them, to the Parliament: In their Firſt Addreſs they repreſent their pretended Grievances: And that the only Way of Redreſs was to allow their *Scheme* of *Diſcipline*.

This *Admonition* being diſcourag'd, and the Chief Agents impriſon'd, they take Care to reinforce it with a *Second*. In the Firſt, *Cartwright* who writ the Pamphlet, had drawn up all the Arguments that his Reading and Invention could ſuggeſt, or his Friends furniſh, againſt the Government of Biſhops, and almoſt all the Offices in the *Engliſh* Liturgy. But this failing of Succeſs, he appears with more Reſolution in his next Attempt. The *Second Admonition* publiſh'd towards the End of the Parliament, breaks out with Lightning and Thunder, expoſtulates in high Terms, and Menaces the Government in the boldeſt Manner imaginable. The Author not only juſtifies the Firſt *Application*, but tells them plainly, *That the State did not ſhew it ſelf upright, alledge the Parliament what it will; That all honeſt Men ſhould find Lack of Equity, and all good Conſciences condemn that Court: That it ſhould be eaſier for* Sodom *and* Gomorrha *in the Day of Judgment, than for ſuch a Parliament: That there is no other Thing to be looked for than ſome ſpeedy Vengeance to light upon the whole Land, let the politick Machiavils of* England *provide as well as they can, tho' God do his Worſt: And finally, if they of that Aſſembly would not follow the Advice of the Firſt Admonition, they would infallibly be their own Carvers in it, the Church being bound to keep God's Order, and nothing to be called God's Order but their preſent Platform.* (*n*)

The Puritans 2d Admonition to the Parliament.

(*n*) *Admonition* pag. 61. Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions*, Lib. 3. cap. 1.

To proceed to the *Convocation*: They met at St. *Paul*'s on the 9th of *May*, the next Day after the Opening of the Parliament. The Sermon

Parker (Matthew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

was preach'd by Dr. *Young*, one of the Reſidentiaries. He took his Text out of the Second of the *Revelations*, ver. 2. *I know thy Works, and thy Labour, and thy Patience, and how thou can'ſt not bear them which are Evil.* The Archbiſhop made a Speech to the Two Houſes to the following Effect.

The Archbiſhop's Speech at the Opening the Convocation.

“ He began with a Commendation of the Sermon: From thence he proceeded to take Notice of the Zeal which had been ſhewn for the Propagation of Truth, and the Defence of Chriſtianity: That the Circumſtances of his Station and Character oblig'd him to be more particularly Vigilant and concern'd: That if Occaſion ſhould require, he ought to hazzard his Reputation, and Sacrifice his Life and Fortune in the Service: That for exerting himſelf, he had not only the Precedent of the late Martyrs, but of Saints of the earlieſt Antiquity; that ſome of theſe in the Firſt Century arriv'd in this Iſland, and have left us noble Remains of their Piety and Succeſs. And notwithſtanding the Inſtructions they left, and the Uſages they ſettled, are partly worn out by Time and Superſtition; yet many of them have had a more happy Conveyance, and reach'd down to the preſent Age: And thus it appears our Conſtitutions and Ceremonies are little different from what was then eſtabliſh'd. That theſe Remains of Antiquity ought to be the more Valuable, becauſe they are, as it were, the Growth of our own Country: However, had Providence been leſs favourable, and had they ſunk in the Current of Time, we ſhould not have been unfurniſh'd with the Means of Happineſs: For the Fountains of divine Knowlege were open, the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Originals of Holy Writ, were all along preſerv'd. And thus, when the Stream was diſturb'd, we might go to the Spring Head, and have every Thing in its Firſt Purity. For as that Holy Martyr St. *Cyprian* writes, (o) *If we have Recourſe to the Oracles of God, and trace Religion to its divine Original, all Miſtakes of Frailty or Deſign, will be diſcover'd. The inſpir'd Writings will diſentangle the Perplexity, diſpel the Miſt of the Argument, and ſet the Truth in a clear Light. If the Channel which formerly flow'd plentifully, happens to fail, the Way is to examine the Fountain, and then we ſhall know what Occaſions the Stoppage. By this Method the holy Biſhops ought to govern themſelves. If the Colours are almoſt rubb'd out, if we are at a Loſs in any Part of Belief or Practice, let us apply to the holy Evangeliſts, to the Writings and Traditions of the Apoſtles. And thus let us execute cloſely upon the Firſt Scheme, and form our Conduct upon the divine Inſtitution.*

“ The great St. *Baſil* delivers himſelf to the ſame Purpoſe: *'Tis not reaſonable*, ſays he, *they ſhould Over-rule the Point by Force of Cuſtom. Ancient Uſage is not always the Standard of Orthodoxy. Let the Diſpute between us be referr'd to the holy Scriptures. And what ever Perſwaſion is beſt able to ſtand this Teſt, let it be receiv'd without farther debate.*

“ By the Reaſoning of theſe *Fathers*, continues the Archbiſhop, we are inſtructed to examine the *Scriptures*, to reſt on the divine Authority, and make the moſt ancient Records, the Rule to direct us. If we ſteer by this Compaſs, we can't miſs making the Port: And to come out of the Allegory, this Way we may be ſure of our Religion: And that we are not miſtaken in what Regards either Notion or Practice. From hence he goes on to congratulate the Happineſs of the *Reformation*; how the Darkneſs of former Ages was ſcatter'd; how Religion was brightned, and the Church emerg'd from a State of Ignorance. And laſtly, he exhorts them to avoid Squabbling, to manage in a Method, and act with Harmony: And to this Purpoſe he recommends the Chuſing a *Prolocutor* to the Lower Houſe.” (p) Dr. *Whitgift* was accordingly elected, but the Convocation was prorogued, and nothing done either this Meeting, or at any other Time, during the Life of this Archbiſhop. (q)

A Miſtake in Fuller.

Fuller obſerves, That till this Time the *Biſhops had been more ſparing in preſſing, and others more daring in denying* Subſcription, *becauſe the* Canons *made in the Convocation* 1563, *were not for Nine Years after confirm'd by Act of Parliament. But now the ſame being ratified by Parliamentary Authority, they urg'd them more ſeverely than before: This made many Diſſenters keep their private Meetings in Woods, Fields, their Friends Houſes,* &c. †

But here the Hiſtorian is miſtaken as to his Firſt Remark: For the Convocation of 1563, or to ſpeak more properly, of 1562, made no Canons. For as the learned *Heylin* obſerves, from the original Records, the Paſſing the 39 Articles, and granting the Queen a Subſidy, was all the Buſineſs done this Synod. *

As to the *Admonition* above-mention'd, 'twas anſwered by Dr. *Whitgift*, who examin'd it thoroughly, and diſprov'd it from Point to Point: This Performance of his, entitled, *An Anſwer to the Admonition*, was publiſh'd this Year. *Cartwright* publiſh'd a *Reply* the next Year, to which *Whitgift* rejoin'd the Year following. To this Second Book of *Whitgift*'s, call'd, *A Defence of the Anſwer, Cartwright* offer'd nothing, but retir'd out of the Field, and left the Enemy poſſeſs'd of all the Marks of an entire Victory.

To proceed; there was a *Dutch* Church ſettled at *Stamford*, by the Encouragement of Sir *William Cecil*, now advanc'd to the Honour of Lord *Burleigh* and Treaſurer. This Noble-man was Chancellor of *Cambridge*: And at the Inſtance of ſeveral of the *Heads*, had ſent down ſome new Statutes for that *Univerſity*.

Deringe's *Letter to the Lord* Burleigh.

Theſe Regulations were made for a Check to the *Novelliſts*, and a Teſt againſt *Puritaniſm*. The *Diſſenter Deringe* was much diſguſted with the Chancellor's Proviſion, and took the Freedom to ſend him a warm expoſtulating Letter upon the Subject. Amongſt other Things, he gives a hard Character of moſt of the Maſters of Colleges, charges them with being Enemies of God, or faint Profeſſors. Names thoſe he diſlikes, and Paints them as his Fancy led him. Particularly, he tells the Chancellor, that God had ſuffer'd Dr. *Whitgift* to fall into great Infirmities: And that in the Controverſy with *Cartwright*, his Paſſion and Partiality had clearly the Aſcendant: The Maſters of *Magdalen* College, *St. Johns*, *Kings*, *Bennet*, and *Pembroke-Hall*, were uncenſur'd by him. But theſe were either Puritans, or ſomewhat affected to that Perſwaſion.

His Lectures at St. Paul's.

This *Deringe* read Lectures in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral: But here he misbehav'd himſelf ſo much, and run out into ſuch extravagant Aſſertions, that he was convented before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and order'd to forbear that Function. He ſeems to have been not only a Man of ſingular Fancy, but a dangerous Enthuſiaſt. He condemn'd quoting the *Fathers* in the Pulpit, and call'd the Teſtimonies of the *Ancients*, and the Vouching of Councils, no better than Entertaining the Audience with Vanities. He

Elizabeth Q.

(o) Cyprian Epiſt. ad Pompian.

(p) MSS. Synodal. penes, Fra. Atterbury, S. T. P.

(q) *Extract of the Journal of the Convocation.*

† Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, *Book* 9. *p*. 102.

* Examen Hiſtoricum, *pag*. 148.

maintain'd that our Saviour upon the Croſs not only ſuffer'd bodily Pain, but Anguiſh of Mind, and that he lay under the Indignation of God the Father. But how does this agree with St. *Paul's* Doctrine to the *Philippians?* Where having mention'd the Divinity of our Saviour, and the great Condeſcenſion of his Incarnation, he adds as a farther Inſtance of his Goodneſs, that he became *Obedient even to the Death of the Croſs, wherefore God alſo has highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name.* The Author to the *Hebrews* likewiſe delivers himſelf directly counter to *Deringe*'s Doctrine, where ſpeaking of our Saviour, he tells us, *That for the Joy that was ſet before him, he endur'd the Croſs, and deſpiſ'd the Shame.* To proceed, *Deringe* maintain'd dangerous Tenents in his Lectures with Reſpect to the *State:* He told his Congregation that Chriſtians were Lords of all, and that they had no Sovereign in Heaven or Earth: He expreſs'd himſelf as if Faith had diſcharg'd them from Subjection, rais'd them to a Participation of our Saviour's Condition, and made them Rulers of the Univerſe. (*r*)

Philip. c. 2.

Heb. 12.

(*r*) Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

But this Gentleman, tho' remov'd from his Lecture, had the Satiſfaction of a numerous Party and conſiderable Abettors. The *Puritans*, beſides their great Patron the Earl of *Leiceſter*, had no few Friends at the Council *Board*. Under this Countenance they appear'd boldly in the Cauſe, publiſh'd Pamphlets, and attack'd the Hierarchy, without much Regard either to Truth or Decency. Of theſe intemperate Sallies the Archbiſhop complains in a Letter to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* was highly ſenſible of theſe Diſorders, and dreaded the fatal Iſſue in which they might terminate. In his Letter to the Archbiſhop, he endeavours to alarm his Caution, and keep him upon his Guard; *I doubt not,* ſays he, *but ye are Circumſpect and Vigilant, that theſe Godleſs Schiſmaticks over-run not the Realm, ne deface the Religion of our godly and well Reform'd Church. Ne auferatur á nobis Regnum Dei, & detur genti facienti Fructum ejus. Mundus in maligno poſitus eſt.* (*s*)

(*s*) MSS. Burghlean. Strype.

The Vice-Chancellor Bing's *Letter to the Lord* Burleigh.

About this Time Dr. *Bing*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, wrote a complaining Letter to the Chancellor. He inform'd him the Univerſity was furniſh'd with a great many troubleſome People. That there was great claſhing amongſt the Students, and that *Whitgift*'s Anſwer to *Cartwright* was violently attack'd; tho' 'twas true, they brought more Paſſion than Force into the Controverſy, and that their Words were much harder than their Arguments. That one *Charke* in a Sermon, *ad Clerum,* had laid down theſe two Concluſions. 1ſt. *Epiſcopatus, Archiepiſcopatus, Metropolitanatus, Patriarchatus, & Papatus, á Satana in Eccleſiam introducti ſunt.* 2. *Inter Miniſtros Eccleſiæ non debet alius alio eſſe Superior.* That Libels were paſted upon the Schools againſt Dr. *Whitgift:* That one *Browning*, a Fellow of *Trinity* College, preach'd *Novatianiſm* and Sedition at St. *Mary*'s: And that one *Nicholas Brown,* (not he who gave the Name to the *Browniſts*) Fellow of the ſame College, had declaim'd in the Pulpit againſt the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, and pronounc'd the *Orders* receiv'd in the Reigns of King *Henry*, and Queen *Mary*, of no Significancy: And that thoſe who were then made Prieſts, ought not to officiate without a new Ordination. Being call'd to an Account for theſe Heterodoxies, he was at laſt prevail'd with to recant them.

Idem.

The *Puritans* going on in their Invectives againſt the Church, the Court affording Shelter to *Libertines*, and ſome of the Clergy not managing altogether Unexceptionably, the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, now on a Progreſs with the Queen, drew up a ſhort Scheme for ſilencing theſe Clamours, for ſtrengthning Diſcipline, and rectifying thoſe Things he thought amiſs. The Title of the Draught is this,

Things needful to be conſidered, how to be Ordered.

“The Government of the Church of *England* to be directed not only to more Uniformity purſuant to the Laws eſtabliſh'd, but alſo brought up to more Reverence and Devotion: For which Purpoſe abuſes hereafter mention'd may be Reform'd upon the Plan following. (*t*)

(*t*) MSS. Cecilian, Parker's *Life.*

The Lord Burleigh's *Draught touching Church Government.*

“1. The Pariſhes ſhould be furniſh'd with the inſtituted Incumbents, and all Pluralities reſum'd by general Order. Commiſſioners likewiſe ſhould be aſſign'd to examine the Neceſſity for Diſpenſations: And here for Order's Sake, the Archbiſhops of each Province ought to be in Commiſſion.

“2. Care ſhould be taken for the Reparation of Churches, and for keeping them in a more decent and ornamental Manner.

“3. Amendments ought to be made in the *Statute* for coming to Common-Prayer: And ſome ſtricter Order provided to command the Execution. By ſuch Reinforcement of Diſcipline, People would not have the Liberty to live at Diſcretion, without any Appearance of Piety, without ſo much as pretending to any Religion whatſoever. That the preſent Remiſſneſs and Want of Reſtraint, has given encreaſe to the Growth of Atheiſm, to the Diſhonour of God, and Danger of the Realm. That in this Matter there ſhould be ſome particular Proviſion for the Queen's Houſhold, which at preſent is a Sort of Protection for *Epicures* and Atheiſts. The Reaſon is, becauſe the Court is not within the Precincts of a Pariſh, lies out of the *Purlieu*'s of Diſcipline, and is look'd on as a lawleſs Place.

“4. *Sundays*, both by Order and Example, ſhould be kept with more Strictneſs and Solemnity.

“5. The Clergy ſhould be reſtrain'd from alienating their Lands, from letting unreaſonable Leaſes, from Waſt of Woods, from Grants of Reverſions and Advowſons to any Perſon whatſoever, either by direct Conveyance, or Way of Truſt. And farther, the Biſhop's Regiſter ſhould be inſpected, what Grants have been made within Five or Six Years laſt paſt to the Deſheriſon of the Church, and an Act of Reſumption paſs'd in the next Parliament.

Beza's Letter to Knox *in Commendation of the* Scotch *Diſcipline.*

To proceed to a brief Account of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *Scotland*. The Beginning of this Summer *Beza* wrote to *Knox:* “In this Letter he gives a ſtrong Commendation of the *Scottiſh* Doctrine and Diſcipline: And infers the Merits of that *Reformation* from its ſtanding the Shock of ſo formidable an Oppoſition: That no Country had maintain'd their Ground better, encountred the Devil with more Reſolution, nor been batter'd ſo much within theſe few Years, as that Kingdom.” He dates the Beginning of this glorious Combat from their Riſing upon the Government, dethroning their natural Sovereign, and purſuing her to Death, notwithſtanding ſhe indulg'd them the Liberty of their own Religion.

To go on with *Beza*. “He returns Thanks to God Almighty for ſetting *Knox* at the Helm, and furniſhing him and his Aſſiſtants "with ſuch Firmneſs and Fortitude." He tells him, "'Twas the particular Bounty of Heaven that he brought in the Doctrine and Diſcipline into *Scotland* together. He intreats him to ſtick cloſe to both of them, becauſe the one is a guard to the other; and that 'tis impoſſible to preſerve the firſt, in caſe he parts with the latter. This may be learn'd both from the Nature of the Things themſelves: For which Way can Laws be maintain'd without a proper Force of Diſcipline and Execution? The ſame Thing is likewiſe clear upon Experiment, the Inſtructer of Fools: And thus ſeveral Countries have miſcarried for refuſing to ſubmit to Correction and Reſtraint. Whereas 'tis plain the *Goſpel* was publiſh'd, generally ſpeaking, for Vengeance rather than Clemency. * And here he deſires *Knox* and his Brethren to remember, that as Epiſcopacy introduced the Papal Supremacy, ſo theſe modern pretended Biſhops, theſe Remains of Popery, will undoubtedly make Way for Licentiouſneſs. † Let thoſe who regard the Intereſt of the Church have a Care of this Peſtilent Government: And ſince you have expell'd the Pope's Uſurpation, never give Way to the Readmiſſion of Epiſcopacy, what ſpecious Pretences, what Motives ſoever for Union may be alledg'd for that Purpoſe: For that theſe plauſible Colours had miſled a great many well-meaning Men amongſt the *Ancients*. (u)

* Evangelium ad judicium potius quam ad miſericordiam (Electos Dei pauculos excipio) promulgari.

† Ita Pſeudepiſcopos, Papatûs Reliquias, Epicureiſmum terris invecturos.

(u) Beza's *Epiſt.* 79.

The Occaſion of Writing this Letter, as may reaſonably be collected, was the reſtoring Epiſcopacy at the late *Aſſembly* at *Leith*. *Beza* was much diſconcerted at this Apearance of primitive Government: He look'd on it as a Reflection on the *Geneva* Model. To prevent this Settlement, he makes it his Buſineſs to ſolicit *Knox* and his Party to diſturb the publick Meaſures, and break through the *Leith-Agreement*.

Aug. 1572. *The general Aſſembly at* Perth.

Neither was this Effort altogether without its Effect, as may be conjectur'd from the Management of the *General Aſſembly* at *Perth*. At this *Meeting* the *Leith-Agreement* was reported: But what was done was not received with general Satisfaction. I mean the Univerſality were not altogether pleas'd with what had been tranſacted. Some weak or humourſome Members ſcrupled the Titles of Archbiſhop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, and *Chapter*. Theſe, they ſaid, were Popiſh Diſtinctions, and offenſive to the Ears of good Chriſtians. Theſe trifling Exceptions were thought fit to be conſider'd. An explanatory Temper was therefore propos'd, that theſe Names might be ſoften'd to a more acceptable Change, and the Sound of Superſtition ſomewhat diſcharg'd. For the Purpoſe, an Archbiſhop ſhould be ſunk to the Title of a Biſhop, the *Chapter* ſhould be call'd the *Biſhops Aſſembly*, and the Dean the *Moderator* of that Aſſembly. And as for the Titles of Archdeacon, Chancellor, Abbot, and Prior, a Committee ſhould be aſſign'd to examine the Extent of theſe Functions, propoſe other more unexceptionable Diſtinctions, and make a Report of their Reſolution to the next *Aſſembly*. But that any ſuch Report was deliver'd, is more than appears. 'Tis probable the wiſer Part thought there was no Reaſon to quarrel the Name, when the Office was allow'd both lawful and neceſſary.

However, a Proteſtation was thrown in by the *Aſſembly*, that they admitted the *Leith-Articles* only by Way of **Interim**, 'till a more perfect Settlement might be procur'd from the Regent and Nobility. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Mr. *John Dowglaſs*, Provoſt of the *New College* of St. *Andrews*, was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of that *See*, Mr. *James Boyde* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſcow*, Mr. *James Paton* to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Andrew Graham* to the *See* of *Dunblain*. (w)

(w) Spotſwood's *Hiſt. pag.* 260.

Knox's *Death and Character.*

In *October* this Year the *Regent* of *Scotland*, tir'd with the publick Diſturbances, and the ill Succeſs of his Adminiſtration, contracted a Diſtemper, and died. And the next Month *John Knox* departed this Life. To ſay ſomething of him: He was extracted from a private Family at *Gifford* within *Lothian*: He was educated under the Famous *John Major*. By reading the *Antients*, and eſpecially St. *Auſtin*, as *Spotſwood* relates, he was recover'd to the Primitive Doctrine, and brought off from the Errors of the Church of *Rome*. But notwithſtanding this gentle Repreſentation, 'tis certain if *Knox* had govern'd himſelf by the Primitive Writings, he would have avoided a great many wrong Steps, and manag'd his *Reformation* in a quite different Manner. And as to his Skill in the Records of Antiquity, we have little Proof of it. To deal plainly with his Memory, he was a flaming Incendiary, maintain'd deſperate Principles, and made no Scruple to put them in Practice. He had no ſmall Share in fomenting the Rebellion againſt the Queen, in imbroiling the Kingdom, and making it a Scene of Blood and Confuſion for near Seven Years together. It muſt be granted he was a Perſon of Reſolution and Zeal: But then theſe good Qualities were under a frightful Direction. He was extravagantly ſmitten with his own Judgment, and ſeems to have taken the Suggeſtions of his Fancy for little leſs than Prophetick Impulſe. He was ſo hardy as to cenſure the Conduct of two Apoſtles, St. *James* and St. *Paul*, and ventur'd to declare he greatly doubted whether St. *James*'s Command, or St. *Paul*'s Obedience, proceeded from the Holy Ghoſt. The Caſe he cenſur'd was St. *James*'s Advice to St. *Paul* to go into the Temple, and conform to the Cuſtoms of the Jewiſh Worſhip, that no Offence might be given to the Converts of that Nation. *

* Acts 21. *v.* 18, 19. *Hiſt. Ref. Scot. pag.* 101.

He took the Freedom to tell the Queen at *Lockleven*, That in caſe Princes fail'd in the Adminiſtration, and declin'd the Puniſhment of Wickedneſs and Idolatry, 'twas lawful for the Subject to execute this Function, and take the Sword of Juſtice into their Hands. This ſtrange Doctrine he endeavour'd to make good from ſeveral Inſtances in the *Old-Teſtament*. For the Purpoſe, from *Samuel*'s hewing *Agag* in Pieces, though preſerv'd by the Order of King *Saul*; from *Elijah*'s executing *Baal*'s Prophets and Prieſts when King *Ahab*, of that Religion, look'd on: And laſtly, from *Phineas*'s diſpatching *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, who, as *Knox* takes Care to tell the Queen, was no Magiſtrate. (x)

(x) *Hiſtory of the Reformation in* Scotland, *pag.* 357.

And thus *Knox* had the Confidence to argue with the Queen from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity; from Inſpiration to common Right. This Principle is big with Murder and Aſſaſſination, ſubverſive of all Government, and gives a Handle to Villany and Diſtraction. 'Twas under the Shelter of this Privilege that the Jewiſh *Zealots* committed ſuch Ravage and Slaughter upon their Countrymen at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*. But *Knox* was at a Stand: He was afraid the Queen would connive at the Exerciſe of her own Religion; and therefore to keep the Pope at a Diſtance, and animate the Proteſtants to kill the Papiſts for going to Maſs, he applies to this deſperate Remedy: Though after all, the new Law, on which *Knox* founded his Juſtice, was enacted by no better than a pretended Parliament. This Right of ſubordinate Magiſtrates acting without the ſupream Authority, and ſometimes againſt it, was one of *Calvin*'s *Noſtrum's*; and *Knox* ſeems to have learn'd it in the *Geneva* School. But this, it ſeems, was not enough: *Knox* refines upon his Maſter's Inſtructions, and carries the Privilege to Subjects who had no publick Character upon them: For *Phineas*, ſays he, was no Magiſtrate, and yet ſtands commended for killing *Zimri* and *Cosbi*. But after all, *Knox* was no entire Convert to the *Geneva* Diſcipline: He declar'd againſt Presbyterian Parity, promoted the *Superintendent-Scheme*, and preſs'd Submiſſion to that Eſtabliſhment.

Calvin *concurs with* Knox *in the Lawfulneſs of reſiſting the Civil Magiſtrate.*

That *Calvin* commended *Knox* for his preaching Reſiſtance is plain from ſeveral of his Epiſtles. His firſt Letter upon this Subject is an Anſwer to *Knox*'s Queſtion, Whether Baſtards, the Iſſue of Idolaters and excommunicated Perſons, might be admitted to Baptiſm before their Parents had acknowledg'd their Crimes, and made their Submiſſion to the Church? *Calvin*'s Return to this and ſome other Queſtions is dated *November* the 8th, 1559.

When this Letter was written, the Lords of the *Congregation* had taken the *Field*, ſign'd their ſecond *Covenant* at *Perth*, and carried on the Reformation ſword in Hand againſt the Prince. And as for *Knox*, he puſh'd the Commotion, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf to a remarkable Degree: But this needs not be repeated. Now *Calvin* was appriz'd of all this: He knew the Steps *Knox* had taken; how deeply he had engag'd; and what Service he had done the *Cauſe* by his Preaching and Caſuiſtry. That *Calvin* was thus inform'd appears by *Knox*'s Letter,* where he tells this *Geneva* Divine that the *Bearer* could inform him of the Difficulties they met with, of the Reſolution of their Party, and the Poſture of their Affairs. *Calvin* in his Anſwer owns this Letter was deliver'd him by *Knox*'s Agent. After this, "He congratulates *Knox* upon the Succeſs of the Enterprize.* He tells him, the Arrival of this News gave himſelf, and all the Godly, a great Pleaſure: That they admir'd ſo incredible a Progreſs ſhould be made in ſo ſmall a Time: That the Divine Interpoſition was remarkably apparent, and that they had return'd Thanks to Almighty God upon the Occaſion: That the Favour of Providence thus ſignally ſhewn was, as it were, an Earneſt of future Succeſs, and ought to animate them to bear up againſt the greateſt Oppoſition. But being ſenſible how good an Encourager *Knox* was, and how well God had furniſh'd him for that Function, he thought a Diſcourſe to raiſe the Courage of the Party not neceſſary. However, he lets him know that the Brethren at *Geneva* were no leſs concern'd at the Danger the *Scotch Reformers* were in, than if themſelves were imbark'd in the ſame Bottom. But all that they could do was to join with them in their Devotions, that God would ſtrike their Enemies* with Blindneſs and Diſtraction, defeat their Counſels, and blaſt their Deſigns. He adds for their Comfort, that the *French* were much imbarraſs'd in rigging out their Fleet for *Scotland*: But that the Dragon was reſolved to try every Thing rather than give over.

To proceed; *Calvin* writes a ſecond Letter to *Knox*. 'Tis dated *April* the 23d, 1561. This was a conſiderable Time after *Knox* and *Willock* had given their Opinion for depoſing the Queen-Regent, and about Ten Months after that Princeſs's Death. And here "*Calvin* is tranſported with Satisfaction for the glorious Progreſs of the Reformation in *Scotland*: He is wonderfully pleas'd that they were not diſcourag'd at the Hazzard of the Enterprize.

He means, I ſuppoſe, the Riſques they run in breaking in upon the Conſtitution, facing the Government, and incouraging the Mob in pulling down Monaſteries and Churches.

However, *Calvin* goes on to applaud their Conduct, tells them, "The Aſſiſtance of Heaven is viſible in their Courage and Conſtancy: That 'tis this which has made them impregnable againſt Satan and his Adherents: And that unleſs they had been thus reinforc'd from *above*, they could never have held on with ſuch Firmneſs and Bravery.*

And in another Letter of the ſame Date, he commends *Chriſtopher Goodman* for joining *Knox*, and animates him to go on. Now what Sort of Miſſionary this *Goodman* was, has been already related.

That *Knox* brought his Principle of Reſiſtance from *Geneva*, may be farther made good from two remarkable Inſtances. They ſtand in *Knox*'s Hiſtory, which is enough to put the Teſtimony beyond Exception.

At the Conference between Secretary *Lethington* and *Knox* at the *Edinborough* Aſſembly, held in the Year 1564, *Knox* affirm'd, *That to maintain the People, or a Part of the People, may not execute God's Judgment againſt their King, being an Offender, was an unwarrantable Aſſertion: That 'twas only a Court Scheme, and the Opinion of thoſe who were more afraid of offending their Princes than God Almighty.*

To this *Lethington* replied, The contrary Doctrine was taught by ſome of the moſt eminent Divines in *Europe*, and which *Knox* himſelf muſt own to be Men of Piety and Learning. Upon this he call'd for ſome Papers, and read the Opinions of *Luther* and *Melancthon*, of *Bucer*, *Muſculus*, and *Calvin*, upon the Queſtion; and how Chriſtians ought to behave themſelves in Time of Perſecution. To this *Knox* replies, That the Authorities won't bear in the Application: That *Luther* and *Melancthon*'s Deciſion is directed only againſt the Anabaptiſts, who make Independency on the Civil Government Part of the Privileges of Chriſtianity, and affirm that 'tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to be a Magiſtrate. And as for the other Divines, that is, *Bucer*, *Muſculus*, and *Calvin*, their Doctrine is calculated for Chriſtians in a defenceleſs unfortified Condition: 'Tis only adapted to Caſes where the Subjects are perfectly diſabled from redreſſing their Grievances by Force, and have no other Remedy to apply to but Prayers and Tears.*

And at the End of the Conference, when *Knox* was commanded to write to *Calvin*, and other Learned Divines of the Reformation, I ſuppoſe in *Geneva*, and *Germany*; when, I ſay, *Knox* was requir'd to conſult *Calvin* and the other Divines upon the Queſtion, he refus'd to comply for this Reaſon, which the *Reader* ſhall have in his own Words: *I my ſelf*, ſays he, *am not only fully reſolved in Conſcience, but alſo I have heard their Judgments in this, and all other Things that I have affirm'd within this Realm, of the moſt Godly and moſt Learned that I knew in* Europe: *I came not to this Realm without their Reſolution; and for my Aſſurance I have the Hand-writing of many: And therefore if I ſhould now move the ſaid Queſtions again, what ſhould I do other but either ſhew mine own Ignorance and Forgetfulneſs, or elſe Inconſtancy. And therefore it may pleaſe you to pardon me in that I write not.**

---

* *Dated* Auguſt 28. 1559. Calvin's *Epiſt.* 283.

* Calvin's *Epiſt.* 285.

* *That is, the Government.*

* Calvin's *Epiſt.* 305.

Id. *Epiſt.* 306.

* *Hiſt. Ref. of Religion in* Scotland, *Page* 391, 2.

* Id. *Pag.* 401.

To proceed; *Spotſwood* endeavours to diſengage *Knox* from being the Author of the *Hiſtory* of the *Reformation* in *Scotland*, though he grants 'tis commonly ſuppos'd to be his Performance. But what are the Archbiſhop's Reaſons for taking this *Hiſtory* from *Knox*? Is the Period of the Book ſtretch'd too far? Not at all. The Hiſtory ends with the Year 1567, which was five Years before *Knox*'s Death. But the Archbiſhop has two Things which he conceives a ſufficient Diſproof of *Knox*'s being the Author of this Hiſtory. His firſt Argument is, the Scurrility of the Language, more fit for a Player than the Character of a Miniſter. But few People were more unguarded in their Diſcourſes, or indulg'd themſelves farther in Satyr, than this Divine. And as for the *Spiteful Malice* with which this Author treats the Queen-Regent, the Surprize at this Behaviour will abate, if we conſider *Knox* had written a violent Diſcourſe againſt the Government of Women, and rail'd plentifully upon our Queen *Mary:* And over and above, it was Part of his Opinion to reckon *Papiſts* little better than *Canaanites*. *Spotſwood*'s laſt Reaſon for disbelieving this *Scotch* Hiſtory written by *Knox*, is the Citing *Fox*'s Martyrology, and referring the *Reader* thither. But *Fox*'s *Acts* and *Monuments*, the Archbiſhop ſuppoſes, were not publiſh'd till ten or twelve Years after *Knox*'s Death. But this is a Miſtake: For the firſt *Engliſh* Edition of *Fox*'s *Martyrology* was publiſh'd in the Year 1563, four Years ſhort of the Period of *Knox*'s Hiſtory, and nine Years before his Death. *(y)*

To return to *England:* About this Time *Chark*, *Travers*, *Gardiner*, *Barber*, *Cheſter*, *Crook*, and *Edgerton*, join'd the reſt of the *Puritan* Faction in order to the ſettling their *Diſcipline*. After ſome Debate upon the Queſtion, they came to the following Reſolution.

That foraſmuch as divers Books had been written, and ſundry Petitions exhibited to her Majeſty, the Parliament, and their Lordſhips, to little Purpoſe, every Man ſhould therefore labour by all Means poſſible to bring the Reformation into the Church. It was likewiſe farther reſolv'd, *That for the better bringing in of the ſaid holy Diſcipline, they ſhould not only as well publickly as privately teach it, but by little and little, as well as poſſibly they might, draw the ſame into Practice.*

A Presbytery erected at Wanſworth.

Purſuant to this Reſolution a *Presbytery* was erected at *Wanſworth* in *Surrey*. 'Tis a ſmall Village about four Miles diſtant from *London*. This Town ſtanding upon the *Thames*, was convenient for forming a Congregation out of the Diſſenters in the City. 'Twas likewiſe more retir'd, and farther from publick Notice, than their *London*-Meetings. This firſt Eſtabliſhment was call'd the *Order of Wanſworth* by *Field*, who was their Miniſter. They had drawn their Settlement into a Form: The Elders Names are mention'd, the Manner of the Election ſpecified, and their reſpective Offices deſcribed. *(z)*

Whether the Queen was quickly inform'd of this *Wanſworth*-Eſtabliſhment is uncertain: However, Complaints being brought to Court of the Schiſmatical and Turbulent Conduct of the *Puritans*, who now ſeem'd prepar'd to ſet up Altar againſt Altar, to form a Body againſt the Church, and declare for a ſeparate Communion, the Queen iſſued out her Proclamation, That the *Laws for the keeping up the Uniformity of Publick Worſhip ſhould be put in Execution; and that* The firſt and ſecond Admonition to the Parliament, *and all ſuch ſcandalous Books and Pamphlets, ſhould either be deliver'd to ſome Biſhop in their ſeveral Dioceſes, or to ſome of the Lords of the Council, upon Pain of Impriſonment.* *(a)*

An. 1572. *The Biſhop's Bible.*

This Year the Archbiſhop publiſh'd a ſecond Edition of the *Old* and *New-Teſtament* in *Engliſh*. 'Twas firſt printed in 1568, and call'd the *Biſhops Bible*, becauſe ſeveral of that Order were concern'd in the *Verſion*. To give a brief Account of this Matter: The Work was divided into ſeveral Parcels, and aſſign'd to Men of Learning and Character pick'd out for this Purpoſe. Moſt of the Diviſions are mark'd with great Initial Letters, ſignifying either the Titles or Names of the Perſons imploy'd. *William Alley*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, had the *Pentateuch* for his Proportion, and at the End there ſtands the Capital Letters *W. E.* *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, and the Two Books of *Samuel*, were given to *Richard Davis*, preferr'd to the *See* of *St. David's* when *Young* was tranſlated to *York:* 'Tis mark'd *R. M.* The Four Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were aſſign'd to *Edwin Sandys*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*. The Books of *Eſrah*, *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, and *Job*, were done by one whoſe Name is mark'd *A. P. C.* which probably might ſtand for *Andrew Perſon*, one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, and Prebendary of *Canterbury*. The Book of *Pſalms* is ſign'd with *T. B.* Whether this was *Thomas Bentham*, Biſhop of *Coventry*, or *Thomas Beacon*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*, is ſomewhat uncertain, but moſt probably the latter. The *Proverbs* were tranſlated by one who ſubſcribes *A. P. C.* the C. ſtands at ſome Diſtance, probably to diſtinguiſh the Perſon from the former *A. P. C.* *Eccleſiaſtes* and *Solomon's Song* is mark'd with *A. P. E.* for *Andreas Perne Elienſis*. *Eſaiah*, *Jeremy*, and *Lamentations*, were done by *Robert Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as may be conjectur'd from the Letters *R. W.* *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* were tranſlated by *T. C. L.* which is ſuppos'd to ſtand for *Bentham*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*. *Hoſea*, *Joel*, and ſo forward through all the Minor Prophets, is ſign'd *E. L.* and was done by *Edmund Grindal*, Biſhop of *London*. The *Apocrypha*, as 'tis ſaid, was tranſlated by *Parkhurſt*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; the Capitals ſubjoin'd are *J. N.* Biſhop *Burnet* relates *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, began with *Eſdras*, and tranſlated to the Book of *Wiſdom*. *(b)* The four *Goſpels*, the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, were given to *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely:* The Capitals are *R. E.* for *Richardus Elienſis*. The Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* is ſubſcrib'd G. G. which probably may ſtand for *Gabriel Goodman*, then Dean of *Weſtminſter*. The Remainder of the *New-Teſtament* has no Capitals ſubjoin'd. Archbiſhop *Parker* had the main Direction of this Affair, review'd the Performance, and, it may be, gave the finiſhing Hand. He imploy'd ſeveral Criticks in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages to review the old *Tranſlation*, and compare it with the Original. One *Lawrence*, an eminent *Grecian*, was made Uſe of to examine the Verſion of the *New-Teſtament*. He ſeems to have been well qualified for this Undertaking, manag'd with great Exactneſs, and made ſeveral Animadverſions upon the Performances of *Beza* and *Eraſmus* this Way. *(c)* As to the Method, whether 'twas the ſame with that follow'd in the next Reign is uncertain. Thoſe who tranſlated the Bible at the Inſtance of King *James* the Firſt, threw the Work into ſeveral Diviſions, aſſign'd to ſeveral Perſons. Thus far the Reſemblance holds: That they went through the reſt of the Method, afterwards made uſe of, ſeems unlikely; for every Portion of the *Scripture* was now aſſign'd not to ſeveral, but ſingle Perſons. And beſides, whether the whole Body examin'd the Performances of each other, is ſomewhat uncertain. But of this it may be more afterwards.

(y) Spotſwood's *Hiſt.* *Page* 264, &c.

(z) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *cap.* 1.

(a) Heylin Aerius Redivivus, Lib. vii.

(b) Hiſt. Ref. Part 2. *p.* 406.

(c) *See Append. to* Parker's *Life*, Nu. 85. Stow's *Annal. under the Year* 1575.

And here it may not be improper to abſtract a few Lines from Archbiſhop *Parker*'s *Preface* to this Bible. This Prelate in recommending this Work takes Care to preſerve a Reſpect to the *Verſion* publiſh'd by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. He obſerves *Cranmer*'s Impreſſion was in a great Meaſure ſpent, and that many Churches were unfurniſh'd with *convenient* Bibles. From hence, 'tis probable, the Archbiſhop might be ſenſible the *Geneva Tranſlation* was us'd in ſome Pariſhes. This Scarcity of Copies was one Reaſon for the undertaking the Work: And though the Order of the Text was plac'd to Advantage, and the Senſe farther explain'd, yet this was not ſaid to diſparage the former Tranſlation, which they had moſtly follow'd, and eſteem'd next to the Original. And after having taken Notice of the Variety of *Verſions*, and the Ambiguity of the Senſe in ſome Paſſages, he deſires the *Reader* not to be ſhock'd with this Conſideration: And for this Purpoſe he cites St. *Auſtin*, who obſerves that we are to look upon the numerous Tranſlations of the Holy *Scriptures* as a ſpecial Bleſſing of Providence: That by this Means the Divine Pleaſure is farther communicated, and a fuller Proviſion made for general Inſtruction. And though Opinionative and Uncautious Readers are ſometimes miſled by the Obſcurity of the *Tranſlation*, yet this Diſadvantage is not without Benefit another Way: For the Myſtery and Involution of ſome Texts are a Check upon humane Arrogance. Beſides, the Difficulty of reaching the Meaning ſecures the Scriptures from growing cheap in ſome Meaſure: For Truths that are open and obvious are often diſregarded upon this Score. And laſtly, this *Father* concludes, That this Variety of Tranſlations, provided they were not negligently done, were of Service to the common *Reader*: And that by this Means the Perplexity of the Text was often diſintangled. (*d*)

Bullinger's *Letter to* Horn, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *in Vindication of the Church of* England *againſt the* Puritans.

The latter End of this Year *Bullinger* ſent the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* a Letter, to congratulate with him upon the Happineſs of the *Engliſh* under Queen *Elizabeth*. And here, after a high Character of this Princeſs, he acquaints him he was much troubled at the Conduct of the *Puritans*: And that thoſe who pretend a peculiar Regard for the *Goſpel* ſhould check the Propagation of Truth, and embarraſs the Biſhops in their Government. That this Misfortune however was not without a Parallel: For at the Beginning of our Reformation, ſays he, we ſuffered not a little under the ſame Calamity. There was a Sort of People amongſt us, who lov'd to puſh Things to Exceſs, and thought they had never gone far enough in the Buſineſs of *Reforming*. Upon this Fancy they commenc'd a Separation, and met in Conventicles. And what was the Conſequence? Nothing but Schiſm and Variety of Sects. This was Sport to the Papiſts. But at laſt the World began to ſee through the Hypocriſy and Diſorder of theſe Men: And thus they broke in Pieces, and dwindled to nothing. And I queſtion not but God in his Mercy will reſcue your Church from the Miſchiefs theſe *Puritans* have brought upon her. *

Whitgift's *Anſwer to the Admonition.* March 12. 1572.

Anno Dom. 1573.

The Proſecution of the Puritans was now vigorouſly manag'd by the Queen's Order. To take off the Weight of the Government, and juſtify their Non-compliance, the Party propos'd a publick Diſputation. This Challenge, whether accepted or not, was likely to gain Time, and give Credit to the Cauſe. *Sandys*, Biſhop of *London*, offer'd them Satisfaction this Way, and ſent the Lord Treaſurer and the Earl of *Leiceſter* a Liſt of the Names of thoſe he thought proper for the managing this Controverſy. But the Lord Treaſurer did not think it prudential that a Publick Settlement ſhould be expos'd to Queſtion, and referr'd to the Hazard of a Diſpute.

Some Diſſenters examin'd upon Articles.

Inſtead of a Conference therefore, ſeveral of the leading *Diſſenters* were brought before the *Council*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. Of theſe the Principal were *Deringe*, *Wyborne*, *Johnſon*, *Brown*, *Field*, *Wilcox*, *Sparrow*, and *King*. *Johnſon* officiated in the Lord Keeper's Family, and *Brown* in that of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*. Theſe Men were examin'd touching their Opinion of *Cartwright*'s Book, and upon the following Articles.

Firſt, Whether 'tis lawful for a private Perſon openly to cenſure a Publick Eſtabliſhment before he has made an humble Application to Authority for diſcovering the Miſtake?

Secondly, Whether the Common-Prayer Book is a pious and ſerviceable Compoſition, and every Part of it founded upon Holy Scripture?

Thirdly, Whether the Book of Articles eſtabliſhed is agreeable to God's Word or not?

Fourthly, Whether we are oblig'd to follow the Cuſtoms of the Primitive Church or not?

Fifthly, Whether all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters ought to be of equal Authority both in Office and Juriſdiction? (*e*)

Deringe, *Johnſon*, *Wyborn*, and *Brown*, all ſubſcrib'd the Negative of the Firſt Article: But it ſeems they came ſhort of giving full Satisfaction; for *Deringe*'s Suſpenſion from his Lecture at St. *Paul's* was kept on by the *Council*, and *Wyborne*, *Johnſon*, and *Brown*, were forbidden Preaching 'till farther Order; *Field* and *Willcox* had been ſent to *Newgate* by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and *Sparrow* and *King* were remanded to Priſon, and threaten'd with Baniſhment.

The *Puritans* had too much Courage to ſink under this Diſcountenance: They went on boldly with the Cauſe, and cry'd up *Cartwright*'s laſt Book as an unanſwerable Performance: 'Twas his *Reply* to *Whitgift*'s *Anſwer* to the *Admonition to the Parliament*. *Cartwright*, who is ſuppos'd to be moſtly the Author of the *Admonition*, appear'd warmly in the Vindication of that Pamphlet, and treated *Whitgift* in a rough uncourtly Manner. *Parker* was apprehenſive *Whitgift* might be tir'd with the Controverſy, and not willing to venture a ſecond Conteſt with ſo rugged an Adverſary. He ſent him a Letter therefore to reaſſure his Spirits, and bring him on to a *Rejoinder*. *Whitgift*, who wanted no Courage where the Church was ſo much concern'd, wrote back to the Archbiſhop, inform'd him of the Progreſs of his Work, and how willing he was to go forward with the Controverſy. And here he reports the Failings and Diſingenuity of his Adverſary: That this Anſwer of *Cartwright*'s was ſtuffed with groſs Overſights, and falſe Citations: That he had wreſted the *Scriptures* and *Fathers* to Meanings moſt remarkably foreign: That his Reaſoning was Trifling and *Illogical*: And that in fine, he was far from deſerving the Character his Party gave him. As to *Whitgift*'s *Rejoinder*, 'twas publiſh'd the latter End of this Year.

Whitgift's *Character of* Cartwright. June Ann. Dom. 1573.

The Beginning of this Summer the Archbiſhop acquainted the *Council* with the Reſtleſs endeavours of the *Puritans*, and the ſchiſmatical Pamphlets diſpers'd thro' the Kingdom; Upon which the Queen publiſh'd her Proclamation, for bringing them in to the Biſhops or *Council*, already mention'd

---

(*d*) Auguſt. de Doct. Chriſtian. Lib. 2. cap. 5.

(*e*) Petit's MSS.

Archbiſhop Parker's *Life, pag.* 422.

mention'd. But this Proclamation it ſeems was little regarded. For the Biſhop of *London*, as he complain'd to the Lord Treaſurer, had not ſo much as one Copy deliver'd to him.

The Biſhop of Ely *expoſtulates with the Privy-Council.*

This Prelate however, out of Tenderneſs and good Nature, mov'd the Privy *Council* in *Dering*'s Behalf. And thus this Miniſter's Suſpenſion was taken off. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, expoſtulated with the Lord Treaſurer upon this Occaſion. He dealt plainly like a primitive Biſhop, and told his Lordſhip the *Council* went too far in reſtoring this *Diſſenter* upon their own Authority: That the Cognizance of the Cauſe lay properly within the Buſineſs of Eccleſiaſticks: And that Things relating to Religion ſhould not have been determin'd without their Advice: That *Deringe* had not given a ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Articles above-mention'd: And that the Suggeſtions upon which he was reſtor'd, were untrue: And that the Judgment of Divines ought to be taken in theſe Caſes, he endeavour'd to make good from Authority. For this Purpoſe he cites the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, who make no Scruple to affirm, that in Matters of Religion 'tis proper to conſult the Biſhops. To this he adds the Teſtimony of *Bullinger*, whom he calls a Pillar of the Church. Now this Divine lays it down for a Rule, that the Prieſts or Clergy are to ſettle Religion: And that 'tis their peculiar Office to define upon theſe Points from the Word of God. And as for Princes, their Part is to aſſiſt the Prieſthood, and protect Truth. And for this Reaſon, as the Biſhop goes on, the Spiritualty are call'd to Parliament, and brought to the Council-*Board*.

Idem.

An Engagement to maintain Cartwright's *Book.*

About this Time, *Crick* and *Wake*, Two Puritan Miniſters, preach'd againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Polity at *Paul*'s Croſs, and run a Length of Commendation upon *Cartwright*'s Plan. And now the Faction made a bolder Motion, and were buſy in procuring Subſcriptions to *Cartwright*'s Book: That is, they were to engage to maintain the Contents even to Death, if Occaſion requir'd: Some of the Bench of Aldermen, and others of Wealth and Diſtinction in the City, were gain'd over to this Aſſociation.

The French *Miniſters interpoſe for the Diſſenters.*

The *French* Miniſters, from whom a Neutrality might have been expected, interpos'd in the Conteſt, and ſtruck in with the Puritan Party. Upon this, the Biſhop of *London* mov'd the Queen and *Council* to ſend them a reprimanding Letter: That they ſhould be order'd not to concern themſelves in theſe foreign Diſputes, nor receive the Queen's Subjects to their Communion. He likewiſe requeſted the City might be admoniſh'd againſt giving Countenance to theſe Men. He ſuggeſted farther, That the Principals of the Faction might be ſent off to ſome conſiderable Diſtance from the Town. That if theſe Idols ſo richly preſented and almoſt ador'd, were once remov'd from the Capital, the eſteem of their Saintſhip would dwindle, and their Honour be laid in the Duſt. And in ſhort, they would be conſtrued no higher than their Merit, and taken for Men of ſlender Attainments. And here he complains to the Council, that the Authority of the Church ſignified little: That the Biſhops Character was ſunk, and lamentably diſvalued by the Meaneſt of the People.

Idem.

That both the Church and State were in no ſmall Danger, is pretty apparent by a Letter written by the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *London* to another Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner of their own Order. The Letter is very remarkable, I ſhall give it the *Reader* as it ſtands in the Original.

A Letter written by the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of London *concerning the Puritans.*

Sal. in Chriſto,

“ Theſe Times are Troubleſome. The Church is ſore Aſſaulted, but not ſo much of open Enemies who can leſs hurt, as of pretended Favourers and Falſe Brethren, who under the Colour of Reformation, ſeek the Ruin and Subverſion both of Learning and Religion. (*f*) Neither do they only cut down the Eccleſiaſtical State, but alſo give a great Puſh at the Civil Policy. Their Colour is Sincerity under the Countenance of Simplicity; but in very Truth, they are ambitious Spirits, and can abide no Superiority. Their Fancies are favour'd of ſome of great Calling, who ſeek to gain by other Men's Loſſes. And moſt plauſible are theſe new Devices, to a great Number of the People, who Labour to live in all Liberty. But the one blinded with the Deſire of Getting, ſee not their own Fall, which no doubt, will follow: The other hunting for Alteration, pull upon their Necks intolerable Servitude. For theſe fantaſtical Spirits which labour to reign in Men's Conſciences, will, if they may bring their Purpoſes to paſs, lay a heavy Yoak upon their Necks.

(*f*) Petit's MSS.

“ In the Platform ſet down by theſe new Builders, we evidently ſee the Spoliation of the Patrimony of Chriſt, and a popular State to be ſought. The End will be Ruin to Religion, and Confuſion to our Country. And that you may the better perceive, how theſe Fancies are embrac'd, and like to take Effect, except in Time they be met withal, here encloſ'd we have ſent unto you certain Articles taken out of *Cartwright*'s Book, by the Council propounded unto Mr. *Dering*, with his Anſwer to the ſame: And alſo a Copy of the Council's Letter writ to Mr. *Dering* to reſtore him to his former Reading and Preaching, notwithſtanding our Advices never required thereunto. Theſe Proceedings puff them up with Pride, make the People hate us, and magnify them with great Triumphing, that her Majeſty and the Privy Council, have good liking of this New Building. Which hitherto, as we think, in no Chriſtian Nation hath found any Foundation upon the Earth, but is now fram'd upon Suppoſitions, full of Abſurdities and Impoſſibilities in the Air. We are perſwaded that her Majeſty hath no liking thereof, howſoever the Matter be favour'd by others.

“ But for ſo much as God hath placed us to be Governors in his Church, hath committed unto us a Care and Charge thereof, and will one Day require a Reckoning at our Hands for the ſame; it ſhall be our Duties to labour by all Means we can, to ſee ſound Doctrine maintain'd, Gainſayers of the Truth repreſs'd, good Order ſet down and obſerv'd; that the Spouſe of Chriſt ſo dearly redeem'd, may by our Miniſtry be beautified. Theſe perilous Times require our painful Travails: And ſeeing that God's Cauſe is brought into Queſtion, and the Church many Ways troubled, we muſt with good Courage ſtand to the Defence thereof, and reſiſt the Underminers. We hear bear a heavy Burthen, and incur many Dangers and Diſpleaſures. But nothing ſhall be grievous unto us; if we may do good unto his Church. We doubt not but that you “are like affected, and bear a Burthen in Mind with us. We have made a ſpecial Choice of you, whom for good Learning, prudent Council, and godly Zeal, we Love and Reverence, and have thought it good to put you in Remembrance of theſe Matters. And withal, to require you to conſider of theſe Things, and to be prepar'd for our next Meeting, which we think will be ſhortly, to ſee unto the ſame, as may moſt tend to the Glory of God, good of his Church, Maintenance of his Goſpel, eſtabliſhing of decent and good Order; to the Edifying of his People, and to the Repreſſing of all Gainſayers. Thus thinking it convenient, that you ſhould keep theſe Matters ſecret to your ſelf, we commend you to the good Direction of God's Holy Spirit. From *Lambeth, July* 6, 1573.

Your Loving Brethren,

Mat. Cantuar.
Edw. London.

From hence it appears the Biſhops were awake upon their Charge: That the Proſpect of Affairs was dark, and that they had ſet Meetings to examine the Danger, and debate upon the Remedy: And that all this Vigilance was no more than Neceſſary, conſidering the enterprizing Spirit of the *Diſſenters*. And as none were more active to encreaſe their Party, ſo they were particularly careful to faſten their Proſelytes, and fix them in their Miſtakes. And of this I ſhall give the *Reader* an Inſtance in the *Proteſtation* which thoſe admitted into their *Congregations* were oblig'd to take. The *Engagement* runs thus:

The Puritans Proteſtation.

“Being thoroughly perſwaded in my Conſcience by the Working, and by the Word of the Almighty, that theſe Relicks of Antichriſt be abominable before the Lord our God; and alſo, for that by the Power, Mercy, Strength and Goodneſs of the Lord our God only, I am eſcap'd from the Filthineſs and Pollution of theſe deteſtable Traditions, through the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and laſt of all, inaſmuch as by the Working alſo of the Lord Jeſus his Holy Spirit, I have join'd in Prayer, and hearing God's Word, with thoſe that have not yielded to this idolatrous Traſh, notwithſtanding the Danger for not coming to my Pariſh Church, *&c.* Therefore I come not back again to the Preaching, *&c.* of them that have receiv'd theſe Marks of the *Romiſh* Beaſt. (*g*)

“I. Becauſe of God's Commandment to go forward to Perfection, *Heb.* 6. 1. 2 *Cor.* 7. 1. *Pſal.* 84. 1. *Eph.* 4. 15. Alſo to avoid them. *Rom.* 16. 17. *Eph.* 5. 11. 1 *Theſ.* 5. 22.

“II. Becauſe they are Abomination before the Lord our God. *Deut.* 7. 25, 26. and 13, 17. *Ezek* 14. 6.

“III. I will not Beautify with my Preſence thoſe filthy Rags, which bring the heavenly Word of the Eternal our Lord God into Bondage, Subjection and Slavery.

“IV. Becauſe I would not communicate with other Men's Sins. *John* 2. 9, 10, 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. Touch no unclean Thing, *&c. Sirach* 13. 1.

“V. They give Offences, both to the Preachers and the Hearers. *Rom.* 16. 17. *Luke* 17. 1.

“VI. They glad and ſtrengthen the Papiſts in their Errors, and grieve the Godly. *Ezek.* 13. 21, 22. *Note* this 21 Verſe.

“VII. They do perſecute our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in his Members. *Act.* 9. 4, 5. 2 *Cor.* 1. 5. Alſo they reject and deſpiſe our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Luke* 10. 16. Moreover, thoſe Labourers, who at the Prayer of the Faithful, the Lord hath ſent forth into his Harveſt, they refuſe, and alſo reject. *Mat.* 9. v. 38.

“VIII. Theſe Popiſh Garments are now become very Idols indeed, becauſe they are exalted above the Word of the Almighty.

“IX. I come not to them, becauſe they ſhould be aſhamed, and ſo leave their idolatrous Garments, *&c.* 2 *Theſ.* 3. 14. If any Man obey not our Sayings, *Note* him.

“Moreover, I have now join'd my ſelf to the Church of Chriſt. Wherein I have yielded my ſelf Subject to the Diſcipline of God's Word, as I promis'd at my Baptiſm. Which, if I ſhould now again miſtake, and join my ſelf with their Traditions, I ſhould forſake the Union, wherein I am knit to the Body of Chriſt, and join my ſelf to the Diſcipline of Antichriſt. For in the Church of the Traditioners, there is no other Diſcipline than that which hath been maintain'd by the Antichriſtian Pope of *Rome*; whereby the Church of God hath always been afflicted, and is until this Day. For the which Cauſe I refuſe them.

“God give us Grace ſtill to ſtrive in ſuffering under the Croſs, that the bleſſed Word of our God may only rule, and have the higheſt Place to caſt down ſtrong Holds, to deſtroy or overthrow Policy or Imaginations, and every high Thing that is exalted againſt the Knowledge of God, and to bring into Captivity or Subjection every Thought to the Obedience of Chriſt, *&c.* 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. That the Name and Word of the Eternal, our Lord God, may be exalted, or magnified above all Things, *Pſal.* 8. 2.

To this Proteſtation the Congregation ſingularly did ſwear, and after took the Communion for Ratification of their Aſſent. This laſt Paragraph ſtands written in Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Hands.

The Archbiſhop's Letter in the Defence of the Biſhops Titles.

Thus we ſee theſe *Puritan* Chiefs made all their Proſelytes ſwear the Church of *England*'s Service was polluted and abominable; and the Epiſcopal Government Antichriſtian. And becauſe they perceiv'd the Biſhop's Character ſtrengthen'd by Title and Civil Privilege, they made an Attack upon this Quarter, clamour'd againſt their being call'd *Lords*, and ſaluted with the Reſpect of *Honourable*. Theſe Exceptions were not altogether diſregarded by the Envious and Ignorant. The Archbiſhop therefore wrote a Letter to the Lord Treaſurer, to juſtify theſe Diſtinctions. He takes Notice the Biſhops held their Lands by Barony, and therefore the giving them the Title of Lords was no Singularity, and nothing more than a Regard reſulting from the *Tenure*. That *Aaron* was not in a much inferior Station to *Moſes*: That Prophets and Prieſts were ſtrongly recommended to Regard under the *Old Teſtament*. That the Biſhops in the Council of *Nice* were honourably treated by *Conſtantine* the Great. And ſo was St. *Ambroſe* by *Theodoſius*, notwithſtanding he exerted his Diſcipline upon that Prince. And as for the Text in St. *Luke*, where the Apoſtles are forbidden to *exerciſe Lordſhip over each other*, like the *Kings of the Gentiles*, the Archbiſhop obſerves, That the Check in this Place reaches no farther than ambitious Affectation of Government, and Abuſe of Power. (*h*)

Luke 22. *ver.* 25, 26.

(*g*) Petit's MSS.

(*h*) Petit's MSS.

Parker (Mathew) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

A deſperate Sect in the Iſle of Ely.

The *Puritans* were not the only Men that diſturb'd the Church: A much worſe Sect had got footing in the Iſle of *Ely*. Theſe Men ſeem to have blended the Hereſies of the *Gnoſticks*, *Arians*, and *Anabaptiſts* together. The Lord *North* gave Notice of them, and laid their Opinions before the *Council*, and Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

Firſt, They maintain'd the Unlawfulneſs of taking an Oath upon any Account, or before any Perſon whatſoever. They founded this Error upon a Miſinterpretation of a Text in the 5th of St. *Mathew*, where 'tis ſaid, *Swear not at all*, &c. *Secondly*, They held all capital Puniſhments unlawful, tho' executed by the Order of the Magiſtracy. For this Heterodoxy they cited the Sixth Commandment, *Thou ſhall not kill.* 3*dly*, They condemn'd Property, and preach'd up Community without Reſerve either of Goods or Perſons, as far as it appears. Their Warrant for this Doctrine is the Second of the *Acts* where the *Believers* are ſaid to *have had all Things* Common. 4*thly*, They aſſert that every Man at the Impulſe of his Fancy, or the Suggeſtion of his Conſcience, as probably they would call it, may preach or expound the *Scriptures*: And that there's no Need of any Miſſion or cuſtomary Conveyance of Character. 5*thly*, They maintain the *Limbus Patrum*, and the old *Arabian* Hereſy of the Soul's ſleeping till the Reſurrection. They reject the Canons of the *Old Teſtament*, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, when they are preſs'd with Authorities, and embarraſs'd with Citations from thence. 6*thly*, Many of them maintain an Inequality in the Perſons of the Godhead. 7*thly*, They aſſert that by Hell there is nothing more meant than irregular Appetite, and Perturbation of Mind. Many of this *Sect* were horribly ſcandalous and immoral: Their Meetings were very private, and no body permitted but thoſe who were thoroughly perverted. Their Preachers were not choſen and fix'd. This Exerciſe being perform'd by ſome Perſon on the ſudden, who was puſh'd forward by his own Confidence or Phrenzy. *(i)*

(i) Petit's MSS.

Burchet*'s deſperate Principle.*

To proceed; the *Zealots* Principle encourag'd by *Knox*, was not without Precedent in *England*. For Inſtance, *Peter Burchet*, a *Puritan*-Student of the *Middle-Temple*, entertain'd a Perſuaſion that 'twas lawful to kill thoſe who were Enemies to the Goſpel. This deſperate Fancy had poſſeſs'd him ſo far, that ſeeing one *Hawkins*, a famous Sea Captain in the Street near the *Temple*, he ſtabb'd him with his Dagger. This *Hawkins*, *Burchet* miſtook for *Chriſtopher Hatton* Eſq; one of the Privy-*Council*. This Gentleman, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was a ſtrict *Conformiſt*, in a Counter-Intereſt to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and by *Burchet*, ſuppos'd to be a Papiſt. The Queen was more than uſually angry at this Villany, and would have had the Aſſaſin immediately puniſh'd by Martial Law: But being inform'd this Way of Proceeding was proper to the *Camp*, and would look like a Strein of the Prerogative, ſhe order'd him to be tried by Common Law. And being brought into the Court, the Queſtion was put, whether he believ'd a private Man might lawfully kill a Papiſt, who does his Utmoſt to *hinder* the *Glory* of *God*. *Burchet* anſwer'd, he believ'd he might; and therefore, if Mr. *Hatton* was of that Religion, as he conceiv'd him to be, he ſhould not have repented the Killing him. This Opinion *Burchet* ſign'd, *October* the 27th. *(k)*

Anno Dom. 1573.

(k) Cambden Eliz. MSS. Burghleian.

It pleas'd God the Wound *Hawkins* receiv'd, did not prove Mortal. As for *Burchet*, after this Declaration of his Principles, he was ſent to the *Lollard*'s *Tower*, from thence brought into the Conſiſtory at St. *Paul's*, and interrogated by the Biſhop. And when the Sentence of Hereſy was ready to paſs upon him, he promis'd to renounce his Perſuaſion, and ſubmit to the Penance of the Court. But when the Teſt was farther put, and the Conditions requir'd, he refus'd to make good his Engagement. Upon this, he was ſent to the *Tower*, where he beat out one of the Warder's Brains with a Billet. For this Murther he was tried and condemn'd. His right Hand was cut off, and nail'd to the Gallows; he ſtruggled againſt the Execution, and died without the leaſt Sign of Repentance. *(l)*

(l) Stow Annal. Cambden Eliz.

The Earl of Morton *Regent.*

The latter End of the laſt Year, the Earl of *Morton* was by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Intereſt, elected Regent of *Scotland*: And ſoon after Sir *Henry Killegrew* was ſent Ambaſſador thither. His Inſtructions were to ſettle the Regent, and cruſh the Queen of *Scots* Party. He prevail'd with the Duke of *Chatelerault* and Earl of *Huntley* to prolong the Ceſſation of Arms then on Foot: And over and above this Conceſſion, they agreed to ſend Commiſſioners to *Perth* to treat with the Regent in Order to a full Accommodation. The Laird of *Grange*, Governor of *Edinborough* Caſtle, the Lord *Hume*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Lethington*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality in the Garriſon, ſtood firm to their Queen, and refus'd having any Share in that Treaty.

The Queen of Scots *deſerted.*

In the mean Time the Parliament was held at *Edinborough*. Amongſt other Things, 'twas enacted, " That Papiſts, or ſuſpected Papiſts, " who refus'd to receive the Sacrament with the " Reform'd, were to be admoniſh'd to recant " their Errors, to communicate with the Kirk, " and ſubmit to the Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd. The " Firſt Penalty for Non-compliance was Ex- " communication: And in Caſe of Obſtinacy " or Relapſe, they were to be reputed *Infa-* " *mous*: That is, they were diſabled from ha- " ving any Office, purſuing any Action, or be- " ing admitted as Witneſſes in any Court of Ju- " ſtice. *(m)*

Jan.26. 157$\frac{2}{3}$.

(m) Ja. 6. Parl. 3. cap. 45.

By another *Statute*, all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were oblig'd to ſubſcribe the *Confeſſion of Faith*, under the Penalty of Deprivation. And for this Purpoſe all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Superintendents, were to appear before the general *Aſſembly*.

By the laſt *Act*, I ſhall mention, all Perſons who refuſe to own the King's, (that is the Regent's) Authority, are to be admoniſh'd by the Miniſters of the Kirk to acknowledge their Offence, and change their Practice. And that none ſhall be reputed good Subjects, but ſuch as profeſs the Reform'd Religion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd: And that thoſe who own the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, and yet fail in their Duty to the Government, ſhall be excommunicated.

Ja. 6. Parl. 3. cap. 46, 47.

The Accommodation at Perth.

At the Receſs of the Parliament, Commiſſioners from the Regent, and thoſe who ſtood for the Queen met at *Perth*. And here, after ſome Days debate, the Latter agreed to diſengage from the Cauſe, to ſubmit to the Regent, and to acknowledge, that whatever they had done by Virtue of the Queen's Commiſſion, ſince her Son's Coronation was void, and againſt Law. And thus, after a great Deal of handſome Struggle, and Appearance of Loyalty, they ſign'd themſelves Rebels. *(n)* The reſt of the Articles, ſome of which were not very favourable, ſhall be omitted.

(n) Spotſwood, *p.* 268.

The Caſtle of Edinborough *ſurrendred.*

And now the Regent ſollicited the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to move his Miſtreſs for Troops to reduce *Edinborough* Caſtle. Queen *Elizabeth*, who had all along encourag'd the *Regencies*, granted the Requeſt, and ſent a Body of 1500 Men under the Command of Sir *William Drury*. In ſhort, by this Reinforcement the Caſtle was oblig'd to ſurrender upon hard Terms: The *Quality* in the Garriſon were made Priſoners, and the Governor executed. This was the finiſhing Stroke to the Queen of *Scots*: Thus her Intereſt was entirely broken, and ſhe was ouſted of all her Dominions.

To return to *England*: The ſetting up a Preſbytery at *Wanſworth*, *Cartwright*'s Reply to *Whitgift*'s *Anſwer* to the *Admonition*, and other Pamphlets diſpers'd by the Party, kept up the Conteſt, and made an unſerviceable Impreſſion. The Queen therefore to give Check to the Deluſion, order'd the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, to make a Speech in the *Star-Chamber* upon this Subject, and preſs the Execution of the Laws. It ſeems ſome Perſons in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion were ſuſpected to countenance the *Puritans*, under Hand; or at leaſt to manage with too much Remiſneſs.

The Lord Treaſurer's Speech in the Star-Chamber for preſſing Conformity.

The Treaſurer acquaints the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, “Her Majeſty was inform'd, that thro' the Negligence of the Biſhops and governing Clergy, ſeveral Perſons underqualified in Age, and unfurniſh'd with Learning and Diſcretion, have been admitted to Cure of Souls, and truſted with the *Desk* and *Pulpit*. That theſe Men, for Want of Ballaſt and Maturity, have ſtruck out into Singularities, govern'd themſelves by their own Fancies, ſet the *Rubrick* aſide, and made Alterations in the Offices of the Church. And thus, neither the Prayers are read, nor the Sacraments adminiſtred according to publick Order. Thus by the Miſchief of Precept and Example, they have miſled their Audience, brought them to diſlike and Cenſure of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and made them believe they can't comply with the Ceremonies eſtabliſh'd, without diſſerving their Conſcience. That this Latitude muſt be deſtructive to Government: And that her Majeſty can't diſcharge the Truſt lodg'd with her by God Almighty, without providing a Remedy for this Evil.

Novem. 28. 1573.

“For this Purpoſe her Majeſty in the Beginning of this Term publiſh'd a Proclamation for the ſtrict Keeping the *Uniformity-Statute*. And to give more Vigour to the Conſtitution, ſhe had appointed certain Commiſſioners, of which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops are the Principal, to take Cognizance of Offences of this Nature. She had likewiſe order'd the Lord Keeper to ſignify her Pleaſure upon this Head, and ſuggeſt the great Benefits in enforcing the Execution of the Laws, and the Miſchiefs of a languid Management. That notwithſtanding all this Precaution, her Majeſty is inform'd, that Error and Preſumption come rather forward, and gain Ground upon the *Church* and *State*.

“That her Majeſty can't ſatisfy her Conſcience without proſecuting theſe Diſorders, and doing her Utmoſt to bring Practice and Law together: Neither does ſhe think thoſe Subjects worthy of Favour and Protection, that abet theſe Innovations; and either directly or indirectly, countenance the Alteration of any Thing ſettled in the Church.

“Her Majeſty commanded him farther to acquaint the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, that being impower'd by Act of Parliament, ſhe had at ſeveral Times, by the Advice of the Clergy, publiſh'd Injunctions and Orders for the uniform Government of the Church; and given the Execution of theſe Orders in Charge to the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and Miniſters of Juſtice.

“That her Majeſty is Apprehenſive the long Connivance at theſe pernicious Doctrines, the Countenance and Commendation given them by ſome Perſons in publick Stations, both of the Clergy and Laity, may probably have made Way for propagating the Miſtake upon ſome Perſons of Figure in the Country: And it may be, ſome nominated in the Commiſſions, are not altogether untouch'd by the Infection: That by this Lenity in the Adminiſtration, by this Countenance from unexpected Quarters, ſome Men of Diſtinction may be apt to Fancy theſe innovating Doctrines, theſe refinings upon the Ceremonies of the Church, are not ſo deſtructive, as her Majeſty believes them: That the Points are little more than Matter for Argument and Problem, and that the Practice either Way, is in a Manner indifferent. And it may be ſome People may go farther, and imagine theſe *Novelliſts* in the Right: And that their Exceptions againſt the Ceremonies of the Church are reaſonable and well founded. Now if any Perſons lay under a Miſ-perſwaſion of this Kind, the Queen commanded him to dilate farther upon the Caſe, and make good her Apprehenſions of the Danger.

“He obſerves therefore, That nothing is more obvious to thoſe who have any Idea of Government, any Taſt for Conduct, then that Contempt of Order muſt pull all in Pieces, and prove fatal in the Iſſue. If a Man has but a Family to manage, or a Veſſel to ſteer, there's no good to be done without Submiſſion to the Perſon at the Helm. For if the Subordination is once broken, if Orders are diſputed, if he that is to govern commands one Thing, and thoſe under his Charge quarrel the Directions, and demur in their Obedience; if they ſet up new Schemes of their Own, what can follow but jarring and Confuſion: And if, as it ſometimes happens, they diſagree among themſelves, contend for their own Singularities, and run into farther Subdiviſions, the Miſchief muſt encreaſe and grow more Troubleſome. When the Union is thus broken, when Authority is loſt, and all the Reſpects of Publick and Private, confounded, what a Condition muſt any *Society* be in? Which Way can either the Head or the Body be preſerv'd upon ſuch wild Meaſures? Can the Governor maintain his Poſt, and continue his Situation without being obey'd? Or can the Subject ſubſiſt in a Government where every one runs counter to the publick Rule, and ſets up a different Direction? And if this Liberty looks ill in Language and Deſcription; how lamentable muſt it be when brought into Life, and reduc'd to Practice? By this Claſhing between the Father and the Children, between the Maſter and the Servants, between the Captain and the *Crew*, many rich Ships go to the Bottom, many Eſtates are ſpent, and Families brought to nothing. And thus by a private Image, and by comparing ſmall Things with great, they might collect the Calamity of a Nation, when the Harmony was diſturb'd, and the Government diſregarded. And if Diſorder and Squabbling about Temporal Matters may deſtroy the publick Intereſt to ſo remarkable a Degree,

“ what may be expected where Conſcience is
“ concern'd, where Religion lies at Stake, and
“ the other World is brought into the Quarrel?

The *Treaſurer* goes on to give an Inſtance ſuggeſted by her Majeſty at the *Council-Board*: But what it was is uncertain, for here the Paper breaks off. (o)

(o) Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

To this Speech it may not be improper to ſubjoin ſome Propoſals laid before the *Council* for keeping the *Puritans* more in Order.

Propoſals laid before the Council for Checking the Growth of Puritaniſm.

The *Paper* in the firſt Place obſerves, That a Defect in the *Statute* of *Uniformity* encouraged the *Puritans* in their Obſtinacy and Miſbehaviour: That the *Act* giving the whole Forfeiture to her Majeſty, made the Proviſion leſs ſerviceable: That becauſe the Subject has no Reward for informing, the Proſecution ſleeps, and no Suit is commenc'd againſt any of the Offenders. By this Impunity, the *Diſſenters* grow bold in the Schiſm, and contemn the Church-Conſtitutions. To check theſe Innovations, 'tis propos'd to the Board.

1ſt, That no Biſhop ſhould ſuffer any to preach, but ſuch as have good Teſtimonials for their Learning, Morals, and Conformity.

2dly, That all Miniſters and Preachers thro'-out the Kingdom ſhould give her Majeſty a Bond of Two hundred Pounds to conform in every Particular to the Common-Prayer, purſuant to an *Act for Uniformity* made in the Firſt Year of her Reign: And farther, that they would obſerve and keep all ſuch Conſtitutions and Orders now made, or hereafter to be made, and ſet forth by publick Authority: And that they ſhould procure two ſufficient Men to be bound with them for Performance of Conditions. This Bond, the Projector ſuggeſts, would frighten them more than all Laws and Conſtitutions imaginable: For both themſelves, and thoſe who engage for them, will be afraid of incurring the Forfeiture, and being return'd into the *Exchequer* by the Biſhops.

3dly, If any Perſon ſhall obſtinately refuſe to enter into Bonds, and give ſuch Security for the Purpoſes above-mention'd, that then the Dioceſan ſhall commit the Party ſo refuſing to Priſon; and in caſe the Incompliance is continued, deprive him of all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and not ſuffer him to preach or teach 'till he has made a Submiſſion, and is furniſh'd with the Biſhop's Licenſe for that Purpoſe. (p)

(p) Petit's MSS. *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker.

There had been lately a new Method of Inſtruction ſet up in ſeveral Dioceſes: 'Twas call'd *Propheſying*. The Manner was this: Certain of the Clergy agreed upon Times and Places for a publick Meeting. The Place was ſome Church in the Neighbourhood: The Buſineſs was to expound upon ſome Text of Holy *Scripture* aſſign'd them. And here they had a Moderator to govern the Exerciſe; to prevent improper Lengths, and foreign Digreſſions; to report the Subſtance of what was deliver'd, and determine upon the Queſtion and Performance. This Exerciſe ſeems to have been brought from *Scotland*. We meet with it firſt in *Knox's Book* of *Diſcipline*: And having given ſome Account of it already, I ſhall refer the *Reader* thither. Whether this Scheme was well drawn or not, I ſhan't examine: However, 'tis certain the Managers ran out into unwarrantable Liberty. By this Reading upon the *Scriptures*, they took Occaſion to ſtart Controverſies, to moot upon the Church Diſcipline, and queſtion the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy. Others were too eager in diſtinguiſhing themſelves, diſcover'd their Vanity, and top'd upon thoſe of lower Attainments. By this Miſbehaviour the Deſign of the Meeting was loſt; and neither the Edifying the Laity, nor the Improvement of the Clergy, was anſwer'd upon Trial. The Queen being inform'd the Dioceſe of *Norwich* was particularly remarkable for this Miſcarriage, commanded the Archbiſhop to ſuppreſs the Meetings. *Parker* accordingly wrote in her Majeſty's Name to *Parkhurſt*, the Biſhop, to diſcharge thoſe Exerciſes. The Archbiſhop call'd them *Vain Propheſyings*; at which *Parkhurſt* was ſomewhat diſguſted, and therefore he deſir'd to know whether the Archbiſhop applied that Term of Cenſure to the undue Manner ſometimes us'd, or to the Exerciſe in general. And here the Biſhop dilates upon the Serviceableneſs of the Scheme. In ſhort, this Biſhop being ſomewhat puritanically inclin'd, ſolicited his Friends at the *Council-Board* to keep up theſe *Propheſyings*, to put a Slur upon the Archbiſhop, and ſend down a Countermand to his Orders. This Application was not without Succeſs: For *Sandys*, Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, four of the *Council*, ſent the Biſhop of *Norwich* a Letter, in which they ſet forth the Advantage of theſe Meetings for expounding the *Scriptures*, complain of thoſe who reported them as a Grievance; and in the Cloſe, required his Lordſhip not to diſturb the Exerciſe: But then this Encouragement was given with a Reſerve, that nothing of Hereſy, Schiſm, or Sedition, was maintain'd in thoſe Meetings.

The Archbiſhop ſuppreſſes the Exerciſe of Propheſying. March 25. 1574.

May the 6th.

The Archbiſhop notwithſtanding this Rub, went on, carried his Point againſt this ſmall Number of the Privy-Council, and brought the Biſhop of *Norwich* to Compliance.

A Plot againſt the Archbiſhop and ſome of the Miniſtry.

About a Month forward a Plot was diſcover'd upon the Archbiſhop, and the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and ſome other Courtiers of Diſtinction. The Deſign was to have taken them off by Poiſon, or ſome other ſecret Way. 'Twas charg'd upon ſome *Puritans*, who are ſaid to have engaged upon Zeal, and Motives of Conſcience. One of the principal Confederates was one *Undertree*, who communicated the Enterprize to the Archbiſhop's Steward, and offer'd him a Bribe to join in the Attempt, and deſtroy his Maſter. The Steward ſeeming to cloſe with the Motion, diſcover'd the Villany to the Archbiſhop. *Parker* acquainted the Treaſurer with the Detail, adviſ'd him to ſearch the Matter to the Bottom, to proſecute the Conſpirators, and reward the Informer: And that unleſs Juſtice was exerted in an exemplary Manner, neither his Lordſhip, nor the Queen her ſelf, could be long ſafe: That he believ'd theſe Aſſaſſines were countenanc'd underhand at Court; and that ſome who lay in the Queen's Boſom, as he expreſſes himſelf, would ſting her when Opportunity ſerv'd.

When *Undertree* was ſeiz'd, and brought before the Privy-Council, the Practice had ſomewhat of the Face of a Sham-plot: For ſeveral *Puritans* Hands had been counterfeited by this *Undertree*. In ſhort, this Man upon his Examination denied the having any Accomplices, and took the whole Matter upon himſelf. This made the Archbiſhop ſuſpect farther Danger; that *Undertree* had been tamper'd with, encourag'd to falſe Evidence, and inſur'd againſt Proſecution: For he thought it improbable this Aſſaſſine ſhould engage in ſo deſperate a Practice of his own Fancy.

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, as has been obſerv'd, appear'd at the Head of the *Puritan* Party, and ſeem'd very active to bring the Archbiſhop into Diſfavour with the Queen, and make him inſignificant. *Parker* in a Letter to the Lord Treaſurer complains of this Uſage, mentions the *Earl's* being *unquiet*, and that he practis'd with the *Preciſians* to undo him: That *he car'd not for him*, but ſhould pay him a Regard, becauſe her Majeſty had been pleas'd to diſtinguiſh his Perſon, and put him in a Poſt of Honour: That theſe *Puritans*, and their Abettors, ſtruck at the Treaſurer no leſs than himſelf: And that therefore his Lordſhip was concern'd to guard in Time, and look out for a Defence.

Id. Appen. Num. 95.

This Year the Archbiſhop gave his eldeſt Son, *John Parker* Eſq; a Licence for a private Chapel, and that neither himſelf, nor any of his Family, might be oblig'd to go to the Pariſh Church, excepting twice in the Year. But then this Liberty was granted with this Condition, That the Incumbent ſhould ſuffer nothing in the Perquiſites and Profits belonging to him. And to fence againſt the Statutes, the Diſpenſation ſtands guarded with this Clauſe, *Authoritate prædicta, quantum in nobis eſt, & jura Regni Angliæ patiuntur, Tenore præſentium de ſpeciali Gratia Diſpenſamus, &c.*

Id. Appen. Num. 97.

The Churchmen diſappointed in the Earl of Morton *Regent of* Scotland.

To proceed; The Regent of *Scotland* fell ſhort of the Churchmens Expectation. The Confidence they had in him made them reſign the Thirds of their Livings. To gain this Point, he engag'd the Miniſters ſhould have their Stipends paid with leſs Trouble. And beſides, if they ſhould happen to miſs their Account, and diſlike the new Method of Payment, he promiſed to reſtore them to their former Condition. But the Thirds being thus put into his Hands, he reſolv'd to make a Penny of the Bargain. For this Purpoſe he aſſign'd three or four Churches to one Miniſter, without increaſing the Profits. And thus they had only the Burthen of being Pluraliſts: And as for the *Readers*, their Allowance was ſtreight to a Scandal. Thus the Churchmen by relying on the *Regent*, made their Circumſtances much worſe than before: For when the Thirds were paid by the *Superintendents*, Acceſs was open and eaſy, and Application was never made to no Purpoſe. But now the Miniſters were forc'd to give Attendance at Court, where after having loſt their Time, and ſpent their Money, they were frequently diſappointed at laſt. Neither had the Superintendents any better Uſage; and when they complain'd of the Stoppage of the Payment, the Anſwer was, Their Office was no longer neceſſary; for now ſince the *Sees* were fill'd, the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction belong'd to the Biſhops. The Churchmen perceiving they had taken a wrong Courſe, inſiſted on the Regent's Promiſe, and deſir'd the Thirds might be lodg'd with the Superintendents as formerly. To this Requeſt, after ſeveral Evaſions and Delays, 'twas plainly anſwer'd, That ſince the Surpluſage of the *Thirds* belong'd to the King, 'twas more proper for the Regent and Council to apportion the Miniſters Stipends, than that the Remainder for the *Crown* ſhould be ſettled at the Church's Diſcretion. Thus they found the Retrieving their Maintenance was impracticable. However, to prevent ſome Part of the Miſchief of the Regent's Regulation, 'twas order'd by the next *Aſſembly*, that thoſe Miniſters who were appointed Pluraliſts, ſhould undertake the Charge of no more than the ſingle Pariſh where they reſided: And becauſe the filling the *Sees* was made a Pretence for detaining the Superintendents Revenues, the Biſhops were injoin'd not to exerciſe their Juriſdiction within the Superintendents Precinct, at leaſt, not to do it without their Conſent and Approbation. Theſe Counter-motions of the Church and Regent, diſturb'd the Harmony between them; inſomuch that his Intereſt with that Party was never well recover'd. (*q*)

April 1575.

To go back to *England*: Archbiſhop *Parker*, at the Inſtance of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, made a *Viſitation* in the Iſle of *Wight*. And here finding the Orders of the Church neglected, and the Puritans gaining Ground, he exerted his Character, brought the People to Conformity, and recover'd them from their Miſtakes. This Vigour in Diſcipline was complain'd of to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who made his Report to the Queen with Art and Aggravation enough. This unkind Office was not without Effect: For when the Archbiſhop waited on her Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, ſhe receiv'd him coldly, and declar'd her ſelf unpleas'd with his *Viſitation*. Of this Diſcouragement the Archbiſhop gave the Treaſurer an Account in a Letter. Amongſt other Things he puts him in Mind the *Puritans* had a ſtrong Intereſt at Court; that the Queen was almoſt the only Perſon that ſtood firm to the Church: That if the *Preciſians* had the Aſcendant, and prevail'd in the Adminiſtration, her Majeſty would be undone. He complains of the Inconſtancy of ſome of the Biſhops: That ſeveral of that Order lay by, and ſignified little: And that ſome others endeavour'd to undermine him. Her Majeſty once told him, as he goes on, he had a *ſupream Government Eccleſiaſtical*; but upon Experiment, he finds it very much hamper'd and embarraſs'd. He declares himſelf not ſo much concern'd for the *Tippet*, *Surplice*, or ſuch like Ceremonies, as for the Authority of the Laws which injoin'd them: That if publick Proviſions are once diſregarded, and treated with Contempt, the Government muſt ſink of Courſe. As for the Queen's *Eccleſiaſtical Prerogative*, though he is afraid 'tis not ſo great as the Treaſurer had made it in penning the *Injunctions*, yet he believes it more extenſive than the Papiſts will allow. (*r*)

The Archbiſhop's Complaint againſt the Puritans.

His laſt Sickneſs.

The Archbiſhop was now ſick, and almoſt upon the Verge of the other World. Some little Time before his Death he wrote to the Queen, and recommended the Protection of the Church. Amongſt other Things, he put her in Mind how much Religion had ſuffer'd by the Alienation of the conſecrated Revenues: That her Majeſty had been miſled in this Affair by ſome of her great Men: That ſtretching of Politicks to Injuſtice and Sacrilege was a dangerous Latitude: And for theſe mercenary Suggeſtions, and miſdirecting her Majeſty, he charg'd the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*: And that theſe two *Miniſters* were the chief Promoters of Invaſion upon the Church. This Letter was pen'd with a Concern ſuitable to the Occaſion: For not to mention *Parker*'s Cuſtomary Reſolution, when a Man's dying eſpecially, his Thoughts ſtrike out, and he is ſeldom over-ſet with Ceremony. However, a Gentleman attending the Archbiſhop, and who was more faſten'd to the World, diſſwaded the ſending this Letter: The Archbiſhop being always a modeſt Perſon was over-ruled. But after all, 'tis great Pity the Queen miſs'd the Advice: For few Princes had more Need of having their Memory refreſh'd, and their Conſcience awaken'd upon this Subject.

Id. *Archbiſhop* Parker's *Life*, *Pag.* 495.

His Death and Character.

The Archbiſhop died on the 17th of *May*, and was ſolemnly interr'd on the 16th of *June* following. To add ſomething to what has been already related concerning him: He was a Gentleman by Extraction, born at *Norwich* in the Year 1504, and educated in *Bennet*-College in

---

(*q*) MSS. *Acts of the Aſſembly*, Spotſwood, *Pag.* 273.

(*r*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker, *Appen. Num.* 99.

Cambridge. I ſhall paſs over the firſt Part of his Life and Preferments, and only remark ſomething upon his Conduct after he was Archbiſhop. And firſt with reſpect to the more publick Part of his Character: He is reported to have managed to great Commendation in the Conſiſtory, and Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. He was of a ſedate Temper, had no Starts of Paſſion, nor treated any Perſon with rough Language. When a Cauſe had any Depth and Difficulty in it, he always examin'd with the niceſt Exactneſs, and made himſelf Maſter of the Argument, before he came to a Deciſion. He was eaſy of Acceſs, had great Penetration in going to the Bottom of Things, and was very quick in apprehending the Tendency of what was propos'd. His Retinue, and the Appearance of his Family, was ſuitable to his Station: But the Credit of the Figure was his leaſt Concern. He was particularly careful of the Regularity of thoſe that belong'd to him: And to prevent Miſcarriage, he aſſign'd every Body Buſineſs, and would have no idle People about him. Thoſe who were not imploy'd in Learning, the Affairs of the Houſe, or the Management of his Revenues, ſpent their Time ſome other Way that turn'd to Account. Thus for Inſtance, he entertain'd Book-Binders, Engravers, and Painters, and thoſe who wrote fine Hands, and underſtood Drawing and Illuminating. He kept a hoſpitable Table, and once gave the Queen a ſplendid Entertainment at *Canterbury.* As to his private Life, 'twas unexceptionable and exemplary. He wrote a Learned Book in Defence of the Marriage of the Clergy; the Lives of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, intituled, *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, though by ſome ſuppos'd to be writ by his Secretary *Joſcelin*, was undoubtedly *Parker*'s Performance. He owns himſelf the Author of this Book in a Letter to the Lord *Burleigh*, to whom he ſent it in Manuſcript for his Opinion. This Book ſhews him a good Antiquary, which may be farther collected from his publiſhing *Matthew Paris*, *Matthew Weſtminſter*, *Walſingham*, and the Four *Goſpels* in the *Saxon* Language. *(s)*

Id. Appen. Num. 89.

(s) Archbiſhop Parker's Life in Latin, Strype's Append. Num. 90.

To mention ſome of his Benefactions: He founded a School at *Rochdale* in *Lancaſhire*; purchas'd an Eſtate for founding two Fellowſhips, and thirteen Scholarſhips in *Bennet*-College in *Cambridge*, built a Library for that *Society*, and beſides a conſiderable Value in printed Books, furniſhed it with a great Number of curious Manuſcripts. He gave likewiſe an Hundred Books, half of them in Manuſcript, to the Univerſity-Library. He gave *Bennet*-College 310 Ounces of gilt Plate enchas'd, and the Advowſon of Saint *Mary Abchurch* in *London*. He made a new Street from the Weſt End of St. *Mary*'s Church to the publick Schools. He left Legacies in Plate to the City of *Norwich*, *Key's-College*, and *Trinity-Hall*, where he likewiſe founded a Scholarſhip. And to conclude, he expended conſiderable Sums in Pious and Charitable Uſes. He was buried in *Lambeth* Chapel with this Inſcription upon his Monument:

Sobrius & Prudens, Studiis excultus & Uſu,
Integer & veræ Relligionis Amans,
MATTHEUS *vixit* PARKERUS. *Foverat illum*
Aula Virum Juvenem; fovit & Aula Senem.
Ordine Res geſſit, recti Defenſor & æqui,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo eſt.

May 15.

To go back a little: On *Eaſter-Day* this Spring a Conventicle of *Dutch* Anabaptiſts was diſcover'd at a Houſe without the Bars at *Aldgate*. Twenty ſeven of them were ſeiz'd and committed. Of theſe Four were recover'd, and brought to a Recantation at *Paul's-Croſs* in the Form following:

A Recantation of ſome Dutch *Anabaptiſts.*

'*Whereas I* N. N. *being ſeduc'd by the Spirit of Error, and by falſe Teachers, his Miniſters, have fallen into many damnable and deteſtable Hereſies, viz.* 1. *That Chriſt took not Fleſh of the Subſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary. 2. *That Infants born of Faithful Parents ought to be rebaptiz'd.* 3. *That no Chriſtian Man ought to be a Magiſtrate, or bear the Sword or Office of Authority.* 4. *And that it is not lawful for a Chriſtian Man to take an Oath. Now by the Grace of God, and through Conference with good and learned Miniſters of Chriſt his Church, I do underſtand and acknowledge the ſame to be moſt damnable and deteſtable Hereſies, and do ask God here before his Church Mercy for my ſaid former Errors, and do forſake them, recant, and renounce them, and abjure them from the very Bottom of my Heart. And further I confeſs, That the whole Doctrine and Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Realm of* England, *as alſo that which is received and practis'd in the* Dutch *Church here in this City, is ſound, true, and according to the Word of God: Whereunto in all Things I ſubmit my ſelf, and will moſt gladly be a Member of the ſaid* Dutch *Church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forſaking all and every Anabaptiſtical Error. (t)*

(t) Stow's *Annal.*

This Diſcipline carried ſomething of Terror, and check'd the Hereſy. But ſome were ſo obſtinate, that neither Inſtruction nor Puniſhment could make any Impreſſion. Ten *Dutchmen*, and one Woman of the ſame Country, proving thus incorrigible, were brought into the *Conſiſtory* at St. *Paul's*, and condemn'd to the Stake. There was great Pains taken to undeceive them; but none but the Woman was recover'd. However, the Government was ſo merciful as to baniſh the reſt without any farther Puniſhment. This Clemency giving Encouragement to others, 'twas thought neceſſary to proceed to ſome Inſtances of Extremity. Thus two of the ſame Nation and Heterodoxies, were burnt in *Smithfield*. While they lay under Sentence, *Fox*, the *Martyrologiſt*, petition'd the Queen in their Behalf: He wrote a *Latin* Letter in a very handſome Chriſtian Strain. 'Twas to mitigate the Rigour, and change the Puniſhment; or at leaſt to reſpite the Execution for a Month or two: And that during this Interval they might have the Aſſiſtance of ſome Learned Men to diſintangle their Underſtandings, and bring them off their Hereſy. But a Reprieve being granted, and *Fox*'s Expedient tried without Succeſs, the Forfeiture of their Lives was taken.

Two of them burnt in Smithfield.

July 2. 1575.

Id. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9.

The Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy put to the Queſtion in the General Aſſembly.

About this Time the *Reform'd* in *Scotland* began to divide and break into Parties: The Form of Church-Government was puſh'd at, and a Deſign on Foot to break the Settlement at *Leith*. *Andrew Melvil*, as far as it appears, was the principal Undertaker. He had ſtudied ſome Time at *Geneva*, and was entirely in *Beza*'s Sentiments: He was of a warm enterprizing Temper, apt to believe himſelf always in the Right, and impatient of Diſappointment. This Gentleman, whoſe Learning lay moſtly in Languages, was ſtrongly in the Project of a Presbyterian Parity: But being but lately come from *Geneva*, and wanting a Character to break the Ice, he thought it moſt adviſable to make uſe of another Hand. To this Purpoſe he made an Acquaintance with ſeveral of the Preachers, and particularly with one *John Dury*, a Miniſter of *Edinborough*. This *Dury*, as *Spotſwood* repreſents him, was a well-meaning undiſſembling Man, open in declaring his Mind, and zealous in maintaining his Opinion: But then he was ſomewhat unguarded in his Management, had an Over-ballance of Belief, and was eaſily impoſ'd on. (u)

Aug. 1575.

Melvil having practis'd upon this *Dury*, and brought him over to his Singularities, prevail'd with him to open the Cauſe, and remonſtrate againſt Epiſcopacy at the General *Aſſembly*. The firſt Eſſay touch'd the Matter ſomewhat tenderly, and an Enquiry was only propos'd concerning the Lawfulneſs of the Epiſcopal Function, and the Authority of *Chapters* in the Election. When *Dury* had ſtarted the Queſtion, *Melvil* ſtruck in, and ſeconded the Motion: However, he managed as if the Subject had been perfectly new, and the Matter unconcerted between them. He began with a Commendation of *Dury*'s Zeal, harangued upon the flouriſhing Condition of the Church of *Geneva*, dilated upon the Opinions of *Calvin* and *Beza*, and at laſt advanc'd to a direct Aſſertion, *That none ought to bear Office in the Church, unleſs they could make out their Claim, and prove their Title from the inſpir'd Writings. 'Tis true, the Diſtinction of Biſhops was mention'd in Scripture, but then 'twas not to be taken in the cuſtomary Conſtruction; for our Saviour has allow'd no Superiority amongſt his Miniſters: He himſelf is the only Lord of his Church; and as for his Officers, they are all rang'd in the ſame Degree, and alotted the ſame Porportion of Power.* In the Cloſe of his Diſcourſe he took the Freedom to ſay, *That the Epiſcopal Function, as now manag'd, was ſo far degenerated, and overgrown ſo much with Corruption and Abuſe, that unleſs this Grievance was removed, the Church could never be happily ſettled, nor the Purity of Religion long preſerv'd.*

A Committee appointed to debate the Matter.

This Speech being well receiv'd by many of the *Members*, a Committee of Six were appointed to debate the Queſtion. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *George Hay*, and Mr. *John Row* repreſented the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and argued for the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy. The other Three on the oppoſite Side, were Mr. *James Lawſon*, Mr. *John Craig*, and Mr. *Andrew Melvil*. After ſeveral Conferences, and a great Deal of Diſpute, they came to ſomewhat of a Temper, and made the Report of their Reſolution to the *Aſſembly* in Writing. 'Tis digeſted under Five Heads.

Their Reſolution.

“ *Firſt*, They did not think it expedient at preſent to anſwer the Queſtions propos'd by *Dury*:” However, tho' they waved ſpeaking directly to that Point, ſomething was offer'd towards Satisfaction. “ For they add, that if any Biſhop was unfurniſh'd with the Qualities requir'd by the Word of God, he was to be tried by the general Aſſembly, and depos'd.

“ *Secondly*, They conceiv'd that the Name of a Biſhop was no appropriated Diſtinction, but common to all Miniſters that had the Charge of a Pariſh: And that by the Word of God the principal Function of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Governors conſiſted in Preaching, in Adminiſtring the Sacraments, and in the Exerciſe of the Church Diſcipline, with the Concurrence of his *Elders*.

“ *Thirdly*, That out of the Body of the Miniſters ſome one might be choſen to inſpect, and Viſit, beyond his own Charge, and ſuperintend within ſuch a Precinct as the general *Aſſembly* ſhould appoint.

“ *Fourthly*, That the Miniſters ſo elected might ſettle Preachers within the Limits laſt mention'd: But then this was not to be done without the Advice of the Miniſters of that Diviſion, and the Conſent of the Flock where they were to officiate.

Elizabeth Q.

Id. MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

“ And laſtly, That ſuch a diſtinguiſh'd Eccleſiaſtick might ſuſpend Miniſters from the Exerciſe of their Office, upon reaſonable Cauſes, with the Conſent of the Miniſters of the *Bounds*.

And here, notwithſtanding the Presbyterians gain'd ſome Ground in putting Epiſcopacy to the Queſtion, yet they fell ſhort of their Purpoſe, for they could not prevail for a Deciſion againſt the Function: And more than that, by the Firſt and Third *Articles*, the Project for Parity is clearly baffled.

When this *Aſſembly* was held, and the grand Queſtion put, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, and *Galloway*, of *Brichen*, *Dunblain*, and *Iſles*, the Superintendents of *Lothien* and *Angus*, were preſent. But notwithſtanding they were ſo much concern'd in the Buſineſs, it does not appear by the *Records* that either they were ſo far conſider'd as to make Part of the Conference, or that they offer'd at any Defence of their Office and Dignity. What made them ſo ſilent and paſſive under ſo warm an Attack, is ſomewhat Myſterious. If they expected the *Regent* would cruſh the Motion, and diſappoint their Adverſaries, they miſcalculated upon the Event. But if 'twas done out of a Principle of Reſignation and ſelf denial, there was more Humility than Conduct in it. For 'twas by no Means prudential to give Way to ſuch Novelties, and ſuffer the Warrantableneſs of their Function to be made a Moot Point.

Melvil's Project for Parity miſcarries.

However, the Conteſt was much ſhort of Victory on the Presbyterians ſide. This, beſides what hath been obſerv'd already, may be farther evinc'd by the *Articles* preſented to the *Regent* by this *Aſſembly*, the Firſt of which runs thus:

For Planting and Preaching the Word thro' the whole Realm, 'tis deſir'd, that as many Miniſters as may be had, who are yet unprovided, may be received as well in the Country, to relieve the Charge of them that have many Kirks, as otherwiſe throughout the whole Realm, with Superintendents or Commiſſioners, within thoſe Bounds where Biſhops are not, and to help ſuch Biſhops as have too great Charges. (w)

From hence 'tis plain *Melvil*'s Undertaking had little Encouragement: And that the *Aſſembly* was reſolv'd to continue the Superiority of Biſhops and Superintendents.

To return to *England*: Upon the 8th of *February* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and ſate till the 15th of *March*, when 'twas once more prorogued. This Parliament paſs'd an Act that the Third Part of the Rent of College-Leaſes ſhould be reſerv'd in Corn. And in Default of Payment, the Leſſees were to pay after the Rate of the beſt Wheat and Malt in the Market of both the Univerſities. This Act was very beneficial to theſe learned *Societies*, and encreas'd their Revenues to a very conſiderable Degree. *

Upon another Act where Two Leaſes upon Church Lands or Livings are concurrent, the Latter is declar'd void in Caſe it was made Three Years before the Expiration of the Firſt. This Proviſion was made for the Benefit of the Succeſſor, and to prevent Alienations of the Church Revenues. †

This Parliament, Mr. *Wentworth*'s Speech made the laſt Seſſions, was conſider'd by the Houſe. There were ſome undutiful Expreſſions in it relating to the Queen. But theſe, as foreign to this Work, ſhall be omitted.

The *Reader* may remember that the laſt Seſſions a Meſſage was ſent from the Queen to the

---

(u) Spotſwood, p. 275, 457.

(w) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

* 18 Eliz. cap. 6.

† 18 Eliz. cap. 11.

Commons, not to debate Matters of Religion till the Points had been firſt examin'd and recommended by the Clergy. This Meſſage, *Wentworth* ſuppos'd, ſuggeſted by the Biſhops: And thus being check'd in his Reformation Project, he falls into an invective againſt the whole Order. *The Biſhops,* ſays this Gentleman, *I do ſurely think were the Cauſe of that doleful Meſſage: My Reaſon is this, I was amongſt others the laſt Parliament ſent to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *for the Articles of Religion, that then paſs'd this Houſe: He ask'd us why we put out of the Book, the Articles for the Homilies, conſecrating of Biſhops, and ſuch like? Surely Sir, ſaid I, becauſe we were ſo occupied in other Matters, that we had no Time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God. What, ſaid he, ſurely you miſtook the Matter, you will refer your ſelves wholly to us therein? No, by the Faith I bear to God, ſays I, we will paſs nothing before we underſtand what it is, for that were but to make you Popes; make you Popes who liſt, ſaid I, for we will make you none.*

D'Ewes's Journal, pag. 239, 241, &c.

From the Archbiſhop's expecting the Commons would refer themſelves to the Biſhops in Matters of Religion, this Member would infer the Prelates pretended to infallibility: For, ſays he, had they a lower Opinion of their Judgment, they would reform Things amiſs at the Remonſtrance of God's People, meaning the Puritans. And to prove God's Spirit is not confin'd to the Biſhops, he cites this Text, *Seek ye Firſt the Kingdom of God, and his Righteouſneſs, and all theſe Things ſhall be added unto you.* And from hence the *Reader* may collect Mr. *Wentworth*'s Talent for Reaſoning and Divinity. That Part of his Speech which touch'd the Crown, brought him into ſome Trouble. For he was ſequeſtred from the Houſe, committed to the Serjeant's Ward, examin'd by the Commons, and ſent to the Tower, but upon his Submiſſion, the Queen pardon'd him, and he was re-admitted into the Houſe.

St. Math. 5.

After the *See* of *Canterbury* had been kept Vacant ſomewhat more than half a Year, *Grindal* Archbiſhop of *York* was preferr'd thither. But before he had paſs'd thro' all the Forms, and compleated his Character, the *Convocation*, after ſeveral Prorogations, was re-aſſembled at St. *Paul*'s. And here, according to Cuſtom, the Biſhop of *London* was Preſident. At the Second *Seſſion*, *Grindal*'s Tranſlation being perfected, he came into the *Convocation* Houſe at St. *Paul*'s, and took the Preſidentſhip upon himſelf. There was no Buſineſs done till the 17th of *March*, when the Archbiſhop being preſent, order'd the Reading of ſeveral *Articles*, afterwards ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes. They relate to the Regulation of the Clergy.

Feb. 10. Ann. Dom. 157$\frac{5}{6}$.

Feb. 17.

Articles for the Regulation of the Clergy agreed by the Convocation.

“ By the Firſt; none were to be ordain'd Deacon or Prieſt, unleſs known by the Dioceſan, or recommended to him by Teſtimonials: That theſe Credentials were to vouch for his Morals and Orthodoxy; particularly, that he believ'd the Doctrines contain'd in the *Articles* ſet forth by the Convocation held in the Year 1562. Another Qualification requir'd, was his Ability to give an Account of his Faith in *Latin*, upon the aforeſaid *Articles*, which he was likewiſe oblig'd to ſubſcribe. None was to be ordain'd Deacon under 23 Years of Age, nor a Prieſt under 24. Neither of theſe Orders were to be given but on Sundays or Holidays: And here the Solemnity was to be directed by the Form of the *Ordinal*.

4

“ *Secondly*, That no Biſhop ſhould give either of the ſaid Orders to any Perſons foreign to his Dioceſe (Graduates who were Gremials in either of the Univerſities excepted) without Letters dimiſſory from the Biſhop to whom they belong'd. And here Letters dimiſſory from any Chancellor or other Officer, are expreſly barr'd.

“ *Thirdly*, That unlearned Miniſters formerly Ordain'd, ſhall not be admitted to any Cure or Spiritual Function. For this Purpoſe, the Biſhops ſhall paſs no Curates with out ſtrict Examination.

“ *Fourthly*, Diligent Enquiry is to be made in every Dioceſe for diſcovering ſuch as have counterfeited Letters of *Orders*, that they may be ſet aſide, and puniſh'd.

“ *Fifthly*, That the Biſhops ſhould certify each other of the Names of ſuch pretended Clergy-men, to prevent their Officiating in any other Dioceſe.

“ *Sixthly*, That for the Future none ſhall be Ordain'd without either exhibiting a Preſentation to a Benefice actually void in the Dioceſe, or producing a Certificate for ſupplying a Cure, or making Proof of Preferment in ſome Cathedral or Collegiate Church, or College; or unleſs the Biſhop ſhall immediately provide him with ſome Benefice or Cure: Or laſtly, unleſs he is known to have a ſufficient Eſtate of his Own to maintain him.

“ *Seventhly*, That none ſhall be admitted to any Dignity, unleſs qualified up to the Firſt *Article*; and in Caſe any ſuch Dignity or Benefice ſhall reach the Value of 30 *l. per Annum* in the Queen's *Book*, the Perſon preferr'd muſt either be a Doctor in ſome Faculty, or a Batchelor of Divinty at the Loweſt, or a Preacher licens'd by ſome Biſhop, or one of the Univerſities: And beſides, before his Admiſſion to any ſuch Dignity or Benefice, he was to preach before the Biſhop, or ſome other learned Perſon appointed by him, and ſtand the Teſt of their Judgment. This Article concludes with ſomewhat of Softning and Relaxation, “ That where the Stipends and Livings are very ſmall, the *Ordinaries* are to ſtoop to the Neceſſity, and take the beſt Men they can find.

“ *Eighthly*, That all Licences for Preaching granted within the Province of *Canterbury*, and Prior to the Date of *Feb.* the 8th, 1575. ſhall be void.” With a ſaving Clauſe notwithſtanding. “ That thoſe who are found qualified for that Function, ſhall be reſtor'd to their Privilege without Difficulty or Charge.

“ *Ninthly*, None under a Deacon are allow'd to preach.

“ *Tenthly*, Every Biſhop was forthwith to take Care that the Church Catechiſm was diligently taught in every Pariſh. And when there was no Sermon, the Homilies were to be read on Sunday and Holidays in the Order appointed.

“ *Eleventhly*, The Biſhops were to take Care that all Incumbents and Curates under the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and not Preachers, ſhall provide themſelves the *New Teſtament*, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, or *Welſh*; read a Chapter every Day, and compare the Tranſlations together. The Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, and Officials at their *Viſitations* were ordered to give the Clergy above-mention'd ſome Text out of the *New Teſtament*, to be “either gotten without Book, or explain'd: And that at the next *Viſitation* they were to take an Account of their Diligence and Proficiency.

Twelfthly, *And whereas ſome Ambiguity and Doubt has ariſen amongſt Divers, by what Perſons private Baptiſm is to be adminiſtred, foraſmuch as by the Book of Common-Prayer allow'd by Statute, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe is to expound and reſolve all ſuch Doubts as ſhall ariſe concerning the Manner, how to underſtand, do, and execute the Things contain'd in the ſame Book; it is now by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, expounded and reſolv'd, and every of them doth expound and reſolve, that the ſaid private Baptiſm, in Caſe of Neceſſity, is only to be miniſtred by a lawful Miniſter or Deacon, called to be preſent for that Purpoſe, and by none other. And that every Biſhop in his Dioceſe ſhall take Order that this Expoſition of the ſaid Doubt ſhall be publiſh'd in Writing before the Firſt Day of* May *next coming, in every Pariſh Church of his Dioceſe in this Province; and thereby all other Perſons ſhall be inhibited to intermeddle with the Miniſtring of Baptiſm privately; it being no Part of their Vocation.* This *Article* being particularly remarkable, I have given it in the Words of the *Record*.

“*Thirteenthly*, No Commutation of Penance is to be allow'd, unleſs upon weighty Reaſons. And here the Dioceſan is to teſtify his Conſent to the Indulgence under his Hand and Seal.

“*Fourteenth*, That all Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges, ſhould ſummon thoſe preſented before them, and puniſh them proportionable to their Crime.

“*Fifteenth*, That Marriage may be ſolemniz'd at all Times of the Year, provided the Banes are publiſh'd in the Church Three ſeveral Sundays or Holidays, and no Impediment objected.

(*x*) *Journal of the Convocation, fol.* 140. & deinc.

The Queen refus'd to aſſent to this laſt *Article*, for which Reaſon 'twas not publiſh'd with the Reſt. *

Notwithſtanding none but the Archbiſhop and Biſhops are mention'd for their Concurrence in the *Articles*, yet in the Archbiſhop's Mandate for the Publication, they are ſaid to be agreed and ſettled by both *Houſes*.

This was the laſt Buſineſs of the *Convocation*, which by the Queen's Order, was now prorogued to the Sixth of *November*, and ſo forward from Year to Year, 'till *January*, 1580.

The Queen's Mandate for conſecrating the Biſhop of Man.

The *See* of *York* not being yet fill'd ſince *Grindal*'s Tranſlation, the Queen directed her Mandate to him for the Conſecration of *John Merrick* to the Biſhoprick of *Man*. The Earl of *Derby* is Patron of this *See*, and nominates or preſents to the Crown, the Perſon to be preferr'd: Humbly praying that the King or Queen would pleaſe to admit the Preſentation; from whence it ſeems to follow, the *Crown* is judge of the Qualifications of the Perſon; ſo far as either to allow, or refuſe the Earl's Nomination. But here no Exceptions being made, the Queen iſſued out her Mandate for the Confirmation and Conſecration of the Preſentee. If the *See* of *York* had been full, the Queen's Precept of Courſe would have been directed to that Archbiſhop, becauſe the *Iſle of Man* lies within that Province. I ſhall tranſcribe Part of the Queen's *Mandate* into the Records. (*y*)

(*y*) *See Records, Number* LXXXVIII.

This Summer Archbiſhop *Grindal* made a metropolitical Viſitation. The Articles of Enquiry may not be unacceptable to the *Reader*. They ſtand thus in the *Regiſter*.

(z) *Regiſt.* Grindal, *fol.* 97.

Articles of Enquiry at the Archbiſhop's metropolitical Viſitation.

Articles to be enquired of in the metropolitical Viſitation of the Moſt Reverend Father in God, *Edmund*, by Divine Sufferance, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan in all and ſingular Cathedral and Collegiate Churches within his Province of *Canterbury*. (*z*)

“1. Whether the Biſhop and his Chancellor, Commiſſaries, and all other his Officers do Miniſter Juſtice indifferently and incorruptly to all her Majeſty's Subjects, and puniſh Vice and publick Crimes with due Puniſhment, without any corrupt Commutations, neither reſpecting Gifts nor Perſons; and whether any Money, Gift, Reward, or any other Temporal Commodity (other than accuſtomed lawful Fees) hath been received for Juſtice, or any Judgment or Execution of Laws, or for any Gift, Advowſon, Preſentation, Collation, Inſtitution, or Induction, or for the Procuring of any ſuch to any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Living, what hath been receiv'd, by whom, and by whoſe Mediation?

“2. *Item*, Whether the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, and all other the Governors do in their ſeveral Regiments direct all their Doings to ſeek the Glory of God, the godly Quietneſs of the Church of *England*, the Upholding in good Order of the Cathedral, neither ſuffering in the ſame corrupt Doctrine, nor offenſive Manners; and whether any of them hath, or doth make or ſuffer any Waſt, Ruin, Decay, or Dilapidation of the Goods or Poſſeſſions of this Church, as by Decay or not repairing the Church, and their ſeveral Houſes, alienating the Stock, Buildings, Implements, or other moveable Goods of the Church, or committing any of the ſame to private Uſes, or making of Leaſes in Poſſeſſion or Reverſion, for more Years or otherways, than the Statutes of the Church do preſcribe, or by greedy Waſt of Timber, exceſſive Sale of Woods, Advowſons unus'd, and unreaſonable Grants, Patents, and Reverſions of Offices, unwonted Annuities, and ſuch like greedy Griping of Things preſent, to the Impoveriſhing of the Church and Succeſſion, how many, and what they be, whether any ſuch Grants or Advowſon hath been ſold for any Value, by whom, to whom, and for how much, and who now enjoyeth the Same?

“3. How many ſuch Grants, Patents, Advowſons, Sales, Offices, Annuities and ſuch like, hath been confirm'd by your Chapter's Seal, ſithence the Firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign, to whoſe Uſe, and by whoſe Means, and what Money was received for the ſame, by whom, and to whoſe Uſe; whether any like Gift, Grant, Advowſon, or Leaſe for longer Time, than for Twenty one Years, or Three Lives hath been made or confirmed, antedated, or by other colourable Means procured in Poſſeſſion or Reverſion, ſithence the Beginning of the Parliament, in the Thirteenth Year of her Majeſty's Reign; what thoſe be, and by whoſe Means procured, and to whoſe Uſe?

“4. *Item*, Whether your Deans, Archdeacons, and other Dignities of your Church, be reſident or not? Who they be, what other Promotions or Livings every one of them hath, and in what Dioceſs? And whether every one of them be Miniſters or not? Whether they uſe ſeemly or Prieſtly Garments, “according as they are commanded by the Queen's Majeſty's *Injunctions* to do?

“5. *Item*, Whether your Prebendaries be commonly Reſident, or how many of them, Whether any of the Reſt be, what be their Names, what Livings every one of them hath, and in what Place? What Orders they be in, how, and in what Apparel they do commonly go, whether they do Preach in their ſeveral Courſes, or how often, and what Times in the Year, or how often they do reſort to your Cathedral Church?

“6. *Item*, Whether your Divine Service be uſed, and the Sacraments be miniſtred in the Manner and Form preſcrib'd in the Queen's Majeſty's *Injunctions*, and none other Ways? Whether it be ſaid or ſung in due Time, whether in all Points according unto the Statutes of your Church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majeſty's Laws or *Injunctions*; Whether all that were wont, be bound or ought to come to it, do ſo ſtill; whether every one of your Church doth openly communicate in the ſaid Cathedral Church, at the leaſt once in every Year?

“7. *Item*, Whether your *Grammar-School* be well order'd, whether the Number of the Children thereof be furniſh'd, how many do want, and by whoſe Default, whether they be diligently and godly brought up in the Fear of God, and wholeſome Doctrine; whether any of them have been received for Money or Rewards, and by whom, whether the Statutes, Foundations, and other Ordinances touching the godly preſcribed and uſed Alms of your Church, and the ſaid *Grammar-School*, Maſter, or the Scholars thereof, or any other having, doing, or Intereſt therein be kept, by whom it is not obſerv'd, or by whoſe Default; and the like in all Points you ſhall enquire and preſent of your Choriſters, and their Maſter.

“8. *Item*, Whether all other Officers and Miniſters of your Church, as well within as without, do their Duties in all Points obediently, and faithfully. And whether your Dean, Stewards, Treaſurers, Burſors, Perveyors, or any Officer, having any Charge, or any Ways being Accomptant to the ſaid Church, do make a true, perfect, and faithful Account at ſuch Days, and Times as be limited and appointed by the Statutes and Cuſtoms of the ſaid Church, making full Payment yearly of all Arrearages, whether any Money or Goods of the Church do remain in any Man's Hands, who they be, and what Sum remaineth?

“9. You ſhall enquire of the Doctrine and Judgment, of all and ſingular, Head and Members of your ſaid Church, as your Dean, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Readers of Divinity, Schoolmaſters, Vicars, petty Canons, Deacons, Conducte, Singing-Men, Choriſters, Scholars in Grammar-Schools, and all other Officers, and Miniſters, as well within your Church as without, whether any of them do either privily or openly Preach any unwholeſome, erroneous or ſeditious Doctrine, contrary or repugnant to any Article agreed upon in any Synod of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, ſithence the Firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign; or diſcourage any Man ſoberly for his Edifying from the Reading of the Holy *Scriptures*; or in any Point do perſuade or move any not to conform themſelves to the Order of Religion reformed, reſtored, and revived by publick Authority in the Church of *England*.

“10. *Item*, You ſhall enquire of the Names and Sirnames of all and ſingular the above-named Members, Officers and Miniſters of this your ſaid Church; as well High as Low; whether you know or ſuſpect any of them to obtain his Room or Living by *Symony*, That is by Money unlawful, Covenants, Gifts or Reward, who preſented him, whether his Living be in Leaſe, and by whom it is leaſed, to whom, upon what Rent, whether he doth pay any Penſion, for what Cauſe, what Sum, and to whom? Whether any of them be known or ſuſpected to be a Swearer, an Adulterer, or ſuſpected of any other Uncleaneſs, a Fornicator? Whether any of them do Uſe any ſuſpected Houſe, or ſuſpected Company of any ſuch Faults, any Tavern, Ale-houſe, or Tipling-Houſe at any inconvenient Seaſon? Whether any of them be ſuſpected to be a Drunkard, a Dicer, a Carder, a Brawler, a Fighter, Quarreller or unquiet Perſon; a carrier of Tales, a Backbiter, Slaunderer, Batemaker, or any other Ways a Breaker of Charity, or Unity, or Cauſe of Unquietneſs by any Means?

“11. *Item*, Whether you have neceſſary Ornaments and Books for your Church?

“12. *Item*, Whether your Church be ſufficiently repair'd in all Parts, what Stock or Annuity is there towards the Reparations of the Cathedral Church, in whoſe Hands and Cuſtody doth it remain?

From theſe Articles the *Reader* may perceive the Archbiſhop was no negligent Governor, nor yet a Perſon of Latitude and Indifferency for the Ceremonies of the Church.

The Exerciſe of *Prophecying* was attended with ſeveral Inconveniencies: For beſides the Inſtances of Miſmanagement already related, it gave Opportunity to the ſpreading erroneous Doctrine. For the Purpoſe; thoſe who were ſuſpended or depriv'd for Non-conformity, ventur'd to appear at theſe *Meetings*: And here they took the Liberty to declare againſt the Government and Liturgy of the Church. And ſometimes their Satyr was played upon the *State*: Sometimes they glanced upon Perſons, and run out into particular Invectives. And ſometimes the *Laity* undertook the Argument, and held forth. In ſhort, the *Exerciſes* at laſt were remarkable for Squabbling and unneceſſary Diſputes, and fail'd in the Requiſites of Charity and Diſcretion.

The Archbiſhop believ'd this Miſmanagement accidental to the *Meetings*: He thought the Deſign was ſerviceable for the Improvement of the People and Clergy; and therefore endeavour'd to make it anſwer upon Experiment, and bring the Practice up to the Plan. To this Purpoſe he drew up ſome Regulations to prevent the Occaſions of Diſorder. They are digeſted under the following Heads.

The Archbiſhop's Regulations for the Exerciſe of Prophecying.

“1. That the ſaid *Exerciſes* are to be uſed only in ſuch Churches, and at ſuch Times, as the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, under his Hand and Seal, ſhall appoint.

“2. That in all *Aſſemblies* for ſuch Conferences, either the Archdeacon, if he is a Divine, or elſe ſome other Grave and learned Graduate at leaſt, be appointed by the Biſhop to moderate at the *Exerciſes*.

“3. That a Liſt of the Names of ſuch as are ſuppos'd qualified to ſpeak in thoſe *Exerciſes* be given in: And that ſuch Parts of the *Scripture* ſhall be only handled as the Biſhop ſhall appoint.

“4. That the reſt of the Miniſters who have no Talent for Speaking in publick, ſhall have the Expoſition of ſome Part of *Scripture* aſſign'd them as a Task by the Moderators: And that thoſe Tasks ſhould be read privately before the Miniſters only, and not before the *Laity*.

“5. That no Lay-Perſon be allow'd to ſpeak publickly in thoſe Aſſemblies.

“6. No Man in the Courſe of his *Exerciſe* ſhall be ſuffer'd to libel the Church or *State*, or cenſure any Perſon publick or private, either by broad Satyr, or more Covert Innuendoes. And when any one happens to run Riot in this Manner, he ſhall be immediately ſilenc'd by the Moderator. And here the Biſhop was to be certified why the Check was given. And the Party receiving this Rebuke was not to be re-admitted to any Share in the *Exerciſe*, without the Biſhop's Approbation, and making an Acknowledgment of his Miſbehaviour.

The Seventh Article is little more than a fuller Explication of the Sixth. 'Tis here order'd, “That no Man ſhould be ſuffer'd to make any Invectives againſt the Laws, Rites, Policies, and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd by publick Authority. And if any Sallies of this Kind ſhould happen, the Moderator was immediately to ſilence the *Speaker*, and ſhew the Audience the Unreaſonableneſs of his Exceptions: And here the Perſon offending was not to be reſtor'd to his Poſt without making publick Satisfaction.

“*Laſtly*, That no Miniſters barr'd the Pulpit, or depriv'd for Non-conformity, ſhould be allow'd to ſpeak in theſe *Exerciſes*: That every Dioceſan ſhould be particularly careful in this Matter: And not ſuffer any Perſons to expound *Scripture*, and make any Diſcourſes at this *Meeting*, (*a*) excepting thoſe who ſubſcrib'd the *Articles* of *Religion*, and conform'd to the Church Eſtabliſhment.

Thus the Archbiſhop endeavour'd to guard againſt the Abuſe, and continue the *Exerciſe*. But the Queen was of a different Sentiment. She thought theſe *Meetings* gave Encouragement to Novelty, made People ramble in their Fancy, and neglect their Affairs. That their Curioſity was too much indulg'd, and their Heads overcharg'd with Notions by theſe Diſcourſes: And that by raiſing Diſputes, and forming Parties, Things might poſſibly grow up to a publick Diſturbance. She told the Archbiſhop the Kingdom was overfurniſh'd with Inſtructions of this Nature: That ſhe would have the Exerciſe of Prophecying ſuppreſs'd, the Preachers reduc'd to a ſmaller Number, and Homilies read inſtead of Sermons. She conceiv'd Three or Four Preachers in a County might be ſufficient, and that therefore Licenſes for the Pulpit ſhould be granted with more Reſerve. The Queen deliver'd her ſelf upon this Subject with ſomething of Vehemence and Diſguſt: And gave her Pleaſure in Charge to the Archbiſhop.

His Letter to the Queen againſt retrenching the Number of the Preachers, and in Defence of Prophecying.

Grindal, to give him his Due, was a Prelate of more Conſcience and Courage, than to be dazled with the Luſtre of a Court, to reſign againſt his Judgment, and be over-rul'd into inſignificancy. He wrote a long Letter to the Queen to excuſe his Incompliance. 'Tis penn'd with a Mixture of Freedom and Regard. He writes like a Subject in the *State*, and a Governor in the Church: And takes Care neither to forget her Majeſty, nor himſelf. 'Tis printed at Length in *Fuller*, I ſhall give the *Reader* the Subſtance of it. By the Way, this Hiſtorian places it to the Year 1580, whereas 'twas written no earlier than *September* this Year. (*b*)

Decemb. 20. 1576.

The Archbiſhop takes Notice that the Queen's not being pleas'd to hear him out upon the Argument at his laſt waiting upon her, was the Reaſon of his Addreſſing her this Way. “He begins with a Profeſſion, that nothing but Neceſſity and Conſcience ſhould make him Incompliant. He believes her Zeal and Meaning was of the beſt Kind; but good Princes may be ſometimes miſtaken. Thus for Inſtance, *David* had no ill Intention in numbering the People: *Jehoſhaphat* had no revolting View in making an Alliance with idolatrous *Ahab*, neither did *Hezekiah* conceive any Harm in ſhewing his Rarities and Treaſure to the *Babylonian* Ambaſſadors: And yet 'tis certain all theſe Princes fail'd in their Meaſures. And to make Way for Speaking his Mind more freely, he takes Notice of St. *Ambroſe*'s Manner of Addreſſing the Emperor *Theodoſius*. The *Father* acquaints this Prince he was well aſſured of his Piety and good Nature; and owns his having receiv'd many Obligations from him: But notwithſtanding this introductive Acknowledgment, he ſolicits the Emperor ſtrongly to recal an ungodly Edict: The Purport of the Order was to command a Biſhop the Rebuilding of a Jewiſh Synagogue pull'd down by ſome of his People.

2 Sam. 24.
2 Chron. 19.
2 Kings 20.

“After an Application of this Inſtance to himſelf, the Archbiſhop comes directly to the Caſe: And in the Firſt Place inſiſts on the Neceſſity of a great many Preachers. He ſuggeſts to her Majeſty, that Preaching is the ordinary Means of Salvation. That by the Diſcharge of this Function, Ignorance is inſtructed, Stubbornneſs rebuked, Scruples diſcharg'd, Comfort adminiſtred to afflicted Conſciences, and Vengeance threatned to the Obdurate. Preaching gives a Ground for Loyalty, and Forms a Principle for *Civil* Obedience. For Obedience is the Reſult of Conſcience, Conſcience receives its Force from the *Word* of God, and the Word of God operates by Preaching. So that generally Speaking, where Preaching fails, the Want of it is ſeen in the Manners of the People. Thus for Inſtance, in the late Commotions in the *North*, Mutiny encreas'd in Proportion to Ignorance, and where there was leaſt Knowledge, there was moſt Rebellion. He obſerves, That thoſe who object againſt frequent Preaching, were either People of exceſſive Niceneſs, who could Reliſh nothing but what was ſet off with Ornament and Notion, and heard Sermons more for Entertainment than Edifying: Or elſe they were Enemies to the *Reformation*; They were afraid that Error and Innovation ſhould be too much expoſed. Or laſtly, They were Men of Licence and Avarice, and wholly reſign'd to Intereſt and Pleaſure. That this laſt Diviſion, which was very numerous, hated Reproof, and dreaded the Diſcipline of the Pulpit. Theſe Harpyes and Libertines are afraid of being drag'd into Light, and painted in their Colours, and would gladly have no Preaching at all. And becauſe they dare not be ſo hardy as to condemn the Office, they except againſt the Perſons, and Report them to diſadvantage.

“And here the Archbiſhop was ſenſible it would be objected the Homilies might ſuperſede the Neceſſity of Sermons, and paſs for an equivalent Inſtruction; to obviate this, he

---

(*a*) Cotton *Library*.

(*b*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, *pag.* 123.

Grindal (Edmund) *Archbiſhop of Cant.*

Elizabeth Q.

He prefers Sermons to reading the Homilies, and why?

tells the Queen, “He is ſtill of his former Opinion: He grants the reading of *Homilies* is not without its Serviceableneſs; but then 'tis comparatively faint, and falls much ſhort of the Force of Preaching: The Homilies, though unexceptionable in the Matter, are too generally digeſted. They don't always come up to particular Exigence, point upon the Caſe, nor awaken the Conſcience. The *Homilies* were only deſign'd for a Temporary Proviſion: At the Beginning of the *Reformation* Men of Orthodoxy and Learning were not to be met with in every Pariſh. This Scarcity of qualified Preachers was the Reaſon the *Homilies* were compos'd and recommended to publick Uſe. Beſides, he obſerves the Sacrilege which kept Pace with the *Reformation*, was another Reaſon of bringing the Church under a Neceſſity of providing for the People this Way: That *Impropriations* being firſt convey'd from Abbies to the Crown, and now granted away to private Perſons, there's no Hopes of retrieving the Patrimony of the Church, and bringing Things back to their original Intendment: That by this Means there is ſcarcely one Pariſh in Seven able to furniſh a competent Maintenance for a Learned Preacher. And in many Pariſhes where there are Seven or Eight hundred Souls to take Care of, the Living is *ſeculariz'd* to that lamentable Degree, that there is not eight Pounds *per Annum* left for ſupporting the Incumbent: By theſe Alienations the furniſhing Preachers is wholly impracticable in many Places: And therefore that the People might not be wholly uninſtructed, the Homilies were ſet forth.

“From hence he proceeds in the ſecond Place to defend the Exerciſe of *Prophesying*. As to this Matter, he had conſulted ſeveral of his Brethren the Biſhops, and found them of his own Opinion. And he hopes when the Circumſtances are explain'd, and the Manner deſcrib'd, when the Authority 'tis grounded upon is alledg'd; when the Convenience of keeping it on, and the ill Conſequences of ſuppreſſing it, are ſuggeſted; when all theſe Particulars are briefly repreſented, he hopes her Majeſty will be of the ſame Sentiment.

The Manner of the Exerciſe of Propheſying.

“Thoſe who encourage theſe *Propheſyings* are the Biſhops of the reſpective Dioceſes, who both by the Laws of God, and the *Canons* of the Church, have Authority to preſcribe Exerciſes to their Clergy: And that the Manner of promoting Improvement, and making the Curates more ſerviceable, is one Branch of the Epiſcopal Function, and left to the Diſcretion of the *Ordinary*. The ſtated Times for theſe Meetings is once a Month, or once a Fortnight, as the Dioceſan ſhall think fit. The Time for the Exerciſe is two Hours. The Place is the Pariſh Church appointed for the *Aſſembly*. The Matter to be handled is as follows: Some Text of *Scripture*, given out before, is expounded in this Order: *Firſt*, The Occaſion of the Words are laid open. And *Secondly*, the End or Intention of the inſpir'd Writer. *Thirdly*, The proper or literal Senſe of the Place is examin'd. *Fourthly*, The Force and Propriety of the Words are diſcuſs'd: And here thoſe that are learned in the Languages cite the *Expoſitors*, and ſhew how far they differ in their Interpretations. *Fifthly*, The ſame Phraſes and Manner of Speaking in other Places of the *Scripture* are mention'd. *Sixthly*, Texts which carry a Face of Oppoſition, and ſeeming Repugnancy, are reconcil'd. *Seventhly*, The Argument of the Text is open'd more at large. *Eighthly*, The *Audience* is inſtructed what Virtues and Vices are touch'd upon, and under which of the reſpective Commands they are to be rang'd. *Ninthly*, The Miſconſtruction of the Text by thoſe of a different Communion is dilated on, if Occaſion requires. And *laſtly*, The Doctrine of Faith or Manners, comprehended in the *Text*, is briefly explain'd. The Whole concludes with a Prayer for the Queen and the Government, read out of the *Liturgy*; after which they ſing a Pſalm.

The Archbiſhop proceeds to give the Queen an Account of the Order preſcrib'd for the *Exerciſes*: But theſe Regulations having been mention'd already, need not be repeated.

He endeavours to juſtify it from reſembling Inſtances in the Scripture.

1 Sam. 19.
1 Sam. 10.
1 Kings 2.

1 Cor. 14.

“He advances next to the Juſtification of theſe *Propheſyings* from Scripture-Authority. He inſiſts that *Samuel* had a Share both in the Practice and Direction of Exerciſes of a reſembling Nature: That this was done both at *Nayoth* and *Bethel*: And that *Eliſha* did the ſame Thing at *Jericho*: And that thoſe who were train'd up to Religion and Learning this Way were call'd *Sons of the Prophets*; and that this Method was uſed to ſtrengthen their Character, and fit them for publick Inſtruction: That St. *Paul* makes mention of Propheſying, and gives Direction for the Management. And to prevent Miſconſtruction, and take off the *Odium* of pretending to be a *Prophet*, he ſuggeſts that Propheſy does not always ſignify Prediction; and that in this *Epiſtle* of *Paul*, laſt mentioned, Expoſition of Scripture is only meant: And for this he appeals to the Teſtimony of the beſt and moſt ancient Writers. He grants that in the Apoſtles Time this Ability for interpreting Scripture was convey'd by Miracle and Inſpiration, and no Study required for this Purpoſe: And ſo likewiſe was the Knowledge of Languages. But now ſince Miracles are ceas'd, there's no gaining either of theſe Acquirements without Application and Study. That theſe Propheſyings are of the ſame Nature with Academical Exerciſes; only they have the Advantage of being perform'd in the Language of the Country, for the Benefit of thoſe who are unlearned.

The Advantages conſequent upon this Exerciſe.

“And how much ſoever this Matter may have been miſreported to her Majeſty, both himſelf and other Biſhops, mention'd in the Margin, have found the good Effect of theſe *Propheſyings*. (c) He gives ſeveral Inſtances. For the Purpoſe, the Miniſters are more knowing in the *Scriptures*, and better qualified to inſtruct their Charge. They are drawn off from Idleneſs and unſerviceable Diverſions. Some of them, ſuſpected for Heterodoxy, have been diſentangled from their Miſtakes, and given publick Satisfaction: That the Clergy of lower Attainments have been puſh'd to Induſtry upon Motives of Shame, and prevail'd with to mend their Pace, and make the moſt of themſelves, for Fear of Diſcipline. That by this Means the *Laity* have no Handle to reproach the Clergy with Idleneſs. That upon Experiment, nothing batters Popery more effectually than a learned Miniſtry. That by the Advantage of theſe Exerciſes, where there were formerly not above three Perſons fit to preach at St. *Paul's-Croſs*, there are now thirty well furniſh'd for ſo publick an Appearance; beſides much greater Numbers not underqualified for their Cures in the Country.

(c) London, Winton, Bathon, Litchfield, Gloceſtren, Lincoln, Ciceſtren. Exon, Meneventis. *I have ſeen Letters of theſe Biſhops to* Grindal *upon this Subject. The Papers are now in the Hands of Mr.* Harbin.

“ *Laſtly*, That the Breaking this Exerciſe would afford Matter of Triumph to the Adverſaries, and weaken the Intereſt of Religion. That according to the Prophet *Ezekiel, the Heart of the Righteous ought not to be made ſad.* And that though ſome Places have run out into Abuſe and Miſmanagement, there's no Reaſon the Puniſhment ſhould be ſtretch'd beyond the Offence, and the Miſbehaviour of a few affect an unexceptionable Majority.

Ezekiel. 13. ℣. 18.

“ For theſe Reaſons, the Archbiſhop tells the Queen, he is forc'd to declare plainly, tho' with all Humility, that his Conſcience will not give him Leave to comply with her Commands; neither can he aſſent to the ſuppreſſing theſe Exerciſes without offending the Majeſty of God: And that his ſending out any Mandate or Injunction is ſtill more impracticable. He takes the Freedom to ſay with St. *Paul, That his Power is given him for Edification, and not for Deſtruction*: And that, as the ſame Apoſtle elſewhere ſpeaks, *he can do nothing againſt the Truth, but for the Truth.*

2 Cor. 10.

2 Cor. 13.

“ As for any Conſequences of Incompliance, he is willing to reſign to her Majeſty's Pleaſure with all Humility. He conſiders, *That 'tis a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.* He conſiders likewiſe, *Quod qui facit contra Conſcientiam (Divinis Juribus nixam) Ædificat ad Gehennam*; that is, He who acts againſt his Conſcience, opens a Gap, as it were, and paves the Way to his own Deſtruction. And what Advantage would it be to him, *if he ſhould gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul.*

Heb. 10.

“ And making an Excuſe for the Length of his Application, he humbly deſires the Queen to afford her Conſideration to the two following Requeſts.” And now to ſpeak in his Perſon, “ *Madam*, My firſt Requeſt, ſays he, to your Majeſty is, That you would not interpoſe your Prerogative in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, nor carry the *Regale* thus far into the Church: That you would rather refer Points of Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Management of Biſhops and Divines: That by theſe Permiſſions you would follow the Precedent of all Pious Emperors and Princes from *Conſtantine* the Great to your own Time: That Things of this Nature, as an ancient Father expreſſes himſelf, are to be decided in the Church, and not in the Palace.* When any Controverſies of Law ariſe, 'tis not your Majeſty's Cuſtom to determine at your Court; but to ſend them to your Judges for their Reſolution. And thus when any Doubt or Difficulty happens in Reference to religious Belief, or Church Diſcipline, the uſual Way is to remit the Deciſion of theſe Points to the Biſhop, and other Eccleſiaſticks of Diſtinction.

His ſeaſonable Advice to the Queen.

* In Eccleſia ſeu Synodo non in Palatio.

“ St. *Ambroſe* upon a reſembling Occaſion applies himſelf thus to *Theodoſius* the Great; *Si de Cauſis Pecuniariis Comites tuos conſulas, quanto magis in Cauſa Religionis Sacerdotes Domini æquum eſt Conſulas?* i. e. If in Matters of Property you aſk the Opinions of your Chancellor and the *Bench*, how much more reaſonable is it to conſult our Saviour's Prieſts when Religion is the Buſineſs in Queſtion? *(d)* The ſame Father acquaints the good Emperor *Valentinian, Si de Fide conferendum eſt, Sacerdotum debet eſſe iſta Collatio; ſicut factum eſt ſub* Conſtantino *Auguſtæ Memoriæ Principe; Qui nullas Leges ante præmiſit quam Liberum dedit Judicium Sacerdotibus*; i. e. When Faith is the Subject of the Debate, the Diſcuſſion ought to be left to the Biſhops; That *Conſtantine*, of Illuſtrious Memory, govern'd himſelf by this Rule, and made no Laws with Relation to the Church 'till the Point was firſt ſettled by the Clergy. And St. *Ambroſe* obſerves in the ſame Letter, That *Conſtantius* the Emperor, by following his Father's Precedent, mov'd well at firſt in the Adminiſtration; but when he took upon him *de Fide intra Palatium judicare*, to make himſelf a Judge of Religious Controverſies, and pronounce upon Matters of Faith within the *Palace*, this Method prov'd unhappy in the Iſſue, and miſled him into *Arrianiſm*: A terrible Example!

(*d*) Ambroſ. ad Theod. Epiſt. 29.

Id. Epiſt. 32.

“ This famous St. *Ambroſe*, who ſtands with ſuch Advantage upon Record, goes a farther Length in his Remonſtrance, and treats the Emperor *Valentinian* with more plain Dealing: His Words are theſe, *Si docendus eſt Epiſcopus à Laico quid ſequatur? Laicus, ergo diſputet, & Epiſcopus audiat; Epiſcopus diſcat à Laico. At certè, ſi vel Scripturarum Seriem divinarum vel vetera Tempora retractemus, quis eſt qui abnuat, in Cauſa Fidei, in Cauſa, in quam, Fidei, Epiſcopos ſolere de Imperatoribus Chriſtianis, non Imperatores de Epiſcopis judicare?* If a Biſhop is to be inſtructed by a Lay-Man, what muſt be the Conſequence? Why then let the Laity argue, and the Biſhop make Part of the Audience; let a Biſhop reſign his Character, and learn of a Lay-Man. But if either the Tenor of the Scripture, or the Practice of Antiquity, are conſulted upon this Queſtion, who can deny but that when a Point of Faith is under Debate; when a Point of Faith, I ſay, is under Debate, it has been cuſtomary for Biſhops to give Judgment upon Chriſtian Emperors, and not Emperors upon Biſhops?

Ibid.

“ *Madam*, I wiſh to God you would ſteer by this Compaſs: By managing in this Manner your Majeſty would conſult your own Repoſe, pleaſe God Almighty better, and avoid many Inſtances of wide Conduct. And in ſhort, the Government of the Church would go on with a ſmoother Motion, to your Majeſty's Satiſfaction, and the Publick Benefit.

“ The ſecond Petition I have to make to your Majeſty is this, That when you interpoſe in Matters of Faith and Religion; in Matters that touch the Church of Chriſt, the Church which is his Spouſe, and bought at ſo high a Price; when Things of this Nature lie before your Majeſty, my humble Requeſt is, that you would not pronounce with ſuch Abſoluteneſs* and Reſolution as you may do in ſecular Buſineſs. Be pleaſ'd to remember that in Things of this Nature the Will of God, and not of any earthly Creature, is to govern the Affair: *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione Voluntas*; To make Pleaſure a Law is the Language of the Court of *Rome*: 'Tis Papal Preſumption. Where the Divine Worſhip is concern'd, all Princes ought to ſtoop their Scepters to the Son of God, and aſk Council at his Mouth. *David* exhorts all Kings and Governors to *ſerve* God with *Fear and Trembling*.

* *His Words are*, ſo reſolutely and peremptorily.

“ Remember, *Madam*, you are a mortal Creature: Don't over contemplate your Character, nor look upon your Purple too much: 'Tis the Advice of St. *Ambroſe* to *Theodoſius* the Great. Be pleaſ'd to conſider, as that Father goes on, what kind of Body 'tis that wears the Royal Robes. Is it any more than Fleſh and Blood? Has it not the common Principles of Diſſolution? And is it any farther than a

(e) Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 5. c. 8.

Pſalm. 76.

“ few Removes from Duſt and Aſhes? (e) Muſt you not one Day appear *before the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt to receive according to what you have done in the Body, whether it be good or bad?* Tho' you are a mighty Prince, yet remember he who dwells in Heaven is mightier; and as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, *He ſhall cut off the Spirit of Princes, he is terrible to the Kings of the Earth.*

“ Wherefore I beſeech you, *Madam, in Viſceribus Chriſti*, to move with the utmoſt Caution in the Management of *Religious* Affairs: Set the Majeſty of God before your Eyes, and lay your *own* aſide. Reſolve to obey him without Reſerve, and ſay with all Humility, *Not my Will, but thine be done.* God has bleſs'd your Reign with remarkable Proſperity for many Years: Don't reckon your Happineſs to your Merit and Conduct, but give God the Glory. And as to the Significancy of Means and ſecondary Cauſes, impute your Felicity in the firſt Place to the Goodneſs of the Cauſe you are engag'd in, I mean the Propagation and Maintenance of the true Religion: And ſecondly, To the fervent Prayers of the Godly put up in your Behalf; which Powerful Interceſſions have, as it were, diſarm'd Omnipotence, and tied the Hands of God, that he could not pour out his Plagues on you and your People, moſt juſtly deſerv'd.

2 Chron. 26.

“ Take Care that a Revolting Thought never reſts upon your Mind, for Fear the Fate of *Joaſh* ſhould come upon you. He govern'd with Juſtice and Piety for many Years; *But when he was ſtrong, his Heart was lifted up to his Deſtruction, and he tranſgreſs'd againſt the Lord his God.* You have done many Things well; but except you perſevere, you cannot be bleſſed: But if you turn from God, his Favour will be withdrawn from you; and what then remains *but a fearful Looking for of Judgment, and heaping up Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath?*

Heb. 10.
Rom. 2.

I ſhall give the Reader the reſt in the Words of the *Letter*: “ But I truſt in God, continues the Archbiſhop, your Majeſty will always humble your ſelf under his mighty Hand, and go forward in the zealous Setting-forth of God's true Religion, always yielding due Obedience and Reverence to the Word of God, the only Rule of Faith and Religion. And if ye ſo do, although God hath juſt Cauſe many Ways to be angry with you and us for our Unfaithfulneſs, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own Name's Sake, and for his own Glory's Sake, he will ſtill hold his merciful Hand over us, ſhield and protect us under the Shadow of his Wings, as he hath done hitherto.

“ I beſeech God, our Heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his principal Spirit upon you, and always to direct your Heart in his Holy Fear. *Amen, Amen.*

Whether *Grindal* was right or not in pleading for the Propheſying-Meetings, I ſhall not pretend to determine: Though it muſt be ſaid he has offer'd a great Deal in Defence of theſe *Exerciſes.* And 'tis moſt likely, could they have been kept within the Compaſs of his Regulation, they would have prov'd ſerviceable to the Church. But this Conſideration apart, 'tis certain he writes with the Spirit of a Primitive Biſhop: His Application is religiouſly brave, and has not the leaſt Appearance of Intereſt or Fear. And beſides the Piety of the Addreſs, 'tis manag'd with great Force and Advantage: To which we may add, the Advice is admirable and well directed. Nothing could be more ſerviceable to diſengage the Queen from the Flattery of her Court, and bring her off from ſome lofty Miſtakes her Favourites ſeem to have led her into.

About this Time the Privy-Council ſent the Archbiſhop a Letter touching the Keeping of *Ember*-Weeks and Fiſh-Days. The Contents being ſomething remarkable, I ſhall tranſcribe it as it ſtands upon the *Regiſter.*

An Order of Council for keeping Fiſh-Days, and why.

(f) Regiſt. Grindal. Fol. 150.

“ After our Right Hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, the Queen's Majeſty of late entring into ſome Conſideration, how that notwithſtanding ſundry good Statutes and Laws made heretofore by common Conſent in Parliament to the contrary, (f) the Obſervation of the *Embringe* and Fiſh-Days is not ſo duely look'd unto as it ought to be, and is requiſite in Policy for the Maintenance of Mariners and Fiſhermen, and the Navy of the Realm, Hath thought convenient for that Cauſe, firſt in her Highneſs's own Houſhold to give ſtreight Charge unto the Officers for the Obſervation of them. And it is order'd that they ſhall be more carefully ſeen unto and continued than heretofore they have been. The like we have ſignified, by her Majeſty's ſpecial Appointment, to the Intent that by an unfeigned Obſervation in all Places throughout this Realm, of the ſaid Laws already provided, and meet to be put in Execution in this Reſpect, the Eſtate might take ſuch Benefit thereby as was at the ſame Time of the Making intended, which we can aſſure your Lordſhip is the only Cauſe why at this Time the Obſervation of them is ſo much urg'd. Howbeit for that it may be that this her Majeſty's good Meaning may either be miſconſtrued by ſome, and depraved by others, as though any Superſtition (wherewith her Majeſty, God be thanked, is not to be touched or ſuſpected) were thereby intended. For the Meeting with, and anſwering ſuch ſlanderous Conceits as may be ſpread and miſtaken among her Highneſs's Subjects, we have thought good to require your Lordſhip to give Order within your Province, that the Miniſters and Preachers which are or ſhall be admitted to that Function, be commanded in their Sermons and Exhortations to the People, to inſtruct and teach them to be willing and obedient to conform themſelves and their Families to the Obſervation of the ſaid Laws, as in Duty they are bound. And farther declare unto them, that the ſame is not required for any Liking of Popiſh Ceremonies heretofore uſed, (which utterly are deteſted) *but only to maintain the Mariners and the Navy of this Land, by ſetting Men a Fiſhing*; which Thing is ſo neceſſary for the Realm, eſpecially in theſe dangerous Times, as no Means are to be omitted, whereby it may be thought the ſame may be according to the Laws brought to paſs, and perfected accordingly. And for that the Exhortations and Doctrine of good and dutiful Miniſters may do much good in this Matter, both to remove the Scrupulouſneſs and Miſconceits of ſome few: And alſo to induce the greater and common Number to obey and obſerve the ſaid Laws; We have thought good to ſignify ſo much unto your Lordſhip, that by the good Aſſiſtance of you, and others under you, the Matter might be further'd, and take ſuch good Succeſs for the Benefit of this Realm as we deſire, and ſo we bid your good Lordſhip right heartily well to fare.

“ From *Hampton-Court* the 13th of *December*,
“ 1576. Your Lordſhip's right aſſured Loving
“ Friends,

W. Burghley.
A. Warwicke.
R. Leiceſter.
F. Knowlis.
J. Croft.
F. Walſingham.

By this Order it appears theſe Days of Abſtinence are declared to be kept only for promoting the Fiſhery, and the Encouragement of Seamen. Now, with Submiſſion, to lay the whole Streſs of *Embring* and *Abſtinence* upon Reaſons of *State* is ſomewhat ſingular. For to ſay nothing of *Ember*-Weeks; the Faſts of *Lent*, and thoſe of *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, reach up to the earlieſt Ages of Chriſtianity. (g) Now this Reſtraint of Appetite was always impos'd with a Proſpect upon the other World: 'Twas enjoin'd to reduce the Senſes, and make the Mind more abſolute. And is it not ſomewhat a Misfortune that the Apoſtles *Canons*, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, ſhould be ſtruck out of all Conſideration? And muſt all this Diſcipline be *only* for the Benefit of Navigation? Have we not Sins to faſt for, and Temperance to guard? Are we not bound to diſtinguiſh Times upon ſpiritual Motives, and prepare for the Solemnities of Religion? But when *ſecular* Men preſcribe to the Church, when thoſe who are Strangers in Antiquity, give Laws for Diſcipline, 'tis no Wonder if they miſtake in their Direction. And to make the Matter leſs ſurprizing, three of theſe Privy-Councellors, *Leiceſter*, *Knowlis*, and *Walſingham*, were either *Puritans*, or Abettors of that Party.

(g) Beverige Codex Canon. Eccleſ. Primit. Vindic.

Idem.

This Year *James Pilkinton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, departed this Life. His Connivance at Nonconformity, and the reſt of his Character and Fortune, has been related already.

To look back a little upon *Scotland*: The *Reader* may remember the Presbyterians made an Attempt to introduce their *Parity*, but fail'd of Succeſs as to the Main. But this Diſappointment did not diſcourage them from making another Effort at the next General *Aſſembly*. Here they gave a new Turn to the Controverſy, and put the Queſtion under a different State. Their Motion was, *Whether Biſhops, as then ſettled in* Scotland, *had their Function warranted by the Hand of God?* But here they fail'd of their Expectation: For after they had thoroughly debated every Article of the ſix *Collocutors*, or Commiſſioners, the Majority came to the ſame Reſolution with the former *Aſſembly*: To the ſame Reſolution, only with this Addition, that the Biſhops ſhould fix upon ſome one Church for their common Reſidence and Paſtoral Care. (h)

April 24. 1576.

A General Aſſembly at Edinborough.

(h) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly*, fol. 747. Spotſwood, *pag.* 276.

'Twas farther reſolv'd, That thoſe who detain'd the Patrimony of the Church, and gave notorious Scandal by ſuch remarkable Injuſtice, might be proceeded againſt not only by Preaching and Admonition, but by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. And that the Patrimony of the Church was held *Jure Divino.* (i)

(i) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

Spotſwood.

The Regent makes a Motion Diſſerviceable to Epiſcopacy.

The *Regent* being inform'd of theſe Proceedings, and diſpleas'd with their depoſing *Patton* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, ſent a Gentleman to know whether they would abide by the Polity agreed at *Leith*: And if not, they were deſir'd to ſettle ſome other more acceptable Form of Government. If the *Regent* was hearty for Epiſcopacy, he made a wrong Step, and diſſerv'd the Cauſe through Miſtake. But 'tis not improbable but this Earl of *Morton*, notwithſtanding his Countenance, might be in the Presbyterian Intereſt. He is mark'd in Hiſtory for a covetous Perſon, and one that was very forward in making Seizure of the Church Revenues. (k) For when the Regent *Lenox* refuſed him the Eſtate belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, he quitted the Court in a Diſguſt; neither could he be prevail'd with to return 'till his Suit was granted. *Morton* therefore might probably abet the Preſbyterian Party behind the Curtain: For when Innovations were ſet on Foot, when the Church was embroil'd, and her Government unhing'd, there was ſome Proſpect of a new Booty, and of finding his Account in the Confuſion. But not to enquire any farther into his Deſign, 'tis certain his Propoſal was what the Presbyterians wiſh'd for. And thus the *Parity-Members* of the *Aſſembly* catching at the Advantage, ſent him Word they would immediately apply themſelves to conſider the Motion: And over and above, that they would draw up a ſtanding Form of Church-Polity, and preſent it to the Council for their Approbation. For this Purpoſe they nominated Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *David Cunningham*, Mr. *George Hay*, Mr. *Alexander Arthbuthnet*, Mr. *David Lindſay*, and ſeveral others. Theſe Gentlemen of the Church were pitch'd on for a Committee to draw the Scheme. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* was likewiſe named amongſt the reſt; but being preſs'd to take the Charge of a particular Flock, he deſir'd to be excus'd. He told them, He had enter'd upon his Office purſuant to an Order both of the Church and *State*: That he did not think it adviſeable to break thro' the publick Eſtabliſhment: That ſuch a Liberty might bring him under the Reproach of violating his Oath, and doing his Part in ſubverting the Conſtitution. However, to ſhew his Inclination to ſerve the Church, he promis'd to preach at *Glaſcow* when he liv'd there; and as often as he remov'd to the Sheriffdom of *Aire*, he engag'd to exerciſe the ſame Function in any Church they would appoint him: But upon Condition however, not to be tied to any particular Place, nor do any Thing in Prejudice of his Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. This frank Declaration gave Diſguſt, and ſtruck him out of the Committee.

(k) Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 110. Refutat. Libelli de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic.

A Committee for drawing up a new Form of Church Polity.

The *See* of St. *Andrews* falling void by the Death of Mr. *John Dowglaſs*, the *Regent* recommended Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* to the *Chapter*. The *Chapter* had made ſome Progreſs in the Election when the General *Aſſembly* met. And here the Queſtion being put to *Adamſon*, whether he would ſubmit to be tried by a Committee of the *Aſſembly*, and receive his Character upon the Terms preſcribed by the Church? His Anſwer was, The *Regent* injoin'd him not to accept the Biſhoprick any otherwiſe than upon the publick Eſtabliſhment. And thus the *Aſſembly* not receiving Satiſfaction, they forbid the *Chapter* going on. However, upon freſh Orders from the Regent they met again, and elected *Adamſon*. The Kirke being highly provok'd with this Freedom, order'd Mr. *Robert Pont*, Superintendent of *Lothian*, Mr. *James Lawſon*, and Mr. *David Ferguſon*, to call *Adamſon* before them, and prohibit him the Exerciſe of any Part of his Juriſdiction 'till he was furniſh'd with an Authority from the *Aſſembly*.

In the mean Time a Form of Church-Polity was drawn, and preſented to the Regent by Mr. *David Lindſay*, Mr. *James Lawſon*, and Mr. *Robert Pont*. In their *Preface* they proteſted, “ To wiſh
“ nothing more, than that as God had made
“ him

A new Form of Church-Polity, preſented to the Regent.

him a ſerviceable Inſtrument in exterminating Popery, and ſettling the publick Repoſe, ſo he would honour him with the eſtabliſhing of a Godly Polity in the Church. They entreated his Grace to peruſe the Articles: And in Caſe he excepted to any of them, that he would pleaſe to hear the Committee ſent to wait on him in their Defence. Not that they look'd upon the Draught as perfect in all Points: *For as God ſhould farther reveal to them, they ſhould be always ready to make Amendments.*" The Regent, though not liking the Undertaking, diſſembled his Diſguſt, and order'd ſome of the *Council* to treat with the *Aſſembly*, and make their Report of the Heads upon which they agreed. But by the Diſturbances which happen'd in the *State*, this Conference broke off before they had gone any Length in it. And the next Year *Morton* reſign'd the *Regency*. *(l)*

This Project miſcarries for ſometime.

(*l*) Spotſwood, *p.* 266, &c.

March 24. 157$\frac{6}{7}$.

To return to *England*: The latter End of this Year, *John Elmer* or *Aylmer*, Dr. in Divinity was preferr'd to the *See* of *London*, and conſecrated at *Lambeth*, by Archbiſhop *Grindal*, aſſiſted by *Edwin*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. To mention the Filling another *See*; *Nicholas Bullingam*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, being lately dead, the Queen nominated Dr. *Whitgift* Maſter of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, for his Succeſſor: He was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by *John*, Biſhop of *London*; *Robert*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and *Richard*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

April 21. 1577.

Upon the Death of any Biſhop within the Province of *Canterbury*, all the Seals of the deceas'd Prelate, and his beſt Ring excepting one, belong'd to the Archbiſhop. In Virtue of this Privilege, Dr. *Yate*, *Grindal*'s Vicar General, made the Demand upon Mrs. *Bullingam*, the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Widow. *(m)*

(*m*) Regiſt. Grind.

The Queen's Order to the Biſhops for ſuppreſſing the Exerciſes of Prophecying

Grindal refuſing to act in the Suppreſſing of *Prophecyings*, the Queen directed her *Letters* to the other Biſhops to put them down in their reſpective Dioceſes. Her Majeſty's Letter ſets forth, That "in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, no ſmall Numbers preſum'd on the Function of Preaching, tho' neither lawfully call'd, nor qualified for that Employment: That new Forms of Worſhip were offer'd to Practice: That by ſetting up unlawful Aſſemblies the People were drawn to Places remote from their Pariſhes, and entertain'd with Diſputations upon Points of Divinity very improper for a vulgar Audience: That by this Means, many of her Subjects were carried off to idleneſs and Schiſm: That theſe Innovations were an open Breach of her Laws, diſturb'd the Harmony of the Government, and gave Offence to thoſe good Subjects who were willing to ſerve God conformably to the Order eſtabliſh'd. For theſe Reaſons the Biſhops are commanded not to ſuffer any publick Divine Service, any Form of Adminiſtring the Sacraments, or any Rites and Ceremonies, but ſuch as are ſettled and allowed by the Conſtitution. And that no Perſons ſhould be ſuffer'd to preach, teach, or exerciſe any Function in the Church, but ſuch as are licenſed, and conform to the Church of *England*. And where the Incumbents were underqualified for Preaching, the Reading the Homilies purſuant to the *Injunctions* ſhould be injoin'd them.

"And becauſe of the great Abuſes conſequent upon the *Exerciſes* call'd *Prophecyings*, they are ſtrictly commanded not to ſuffer any of them for the Future: And if any Perſon ſhall preſume to continue theſe *Exerciſes*, the Biſhops are order'd to commit them, and ſend up their Names and Qualities, their Maintainers and Abettors to the *Council*. The Order concludes in theſe Words:

May 7. 1577.

"And in theſe Things we charge you to be careful and Vigilant, as, by your Negligence, if we ſhould hear of any Perſon attempting to offend in the Premiſſes without your Correction, or Information to us, we be not forced to make ſome Example in Reforming of you according to your Deſerts. (*n*)

(*n*) Cotton *Library*, Cleop. vi. F. 11. fol. 207.

The Archbiſhop confin'd, and his Juriſdiction ſequeſtred.

About a Month forward, *Grindal* continuing incompliant, was confin'd to his Houſe, and ſequeſtred from his Juriſdiction for Six Months. This Reſtraint was clap'd upon him when he was going on with his metropolitical *Viſitation.* 'Twas done by the Lords in the *Star-Chamber*, who I ſuppoſe paſs'd this Sentence in Virtue of their Eccleſiaſtick Commiſſion. Dr. *Yate* acted for him during this Suſpenſion.

Idem.

The *Roman* Catholick *Miſſionaries* ſent from the Seminaries beyond-Sea, made ſome Progreſs in their Undertaking, and drew off a great many People from going to Church. To ſtop this Defection from the *Reformation*, 'twas thought fit to impoſe a pecuniary Penalty on ſuch as abſented themſelves from divine Service. But there being no Proviſion by Act of Parliament, the Legality of the Method was debated. For this Purpoſe the Secretary wrote in the Queen's Name to the Lord *Keeper* and Lord *Treaſurer* to require the Judges Opinion. Theſe Two Lords ſent to Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, to ſummon the Judges. When they came together, their Reſolution was, that by the *Statute* of the 1ſt of *Eliz.* the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes had Authority to inflict any Puniſhment, either Amerciament, or otherwiſe, which the Eccleſiaſtical Laws allow'd of. The Ground of their Opinion was, becauſe all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Authority, is by the *Statute* annex'd to the *Crown*. And by the ſame *Statute*, her Majeſty is impower'd to commit this Authority to ſuch Perſons as ſhe thinks fit to employ.

Dec. 3. 1577.

To make this Reſolution bear, and come up to the Caſe in Hand, 'twas agreed that Dr. *Lewis*, an eminent Civilian, ſhould conſult with ſome others of that Faculty, and deliver their Opinion how far the Eccleſiaſtical Law might proceed.

Thus this *Lewis* and Dr. *Hammond* another Civilian, gave in the Senſe of the Canon Law under Three Articles.

The Opinion of ſeveral Judges and Civilians touching the Extent of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

I. That the Biſhop, but no other inferior Judge, may puniſh any Perſon, Eccleſiaſtical or Lay, by a pecuniary Mulct for any Eccleſiaſtical Crime or Offence; eſpecially if he perceives the Party is more afraid of ſuch a Penalty, than of the Church Cenſures.

II. By the Eccleſiaſtical Law, the *Ordinary* may ſet a pecuniary Puniſhment upon ſuch as abſent themſelves from Divine Service without reaſonable Excuſe: Eſpecially when this Abſence proceeds from contempt.

III. Some *Canoniſts* affirm, a Biſhop may make an Ordinance, that an excommunicated Perſon ſhall pay Ten Pounds for every Month he ſtands excommunicated out of Contempt.

From hence they concluded, That *Recuſants* might be puniſh'd in the Pocket by Virtue of the Eccleſiaſtical Law. And the next Conſequence, as the Maſter of the Rolls drew it, was, That her Majeſty's Commiſſioners might execute that Law by Authority of their Commiſſion. And that this was the Opinion of the Judges, and others learned in the Law. Thoſe who appear'd at the Confe rence and concurr'd in this Reſolution, were the Chief Juſtice *Dyer*, Juſtice *Southcoat*, Juſtice *Manwood*, Juſtice *Mounſon*, Dr. *Lewis*, the Attorney General, and the Sollicitor General. (*o*)

(*o*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Grindal 232, 233.

The Six Months of the Archbiſhop's *Sequeſtration* being now expired, the Lord Treaſurer ſent him a Letter by *Goodman*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to acquaint him in what Manner the *Star-Chamber* would proceed farther againſt him: He likewiſe ſent him ſome Directions for diſentangling himſelf. And here he adviſed the Archbiſhop to declare his Approbation of the Queen's Proceedings in ſuppreſſing *Propheсyings*: To own himſelf ſorry for his Incompliance; to make a general Acknowledgment of his Fault, and beg the Queen's Pardon.

Id. *Pag.* 234.

The Archbiſhop not conſcious of any Crime, refus'd to betray his Innocence, and give in to ſo abſolute a Submiſſion. However, being willing to go as far as he could towards the Queen's Satisfaction, he ſent a Letter to the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, to intercede in his Behalf. It runs thus:

To the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

Archbiſhop Grindal's *Letter to the Lords of the Star-Chamber.*

“ Right Honourable, and my ſingular good Lords: I cannot deny but that I have been commanded both by the Queen's Majeſty herſelf, and alſo by divers of your Honourable Lordſhips in her Name, to ſuppreſs all thoſe *Exerciſes* within my Province, that are commonly called *Propheſies*. But I do proteſt before God, the Judge of all Hearts, that I did not of any Stubborneſs or Wilfulneſs refuſe to accompliſh the ſame, but only upon Conſcience. For that I found ſuch Kind of *Exerciſe* ſet down in the Holy *Scriptures*, and the Uſe of the ſame to have continued in the primitive Church. And was perſuaded that (the Abuſes being Reformed, which I always offer'd my ſelf ready to labour in) the ſaid *Exerciſes* might yet ſerve to the great Profit of the Church; and fear'd that the utter Suppreſſing of them would breed Offence. And therefore was a moſt humble Suiter unto her Majeſty, that I might not be made the chief Inſtrument in Suppreſſing the ſame: Yet not prejudicing or condemning any, that in Reſpect of Policy, or otherwiſe, ſhould be of contrary Judgment; or being of Authority, ſhould ſuppreſs them. For I know right well, that there be ſome Things of that Nature, wherein divers Men may be of divers Opinions, and abound in their own Senſe, (being not repugnant to the Analogy of Faith) without any Prejudice of their Salvation, or any Prejudice of either to other. Notwithſtanding, howſoever others, being otherwiſe perſuaded, might ſafely do it, yet I thought it not ſafe for me (being ſo perſuaded in Mind) to be the Doer of that whereof mine own Heart and Conſcience would condemn me.

“ And whereas I have ſuſtain'd a Reſtraint of my Liberty, and Sequeſtration of my Juriſdiction, now by the Space of Six Months, I am ſo far from Repining thereat, or thinking my ſelf injuriouſly or hardly dealt withal therein at her Majeſty's Hands, that I do thankfully embrace, and frankly with all Humility acknowledge her Princely, Gracious, and rare Clemency towards me: Who having Authority and Power to have uſed greater and ſharper Severity againſt me, and for good Policy and Example, thinking it ſo expedient, hath notwithſtanding, dealt ſo mercifully, mildly, and gently with me.

“ But the greateſt Grief that ever I had, or have, is the Loſs of her Majeſty's Favour, and the Suſtaining of the Diſpleaſure of ſo gracious a Sovereign; by whom the Church and Realm of *England* hath been ſo long and ſo happily govern'd. And by whom my ſelf, privately and ſpecially above other Subjects, have received ſo many, and ſo great Benefits above all my Deſerving. For the Recovery of whoſe gracious Favour, I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to be a Means to her Majeſty for me. The which obtain'd, I ſhall eſteem far above all worldly Benefits whatſoever. And I proteſt here, before God and your Honours, that not only my dutiful and humble Obedience to her Majeſty, ſhall be ſuch as ſhe ſhall have no Cauſe to repent of her gracious Goodneſs and Clemency ſhewn unto me: But alſo, that by moſt fervent, hearty and daily Prayer, as I have done hitherto, ſo I will continue, according to my bounden Duty, to make moſt earneſt Suit unto Almighty God for the long Preſervation of her Majeſty's moſt happy Reign, to the unſpeakable Benefit of the Church and Realm of *England*, (*p*)

Novemb. 29. 1577.

(*p*) Cotton *Library*, Cleop. VI. F. 11. *fol.* 289.

Edm. Cantuar.

This Letter being not Reſigning enough to ſatisfy the Queen, the Sequeſtration continued.

Melvil's Project for a farther Reformation in *Scotland* had now gain'd Ground: Inſomuch, that at the next Aſſembly held in the Year 1578, this Gentleman was choſen Moderator. Having rais'd himſelf to this Aſcendant, his Party began to open their Deſign, and ſtrike more directly at the Order of Biſhops. Thus at the Beginning of the *Aſſembly*, 'twas decreed, *That Biſhops, and all others bearing Eccleſiaſtical Functions ſhould be called by their own Names, or Brethren,* (*q*) That is, they would not endure the Style of Lord Biſhops. This levelling Language was founded on a Miſinterpretation of Two Texts in St. *Mathew* and St. *Luke*.

April 24.

(*q*) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

Math. 20. 25.
Luke 22. 25.

The next Step was ſomewhat bolder: For 'twas farther ordain'd, *That foraſmuch as there is great Corruption in the State of Biſhops, as at preſent conſtituted in this Realm, the Aſſembly being deſirous to provide ſome Check to ſuch Diſorders, has ordain'd that no Biſhop ſhall be elected or admitted before the next general Aſſembly*: Purſuant to this Order, *All Miniſters and Chapters are prohibited to proceed to the Election of any Biſhop, under the Penalty of perpetual Deprivation.* 'Twas likewiſe reſolv'd, that this Buſineſs ſhould be propos'd for farther Conſultation at the next *Aſſembly*.

The Progreſs of Presbytery in the general Aſſemblies.

MS. *Acts.*

Idem.

To ſmooth the Way for the Deſign, and draw a farther Odium upon Epiſcopacy, they appointed a general Faſt: The Reaſon aſſign'd for this Humiliation is ſaid *to be the Corruption of all Eſtates: And the general Coldneſs and* Indifferency *of the Profeſſors: And that God would put it in the King's Heart, and the Hearts of the Eſtates of the Parliament, to eſtabliſh ſuch a Policy and Diſcipline in the Kirk, as is crav'd in the Word of God.* The Second Book of *Diſcipline*, with which they had lately acquainted the *Regent*, was now under debate in the Kirk.

Idem.

The next general *Aſſembly* met at *Sterling*, *July* the 11th. And here 'tis pretty plain the Presbyterian Intereſt grew bigger upon the Progreſs. For now the Members came to an unanimous Reſolution, That the *Act* of the laſt Aſſembly for forbidding the Election of Biſhops, ſhould be *extended to all Time coming, till the Corruptions in the Eſtate of Biſhops be wholly remov'd.* 'Twas likewiſe ordain'd, that all Biſhops now in Being, ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the general *Aſſembly* for Diſcipline and Reformation: And in Caſe they refus'd to comply with this Order, they were to be excommunicated. (r)

(r) Idem.

But before I proceed to the *Second Book* of *Diſcipline* now upon the *Anvil*, it may not be improper to give a farther Deſcription of the *Old One*. And here I ſhall begin with a brief Account of the Form of Divine Service, commonly call'd *Knox's Liturgy*. This publick Form begins with a *Confeſſion*, but nothing of *Abſolution* follows. There are Three Prayers compos'd for this Purpoſe. The Second was to be us'd on *Wedneſdays* which was a Day appointed for Common-Prayer. The Third was to be us'd before Sermon. After this the People ſung a *Pſalm*: When this was done the Miniſter made an Extempore-Prayer: After Sermon a Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church follows, concluding with the Lord's Prayer: After this there is a ſhort Collect for Perſeverance, and Encreaſe of Faith, of which the Congregation makes a Confeſſion in the Rehearſal of the Apoſtles *Creed*. (s) When the People have ſung another *Pſalm*, the Miniſter pronounces the Bleſſing in the plural Number thus, *The Lord bleſs us, and ſave us*, &c. *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with us all*, &c.

A brief Account of Knox's *Liturgy*.

(s) *The whole Form and Diſcipline of Prayers according to the Church of* Scotland.

But here the *Rubrick* gives a diſcretionary Latitude in theſe Words: *It ſhall not be neceſſary for the Miniſter daily to repeat all theſe Things before-mentioned; but beginning with ſome Manner of Confeſſion, to proceed to the Sermon: Which ended, he either uſeth the Prayer for all Eſtates before-mentioned, or elſe prayeth, as the Spirit of God ſhall move his Heart: Framing the ſame according to the Time and Matter which he hath entreated of.*

Id. *pag.* 47.

The next Thing I ſhall mention, is a Thankſgiving for the Expulſion of the *French*. And here there is a very acknowledging Paſſage for Queen *Elizabeth*'s putting them in a Condition to oblige the *French* Forces to quit the Kingdom: This was done at the Treaty at *Leith* in the Year 1560.

The Confeſſion of Faith uſed in the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Geneva* was now receiv'd by the Church of *Scotland*. Under the Article of the Catholick Church they make this *Society* partly inviſible, and only known to God, *who of the loſt Sons of* Adam, *has ordain'd ſome as Veſſels of Wrath to damnation, and has choſen others as Veſſels of his Mercy to be ſaved.*

As to that Part of the Church which is viſible, they diſtinguiſh it by Three Marks. *Firſt*, By receiving the Word of God contain'd in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. Their Second Note is, the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper. The 3d Mark is Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which conſiſts in Admonition and Correction. Beſides this Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, they own a *Politick Magiſtrate* belongs to this viſible Church. But by making the *Civil* Magiſtrate eſſential to a Church, they muſt deny there was any ſuch *Society* till the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great: What Share they allow the chief Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, appears by their arguing from the Precedents of *Moſes*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, and other Princes under the *Old Teſtament*, who, as they obſerv'd, purg'd the Church of God from Superſtition and Idolatry. From hence they infer, that the Defence of Chriſt's Church againſt all Idolaters and Hereticks, is part of the Office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate.

To proceed, and add ſomething to what has been already related concerning the Election of a Superintendent. "The People were demanded whether they would make Choice of the Perſon propos'd? Upon their anſwering in the Affirmative, the next Queſtion was, whether they would honour and obey him as Chriſt's Miniſter, and comfort and aſſiſt him in every Thing pertaining to his Charge?" To this they were to anſwer, "We will and do promiſe him ſuch Obedience as becomes the Sheep to give their Paſtor, ſo long as he remains faithful in his Office." After ſeveral Queſtions put to the Electors and Superintendent, a Prayer follows for invocating the Bleſſing of God upon the Perſon elected: This Prayer is pronounced by the Preacher of the Ordination Sermon. After this, the reſt of the Miniſters, with the Elders of that Church, take the Perſon elected by the Hand: Then the principal Miniſter gives him his Benediction: And to conclude the Solemnity, reads him an Exhortation to Integrity and Diligence, to Humility, Fortitude, and Compaſſion to the Poor. The Form for electing and conſtituting Superintendents and other inferior Miniſters, is the ſame.

Id. *pag.* 68.

The *Diſcipline* comes next: And here the Miniſters are not to paſs over any Crime or Miſbehaviour without Admonition or Puniſhment. Amongſt the Liſt of the Criminals, beſides thoſe of a blacker Guilt, they mention Drunkards, Slanderers, Uſurers, covetous Perſons, Libertines, and thoſe who are diſobedient to Parents, or Governors.

When the Perſon offending continues obſtinate, and after Three Admonitions refuſes to make Satisfaction, they proceed to excommunication. The Subſtance of the Sentence runs in theſe Word.

The Form of Excommunication.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, thy expreſs'd Word is our Aſſurance, and therefore, in boldneſs of the ſame, here in thy Name, and at the Commandment of this thy preſent Congregation, we cut off, ſeclude, and excommunicate from thy Body, and from our Society, N. *as a proud Contemner, and ſlanderous Perſon, and a Member for the preſent, altogether corrupted, and pernicious to the Body. And this his Sin (albeit with Sorrow of our Hearts) by Virtue of our Miniſtry, we bind and pronounce the ſame to be bound, in Heaven and Earth. We farther give over, into the Hands and Power of the Devil, the ſaid* N. *to the Deſtruction of his Fleſh: Straitly charging all that profeſs the Lord Jeſus, to whoſe Knowledge this our Sentence ſhall come, to repute and hold the ſaid* N. *accurſed and unworthy of the familiar Society of Chriſtians; declaring unto all Men, that ſuch as hereafter (before his Repentance) ſhall haunt, or familiarly accompany him, are Partakers of his Impiety, and Subject to the like Condemnation.*

This our Sentence, O Lord Jeſus, pronounc'd in thy Name, and at thy Commandment, we humbly beſeech thee to ratify even according to thy Promiſe.

Then they proceed to a Prayer for the Repentance of the Perſon excommunicated.

The Manner of Penance.

Thoſe who recover from their Obſtinacy, can't be re-admitted to Communion till they have ſtood at leaſt Three Sundays at the Church door. After this Term, and Satisfaction made, ſome of the Elders convey him to the Place appointed for *Penitents*, where he is to ſtand till Sermon's over, in the ſame Habit in which he made his Satisfaction. To give a more particular Inſtance, as to the Manner of Penance; A Perſon guilty of Murther is oblig'd to ſtand Three Sundays at the Church Door, uncover'd and Barefoot, and in a poor neglected Dreſs. He is likewiſe oblig'd to hold the Weapon with which he committed the Murther, or one like it, bloody in his Hand: And then make his Confeſſion in a mortifying Form there preſcrib'd. The Form of Abſolution is as follows:

Id. *pag.* 85.
The Form of Abſolution.

In the Name and Authority of Jeſus Chriſt, I, the Miniſter of his bleſſed Evangel, with Conſent of the whole Miniſtery and Church, abſolve thee N. *from the Sentence of Excommunication, from the Sin by thee committed, and from all Cenſures laid againſt thee for the ſame heretofore, according to thy Repentance; and pronounce thy Sin to be looſed in Heaven, and thee to be received again, to the Society of Jeſus Chriſt, to his Body the Church, to the Participation of his Sacraments, and finally to the Fruition of all his Benefits, in the Name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: So be it.*

Id. *pag.* 116.

The Compiler of this *Liturgy*, and the Time of its publick Approbation, is mention'd at the End in theſe Words.

This Book is thought neceſſary and profitable for the Church, and commanded to be printed by the general Aſſembly. Set forth by John Knox *Miniſter: And ſighted by us, whoſe Names follow, as we are appointed by the ſaid general Aſſembly,* 1567.

Id. *pag.* 117.

John Willok.
Mr. John Craig.
Robert Pont.
John Row.

David Lindeſay.
GulielmusChriſtiſonus.
James Craig, *&c.*

The *Reader* may obſerve, there is mention made of *Common-Prayer* in this *Liturgy*. This in *Knox*'s Hiſtory, is called the *Book* of *Common-Prayer*, and order'd to be read on Sundays and other feſtival Days in the Pariſh Churches. 'Twas Part of this Order that the Leſſons of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* were likewiſe to be read purſuant to the Direction of the Kalendar. This Proviſion was made by the Lords of the *Aſſociation* in the latter End of the Year 1557, or, as *Spotſwood* reckons it, in the Beginning of the next Year. (*t*) By the Way, this publick Office for divine Worſhip was order'd to be read before *Knox* came from *Geneva*. 'Tis likewiſe mention'd in *Knox*'s *Liturgy* as a Form then in Uſe, and Prior to that Compoſure; which was not drawn up till ſeveral Years after *Knox*'s Return into *Scotland*. This Book of *Common-Prayer* therefore injoin'd by the Lords of the *Congregation*, and now mention'd in *Knox*'s Form, muſt be either the Book of *Common-Prayer* us'd in the Church of *England*, or the *Geneva Liturgy*: For as for any Third, 'tis not ſo much as pretended for thoſe Times. Now, that this *Book* was not the *Geneva Liturgy* may be inferr'd, Firſt from the Incredibility of ſo many Copies tranſlated into the *Scotch* Language. 2*dly*, In the *Genevian* Form there's no *Rubrick* for the Obſervation of any other Holidays, excepting Sundays. Neither is there any Direction in the *Scotch Genevian* Form for Reading the *Leſſons* of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, excepting in the Treatiſe of *Faſting*, which was not drawn up by the *Aſſembly* till the Year 1565. 'Tis true, here are *Pſalms* appointed, and Leſſons out of the *Old Teſtament*, but nothing out of the *New*. (*u*) But in no other Part of this *Scotch Genevian Liturgy* is there the leaſt mention of *Leſſons*: From whence 'tis evident, That the Book appointed to be read by the Lords of the *Congregation*, was not the *Genevian* Liturgy.

(*t*) *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scot*land, *p.* 112.
The Common-Prayer mention'd in Knox's *Liturgy, the* Engliſh *Common-Prayer Book.*

(*u*) Knox's *Liturgy, pag.* 126, 171, 172.

Farther, I have already obſerv'd from *Buchanan*, That the *Scotch* ſubſcrib'd the Worſhip and Rites of the Church of *England*, in Order to Form an Alliance with that Nation, for the Expulſion of the *French*. 4*thly*, By the Firſt *Book* of *Diſcipline* it appears, that the *Order* of *Geneva*, as it is call'd, was then only us'd in ſome Churches. (*w*) Now this *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* was not drawn till the Year 1560, which was more than Two Years poſterior to the Order of the aſſociated Lords for Reading the Book of *Common-Prayer* in all Pariſhes of the Realm. In ſhort, the *Geneva* Form had no Face of a publick Eſtabliſhment till the general *Aſſembly* held at *Edinborough Decemb.* 25. 1562. For then, and not before, 'twas ordain'd that one uniform Order ſhould be obſerv'd in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; In the Solemnities of Marriages, and at Burials. And that all theſe Ceremonies ſhould be regulated by the Kirk of *Geneva*. (*x*)

(*w*) Spotſwood, *p.* 153.

(*x*) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly, fol.* 35.

Thus the *Geneva* Liturgy was making its Way in *Scotland*. But it ſeems this Proviſion was not ſufficient to give it a general Prevalence, and diſcharge the *Engliſh Service*. For at a general Aſſembly held at *Edinborough*, *Decemb.* 25. 1564, 'tis ordain'd *That every Miniſter, Exhorter, and Reader, ſhould have one of the Pſalm Books lately printed at* Edinborough, *and to uſe the Order therein contain'd in Prayers, Marriage, and Adminiſtration of the Sacrament.* Thus, notwithſtanding *Knox*'s warm Cenſure of the *Engliſh Common-Prayer*, he found no ſmall Difficulty in ſetting it aſide. For from what has been already obſerv'd, 'tis plain the *Engliſh Liturgy* continued Seven Years, at leaſt, with the *Scotch Reformation*; that is from *December* 1557, to the ſame Month 1564. I ſhall conclude this Subject with the Teſtimony of the Compilers of the *Scottiſh Liturgy* ſent to *Edinborough* for the Uſe of that Kingdom, in the Year 1637: In the Preface to this *Book* 'tis ſaid, "That 'twas then known that divers Years after "the *Reformation*, the *Scotch* had no other Order "for *Common-Prayer*, but the *Engliſh* Liturgy.

Id. *Fol.* 104.

The Engliſh *Liturgy us'd publickly in* Scotland *for ſeveral Years.*

And now having given the *Reader* a brief Account of *Knox*'s *Liturgy*, I ſhall return to the Project for putting an End to Epiſcopacy and introducing the *Second Book of Diſcipline*. This Deſign was now conſiderably advanc'd, as may be collected by the hard Conditions put upon the Biſhops at the next general *Aſſembly*. By the Order of this *Kirk-Meeting*, the Biſhops are required "to be Miniſters or Paſtors of one Flock, to "uſurp no criminal Juriſdiction, not to vote in "Parliament in the Name of the Kirk, without "Commiſſion from the general Aſſembly. Not "to receive the Church Revenues for maintaining their Ambition and Epicuriſm: That "theſe Revenues ought to be diſtributed a"mongſt a great many Paſtors, and employ'd "for the Support of publick Schools and the "Poor: And that the Biſhops ought to be con"tented with a moderate Proportion. They "were likewiſe requir'd not to inſiſt on the "Titles of Temporal Lords, nor engage in "Civil Juriſdiction, nor *Empire it over particular* "*Elderſhips*, but be Subject to the ſame; nor "take upon them to viſit any bounds not com"mitted to them by the Church. And laſtly, "if any more Corruptions ſhould afterwards be "diſcover'd in the State of Biſhops, they were "to conſent to a Reformation. (*y*)

Octob. 24. 1578. *at* Edinborough.

(*y*) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examin'd, pag.* 261.

To go on with the Affairs of the Church in *Scotland*. This Summer the Parliament ſate at *Sterling*: And now *Melvil* and his Party having finiſh'd the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, laid it before the Eſtates for their Approbation. The Parliament having no leiſure to examine it in the Houſe, order'd a Committee to treat with the Delegates of the *Aſſembly*. And in Caſe they came to an Agreement upon the Heads, the *Book* was to have had a legal Eſtabliſhment: How

July 1578.

long this Matter ſtuck, will be related afterwards. At preſent I ſhall proceed to give the Reader this *Second Book of Diſcipline*, together with the Agreement, Qualifications, or Demurring of the *State-Committee*, to the reſpective Articles. It ſtands to this Subſtance in *Spotſwood*, tranſcrib'd with the Marginal *Notes* from the original *Record.* (z)

(z) Spotſwood's *Hiſt. Page* 289

Heads and Concluſions of the Church: And Firſt, Of the Policy thereof in general, wherein it differs from Civil.

1. *Agreed.*

The Second Book of Diſcipline drawn by the Scotch *Presbyterians.*

“ 1. The Church of God is ſometimes largely taken for all them that profeſs the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: And thus 'tis a *Society* not only of the Godly, but alſo of Hypocrites, who make an outward Profeſſion of the true Religion.

2. *Agreed.*

“ 2. Sometimes the Church is taken in a ſtricter Senſe, and comprehends only the Elect: And ſometimes the Notion is ſtill more confin'd, and reaches no farther than thoſe who exerciſe ſpiritual Functions.

3. *Agreed that the Church is ſometimes taken for them that Exerciſe the Spiritual Function in particular Congregations.*

“ 3. The Church in this laſt Senſe has a Power of Juriſdiction and Government, granted by God for the Benefit of the whole *Society.*

4. *Continued to farther Reaſoning; and when it is ſaid,* This Power floweth from God to his Church, *whether this ſhould be underſtood of the whole Church, or of the Office-bearers, and whether it floweth mediately or immediately.*

“ 4. This Eccleſiaſtical Power is an Authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt: 'Tis granted to his Church by the Word of God, and is to be executed by thoſe to whom the ſpiritual Government of the Church is committed by lawful Calling.

5. *Referr'd to farther Reaſoning.*

“ 5. This Polity and Power of the Church is an Order or Form of ſpiritual Government, exercis'd by thoſe entruſted with it by the Word of God. The Grant of it is therefore immediately made to the *Office-bearer*, by whom 'tis manag'd for the Advantage of the whole Body.

6. *The laſt Words of the Article are thought unneceſſary, and therefore to be deleted.*

“ 6. This Power is differently uſed: For ſometimes 'tis executed moſtly by the *Teachers*; ſometimes 'tis manag'd *conjunctly* by the mutual Conſent of thoſe that bear Office and Charge after the Form of Judgment. The former is call'd *Poteſtas Ordinis*, the other *Poteſtas Juriſdictionis.*

7. *Agreed.*

“ 7. Theſe two Kinds of Power have both one Ground, and one final Cauſe, but are different in the Form and Manner of Execution, as appears by what our Saviour has deliver'd in the 16th and 18th of St. *Matthew.*

8. *Agreed.*

“ 8. This Eccleſiaſtical Polity and Juriſdiction is of a different and diſtinct Nature from that call'd the *Civil-Power*; though both the one and the other are deriv'd from God, and tend to the ſame End.

9. *Say inſtead thereof,* For this Power is ſpiritual, not having —— *deleting the other Words.*

“ 9. For this Power Eccleſiaſtical flows immediately from God, and the Mediator Jeſus Chriſt, and is ſpiritual; not having any Temporal Head in the Earth, but only Chriſt, the Spiritual King, and Governour of the Church.

10. *Agreed.*

“ 10. 'Tis a Title falſly uſurp'd by Antichriſt to call himſelf the Head of the Church, and ought not to be given to any Angel or Mortal whatever.

11. *Agreed.*

“ 11. This Power and Polity of the Church therefore ſhould be clearly grounded upon the Word of God, and *taken from the pure Fountains of the Scripture.*

12. *Agreed, changing theſe Words,* They ſhould not be called Lords over their Flock.

“ 12. It belongs to Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates, to be call'd Lords and *Dominators* over their Subjects: But in the Spiritual Government of the Church, the Style of Lord and Maſter ought to be given to none but Chriſt. As for thoſe that bear Office in the Church, they ought not to uſurp Dominion, nor be call'd Lords, but Miniſters, Diſciples, and Servants.

13. *Change the laſt Words of* Eccleſiaſtical Government *for* Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

“ 13. Notwithſtanding, as the Miniſters and others of the Eccleſiaſtical State, are ſubject to the Magiſtrate *Civilly*, ſo ought the Perſon of the Magiſtrate be ſubject to the Church Spiritually, and in Eccleſiaſtical Government.

14. *Referr'd to farther Reaſoning when the Order of Biſhops ſhall be diſcuſs'd.*

“ 14. The Exerciſe of both theſe Juriſdictions can't ordinarily be united in one Perſon.

15. *Referr'd till they come to the Attribution of the Power.*

“ 15. The *Civil* Power is call'd the Power of the Sword; the other the Power of the *Keys.*

16. *Agreed.*

“ 16. The *Civil* Power ſhould command the Spiritual to perform their Office according to the Word of God: The Spiritual Rulers are to require the Chriſtian Magiſtrate to adminiſter Juſtice, to maintain the Liberty of the Church, and the publick Repoſe.

17. *Defer this to be reſolv'd with the* 15.

“ 17. The Magiſtrate commands in Things External for promoting the publick Tranquillity; but the Miniſter manages External Things only with Reference to Conſcience.

“ The 18*th* is no more than an Explicatoin of the 17*th*, and ſtands referr'd in the Margin.

19. *Here is nothing.*

“ 19. The *Civil* Magiſtrate gets Obedience by the Sword, and other External Means: But the Miniſter by the Spiritual Sword, and Spiritual Means.

20. *Agreed, that neither ought the Magiſtrate preach nor execute the Cenſures of the Church, which is to be underſtood of Excommunication, and referreth the ſecond Part of this Article to farther Reaſoning: 'Tis likewiſe agreed, that the Magiſtrate ought not to adminiſter the Sacraments.*

“ 20. The Magiſtrate ought neither to preach, adminiſter the Sacraments, nor execute the Cenſures of the Church, nor yet preſcribe any Rule how it ſhould be done, but command the Miniſter to obſerve the Rule preſcribed in the Word, and puniſh Tranſgreſſors by *Civil* Means. The Miniſter on the other Side exerciſes not the *Civil* Juriſdiction, but teaches the Magiſtrate how it ſhould be exercis'd according to the Word.

21. *Referr'd.*

“ 21. The Magiſtrate ought to aſſiſt, maintain, and fortify, the Juriſdiction of the Church: The Miniſters ſhould aſſiſt their Princes in all Things agreeable to the Word, provided they neglect not their Charge by involving themſelves in Civil Affairs.

22. *Referr'd.*

“ 22. Finally, as Miniſters are ſubject to the Judgment and Puniſhment of Magiſtrates in External Things, if they offend; ſo ought the Magiſtrates to ſubmit themſelves to the Diſcipline of the Church, if they tranſgreſs in Matters of Conſcience and Religion.

Chap. II. *Of the Parts or Polity of the Church, and Perſons or Office-bearers to whom the Adminiſtration is committed.*

1. *The Name of the Church in this Article is taken for the Church in the firſt Signification, to wit, for the whole Church. Agreed with the reſt of the Articles.*

“ 1. In the Polity of the Church ſome are appointed to be Rulers, and the reſt to obey, according to God's Word, and the Inſpiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor Jeſus Chriſt.

2. *Referr'd.*

“ 2. The whole Polity of the Church conſiſts chiefly in theſe three Things, *Doctrine, Diſcipline,* and *Diſtribution:* Under Doctrine the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacraments is comprehended.

3. *Referr'd.*

“ 3. In Conſequence of this Diviſion there are three Kind of Officers in the Church; that is to ſay, Miniſters or Preachers, Elders or Governors, and Deacons or Diſtributors:

“And all theſe may be rang'd under the general Denomination of Miniſters of the Church.

4. *Referr'd.* “4. Notwithſtanding Jeſus Chriſt is the only King, High-Prieſt, and Head of the Church, yet he makes uſe of the Miniſtry of Men as neceſſary Officers in his Government.

5. *Referr'd.* “The 5*th* Article proves the 4*th* by Inſtances from the *Scripture*, both before the Law, under the Law, and under the Goſpel. Theſe Men are ſaid to be endow'd with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and rais'd up for the Government of the Church.

6. *Referr'd.* “6. And to prevent all Pretences for Tyranny, 'tis God Almighty's Pleaſure that theſe Officers ſhould govern with mutual Conſent of Brethren, with Parity of Power, and every one within the Compaſs of their reſpective Functions.

7. *Referr'd.* “7. In the *New-Teſtament* under the *Goſpel* he hath uſed the Miniſtry of the Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Doctors, in the Adminiſtration of the Word; the Elderſhip for good Order and Adminiſtration of Diſcipline, the Deaconſhip to have the Care of Eccleſiaſtical Goods.

8. *Referr'd.* “8. Some of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions are Ordinary, ſome Extraordinary, or Temporary. Under this latter Head the Apoſtles, Prophets, and Evangeliſts are to be reckon'd: Theſe are not perpetual, but have now ceas'd in the Church: Notwithſtanding it may pleaſe God to revive them again for ſome Time upon extraordinary Occaſions.

9. *Referr'd.* “9. There are four Ordinary Offices or Functions in the Church of God; the Paſtor, Miniſter or Biſhop, the Doctor, the Presbyter or Elder, and the Deacon.

10. *Referr'd.* “10. As theſe Offices are perpetual, ſo no other ought to be admitted in the Church of God. From whence it follows,

11. *Referr'd.* “11. That all ambitious Titles invented in the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and his uſurp'd Hierarchy, and which are none of theſe four Sorts of Offices, ought to be rejected.

Chap. III. *How the Perſons that bear Eccleſiaſtical Functions are to be admitted to their Offices.*

“In the firſt Place they make a *Calling* to this Function neceſſary: This Calling they define a lawful Way for the promoting qualified Perſons to any ſpecial Office in the Church of God. There are two Sorts of Callings; one by immediate and extraordinary Miſſion: And thus the Apoſtles and Prophets were call'd by God Almighty; but where a Church is fully form'd and ſettled this immediate Deſignation is not to be expected. The ordinary Calling requires an Approbation from Men, according to God's Word, and the Order eſtabliſh'd in the Church. However, none ought to preſume upon any Eccleſiaſtical Office unleſs his Conſcience declares for his Integrity, and prompts him to it. This ordinary Calling conſiſts of Election and Ordination: Election is the Appointing a Perſon to a *Vacancy*. The Choice is to be made by the Suffrages of the *Elderſhip*, together with the Conſent of the Congregation where the Perſon is to officiate.

This laſt Article is referr'd; but all the reſt of the *Chapter*, both precedent and ſubſequent, is agreed by the *State-Committee*.

“The general Qualifications requir'd in thoſe promoted to the Paſtoral Office are Othodoxy and Regularity of Manners.

“Ordination is the Separation and Sanctifying of the Perſon appointed by God and his Church. The Ceremonies of Ordination are Faſting, Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands, by the Elderſhip. The Perſons ordain'd are to remember that the Extent of their Function is limited by God's Word. From whence, as they proceed, it follows, they are to aſſume no Titles but what the *Scripture* gives them; and diſtinguiſh not themſelves by any Marks of Dignity or Secular Honour. And laſtly, That all theſe *Office-bearers* ſhould be tied to their particular Flocks, and reſide with them.

Chap. IV. *Of the Office-bearers, and firſt of the Paſtors and Miniſters.*

“Paſtors, Biſhops, or Miniſters, are thoſe who are appointed to particular Congregations, which they are to govern by the Word of God. Thus, for this Reaſon, they are ſometimes called Paſtors, becauſe they feed their Congregation, ſometimes Biſhops, becauſe they over-ſee and guard their Flock; ſometimes Miniſters, upon the Score of their Service and Office; and ſometimes Presbyters or Seniors in Regard of the Gravity and Solemnity of Behaviour, for which they ought to be remarkable. No Perſon ought to be choſen into the Miniſtry without the Aſſignment of a particular Congregation: No Man ought to uſurp this Office without lawful Calling. Thoſe who are duly elected, and have undertaken the Miniſterial Office, are not allow'd the Liberty to return to a ſecular Life; and therefore in caſe they deſert their Function, they are to be excommunicated. No Paſtor is to have the Liberty of quitting his Congregation without the Permiſſion of the Provincial Aſſembly. * Preaching and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments is the Paſtor's Buſineſs. He is likewiſe to pray for the People, and pronounce the Bleſſing. He is to inſpect the Behaviour of his Flock, that he may be the better directed in his Exhortations and Reproof. And after lawful Proceedings of the Elderſhip, 'tis the Miniſter's Function to pronounce the Sentence of Binding and Looſing, purſuant to the Power of the *Keys* granted the Church. *

* *Referr'd.*

* *After lawful Proceeding.*

“It belongs to him likewiſe, after lawful Proceeding in the Matter by the Elderſhip, to ſolemnize Marriage. And laſtly, all publick Denunciations, as they call them, that are made in the Church, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, belong to the Miniſter's Office: For he is the Meſſenger and Herauld betwixt God and the People in all theſe Affairs.

The Articles of this *Chapter* are all agreed by the *State-Committee*, excepting the Marginal References, which will likewiſe be the Method in all thoſe that follow.

Chap. V. *Of Doctors and their Offices, and of Schools.*

“One of the two ordinary and perpetual Functions of thoſe that Labour in the Word, is the Office of the *Doctor*, who may alſo come under the Denomination of Prophet, Biſhop, Elder, and Catechiſer.* His Buſineſs is to

* *This whole Chapter is referred to farther Reaſoning.*

“expound the *Scriptures* without any Application to the Audience. The Deſign of his Function is to inſtruct the Faithful in ſound Doctrine, to preſerve the true Senſe of the Goſpel, and prevent the Growth of Ignorance and Error: And thus he ſtands diſtinguiſh'd from the Paſtor in Qualifications and Management; for the Doctor's Function is to explain the Myſteries of Faith without Rhetorick and Amplification: This is ſuppos'd to be his Talent. But the Paſtor has the Gift of Wiſdom, as they ſpeak: This he is to employ in a more pathetical and affecting Way. He is to apply to the Paſſions in Order to gain the Heart, and command the Practice. Under the Name and Office of Doctors, Schools, Colleges, and Univerſities, are comprehended. The Doctor being an *Elder*, ought to aſſiſt the Paſtor in the Government of the Church: His Concurrence with the *Elders*, his Brethren, is likewiſe requiſite. The Reaſon is, becauſe the Interpretation of the *Scripture*, which is the only Judge in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, is committed to his Charge. But Preaching, Adminiſtring the Sacraments, and the Solemnities of Marriage, are none of the Doctor's Buſineſs, unleſs he has the Paſtoral Office annex'd to his Character. And laſtly, notwithſtading this Diſtinction, the Paſtor may be allow'd to teach in Schools.

Chap. VI. *The Elders, and their Office.*

“The Word *Elder* in *Scripture* is ſometimes attributed to Age, and ſometimes to Office. And when it imports an Office, 'tis ſometimes taken in a large Signification, and comprehends Paſtors and Doctors, no leſs than thoſe who are called Seniors or Elders. We call thoſe *Elders* whom the Apoſtle calls Preſidents or Governors. The Office is always neceſſary, and by Conſequence perpetual, and is a ſpiritual Function. Elders lawfully call'd, and endow'd with proper Qualifications, muſt not have the Liberty to quit their Office. However, the Election of Elders in *certain* Congregations may be carried to ſuch a Number, that there may be enough to officiate by Turns, and relieve each other. And for this the Courſes of the *Levites* in the Buſineſs of the *Temple*, may ſerve for a Precedent.*

* *The Perpetuity of Elders referr'd to farther Deliberation.*

“The Number of Elders in every Congregation ought to be proportion'd to the Extent of the Precincts, and the Neceſſities of the People: 'Tis not neceſſary that all Elders ſhould be Teachers or Doctors, tho' this Advantage of Character ought to be aim'd at.*

* *Referr'd.*

“How they ought to be qualified is to be referr'd to the expreſs Declaration of the *Scriptures*, and the Canons, as they call them, ſet down by the Apoſtle St. *Paul.**

* *Referr'd.*

“Their Buſineſs, as well ſingly as in Conjunction, is to over-ſee the Behaviour of their Charge; that neither Miſbelief nor Immorality comes in upon them. 'Tis Part of the Function of theſe Elders to aſſiſt the Paſtor in viſiting the Sick, and in examining thoſe that come to the Lord's Table: They are to take Care the Acts of the reſpective Aſſembly are duly executed: They muſt admoniſh all People of their Duties purſuant to the Scripture Directions: And thoſe Things they find too ſtubborn for private Correction, they muſt delate to the Elderſhip or Presbytery. And laſtly, their principal Buſineſs is to conſtitute Aſſemblies with the Paſtors and Doctors for the Execution of Diſcipline: And to theſe Aſſemblies all Perſons reſiding within the Precinct are oblig'd to ſubmit their Conduct.

Chap. VII. *Of Elderſhips, and Aſſemblies, and of Diſcipline.*

“*Elderſhips* are generally conſtituted of Paſtors, Doctors, and thoſe commonly call'd *Elders, that labour not in the Word and Doctrine.* Aſſemblies may be rang'd under a fourfold Diviſion: They either repreſent a particular Congregation, a Province, a whole Nation, or ſeveral Chriſtian Kingdoms and Governments. All Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies have Authority to meet in a lawful Way for treating Eccleſiaſtical Matters.* To be more particular, they have Power to fix the Circumſtances of Time and Place: And thus every Aſſembly may appoint the *When*, and the *Where*, for the Meeting of the next.* In all Aſſemblies a Moderator ſhould be choſen by the Conſent of the Members: His Function is to propoſe Buſineſs, to collect the Votes of the Houſe, and keep good Order. And here he is to be particularly careful that the Debates turn only upon Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; that the Aſſembly makes no Encroachment upon the *State*, nor reaches into any Thing belonging to Civil Juriſdiction. Every Aſſembly has Authority to delegate one or more of their Members to *viſit* their Precinct, and examine the Conduct of the Miniſters and People.

* *Agreed, that Synods be kept twice in a Year by him who has the Charge of Viſitations.*

* *General Aſſemblies once yearly, his Majeſty's Authority being interpos'd, and from the General Aſſembly, Noblemen, and ſuch as pleaſe to come, ſhall not be excluded, provided that Fifteen only, with his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, have Voice therein.*

“The *Viſitation* of Churches is not an ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Office, confin'd to a ſingle Perſon; neither is it neceſſary for a *Viſitor* to be call'd a Biſhop; neither is this Office to continue always in the Hands of the ſame Perſon. On the contrary, 'tis within the Power of the *Elderſhip* to employ what Perſons they pleaſe *pro re natâ.** The great End of all *Aſſemblies* is firſt to ſecure the Doctrines of Chriſtianity from Error and Alloy: And in the next Place to maintain the Church in a Condition of Decency and good Order. And thus for the preſerving of Order, Aſſemblies may make Conſtitutions for regulating the Conduct of all the Faithful.* They have likewiſe Power to abrogate and annul all Ordinances, and Eccleſiaſtical Decrees, which prove unſerviceable, which don't correſpond with the Time, or are abus'd by the People.* The entire Execution of Diſcipline for Contempt, and other Offences, is lodg'd in their Hands.

* *Referr'd to the Head of Biſhops, and their Reformation.*

* *In ſpiritual Things only.*

* *Agreed, that as they make Acts in ſpiritual Things, ſo they may alter the ſame as the Neceſſity of Time requires.*

This Article is referr'd, and ſo is the whole Remainder of this *Chapter*. To go on with *Andrew Melvil*, and the reſt of his Party *in this Book of Diſcipline.*

“The firſt Kind of *Aſſemblies*, ſay they, tho' within particular Congregations, exerciſe the Authority and Juriſdiction of the Church with mutual Conſent; and for this Reaſon they are ſometimes called the Church.

“Notwithſtanding the Diſtinction of Elders of particular Congregations, 'tis not meant that every Pariſh Church can have a particular Elderſhip, eſpecially to *Landwart*: But we conceive three or four Pariſhes, generally ſpeaking, may have an Elderſhip or *Presbytery* common to them all. And for the right conſtituting this Eccleſiaſtical Court of Judicature, 'twill be requiſite to elect ſome of the Elders out of every particular Congregation or Pariſh: By this Means the *Members* will be better qualified to give Information of what's “amiſs: And over and above, the Power will will be more balanc'd to general Satiſfaction. That theſe Aſſemblies ſhould be thus form'd, we gather, ſay they, from the Practice of the Primitive Church, *where Elders, or Colleges of Seniors, were conſtituted in Cities and famous Places.*

This Aſſertion has no Countenance from Antiquity: 'Tis not ſupported with ſo much as any ſingle Inſtance from the Primitive Church. To go on with them.

“It belongs to theſe particular *Elderſhips* to ſee the Word of God orthodoxly preach'd within their Bounds, the Sacraments rightly adminiſter'd, Diſcipline maintain'd, and the Revenues of the Church fairly diſtributed. It belongs to this Presbytery to execute the Orders made by Provincial, National, or General Aſſemblies. 'Tis likewiſe Part of their Authority to make Conſtitutions for Decency and Order within their own Churches, and to avoid ſuch Regulations as they find prejudicial. But then this Power is not without Limitation; for they are not allow'd to alter any Proviſions made by Provincial or General Aſſemblies; nor to make any new Regulations till the Scheme has been tranſmitted to the Provincial Aſſembly.

“Farther, theſe particular Elderſhips or *Preſbyteries*, have Power to excommunicate the Obſtinate and Unrelenting: The Election and Depoſing of thoſe who bear Eccleſiaſtical Offices belong to this Aſſembly ſo far as their Bounds reach.

And here amongſt the Crimes which deſerve Depoſing or Degradation, Simony, Drunkenneſs, Uſury, and Dancing, are reckon'd.

“Other Churches are to be certified of the Perſons depos'd, that they may not be received to the Exerciſe of their Function. Thoſe who are diſabled by Age or Accident are to continue in the Reſpect of their Character, and allow'd a competent Maintenance.

“Provincial Aſſemblies are lawful Conventions of the Paſtors, Doctors, and Elders, of the Province: They have Power to review the Deciſions of particular Aſſemblies, and rectify what's amiſs: They have likewiſe Power to depoſe the Office-bearers, as they call them, of their Province. And generally theſe Aſſemblies have the whole Power of the particular *Elderſhips* out of which they are elected.

“A National or *General Aſſembly* is a lawful Convention of the whole Church of the Realm. None are oblig'd to repair to this Aſſembly for voting, but only Eccleſiaſtical Perſons; and the Number even of theſe is to be fix'd by the ſame Aſſembly. However, ſecular Perſons have the Liberty of coming thither: They are allow'd to propoſe Buſineſs, to hear the Proceedings, and argue upon Debates; but all this without the Privilege of a deciſive Voice.

“This General *Aſſembly* has a Power to re-examine the Decrees of Provincial Aſſemblies, and make Regulations for the whole Church. They are likewiſe to take particular Care to keep the Spiritual and Civil Juriſdiction at a proper Diſtance; and that they don't interfere and claſh with each other.

As to the 4th Diviſion of Aſſemblies conſiſting of ſeveral Nations, they juſt touch upon the Deſcription, as having no Occaſion to enlarge upon it.

Chap. VIII. *Of Deacons, and their Office.*

“Deacons are to be elected in the ſame Method as the reſt of the Spiritual Officers. Their Buſineſs is to receive the Revenues of the Church, and diſtribute them purſuant to the Direction of the Presbyteries or Elderſhips.*

* *The Chapter of Deacons, and Patrimony of the Church, is thought fit to be poſtpon'd till the Head of Corruptions is argued.*

Chap. IX. *Of the Patrimony of the Church, and the Diſtribution of it.*

“By the Patrimony of the Church they underſtand every Thing that either by univerſal Conſent, or the Cuſtom of Chriſtian Countries, has or ſhall be granted to the publick Uſe or Benefit of the Church. And thus under the Patrimony of the Church they comprehend all Things dedicated to the Service of God, whether Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Oblations; and in ſhort, all Manner of Endowments ſettled by Kings, Princes, or any other Perſons. And thus Tythes, Manſes, and Glebes, are likewiſe comprehended, which by Common Law, and Univerſal Cuſtom, are Part of the Church's Eſtate. To make illegal Seizures of any Part of this Patrimony, and transfer it to prophane or ſecular Uſes, is deteſtable Sacrilege.

“The ancient *Canons* diſtributed the Patrimony of the Church into four Parts: One Part of this was aſſign'd to the *Paſtor*, as they call him, for Maintenance and Hoſpitality. A ſecond Diviſion was allow'd to the Elders, Deacons, and the whole Clergy. A third Share was ſet apart for the Proviſion of the Poor. And the fourth was to be ſpent upon the Reparation of the Churches, and other incidental Exigencies. To this fourfold Diviſion they add Schools and School-Maſters, who are to be included in the Body of the Clergy, and ſupported from the conſecrated Revenues. And to theſe, they ſubjoin the Clerks of *Aſſemblies*, the *Agents* for the Church, the *Takers up of Pſalms*, and other neceſſary Officers.

By the Way, the *Paſtor* they mention, who by the ancient *Canons* was to have a fourth Part aſſign'd him, was plainly the Biſhop, as diſtinguiſh'd from the Prieſts, or ſecond Order. The Oblations of the Faithful were likewiſe lodg'd with him: And in ſhort, 'twas the Biſhop who had the Diſpoſal of the Patrimony of the Church. (a) But to mark all their Deviations from the Primitive Diſcipline and Government would be too tedious an Undertaking, and ſomewhat foreign to this *Work*.

(a) Can. Apoſt. Can. 38, & 41.

Chap. X. *Of the Offices of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the Church.*

“All Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates are in a more eſpecial Manner bound to advance the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.* For the Purpoſe, 'tis part of the Office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate to reinforce the Decrees of the Church, and aſſiſt her with his Authority; to encourage and ſupport the Miniſtry; to prevent the Incurſions of falſe Teachers, and take Care that the Preferments are not miſpent by idle and inſignificant People; to maintain Diſcipline, and correct thoſe with Corporal or Pecuniary Puniſhments who diſregard the ſpiritual Cenſures: And all this without confounding the Juriſdiction of Church and *State*. To preſerve the Patrimony of the Church from

* *For the whole Chapter it is thought meet, that an Article be preſented to his Majeſty and Eſtates, craving a Puniſhment to be appointed for thoſe that put violent Hands on Miniſters, and likewiſe to deſire ſuch Immunities and Privileges to them as ſhall be thought convenient.*

“ Violence and Sacrilege: To make Laws for the Benefit of this Spiritual *Society* without ſtretching his Prerogative too far, or concerning himſelf with Functions purely Eccleſiaſtical; ſuch as Preaching, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, Pronouncing or Executing in Church Diſcipline, or Seizing any Part of the Power of the Keys which our Saviour has granted to his Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors.

“ Although when Churches are corrupted, Godly Kings and Princes ſometimes interpoſe their Authority, place Miniſters, recover Things from Diſorder, and reſtore the true Service of God; and for this they have the Precedent of ſome Godly Kings and Emperors, both under the Jewiſh and Chriſtian State: Notwithſtanding this, where the Miniſtry of the Church is once well conſtituted, and thoſe that officiate manage fairly and faithfully, all Godly Princes and Magiſtrates *ought to hear and obey their Voice, and reverence the Majeſty of God ſpeaking by them.*

This laſt Article was contrived to ſave ſome *Appearances*: But upon Examination 'twill be found ſhort of the Purpoſe. For if the Civil Magiſtrate is Judge of the good Conſtitution of the Church, and the Behaviour of the Eccleſiaſticks, then he may interpoſe at Diſcretion, alter the Eſtabliſhment, and diſplace the Miniſters as often as he pleaſes. But if the Privilege of judging upon the State and Condition of her own *Body* belongs to the Church, then the Prince can't act till the Church gives the Signal; nor proceed any farther than the Governors of this Spiritual *Society* ſhall direct.

The Title of the Eleventh Chapter ſtands thus:

Chap. XI. *Of the preſent Abuſes remaining in the Church, which are deſir'd to be Reform'd.*

“ They begin with declaring againſt Abbots, Priors, Prioreſſes, Commendators, *&c.* All which Names and Offices they deſire may be ſuppreſs'd and aboliſh'd.

From whence it follows, that notwithſtanding the Monaſteries were pull'd down and deface'd, yet the Diſtinctions and Privileges of the Perſons were ſtill continued.

Their next Remonſtrance is pointed againſt, the “ Titles and Offices of Deans, Archdeacons, Chanters, Subchanters, Treaſurers, Chancellors, *&c.*” The reſt of their Complaint in this *Chapter* is levell'd againſt the Superiority of Biſhops: But here, ſince they do but repeat ſome of their former Aſſertions, I ſhall paſs moſt of it over. But notwithſtanding their Declaiming againſt the ſecular Employment of Biſhops, they make no Scruple to affirm, “ That Miniſters when requir'd, may, and ought to aſſiſt their Princes in Council, Parliament, or out of *Council.*

The Twelfth Chapter goes upon the ſame Subject of Reformation: I ſhall mention only ſome of the Heads.

“ They would have Doctors fix'd in the Univerſities and other Places for explaining the *Scriptures*, and teaching the Rudiments of Religion: And this with a ſettled Maintenance proportion'd to their Character. That the Liberty of national Aſſemblies ſhould be preſerv'd: That the Church ſhould be unmoleſted in her Privilege of appointing Time and Place for this national Meeting: And that all Perſons, as well Magiſtrates, as private Perſons, ſhould acquieſce in their Deciſion of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, without making Appeal to any *Civil* Judicature.

As to the Election of Eccleſiaſticks, they deſire “ none may be forc'd upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or Subject, without the Choice and Aſſent of the People where the Miniſter is to preſide. *

* Agreed to the General.

And being ſenſible of the Inconſiſtency of *Patronages* with this Method, they deſire all thoſe that “ truly fear God to conſider, that Patronages and Benefices have no Foundation in the Word of God: So far from any Warrant from thence, that they ſtand condemn'd by the Tenure of the *Scriptures*, and the Practice recommended there: They are utterly Subverſive of the Liberty of Elections, and ought not to be endur'd under the *Reformation*? And therefore all thoſe who are willing to be govern'd by the Direction of the Holy *Scriptures*, and deſire the Advancement of our Saviour's Kingdom, are oblig'd to receive the Polity, or Eccleſiaſtical Regulations, held forth in the inſpir'd Writings: For without Reſigning in this Point, their Profeſſion of Chriſtianity is to no Purpoſe. *

* Referr'd.

“ But as to other Patronages of Benefices, not having *Curam Animarum*, ſuch as Chaplainries, Prebendaries, *&c.* endow'd with Lands or annual Rents, they are contented, the Nomination to theſe Preferments may go in the cuſtomary Method: Theſe may be reſerv'd to their reſpective Patrons, and diſpos'd of by them to Men of Learning, as they fall void. *

* To be ſought of the Parliament.

And to mention but one Article more, they deſire “ That none but the Deacons may receive the Profits, and Rents belonging to the Church: And that all other Collectors of theſe Revenues employ'd either by the Prince, or any other Perſon, may be diſcharg'd. * (b)

* Referr'd to the Head of the Deacons.

(b) MS Acts of the Aſſembly, fol. 951. to fol. 980.

This *Second Book of Diſcipline*, tho' laid before the Parliament by *Andrew Melvil* and ſome of his Party, yet it did not paſs ſo much as the general *Aſſembly* till Three Years forwards, as will be farther obſerv'd afterwards. As to the Scheme, a good Part of it is tranſcrib'd from *Beza*'s Tract, *De triplici Epiſcopatu*, and his *Anſwer* to the *Queſtions* propos'd to him by the Lord *Glamis*. To give the *Reader* ſome of *Beza*'s Aſſertions upon this Argument.

The Scotch new Book of Diſcipline, drawn partly out of Beza.

This *Genevian* Miniſter is poſitive for the divine Right of *Ruling Elders*. He affirms that Biſhops engroſs the Power of Ordination, without any Warrant from the Holy *Scripture*. That all Eccleſiaſtical Functions are principally founded upon popular Election: That this Election, and not Ordination, or Impoſition of Hands, makes Paſtors or Biſhops. That Impoſition of Hands means nothing farther than putting them in Poſſeſſion of their Miniſtry. But as for the Entireneſs and Powers of their Character, they come wholly from their Election. And therefore by Conſequence it may be ſaid with more Propriety, that the *Fathers* of the Church are made by the Holy Ghoſt, and the Votes of their *Children*, rather than by the Biſhops. *Beza* goes on in his Remarks, and obſerves that St. *Paul* in his 1ſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, expreſly directs his Diſcourſe againſt the then prevailing Schiſm. That foreſeeing the Authority in the Epiſcopal Character might be judg'd a proper Remedy for ſo great a Miſchief: Foreſeeing a Miſinterpretation might paſs upon this Head, he join'd *Soſtenes* with himſelf in the *Salutation*: That thus by his own Example he might teach how much Empire and monarchick Sway, was to be avoided ed in Eccleſiaſtical Conventions: Since the Apoſtles themſelves, who were next to our Saviour, and rang'd in the Firſt Claſs of Church Government, did notwithſtanding exerciſe their Power upon Terms of Parity. This by the Way, is an odd Inference from the Text. Farther; *Beza* makes no Scruple to affirm, that Epiſcopacy is rather productive of Schiſms, than a Remedy againſt them. That had it not been for this humane Invention, a great many Diviſions had never happen'd in the Church. That the Papacy was the Product of Epiſcopacy. That the Council of *Nice* by making that *Canon* about 'Αρχαῖα ἔθη, That the *Ancient Cuſtoms ſhould continue*, &c. open'd a Way for the *Roman* Pontificate, and erected a Throne for that Strumpet that ſits upon the Seven Hills: That the Primitive Churches were in a flouriſhing Condition as long as their Governors held the Balance even, manag'd upon a Level, and refus'd to give Way to the Admiſſion of Prelacy. (c)

(c) Beza de triplici Epiſcopatu. *See* Saravia's *Works: And Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examin'd, pag.* 247.

By theſe few Citations from this Writer, from whom much more might be collected, the *Reader* may perceive from what Magazines the *Scotch* were furniſh'd: And that 'twas from *Beza*'s Inſtructions that the *Aſſembly* form'd their Scheme for Church Government: *Beza*'s Performance upon this Subject was brought into *Scotland* in the latter End of the laſt Year; which was about half a Year before their new *Book of Diſcipline* was preſented to the Parliament.

The 1ſt Presbytery erected, when.

This *Book of Diſcipline* mentions *Presbyteries*, ſtates their Powers, and deſcribes the Members of which they were to conſiſt: But notwithſtanding their inſiſting ſo much upon this Subject, there were no ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies then in being. The Firſt *Presbytery* in that Nation was ſet up at *Edinborough*: But then this was not done, till *May* 1581. (d)

(d) Calderwood, *p.* 116. *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examin'd,* &c. *pag.* 266.

Octob. 24. 1578.

Tho' this Presbyterian Model was in a great Meaſure check'd at the *Council-Board*, yet *Melvil* (who had lately been Moderator of the *Aſſembly*) and his Party were reſolv'd to act independently of the *State*, and try the Strength of their Intereſt. Thus at their next general Meeting already mention'd, they paſs'd ſeveral Orders for Diſabling the Biſhops, drawing them down to a Parity with the Miniſters, and bringing them under the abſolute Sway of the *Aſſembly*. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions already related, they requir'd Mr. *James Boyd*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, to make his Submiſſion to the *Aſſembly*, and comply with the Reformation preſcrib'd. But the Archbiſhop was not altogether ſo paſſive as they expected: He ſtood upon the Defence of his Station and Character: And after having argued the Point with *David Ferguſon* the Moderator, gave his Anſwer in writing to this Purpoſe.

The Aſſembly require a Submiſſion from the Archbiſhop of Glaſcow.

The Reaſons of his Incompliance.

" He told them, that not only the Name of a " Biſhop, but the Power and Regard uſually " paid to that Character, was warrantable by " the Holy *Scriptures*: That ſince he was pro" moted to the *See* of *Glaſcow* by the King's " Nomination, and the Election of the *Chapter*, " he believ'd his Calling was lawful, and ſhould " endeavour to perform the Duties requir'd: " That notwithſtanding, he was willing to refer " himſelf to the Judgment of the Church, in " Caſe of Miſbehaviour. But on this Condi" tion, that no more was demanded from him, " than what the Apoſtle requires. As to the " Revenues and Privileges of his *See*, he con" ceiv'd the Title good, and the Keeping them " very lawful. And as for ſerving the *Crown* " with his Advice, he thought his Allegiance " bound him to it: And beſides, he look'd on " the Biſhops being preſent at ſuch publick " Conſultations, as beneficial to the Church.

This Anſwer was voted Unſatisfactory. But the Archbiſhop withdrew from the Aſſembly, and would give them no better. Upon this *Andrew Melvil*, and ſome other Miniſters were commiſſionated to preſs his Subſcription to the *Aſſembly*-Act, for the Reformation of Epiſcopacy: And if he refus'd to comply, to proceed to Excommunication. *Melvil* went to the utmoſt Length of his Commiſſion, menac'd the Archbiſhop with the Cenſures of the Church, and finding him under the Diſadvantage of ill Health, work'd him to the Signing the ſhocking Articles already mention'd. This Submiſſion troubled *Boyd* very much in his laſt Sickneſs: *Spotſwood* gives him the Character of a wiſe, learned, and religious Prelate. (e)

(e) Hiſt. *pag.* 303.

Melvil *moves for the pulling down the Cathedral at* Glaſcow.

Melvil having thus help'd the Archbiſhop into the other World, attempted the Demolition of the Cathedral. This ſingular *Reformer*, and ſome other Miniſters, had plied the Magiſtracy with ſuch Importunity, that at laſt they conſented to the pulling down this noble Structure. One of their Topicks was, that this Church was a Monument of Idolatry, and the only unruin'd Cathedral in the whole Country. But when the Maſons were brought to take down the Building, the Townſmen ran to Arms, and threatned thoſe with immediate Death that ſhould ſtir the Firſt Stone: And thus by the Bravery of the Burghers, the Cathedral was preſerv'd.

To return to *England*. The Queen was now treating a Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. This Alliance was not well reliſh'd by the *Engliſh*. And here the *Puritans* were lowdeſt in their Remonſtrance. One *Stubbs*, a Lawyer of that Perſuaſion, wrote a Book againſt the Match, entitled, *The gaping Gulph*. This *Tract* was penn'd with a great Deal of Heat and Satyr. The Queen looked upon theſe intemperate Clamours as no better than arraigning the Government. To check this Inſolence therefore, a Proclamation came out for ſeizing the Book, the Author, and Printer. And for prevention of farther Miſchief, the Lords of the Council wrote to Archbiſhop *Grindal*, acquainting him with the Malignity of the Libel: That the Deſign of it was to miſreport the Queen to her Subjects, as if ſhe intended to alter the Religion eſtabliſh'd: And that ſuch Inſinuations as theſe were altogether Remote from her Majeſty's Intentions. The Archbiſhop therefore is requir'd to ſend for as many of the Clergy of Character as can conveniently be got together: To read the Proclamation to them, to acquaint them with her Majeſty's unalterable Reſolution; never to admit of any Change in Religion. He was likewiſe to admoniſh them to keep within the Compaſs of their Profeſſion, and not concern themſelves with State-Matters in the Pulpit. (f)

The Privy-Council's Letter to Archbiſhop Grindal.

(f) Regiſt. Grindal, *fol.* 183.

This Year the Univerſity of *Oxford* made a farther Proviſion to guard the Reformation.

A Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford *againſt the Spreading of Popery.*

Anno Dom. 1579.

The Heads of the *Decree* paſs'd in Convocation are theſe:

1. For the Extirpation of all Hereſies, and the better Inſtruction of young Students, they order the following Books to be read to them, *viz. Alexander Nowel*'s *larger Catechiſm* in *Latin* and *Greek*; or *John Calvin*'s *Catechiſm* in *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*; or *Hyperius*'s *Elements* of the *Chriſtian Religion*; or the *Hydelberg Catechiſm*. And here the Choice is left to the *Readers*, who are to Regard the Capacity of the Audience. 2. To

theſe might be added, *Henry Bullinger*'s *Catechiſm*, *Calvin*'s *Inſtitutions*, the *Apology* for the Church of *England*, or the *Nine and thirty Articles*, with an Expoſition upon them: And this Explanation and Defence drawn from the Holy *Scriptures*, and the Teſtimony of the *Fathers*.' 3. That all *Catechiſms* counter to the Orthodoxy in theſe *Tracts*, and all other Superſtitious and Popiſh Books, are forbidden to be either read or kept in private Studies. 4. This Buſineſs of *Reading* and Expounding, was enjoin'd Tutors, and publick Catechiſts. There was likewiſe an Examination order'd to be taken every Term of the Proficiency of the Students. (*g*)

(*g*) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. Lib. *pag.* 296.

This Year *Mathew Hammond*, a Plow-wright of *Hetherſett*, near *Norwich*, was convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy and Blaſphemy. He denied the Inſpiration of the *New Teſtament*, the Divinity of our Saviour, and the Holy Ghoſt, and the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, and the Holy Euchariſt. His Blaſphemies I ſhall paſs over. He outrag'd the Queen and *Council* in opprobrious Language, for which he was ſentenc'd to loſe his Ears, which was executed accordingly. In ſhort, he held to his Hereſies and blaſphemous Expreſſions, and was burnt in the Caſtle Ditch at *Norwich*.

Hammond *burnt for Hereſy.* May 20. 1579.

Robert Horn, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died the Firſt of *June* this Year. He was born in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and bred in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*: His Exile, the Courſe of his Preferments, and ſome other Paſſages relating to his Character, have been mention'd already.

The next Year ſome *Dutch-men* coming over ſpread new and dangerous Opinions, * to the Diſturbance of the Church and State. Theſe Men, tho' deſperate Hereticks, made a ſtrong Appearance of Sanctity. They call'd themſelves *The Family of Love*, or *The Houſe of Charity*. They made their Proſelytes believe, That none but their *Society* were within the Number of the Elect: And that the Reſt of Mankind were all Reprobates, and doom'd to Damnation. That they had the Privilege of denying any Thing they pleas'd upon Oath before a Magiſtrate, or any other Perſon of a different Religion from themſelves. A Body of this Enthuſiaſtick and ſcandalous Doctrine, was tranſlated from *Dutch* into *Engliſh*. Some of the Books were entitled, *The Goſpel of the Kingdom, documental Sentences, the Propheſy of the Spirit of Love, the Publication of Peace upon the Earth*, by *H. N.* They would by no Means tell their Author's Name: But afterwards 'twas found out theſe *Tracts* were written by one *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*: This Heretick advanc'd to Blaſphemy, and affirm'd that the divine Nature was communicated to him, and that God was Partaker of his Humanity. To prevent theſe Men from ſhedding their Venom a *Proclamation* was publiſh'd: The *Familiſts* Books were order'd to be burnt, and the Magiſtracy commanded to aſſiſt the *Ordinaries*. *

* Advenæ ex Hollandia feraci Hæreticorum Provincia. Cambden Eliz. *pag.* 300.

Octob. Anno Dom. 1580.

* Id. & Stow Annal.

The next remarkable Occurrence, is the Meeting of the *Parliament* at *Weſtminſter*. The Seſſion began on the 16th of *January*, continued till the 18th of *March*, when 'twas once more prorogued: 'Twas diſſolv'd on the 19th of *April*, in the 25th Year of this Reign.

Jan. 16. 158$\frac{0}{1}$.

To obſerve ſomething relating to the Church. Mr. *Paul Wentworth*, Brother to *Peter* above-mention'd, mov'd in the Lower Houſe for a publick Faſt, and a Sermon every Morning before the Houſe ſate. Sir *Francis Knowles*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and ſome other *Members*, oppos'd this Motion: However, That the Commons had Authority to appoint a Faſt, was carried by a Majority: And thus the 29th of *January* was fix'd for the Day: The Commons were to meet at the Temple Church: And that the Preachers might deliver no offenſive Doctrine, they were to be appointed by thoſe *Members* who were of the Privy-Council.

The Houſe of Commons appoint a Faſt.

But before the Day came, the *Speaker* declar'd himſelf ſorry for the Error of this Reſolve: And that her Majeſty was much diſpleas'd with their Proceedings. At the ſame Time the Queen ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe by her Vice-chamberlain. The Purport of it was to acquaint them her Majeſty was extremely ſurpriz'd at the Hardineſs of their Motions: That the taking ſuch Steps againſt her expreſs Order, by the Lord Chancellor, could be conſtrued to nothing but down-right Contempt. In ſhort, both the Speaker and the Vice-Chamberlain propos'd their making a Submiſſion, owning their Fault, and asking Pardon. After ſeveral Speeches in the Houſe to this Purpoſe, the Queſtion was put whether the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, ſhould deliver the Submiſſion to her Majeſty: 'Twas carried in the Affirmative.

On the 25th of *January* the Vice-Chamberlain came to the Houſe and acquainted them the Queen had accepted their Submiſſion: That ſhe hop'd for the Future they would move more warily: That ſhe did not diſlike their Inclination for Faſting and Prayers: 'Twas the Manner which diſoblig'd: 'Twas their preſuming to appoint a Faſt without pre-acquainting her Majeſty, and receiving her Orders for that Purpoſe: And that this was no leſs than plain Encroachment upon her Eccleſiaſtical Authority. (*b*)

They make a Submiſſion to the Queen for this Freedom.

(*b*) D'Ewes's *Journal, p.* 292.

When this Matter was diſmiſs'd, Sir *Walter Mildemay* made a long Speech upon the Danger from Popery, and mov'd that a *Bill* might be brought in for farther Security to the Government. He inſiſted upon the hoſtile Practice, and reſtleſs endeavours of the Court of *Rome*: That they look'd upon *England* as the main Strength of the *Reformation*, and that they were perpetually playing their Batteries againſt this Quarter. For Inſtances of hoſtile Practice, he mention'd the Northern Rebellion, rais'd by the Earls of *Weſtmoreland* and *Northumberland*. The affording Shelter and Maintenance to thoſe Rebels, and other Deſerters ever ſince. The Publiſhing a moſt malicious and ſcandalous Bull againſt her Majeſty: The Invaſion of *Ireland*, by *James Fitz-Morris*: The Inſurrection headed by the Earl of *Deſmond*: And the late Landing of Strangers, and fortifying that Country againſt the Government. This Speech made an Impreſſion, and 'tis probable occaſion'd the Paſſing the *Bill for retaining the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience*. By this *Statute*, 'tis High-Treaſon to draw off any Perſon from the Communion of the Church of *England* to that of *Rome*: And the ſame Penalty is enacted againſt thoſe reconcil'd to Popery; And thoſe who knowingly maintain or conceal the Reconciling, or Reconciled, and refuſe to diſcover them within Twenty Days to ſome Juſtice of the Peace, or other **Higher-Officer**, ſhall fall under the Penalty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon: 'Tis likewiſe enacted, That every Perſon convicted of ſaying Maſs, ſhall forfeit Two hundred Marks, and ſuffer a Year's Impriſonment, and thoſe who willingly hear Maſs, are liable to the Forfeiture of a Hundred Marks, and one Year's Impriſonment. Farther, every Perſon above the Age of Sixteen Years, who abſents himſelf from Church, incurs the Forfeiture of 20 Pounds *per* Month:

Mildemay's Speech for a farther Security to the Government.

To reconcile or be reconcil'd to the Church of Rome, *High-Treaſon.*

20 Pound per *Month for not coming to Church.*

And in Caſe the Abſence is continued for 12 Months, he is to be bound to his good Behaviour, to enter into a Recognizance of 200 *l.* and find Two ſufficient Sureties.

And laſtly, The Keeping a School-maſter, who neither comes to Church, nor is licens'd by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, is made Ten Pound *per* Month Forfeiture: And the School-maſter is to ſuffer a Years Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize. *(i)*

(i) 23 Eliz. cap. 1.

There was another Act paſs'd this Seſſion to check the Diſorders of the *Puritan* Faction. *Stubbs*'s Book, entitled, *The gaping Gulph*, might not improbably give Occaſion to this Bill: For the Libel was penn'd with great Rancour and coarſe Language: The *French* Nation was outrag'd, and the Duke of *Anjou* abus'd to the laſt Degree: And which was ſtill more provoking, the Queen was dangerouſly miſreported: As if ſhe had a Deſign to abandon the *Reformation*, and betray the Kingdom to a foreign Power. To prevent the People from being poiſon'd with ſuch Calumnies, the *Statute* enacts,

Cambden Eliz.

An Act againſt ſeditious Libels.

That if any Perſon or Perſons within 40 Days after the End of that Seſſion, ſhall adviſedly, or with a malicious Intent, deviſe, write, print, or ſet forth, any Manner of Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Writing, containing any falſe, ſeditious, or ſcandalous Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen's Majeſty, or to the encouraging, ſtirring or moving of any Inſurrection, or Rebellion within the Queen's Dominions: Or if any Perſon after the End of the ſaid 40 Days, either within the Queen's Dominions, or elſewhere, ſhall procure ſuch Book, Ballad, Letter, or Writing, to be written, printed, publiſh'd, or ſet forth (and the ſaid Offence not being puniſhable by the 25th of King Edward III. nor within the Compaſs of Treaſon by any other Statute) that then the ſaid Offenders being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall ſuffer Pains of Death, and Forfeiture of Goods, as in Caſes of Felony. And here neither Benefit of Clergy, or Sanctuary were to be allow'd. *(k)* But this *Statute* expiring with the Queen's Life, left the Government unguarded.

(k) 23 Eliz. cap 2. *Stat. at large.*

A Convocation meets.

To paſs from the Parliament to the *Convocation*. The Province of *Canterbury* met at St. *Paul*'s on the 17th of *January*. Archbiſhop *Grindal* ſign'd an Inſtrument for ſubſtituting *Ailmer* Biſhop of *London* to preſide. There was little remarkable done by this *Convocation*, excepting the Grant of a Subſidy, and an Addreſs made to the Biſhops from the Lower Houſe, for executing the late Book of *Articles*: To which we may add the Biſhop of *London*'s Reading a Letter from the Privy-*Council*; in which 'twas mov'd ſome Proviſion might be made to check the Hereſy maintain'd by the *Family of Love*. Some of the Members were ſtrongly affected with the Diſgrace of *Grindal*'s Sequeſtration. Theſe Men, out of a generous Zeal for their Metropolitan, mov'd againſt entring upon any Buſineſs, or ſo much as granting a Subſidy till the Embargoe was taken off, and the Archbiſhop reſtor'd. But the Majority were too cautious to be govern'd by this Suggeſtion. However, *Fuller* Reports, they came to an unanimous Reſolution for petitioning the Queen for *Grindal*'s Reſtitution. The Addreſs was drawn by *Toby Mathews*, Dean of Chriſt-Church. 'Twas penn'd in *Latin*, in a handſome moving Style, and with a profound Acknowledgment of the *Regale*. 'Twas preſented, as this Hiſtorian will have it, but fail'd of Succeſs. *(l)* That ſuch an Addreſs was preſented to the Queen needs not be queſtion'd: But that 'twas paſs'd as an Act of Convocation, is more than appears by the Extracts from the *Journal*. And beſides, the learned *Heylin* who peruſed the Convocation *Records* at length, found no ſuch Petition. *(m)*

An Addreſs drawn by the Dean of Chriſt-Church *for taking off* Grindal'*s Sequeſtration.*

(l) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory, Book* 9. *pag.* 119, & 120.

(m) Journal Convoc. fol. 144. Heylin Hiſt. Presbyt. *pag.* 288.

The London *Clergy's Addreſs to the Convocation.*

The Clergy of *London* petition'd this *Convocation* for Redreſs againſt the Frauds and evaſive Methods practis'd in the City, for detaining the Tythes from the Incumbent. The Complaint in the Addreſs being ſomewhat remarkable, I have put it amongſt the Records. *(n)*

(n) See Records LXXXIX.

Jeſuits and others ſent Miſſionaries into England.

This Year ſome *Engliſh* Jeſuits, moſt diſtinguiſh'd for Learning and Courage, were ſent over into *England* for the Converſion, as they call it, of the Country. Amongſt theſe Miſſionaries, *Robert Parſons* and *Edmund Campian* were the moſt remarkable. And to proportion the Numbers to the Deſign, ſeveral ſecular Prieſts belonging to the *Engliſh* Seminaries, came along with them. Theſe Men, as *Sanders* Reports, proſecuting their Miſſion with great Alacrity and Vigour, prevail'd with Abundance of the common People to return to the Communion of *Rome*, and over and above gain'd ſeveral Perſons of Learning and Quality: And all this in a few Months Time. *(o)*

(o). Sanders de Schiſm. Angl.

About this Time, *Egremond Ratcliff* of the Houſe of *Suſſex*, and another *Engliſh* Gentleman, were ſeiz'd in *Flanders*, for attempting the Life of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, Governor of the Low Countries. *Don John* dying ſoon after this Diſcovery, *Ratcliff* was beheaded at *Namur* by the Prince of *Parma*.

'Tis poſſible this Charge of Aſſaſſination might be disbeliev'd in *England*, and the Two Gentlemen thought to have had hard Meaſure. But let this be as it will, the Face of Affairs abroad, and the Progreſs of the Miſſionaries at home, gave an Alarm to the Government. The Queen took Care it ſhould be publickly reported ſhe was certainly inform'd a League was concerted againſt her at *Rome*: That the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral *Italian* Princes had engag'd in the Alliance: That reſtoring their Religion was the Buſineſs of the Treaty. And that all this was done at the Inſtance of the *Engliſh* Refugees, both Laity and Prieſts: But that her Majeſty relying upon the Protection of Heaven, the Juſtice of her Cauſe, and the Valour and Fidelity of her Subjects, was prepar'd for the Worſt that could happen.

Idem.

As to the Jeſuits, and other *Engliſh* Miſſionaries, in what Manner they manag'd, and what Hazzards they run in the Enterprize, may be partly collected from *Campian*'s Letter to the General of his *Order*.

Part of Campian'*s Letter to his General.*

" I got to *London*, ſays he, and my good Angel directed me to the ſame Houſe which had
" formerly entertain'd Father *Robert* (meaning
" *Parſons*). I was immediately accoſted by ſe-
" veral young Gentlemen of Figure, who ſalu-
" ting me in a friendly Manner, furniſh'd me
" with a handſome Diſguiſe, and equip'd me in
" a military Habit. And thus being convey'd
" out of Town, and my Route aſſign'd me, I
" am almoſt every Day moving on Horſe-back.
" I meet with ſtrong Encouragement, and
" Abundance of People to work upon. While
" I am travelling the Road, my Method is, to
" ſtrike out ſome Heads, and prepare Matter
" for a ſhort Sermon. This rough Draught I
" touch

touch over, and draw to farther Length when I come to my Journeys End. When any Body makes me a Viſit upon the Score of Religion, I either diſcourſe with them, or receive their Confeſſions. In the Morning after Prayers, I preach to the Company, and adminiſter the Sacraments to great Numbers. For in this latter Office I ſeldom Want the Aſſiſtance of ſome Catholick Prieſts my Countrymen. Theſe Men being remarkable for their Learning and Regularity, draw the Regard of the People, and make our Employment leſs Burthenſome. But there are ſo many Snares ſet, ſo many Spies upon us, that 'tis impoſſible to eſcape the Hereticks any long Time. I am in a moſt whimſical Dreſs: But this, and my Name too, I am forc'd to change very often. I ſometimes read Letters, where at the Firſt Sight I meet with the Report of *Campian*'s being Taken. This News is grown ſo common, where'er I go, that the Frequency of the Danger, has almoſt made me Diſregard it, and grow more hardy.

“At this very Time the Perſecution rages in a frightful Manner: The Family where I am, receive nothing but melancholy Advices. We ſcarcely hear of any Thing but the Abſconding, or Impriſonment of our Friends, or the Puniſhing of them in their Eſtates. However, our People move boldly on, and the Satiſfaction they meet with in doing their Duty, is more than a Counterpoiſe to what they ſuffer. A good Conſcience, a glorious Undertaking, an Ardor for the propagating Truth, and an incredible Number of Proſelytes of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions, are wonderful Encouragements! Hereſy is generally decried, and nothing can be more deſpicable than their Miniſters. 'Twould vex one to ſee ſuch mean, illiterate, and ſcandalous Parſons pretend to govern People of Senſe and Education. But I am juſt now alarm'd with immediate Danger, and therefore can give you nothing farther.

Some of the Miſſionaries dangerous to the Government.

Theſe *Miſſionaries* are ſaid to manage in a very ſeditious Manner. Some of them were ſo hardy as to affirm the Crown belong'd to the Queen of *Scots*: That Queen *Elizabeth* ought to be depos'd: That if the Pope commanded one Thing, and her Majeſty the Contrary, (p) his Holineſs was to be obey'd. Now when Men declar'd thus openly againſt the Government, 'tis no Wonder if they drew a Storm upon themſelves. To prevent the Danger from ſuch a *Miſſion*, the Queen publiſh'd a Proclamation, commanding, that all thoſe who had either Children, Relations or Wards beyond-Sea, ſhould certify their Names to the Ordinary, and recal them home within Four Months. And in Caſe they refus'd to return, not to ſupply them with Remittances by Bills of Exchange, or any other Way. They were likewiſe forbidden to entertain or ſupport any Jeſuits or ſeminary Prieſts: And that thoſe who fail'd in taking due Notice of the Proclamation, ſhould be proſecuted as Abettors of Rebellion. And laſtly, when they knew where any ſuch Perſons might be found, they were commanded to diſcover them, and put them into the Magiſtrate's Hand, under the Penalties above-mention'd. And that the Strictneſs of the Order might not be ſurprizing, the Proclamation ſets forth, That the Buſineſs of theſe *Miſſionaries* was not only to gain Proſelytes to their Church, but to embroil the Kingdom, and draw off the Subjects from their Allegiance. (q)

(p) Heylin Hiſt. Presbyt. Lib. vii.

Cambden Eliz.

June 1580.

(q) Cambden Eliz.

Before this Proclamation came out, the *Roman* Catholicks found themſelves embarraſs'd with the excommunicating *Bull*, and ſeem'd very uneaſy at ſo rough an Expedient. They took Care to ſuppreſs *Sanders*'s Defence of this *Cenſure*, and forbid diſputing upon the Pope's Power to excommunicate and depoſe Princes: But all this Caution was not ſufficient to ſilence the Controverſy. When *Parſons* and *Campian* were coming for *England*, they procur'd a Faculty from Pope *Gregory* the XIVth, to make the Bull more inoffenſive to their own Communion. They deſir'd his Holineſs would pleaſe to explain and qualify the *Bull* publiſh'd by *Pius* the Vth. They deſir'd this *Inſtrument* might be declar'd in Force only againſt Queen *Elizabeth* and her Adherents: And that the Catholicks might not be affected with the Cenſure, 'till the Juncture ſhould preſent fair, and the Sentence might be executed without Danger. Their Requeſt was granted, and the *Bull* qualified to this Conſtruction, on the 14th of *April* this Year.

Pius *the* V*th's Bull ſoften'd at the Inſtance of the Miſſionaries.*

Idem.

Parſons, a Warm rugged temper'd Man, was very bold and ſeditious in his Diſcourſe, went ſuch extravagant Lengths as to propoſe the Dethroning the Queen; inſomuch that ſome *Roman* Catholicks deſign'd to ſeize him, and deliver him up to Juſtice. *Campian*, tho' more modeſt, and of a ſmoother Diſpoſition, offer'd to diſpute with the *Engliſh* Clergy, and ſent them a publick Challenge. He likewiſe publiſh'd his *Decem Rationes* in Defence of the *Roman* Communion. The Book is penn'd in elegant *Latin*, and manag'd to Advantage. 'Twas anſwer'd by Dr. *Whitaker*. About this Time one *Howlet* printed a Tract to diſſuade the Papiſts from going to our Churches.

Idem.

Archbiſhop *Grindal* being thought too gentle and remiſs in his Management, the Privy-Council wrote to him to complain of the Relaxation of Diſcipline: The Letter ſtands thus:

Regiſt. Grind. *fol.* 193.

“Whereas the Queen's Majeſty has been inform'd, that divers Perſons within the Province of *Canterbury*, both of the Common and better Sort, who of late Time have been conformable to the Laws of this Realm concerning Religion, are now fallen away, and have withdrawn themſelves from coming to Church, to the evil Example of others her Majeſty's good Subjects, and to the great Offence of her Highneſs, who does not a little Marvel, by what Means this Relapſe ſhould happen, having deliver'd ſufficient Authority unto your Lordſhip, and others join'd unto you, by Virtue of her Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical, warranted by the Laws of this Realm. Whereby you might at all Times have repreſſed the Inſolency and corrected the Diſobedience, of ſuch as therein ſhould have preſum'd to offend, if ſuch Care and Vigilancy had been us'd within your Charge, as appertaineth. Her Highneſſes Pleaſure therefore is, That for the preſent Reforming and Puniſhing of thoſe that have and do herein diſobey the Laws, that you give Order to have them forthwith convented, before ſuch as do attend the Execution of her Majeſty's high Commiſſion, and proceeded with according to the Direction of the ſaid high Commiſſion. And to the End her Majeſty may underſtand, what ſhall be from Time to Time done in the Execution of the ſaid Commiſſion; to give Order that Certificate be made of the Proceedings in the ſaid Com-

“ miſſion unto us of her Majeſty's Privy-Council. From *Nonſuch*, 18th *June*, 1580.

Tho. Bromley, Canc.
W. Burghley.
E. Clinton.
T. Suſſex.
Franc. Bedford.
R. Leiſter.

J. Hunſdon.
J. Croft.
F. Walſingham.
T. Wilton.
W. Mildmay.

This Year the Lord *D'Aubigney* came from *France* to *Scotland* to make that Court a Viſit. He was nearly related to the Queen, and well recommended by his Behaviour. The young King (for ſo I ſhall call him after the Queen's Reſignation, without pretending to determine any Thing concerning that Diſpute,) much pleas'd with his Converſation, made him Earl of *Lenox*, and refus'd to part with him. This unexpected Favour drew Envy: And being a *Roman* Catholick, thoſe who grudg'd him his good Fortune ſpread a Report, that his Buſineſs in coming from *France* was only to proſelyte the King to the Church of *Rome*. And thus he became the Averſion of the Preachers. Theſe Men taking the Alarm, declaim'd warmly from the Pulpits that he was tampering with the King's Conſcience; that there was a ſecret Deſign againſt the Church; and that Popery was growing upon them. However, in the late Parliament there were ſeveral *Acts* paſs'd in Favour of the *Reformation*. To mention one of them relating to Juriſdiction:

An Act of Parliament in Favour of the Kirk.

> “ Our Soveraine Lord, with Advice of his three Eſtaites of this preſent Parliament, hes declar'd and granted Juriſdiction to the Kirk, quhilk conſiſtis and ſtands in the Preaching of the trew Word of Jeſus Chriſt, Correction of Manners, and Adminiſtration of the halie Sacraments, and declairis that there is na uther Face of Kirk, nor uther Face of Religion, than is preſentlie be the Favour of God eſtabliſched within this Realme, and that there be na uther Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical acknowledged within this Realme, uther than that quhilk is, and ſall be, within the ſammin Kirk, or that quhilk flowis theirfra, concerning the Premiſſes. (*r*)

(*r*) Jac. vi. 6 Parl. c. 69.

But this Act was drawn in general Terms, and neither the Perſons in whom the Juriſdiction was lodg'd, nor the Extent of their Authority, is ſtated. This Statute therefore came ſhort of Satisfaction to the *Aſſembly*. The Court look'd upon theſe Divines as too forward and enterprizing. To bring them to more Sobriety, the King not long ſince ſent them a Letter to forbear all Innovations in the Polity of the Church, to let Things reſt till the Meeting of the *Eſtates*, and not overrun the Parliament. But they gave little Regard to this Letter: They were reſolv'd to reform upon their own Authority, and not wait the Leiſure of the Government. For Inſtance, they call'd the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* to Account for granting Collations to Benefices, and voting in Parliament, without Commiſſion from the *Aſſembly*. This hardy Incompliance loſt them the King's Favour, made him arreſt their Motion, and ſuperſede their *Cenſures* and Proceſs.

The King diſpleas'd with the Aſſembly. Spotſwood.

This Miſunderſtanding between the Court and the *Aſſembly*, encourag'd the *Roman* Catholicks to declare their Belief more openly. Several Seminary Prieſts came over: And in *Paiſley* ſome of that Perſwaſion took the Freedom to ſing a *Requiem* for the Reformation. Theſe Sallies of Indiſcretion rais'd a great Clamour, and fill'd the Country with Complaints; and the Court was charg'd by the *Pulpits* for countenancing Popery.

The Earl of Lenox *recants Popery.*

To undeceive the People, and allay theſe Heats, the King ſent for the Miniſters to *Edinborough*, told them what Pains he had taken to convert his Couſin *Lenox*; and that he had prevail'd with this Earl to entertain a Proteſtant Divine in his Houſe. He deſir'd therefore that one of their Number might be pitch'd on for this Employment. Mr. *David Lindeſay* being Maſter of the *French* Language, and a Perſon of Temper and Addreſs, was recommended, and the Choice approv'd by the King. *Lindeſay* perform'd to Satisfaction, and in a ſhort Time gain'd the Nobleman, and brought him to recant his Error in St. *Giles*'s Church: But all this was not ſufficient to remove the People's Jealouſies. It ſeems ſome *Diſpenſations* from *Rome* were intercepted about this Time. They indulg'd a ſcandalous Latitude, and gave the *Roman* Catholicks Leave to comply to what Lengths they pleas'd, and ſubſcribe any Articles put upon them: But with this *Proviſo*, That their Mind ſhould not go along with their Practice; that though their Caution mov'd more at large, their Zeal ſhould continue the ſame; and that they ſhould act behind the Scene for the old Intereſt.

Spotſwood, *p.* 308.

Theſe *Diſpenſations*, whether genuine or forg'd, being brought to the King, he order'd his Preacher, Mr. *John Craig*, to draw up a ſhort Confeſſion of Faith. In this Inſtrument, which moſtly turn'd upon Negatives, the Doctrine and Ceremonies peculiar to the Church of *Rome* were particularly abjur'd, and a Clauſe inſerted to meet with the Diſpenſations: For the Subſcribers call God to witneſs that they ſign'd heartily and ſincerely, and without any Reſerve or Diſſembling. And to ſet an Example to the Subjects, the King, the Court, and the *Council*, publickly ſwore, and ſubſcrib'd the *Confeſſion*. And one Part of this Form was, That they would keep cloſe to the Belief and Conſtitutions of the *Scotiſh* Church. But when this was done, the Government of the Church was in the Hands of Biſhops and Superintendents: And therefore the ſwearing this Confeſſion can't fairly be urg'd for the Presbyterian Model. (*s*)

The negative Confeſſion.

(*s*) Refut. Libell. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic. *p.* 36.

Upon the 12th of *July* this Summer the *Aſſembly* met at *Dundee*: And here the Presbyterians after a long Conteſt carried their Point. Their Decree againſt Epiſcopacy is home, and very remarkable. The *Reader* therefore ſhall have it in the Words of the *Manuſcript*. (*t*)

An. Dom. 1580.

(*t*) *MS. Acts of the Aſſem.* Fol. 898.

The Aſſembly decree againſt Epiſcopacy.

Foraſmuch as the Office of a Biſhop, as it is now us'd, and commonly taken within this Realm, has no ſure Warrant, Authority, or good Ground, out of the Scriptures, but brought in by the Folly and Corruption of Mens Inventions, to the great Overthrow of the true Kirk of God; The whole Aſſembly of the Kirk in one Voice (after Liberty given to all Men to reaſon in the Matter, none opponing himſelf in Defence of the ſaid pretended Office) Finds and Declares *the ſame pretended Office us'd and term'd, as is aboveſaid, unlawful in it ſelf, as having neither Foundation, Ground, nor Warrant, within the Word of God: And ordains, That all ſuch Perſons as enjoy, or ſhall hereafter enjoy, the ſaid Office, ſhall be charg'd* Simpliciter, *to demit, quit, and leave off, the ſame, as an Office whereunto they are not called by God. And ſicklike to deſiſt and ceaſe from all Preaching, Miniſtration of the Sacraments, or uſing any Way the Office of Paſtors, till they receive* de novo *Admiſſion from the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, under the Pain of Excommunication to be us'd againſt them. Wherein if they be* found

Grindal (Edmund) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

They pretend to call the Biſhops to an Account.

found Diſobedient, or contravene this Act in any Point, the Sentence of Excommunication, after due Admonition, is to be executed againſt them.

Thus to pronounce againſt the univerſal Practice of the Church for 1500 Years together, was a hardy Stroak, and peculiar to the Courage of theſe *Aſſemblies*. And beſides, their Decree was no leſs Impolitick than Novel: For had their Order taken immediate Effect, as it did not, 'twould only have given a freſh Opportunity for Sacrilege; for when the Biſhops were once ſet aſide, and their *Sees* left vacant, they might eaſily imagine the *Laity* would fly upon the Spoil, as it afterwards happen'd. However, theſe Presbyterian *Reformers* were reſolv'd to try their Credit, and puſh the Matter. To this Purpoſe they ordain, *That a Synodal Aſſembly ſhall be holden in every Province where any Uſurping Biſhops are: The Synod was to begin the 17th Day of* Auguſt *next enſuing: Hither the Biſhops were to be ſummon'd by the Viſitors of the ſaid Country. The Biſhop of* St. Andrews *was to compear in* St. Andrews, *the Biſhop of* Aberdeen *in* Aberdeen, *the Biſhop of* Glaſcow *in* Glaſcow, *the Biſhop of* Murray *in* Elgin, *to give Obedience to the ſaid Act, which if they refuſe to do, the ſaid Synodal Aſſemblies ſhall appoint certain Brethren of the Miniſtry to give them publick Admonition in their Pulpit, and warn them, in caſe they diſobey, to compear before the next General Aſſembly at* Edinborough *upon the 20th of* October *next enſuing, to hear the Sentence of Excommunication pronounc'd againſt them for their Diſobedience. To this Act, as the Manuſcript goes on, the Biſhop of* Dunblain *ſubmitted himſelf.*

Ibid.

The Earl of *Lenox* being deſirous to gain the good Opinion of the Church, ſent Sir *William Steward* to the General *Aſſembly* with a Letter, importing, That they were not unacquainted with his being brought over to a right Perſwaſion in religious Matters: That he preferr'd this Bleſſing to all ſecular Advantage whatſoever: That he had publickly renounc'd his Miſtakes, and ſubſcrib'd the negative *Confeſſion*: And that if any Thing farther was requir'd, he was ready to perform it. But all this Profeſſion of Clear-dealing, all this Reſigning to their Pleaſure, could not make him believ'd: He was ſtill charg'd with Hypocriſy, and roughly treated by the *Preachers*. (u)

(u) Spotſwood's *Hiſt. p.* 311.

Nichols, *a Jeſuit, recants.*

May, 1581.

John Nichols, a Jeſuit, committed to the *Tower*, renounc'd the Communion of the Church of *Rome* before a conſiderable Audience. He likewiſe publiſh'd the Reaſons which brought him off from his former Perſwaſion. The Privy Council gave Archbiſhop *Grindal* an Account of this Matter in a Letter, and deſir'd him to write to his Suffragans to provide for this Convert 'till ſome Preferment fell. * This *Nichols*, as *Sanders* relates, preach'd in the Tower-Chapel to ſeveral *Roman* Catholick Prieſts, who were forc'd to hear him. That he was cried up by the Proteſtants as one of the moſt Learned of his Order: That he was particularly regarded by the Pope: That he us'd to preach before the Cardinals: That he was an eminent Philoſopher and Divine, and Maſter of almoſt all Learning and Languages: But that all this was nothing but a Flouriſh: That in his printed Recantation he had miſreported the Pope, the Cardinals, the *Engliſh* College, the Jeſuits, and all the Orders of the Religious and Clergy, in a ſcandalous Manner: And that within a Month after the publiſhing his Narrative, there came out a Book call'd *Nichols's Detection*: That in this Anſwer 'twas clearly prov'd that he was neither Divine nor Philoſopher, Jeſuit nor Prieſt: That he had neither Learning nor Languages: That he had never preach'd before the Pope or the Cardinals, unleſs his abjuring *Calviniſm* at *Rome* in the *Inquiſition-Court* may be call'd Preaching. (w)

*Grindal Regiſt. *fol.* 234.

Elizabeth Q.

(w) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic. *p.* 450.

July, 1581.

This Summer in *July Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, departed this Life.

The Queen, as ſhe had Reaſon, was much diſpleas'd with the *Gaping Gulph*. She publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt the Libel, in which ſhe declares the Duke of *Anjou* had a friendly Diſpoſition to the Proteſtants: That ſhe deeply reſented the outraging a Prince of ſuch Quality and Merit: A Prince who never ſo much as deſir'd the leaſt Alteration in Church or State: And that *Simiere*, who had a publick Character, and attended the Duke, was a prudent inoffenſive Perſon. And in ſhort, the Subject was admoniſh'd to look upon this Libel as no better than the Production of Treaſon: And that 'twas written on Purpoſe to embroil her Kingdoms, and miſreport her abroad.

This Book being written by a *Puritan*, as hath been obſerv'd, made the Queen more diſaffected to that Party. Not long after *John Stubbs*, of *Lincolns-Inn*, who married *Cartwright*'s Siſter, was ſeized for the Author of this Pamphlet. *Page*, who diſpers'd the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were likewiſe committed. They were tried upon the Statute of the Firſt and Second of *Philip* and *Mary*, and had Judgment to loſe their Right Hand. The Sentence was executed upon *Stubbs* and *Page*, but the Printer was pardon'd. Some of the *Long Robe* pretended the Statute was expir'd, and cried out againſt the Illegality of the Sentence: But Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, maintain'd the Judgment of the Court, prov'd that the Act pointed expreſly againſt thoſe that ſhould write any ſeditious Pamphlet againſt the King, and that the King of *England* never dies. He obſerv'd farther, that this *Statute* was reviv'd in the firſt Year of the preſent Reign, and was to continue in Force during the Queen's Life, and the Heirs of her Body. (t)

Stubbs *and* Page *puniſh'd for a Libel.*

(x) 1 Eliz. c. 6. Cambden Eliz.

The Duke of *Anjou* being now at the *Engliſh* Court, continued to ſolicit his Marriage: As for the Queen, ſhe was willing to quiet the Apprehenſions of the People, and Silence the Reports touching the Toleration of Popery. For this Purpoſe, after great Importunity, ſhe conſented to proceed to ſome Extremities. And thus to ſtop the Clamours againſt the Government, *Edmund Campian* Jeſuit, *Ralph Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Briant*, Prieſts, were tried for High Treaſon upon the 25th of *Edward* the Third. They were charg'd in the Indictment with compaſſing the Queen's Death, and adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*; and that they came into *England* to raiſe a Rebellion, and ſubvert the Government. In ſhort, the Jury brought them in guilty, and they were executed ſoon after. *Sanders* reports, That *Campian* was betray'd by one *Elliot*, of the ſame Religion: That he was laid in Irons, ſet three or four Times upon the Rack in the *Tower*, and miſerably tortur'd: And that after the Trial both this Jeſuit, and the other three Prieſts, had the Promiſe of Pardon and Preferment, provided they would own the Unwarrantableneſs of their Miſſion, and that the Queen was Head of the Church. (y) *Camden*, who is an Author of Credit, is more particular in the Narrative, and falls in with *Sanders* in ſome Meaſure. He relates that theſe Priſoners were very ſtubborn and unrelenting in maintaining the Pope's Authority againſt the Queen: That *Campian*, after he was caſt, being ask'd

Dec. 1. 1581.

(y) Sanders de Schiſm. Anglic.

whether

Grindal (Edmund) *Archbiſhop of* **Cant.**

Elizabeth Q.

Campian, *a Jeſuit, and ſome others executed.*

Cambden Eliz.

The Queen's Reaſons for theſe Extremities.

whether *Elizabeth* was a lawful Sovereign or not, refuſed to anſwer. And being demanded farther, That in caſe the Pope invaded the Queen, whether he would ſide with him or her Majeſty? He openly declar'd, he would ſtand by his Holineſs, and gave his Opinion under his Hand. Not long after ſeveral other Papiſts ſuffer'd upon the ſame Score; whereas but five of that Perſwaſion had been executed for the laſt ten Years. *Cambden* takes Notice that the Neceſſity of the Times forc'd the Queen upon theſe Severities: That ſhe declar'd herſelf always averſe againſt puniſhing People for their Conſcience; but when Principles and Catholick Religion was made a Pretence for *Plotting* and Treaſon, ſhe was forc'd to ſtrike: That as for the greateſt Part of theſe Popiſh Prieſts, ſhe did not believe them directly engag'd in a Practice againſt the *State*; but being abſolutely under Command, they might be made Tools at the Pleaſure of their *Superiors*: That many of them were miſerably perverted in their Principles, appear'd by their Anſwer to Interrogatories; for being apprehended, and the Queſtion put, *Whether by Vertue of Pope* Pius *the Fifth's Bull, Subjects were ſo far diſcharg'd from their Allegiance as to make their Riſing upon the Government lawful? Whether they thought her a rightful Queen? Whether they would maintain* Sanders *and* Briſtoe's *Opinion touching the Authority and Obligatorineſs of the Bull? And whether if the Pope ſhould furniſh an Expedition againſt the Queen, they would join his Forces?* To theſe Interrogatories they either ſaid nothing, or gave ambiguous, evaſive, or provoking Anſwers; inſomuch, that ſome of the more candid *Roman Catholicks* began to ſuſpect them for foul Practice. And to prevent the Imputation of Diſloyalty upon the whole Party, *John Biſhop*, a hearty Papiſt, wrote againſt theſe High-fliers of the Court of *Rome*. This honeſt Author made it plainly appear, that the Canon of the Council of *Lateran*, for abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, and depoſing Princes, was plainly a Forgery: That this Authority was nothing more than the Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Third: That 'twas never receiv'd in *England*: And in fine, that there was no Canons paſs'd by the Fathers of that *Council*. (z) *Cambden* goes on, and complains that the Apprehenſions of publick Danger encreas'd by the Numbers of Seminary Prieſts, who were continually coming over: That theſe Miſſionaries tamper'd privately with the People, and endeavour'd to diſengage them from their Allegiance. They were ſo hardy, as this Hiſtorian reports, as to pronounce, That excommunicated Princes ought to be depos'd: That thoſe who profeſs'd the Proteſtant Religion had no Right either to the Title or Authority of Sovereigns: That the Clergy were privileg'd from the Cognizance of Secular Courts, and not bound by the Laws of the *State*: That the Pope was Lord of the Univerſe, and Supream even in Temporals: That there was no lawful Magiſtracy in *England*: And that whatever was done by the Queen's Authority ſince ſhe ſtood excommunicated, was altogether void and unobligatory. (a)

Biſhop, *a* **Roman** *Catholick writes againſt the diſloyal Tenents of ſome of the Miſſionaries.*

Idem.

To go back, and begin the Year in *Scotland*: The Earl of *Morton*, the late Regent, was charged with High-Treaſon by the Earl of *Arran*, and afterwards try'd and found guilty. This Nobleman being all along in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, Queen *Elizabeth* endeavour'd to preſerve him. To this Purpoſe Sir *Thomas Randolph* was diſpatched with a publick Character to the *Scotch* Court. He ſolicited ſtrongly for *Morton*, urg'd his Service to the Kingdom, and hop'd his Miſtreſs the Queen ſhould not be refus'd in ſo reaſonable a Requeſt. The King anſwer'd, The ſtopping the Courſe of Juſtice was impracticable, and unbecoming a Prince: That he was ſenſible of the Queen of *England*'s kind Intentions, and ſhould forbear doing any Thing which might give a juſt Occaſion of Diſpleaſure.

The **Engliſh** *Ambaſſador endeavours to reſcue the Earl of* **Morton,** *but without Effect.*

Randolph having afterwards Leave to come into the Parliament-Houſe, put the *States* in Mind how much their Nation had been obliged by Queen *Elizabeth*, and endeavour'd to diſcredit the Evidence againſt *Morton*: But finding his Rhetorick made little Impreſſion, he applied to another Expedient; and addreſſing himſelf to *Morton*'s Friends, and thoſe who envied the Duke of *Lenox*, he began to lament the Misfortune of their Country, dilated upon the Danger of the Juncture, complain'd of the Ingratitude in ſlighting the Queen's Interceſſion, and privately ſuggeſted the attempting by Force what they could not carry by Argument and Reaſon; promiſing them withal, that neither *Engliſh* Money nor Men ſhould be wanting to the Enterprize. Several of the Nobility engag'd upon this Encouragement; but finding the King firm to the Duke of *Lenox*, and prepar'd to appear in the Field, they grew moſt of them diſhearten'd, and ventur'd nothing. By the Way, Queen *Elizabeth* had order'd ſome Troops to march to the *Borders* for *Morton*'s Reſcue: But theſe Succours, and the Plotting of his Party, ſerv'd only to haſten his Execution. The Queen's Interpoſing thus far in Behalf of *Morton* has a ſingular Aſpect, and looks like a Strain of *Politicks*. (b) The Earl of *Morton* confeſs'd at his Death, that *Bothwell* and *Archibald Dowglaſs* had acquainted him with their Deſign of aſſaſſinating the late King; and that the Times were then ſo nice, that he durſt make no Diſcovery. He likewiſe could not deny, but that after the Murder was committed he took the Regicide *Dowglaſs* into Favour and Intimacy, and ſign'd an Inſtrument to ſtand by *Bothwell* in caſe he was proſecuted. (c)

April 28. 1581.

The Second Book of Diſcipline paſs'd.

At the General *Aſſembly* held at *Glaſcow* the *Second Book of Diſcipline* paſs'd, and was order'd to be enter'd on Record: The Decree ſtands thus;

Foraſmuch as Travels has been taken in the Forming the Policy of the Kirk, and divers Suits made to the Magiſtrate for Approbation thereof, which albeit has not taken the happy Effect which good Men deſire, yet that Poſterity ſhould judge well of the preſent Age, and of the Meaning of the Kirk, The Aſſembly has concluded that the Book of Policy, agreed to in divers Aſſemblies before, ſhould be regiſter'd in the Acts of the Kirk; and to remain therein ad perpetuam Rei Memoriam; *and the Copies thereof to be taken by every Presbyter.* (d)

'Tis oppos'd by ſeveral Perſons of Character.

'Tis pretended this *Second Book of Diſcipline* was paſs'd by the whole Aſſembly *Nemine contradicente*. (e) But this is a great Miſtake, as may be made good from ſeveral Inſtances. For the Purpoſe; The Laird of *Dune*, Superintendent of *Angus*, a Man of Character, and a celebrated Preacher, could never endure this Democratical Model to take Place within his Juriſdiction of *Angus* and *Merne*: And when *Andrew Melvil* pretended to meddle within his Precinct, he expoſtulated ſharply with him, and told him he would prove the Bane of the *Scotch* Church. *John Spotſwood*, Superintendent of *Lothian* and the *Mers*, always declar'd againſt the Presbyterian Scheme, and us'd to ſay, thoſe hot-headed Miniſters, unleſs timely reduc'd, would ruin all: And though he had nothing to object againſt

(z) *See Firſt Part of my Church Hiſt. pag.* 425.

(a) Cambden Eliz. *p.* 326. & deinc.

(b) Cambden Eliz.

(c) Spotſwood, Cambden Eliz.

(d) MS. *Acts of the Aſſem.* fol. 951.

(e) Refutatio Libell. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scot.

Id. *p.* 43, &c.

Idem.

the Doctrine of the *Reformation*, yet he believ'd the Government of the ancient Church preferable to that in *Scotland*. *John Windram*, Superintendent of *Fiſe*, and Subprior of St. *Andrews*; *George Hayes*, one of the Commiſſioners, a Perſon of extraordinary Merit; *Alexander Albuthnot*, Rector of the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*; *Robert Pont*, Moderator of this *Glaſcow* Aſſembly; *David Lindeſay*, afterwards Biſhop of *Roſſe*; *Andrew Pollard*, and *Thomas Smeaton*; all of them diſtinguiſh'd for Learning and Capacity, not to mention a great many others, oppos'd the Paſſing this *Second Book of Diſcipline*; though at laſt, when they thought their Struggling would be to no Purpoſe, they went over to the ignorant Majority. To theſe may be added *Patrick Adamſon* and *Jame Boyde*, Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*; *David Cunningham*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; and *Nigell Campbell*, Biſhop of *Argyle*. Theſe Prelates, who were all Gentlemen of Figure, and a Credit to their *Order*, made a handſome Stand againſt the Men of *Parity*, and never drop'd the Point, 'till at laſt they were hooted by the *Mob*, and found it neceſſary to decline the *Aſſemblies*.

(*f*) Spotſwood's *Hiſt. Page* 317.

Balcanquel *complain'd off for outraging the Duke of* Lenox.

About this Time *Walter Balcanquel*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinborough*, fell foul upon the Duke of *Lenox*, and preach'd at an unmannerly Rate. He ſaid, *That theſe laſt four Years Popery had gain'd Ground in the Country and the Court: That 'twas maintain'd in the King's Hall by the Tyranny of a great Champion, who was call'd Grace.* After this, he predicted the Duke's Misfortune, and made a Gingle upon his Title. (*f*) The King ſent *James Melvil*, a Gentleman of his Houſhold, to complain of this Rudeneſs to the *Aſſembly*, and required them to call *Balcanquel* to an Account. At his Defence, he thank'd God for the Advantage the Church had gain'd upon the Court; for when he was formerly queſtion'd for a Sermon, the *Council* undertook the Cognizance of the Cauſe, and made themſelves Judges of the Miniſters Doctrine; but now he perceiv'd the Complaint was referr'd to the Aſſembly. To this Juriſdiction he willingly ſubmitted: But deſiring withal, that the Apoſtles Order might be obſerv'd in the Proceſs; and that the Charge againſt an Elder might not be receiv'd without two or three Witneſſes.

The Iſſue.

Idem.

The *Aſſembly* acquainted the Court they were ready to try *Balcanquel*; but that the Privilege he inſiſted on could not be refuſed upon the Score of his being a Presbyter. The King finding the Buſineſs would be embaraſs'd for want of the Evidence requir'd, drop'd the Proſecution. But this would not ſatisfie *Balcanquel*: He was reſolv'd to puſh for a Triumph. Thus he preſs'd the Aſſembly to declare whether he had delivered any Thing ſcandalous or offenſive in his Sermon: For the Members, it ſeems, made Part of the Audience. When the Queſtion was put, they came to a Reſolution, that the Sermon was uxexceptionable; at which the Court was not a little diſpleas'd.

Mongommery *made Archbiſhop of* Glaſcow.

He is cited before the Aſſembly, declines their Juriſdiction, and is excommunicated.

The next Year, the Church of *Scotland* met with a rude Shock. The Occaſion was this; Maſter *Robert Mongommery*, a Miniſter of *Sterling*, was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſcow*. This Man was not much practis'd either in *Men* or Books: And beſides, no Body had appear'd more ſtrongly againſt Epiſcopacy than himſelf. For at the late Synod at *Glaſcow*, when Mr. *David Lindeſay* diſſented to the Vote for ſuppreſſing the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, and mov'd the Matter might be poſtpon'd to the next Aſſembly, *Mongommery* ſtood up, and told him, that the Motion went extremely againſt his Conſcience; and that *Lindeſay*'s Pleading for ſo very corrupt an Order was enough to diſcharge him from all Buſineſs in the Church. The Duke of *Lenox* recommended this *Mongommery* to the King, and got him preferr'd to the *See* of *Glaſcow*. This was done at the Inſtance of thoſe who conſulted the Duke's Intereſt more than his Honour: For *Mongommery* being a mercenary Man, convey'd the Lordſhips and Profits of the Archbiſhoprick to the Duke of *Lenox*, upon the Conſideration of a Thouſand Pound *per Annum* Scotch. The Miniſters reſenting this ſcandalous Alienation, ſummon'd him to *Sterling* before the Synod, and upon his refuſing to appear, ſuſpended him from his Function. *Mongommery* took no Notice of the Sentence, but manag'd in his Poſt as formerly. This being interpreted a high Contempt, he was cited to the Aſſembly at St. *Andrews*. The King, who knew his Crime lay only in taking the Title and Juriſdiction of Biſhop, order'd the Proceſs ſhould be ſtop'd, and unleſs they acquieſc'd, to break up their Aſſembly. Thus the Diſpute ſlept for the preſent. But the Miniſters wanting Temper to govern their Diſguſt, excommunicated him ſoon after, without going thorough the cuſtomary Methods and Forms of Law. The King taking theſe Proceedings for an Affront, declar'd the Cenſure void, and ſent *Mongommery* into his Dioceſe with Orders not to diſturb him.

The King ſeiz'd by a Faction at Ruthen. Aug. 1582.

(*g*) Spotſwood Refutat. Libell. de Regim. Eccles. Scott. & *Church Hiſt.*

Not long after, a Commotion happen'd of another Kind. The Nobility were now broken into Parties, and the factious Diviſion pretending the Intereſt of Religion to cover their Practice, ſome of the Miniſters join'd them: For this they were charg'd with high Miſdemeanors, and put under Bail. This Piece of Juſtice was conſtrued Perſecution. The Pulpits declaim'd ſtrongly upon the Subject. They cry'd out, the Church was harraſs'd, the Court deſerted from the *Faith*, and the old ſuperſtitious Ceremonies were return'd upon them. This Ferment gave the diſcontented Part of the Nobility a handle to execute their Plot: And thus the King was ſurpriz'd at *Ruthen*, and kept under Reſtraint. The Duke of *Lenox* was baniſh'd the Court, the Earl of *Arran* impriſon'd, a great many of the Royaliſts ſeiz'd, and ſome of them dangerouſly wounded. This Conſpiracy was juſtified by the Miniſters in Print: 'Twas likewiſe unanimouſly approv'd by the *Aſſembly* at *Edinborough*, who voted the Faction Aſſertors of the publick Liberty, and menac'd thoſe with Excommunication that ſhould treat them with any Marks of Diſadvantage. As for the Duke of *Lenox*, he was forc'd to acquieſce under all this Hardſhip, and return into *France*. He took his Journey through *England*, where either through the Rigour of the Winter Seaſon, or the Uneaſineſs of his Mind, he fell into a Dyſentery, and died ſoon after at *Paris*. He complain'd of the ill Uſage he receiv'd from the *Scotch* Miniſters, but died notwithſtanding in the Communion of the *Reform'd*. (*g*)

To proceed; The Lords of the *Ruthen*-Conſpiracy forc'd the King to diſſemble his Reſtraint, and approve what was done in a Letter to the Queen of *England*: And over and above, to declare the Convention of the *Eſtates* ſummon'd by the Faction a lawful Meeting.

An Embaſſy from France *to* Scotland.

When the *French* King was appriz'd of theſe Diſturbances, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *Lamotte*, and Monſieur *Meneville* with a publick Character to *Scotland*. Their Inſtructions were to attempt the King's Liberty, and bring the Court to a cloſer Correſpondence with *France*. They were likewiſe to congratulate the King upon his Mother's Conceſſions: That her Majeſty out of her Tenderneſs was willing to indulge him the Royal Style, and take him into a Partnerſhip in the Government. That by the Queen's Ceſſion thus far, he would be own'd a lawful Sovereign by foreign Princes. All his own Subjects likewiſe would acquieſce in his Title: And thus the Diviſions in the *State* would be perfectly clos'd. Some Time before the Arrival of theſe Ambaſſadors, the Queen of *Scots* wrote a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis penn'd with great Plainneſs and Force, and contains a Narrative of the Hardſhips ſhe had ſuffer'd. I ſhall tranſlate it from *Cambden*, who abridg'd it from the Original in *French*.

The Queen of Scots *expoſtulating Letter to the Queen.*

Madam,

“Being certainly inform'd the Rebels have ſurpriz'd my Son, and afraid of his falling into the ſame Calamity with my ſelf, I could not help letting looſe my Grief, and trying to bring your Majeſty to a Sympathy: That by a brief Report of my Misfortunes, my Innocence may be tranſmitted to Poſterity, together with the Infamy of thoſe People who brought me into this Condition. But ſince their Practices, how wicked ſoever, have been favourably entertain'd by you, and gain'd a Preference to my juſt Complaints: Since Equity and Right muſt ſtoop to your Scepter, and Truth give Way to Force as the World goes, I ſhall make my Appeal to God Almighty, who is only our Sovereign. For with Reſpect to our ſelves, we are both Princes, equal and independent of each other. To this God, who ſees through Varniſh and falſe Colours, I ſhall addreſs my ſelf, beſeeching him to deal with us both at the laſt Day according to our Merits. For I am not afraid to put my Fate upon this Iſſue, notwithſtanding my Enemies have us'd a great Deal of miſrepreſenting Art, endeavour'd to blacken me, and blanch their own Proceedings. To refreſh your Memory therefore with this ſolemn Introduction; I deſire you would recollect what Methods ſome of your *Agents* have made uſe of to debauch my Subjects, and raiſe a Rebellion while I was in *Scotland*: And what Pains they have taken to bring all the Misfortunes upon me which have ſince happen'd. And for this Point *Morton*'s Confeſſion, and other Teſtimonies publickly produc'd, are ſufficient Evidence. As for *Morton*, his Revolt was his Merit, and rais'd him to his pretended *Regency*. If this Man had been left to the Law, and you had not ſupported the Rebels, they could never have diſtreſs'd me in this Manner, nor overturn'd the Government.

“While I was kept Priſoner in *Lock-leven*, your Ambaſſador *Throgmorton* adviſ'd me to ſign a *Reſignation*: This extorted Inſtrument he ſolemnly declar'd would be of no Force, and ſo 'twas look'd on by all Mankind 'till you countenanc'd the Contrivers of this Compulſion, and reinforc'd them with your Troops and Exchequer. Now I deſire you would conſult your Conſcience, and tell me whether you'l allow your own Subjects any ſuch Authority upon your ſelf? But thus by Concerting with my Enemies, and turning your Arms againſt me, the Government was ſeiz'd, and the Adminiſtration transferr'd upon my Son, tho' then in the Cradle. And when I lately intended to make him a rightful Prince, he was ſurpriz'd by a Party of Traitors, who, without Queſtion, deſign to ſerve him as they have done his Mother, and it may be, take his Life over and above.

After this, ſhe puts Queen *Elizabeth* in Mind of the Diamond ſhe ſent her, and the Encouragement ſhe receiv'd from this Princeſs to retire into *England*: But this having been mention'd already, needs not be repeated. After this ſhe complains ſhe was ſtop'd in her Journey, and guarded off into Cuſtody: And that her Durance from that Time forward has been more afflicting than Death it ſelf.

“To juſtify this Uſage, continues the Queen of *Scots*, I know you'l object my Correſpondence with the Duke of *Norfolk*: But I poſitively deny there was ever any Harm intended you, or your Kingdom in that Negotiation. Indeed that Buſineſs was approv'd by the principal Nobility of your *Council*. I have their Hands to produce for Evidence: And beſides, they expreſly promis'd to procure your Conſent. Now I deſire to know whether 'tis likely Men of ſuch Quality, and Miniſters of State ſhould undertake to draw you to a ruinous Compliance; ſhould betray you to a Buſineſs that would diſſerve your Honour, and lay your Life and Government at Mercy? And yet you are pleas'd to be willing all the World ſhould believe this.

“And when ſome of my miſled Subjects began to recollect themſelves, and repent their Revolt; when the Conference at *York* had convinc'd them how hardly I was us'd; when upon theſe Motives they return'd to their Duty and declar'd for me, your Forces march'd down immediately upon them, beſieg'd them in *Edinborough* Caſtle: And here the Iſſue was remarkably calamitous: For the Governor was ignominiouſly executed, and another Miniſter of State diſpatch'd with Poiſon. * And all this was done after I had ſent an Order at your Inſtance, for a Ceſſation of Arms. This Truce was agreed in Proſpect of a farther Accommodation: But whether my Enemies had ever any Thoughts of Peace, is beſt known to God Almighty.

* *The Queen means* Grange *and* Lethington.

“I was now reſolv'd to reſign to my Captivity: To ſubmit to every Thing impos'd, and try if Patience could mend my Condition. But even here I was diſappointed. For all Communication between Me and my Son has been wholly cut off for this Twelvemonth. And what can this be contriv'd for but to diſconcert the neareſt Relation, and make the Mother and Son, if 'tis poſſible, Strangers to each other?

“I have frequently propos'd an Accommodation between us: This was done at *Chatſworth* about Eleven Years ſince: 'Twas afterwards undertaken by Commiſſioners, by the *French* King's Ambaſſadors, and by mine: And laſt Winter I treated my ſelf with your *Agent Beale*. But I have all along had the Misfortune to have my Terms rejected: New Scruples have been ſtarted, and the Treaties drawn out to unneceſſary Length. My offers have been look'd on as inſidious, and my ſincerity always miſunderſtood. In fine, the long Patience I have compos'd my ſelf to, has turn'd to no other Account than to ſet a Precedent for future Hardſhips, and make me ill treated by a Sort of Preſcription: For at preſent I am us'd more like a mean Slave, than a Priſoner of Quality. In earneſt, I cannot hold out under this Hardſhip much longer:

“But let the Iſſue be what it will, I am tolerably prepar'd: If I die, I am reſolv'd to declare who they are that ſent me into the other World: But if I live, I hope to be in a Condition to ſilence the Calumnies, and diſarm the Malice of my Enemies, and paſs the Remainder of my Time in ſome better Repoſe.

“To go to the Bottom therefore of Matters, and put an End to the Miſunderſtandings between us: I deſire the Evidence of the *Spaniards* lately taken in *Ireland*, may be brought into View; let the Examination of the Jeſuits be produc'd; let every Body be encourag'd to exhibit a publick Charge againſt me, provided I may have the Liberty of Defending my ſelf, and not be condemn'd without a Hearing. The vileſt Malefactors are allow'd to plead againſt the Indictment, and confront the Witneſs: Why is the Privilege of the meaneſt and worſt Mortal denied to a Queen? To one who is your neareſt Relation, and next in Succeſſion to the Crown? But this Proximity of Blood is the main Grievance: This is that which diſturbs my Enemies, and puts them upon their Utmoſt to create Miſunderſtandings between us. One would think they need not afflict themſelves upon this Score. But to ſet them at Eaſe, I declare before Almighty God, I have thought of Reigning no where but in Heaven, this long Time. But as for your ſelf, you are oblig'd by all the Ties of Juſtice, Blood, and Religion, not to prejudice my Son's Right after my Deceaſe; nor to abet the underhand Deſigns of thoſe, who make it their Buſineſs to finiſh the Ruine both of Mother and Son. That ſome of your own Subjects are in this Practice, is evident from the Management of your Ambaſſadors in *Scotland*, who endeavour'd to throw Things into a Ferment, and manag'd to a ſcandalous Degree. And tho', without Doubt, you knew nothing of this, yet I am aſſur'd the Earl of *Huntington* had a great Share in their Miſbehaviour.

“Is it reaſonable a Queen Mother ſhould not only be barr'd aſſiſting her Son, but not ſo much as allow'd to be acquainted with his Circumſtances? If the Ambaſſadors diſpatch'd to *Scotland* meant him any Service, their taking my Directions by the Way, might have recommended their Meſſage; at leaſt, if this friendly Method had been taken, I ſhould have look'd on't as a Favour from the Queen of *England*. I can't perceive any Reaſon why the Journey of your *Agents* ſhould have been ſo privately carried: Or why I was kept under ſo ſtreight a Confinement at that Time? To ſpeak clearly, I intreat you would change your *Miniſtry* for the *Scotch* Affairs: For tho' I believe *Cary* * will do nothing unbecoming his Quality, yet *Huntington* has miſbehav'd himſelf ſo far, that I have no Reaſon to expect any Good from his Management.

“I conjure you therefore by the near Relation between us, that you would provide in earneſt for my Son's Preſervation, and not interpoſe in the Affairs of *Scotland*, without conſulting me, or the *French* King: And that you would look upon thoſe as no better than Traitors, who keep my Son under Confinement, and drag him about the Country againſt his Will. And laſtly, by the Death and Paſſion of our bleſſed Saviour, I beg of you, I may be enlarg'd upon honourable Terms after ſo long a Reſtraint, and be permitted to live ſomewhere out of *England*. That being thus reſtor'd to Liberty and Eaſe, I may recover ſome Part of my Health which has ſuffer'd ſo much by the Dureſſe I have lain under. By your granting this Requeſt, both my ſelf, and my Friends, and particularly my Son, will be ever oblig'd to you. Neither ſhall I ever ceaſe to importune you 'till my Requeſt is granted. My very ill Health puts me upon ſoliciting thus earneſtly: Be pleas'd therefore to give Order I may be treated with more Humanity, for otherwiſe 'tis impoſſible for me to hold out: And let the Appointment be ſettled by your ſelf, for I deſire not to be referr'd to the Diſpoſal of any Body elſe; whatever Share of good or ill Fortune happens to me for the Future, I ſhall reckon it all to your Majeſty. I entreat you would Favour me with your Pleaſure, either in a Line or Two, or by the *French* Ambaſſador. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Propoſals can give me no Satisfaction, for they are alter'd every Day. When I wrote lately to your Privy-Council, your Order was, I ſhould apply to none but your ſelf. I am afraid this Direction came from ſome unfriendly Hand: And that thoſe who are my Enemies at the *Board* adviſ'd this Method to preclude me from Juſtice and a fair Hearing: For had my Complaints been laid before the whole Council, theſe Men 'tis likely were apprehenſive ſome of the Lords would have thought themſelves bound in Honour to diſſuade the Hardſhips put upon me. And now, ſince my Thoughts ought to be moſtly on the other World, my principal Requeſt is, That I may have ſome Catholick Prieſt to aſſiſt me in the Direction of my Conſcience. This charitable Office is never denied to the meaneſt Wretches. You allow the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes the Exerciſe of their Religion; and I freely granted the ſame Liberty to my own Subjects. If this is refuſ'd me, I hope God will pardon my imperfect Preparation, and am afraid my Enemies will not go unpuniſh'd upon this Score. If I, who am an independent Queen, and your near Kinſwoman, am us'd in this Manner, it may be of ill Conſequence to *Proteſtancy* in foreign Countries: It may ſerve for a Precedent of Rigour to other Princes, to treat their own Subjects accordingly. That I am your neareſt Relation, I ſhall not forget to ſuggeſt, tho' my Enemies are never ſo much diſturb'd about it. I don't deſire any large Houſhold: But Two Women more to aſſiſt me under my ill Health, is altogether Neceſſary: I move for nothing but bare Humanity: Pray don't let my Enemies have the malicious Pleaſure in ſeeing me diſappointed in ſo ſlender a Gratification. I perceive Lord *Shrewsbury* has charg'd me with ſomewhat of a Failure: And that I promiſ'd *Beale* not to tranſact about Reſigning to my Son, without your Knowledge. I deſire you would not give Credit to *Beale*'s Report. I promiſ'd nothing but upon certain Conditions: And therefore there is no Reaſon I ſhould be tied, till your Part of the Stipulation is perform'd. However, I have never received any Anſwer touching the Propoſals, neither has the leaſt Notice been taken of them: But on the other Hand, the Deſigns in *Scotland* for ruining Me and my Son, have been all along carried on. This Silence I could interpret to nothing but a Repulſe: And that I took it in this Senſe, I acquainted your Council in a Letter. What Advices I receiv'd from the *French* King and

* *Lord* Hunſdon.

his Mother, I laid frankly before you, and deſir'd your Opinion upon the Caſe: But a Word of Anſwer was never return'd. As for reſigning my Affairs and my Country to your Award, without knowing how you ſtood affected, was never my Intention. To have deliver'd up my ſelf thus abſolutely, could not have been done without great Indiſcretion. How my Enemies in *Scotland* triumph over me, and the Captive Prince my Son, is not unknown to you. I have offer'd at nothing there that can do you any Diſſervice: My Aim has been only to ſettle a ſolid Peace in that Kingdom, for which I may be ſuppoſed as heartily concern'd as your *Council*, in Regard my Intereſt in that Affair is much bigger than theirs. In ſhort, I had a Mind to give my Son the Title of a King: To ſettle him in the Government, and put an End to all Miſunderſtandings. This I conceive was putting the Crown on his Head, and not taking it off, as ſome People would have it. But my Enemies grudge us this Happineſs, and being conſcious of Miſbehaviour, are afraid of an Accommodation.

“Don't let theſe Men, and the reſt of my Enemies impoſe upon you by Miſrepreſentation: Don't give them Leave to deſtroy your neareſt Relations, as it were in your Sight; 'tis poſſible their wicked Deſigns may be more myſterious than you imagine: 'Tis poſſible the Project may reach beyond the Ruin of Me and my Son, and terminate in your ſelf. What Account, either in Intereſt or Honour, can you find, in ſuffering theſe Men to keep my Son and Me, and your Self too, at ſo long and unhappy a Diſtance? Be pleas'd to refreſh your good Nature, act by your own Impulſe, and oblige your Self: And ſince you are a Queen, diſcharge your Diſguſt towards a Perſon of the ſame Dignity: One who is nearly related, and loves you heartily: That by this means Things being adjuſted, I may die better ſatisfied. And that my doleful Complaints may not come up to God Almighty; whoſe Majeſty I daily Addreſs, That my very compaſſionable Caſe may at laſt be conſider'd by you.

From *Sheffield*, *Nov.* the 8th, 1582. *(h)*

She takes her Leave thus:

Voſtre tres deſolé plusproche Parente

Et Affectioneè Seure, Marie R.

This Letter affected Queen *Elizabeth*, and put her Thoughts in ſomewhat of a Ferment. Her Firſt Step was, the diſpatching *Robert Beale*, Clerk of the *Council*, to expoſtulate with the Queen of *Scots* upon her Remonſtrance. *Beale*, a warm ſow'r temper'd Man, was join'd in Commiſſion with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to treat the Enlargement of this Princeſs. This Affair was afterwards laid before the *Council-Board*, where the Majority gave their Opinion for her being ſet at Liberty upon the following Articles.

“That ſhe ſhould put up no Claim to the Crown of *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth's* Life, and that afterwards ſhe ſhould refer her Right of Succeſſion to the *Engliſh* Parliament. *

There are ſeveral other Articles which have been mention'd already: “But in the laſt Place, to ſecure clear Dealing, and that ſhe might not pretend her ſelf a Priſoner, and under Dureſſe, ſhe was not only to ſwear the Treaty herſelf, but to get it confirm'd by the *States* of *Scotland*, ſworn and ſign'd by the King, and that Hoſtages ſhould be given.

But theſe Overtures miſcarried: For the *Scots* of the *Engliſh* Faction would endure nothing which look'd towards their Queen's Reſtoration: Tho' at the ſame Time ſhe moved for no more than Reigning jointly with her Son. However, theſe Men clamour'd ſtrongly againſt an Accommodation: They gave out, that ſome *Scotchmen*, ſworn Enemies to the *Engliſh* Nation, had been recall'd from *France* at their Queen's Inſtance. And particularly, that one *Holt*, a Jeſuit was ſent thither to concert an Invaſion upon *England*.

The Miſbehaviour of the Scotch *Preachers.*

And now the *Engliſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors were buſy in practiſing upon the King: And here they played their Countermines, and put by each others Attempts with Dexterity enough. The King ſtood Neuter, and deliver'd himſelf to the Suggeſtions of neither Side. The *Preachers* and Divines had no ſuch command of Temper, but diſcover'd their Averſion to the *French* untowardly enough. For when the Ambaſſador *Lamotte* was invited to dinner by the Burghers of *Edinborough*, theſe Men proclaim'd a Faſt, rail'd in the Pulpit againſt the King of *France*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Ambaſſadors in a ſcandalous Manner, and were very near Excommunicating all thoſe who appear'd at the Entertainment. And thus theſe Ambaſſadors being not only outrag'd by the Miniſters, but maltreated by ſome of the *Scotch* Nobility, took Leave of the Court, and return'd to *France*.

Idem.

Jan. Anno Dom. 1582.

The Genevians *ſolicit for Aſſiſtance.*

To go back a little to the *Engliſh* Affairs. The Republick at *Geneva* being apprehenſive of a Siege from the Duke of *Savoy*, who continued his Claim, ſent an Agent to *England* for ſupport. Their Caſe had been recommended to Secretary *Walſingham*, by *Brook* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*. In ſhort, Reaſons of State, beſides other Conſiderations, ſeem to have prevail'd with the Queen to interpoſe in their Behalf. And ſince Money was the moſt practicable Way of Aſſiſtance, the *Council* wrote to Archbiſhop *Grindal* to promote a Contribution amongſt the Clergy. The Archbiſhop ſent a moving Letter to his *Suffragans*, and endeavour'd to excite their Compaſſion from the preſent Diſtreſs of the *Genevians*. He likewiſe put them in Mind this City deſerv'd ſome Return for their former Favours to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants. *(i)*

An Enquiry into the Riſe of their Republick.

Upon what Foot the *Genevian* Republick ſtood at preſent, and by what Claim they defended their Authority, I ſhall not examine: But 'tis plain their Firſt Eſtabliſhment was founded on a Revolt: And that either their Biſhop, or the Duke of *Savoy*, was their Sovereign. *Frederick* the Firſt, Emperor of *Germany*, gave the *See* of *Geneva* the Temporal Juriſdiction: However, a Conteſt was kept up between the Earl and Biſhop: The Latter to prevent being overborn, applied to the Earl of *Savoy*, who at Firſt engag'd only as a Protector, but afterwards took upon him the Title of Lord in Chief. In ſhort, the Biſhops after ſome Struggle, were forc'd to do Homage to the Dukes of *Savoy*, and own them for their Sovereigns. Thus the Money was ſtamp'd with the Duke's Impreſſion: Capital Offenders were pardon'd by him; The Keys of the Town were preſented him at his coming thither, and no Alliance made without his Allowance. However, the

---

(h) Cambden Eliz. Edit. Latin Lond. 1615.

* *This was a hard Article*

(i) Regiſt. Grindal.

Town was immediately Subject to the Biſhop. This Prelate, as *Calvin* confeſſes, had the Power of the Sword, and other Branches of Civil Juriſdiction. (*k*)

(*k*) Calvin Epiſt. ad *Cardinal* Sadolet.

Thus the Government ſtood till the Year 1528. About this Time *Viretus* and *Farellus*, Two warm Men for the *Zuinglian* Scheme, had gain'd ſome Intereſt in *Geneva*. Theſe Men ſolicited the Biſhop for ſuch Alterations in Religion as had been lately introduc'd in the Canton of *Bern*. But when they ſaw no Hopes of Succeſs at this Quarter, they practis'd upon the lower Sort of the Burghers, and brought them to a Concert: And thus the *Mobb* riſing, the Biſhop and the Clergy were driven out of the Town.

And after having taken this bold Step, they went on to reform the Church by the Precedent of *Berne*. Theſe ſingular Advances of *Viret* and *Farell* were afterwards approv'd by *Calvin*, (*l*) as is acknowledg'd by himſelf. But this Revolution in the Church, it ſeems was not enough: They ſet up for an independent *State*, caſt the Government in a new Mould, and renounc'd all Allegiance to Biſhop or Duke.

(*l*) Quæ a Vireto & Farello facta ſunt ſuffragio meo comprobavi.

Farell was the main Spring of this extraordinary Motion, for which Reaſon *Calvin* calls him the Father of the publick Liberty: * And affirms that their *New* Acquiſitions were entirely owing to him. †

* Libertatis ſuæ Patrem.

† Cui ſe totos debent Epiſ. Calvin. 155. Tigurinis Miniſtris, &c.

Now ſince the Conſtitution was thus outrag'd and overborn, why did not *Calvin* uſe his Intereſt for ſome Reparation? Why did he not preſs the *Genevians* to repent their Rebellion, and reſtore the Government to the Biſhop? All this might have been done without reſigning their *Belief*, and coming into his Communion. But *Calvin* ſays the Biſhop was a Thief and a Robber. * Why ſo? Becauſe he did not come fairly by his Authority. Granting that, which is more than appears; himſelf, and his Predeceſſors had been In a long Time, which is a much better Claim than the Burghers could pretend. But *Calvin*'s main Reaſon for calling the Biſhop a Robber, was his being a Papiſt, his refuſing to come into the *Reformation*. (*m*) And if ſo, he muſt found Dominion in Grace, and falls into the Hereſy of the *German* Anabaptiſts. In ſhort, 'tis pretty plain the Government belong'd either to the Biſhop, or the Duke of *Savoy*, and therefore the *Genevians* ought to have ſubmitted to one of them.

* *In his Letter to Cardinal* Sadolet.

(*m*) See Heylin *Hiſt. Preſbyt.* p. 4 & 5.

And ſince the Caſe ſtands thus, it may be, *Grindal*'s ſoliciting ſo earneſtly for this Republick, was not ſo commendable as is ſometimes ſuppos'd. If 'tis ſaid *Geneva* had been a Shelter to the *Reformation*, entertain'd the *Engliſh* Refugees, and deſerv'd a Return for their charitable Protection: To this it may be anſwer'd, That the beſt Requital had been to exhort them to their Duty, and ſuggeſt the giving up their Uſurpation. This relieving them in their Principles, and making a Contribution for their Honeſty, had no Doubt been the moſt charitable Aſſiſtance. If 'tis urg'd Popery would have broke in, and the Proteſtant Religion have been loſt, by ſuch a Ceſſion. To this it may be replied, That if the *Proteſtant* Religion won't bear Juſtice, we ought to throw it up, and get a Better. *Robbery and Wrong* is certainly no Part of the Chriſtian Religion. Such Practice ſtands condemn'd by the Law of Nature, and mere Pagan Philoſophy is aſham'd of it. And therefore St. *Paul* puts the Queſtion by Way of Admiration; *Know ye not that the Unrighteous ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God! Neither Thieves nor Covetous*, &c. can expect any Benefit from the Chriſtian Diſpenſation. (*n*) All this is ſpoken upon Suppoſition that the *Genevians* had not mended their Title, when they applied to the *Engliſh* for Succour.

(*n*) 1 Cor. 6.

The latter End of this Year, *Grindal* gave out a Commiſſion in his own Name for Viſiting the Dioceſe of *Litchfield*, from whence we may conclude his Sequeſtration was taken off. 'Tis probable his late Submiſſion might recover him the Queen's Favour thus far. For the Archbiſhop finding ſome farther Satisfaction was expected, drew up a Paper importing his Grief, for falling under her Majeſty's Diſpleaſure; "intreating her not to interpret his Incompliance to "obſtinacy. And to give farther Proof of his "Willingneſs to obey, he acquaints her that "ſince her Majeſty had forbidden the *Exerciſes of* "*Propheſying*, he had ſuffer'd none of them either "in his Dioceſe or *Peculiars*. (*o*) 'Tis poſſible this Acknowledgment, tho' 'twas ſome time before *Grindal* found the Effects, might ſoften the Queen's Temper. Before the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction was return'd, Dr. *Aubrey*, his Vicar-general, granted a Preacing Licence to one *John Morriſon*, a *Scotchman*, in which he allows the Orders of a Presbyter, given him by the *Scotch* Church.

Grindal's *Submiſſion.*

(*o*) *Life of Archbiſhop* Grindal.

This Submiſſion is dated Aug. 21. 1580.

Part of the Inſtrument runs thus:

Wilhelmus Aubrey, *Legum Doctor, &c. Cum uti ex fidedigno Teſtimonio acceperimus, tu præfatus* Johannes Morriſon *circiter quinq; annos elapſos in Oppido de Garvet in Comitat.* Lothien. *Regni* Scotiæ *per Generalem Synodum ſive Congregationem illius Comitatus in dicto Oppido de Garvet congregatam, juxta laudabilem Eccleſiæ* Scotiæ *Reformatæ Formam & Ritum ad ſacros Ordines & ſacroſanctum Miniſterium per Manuum Impoſitionem Admiſſus & Ordinatus fueras; Cumq; etiam dicta Congregatio illius Comitat.* Lothien. *Orthodoxæ Fidei & ſinceræ Religionis, in hoc Regno* Angliæ *modo receptæ & auctoritate publica ſtabilitæ, ſit Conformis.*

Dr. Aubrey *grants a Preaching-Licence to a* Scotch *Miniſter, and approves his Ordination.*

Nos igitur Formam Ordinationis & Præfectionis tuæ hujuſmodi, modo præmiſſo factam, quantum in nobis eſt, & de jure poſſumus, approbantes & ratificantes, Tibi, ut in hujuſmodi Ordinibus per te ſuſceptis, in quibuſcunq; locis congruis, in & per totam Provinciam Cantuarien. Divina Officia celebrare, Sacramenta miniſtrare, necnon Verbum dei Sermone Latino vel Vulgari, juxta Talentum tibi à Deo traditum, purè & ſincerè prædicare, libere & licitè poſſis & valeas, Licentiam & Facultatem, de Conſenſu & expreſſo Mandato Reverendiſſ. in Chriſto Patris Domini Edmundi *Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi totius* Angliæ *Primatis & Metropolitani, nobis ſignificato, quantum in nobis eſt, & de jure poſſumus, ac quatenus Jura Regni patiuntur benignè in Domino concedimus & impertimus. In cujus rei Teſtimonium, ſigillum, quo in Similibus utimur, præſentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. ſexto die Menſis* Aprilis, Ann. Dom. 1582. (*p*)

(*p*) Regiſt. Grindal.

By the mention of Impoſition of Hands, it appears this *Morriſon* was ordain'd by the *Second Book of* Scotch *Diſcipline*, for the Firſt won't allow of this Ceremony. Farther, by the Clauſes of, *Quantum in nobis eſt, & de jure poſſumus, & quatenus Jura regni patiuntur*, 'tis pretty plain *Aubrey* was ſomewhat conſcious of a Strein upon the *Engliſh* Conſtitution: And that the Archbiſhop was not ſo firm to Epiſcopal Right, and Apoſtolical Succeſſion, as might have been expected.

Grindal having now loſt his Sight, was ſomewhat diſabled for his Function. He had formerly deſir'd the Queen for Leave to relinquiſh his Charge, and retire. This Motion, tho' then refus'd, was now thought reaſonable. For this Purpoſe the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Pierce*, was ſent to him from Court, to propoſe a Reſignation with a Promiſe of an honourable Penſion. The Archbiſhop acquainted the Lord Treaſurer he was ready to quit: And not long after he is ſaid to have tranſmitted a Draught of his Reſignation to this Miniſter. (q) If Matter of Fact ſtands thus, 'tis likely the Inſtrument was but imperfect, neither ſign'd nor ſeal'd, and only put in the Treaſurer's Hands for his Approbation. And in this Condition we have it in the *Paper Office* without Date, Seal, or Subſcription. (r)

April 12. 1583.

Grindal offers to reſign, but dies Archbiſhop.

That the Reſignation was not executed upon the 8th of *May*, is evident from the Stile of his *Will*, in which he writes himſelf Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And about Two Months after he died at *Croyden*. Neither does it appear the Reſignation was farther preſs'd during this Interval. He died in the 63d Year of his Age: *Cambden* repreſents him a pious and venerable Prelate, which is no more than his due. That he kept the Queen's Favour a great Part of his Time: And that he loſt her Majeſty by the Practice of ſome Enemies at Court, who reported him to his Diſadvantage. But that the true Reaſon of their giving him an unacceptable Character, was his Declaring againſt the Marriage of one *Julio*, an *Italian* Phyſician: And becauſe he refus'd to gratify the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and connive at the ſcandalous *Engagement*. However, this Prelate is generally charg'd with Remiſneſs, with having too kind an Opinion of the *Calviniſtical* Scheme, and warping a little to an Over-indulgence. He left no great Wealth behind him, which is an Argument of a generous Mind, and that Money was nothing of his Maſter. To mention ſome Part of his Benefactions. He founded a School at St. *Beghſe* in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and ſettled Thirty Pounds a Year for the Maintenance. He endow'd *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he was educated, with 22 Pounds *per Annum*. He likewiſe convey'd 20 Pounds *per Annum* to Queen's College in *Oxford*. He founded a Scholarſhip of Five Pounds *per Annum* in *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge*. To theſe may be added Legacies in Plate to *Chriſt*-College in *Cambridge*, to the Lord Treaſurer, and Secretary *Walſingham*: A Hundred Pound to ſet the Poor of *Canterbury* on Work, with other charitable Legacies to the Poor of *Lambeth*, *Croyden*, and St. *Beghſe*. He lies buried in the Chancel, at *Croyden*. He was ſucceeded by *John Whitgiſt*, a Prelate of great Learning and Vigour, who was tranſlated from *Worceſter* to *Canterbury*. (s)

Part of his Character and Benefactions.

Septemb. 23.

(q) *Life of Archbiſhop* Grindal.

(r) *See Records* Numb. XC.

(s) Godwin de Præſul. Angl. Cambden Eliz.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK VII.

Whitgiſt (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Elizabeth Q.

Archbiſhop Whitgiſt *preſſes Subſcription to Three Articles.*

WHitgiſt, at his firſt coming to the See, had Inſtructions from the Queen to hold a ſtrait Rein, to preſs the Diſcipline of his Church, and recover his *Province* to Uniformity. This Method agreed with the Archbiſhop's Sentiment, and was probably ſuggeſted by himſelf: For he inſiſted ſtrongly upon the Clergy's ſubſcribing the Three Articles afterwards required by the *Canons*, paſs'd in 1603.* That is, the Queen's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, the Unexceptionableneſs of the Common Prayer and *Ordinal*, and that the Nine and Thirty Articles are altogether agreeable to the Word of God.

Brown *deſerts the Church of* England, *and begins a Sect.*

About this Time one *Robert Brown*, deſcended of a conſiderable Family in the County of *Rutland*, began to publiſh his Heterodoxies, and grow very troubleſome. He was bred in *Bennet*-College in *Cambridge*, fell into *Cartwright*'s Opinions, and at laſt went much farther in his Singularities. He was extravagantly Satyrical againſt the Church of *England*: In his Diſcourſes her Government was Antichriſtian, her Sacraments clog'd with Superſtition; the Liturgy had a Mixture of Popery and Paganiſm in it; and the Miſſion of the Clergy was no better than that of *Baal*'s Prieſts in the Old *Teſtament*. And now believing himſelf oblig'd to go out of *Babylon*, he ſets ſail for *Zealand*, and joins *Cartwright*'s Congregation at *Middleborough*; but finding ſome of the old Blemiſhes even here, he reſolves to refine upon *Cartwright*'s Scheme, and produce ſomething more perfect from his own Invention. His Model was drawn in a Book, entitled, *A Treatiſe of Reformation*, and printed the laſt Year at *Middleborough*. And having ſent as many Copies into *England* as he thought neceſſary, follow'd his Blow, and came over ſoon after.

At this Time the *Dutch* had a numerous Congregation at *Norwich*; many of theſe People inclining to *Anabaptiſm*, were the more diſpos'd to entertain any new reſembling Opinions. *Brown* made his firſt Eſſay upon Three *Dutchmen*, and being of a poſitive imperious Temper, took Care to pick out the moſt flexible and reſigning. And after having made ſome Progreſs amongſt 'em, and rais'd himſelf a Character for Zeal and Sanctity, he began to tamper farther, and advance to the *Engliſh*; and here he took in the Aſſiſtance of one *Richard Harriſon*, a Country Schoolmaſter. Being thus reinforc'd and fleſh'd with Succeſs, he plaid his Project at length, form'd Churches out of both Nations, but moſtly of the *Engliſh*: And now he inſtructed his *Audience*, That the Church of *England* was no true Church; That there was little of Chriſt's Inſtitution in the publick Miniſtrations, and that all good Chriſtians were oblig'd to ſeparate from thoſe impure Aſſemblies; That their next Step was to join him and his Diſciples; That here was nothing but what was pure and unexceptionable, evidently inſpired by the Spirit of God, and refin'd from all Alloy and Profanation. (t)

He forms ſeparate Congregations.

Theſe Diſcourſes prevail'd on the *Audience*, and Precept was brought up to Practice: And now his Diſciples call'd *Browniſts*, form'd a new *Society*, and made a total Defection from the Church. For the Men of this thorough Reformation refus'd to join any Congregation in any publick Office of Worſhip. This was the firſt gathering of Churches, the firſt Schiſm in Form, which appear'd in *England*. To juſtifie theſe oppoſite Congregations, *Brown* ſcatter'd his Books in moſt Parts of the Kingdom; but the Government was far from conniving at theſe Liberties; for *Elias Thacker* and *John Copping* were indicted this Summer upon the Statute of 23 *Eliz. cap.* 2. for diſperſing theſe Pamphlets, brought in guilty of Felony, and executed at *Bury St. Edmunds*. The Crime they were charg'd with, was ſtirring up Sedition, and defaming the *Common-Prayer*. (u)

June 4.

As for *Brown* the Author, he was more gently dealt with, than either of theſe Criminals, or many others perverted by him. Being convented before *Freake*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, he not only maintain'd his Schiſm, but miſbehav'd himſelf to the Court, upon which he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriff of *Norwich*. But the Lord Treaſurer

---

* Can. 36.

(t) Heylin Hiſt. of Preſbyt. lib. vii.

(u) Stow Annal.

He is brought off his Error, relapſes; and recovers.

ſurer *Burleigh* being his near Relation, procur'd his Enlargement. This Nobleman who endeavoured his Recovery, order'd him to come to *London*; and *Whitgift* being now at *Lambeth*, he was refer'd to him for better Inſtruction. This Prelate, by the Dexterity of his Management, and the Force of his Reaſoning, brought him at laſt to a tolerable Compliance with the Church of *England*. Being diſmiſs'd by the Archbiſhop, the Treaſurer ſent him to his Father in the Countrey, with Directions for gentle Uſage. But here inſtead of diſingaging himſelf from the remaining Scruples, his Heterodoxies reviv'd, he relaps'd to his former Condition, and prov'd utterly incorrigible; upon which the old Gentleman diſcharg'd him the Family. At laſt, after a great deal of Ramble, and ſuffering for his Obſtinacy, he recover'd himſelf ſo far as to take a Benefice with Cure of Souls in *Northamptonſhire*. 'Twas *Lindſell* Biſhop of *Peterborough*'s Diſcipline which brought him to this Recollection. The Biſhop being inform'd that *Brown* liv'd at *Northampton*, and was buſie in promoting his Sect, ſent him a Citation to come before him; he refus'd to appear: Upon which contemptuous Omiſſion he was excommunicated. *Brown* being deeply affected with the Solemnity of this *Cenſure*, made his Submiſſion, mov'd for Abſolution, and receiv'd it; and from this Time continued in the Communion of the Church. He liv'd and died at laſt in *Northampton* Goal, but not upon the ſcore of Nonconformity, but Breach of the Peace. And thus the concluding his Hiſtory at once, has carried me much beyond the Time; for *Brown* liv'd to the Year 1630. (*w*) But though *Brown* conform'd himſelf, he was very unhappy in other Reſpects; for 'twas not in his Power to cloſe the Schiſm, nor retrieve thoſe he had miſled. Many of his Followers continued unreclaim'd, and ſuffered Death for their Miſperſwaſion.

(*w*) Heylin Hiſt. Preſbyt. Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ. Anglic. Prefat.

The Severity of the Laws for Nonconformity, and the Execution of *Thacker* and *Copping* put the *Puritans* upon their Guard, and made them manage with great Precaution. 'Till this Time theſe *Diſſenters* had no diſtinct Form either of Diſcipline or Worſhip for their Congregations: And thus every Preacher being left to his Diſcretion, collected what Directions he thought proper out of *Cartwright*'s Books. But this Divine had by this Time beaten out his Scheme more at length, and drawn up a Body of *Diſcipline*: This Book was look'd on as the Standard for publick Worſhip.

A Book of Diſcipline drawn together, with the Reſolution of the Aſſemblies putting it in Practice.

And now a general Aſſembly was held for putting this *Diſcipline* in Execution; and that their Proceedings might be more unexceptionable, and under Shelter, 'twas reſolv'd that the Peace of the eſtabliſh'd Church ſhould be ſhock'd as little as poſſible: To this Purpoſe the following Articles were agreed.

Firſt, *That thoſe who were call'd to the Miniſtry of any Church, ſhould firſt be approv'd by the* Claſſis *or greater* Aſſemblies; *and then recommended to the Dioceſan to be ordained by him.*

By the way, a *Claſſis* conſiſts of a few neighbouring Miniſters met together, commonly to the Number of Twelve. (*x*)

(*x*) Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions, lib. 3d. Pag. 108.

To proceed, "Thoſe Ceremonies in the Book of Common-Prayer, which are conteſted upon the Score of their being extracted from the *Breviaries* and *Miſſals*, ought to be omitted, provided this may be done without Danger of being barr'd their Function. But in caſe there's apparent Danger of being depriv'd, then this matter muſt be refer'd to the *Claſſis* of the reſpective Precincts, and determin'd by them

" *Thirdly*, If Subſcription to the *Articles of Religion*, and the *Book of Common-Prayer*, ſhall be farther urg'd, 'tis thought the *Book of Articles* may be ſubſcrib'd purſuant to the *Statute*: (*y*) That is, only ſuch *Articles* as *contain the Sum of Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*. But for many weighty Reaſons, this Subſcription ought neither to be carried to the reſt of the *Articles*, nor to the Book of *Common-Prayer*. Compliance was not to go thus far, though a Man ſhould be depriv'd, and ſtruck out of the Miniſtry for his Refuſal.

(*y*) 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

" Farther 'twas reſolv'd, though not in deciſive Language, That *Churchwardens* and *Collectors* for the Poor, might be turn'd into *Elders* and *Deacons*. This was ſo contriv'd, that the Office might be new in ſome Meaſure, without changing the Names, or giving a different Face to the State of the Church. For this Purpoſe Notice was to be given of their Election about a Fortnight before the cuſtomary Time. The Congregation was likewiſe to be put in mind at ſuch Times of our Saviour's Ordinance for the appointing of Watchmen and Overſeers in his Church: That their Buſineſs is to take Care for the Prevention of Scandal: And if any offenſive Behaviour happens, that 'tis their Office to ſee it corrected.

" And as touching *Deacons* and *Deaconeſſes*, the Church is to be reminded of the Apoſtles Admonition: They are not to govern their Choice by common Practice, but that ſound Belief, Zeal and Integrity, ought to be prefer'd to Wealth and Condition: And that the Church is to pray to God Almighty in the mean Time, that they may be directed to proper Perſons.

" The Names of thoſe elected in this manner were to be publiſh'd the next *Lord's Day*. After this, the reſpective Duties between them and the Congregation was to be ſet forth. And laſtly, they were to be admitted to their Office with the Prayers of all the People.

There was likewiſe Regulations made for a Diviſion of the Churches into *Claſſical*, *Provincial*, and *General Aſſemblies*, purſuant to the *Book of Diſcipline*. The *Claſſes* are required to keep a Regiſtry of their *Acts*, and deliver them to the greater Aſſemblies. The *Claſſes* are likewiſe requir'd to uſe their Intereſt with the Patrons within their Precincts, that none but Perſons well qualified may be preſented. Their *Comitial* Aſſemblies held at the Time of the *Act* and *Commencement* at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, were to make Contributions for the Relief of the Poor; but more eſpecially for the Relief of thoſe depriv'd for not ſubſcribing the *Articles*. And here Contribution for the *Scotch* Miniſters was particularly recommended.

By the Way; the King of *Scots* having broke through his Confinement, and recover'd himſelf from the *Ruthen* Conſpiracy, ſeveral of the Miniſters who had been moſt forward in the Faction were forc'd to quit the Kingdom. Some of theſe Men took Shelter in *England*: And 'tis their Caſe which is thus conſider'd by the Aſſembly. (*z*)

(*z*) Refutat. Libel. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic.

" Laſtly, All *Provincial* Synods were to appoint their next Meeting, fix upon Repreſentatives for the National or General Aſſembly, and furniſh their Proxies with Inſtructions. This National Synod was to meet either Sit-

“ting the Parliament, or at ſome other ſtated Times every Year. (a)

Under theſe Diſguiſes they hop'd to carry on their *Diſcipline*, and cover themſelves from Proſecution: And to make their Motion the ſmoother, they agreed to drop the *Exerciſe of Propheſying*, and ſet up *Lectures* in ſome of the principal Towns of every County. But after all, there was one great Difficulty remaining: And that was the Inconſiſtency of *Cartwright*'s Model with the Worſhip publickly eſtabliſh'd. No Streins of Art could bring the *Order* of *Geneva* and the *Engliſh Rubrick* to any tolerable Harmony: This Difference was not to be compromis'd by thoſe who reſolv'd to adhere to *Cartwright*'s Direction. However, they found out ſomething of an evaſive Expedient. For the Purpoſe, their Method was either to hire a Lay-Brother, (as *Snape* did a lame Soldier of *Berwick*) or ſome ignorant Curate, to read the *Common-Prayer*; but as for themſelves, and their Followers, they never came to Church till the Liturgy was over, and the *Pſalm* was ſinging before the Sermon. Thus one of theſe Miniſters, in his Letter to *Field*, acquaints this Diſſenter, *That he ſtood clear of the Common-Prayer, and preach'd every Lord's-Day in his Congregation: That he manag'd with this Liberty by the Advice of the Reverend Brethren, who had lately made him one of the Claſſis, which was held weekly in ſome Place or other.* (b)

Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions, Lib. 3. Pag. 82.

Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions, Lib. 3. Page 84.

Whitgift preſſes Conformity.

Thus the Church Affairs ſtood when *Whitgift* came to the *See* of *Canterbury*. Now this Prelate had no Latitude for Indulgence or Comprehenſion: He had formerly engag'd in Controverſy with *Cartwright*, and was entirely for a thorough Conformity. 'Tis granted the *Puritans* were not unfurniſh'd with great Men in their Intereſt. Amongſt ſome of theſe may be reckon'd the Earls of *Huntington* and *Leiceſter*, *Roger* Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Secretary *Walſingham*. But as for the Queen, ſhe had no good Opinion of the Diſſenters: They maintain'd ſome uncourtly Doctrine, as 'twas then reckon'd: They confin'd her Majeſty's Supremacy to Temporal Juriſdiction: They did not careſs her Prerogative, nor ſtretch her Empire far enough into the Church. Their not falling in with the Queen's Inclination, was one main Reaſon of drawing Disfavour upon them This made her cold to Interceſſion, and diſabled their Patrons from doing them much Service. And to prevent Importunities of this Kind, ſhe referr'd Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs wholly to *Whitgift*'s Management. This Prelate acted vigorouſly, and anſwer'd the Confidence put in him. His firſt Buſineſs was preſſing Subſcription to the three *Articles* above-mention'd. This was ſtrongly remonſtrated, and complain'd of as intolerable Rigour. Upon this Occaſion the Diſſenters ſolicited their Friends both in Court and Country, and made their utmoſt Effort to procure a Relaxation. And had not *Whitgift* been a Perſon of great Capacity and Courage, and well ſupported by the Crown, he had been irrecoverably embarraſs'd, and ſunk in the Undertaking. To give ſome Account of this Matter: The Archbiſhop began with ſome in his own Dioceſe. Theſe Men, who were deſign'd for a Precedent to the *Province*, refuſing to ſubſcribe were ſuſpended for their Contumacy. For Relief againſt this *Cenſure* they preſented a Petition to the Lords of the *Council*. An Application of the ſame Kind was made to the *Board* by ſome Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Norwich* againſt *Freake* their Biſhop. As to the *Kentiſh* Miniſters Petition, the Archbiſhop was requir'd to anſwer his Proceedings at the Council-Table. Inſtead of making his Defence this Way, he ſent them a Letter, Part of which is to this Effect.

Petitions to the Council againſt him.

His Letter to the Council with Reference to the Kentiſh *Petition.*

He acquaints the *Board*, “That the greateſt Part of the Petitioners were ignorant and raw young Men, and few of them licens'd Preachers: That he had ſpent the beſt Part of two or three Days to diſentangle their Underſtandings: That not being able to recover them to a right Senſe in the Points debated, he had proceeded no otherwiſe than the Law required: That the Number of thoſe who refus'd ſubſcribing was not great; in moſt Parts of his Province not one, and in ſome very few; and that the greateſt Part of thoſe who ſcrupled this Teſt were unlearned, and unworthy the Miniſtry: And that in his own little Dioceſe of *Canterbury* more than Threeſcore Preachers have ſubſcrib'd; whereas there was not above ten Refuſers, who deſerve the Name of Preachers: And that he was ſure they may calculate upon this Proportion through the whole Province, the Dioceſe of *Norwich* excepted; in which notwithſtanding the *Conformiſts* are far more numerous: That the keeping his Station would be impracticable, if every Curate in his Dioceſe might take theſe Freedoms againſt him: That 'twas not poſſible for him to perform the Duty the Queen expected, if he was check'd in the Execution of that Authority: That he could not be perſwaded their Lordſhips had any Intention to make him a Party for acting upon her Majeſty's Commiſſion: That in theſe Matters he was to have no Judge of his Management, excepting the Queen; and ſince he was lawfully called by God and her Majeſty to his Station, ſince he was appointed their Paſtor, (meaning the Council) and had the greateſt Charge over them in Things relating to the Soul, he deſir'd them to aſſiſt him in his Poſt; to fortify his Juriſdiction for the Repoſe of the Church, the Credit of the Religion eſtabliſh'd, and the Maintenance of the Laws for that Purpoſe. And as to the three Articles requir'd to be ſubſcrib'd, he declares himſelf ready to defend them, in the Form and Terms in which they are couch'd, againſt any Perſons in *England*, or elſewhere. And laſtly, he deſires their Lorſhips to acquieſce in this Anſwer, and not inſiſt upon his coming to the *Board*: For theſe troubleſome Complainants would not fail of making their Advantage of ſuch an Attendance. (c)

His Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the Suffolk *Miniſters.*

To the Suffolk Miniſters Remonſtrance, he anſwers, “That he was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd theſe Clergymen, believing themſelves hardly us'd by their Dioceſan, ſhould quit the common Courſe of the Law, forget Appealing to their Metropolitan, ſtrike off to an extraordinary Method, and trouble their Lordſhips with this Buſineſs: A Buſineſs which he conceives ſomewhat foreign to that Honourable *Board*, ſince the Queen by her own expreſs Direction had referr'd theſe Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical to himſelf. And over and above, that the Cognizance of theſe Matters was an Incident belonging to his Office. In anſwer to their Complaint touching their *Ordinary*'s Proceedings with them, he ſent their Lordſhips a Copy of the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Letter: This he thinks a ſufficient Defence of the Biſhop's Management. As to other Things he is ſomewhat at a Loſs what to pronounce. They ſay they are no *Jeſuits* ſent from *Rome* to reconcile, *&c.* That's true, continues the

---

(a) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *Page* 45. *See* Cartwright's *Directions, printed, An.* 1644.

(b) Ego ſingulis Sabbatis cum preſcripta Liturgiæ Formula nihil habens commercii, in cœtu Concionem habeo, &c. Heylin Hiſt. Presbyt. Lib. 7.

(c) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book 9.

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* **Cant.**

“Archbiſhop, neither are they charg'd with any ſuch Character. However, their Contentious Humours diſſerves the Church of *England*, occaſions Scandal, and gives a Handle to the Jeſuits to make Proſelytes: Their giving the Sacraments againſt the Direction of the *Rubrick*, and the Laws of the Realm, encreaſes the Number of Nonconformiſts, and confirms them in their Obſtinacy. He proceeds to charge them with making a Schiſm in the Church, and drawing her Majeſty's Subjects to a Diſlike of her Laws and Government in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. Take them at the beſt, they ſuggeſt no more than a Partial Obedience to their *Audience*: For they confine her Majeſty's Authority to *Civil* Matters, and lay it down for a Maxim that Spiritual Juriſdiction is foreign to the *Crown*: This, in the Archbiſhop's Opinion, is in a Manner plucking down with one Hand what they build with the other.

Idem.

The great Men at Court, who favour'd the *Puritans*, finding the Archbiſhop countenanc'd by the Queen, and a Perſon of no ordinary Reach and Reſolution, did not think fit to engage their Character, and riſque their Fortune, by an open Oppoſition. They choſe therefore to retire from Obſervation, kept their Motion out of Sight, and put *Beale* forward upon the Enterprize. This *Beale* was an intemperate Antipapiſt, drove furiouſly to a Counter-Extream; and to make the beſt Conſtruction, had much more Zeal than Knowlege. This Man is ſaid to have look'd on every Thing as Popiſh, which did not chime in with the Puritan Fancy; and that the Biſhops were no better than Limbs of Antichriſt. His Poſt of Clerk of the Council could not make him hearty for the Government, nor prevail with him againſt giving a Preference to the Malecontents. His Cuſtom was to rally thoſe Sermons which went fartheſt in Commendation of the Queen's Government. This Man had either written or encourag'd a warm Diſcourſe againſt *Subſcription*: 'Twas dedicated to the Archbiſhop, and preſented to him. A Report was likewiſe purpoſely ſpread, that the three *Articles*, to which Subſcription was requir'd, ſhould ſhortly be diſabled by an Act of *Council*. But *Beale* being afterwards apprehenſive theſe Papers might be laid before the Queen, reſolv'd to recover the Copy deliver'd to the Archbiſhop. For this Purpoſe he went over to *Lambeth*, where he miſbehav'd himſelf ſo very remarkably, that the Archbiſhop thought fit to acquaint the Lord Treaſurer with what paſſed between them. I ſhall give the *Reader* the Letter in the Archbiſhop's Words.

Beale undertakes the Diſſenters Cauſe. His Miſbehaviour towards the Archbiſhop.

To the Lord Treaſurer.

My ſingular good Lord,

His Miſbehaviour towards the Archbiſhop.

“I have born with Mr. *Beale*'s intemperate Speeches, unſeemly for him to uſe, though not in reſpect of my ſelf, yet in reſpect of her Majeſty, whom he ſerveth, and of the Laws eſtabliſh'd, whereunto he ought to ſhew ſome Duty. Yeſterday he came to my Houſe, as as it ſeemed, to demand the Book he deliver'd me. I told him that the Book was written to me, and therefore no Reaſon why he ſhould require it again; eſpecially, ſeeing I was aſſur'd that he had a Copy thereof, otherwiſe I would cauſe it to be written out for him. Whereupon he fell into very great Paſſions with me, (which I think was the End of his Coming;) for proceeding in the Execution of his Articles, *&c.* and told me in Effect, That I would be the Overthrow of this Church, and a Cauſe of Tumult, with many other bitter and hard Speeches, which I heard patiently, and wiſh'd him to conſider with what Spirit he was mov'd ſo to ſay: For I ſaid, it cannot be by the Spirit of God, becauſe the Spirit of God worketh in Men Humility, Patience and Love; and your Words declare you to be very arrogant, proud, impatient, and uncharitable. Moreover, the Spirit of God moveth Men to hear the Word of God with Meekneſs, *&c.* And you have almoſt heard with Diſdain every Sermon preach'd before her Majeſty this *Lent*, gibing and jeſting openly thereat, even in the Sermon-time, to the Offence of many, *&c.* —— This he confeſs'd, and juſtified, accuſing ſome of the Preachers of falſe Doctrine, and wrong Allegations of Scripture, *&c.* Then he began to extol his Book, and ſaid we were never able to anſwer it, neither for the Matter of Divinity, nor yet of Law. I told him, as the Truth is, that there was no great Subſtance in the Book, that it might be very ſoon anſwer'd, and that it did appear neither his Divinity, nor Law to be great. I farther wiſh'd him to be better adviſ'd of his Doings; and told him indeed, that he was one of the principal Cauſes of the Waywardneſs of divers, becauſe he giveth Encouragement to divers of them to ſtand in the Matter, telling them, that the Articles ſhall be ſhortly revok'd by the *Council*, and that my Hands ſhall be ſtopped, *&c.* which Saying is ſpread abroad already in every Place, and is the only Cauſe why many forbear to ſubſcribe, which is true, neither could he deny it. All this while I talk'd with him privately in the upper Part of my Gallery, my Lord of *Wincheſter*, and divers Strangers being in the other Part thereof. But Mr. *Beale* beginning to extend his Voice that all might hear, I began to break off; then he being more and more kindled, very impatiently utter'd very proud and and contemptuous Speeches in the juſtifying of his Book, and condemning of the Orders eſtabliſh'd, to the Offence of all the Hearers, whereunto (being very deſirous to be rid of him) I made ſmall Anſwer, but told him that his Speeches were intolerable, that he forgot himſelf, and that I would complain of him to her Majeſty, whereof he ſeem'd to make ſmall Account, and ſo he departed in great Heat. I am loth to hurt him, or to be an Accuſer, neither will I proceed therein further than your Lordſhip ſhall think it convenient: But I never was abuſed more by any Man at any Time in my Life, than I have been by him ſince my Coming to this Place, in Hardneſs of Speech for doing my Duty, and for all Things belonging to my Charge. Surely, my Lord, this Talk tendeth only to the Encreaſing of the Contention, and to the Animating of the Wayward in their Waywardneſs, caſting out dangerous Speeches, as though there were likelihood of ſome Tumult in reſpect thereof: Whereas in Truth, God be thanked, the Matter groweth to greater Quietneſs than I think he wiſheth, and will be ſoon quieted, if we be let alone, and they not otherwiſe encouraged. It ſeemeth he is ſome Way diſcontented, and would work his Anger on me. The Tongues of theſe Men taſte not of the Spirit of God. Your Lordſhip ſeeth how bold I am to impart unto you my private Cauſes. Truly, if it were not that my Conſcience is ſettled in theſe Matters, and that I

Elizabeth Q.

“am fully perſwaded of the Neceſſity of theſe Proceedings in Reſpect of the Peace of the Church, and due Obſervation of God's Laws, and that I receiv'd great Comfort at her Majeſty's Hands, (as I did moſt effectually at my laſt being at the Court,) and that I were aſſured of your Lordſhip's Conſtancy in the Cauſe, and of your unmoveable Good-will towards me, I ſhould be hardly able to endure ſo great a Burthen, which now (I thank God) in reſpect of the Premiſſes ſeemeth eaſy unto me; neither do I doubt but God will therein proſper me. Thus being deſirous to impart this Matter to your Lordſhip, to whoſe Conſideration I leave it, I commit you to the Tuition of Almighty God. (*d*)

John Cantuar.

(*d*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book 9.

The Lords of the Council's Letter to the Archbiſhop in Favour of the Diſſenters.

The Lords of the Council being farther ſolicited by the *Diſſenters*, wrote to the Archbiſhop for Abatement of *Diſcipline*. Their Letter begins with their “Having received Complaints from ſeveral Counties againſt the Rigour of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and that a great Number of the Clergy have been ſuſpended or depriv'd: That they forbore entring into a particular Enquiry, hoping his Lordſhip would inſpect the Proceedings, and temper the Severity of thoſe inferior Juriſdictions. The ſame Lenity they likewiſe expected from the Biſhop of *London*. And that this latter being both a Biſhop and an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, would have exerted his Character for this Purpoſe: But inſtead of any Paſtoral Compaſſion of this Kind, lamentable Complaints have been brought to the *Board* from the County of *Eſſex*; where a great Number of Preachers, diſtinguiſh'd for their Zeal and Learning, are ſuſpended from their Function, and no Proviſion made in moſt of their Cures either for Inſtruction, for Prayers, or Sacraments: That ſome of thoſe appointed to ſupply the Vacancies, have neither Learning nor Reputation to recommend them. From hence the Council proceeds to charge a great many of the Conforming Clergy in *Eſſex* with Ignorance and Immorality, with being Pluraliſts, and conſequently Non-reſident. In the Cloſe, they earneſtly deſire the Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of *London* to give a Charitable Conſideration to theſe *Diſſenting* Miniſters, and not deprive the People of their Paſtors upon the Score of ſome Scruples in Ceremonies.

Idem.

This Letter is ſubſcribed, though without Date, by

Will. Burleigh.
George Shrewsbury.
A. Warwick.
R. Leiceſter.
C. Howard.
J. Croft.
Chr. Hatton.
Fra. Walſingham.

His Anſwer.

The Archbiſhop in his Anſwer to this Letter acquaints the *Council,* That he hop'd the Information their Lordſhips receiv'd was wide of Matter of Fact, as to the moſt of it: But that in Regard the Biſhop of *London* was out of the Way, he could not make a full Anſwer at preſent. That ſome People about *Malden*, becauſe they can't have Miniſters to humour their Diſorders, had preferr'd a general Complaint againſt the Clergy to himſelf, and ſome others in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. That Letters had been ſent to ſome of the principal Complainants to exhibit the Names of thoſe offenſive Miniſters, together with the Proofs of their Miſbehaviour. And that in Caſe the Charge was made good, the Commiſſioners promis'd them a Redreſs of their Grievances. That the Beginning of the next Term was the Time aſſign'd them to make good their Complaint: But that by applying to the *Council-Board* they had anticipated the Time ſet them, and ſeem'd willing to decline the Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners: And by what Views they muſt be govern'd by affecting theſe Meaſures, he leaves to their Lordſhips Conſideration. He adds farther, that he heard the Biſhop of *London* declare that very few of his Clergy had been preſented at any Viſitations for ſuch Miſconduct as theſe Complainants charge them with. And that very few Preachers had been ſilenc'd in the Dioceſe of *London*. And that thoſe who fell under this Cenſure were remarkably diſorderly and turbulent. And laſtly, he aſſures their Lordſhips that nothing ſhall be done in his *Province* either by himſelf, or his Brethren, but what tends to the Peace of the Church, the Support of the Conſtitution, and the Encouragement of the moſt pious and deſerving Part of the Clergy.

Ibid.

Regiſt. Whitgift, Part 1. Fol. 97.

To give a farther Account of the Archbiſhop's Conduct, I ſhall mention ſome of his moſt remarkable *Viſitation Articles*.

To begin: “'Tis order'd, That all Preaching, Reading, Catechiſing, and other ſuch like Exerciſes in private Places and Families, whereunto others do reſort, being not of the ſame Family, be utterly inhibited, ſeeing the ſame was never permitted as lawful under any Chriſtian Magiſtrate, but is a manifeſt Sign of Schiſm, and a Cauſe of Contention in the Church.

“That none be permitted to preach, read, or catechiſe, in the Church or elſewhere, unleſs he do four Times in the Year (at the leaſt) ſay Service, and miniſter the Sacraments according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

“That all Preachers, and others in Eccleſiaſtical Orders, do at all Times wear and uſe ſuch Kind of Apparel as is preſcrib'd unto them by the *Book of Advertiſements*, and her Majeſty's *Injunctions Anno primo*.

“That one Kind of *Tranſlation* of the *Bible* be only us'd in publick *Service*, as well in Churches as Chapels, and that to be the ſame which is now authoriz'd by the Conſent of the Biſhops.

“That from henceforth there be no Commutation of Penance but in rare Reſpects, and upon great Conſideration, and when it ſhall appear to the Biſhop himſelf that that ſhall be the beſt Way for winning and reforming the Offender: And that the Penalty be employ'd either to the Relief of the Poor of that Pariſh, or to other Godly Uſes, and the ſame well witneſſed and made manifeſt to the Congregation. And yet if the Fault be notorious, that the Offender make ſome Satisfaction either in his own Perſon, with Declaration of his Repentance openly in the Church, or elſe that the Miniſter of the Church openly in the Pulpit ſignify to the People his Submiſſion and Declaration of his Repentance done before the *Ordinary*, and alſo in Token of his Repentance, what Portion of Money he hath given to be employ'd to the Uſes above-named.

Id. Fol. 131.

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Orders for the better Encreaſe of Learning in the inferior Miniſters, and for the more diligent Preaching and Catechiſing.

"Every Miniſter having Cure, and being under the Degrees of Maſter of Arts, and Barriſter of Laws, and not licenſed to be a publick Preacher, ſhall before the Second Day of *February* next provide a Bible, and *Bullinger's Decads* in *Latin* or *Engliſh*, and a Paper-Book, and ſhall every Day read over one Chapter of the *Holy Scriptures*, and note the principal Contents thereof briefly in his Paper-Book; and ſhall every Week read over one Sermon in the ſaid *Decads*, and note likewiſe the chief Matters therein contain'd in the ſaid Paper, and ſhall once in every Quarter (*viz.* within a Fortnight before or after the End of the Quarter) ſhew his ſaid Note to ſome Preacher near adjoining to be aſſign'd for that Purpoſe.

"*Item*, The Biſhop, Archdeacon, or other Ordinary, being a publick Preacher, ſhall appoint certain grave and learned Preachers, who ſhall privately examine the Diligence, and view the Notes of the ſaid Miniſters, aſſigning ſix or ſeven Miniſters, as Occaſion ſhall require, to every ſuch Preacher that ſhall be next adjoining to him, ſo as the Miniſters be not driven to travel for the exhibiting their *Notes* above ſix or ſeven Miles, (if it may be;) and the ſaid Preachers ſhall by Letters, or otherwiſe, truly certify to the Archdeacons, or other *Ordinary* of the Place, themſelves being publick Preachers, and Reſiant within or next to their Juriſdictions, and for want thereof to the Biſhop himſelf, who do perform the ſaid *Exerciſes*, and how they have profited therein, and who do refuſe or neglect to perform the ſame. The Archdeacons, and others receiving the ſaid Certificates, ſhall certify the ſame once a Year to the Biſhop, and that about *Michaelmas*.

"*Item*, That ſuch as ſhall refuſe to perform the Exerciſes, or ſhall be negligent therein: And ſhall not after Admonition by the Biſhop, Archdeacon, or other Ordinary aforeſaid, reform himſelf, if he be beneficed, ſhall be compell'd thereunto by Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſure*: If he be a Curate ſhall be inhibited to officiate within the Juriſdiction.

"It is concluded, That the *Exerciſe* above written, and no other, ſhall be henceforth publickly or privately uſed within any Part of this Province.

Secretary Walſingham *moves for Indulgence with Reference to Subſcription.*

Secretary *Walſingham*, as hath been obſerv'd, was the *Diſſenters* Friend. This Gentleman thought the three *Articles* ſomewhat of a Grievance, and that the Subſcription might fairly be wav'd. He conſider'd every Man's Conſcience could not come up to the ſame Sentiment; and that ſome Allowance might be made for Prejudice of Education, for weaker Underſtandings, and lower Degrees of Improvement: That this was his Opinion appears by his ſending one *Leverwood*, a Miniſter, to *Lambeth* with a recommending Letter. Here he deſires the Archbiſhop not to inſiſt upon Extremities, but to relax a little in Favour of this Miniſter, and admit his Subſcription upon the Terms encloſ'd.

Id. *Page* 162.

Whitgift in his Anſwer to the *Secretary*'s Letter acquaints him, That partly at his Inſtance, he had forborn offering the Teſt of the three *Articles* to any Perſons already benefic'd, and that the Subſcription was put to none but thoſe who came either for Orders or Inſtitution. That as to *Leverwood*'s Caſe, the diſpenſing in a ſingle Inſtance would weaken the Conſtitution, and bring others to an Expectation of the ſame Indulgence. That his Offer to ſubſcribe the *Articles* was ſhort and evaſive. For firſt he promiſes to ſubſcribe as far as the Law requires him: His Meaning muſt be, the Law requires no ſuch Subſcription; for into this Opinion ſome Lawyers have miſled him. Farther, he promiſes to officiate with the Common-Prayer, and with no other Book. But here he covers himſelf with another Reſerve, and lays in for a Liberty of uſing only ſo much of the *Liturgy* as he has a Mind to. And that this was his Meaning appear'd by his Anſwer to ſeveral Queſtions the Archbiſhop put to him. So that in fine, ſuch a qualified imperfect Subſcription would be to little Purpoſe.

Elizabeth Q.

The Archbiſhop keeps cloſe to the Conſtitution.

Idem.

The Lord Burleigh's *Motion to the Diſſenters.*

The Archbiſhop being thus inflexible and ſteady to the Conſtitution, ſome of the Courtiers made an Eſſay upon the *Diſſenters*. They tried to bring this Party to a Temper, and draw ſome Conceſſions from them: That this leſſening the Differences, and advancing towards the Eſtabliſhment, might ſet the *Conformiſts* more at Eaſe, and make Way for an Accommodation. And here the Lord *Burleigh* made the firſt Propoſal. This Nobleman, upon ſome Complaint againſt the *Liturgy*, bid the Diſſenters draw up another, and contrive the Offices in ſuch a Form as might give general Satisfaction to their Brethren. Upon this Overture, the firſt *Claſſis* ſtruck out their Lines, and drew moſtly by the *Pourtraict* of *Geneva*. This Draught was referr'd to the Conſideration of a ſecond *Claſſis*, who made no leſs than 600 Exceptions to it. The third *Claſſis* quarrell'd the Corrections of the ſecond, and declar'd for a new Model. The fourth refin'd no leſs upon the third. The Treaſurer adviſ'd all theſe Reviews, and different Committees, on Purpoſe to break their Meaſures, and ſilence their Clamours againſt the Church. However, ſince they could not come to any Agreement in a Form for Divine Service, he had an handſome Opportunity of a Releaſe; for now they could not decently importune him any farther. To part ſmoothly with them, he aſſur'd their Agents that when they came to any unanimous Reſolve upon the Matter before them, they might expect his Friendſhip; and that he ſhould be ready to bring their Scheme to a Settlement.

Sir Francis Walſingham's *Offer from the Queen.*

Walſingham, who was more hearty in their Intereſt, makes the next Trial. This Stateſman endeavour'd to remove their Diſguſt, and made them a more tempting Propoſal. He offer'd them in the Queen's Name, that provided they would lay down their Objections, and conform in other Points, the three Shocking Ceremonies, as they accounted them, ſhould be diſcharged; that is, *Kneeling at the Communion, wearing the Surplice, and the Croſs in Baptiſm*, ſhould be expung'd out of the Common-Prayer. To theſe large Conceſſions they replied in the Language of *Moſes*, *Ne Ungulam eſſe Relinquendam*: They would not leave ſo much as a Hoof behind. Their Meaning was, They would have the Church-Liturgy wholly laid aſide, and not be oblig'd to the Uſe of any Office in't. This ſtiff unexpected Anſwer, loſt them *Walſingham*'s Affection in a great Meaſure, as this Stateſman afterwards affirm'd to *Knewſtubbs*, and *Knewſtubbs* to Dr. *Burgeſs* of *Coleſhill*, from whom the learned *Heylin* had this Relation. (e)

(e) Heylin's Hiſt. Preſbyt. Lib. vii.

As

Whitgift (John) Archbiſhop of Cant.

Elizabeth Q.

As the Diſſenters were troubleſome on one Hand, ſo on the other ſome bigotted Papiſts engaged in deſperate Deſigns. For Inſtance, one *Somerville*, a *Warwickſhire* Gentleman, heated to Rage and Diſtraction by ſome ſcandalous Pamphlets, made his Way privately towards the Queen's Appartment, aſſaulted one or two with his drawn Sword, and being apprehended, confeſs'd he intended to kill the Queen. For this Treaſon, himſelf, one *Edward Ardern* Eſq; of the ſame County, *Ardern*'s Wife, their Daughter married to *Somerville*, and one *Hall* a Prieſt, were arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, and brought in guilty. About three Days after *Somerville* diſpatch'd himſelf in the Priſon, *Ardern* was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, the Women and the Prieſt were pardon'd. This laſt is ſaid to have drawn *Ardern* into the Conſpiracy, and afterwards turn'd Evidence againſt him. *(f)*

Dec. 16. 1583.

(f) Cambden Eliz.

Harpsfield's *Death and Writings.*

This Year *Nicholas Harpsfield* died. He was bred in *Wincheſter* School, from thence remov'd to *New-College* in *Oxford*, where he took the Degree of Doctor of Law, and was afterwards Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. In the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth he quitted the Kingdom, return'd at that Prince's Death, and made a Figure in the Church under Queen *Mary*. Soon after Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, he was impriſon'd for denying her Supremacy. During his Confinement he wrote his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in *Latin*. By this Book it appears he was a Man of Learning, and a Maſter of Style. He wrote ſix Dialogues, againſt the Centuriators, and *Fox*'s Martyrology, in Defence of the Pope's Supremacy, the *Monaſtick Inſtitution*, the *Worſhip of Saints and Images*, &c. 'Twas publiſh'd in the Name of *Allen Cope*; for had not the Author been concealed, he might have ſuffer'd in Priſon upon that Score. He likewiſe wrote *Hiſtoria Hæreſis Wickliffianæ*, and a Treatiſe concerning Marriage, occaſion'd by the Divorce between King *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Katherine*. *(g)*

(g) Wood, Athen. Oxon.

About this Time ſeveral *Suſſex* Miniſters excepted to ſome Parts of the *Rubrick*, and were ſuſpended; but afterwards diſengag'd from their Scruples, as appears by a Letter of Mr. *Aubry*'s in *Whitgift*'s *Regiſter*.

Regiſt. Whitgift, Par. 1. fol. 348.

The Letter ſuggeſts, “ That upon the Sixth of *December*, 1583, *Samuel Norden*, Parſon of *Hamſey*, *William Hopkinſon*, Vicar of *Salehurſt*, *Anthony Hopton*, Vicar of *Lemeſter*, *Thomas Underdown*, Parſon of St. *Mary*'s in *Lewis*, *John Jermain*, Vicar of *Burfsham*, *Richard Wheataker*, Vicar of *Ambrilly*, *John Bingham*, Preacher of *Hoadleigh*, and *Thomas Helye*, Preacher of *Warbleton*, being ſuſpended *ab Officio* for refuſing to ſubſcribe the Book of *Common-Prayer*, appear'd before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Sarum*, and *Rocheſter*, and being demanded the Reaſon of their Nonconformity, their Anſwer was, That there was ſeveral Paſſages in the Rubrick which they deſir'd to be explain'd.

“ The Rubricks upon which they found their Exceptions are theſe.

“ That in the latter End of the Preface ſet before the Catechiſm in the Communion-Book, there are theſe Words: —— *And that no Man ſhall think that any Detriment ſhall come to Children by deferring of their Confirmation, he ſhall know for Truth that it is certain by God's Word, that Children being baptiz'd have all Things neceſſary for Salvation, and are undoubtedly ſaved.* Upon which Words they moved this Doubt, Whether by theſe Words the Book confirm'd this Opinion, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm did of it ſelf confer Grace, *Tanquam ex Opere Operato*, that is, whoever is baptiz'd muſt of Neceſſity be ſaved *ex Opere Operato*, though otherwiſe a Hypocrite or Infidel?

“ Whereunto it was anſwer'd, That the *Book* had no ſuch Meaning; and that by theſe Words it only diſſwaded from the Opinion which their Papiſts had of their *Confirmation*, call'd *Buſhopping*; which they believ'd to be neceſſary to Salvation, and do think that Children are not perfectly baptiz'd 'till they be alſo Buſhopp'd, and therefore they make *Confirmation* a Sacrament, and bring their Children thereunto being Infants: Whereas the Church of *England* has no ſuch Opinion thereof, but doth uſe it for this End ſpecially, that Children may know what their Godfathers promiſ'd for them in their Baptiſm, and alſo learn to perform the ſame: And likewiſe, that it may be known that the Godfathers have perform'd their Promiſe in ſeeing theſe Children inſtructed as the *Book* requires. And therefore that *Rubrick* contains nothing in it contrary to God's Word, to the Subſtance of Religion now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, or to the Analogy of Faith. With which Anſwer they were ſatisfied.

“ The ſecond Doubt was of this *Rubrick* in the Form of Baptiſm, *Then the Prieſt ſhall make a* + *upon the Child's Forehead*. Here their Queſtion was, Whether by the Croſſing of the Child there was made an Addition to the Sacrament as a Part thereof, and as though Baptiſm were imperfect without it? Whereunto it was anſwer'd, That the *Book* had no ſuch Meaning; and that the Croſſing of the Child was only a Ceremony ſignificant, and a profitable Circumſtance, according to the Words expreſs'd in the *Book*. With which Anſwer they were alſo contented.

“ The third Doubt was of theſe Words, in the Book of ordering Deacons and Prieſts, *&c.* *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*. It was anſwer'd, That the Biſhop did not thereby look upon himſelf to give the Holy Ghoſt, but only *Inſtrumentaliter*, even as the *Miniſter* gives Baptiſm when he ſays, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father*, &c. Whereby he does not take upon him to be the Author or Giver of Baptiſm, but the *Miniſter* thereof only, as *John* the Baptiſt did, for Chriſt only is the Giver of the *Holy Ghoſt* and of Baptiſm: *John* and others are the Miniſters of the Sacrament, and of the Ceremony.

“ The Words are Chriſt's Words, uſed in the Admitting of the Apoſtles into the Miniſtry, and therefore us'd by us in the like Action, to ſignify that God, by our Miniſtry and Impoſition of Hands, as by his Inſtruments, doth give his Holy Spirit to all ſuch as are rightly call'd to the Miniſtry. With which Anſwer they were likewiſe ſatisfied.

“ The laſt Doubt was of baptizing by *Women*: Whereunto it was anſwer'd, That the Book did not name *Women* when it ſpake of private Baptiſm; and that their *Subſcription* was not requir'd to any Thing that was not expreſs'd in the *Book*. Upon theſe Anſwers given unto them by us, they did voluntarily, and without any Proteſtation at all, ſubſcribe to the three Articles ſet down for all Preachers and Miniſters to ſubſcribe unto. And upon this Satiſfaction given, their Suſpenſions were taken off.

Sanders *dies this Year.*

His Character.

This Year *Nicholas Sanders* died in *Ireland.* He was born in *Surrey*, educated in *New-College* in *Oxford*, where he was King's Profeſſor of Canon-Law. When the Times turn'd againſt his Perſwaſion, he retir'd to *Rome*, where he was ordain'd Prieſt, and commenc'd Doctor of Divinity. He attended Cardinal *Hoſius* to the *Council* of *Trent*. And here by Diſputing and making Speeches, he rais'd himſelf a conſiderable Character. At laſt he was ſent *Nuncio* into *Ireland*, which was look'd on as a hazardous Undertaking. And ſo it prov'd: For upon the Miſcarrying of his Treaſonable Practiſes, he was forc'd to abſcond in the Woods and Bogs, where he periſh'd with Hunger. *(h)* This *Sanders* was a deſperate Rebel: His Buſineſs in *Ireland*, as *Riſhton*, who publiſh'd his Hiſtory, confeſſes, was to raiſe the Natives upon the Government; or to ſpeak in *Riſhton*'s Words, to comfort the Afflicted Catholicks who had taken the Field in Defence of their Religion. *(i)* *Cambden* reports, That his Portmanteau, found about him when dead, was ſtuffed with Letters and Harangues to animate the *Iriſh* in their Revolt. And here, amongſt other Things, he gave them great Expectations of Succours from the Pope and the King of *Spain*. *(k)*

(*g*) Pitts de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor.

(*i*) Sanders de Schiſm. Angl. in Præfat.

(*k*) Cambden Eliz.

About three Years ſince he wrote a flaming Letter to the *Roman* Catholick Lords and Gentry of that Kingdom. He expoſtulates ſharply with them for not taking Arms againſt the Government, reproaches them with their Allegiance to the Queen, and plays all his Rhetorick to puſh them to Rebellion. To give the *Reader* Part of this peſtilent Diſcourſe: He begins with a wretched Perverſion of a Text of *Scripture.*

His Treaſonable Letter to the Iriſh Nobility, &c.

“Pardon me, ſays he, I beſeech you, if upon juſt Cauſe I uſe the ſame Words to your Honours, *&c.* which St. *Paul* wrote to the *Galatians: Who has bewitched ye, that ye ſhould not obey the Truth?* For unleſs ye are bewitched, what makes ye fight for Hereſy againſt the true Faith of Chriſt, for the Devil againſt God, for Tyrants that ſeize your Eſtates, take away your Lives, and damn your Souls; againſt your own Brethren, who run the utmoſt Hazards, ſpend their Treaſure and their Blood to reſcue you from theſe Miſeries? What can the Meaning be that you ſhould undergo ſuch Fatigues, exhauſt your Fortunes, and riſque Soul and Body; to ſo remarkable a Degree; and all for a wicked Woman? A Woman blemiſh'd in her Birth, and diſregarding her Chriſtianity: For which Reaſons the Vicar of Chriſt, her lawful Judge, and yours too, has depriv'd her of her Kingdom. All Catholick Princes, after intolerable Provocation have abandon'd her: Several *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen have drawn their Swords againſt her: Don't you ſee ſhe's likely to be left without Iſſue either to reward her Friends, or take Revenge upon her Enemies? Is ſhe not a Scandal to the Throne? And therefore can thoſe be true Friends to the *Crown* who don't make it their Buſineſs to diſplace her? Are you not ſenſible that the next Catholick Heir (for the Pope will take Care there ſhall be no other) muſt reckon all thoſe no better than Traitors that ſpend their Eſtates for a Heretick againſt his Title? How will you juſtify your ſelves to the Pope's *Lieutenant* when he appears amongſt you (as he will do ſhortly) at the Head of his Holineſs's Forces, and thoſe of other Catholick Princes? You will then be charg'd with abetting Hereſy, and with ſupporting an Heretical pretended Queen againſt a publick Sentence of Chriſt's Vicar? Can ſhe with her Chimerical Supremacy take off the Pope's Excommunication, and abſolve you from his Curſe? Her counterfeit Supremacy, I ſay, *which the Devil inſtituted in Paradice when he made* Eve Adam's *Miſtreſs in God's Matters?* Is not the adhering to her Intereſt the Way to bring a Blemiſh upon your ſelves, and ſtain you with the Suſpicion of Hereſy and Treaſon? And beſides, if the Catholick Heir lets looſe the Law upon you, your Lives and Eſtates are forfeited, and your Families undone for ever.

After this, he puts them in Mind that King *Henry* the Eighth, who firſt began the Schiſm, was unhappy in his Iſſue, and that his Line was extinguiſh'd: He gives another Inſtance in the Misfortune of Sir *William Drury*, who commanded in the Field againſt the Pope's General. And after having flouriſh'd a little upon the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, he intreats them to open their Eyes in Time, to honour the Divine Majeſty more than Hereticks, whom hitherto, ſays he, you have worſhipped above God. But through this laſt Sentence there is a Line ſtruck, and therefore it may be the Expreſſion was thought ſomewhat too ſtrong. His Letter is dated *Feb.* 21. 1580. *(l)*

(l) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, *Append. Num.* 7.

This *Sanders* was particularly buſy in miſleading the Noble *Fitzgerald*, Earl of *Deſmond*, help'd to blow him up into Rebellion, and was principally inſtrumental in his Ruin. *(m)* To conclude with him: He was almoſt as bad an Hiſtorian as he was a Subject; but his Falſhoods having been detected at large already, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to that Performance. *(n)*

(*m*) Cambden Eliz.

(n) See Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſt. Ref. Part* 2. *Append Book* 3.

$158\frac{3}{4}$.

On the 7th of *February John Fen*, *George Haddock*, *John Munden*, *John Nutter*, and *Thomas Hemertford*, were indicted for High-Treaſon at *Weſtminſter*, brought in guilty, and all executed to the Rigour of the Sentence. The Crime they were tried for was their being made Prieſts beyond-Sea by the Pope's Authority. *(o)*

(*o*) Stow's *Annal.*

The *Iriſh* Rebels being reduc'd, *James Fitz-Euſtace*, Viſcount *Baltingla/s*, got off into *Spain*, where he died with Melancholy. This Nobleman was ſtrongly in the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, and join'd the Rebellion. To engage the Earl of *Ormond*, who was deſcended from Archbiſhop *Beckett*'s Siſter, he ventur'd to put him in Mind, *That unleſs St.* Thomas *of* Canterbury *had loſt his Life for the Church of* Rome, Butler *would never have been Earl of* Ormond. For to make ſome Satisfaction for *Beckett*'s Death, King *Henry* the Second had granted his Anceſtors a noble Eſtate in *Ormond*. *(p)*

(*p*) Cambden Eliz.

This Year *Thomas Watſon*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, departed this Life. He was a warm *Roman* Catholick, and ſuffer'd for his Perſwaſion in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. He was preferr'd to the *See* of *Lincoln* by Queen *Mary*. At the Recovery of the Reformation he was impriſon'd in the Tower in the Year 1559. Here he continued 'till the Year 1582, when he was remov'd to *Wisbich*-Caſtle, where he died. *Pitts* gives him the Character of a Famous Preacher, a ſolid Divine, and a good Poet. He wrote a Volume of Sermons, a *Latin* Tragedy, and ſome Pieces of Poetry. *

* Pitts de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor.

To go back a little for the Church Affairs in *Scotland*. In *October* this Year there was a General Aſſembly at *Edinborough*. They deliver'd a Remonſtrance to the King under ſeveral Heads, ſome of which I ſhall mention.

They complain'd Papiſts were too much countenanc'd at Court; and that his Majeſty ſeem'd to favour the Enemies of Truth both in *France* and

The Aſſembly's Remonſtrance.

and at home: That he had made the Church a great many fair Promiſes without performing any Thing; and that their Liberties and Privileges were continually wreſted from them: That the *Thirds* were leas'd out to the Prejudice of the Church: That Abbeys were diſpos'd off contrary to Act of Parliament; and no Proviſion made for the Miniſters who officiated at the Churches annex'd: That ſpiritual Preferments were beſtow'd upon Children, alienated in Tenure and Uſe, and erected into Temporal Lordſhips: That his Majeſty interpos'd too far with the *Regale*, and ſuperſeded the Proceſs of the Church in Matters properly Eccleſiaſtical. The reſt of the Remonſtrance goes directly into the *State*, and complains of Male-Adminiſtration. (*q*)

(g) Spotſwood *Church Hiſt.* p. 327. MSS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

The King, who was willing to pleaſe them, return'd a gracious Anſwer the next Day: He denies the Countenancing *Roman* Catholicks; but hopes they would not be too curious in their Enquiry about his Servants. As to his Correſpondence with foreign Princes, which they glanc'd at, he thought the Aſſembly would not diſallow a Commerce of this Kind for preſerving the Repoſe of the Kingdom; and that Difference of Religion did not bar Friendſhip, and make Alliances unlawful: And whereas they complain'd the Church had ſuffer'd in her Privileges, his Anſwer was, that ſince his taking the Government upon him, there had been more Laws made for the Service of Religion than ever: That as to the Alienation of the Church Revenues, that Grievance muſt be referr'd to the Parliament; and that he ſhould endeavour a Redreſs to the utmoſt of his Power. And as for his checking the Juriſdiction of the Church, he was only ſenſible of a ſingle Inſtance which look'd that Way: And that, he conceiv'd, was ſufficiently defenſible. The reſt relating to the *State* ſhall be omitted.

Idem.

This Anſwer ought to have given Satisfaction: But the Court and Miniſtry not being form'd to the Kirk's Inclination, they kept on their Chagrine, and nothing would pleaſe them. And now the *Pulpits* began to run Riot: For the Purpoſe, one *John Dury*, a Miniſter at *Edinborough*, took the Freedom to juſtifie the Surprizing the King at *Ruthen*: And being ſummon'd before the Council, he defended his Treaſonable Diſcourſe at firſt; but afterwards, upon better Advice, was brought to a Submiſſion. He was kept for ſome Time on his good Behaviour.

Melvil *declines the Juriſdiction of the* Council-Board.

Andrew Melvil's Declamation had a worſe Iſſue. This Gentleman had preach'd a ſeditious Sermon at St. *Andrews*, and arraign'd the Government in a provoking Manner: He told the *Audience*, That 'twas the Buſineſs of the Nobility and the Eſtates of the Realm to reform the Abuſes and Miſmanagement of the Court: And for this he alledg'd ſeveral Precedents, and particularly ſome in the Reign of *James* the Third. For this Diſloyal Invective he was order'd to appear at the *Council-Board*. But he demurr'd to their Juriſdiction; and was ſo hardy as to affirm, *That what was deliver'd in the Pulpit ought firſt to be tried by the Presbytery: And that though the Expreſſions were Treaſonable, neither King nor Council ought to take Cognizance of them in the firſt Inſtance.* And after ſome Pains had been taken with him to no Purpoſe, the *Board* went on to examine Witneſſes againſt him: Upon this he broke out into intemperate Language, and told the King *he perverted the Laws both of God and Man.* For this Misbehaviour he was order'd to Cuſtody at *Blackneſs*; but the Commitment being left to himſelf, he took a contrary Road in the Night, and made his Eſcape to *Berwick*. And now all the Pulpits declaim'd loudly againſt the Court: That the Reformation was ſtruck at, and the greateſt Man both for Learning and Zeal was baniſh'd the Kingdom, and forc'd to fly for his Life.

Ibid. & Refutat. Libell. &c.

Not long after, the Earl of *Gowry* was apprehended, and the Caſtle of *Sterling* ſurpriz'd by ſome of his Adherents. The Earl was tried for high Treaſon: One Article was, the concerting this Plot; he was found guilty, and executed. Several of the Preachers were inform'd againſt, for correſponding with the Rebels. A Summons was ſent to Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Parſon of *Ranfrew*, Mr. *Andrew Polwart*, Sub-Dean of *Glaſcow*, Mr. *Patrick Galaway*, and Mr. *James Carmichael* to appear before the *Council*. None but Mr. *Hay* made their Appearance. The other Three therefore being proclaim'd Traitors, fled into *England*. (*r*)

(*r*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory.*

At the Parliament held now at *Edinborough*, his Majeſty's Declaration concerning the treaſonable Attempt at *Ruthen* was confirm'd. There was likewiſe an *Act* made to check the late Miſbehaviour of the *Preachers*. The Preamble ſets forth, That

May 22. 1584.

“ Foraſmuch as ſome Perſons being lately “ call'd before the King's Majeſty, and his Se- “ cret Council, to anſwer upon certain Points “ to have been enquired of them concerning “ ſome treaſonable, ſeditious, and contumelious “ Speeches utter'd by them in Pulpits, Schools, “ and otherwiſe, to the Diſdain and Reproach “ of his Highneſs, his Progenitors and preſent “ Council, contemptuouſly declin'd the Judg- “ ment of his Highneſs, and his Council, in “ that Behalf, to the evil Example of others to “ do the like, if timous Remedy be not provi- “ ded.

Several Acts of Parliament made againſt the ſeditious Preachers.

By the enacting Part, the King's Authority over all Perſons, as well Spiritual as Temporal, is confirm'd. The Declining to ſubmit to the Cognizance of the King and Council in all Matters whatever, is made Treaſon: The Impugning the Dignity and Authority of the Three Eſtates in Parliament, is forbidden under the ſame Penalty. All Juriſdictions Spiritual or Temporal, not approv'd by the King and Parliament, are aboliſh'd and diſcharg'd. “ 'Tis like- “ wiſe enacted, That no Subjects, Spiritual or “ Temporal, of what Quality ſoever, preſume “ to convene themſelves for holding Conven- “ tions or Aſſemblies to treat or conſult upon “ any Matters, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, (except- “ ing in the ordinary Methods of Juſtice) with- “ out a ſpecial Licence from his Majeſty: And “ that none, of what Function, Quality, or “ Degree whatſoever, ſhall preſume privately “ or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations, or “ familiar Conferences, to utter any falſe, or “ ſlanderous Speeches to the Reproach and Con- “ tempt of his Majeſty, his Council and Pro- “ ceedings, or to meddle in the Affairs of his “ Highneſs's Adminiſtration, under the Penalty “ contain'd in the *Acts* of Parliament, againſt “ Makers and Tellers of Leaſing. * (*s*)

* *That is Lies.*

(*s*) Ja. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 129, 131, 134.

Miniſters to be depriv'd, for what Crimes.

By another *Act*, all Parſons, Miniſters, or “ Readers provided to Benefices ſince his High- “ neſs's Coronation (not having Vote in the “ Parliament) ſuſpected culpable of Hereſy, “ Papiſtry, erroneous Doctrine, common Blaſ- “ phemy, Fornication, Non-Reſidence (that is “ to ſay, not Reſiding within the Paroche, but “ abſent from it, and from the Kirk and his Of- “ fice for Four Sabbaths in the Year, without “ Leave from his Ordinary) Plurality of Bene- “ fices having Cure; but here the Clauſe of

“ Non-Reſidence does not reach to thoſe of the King's Council, to thoſe who are Lords of the *Seſſion*, nor to ſuch as are abſent on his Highneſs's Service. To proceed; Simony and Dilapidation are added to the Reſt. Now any Clergyman not within the ſaving Clauſes, found guilty by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or the King's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners of the Crimes abovemention'd, is to be depriv'd of his Office and Benefice. (*t*)

(*t*) Ja. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 132.

“ 'Tis farther enacted, That no Miniſter ſhall accept or execute any Place of Judicature, civil or criminal, or be Clerks or Notaries (except in making of Teſtaments) under the Pain of Deprivation from Office and Benefice. (*u*)

(*u*) Ja. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 133.

Buchanan's Books cenſur'd in Parliament.

And to conclude with this Parliament, “ Maſter *George Buchanan's Chronicle*, and his Book *de Jure Regni apud Scotos* are declared to contain *ſundry offenſive Matters worthy to be deleete*, or expung'd. 'Tis therefore ſtatuted and ordain'd, that every Perſon that has either or both thoſe Books, ſhall deliver them to the Lord Secretary, or his Deputies, within Forty Days, under the Penalty of forfeiting 200 Pounds *Scots*.

The Reaſon why theſe Books are order'd to be deliver'd into the Secretary's Office, is, “ That they may be purg'd of the ſcandalous Paſſages, not being fit to remain as Records of Truth to Poſterity. (*w*)

(*w*) Ja. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 134.

The Church endeavours to hinder the paſſing theſe Bills, but to no Purpoſe.

Moſt of theſe *Statutes* were unacceptable to the Miniſters. Therefore while the *Bills* were debating in the Houſe they endeavour'd to hinder their Paſſing, or at leaſt to get them poſtpon'd. To this Purpoſe, Mr. *David Lindſay* was ſent to intreat the King, that no *Act* in which the Church was concern'd, ſhould paſs till the Aſſembly was heard: The Earl of *Arran* * being inform'd of his Deſign, put him under an Arreſt, and prevented his Addreſſing the King: His holding Correſpondence with *England* was the Pretence for confining him. *Lawſon* and *Balcanquel*, Miniſters of *Edinborough*, hearing of *Lindſay's* Commitment, deſerted their Charge, and retir'd into *England*. They left a Paper behind them by Way of Apology for going off. Mr. *Robert Pont*, Miniſter of St. Cuthberts, and one of the Lords of the *Seſſion*, entred a publick Proteſtation againſt the *Acts* above-mention'd. This Inſtrument drawn up in Form, he put into the Hands of a Notary, when the Herauld, according to Cuſtom, was proclaiming the *Acts*. His Proteſtation ſet forth, That the Church had no due Conſideration in the Paſſing theſe *Acts*, and therefore they were not bound by them. For this bold Challenge, he was turn'd out of the College of Juſtice, and proclaim'd Traitor. (*x*)

* *He that carried this Title now, was one* Stewart *of the Family of* Lenox.

Pont, *a Miniſter, declares publickly againſt the Legality of theſe Acts of Parliament.*

(*x*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory*.

The King's Declaration.

Upon this, Reports were ſpread, that the King was gone off to Popery: That ſeveral *Acts* were made to check the Courſe of the *Goſpel*, and to ſuppreſs all good Order and Polity in the Church. To prevent theſe Diſcourſes from making an Impreſſion, the King ſet forth a *Declaration*, in which the Reaſons for making theſe *Statutes* are recited. Amongſt the Motives which forc'd the King upon this Proviſion, theſe following are reckon'd, *viz.* “ The Approbation of the *Ruthen* Conſpiracy, by the *Aſſembly*; *Andrew Melvil's* refuſing to be tried at the Council-Board; the Faſt kept at the Entertainment of the *French* Ambaſſadors: Faſts order'd by the Kirk for the whole Kingdom, without the King's Leave or Knowledge; Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction uſurp'd by Miniſters and Lay-Gentlemen; altering the Laws at their Pleaſure, and many other reſembling Abuſes. And to give farther Satisfaction, ſeveral Articles were annex'd to the *Declaration*, to ſhew the King's Adherence to the Religion eſtabliſh'd; and that he intended nothing more than bringing the Church under an Uniform and unexceptionable Regulation.

The Court Libell'd.

But theſe Apologeticks were little regarded: Invective Anſwers came out, the Court was pelted in Proſe and Rhime, and great Clamours were made, that all the Preachers at *Edinborough* were menac'd with Hardſhip, and forc'd to fly. To quiet the People at this Quarter, the King order'd his Court-Clergy, Mr. *John Craig*, and Mr. *John Duncanſon*, to preach in the City. Not long after the Refugee Miniſters ſent a Letter to the Seſſion of the Church and Common Council of *Edinborough* to this Effect.

The Refugee Miniſters Remonſtrance againſt the Government.

That being ſenſible their Abſence would be Miſinterpreted, and a great many Calumnies thrown upon them, they thought it neceſſary to acquaint them with the Reaſons of their Withdrawing. And here they complain of the Injuſtice of the late Acts of Parliament: And that they were plainly repugnant to the Word of God: The Articles offer'd to ſome Miniſters for ſubmitting to Epiſcopacy, was another Grievance: This they call a tyrannical Government, and ſalute the Biſhops in the Language of *groſs Libertines*, and infamous Belly-gods. They declaim againſt the Order ſent to the Provoſt and Bailiffs of *Edinborough*, to apprehend all Miniſters that met at the Eldership, or that deliver'd any Thing in Pulpits, or elſewhere againſt the *Statutes*, and Adminiſtration: That in Caſe they took their uſual Freedom, they were threatned their Heads ſhould be laid at their Heels. Theſe Things put them under great Difficulties: For the plain Dealing of their Function could not be forborn without wronging their Commiſſion, and being falſe to God. Neither on the other Side could they uſe the Liberty of their Character, without being reckon'd Traitors to the King, and expoſing their Flock to the Danger of mal-treating their Paſtors. And therefore, after a long Debate with themſelves, they found 'twas the beſt Way to withdraw, and wait for better Times. In the Cloſe, they exhort the Burghers to adhere to their Doctrine, and recollect the Precautions they had given them, that Wolves would intrude, and Teachers be put upon them, which *ſought Themſelves*, and not *Jeſus Chriſt*. (*y*)

(*y*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory*.

The King being much diſpleas'd with this Letter, had an Anſwer drawn up with Orders to the *Seſſion*, and Common Council to ſign it.

They receive an unacceptable Anſwer.

The Anſwer charges the *Refugees* with great Miſbehaviour in their Letter. The Seſſions and Common Council blame them for reflecting ſo undutifully upon the Acts of Parliament: That as for themſelves they found nothing in theſe *Statutes* but what was agreeable to the Word of God: And that therefore they were reſolv'd to follow the Apoſtle's Command, and be *Subject to the Higher Powers*. They cenſure the *Refugees* for quitting the Kingdom unproſecuted and unmenac'd: That their Withdrawing without acquainting their Flock, argued a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, and was a Breach of the Conditions made between them: And that by their Letter they had drawn the Suſpicion of the Government upon them, as if they correſponded with Fugitives and Rebels: For theſe Reaſons, they diſown all Relation to the *Refugees*, renounce their Paſtorſhip,

Rom. 13.

ſhip, thank God for diſcovering the ill Qualities of theſe Guides, and for reſcuing them from the Danger of ſuch Wolves.

The ſubſcribing this Anſwer by the Common Council, and Seſſion of the Church, was ſomewhat of a touchy Buſineſs. To ſtick ſuch Reproaches upon their Miniſters, and ſign them *Fugitives*, *Rebels*, and *Wolves*, they thought would be cenſur'd as a cowardly Compliance. On the other Side, being afraid to ſtand the King's Diſpleaſure, Sixteen of the Chief, after ſome Conteſt, put their Hands to the Letter. When the *Refugees* read the Anſwer, they were much diſturb'd at ſo unexpected a Return.

Idem.

Aug. 22. An. Dom. 1584.

At another Parliament held at *Edinborough* this Summer, eating of Fleſh on *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, or in *Lent*, is forbidden all Perſons, under the Forfeiture of their moveable Goods to the King's Uſe. (z)

(z) Ja. 6. Parl. 9. cap. 5.

The Beginning of this Year the Earls of *Angus* and *Marr*, the Lord *Glamis*, and ſome others who ſurpriz'd *Sterling*, were forc'd to quit that Place, and retire into *England*. Theſe Men being demanded as Traitors by the King of *Scots*, were ſhelter'd by *Walſingham*. This *Secretary* wrote that they might be put a-ſhore upon *Holy Iſland*, for their better Security. But the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, did not think fit to truſt theſe *Scots* with ſuch a Parcel of the *Engliſh* Dominions: And therefore refuſ'd to take Notice of the Secretary's Diſpatch, without expreſs Order from the Queen. This occaſion'd a Diſpute betwixt *Walſingham* and the Lord *Hunſdon*, in which the Latter ſeems to have carried his Point: For the *Refugees* were not ſuffer'd to enter the *Holy Iſland*. However, the Queen thought fit to ſhew them ſome Favour, to balance the contrary Faction in *Scotland*. For the Preachers of that Nation gave out, the King was upon the Point of renouncing his Religion: Tho' they had no Colour for this Calumny, excepting his natural Affection to the Queen his Mother, and his confiding moſtly in thoſe he thought firm to her Service. (a)

A Claſh between Lord Hunſdon *and* Walſingham.

(a) Cambden Eliz.

This Year Sir *Walter Mildemay*, Fifth Son of *Thomas Mildemay* of *Chelmeſford* in *Eſſex*, founded *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*. The Site belong'd formerly to the Dominicans or Preaching Friers, where, in the Year 1280, they had a *Covent* founded by the Lady *Alice*, Counteſs of *Oxford*, Daughter and ſole Heir to *Gilbert* Lord *Sanford*, Hereditary Lord *Chamberlain* of *England*. This College was ſo much improv'd in Revenue by ſucceeding Benefactions, that in the Year 1634. it ſubſiſted a Maſter, 14 Fellows, 50 Scholars, Ten poor Scholars: Which taking in other Students, Officers, and Servants, amounted to the Number of 300 and 10. *

* Fuller's *Hiſt. Univer.* Cambr. p. 146.

About this Time, *Francis Throgmorton*, Eldeſt Son of *John Throgmorton*, Juſtice of *Cheſter*, was ſeiz'd and charg'd with an Attempt for enlarging the Queen of *Scots*, with ſome other Articles. He was Twice ſet upon the Rack in the *Tower*, and at the laſt Torture confeſs'd ſeveral Things he afterwards denied at his Execution.

Idem.

Soon after his Commitment, and being rack'd *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* Eſq; withdrew privately into *France*. And here, with other *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, they complain'd of the Rigour of the Government: That by the ill Offices of *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, the Queen was diſpleas'd with their Party, without Provocation: That they were treated with the laſt Degree of contumely and hard Uſage: That Snares, and unuſual Methods to ſurprize them, were daily invented: That by theſe Contrivances they were drawn within the Law, and hamper'd in Treaſon, without any Thing to deſerve it: And that in ſhort, there was no Hopes of Security in their own Country, neither was this complaint altogether without Reaſon, for 'tis certain *Setters* were employ'd, and a great Deal of Art us'd to dive into People's Secrets: Letters were counterfeited, as if written by the Queen of *Scots*, and left in Roman Catholicks Houſes, and Emiſſaries poſted almoſt every where, to catch up Diſcourſe, and miſreport Converſation: And beſides, Informers were encourag'd in improbable Stories: And thus a great many were brought under Suſpicion for practiſing againſt the *State*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality examin'd and confin'd, upon ſlender Informations. (b)

The Papiſts complain of hard Uſage.

(b) Cambden Eliz. *pag.* 354.

However, *Cambden* endeavours to juſtify all this Credulity, and ſtretch of Management. He obſerves the Papiſts had diſcover'd themſelves mal-intention'd to the Queen: That a Book was publiſh'd to puſh ſome of the Court Ladies upon ſerving her Majeſty as *Judith* did *Holofernes*. Who wrote this deſperate Pamphlet was not diſcover'd; but one *Gregory Marten*, educated in *Oxford*, and a Perſon of Learning, was ſuſpected for the Author.

The Queen diſpleas'd with the Rigors of the Magiſtracy.

Notwithſtanding this Provocation, the Queen who was willing to leave the Memory of a gentle Reign behind her, was very angry with the Magiſtracy and Judges for treating the Papiſts with ſo much Rigour. Some of thoſe concern'd in the Cognizance of theſe Matters, thought it neceſſary to publiſh a Paper in their Vindication. In this Defence they proteſted the Prieſts had milder Uſage than they deſerv'd. That they were never put to the Queſtion upon the Score of their Religion; but only when they lay under violent Preſumptions of practiſing againſt their Country and Prince. That *Campian* was never rack'd to that Degree as to hinder him from walking, or ſigning his Confeſſion; that *Briant* obſtinately refuſing to declare who wrote the Letters in Cypher found upon him, was denied Meat and Drink till he ask'd for it in writing. But the Queen not being ſatisfied with this Apology, order'd the Judges and the other Magiſtracy to forbear Racking and other Puniſhments: And not long after, Seventy Prieſts, ſome of which were condemn'd, and all of them under Proſecution, were ſet at Liberty, and baniſh'd. Amongſt theſe, the moſt conſiderable were *Gaſper Heywood*, Son of the famous Epigrammatiſt, and the Firſt Jeſuit who ſet footing in *England*; *James Boſgrave*, another of the ſame Order; *John Hart*, a very learned Divine, and *Edward Riſhton*, who publiſh'd *Sander*'s Hiſtory, and made a Supplement to it. This laſt, it muſt be ſaid, did not make the Queen a ſuitable Return for giving him his Life.

Idem.

Idem.

To proceed, *Throgmorton*'s Confeſſion, tho' denied with his laſt Breath, was generally believ'd, and ſome Papers were taken upon *Chreiton*, a *Scotch* Jeſuit, in his Voyage to *Scotland*: Theſe Papers, tho' torn and thrown into the Sea, were unexpectedly recover'd. They were afterwards brought to *Wade*, Clerk of the *Council*, who with great Dexterity ſet them together. Whether they were in Cypher, or not, is unrelated by *Cambden*. He only mentions an Expedition concerted againſt *England* by the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and the *Guiſes*.

And now the People's Fears were generally alarm'd, and Diſcourſes ſpread of a formidable Invaſion. From hence the Earl of *Leiceſter* took an Occaſion to ſet an Aſſociation on Foot for

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* **Cant.**

the Queen's Preſervation. 'Twas ſign'd by Men of all Ranks, who engag'd to purſue thoſe to Death who ſhould attempt any Thing againſt the Queen.

The Queen of **Scots** *Overture to Queen* **Elizabeth.**

The Queen of *Scots* perceiving her ſelf ſtruck at by this *Aſſociation,* being tired with hard Uſage, and expecting worſe, ſent her Secretary *Nave* to the Queen and Council with large Overtures. “She promis'd that upon Condition ſhe was ſet at Liberty, and receiv'd any Proof of the Queen's Friendſhip, ſhe was ready to enter into a cloſe Correſpondence with her Majeſty, to treat her with particular Marks of Regard, to forget all Miſunderſtandings between them, to own her rightful Queen of *England,* to renounce all Claim to the Crown of *England* during her Life, to attempt nothing either directly or indirectly againſt her, to declare againſt taking any Manner of Advantage from the Pope's excommunicating Bull, to ſign the late Aſſociation for her Majeſty's Security, and conclude a defenſive League with her; with a ſaving however, of the old Alliance between *Scotland* and *France.* But then theſe Propoſals were made, that neither during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, nor after her Death, any Thing ſhould be done in prejudice, either of her own Right, or her Sons, to the Crown of *England,* before they had a Hearing in the *Engliſh* Parliament. For the Security of theſe Articles, ſhe was willing to continue a Hoſtage for ſome Time in *England.* Or if ſhe might have the Liberty of going out of this Kingdom, other Hoſtages ſhould be given. As for *Scotland,* ſhe engag'd to make no Alterations there, provided her ſelf and her Family might have the Freedom of their own Religion; and that ſhe would paſs an *Act* of Oblivion to indemnify the *Scots* againſt all Outrages, and Indignities put upon her: That ſhe would recommend ſuch a Council to her Son as were beſt diſpos'd to keep fair with *England:* That ſhe would endeavour to reconcile him to the Noblemen lately fled into *England,* provided they made an humble Submiſſion, and Queen *Elizabeth* would engage her Honour to aſſiſt the Crown, if they happen'd to go off from their Duty: That ſhe would not treat a Marriage for her Son, without pre-acquainting Queen *Elizabeth:* And ſince ſhe intended to do nothing without Conſulting her Son, ſhe deſires he may be join'd with her in this Treaty for a firmer Eſtabliſhment. And as for the King of *France,* ſhe did not doubt his coming in as a Party, and that he would likewiſe engage the Houſe of *Lorrain* in the ſame Stipulation. (c)

Idem.

She deſir'd a ſpeedy Anſwer might be return'd, and that her Confinement might be ſomewhat inlarg'd for a farther Diſcovery of the Queen's Friendſhip.

The Accommodation daſh'd by the Clamour of the Scotch *Miniſters,* &c.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſeem'd extremely pleas'd with theſe Terms, and 'twas thought was not averſe from releaſing her Royal Priſoner, tho' a great many new Dangers were ſuggeſted to fright her from this Humanity. However, the Accommodation went on, but when 'twas almoſt finiſh'd, the Presbyterian *Scots* appear'd violently againſt it, and perplex'd the Matter. The Refugee Miniſters made a hideous Clamour in ſome of the Pulpits in *London.* They cried out, That if the Queen of *Scots* was ſet at Liberty, her Majeſty of *England*'s Reign would be ſhort: That if Queen *Mary* was allow'd to govern jointly with her Son, both Kingdoms were ruin'd: And that there would be an End of the true Religion in *Britain,* if Popery was indulg'd that Princeſs, tho' only in her private Family. Neither was the Queen the only Subject of their Satyr: They treated the young King with ſuch Extremity of Language, that upon the *Scotch* Ambaſſador's Complaint, the Biſhop of *London* was commanded to ſilence all the *Scotch* about the City: And the ſame Order was ſent to the Reſt of the Biſhops. However, they carried on their Deſigns another Way, and endeavour'd to ſcatter their Sentiments amongſt the *Engliſh.* Some of theſe *Scotch Preachers* went to the *Act* in *Oxford,* where *Gellybrand* and his Brethren entertain'd them with great Friendſhip and Regard. And here a very remarkable Queſtion was put by the *Scotch* Preachers, and ſome *Engliſh* of the ſame Complexion: It was concerning the Proceeding of the Miniſter in his Duty without the Magiſtrate's Aſſiſtance, or waiting for his Approbation. The Queſtion ſeems to have been reſolv'd for the Independence of the Church. For this was the Opinion of the Presbyterians, both *Scotch* and *Engliſh.* And if this Doctrine had been guarded, made inoffenſive to the State, and not run out to an *Evangelium armatum,* all had been well. But that theſe Men mov'd in a wider Compaſs, and had ſome dangerous Enterprize in Hand, may partly be collected from *Gellybrand*'s Letter to *Field,* his Words are theſe,

Elizabeth Q.

Idem.

July 1584.

A Combination practis'd amongſt the Diſſenters.

I have already entred into the Matters, whereof you write, and dealt with Three or Four ſeveral Colleges, concerning thoſe among whom they live. I find, that Men are very dangerous in this Point; generally favouring Reformation, but when it cometh to the particular Point, ſome have not yet conſider'd of theſe Things, for which others in the Church are ſo much Troubled: Others are afraid to teſtify any Thing with their Hands, leſt it breed Danger before the Time. And after: Many favour the Cauſe of Reformation, but they are not Miniſters, but young Students, of whom there is good hope, if it be not cut off by violent Dealing before the Time. As I hear by you, ſo I mean to go forwards, where there is any Hope, and to learn the Number, and to certify you thereof. (d)

Their national Synod at London.

Jan. 26. 1584.

Feb. 2. 1584.

Novemb. 29 1584.

Idem.

At the Meeting of the Parliament this Winter, the *Diſſenters* held a national Synod at *London,* purſuant to their former Reſolution and Synodical Diſcipline. That this was Matter of Fact, appears by Three Letters. The Firſt from Eleven *Eſſex* Miniſters to *Field,* in which they deſire to be certified, whether the Brethren *meant to be exercis'd in Prayer and Faſting, and upon what Day:* The Second was from Nine of thoſe Miniſters to *Field* and *Clerk,* where they write thus: *We have elected Two godly and faithful Brethren,* M. Wright, *and* M. Gifford *to join with in that Buſineſs.* The Third from *Gellybrand* to *Field:* In which he owns himſelf guilty of a great Omiſſion in theſe Words. *Touching my Departure from that holy Aſſembly without Leave,* &c. *I crave Pardon both of you and them,* &c. *and thus commending this holy Cauſe to the Lord himſelf, and your godly Council to the Preſident thereof, I take my Leave.*

And that this Party was not without Friends in the Houſe of Commons, appears by ſeveral *Bills,* and other Tranſactions in Parliament.

Anno 1584. *The Book of Diſcipline mov'd to be read in the Houſe of Commons, but rejected.*

The Houſes met *November* the 23d. And on the 14th of *December* Three Petitions in Favour of the Diſſenters were laid before the Houſe by Sir *Thomas Lucy,* Sir *Edward Dymmock,* and Mr. *Gates.* What Matter they contain'd, the *Reader* will be inform'd in a larger Addreſs by and by. The ſame Day Dr. *Turner,* a Member of the Commons, put the Houſe in Mind of a

---

(c) Cambden Eliz.

(d) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Lib.* 3. *pag.* 74.

Bill and *Book* which he had formerly laid before them. 'Twas drawn, he ſaid, by certain godly and learned Miniſters, and tended, as he conceiv'd, to the Glory of God, her Majeſty's Preſervation, and the publick Benefit; and therefore prayed it might be read.

Now the Book which *Turner* mov'd might paſs the Houſe, was *A Book of the Form of Common-Prayers*, &c. and contain'd the Sum of the *Diſſenters Diſcipline*. Their Petition in Behalf of it was this. *May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty*, &c. *That it may be enacted*, &c. *That the Book hereunto annex'd*, &c. Entitled a Book *of the Form of Common-Prayers, Adminiſtration of Sacraments*, &c. *And every Thing therein contain'd, may be from henceforth Authoriz'd, put in Ure, and practis'd throughout all your Majeſty's Dominions.* * From hence it appears, theſe *Addreſſers* at leaſt, ſaw the Neceſſity of a ſtated Form for *Divine Service*, and did not think it fit to leave every Miniſter to his extemporary Effuſions. But they did not keep firm to this Reſolution: For the general Rule in their *Rubrick* is, That the Miniſter ſhall either pray by the Form there preſcrib'd, or elſe as the Spirit of God ſhall move his Heart, governing his Devotion with Reſpect to Time and Occaſion. †

To return: Againſt this Motion in the Houſe for the *Diſſenter's Form of Common-Prayer*, Sir *Francis Knolles* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, deliver'd himſelf in a few Words: He was ſeconded by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlain: This Gentleman dilated upon the Subject, and argued with ſo much Force, that the Houſe came to a Reſolve againſt Reading either the *Bill* or the *Book*. (e) As to the Book, 'twas the Presbyterian Scheme for *Diſcipline* already mention'd.

A Conference at Lambeth *between ſome of the Biſhops and the Diſſenters.*

This Month, at the Inſtance of ſome of the *Council*, the Two Archbiſhops and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* receiv'd ſome Miniſters Objections againſt Conformity, and return'd them a ſufficient Solution. However, the Earl of *Leiceſter* being willing to afford the *Diſſenters* the utmoſt Advantage, and it may be imagining the Cauſe had not been fully argued, deſir'd the Archbiſhop the Controverſy might be farther debated at *Lambeth*. *Whitgift* agreed: The *Diſſenters* employ'd their beſt Managers, and the Conference laſted Four Hours. And now the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Miniſters of *State* declar'd themſelves ſurpriz'd at the Iſſue of the Diſpute: That they did not expect ſuch clear Principles, and ſuch Force of Perſuaſion, on the Archbiſhop's Side, nor ſuch trifling Exceptions, and ſo weak an Oppoſition from the other Party. And thus ſeeming fully ſatisfied with *Whitgift*'s arguing, they promis'd to acquaint the Queen how Matters paſs'd: And over and above, endeavour'd to perſuade the *Diſſenters* to Conformity: But they did not hold long under this Diſpoſition. (f)

On the 25th of *February*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, made a Report of the Lords Anſwer to the Commons Petition in Favour of the Nonconformiſts. 'Tis digeſted under Sixteen Articles. The Title ſtands thus:

The humble Petitions of the Commons of the Lower Houſe of Parliament, to be offer'd to the Conſideration of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Higher Houſe.

The Commons petition the Lords in favour of the Diſſenters.

I. The firſt Article mentions, That whereas 'twas enacted in the 13th of the preſent Reign, That none ſhould be made a Miniſter, unleſs he was able to give an Account of his Faith in *Latin* to the *Ordinary*, purſuant to certain Articles paſs'd in a *Synod* held in the Year 1562. Or unleſs the Perſon to be ordained had a ſpecial Talent for Preaching: They deſire their Lordſhips to conſider, whether Proviſion ſhould not be made, that thoſe Perſons who have been ſince ordain'd upon lower Qualifications, ſhould be ſuſpended, unleſs they are able to ſtand the Teſt of the *Statute*.

II. The Second Article is in a manner co-incident with the firſt, and may be omitted.

III. The Third Article ſets forth, that the Form of Ordination of Prieſts, confirm'd by *Act of Parliament*, directs, That thoſe who are taken into the Miniſtry, ſhould be put in Mind that they are Paſtors and Watchmen, God's Stewards and Meſſengers: They deſire therefore their Lordſhips would conſider for ſome good Expedient, that none may be admitted to the Miniſtry, but ſuch as are ſufficiently furniſh'd for ſo high and ſolemn a Function.

IV. Since 'tis appointed in the *Ordinal*, That the Biſhops, with the Prieſts then preſent, ſhall lay their Hands upon every Perſon Ordain'd, without mentioning the Number of Prieſts required to be preſent: And ſince by a Statute made in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, (g) every Biſhop is oblig'd to have Six Chaplains at giving Orders; the Commons therefore deſire it may be conſider'd, Whether 'tis not convenient to make a Proviſion, that no Biſhop ſhall Ordain any Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments, without the Aſſiſtance of Six Miniſters at leaſt; and that none may be pitch'd on for ſuch an Aſſiſtance, excepting ſuch as have a fair Character for Life, Learning and Reſidence: That they teſtifie their joining with the Biſhop in this Ceremony, by ſubſcribing ſome Inſtrument for that Purpoſe. And laſtly, That the Ordination be publickly perform'd, and not in any private Houſe or Chapel.

V. The Fifth Article petitions, That none may be Ordained for the future, except thoſe who have either a Benefice with Cure of Souls, or the Offer of being entertain'd as a Preacher in ſome Pariſh, or a Graduate, Fellow, or Scholar of ſome Univerſity.

VI. That none be inſtituted, collated or admitted to a Curacy, without competent Notice given to the Pariſh where they are to officiate; that the People may have Time to enquire into the Regularity of the Perſon: And in caſe they find any Blemiſhes and Failings, they may diſcover it to the *Ordinary*.

VII. That no Oaths may be requir'd of the Clergy, either at Ordination, Inſtitution, *&c.* excepting ſuch as are expreſly enjoin'd by the *Statutes* of the Realm, and an Oath againſt Simony.

VIII. They deſire no Miniſter may be proſecuted either in the Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal Courts, for any ſmall Omiſſions, either in Ceremonies or reading the Common-Prayer.

IX. That Miniſters for the future may not be call'd before Officials and Commiſſaries, to anſwer Complaints touching Doctrine and Conformity; but that ſuch may be examin'd by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that the Cauſe may be tried, and the Cenſure manag'd with as little Prejudice to the Credit of the Perſon complain'd of, as may be.

X. That the Biſhops would reſtore ſuch godly and learned Preachers as have been ſuſpended or depriv'd for no other Crime, but only their Refuſal to ſubſcribe ſuch Articles as have been lately put to them. Or if this Favour may not be allow'd, they may have the Liberty at leaſt of Preaching in other Places to which they are invited.

---

* Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *pag.* 96.

† Bancroft's *Sermon at* Paul's *Croſs, pag.* 55.

(e) D'Ewes's *Journal.*

(f) *Archbiſhop* Whitgift's *Life, by Sir* George Paule.

(g) 21 H. 8. cap. 13.

XI. That the Biſhops would pleaſe not to examine Godly and Learned Preachers upon the Oath *ex Officio*; nor preſs them to anſwer Queſtions to accuſe themſelves, but proceed only upon Articles of Information: And that her Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical may be requir'd to manage in this Method, and not to cite any Miniſter out of his Dioceſe, unleſs for ſome remarkable Misbehaviour at the Inſtance of the Ordinary.

XII. That the Exerciſes of *Propheſying* may be allow'd within every Archdeaconry, upon Regulations ſet by the *Ordinary*.

XIII. That whereas Complaint is made of the Abuſe of Excommunications, as well in Regard of the Grounds and Cauſes upon which 'tis pronounc'd, as of the Perſons who execute the Sentence, they deſire their Lordſhips would pleaſe to conſider, whether a *Bill* might not be brought in to this Effect, *viz.* That in Caſes of Property, Contempt, *&c.* the Party caſt or offending, may be pronounc'd *Contumax*, inſtead of *Excommunicated*; and if after ſuch Denunciation the Party ſhall not give Satisfaction within Forty Days, that then his *Contumacy* ſhould be certified into the *Chancery*, and a Writ *de Contumaci Capiendo* awarded; and this Writ to have the ſame Force and Effect with that *de Excommunicato Capiendo.* They propoſe this Expedient to guard the Solemnity of Excommunication, and keep this higheſt Cenſure from being contemn'd.

XIV. Since 'tis not fit the Church ſhould be diſarm'd of the Power to excommunicate, they would have a *Proviſo* thrown in, that the Sentence may be executed upon Inceſt, Adultery, and ſuch ſcandalous Crimes, by the Biſhops themſelves, with the Aſſiſtance of grave Perſons; or at leaſt by ſome of the Clergy, with the like Aſſiſtance: And that this Sentence ſhould not be decreed by Chancellors, Commiſſaries, or Officials.

XV. That Proviſion may be made againſt Pluralities, and Licences for *Non-reſidence*.

XVI. That in caſe ſuch *Faculties* are ſtill continued, none may be permitted the Advantage of a Licence for *Non-reſidence*, unleſs he furniſhes the Pariſh with an able and ſufficient Preacher to officiate in the Cure: And that no Curate may be ſuffer'd to continue that Employment, unleſs he is qualify'd to preach, performs that Office every Week, and inſtructs the Youth in the Church *Catechiſm*. (h)

Paper-Office.

Thus much for the *Petitions*. The Subſtance of the Lords Anſwer deliver'd to the Committee of the Commons by the Lord Treaſurer and the Archbiſhop of *York*, is as follows. The Treaſurer's Anſwer was ſhort and general: He ſaid, 'Twas the Opinion of the Lords, That many of the Articles propos'd by the Commons were unneceſſary; That Proviſion was made for the reſt, and that Uniformity in *Divine Service* was ſettled by Parliament.

The Archbiſhop of *York*'s Anſwer was larger, and more particular. The two firſt Articles he conceives ought not to paſs; and to anſwer their main Objection, he replies, That in ſuch Pariſhes where ſufficient Preachers were wanting, *Divine Service* and good *Homilies* were commonly read: And this it ſeems he thought ſufficient for the Peoples Inſtruction. He grants the Neceſſity of the third Article, but wholly diſagrees to the fourth. The fifth Article ſuggeſted for preventing a *Miniſterium vagum*, he was willing to allow; but he thought it ought to be drawn with ſome farther *Savings*: For, as 'twas penn'd already, he believ'd it might reach too far, and affect Deans, *&c.* The ſixth Article he wholly diſallow'd; in his Opinion 'twas tinctur'd with Popularity, and might occaſion a great deal of Squabble and Miſunderſtanding. The ſeventh Article he altogether diſlik'd, and declar'd for the Lawfulneſs, and publick Benefit of the Subſcription complain'd of. The eighth and ninth Articles he diſallow'd throughout, becauſe the Liberty deſir'd, would free their Miniſters from all kind of Juriſdiction, and make them in a manner independent of *Church* and *State*. The tenth Article he could not agree to, becauſe Deprivation was frequently neceſſary *in terrorem*; and that the Party depriv'd might make his Submiſſion, and recover his Preferment. The eleventh Article he diſlik'd, which is all that is enter'd upon the *Journal*. The twelfth Article he thought neceſſary, and would take Order for ſuch Exerciſes: But here the reſt of his Reply fails by the Negligence of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons. The thirteenth and fourteenth Articles he confeſs'd, requir'd no more than what ſeem'd reaſonable; and yet upon a cloſe Enquiry would be found not without Inconvenience. For if Excommunication muſt not proceed upon *Contumacy*, and other Inſtances of Misbehaviour, tho' ſmall in themſelves, an unpractis'd Cenſure muſt be brought into the Church, which would draw a great deal of Innovation along with it. He added farther, That Excommunication in theſe Caſes was us'd for the ſame Purpoſe with Outlawries and Attachments in the Temporal Courts; 'twas only to try the Cauſe, and bring the Parties to their Anſwers; who upon their Appearance are abſolv'd of Courſe. However, he promis'd that himſelf, and the reſt of the Biſhops, would be particularly careful in this Matter; and that for the future no Excommunication ſhould be ſent out, excepting for Adultery, or ſome other ſcandalous Crime; or for ſuch Contumacies, againſt which there could be no Remedy any other Way. The Arch-Biſhop has hitherto deliver'd the Senſe of all the Biſhops, as he declares himſelf. As to the fifteenth and ſixteenth Articles he profeſs'd he would never for the future allow of any Pluralities for Life. He told them farther, That the Lords Spiritual approv'd their *Proviſo*; and that when any Temporary Diſpenſations were granted, Care ſhould be taken for unexceptionable Curates.

Idem.

The Aſſociation enacted.

The *Aſſociation* abovemention'd, was paſs'd into an *Act* this Parliament, and pointed directly upon the Queen of *Scots*. (h)

An Act injoining Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts to depart the Realm.

There was likewiſe an *Act* made againſt *Roman* Catholick Prieſts and Jeſuits, who practis'd ſometimes againſt the *State* upon the Excommunicating *Bull* of *Pius Quintus*: They are order'd by the *Statute* to depart the Kingdom within forty Days, and not to return under the Penalty of High Treaſon. This laſt Clauſe has ſome *Proviſo* mention'd in the *Act*. To proceed, Thoſe who knowingly receive, ſupport, and entertain any of theſe Prieſts and Jeſuits, are made guilty of Felony. All Seminary Prieſts or *Religious*, who within ſix Months after Proclamation don't return, ſubmit themſelves to her Majeſty, and take the Oath of Supremacy (i) either before the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or two Juſtices of Peace, are adjudg'd Traitors: And thoſe who perform the Conditions requir'd, in caſe they don't keep themſelves at the Diſtance of Ten Miles from Court for the firſt Ten Years, their Submiſſion is void. Thoſe who make any Remittances to Seminaries, incur the Penalty of a *Præmunire*. Thoſe who know any ſuch Prieſts or Jeſuits, and don't diſcover them within twelve Days, are to be fin'd and impriſon'd at the Queen's Pleaſure. And if any Juſtice of Peace, or other Officer does not give Information of any ſuch Diſcovery made to him within eight and twenty Days, either to the Privy-Council, or Vice-Preſident of the *North*, or the Marches of *Wales*, he was to forfeit Two hundred Marks. And laſtly, Thoſe who ſent their Children to any foreign Seminaries, were to forfeit an Hundred Pounds. This Clauſe was only for her Majeſty's Life. *(k)*

(h) D'Ewe's *Journal of the Houſe of Commons.*

(h) 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

(i) 1 Eliz. cap. 1.

The *Diſſenters*, as hath been obſerv'd, had a conſiderable Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons. This, beſides what has been already related, will farther appear from Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s Letter to the Queen.

Archbiſhop Whitgift's *Letter to the Queen.*

To the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertis'd, that notwithſtanding the Charge of late given by your Highneſs to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, for dealing in Cauſes of the Church; albeit alſo according to your Majeſty's good liking, we have ſet down Orders for the admitting of meet Men into the Miniſtry hereafter; yet have they paſs'd a Bill in that Houſe Yeſterday touching the Matter, which, beſides other great Inconveniencies, (as namely the Trial of the Miniſters Sufficiency by Twelve Laymen, and ſuch like) hath this alſo, That if it paſs by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be alter'd, what Neceſſity ſoever ſhall urge thereunto; which I am perſwaded in ſhort Time will appear, conſidering the multitude of Livings not fit for Men ſo qualified, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs thereof: Whereas if it paſs but as a Canon from us, by your Majeſty's Authority, it may be obſerv'd or alter'd at your Pleaſure. They have alſo paſs'd a Bill giving Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year, without Reſtraint, contrary to the old Canons continually obſerv'd amongſt us; and containing Matter which tendeth to the Slander of this Church, as having hitherto maintain'd an Error. There is likewiſe now in Hand in the ſame Houſe a Bill concerning Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and Viſitations by Biſhops, which may reach to the Overthrow of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and Study of the Civil Laws. The Pretence of the Bill is againſt exceſſive Fees and Exactions in Eccleſiaſtical Courts; which Fees are none other than have been of long Time accuſtomed to be taken, the Law already eſtabliſh'd providing a ſharp and ſevere Puniſhment for ſuch as ſhall exceed the ſame; beſides an Order alſo which we at this Preſent have taken amongſt our ſelves for the better Performance thereof. I therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to continue your gracious Goodneſs towards us, who with all Humility ſubmit our ſelves to your Highneſs, and ceaſe not daily to pray for your happy Eſtate, and long and proſperous Reign over us. (l)

Your Majeſty's Chaplain, and
daily Orator moſt bounden,
John Cantuar.

This Letter either found, or made the Queen of the Archbiſhop's Sentiment; for the *Bills* and *Debates* in the Lower Houſe came to nothing, and no Alteration paſs'd upon the Diſcipline of the Church this *Seſſion*. On the 29th of *March* the Queen made a Speech to both Houſes at the Prorogation of the Parliament. “She takes Notice, that ſome People had been buſie in finding Fault with the Clergy; That a Cenſure of this Kind reflected upon her ſelf. For ſince God had made her an *Over-Ruler* of the Church, her Negligence could not be excus'd, if any Schiſm or Hereſie was conniv'd at. She grants there may be ſome Miſbehaviour and Omiſſion amongſt the Body of the Clergy; and that ſuch Miſcarriage is common to all conſiderable Offices. *All which*, continues her Majeſty, *if you my Lords of the Clergy do not amend, I mean to depoſe you. Look you therefore well to your Charges. (m)*

The Queen refuſes to ſuffer any Alteration in the Diſcipline of the Church.

'Tis plain by this Speech, the Queen was led into a Miſperſwaſion concerning the *Regale*; ſhe delivers her ſelf as if ſhe had an Apoſtolical Commiſſion within her Dominions, and her Power was Paramount to the *Epiſcopal College*: The Parliament was prorogued to the 20th of *May*, and ſo on from Time to Time till the 14th of *December* 1586. when it was diſſolv'd.

Anno Dom. 1585.

The *Convocation* met on the 24th of *November* 1584. where little was done, excepting the granting a Subſidy. On the 18th of *December John Hilton* Clerk, impriſon'd by the High Commiſſion, for Error, Hereſie and Blaſphemy, was order'd to be convented. He made his Appearance on the 22d following, and confeſs'd the Accuſation, and that in a Sermon at St. *Martins in the Fields*; he had affirm'd the *Old* and *New Teſtament* are but Fables; That he had blaſphem'd our Saviour, and declar'd himſelf an Heathen. After this he gave in his Abjuration in Writing. Upon this Submiſſion Penance was injoin'd, with an Admonition premis'd, not to maintain and teach any ſuch Hereſies and Blaſphemies. As to the Diſcipline put upon him, he was not to preach, or exerciſe any Part of his Function without ſpecial Licence from the Archbiſhop. And ſecondly, a Recantation was order'd him in St. *Martin*'s Church, where Dr. *Cotton* was to preach, and the Lower Houſe of *Convocation* was to be preſent. This *Convocation* ſat till the 21ſt of *May*, which was about ſeven Weeks after the Prorogation of the *Parliament*: From this Term 'twas prorogu'd from Time to Time by the Queen's *Writ*, 'till the Diſſolution, which happen'd on *November* the 15th *An. Dom.* 1586. *(n)*

Hilton's *Recantation.*

The Convocation ſits ſeveral Weeks after the Prorogation of the Parliament.

The *Diſſenters* failing of Succeſs in the Parliament Houſe, were ſomewhat diſcouraged; *Cartwright* himſelf was willing to come towards an Accommodation, and made his Court by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This Nobleman wrote to the Archbiſhop in his Behalf; and becauſe this Letter and the Anſwer ſhews the Earl's Affection to the *Puritans*, and the Archbiſhop's Caution, the *Reader* ſhall have them in their own Words.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Letter to Archbiſhop* Whitgift *in Behalf of* Cartwright.

My good Lord,

I moſt heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous Uſage of Mr. Cartwright, *who hath ſo exceeding kindly taken it alſo, as I aſſure your Grace he cannot ſpeak enough of it, I truſt it ſhall do a great deal of good; and he proteſteth and profeſſeth to me to take no other Courſe, but to the Drawing of all Men to the Unity of the Church; and that your Grace hath ſo dealt with him, as no Man ſhall ſo command him, and diſpoſe of him as you ſhall; and doth mean to let his Opinion publickly be known, even in the Pulpit, if your Grace ſo permit him, what he himſelf will, and would all others ſhould do for Obedience to the Laws eſtabliſh'd. And if any little Scruple be, it is not great, and eaſie to be reform'd by your Grace, whom I do moſt heartily intreat to continue your Favour and Countenance towards him, with ſuch Acceſs ſometimes, as your Leiſure may permit: For I perceive he doth much deſire and crave it. I am to thank your Grace*

(k) 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

(l) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9. *from* Sir Peter Manhood's *Original.*

(m) D'Ewe's *Journal p.* 328.

(n) Journal Convocat.

alſo very heartily for Mr. Fenne; *albeit I underſtand he is ſomething more opinionated than I wiſh him, but I truſt he will alſo yield to all Reaſons: And I mean to deal with the Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield *to make ſome Trial of him: For ſurely he is an honeſt Man. Thus, my good Lord, praying to God to bleſs his Church, and to make his Servants conſtant and faithful. I bid your Grace farewell.*

(*o*) Fuller, *from* Sir Peter Manhood's *Originals.*

At the Court this 14th of *July* (*o*)

Your Graces very aſſured Friend,
R. Liceſter.

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer.

My ſingular good Lord,

Maſter Cartwright *ſhall be welcome to me at all Times, and uſing himſelf quietly, as becometh him, and as I hope he will, he ſhall find me willing to do him any Good; but to grant unto him as yet my Licence to preach, without longer Trial, I cannot, eſpecially ſeeing he proteſteth himſelf to be of the ſame Mind he was at the writing of his Book, for the Matter thereof, though not for the Manner: My ſelf alſo, I thank God, not alter'd in any Point by me ſet down, to the contrary: And knowing many Things to be very dangerous: Wherefore notwithſtanding I am content, and ready to be at Peace with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably, yet doth my Conſcience and Duty forbid me to give unto him any farther publick Approbation, until I be better perſwaded of his Conformity. And ſo being bold to uſe my accuſtomed Plainneſs with your Lordſhip, I commit you to the Tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of* July *1585.*

Idem.

John Cantuar.

This Year a Presbytery was ſet up at *Hatfield Peveril* in *Eſſex*, by one *Carew* a Puritan Preacher. *Ailmer* Biſhop of *London* being inform'd of this oppoſite Communion, ſummon'd the Preacher and ſeveral of his Congregation before himſelf and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. Theſe Men, after Examination, were committed. As for *Carew*, his Ignorance, Heterodoxies and Aſſurance were very remarkable. He had his Miſſion only from the Peoples Election, deſpis'd all Cenſures of the Church, declaim'd againſt the Common-Prayer, and deny'd *Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell.* He maintain'd Diviſions ought to be kept on, becauſe our Saviour ſaid, *I came not to ſend Peace, but a Sword.* He held, *the Soul of Man was Part of the Subſtance of God.* By Conſequence, that the Soul was infinite; and that the Deity muſt ſuffer in the Fate of thoſe that were *loſt*. He had miſled his People to an Indifferency for the Sacrament of Baptiſm: They ſaid, *It made no matter for the Water, ſo we have the Word.* *

* Strype's *Life of Biſhop* Ailmer.

This Year a Conference was held at *Halyrood-Houſe*, between the King and the Miniſters touching *Church Diſcipline*; 'tis not regiſter'd in the Manuſcript Acts of the *Aſſembly*, but I found a Copy of it in the *Paper-Office* at *White-Hall*, which I ſhall tranſcribe into the *Records.* *

* *See Records, Num.* XCIII.

Fecknam's *Death. Somewhat of his Character.*

This Year *John Fecknam* late Abbot of *Weſtminſter* died; the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory having been given already, I ſhall only obſerve farther, That in the Reign of Queen *Mary* this Abbot did a great many good Offices to the *Proteſtants.* For Inſtance: The Earl of *Bedford* and the preſent Earl of *Leiceſter* were ſcreen'd, in ſome meaſure by him. He diſengag'd Sir *John Cheek* from ſome Difficulties, and interpos'd ſo far with Queen *Mary* for the Enlargement of her Siſter *Elizabeth*, that he ſuffer'd in his Intereſt at Court. Thoſe of his own Perſwaſion complain'd his Kindneſs was unreturn'd; for upon the Refuſal of the Oath of *Supremacy*, he was confin'd, and died a Priſoner in *Wiſbich*-Caſtle.

Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Pits de illuſt. Angl. Scrip.

The Malecontent Scotch *Lords return Home, take Arms, and are pardon'd.*

The Malcontent Lords, who fled into *England* for Shelter, rallied their Intereſt, and ventur'd to return into their Countrey. At their firſt appearing, they rais'd Forces, ſat down before *Sterling* and took it. The King, to prevent a Civil War, pardon'd them, and diſcarded *Arran*, and over and above reſtor'd them their former Poſts in the Government. And now a Parliament being held at *Edenborough*, the Miniſters who return'd with the Lords, not being contented with their Pardon, inſiſted ſtrongly upon a Repeal of the Acts paſs'd the laſt Year againſt their *Diſcipline*. The Lords, either diſliking the Motion, or conceiving the Thing impracticable, were willing to acquieſce under the preſent Eſtabliſhment. This Paſſiveneſs was highly reſented by the Miniſters, who charg'd the Lords with Breach of Promiſe; and which was more extraordinary, one *William Watſon* preaching before the King at *Edinborough*, reproach'd him with Mal-Adminiſtration; for which Miſbehaviour he was committed to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs.* But this Correction was not ſufficient to govern the ill Manners of the reſt: For one *James Gibſon* getting into the Pulpit at *Edinborough*, fell into a very intemperate Fit of Railing: He ſaid, That Captain *James*, * *with his Lady* Jezabel *and* William Steward (meaning the Colonel) *were taken to be the Perſecutors of the Church, but that now 'twas ſeen to be the King himſelf*, againſt whom he denounced the Curſe that fell on *Jeroboam*, *that he ſhould die Childleſs, and be the laſt of his Race.* *Gibſon* being call'd before the *Council*, maintain'd his Inſolence, and was committed. (*p*)

Some of the Miniſters miſbehave themſelves in the Pulpit.

* *Captain* James *lately carried the Title of Lord* Arran.

(*p*) Spotſwood *Church Hiſt.* Et Refut. libel.

In *England* Archbiſhop *Whitgift* found himſelf embaraſs'd at the Council-Board: The Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſome other great Men, tho' ſeemingly ſatisfy'd with the late Conference at *Lambeth*, endeavour'd to break the Archbiſhop's Meaſures, and ſupport the *Puritans.* He complains of this ill Uſage, that he was miſreported in his Management, oppos'd from unexpected Quarters, and that ſome of thoſe who profeſs'd Friendſhip, did not deal clearly with him. I ſhall give the *Reader* Part of his Letter to this Purpoſe.

The Archbiſhop's Expoſtulatory Letter to the Lord Treaſurer.

God knows, ſays he, *how deſirous I have been to have my Doings approv'd by my ancient and honourable Friends: I have done nothing of Importance againſt the Sectaries without good Advice. I have anſwer'd their Contentious and Seditious Objections, and ſhall I now ſay, I have loſt my Labour? Or ſhall my juſt Dealing with diſobedient and irregular Perſons cauſe my former profeſs'd and ancient Friends to hinder my juſt Proceedings, and make them ſpeak of my Doings, yea, and of my ſelf, what they liſt?—— In theſe publick Actions I ſee no Cauſe why I ſhould ſeek Friends, ſeeing they to whom the Care of the Commonwealth is committed, ought of Duty therein to join with me.— It is objected by ſome, That my Deſire of Uniformity by way of Subſcription, is for the better Maintenance of my Book. They are my Enemies that ſay ſo, but I truſt my Friends have a better Opinion of me. Why ſhould I ſeek for any Confirmation of my Book after twelve Years Approbation? Or what ſhall I get thereby more than already I have? And yet if Subſcription may confirm it, 'tis confirm'd long ago by the Subſcription of almoſt all the Clergy of* England *before my Time.—— I am burthen'd with Wilfulneſs; I hope my Friends are better perſwaded of me, to whoſe Conſciences I appeal. 'Tis ſtrange a Man of my Place, dealing by ſo good Warrant as I do, ſhould be ſo encounter'd; and for not yielding, be*

Anno Dom. 1586.

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

* Vincit qui Patitur, *was the Archbiſhop's Motto.*

accounted willful. But I muſt be Content, vincit qui Patitur. * *There is a Difference betwixt Wilfulneſs and Conſtancy. I have taken upon me, by the Place which I hold under her Majeſty, the Defence of the Religion, and the Rites of the Church of* England: *To appeaſe the Schiſms and Sects therein, to reduce all the Miniſters to Uniformity and due Obedience, and not to waver with every Wind: This alſo my Place, my Perſon, my Duty, the Laws, her Majeſty, and the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, require of me: And herein the Lords of her Highneſſes moſt honourable Privy-Council (All Things conſider'd) ought in Duty to aſſiſt and Countenance me. But how is it poſſible, after ſo long Liberty, and Lack of Diſcipline, I ſhould perform the Charge I have undertaken, if a few Perſons ſo meanly qualified (as moſt of theſe factious Sectaries are) ſhould be countenanc'd againſt the whole State of the Clergy, of greateſt Account both for Learning, Years, ſtaidneſs, Wiſdom, Religion, and Honeſty; and if open Breakers and Impugners of the Law, Young in Years, proud in Conceit, contentious in Diſpoſition, ſhould be maintain'd againſt their Governors, ſeeking to reduce them to Order and Obedience?* Hæc ſunt initia Hæreticorum, & ortus, atque conatus Schiſmaticorum malé cogitantium, ut ſibi placeant, ut præpoſitum ſuperbo Tumore contemnant. Sic de Eccleſia receditur, ſic Altare profanum foris collocatur, ſic contra pacem Chriſti, & ordinationem atq; unitatem Dei rebellatur. That is, *Pride and Contempt of Superiors, is the Principle of Mutiny, and the leading Motive to Hereſy and Schiſm. Thus they revolt from the Church; thus unhallow'd Altars are ſet up in foreign Societies, thus the Peace and Unity recommended, thus the Government inſtituted by Chriſt, is broken and oppos'd. —— I muſt not endure,* continues the Archbiſhop, *their notorious Contempt, unleſs I will become* Æſop*'s Block, and undo all that has been hitherto done —— 'Tis certain, if Way be given to them upon their unjuſt Surmiſes and Clamours, it will be the Cauſe of that Confuſion which hereafter the State will be ſorry for. ——— I neither fear the Diſpleaſure of Man, nor the evil Tongue of the Uncharitable, who call me Tyrant, Pope, Knave, and lay Things to my Charge I never did, nor Thought.* Scio enim hoc eſſe opus Diaboli, ut ſervos Dei mendaciis laceret, & opinionibus falſis glorioſum nomen infamet, ut qui conſcientiæ ſuæ luce clareſcunt, alienis rumoribus ſordidentur. That is, “ 'Tis the Devil's Buſineſs to bring “ Miſreports upon God's Servants, to ſully their “ Reputation, and aſperſe their Innocence.” *Thus,* ſays the Archbiſhop, *was St.* Cyprian *himſelf, and other godly Biſhops uſed, to whom I am not comparable. But that which grieves me moſt, that which is to be wonder'd at, and lamented, is that ſome of thoſe who Countenance theſe Men, and cry out for a learned Miniſtry, ſhould Watch their Opportunity, and be Inſtruments and Means to place moſt unlearned Men in the chiefeſt Places, and Livings of the Miniſtry, thereby to make the State of the Biſhops, and Clergy contemptible, and I fear Saleable. This Hypocriſy and Diſſembling with God and Man (in pretending one Thing and doing another) goes to my Heart, and makes me think God's Judgments are not far off. The Day will come when all Men's Hearts ſhall be open'd. In the mean Time I will depend upon him who never fails them that put their Truſt in him.* (q)

Cyprian.

(q) *Sir* George Paul's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift.

Moſt of what I have tranſcrib'd, was written to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh,* in Anſwer to an expoſtulating Letter of that Nobleman, in Behalf of the *Diſſenters.* By the Tenor of the Archbiſhop's Defence, and his Complaint of Diſappointment from his Friends, 'tis eaſy to collect ſome great Men endeavour'd to embroil Matters, and break the Eccleſiaſtick Eſtabliſhment. That there was more Intereſt than Conſcience in this Practice.. That theſe Steps were not taken ſo much in Favour of the *Puritans* as to diſmantle Religion in General, and make Way for farther Depredations upon the Patrimony of the Church.

Divinity Lecture, ſet up at Oxford.

This Year Sir *Francis Walſingham* founded a Divinity Lecture at *Oxford.* The *Reader* was to diſcourſe upon the Fundamentals of Religion, and the *Holy Scriptures,* by Way of common Place: That the Controverſies ariſing from thence might be more particularly diſcuſs'd. This *Lecture,* as the Univerſity-*Hiſtorian* reports, was ſet up on Purpoſe to widen the Breach, and inflame the Difference between the Two Churches of *England* and *Rome*; for *Walſingham* had a ſtrong Biaſs towards *Puritaniſm.* To make the Deſign bear, Dr. *John Reyonlds,* a violent Antipapiſt, was Firſt plac'd in the *Chair.* The *Lecture* was much commended and throng'd by the young Students: But ſome People cenſur'd the Foundation: They ventur'd to ſay the Pretence of propagating Truth was only a Colour to convey *Walſingham*'s Sacrilege out of Sight. For this Gentleman, it ſeems, during the Vacancy of the *See* of *Oxford,* had lop'd the Revenues. As for Dr. *Reynolds,* he made it his Buſineſs to read againſt the Hierarchy, and weaken the Authority of the Biſhops. And thus by the Aſcendant of *Walſingham* and their Chancellor *Leiceſter,* Divinity had a Sort of new Face at *Oxford,* and the Firſt *Reformation* was reform'd away in a great Meaſure. *

* Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. Lib. 1. *pag.* 301.

To ſay ſomething of *Scotland*; *Andrew Melvil,* who imagin'd the Acts of Parliament lately made for controling the Juriſdiction of the *Aſſemblies,* were drawn by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews,* projected a Revenge upon this Prelate. To this Purpoſe, he procur'd a Sort of *Synod* conven'd at St. *Andrews.* This Meeting conſiſted of a great Number of Barons, and others of the rich Laity, intermix'd with the Miniſters. Mr. *James Melvil,* couſin to Mr. *Andrew,* open'd the *Aſſembly* with a Speech. In this *Exhortation,* as they call it, he bore hard upon thoſe who ſuggeſted the *Acts* abovemention'd, and adviſ'd the *Aſſembly* to proceed againſt the Perſon known to be the chief Promoter. By this Deſcription he meant the Archbiſhop. This Advice was follow'd, and the Biſhop was cited to appear before them. When he came, he proteſted in the Firſt Place againſt their Juriſdiction. Having premiſ'd this, he deſir'd to know what Articles they had againſt him. They took no Notice of his *Proteſtation,* but charg'd him with ſuggeſting the *Statutes* made in the Year 1584: And with Penning the King's *Declaration* publiſh'd in purſuance of thoſe *Acts.* They charg'd him likewiſe with miſreporting the Brethren that retir'd into *England.* To this the Biſhop, repeating his Proteſtation, replied, “ That the Suggeſtion and “ Draught of the *Statutes,* were Things he had “ no Hand in: But when the Motion was made, “ and the *Bills* form'd, he voted for thoſe Pro“ viſions, and in this he had follow'd the Dire“ ction of his Conſcience: And that by the Se“ cond Act of that Parliament the Authority of “ the Three Eſtates was confirm'd and enacted “ to ſtand unaltered, according to the ancient “ Cuſtom of the Realm. (r) This the Aſſembly-men objected, was ſettling the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, as it ſtood in Times of Popery. St. *Andrews* replied, “ The Biſhops were not an “ *Eſtate* conſider'd in themſelves, but that they “ repreſented the Eſtate of the Clergy, which “ was always reckon'd the Firſt *Eſtate* ſince the

Adamſon *Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews *cited before a Kirk Synod.*

He proteſts againſt their Authority, and appeals.

A.D. 1586.

(r) Ja. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 130.

“ Kingdom was converted to Chriſtianity. He “ urg'd farther, That the *Act* laſt mention'd “ made no expreſs Proviſion for any Epiſcopal “ Juriſdiction: However, if the Circumſtances “ of Time and Place had been Favourable, he “ told them there was enough to be ſaid in De- “ fence of the Epiſcopal Authority. He like- “ wiſe reminded them, they were none of his “ Judges. At laſt, when he found them re- “ ſolv'd to go on with their Cenſures, he ap- “ peal'd to the King, the *Council*, the Three “ *Eſtates* of the Realm, or any other lawful Aſ- “ ſembly conven'd by his Majeſty.

When the Biſhop had left them, they entred into a Debate, whether they were to admit the Appeal, and ſtop the Proceſs. They divided upon the Queſtion, and upon collecting the Votes, had a Majority of Two for proceeding immediately to Excommunication. The *Moderator, Wilkie*, refus'd to pronounce the Sentence, neither would any other of the *Aſſembly* venture upon ſo hardy a Performance. And thus, when they were breaking up *re infecta*, and a good Part of them had left the Houſe, one *Andrew Hunter*, a young Fellow, deſir'd them to ſtay, and declar'd the Spirit had order'd him to pronounce the Sentence, and thus ſtepping into the *Chair*, he read the Form of Excommunication.

He is excommunicated by the Synod.

This *Cenſure* was return'd the next Day upon ſome Part of the *Aſſembly*. For Two of the Biſhop's Servants being at Church, prevail'd with one Mr. *Samuel Cunningham*, the Biſhop's Couſin, to go into the *Reader*'s Seat, and pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication againſt Mr. *Andrew*, and Mr. *James Melvil*, and ſome other Miniſters of *Fife*, who had appear'd with moſt Heat agaiſt the Biſhop.

Some of his Exceptions to the Synod.

The Appeal was laid before the King: And here the Biſhop excepted againſt the Authority of their *Synod*, and the Method of their Proceedings. He alledg'd, the Meeting of the *Aſſembly* was expreſly againſt the *Statutes* of the Realm: That they were neither conven'd by his Majeſty's Letter, nor the Biſhop of the Dioceſe: That a ſecular Perſon preſided as Moderator: That the Meeting conſiſted of a Majority of the *Laity*, who were to have no Vote in Church Aſſemblies: And that if the Number of Divines had overbalanc'd the Reſt, they ought notwithſtanding, by the Apoſtle's Rule, to have been Subject to the Biſhop's Cenſure, and not brought him under Theirs. The reſt of his Allegations may be omitted.

Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory.*

The King being inform'd of this Claſhing, gave Way to the *Aſſembly*, ſuffer'd the Biſhop to ſink, and reſign to a diſhonourable Submiſſion. For at the next Synod, inſtead of Diſcuſſing the Appeal, they came to a Sort of Compromiſe, which ran moſtly in Favour of the *Aſſembly*. 'Twas to this Effect:

He Submits to Terms of Diſadvantage.

By this Agreement the Biſhop either under his Hand, or by perſonally appearing, was to deny that he ever publickly challeng'd any Supremacy, or pretended himſelf a Judge over other Paſtors and Miniſters, or maintain'd that ſuch Claim had any Warrant or Foundation in *Holy Scripture*. And if any Thing of this Kind had been affirm'd, he was to declare it an Error againſt his *Conſcience* and *Knowledge*. He was alſo to deny his having claim'd any judicial Power over the laſt *Aſſembly*. That if he had done it, he was miſtaken: And that he was to blame for his imperious Behaviour, and Contempt of the *Synod*. He was likewiſe to promiſe more inoffenſive Behaviour for the Future. To ask Pardon for all paſt Failings and Omiſſions; to inſiſt upon no more Privilege and Juriſdiction than might be made good by the Word of God. And laſtly, he was to ſubmit his Doctrine and Behaviour to the Judgment of the general *Aſſembly* without any Contradiction or Appeal.

On the other Hand, the *Aſſembly* to give the King Satisfaction, and ſhew how willing they were to obey his Highneſs as far as their Conſcience would give them Leave, promis'd to declare the Proceſs imperfect, and the Sentence of Excommunication unpronounc'd, and reſtore the Biſhop to the Condition he was in before his Appearing at the St. *Andrews Synod*: But with this Proviſo, That he ſhould perform his Part of the Stipulation, and manage regularly for the Future.

The Biſhop was ſo over compliant as to ſign theſe Terms, and ſacrifice his Character to his Repoſe. However, this Exceſs of Humility was not ſufficient for general Satisfaction. Some of the bigotted Miniſters mov'd ſtrongly for maintaining the Proceſs, confirming the Sentence, and proteſted againſt the Accommodation agreed by the Majority.

At this *Aſſembly* there was a Motion for cenſuring the Miniſters who had ſubſcrib'd their Approbation of the *Statutes* made in the Year 1584. But upon Enquiry, the Number of theſe Subſcribers was found ſo conſiderable, that 'twas thought prudential to connive at ſome Difference of Sentiment, and not preſs the Matter any farther.

Idem.

The Laity not to Vote in the general Aſſemblies.

At this general Aſſembly, which met *May* the 10th, 1586, the Number of the *Presbyteries* was ſettled, and the Places of *Seſſion* fix'd, by the Lord Clerk of the *Regiſter*, at the Requeſt of the Divines. (s) By this *Synod* none are allow'd to Vote in the general Aſſemblies, but ſuch as the *Scriptures* have appointed *Governors of the Church of God*; *that is Paſtors, Doctors, and Elders.* As for other Perſons who have any Cauſe depending, or any Buſineſs to propoſe in the *Aſſembly*, they have the Liberty of being preſent: That is, they may give in their Petitions, and hear a Buſineſs argued, but neither the *Laity*, nor Deacons, have any Privilege of Suffrage. To go on with the *Aſſembly*, and give their own Words. *There are Four ordain'd Offices*, ſay they, *ſet down to us by the Scripture, to wit, Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons: And the Name of a Biſhop ought not to be taken, as it hath in Papiſtry, but is common to all Paſtors and Miniſters.* (t) The *Manuſcript* mentions a Conference between the King's Council and ſome Commiſſioners of the *Aſſembly* at *Holyrood Houſe*. The Matter debated, was concerning the Authority of Biſhops. And here the Church Committee agreed ſome Privilege ſhould remain to the Biſhops. Now the *Aſſembly* refuſing to ſtand to the Agreement of their own *Agents*, the King's Commiſſioners came into the *Houſe*, and proteſted againſt their Proceedings, and declar'd every Thing null which was done by them. That which the *Aſſembly* inſiſted on was, That ſince a Biſhop was but an ordinary Paſtor, any Exceptions to the Regularity of his Life, or the Doctrine maintain'd by him, ſhould be tried by the *Presbytery* and *Synod*: And as to his Commiſſion in Church Affairs, he ſhould be under the Juriſdiction of the general *Aſſembly*. 'Twas upon theſe Heads the Commiſſioners diſagreed with them, and entred their Proteſtation. And thus the Meeting being upon the Point of breaking up, they ſent Three of their Members to the King, relax'd a little, and agreed upon this Temper;

(s) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly, fol.* 1056. Spotſwood Refutat. Libell. *pag.* 56.

(t) MS. *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

“ That

The Biſhops to preſide in the Synods.

"That Biſhops and others commiſſionated to viſit Churches, ſhould only be Subject to the Juriſdiction and Cenſure of the general *Aſſembly*, or their Delegates. And that where Biſhops were reſident they ſhould preſide in the Meetings of *Presbyteries* and *Synods*. *Fife* was excepted in this Compromiſe, in Favour of Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, who was to moderate at the *Presbytery* of St. *Andrews* till the next *Synod*." Upon this Settlement the King is ſaid to allow their Scheme for adjuſting the Limits and Number of their *Presbyteries*. (*u*)

(*u*) Spotſwood Refutat. Libel. &c. pag. 56.

The Miniſters refuſe to pray for the Queen of Scots.

The King of *Scots* being inform'd they were conſulting in *England* about taking away the Queen his Mother's Life, order'd the Divines to recommend her to God's Protection in their publick Devotions. This Common Office of Humanity which might have been perform'd to an Heathen, was abſolutely refus'd. And when the Order was repeated, and the Form drawn up, none but Mr. *David Lindeſay* at *Leith*, and the Court-Clergy could be brought to Compliance. And at *Edinborough*, which ought to have been Exemplary to the reſt of the Kingdom, the Diſobedience was moſt publick and provoking. The King upon this order'd *Adamſon* Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, to perform the Office; he was likewiſe to make a Sermon upon the Occaſion; and a Day was appointed for the Solemnity. The Miniſters being inform'd of this Preparation, prevail'd with one *Cowper* a young Man, unordain'd, to ſeize the Pulpit, and keep it againſt the Biſhop. The King coming to the Cathedral at the Hour appointed, and ſeeing *Cowper* in the Pulpit, told him, that Place was deſign'd for another; however, in caſe he would obey the Order, and pray for the Queen Mother, he might go on. To this, *Cowper* with an unuſual Confidence reply'd, *He would do as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him*. Upon this he was commanded down; but managing as if he intended to keep his Place, the Captain of the Guards ſtep'd forward to pull him out; upon which he threw out this Expreſſion, *This Day ſhall be a Witneſs againſt the King in the great Day of the Lord*. And then denouncing Judgment to the Burghers of *Edinborough*, he came down, and the Biſhop of St. *Andrews* preach'd, and perform'd the Office. In the Afternoon *Cowper* was order'd to appear before the *Council*; *Walter Balcanquel* and *William Watſon*, Miniſters, came along with him, where for ſome unbecoming Language, they were forbidden preaching at *Edinborough* during the King's Pleaſure: As for *Cowper*, he was ſent Priſoner to *Blackneſs*.

Cowper's *Miſbehaviour.*

Idem, *and* Church Hiſt.

A Conſpiracy againſt Queen Elizabeth.

In *June* this Year a League Offenſive and Defenſive was concluded between *England* and *Scotland* at *Berwick*. The ſame Month this Alliance was finiſhed, a deſperate Plot againſt Queen *Elizabeth* was diſcover'd: I ſhall mention ſome little of it from *Cambden*, who form'd his Narrative from the Confeſſion of the Criminals. Some *Engliſh* Men in the Seminary at *Rhemes*, were ſo bigotted to the Court of *Rome*, ſo overſet with the *Italian* Doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, that they believ'd *Pius* the Vth's Excommunicating *Bull* little leſs than the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. The next Advance in their Belief made the diſpatching excommunicated Princes a meritorious Action; and that it was Martyrdom to miſcarry in the Enterprize. This Opinion was ſtrongly preſſed by Dr. *Gifford*, *Gilbert Gifford*, and *Hodgkinſon* Prieſts: And one *John Savage*, a Man of a Military Genius, was ſo throughly proſelyted to this Doctrine, that he readily undertook to kill the Queen. At the ſame Time they publiſh'd a ſort of paſtoral Letter to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks, not to diſturb the Government, or attempt any Thing againſt the Prince: That they ſhould have Recourſe to no other Expedient but Prayers and Tears: That theſe were the only juſtifiable Preparations for Chriſtian Subjects: And that Faſting and Devotion are the proper Defences againſt Perſecution. Theſe Men got a Report ſpread, that *George Gifford*, a Gentleman in the Queen's Guards, had ſworn to aſſaſſinate her Majeſty, and receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the Duke of *Guiſe* for this Purpoſe. (*w*)

(*w*) Cambden Eliz.

A Commiſſion for trying the Queen of Scots.

Somewhat before this Time, one *Ballard*, a Seminary Prieſt, was ſent into *France*, to concert an Expedition againſt *England*. The Invaſion was to be furniſh'd by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, the *Guiſes*, and the Prince of *Parma*. This *Ballard* being diſpatch'd into *England*, to make an Intereſt for the Enterprize, was diſcover'd by *Maud*, one of *Walſingham*'s Spies, who travell'd along with *Ballard*, and had been truſted to an Intimacy by him. *Ballard* coming to *London*, and going under the Name of Captain *Foſcue*, open'd the Buſineſs to *Babbington*, a young Gentleman of *Derbyſhire*: He was a Perſon of a good Family and Fortune, and of a promiſing Genius. The Enlargement of the Queen of *Scots* was Part of their Undertaking This Princeſs being weary of her Confinement, is ſaid to have exchang'd ſome Letters with *Babbington*: But that this Correſpondence reach'd to any Attempt againſt Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, was always denied by Her. However, the Worſt being believ'd, or at leaſt ſuſpected, Queen *Elizabeth* awarded a Commiſſion for her Tryal. The *Inſtrument* is directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, now one of the Privy-Council, to Sir *Thomas Bromely* Lord Chancellor, to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, to the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, to the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lincoln*, with ſeveral Barons, and other Members of the Privy-Council, with Five of the Judges. The Queen of *Scots* was tried at *Fotheringay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, where ſhe was then impriſon'd. When Notice was given her, ſhe refus'd at Firſt to appear in Court, and inſiſted on the Independency of her Condition, and declar'd ſhe had rather die a Thouſand Times over, than do any Thing which might injure her Royal Character, and imply that ſhe own'd her ſelf a Subject. However, ſhe condeſcended ſo far, as to ſay, ſhe was ready to make her Defence in a free and full Parliament. At laſt ſhe was prevail'd with to drop this Reſolution, and come into the Court. But here ſhe was not wholly unprovided with an Expedient. For to guard her Sovereignty, ſhe entred a Proteſtation in Writing againſt the Authority of her Judges. She behav'd herſelf with an Air of Majeſty becoming her Station, and replied to the Articles objected with great Strength, and Preſence of Mind: She was preſs'd hardeſt with the Evidence of her Secretaries, *Nave* and *Curle*: But neither of them were brought into the Court, which ſhe deſir'd. In ſhort, her Defence not giving Satisfaction, ſhe was found guilty.

Idem.

Octob. 14. 1586.

The Queen of Scots *tried upon* 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

Idem.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *at the Head of the Commiſſion.*

By the Way, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s being put in the Commiſſion for trying the Queen of *Scots*, is a clear Evidence that the Privy-Council and the Judges, who may well be ſuppos'd to have perus'd this *Inſtrument*, were of Opinion, that a Biſhop's judging in capital Cauſes was

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

was not inconſiſtent either with his Character, or the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. 'Tis true the Archbiſhop did not act, neither was there any Neceſſity for his doing ſo: For by the Tenor of the Commiſſion, a Majority of thoſe nominated were impower'd to try the Priſoner, and give Sentence.

October 29.

Soon after the Trial was over, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The Queen's Buſineſs not giving her Leave to come to the Houſe of Lords, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Derby*, Lord Steward, or any two of them, had a Commiſſion under the Great-Seal to open the Parliament, and to hold, adjourn, or prorogue it, as long as they thought fit. *(x)*

(x) D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 391.

On the 12th of *November*, ſome of the Lords and Commons waited upon the Queen with an Addreſs from both Houſes for the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*. And here to gain her Majeſty's Conſent, *John Puckering*, Serjeant at Law, and Speaker to the Houſe of Commons, made a long Diſcourſe to reinforce the Addreſs: And ſince Sir *Simon D'Ewes* commends him for *uſing many ſolid and excellent Reaſons*, * the *Reader* ſhall have ſome of them. One of his Reaſons is drawn from the Danger of the Proteſtant Religion, if the Queen of *Scots* was ſuffer'd to live. But to ſuggeſt that Difference of Religion, or Fears of Perſecution, are warrantable Grounds to proceed againſt a Sovereign Princeſs, and ſend the Heir Apparent of the *Crown* into the other World by Way of Prevention: To ſuggeſt this, I ſay, looks like myſterious arguing: Whether reaſoning in this Manner is not conſulting Eaſe farther than Conſcience, and *chuſing Iniquity rather than Affliction*, (*Job* 36. 21.) the Reader muſt judge. The Speaker charges the *Queen of* Scots *with a ſanguinary Temper*, and ſays *ſhe is acquainted with Blood*. But this is Miſrepreſentation; for this Princeſs allow'd her Subjects a Toleration, diſturbed no Body upon the Score of Conſcience, and govern'd with remarkable Clemency, as hath been already related. He puts the Queen in Mind, that the Queen of *Scots* held up her Claim to the Crown of *England*, and believ'd herſelf rightful Sovereign at preſent. But this is wide of Matter of Fact; for the Queen of *Scots* had ſeveral Times ſolemnly own'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Right to govern, and pretended no Title to this Kingdom till after her Death. And to weaken the Queen's Compaſſion upon the Score of the near Relation between her and the Queen of *Scots*, the *Speaker* tells her Majeſty they were only Couſins in a remote Degree. As remote as they were, the Queen of *Scots* was next upon the Royal Line; and beſides that, her Father, King *James* the Fifth, was Couſin-German to Queen *Elizabeth*. But Serjeant *Puckering* endeavours to bring all the *Engliſh* to a much nearer Degree of Conſanguinity; for he tells the Queen, *She is their Natural Mother*: This Figure is ſomewhat ſurprizing: But he ſeems to have forgotten the Diſtinction between *Civil* and *Natural* Parents. He mentions God's Vengeance againſt *Saul* for ſparing *Agag*, and the Reprimand *Ahab* receiv'd from the Prophet for parting with *Benhadad*. The Caſe of *Saul* has been ſpoken to already, * and the other is foreign to his Point; for *Benhadad* attack'd the King of *Iſrael* with a formidable Army, and inſiſted upon intolerable Conditions before the Battle; neither had the King of *Iſrael* ever invited him to his Country or Protection. He argues farther, that the Magiſtrates who put thoſe Miſchievous Queen's *Jezabel* and *Athaliah* to Death are commended. But theſe Inſtances will neither of them bear: For *Jezabel* was but Queen Dowager: And beſides, her Execution was expreſly order'd by a Prophet. *(y)* And as for *Athaliah*, ſhe had no Title to govern. She was not deſcended from the Royal Line of David; upon whoſe Family the *Crown* was expreſly ſettled by God Almighty. *(z)*

* *Sir* Simon D'Ewes *tranſcrib'd theſe Reaſons from* Puckering'*s Hand.* D'Ewes'*s Journal*, p. 400.

Some of Serjeant Puckering'*s Reaſons for executing the Queen of* Scots.

* *See above.*

Elizabeth Q.

(y) 2 Kings 9. v 7, & 10.

(z) 2 Chron. chap. 23. v. 3. 2 Sam. 7, & 12.

Theſe Arguments of Serjeant *Puckering* running moſtly upon Topicks of Divinity, I thought fit to mention: The reſt of his Diſcourſe ſhall be paſſed over.

A Convocation.

To ſay ſomething of the Convocation: There were two Schedules of Complaint brought up by the *Lower-Houſe* to the Biſhops. The firſt contains a Remonſtrance againſt ſeveral Diſorders in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*. The Complaint ſets forth the Canons were not obſerv'd; that unqualified Perſons were ordain'd and inſtituted; that Penances were commuted; that Excommunications were ſent out for Trifles; that regular and painful Preachers were diſcourag'd; and that Men were ſuffer'd to preach without Licence. The other Schedule laid before the *Upper-Houſe*, and endors'd *Suffolk Archdeaconry*, complains that the Communion was wholly omitted, or imperfectly adminiſter'd; that the Surplice was refus'd; that Holidays were not obſerv'd; that the Communion was frequently receiv'd in a ſitting Poſture; with ſome other Particulars of leſſer Conſideration. *(a)*

(a) Convoc. Journal.

What Proviſion was made does not appear in the Record. The *Convocation* was prorogued by the Archbiſhop to the 17th of *February*.

The Queen of Scots *Death, and Part of her Character.*

Soon after the Lords and Commons had deliver'd the Addreſs above-mention'd, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and *Beale*, Clerk of the *Council*, were diſpatch'd to the Queen of *Scots* to acquaint her the Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon her; that 'twas approv'd by the Parliament; that both Lords and Commons had mov'd ſtrongly for the Execution; and that Juſtice and Neceſſity had forc'd them upon this Motion. They endeavour'd to perſwade her therefore to recollect herſelf for Repentance, and acknowlege her Offences againſt God and the Queen; giving broad Hints at the ſame Time that her Life and the Religion eſtabliſh'd in *England* were Things which could not ſtand together. She receiv'd this News with an Air of unuſual Pleaſure, return'd God Thanks, and congratulated her Condition, that ſhe was look'd on as a Perſon of ſome Weight and Significancy for recovering Religion. She earneſtly deſir'd ſhe might have a Catholick Prieſt to direct her Conſcience, and adminiſter the Holy Sacraments. They recommended the Biſhop and Dean of *Peterborough* for that Purpoſe: But theſe ſhe abſolutely refus'd, as being of a different Communion.

By the Mediation of the *French* Ambaſſador the Publication of the Sentence was reſpited: But in *December*, at the Inſtance of ſome of the Courtiers, 'twas proclaim'd in *London* with great Solemnity. When this News was brought to the Queen of *Scots*, ſhe was ſo far from being dejected, that ſhe thank'd God for her Condition: And by her Aſpect and Behaviour diſcover'd her Mind was not at all diſorder'd upon the Occaſion. And notwithſtanding her Keeper, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, had ſtrip'd her of all the Marks of Royalty and Regard, and reduc'd her to a vulgar Figure, ſhe receiv'd the Uſage with all the Temper imaginable: And having with great Difficulty prevail'd with him for Leave to write to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſent her a Letter to this Effect:

“She declares againſt her having any Unbenevolent Diſpoſition towards the Queen, returns God Thanks for his Permiſſion of the Sentence of Death; that he was pleas'd to put an End to her Pilgrimage, and deliver her from a troubleſome World. She deſires ſhe may be referr'd to no Subject for the following Requeſts; that the Grant of theſe Favours might come from the Queen's Hands, and be immediately directed by her Order; for from the Puritan Party,* who now fill'd ſome of the principal Poſts, ſhe could expect nothing that was friendly. In the firſt Place ſhe deſires, That after her Enemies had ſatisfied their Thirſt with her innocent Blood, her Body might be carried by her Servants into *France*; for in *Scotland* the Aſhes of her Anceſtors had been inſulted, and the Churches either pull'd down or prophan'd. And as for *England*, ſhe could not expect a Catholick Funeral there amongſt the old Kings of her Family: She deſires therefore to be ſo diſpoſed of that her Corps may reſt at leaſt, which the Body could never do while the Soul was in it. And ſince ſhe had Reaſon to ſuſpect the Barbarity of ſome People, ſhe deſires ſhe might not be privately made away; but that her Servants and others might ſee her die; that they might be Witneſſes ſhe died in the true Faith of Chriſt, and in the Communion of the Church; and that thus being in a Condition to atteſt her laſt Behaviour, they might ſilence the Calumnies which her Adverſaries might bring upon her Memory. Her third Requeſt was, That her Servants might have the Liberty to go where they pleas'd, and enjoy the Legacies ſhe had bequeathed them. She intreats the Queen by every Thing that's moving and ſolemn not to deny her theſe Things: She intreats her for Chriſt's Sake; ſolicits by the Relation between them, by the Memory of King *Henry* the Seventh, their common Anceſtor, and by her own Sovereign Dignity. Afterwards ſhe complains, that by the Order of ſome of the Queen's *Council* all Royal Furniture and Diſtinction was taken from her; and that ſhe had Reaſon to apprehend their Malice would break out into ſomething worſe. To this ſhe added, that if all her Papers which were ſeiz'd had been fairly produc'd, and read at her Trial, 'twould have evidently appear'd, that nothing but ſome People's anxious Solicitude for Queen *Elizabeth*'s Security had occaſion'd her Death. And laſtly, ſhe earneſtly intreats the Queen to return her a few Lines under her own Hand. (b)

* A Zelotis Novatoribus, Cambden Eliz.

But whether Queen *Elizabeth* received this Letter, or not, is more than *Cambden* can affirm.

The Proceedings againſt her cenſur'd by Cambden.

This *Hiſtorian* relates, that thoſe who were unbiaſs'd, and judg'd fairly of Matters, thought the Queen of *Scots* hardly us'd. Their Reaſons were, Becauſe ſhe was an Independent Princeſs, and accountable to none but God Almighty: That Nearneſs of Blood call'd loudly for good Uſage from Queen *Elizabeth*: That when Queen *Mary* was driven out of her Kingdom by her rebellious Subjects, and had retir'd into *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* immediately diſpatch'd *Henry Middlemore* to her, and in the Word of a Princeſs, made her large Promiſes of Friendſhip and Protection: That notwithſtanding this Engagement for good Uſage, Queen *Elizabeth* order'd her into Cuſtody, and violated the Laws of Hoſpitality: That ſince the Queen of *Scots* was treated no otherwiſe than as a Priſoner ſurpriz'd, 'twas lawful for her to diſengage her ſelf, and recover her Liberty as well as ſhe could: That ſince ſhe was no Subject, ſhe could not commit Treaſon; for *Equals* can have no Juriſdiction upon each other: For this Reaſon the Emperor's Sentence againſt *Robert* King of *Sicily* was declared void, becauſe Robert was no Subject of the Empire: That Ambaſſadors if they concert a Plot againſt the Princes where they reſide, are privileg'd by their Character, and not to be tried for Treaſon; and if ſo, the Conſequence for Exemption holds ſtill ſtronger for Princes themſelves: That to bring Crown'd Heads to the Block, and put them in the Executioner's Hands, was a Thing without Precedent. Farther, that the Condemning the Queen of *Scots* was neither juſtifiable by the Scriptures, or the Civil Law: That 'twas likewiſe a Contradiction to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; and which is more, it claſh'd directly with an Act of Parliament made in the 13th of the preſent Reign: By which 'tis enacted, **That no Perſon or Perſons ſhall be hereafter Arraigned for any Offences mention'd in this Act,** (that is, for denying the Queen's Title, or attempting any Thing againſt her Life,) **unleſs the ſame Offence or Offences be proved by the Teſtimony, Depoſition, and Oaths, of two lawful and ſufficient Witneſſes; which ſaid Witneſſes ſhall, at the Time of the Arraignment of ſuch Perſon ſo offending, be brought forth in Perſon before the Party ſo arraigned Face to Face, and there ſhall avow and openly declare all they can ſay againſt the Party ſo arraign'd, unleſs the ſaid Party arraign'd ſhall willingly, without Violence, confeſs the ſame.** (c)

Now the Benefit of this *Proviſo* was not allow'd the Queen of *Scots* at her Trial: For, as *Cambden* goes on, there was no Witneſs produc'd in Court, but ſhe was caſt by the Depoſitions of her Secretaries taken in Writing: But they never appear'd to juſtify their Evidence **Face to Face,** as the Statute requires. (d)

I ſhan't give the Reader the Mortification to open the laſt Scene of the Tragedy, and write the Circumſtances of her Death: Only in general it may be ſaid, her Fortitude and Devotion was very remarkable: She ſupported her Character with all imaginable Decency, and died like a Chriſtian, and a Queen.

Cambden gives her the Commendation of a Pious Princeſs; that ſhe had an invincible Greatneſs of Mind; that ſhe was a very fine Perſon, and extraordinarily qualified for the Functions of Government; that being forc'd out of her Kingdom by her natural Brother *Murray*, and other Ambitious and Ungrateful Subjects, ſhe took Shelter in *England*; that ſhe was ruin'd here by ſome *Engliſhmen*, over anxious about their Religion, and their Queen; and that on the other Side, ſome *Roman* Catholicks, eager to return *England* to the Pope's Obedience, puſh'd her upon dangerous Debates. And laſtly, that ſhe ſeems to have been diſpatch'd by the Mercenary Evidence of her Secretaries, who were brib'd into their Depoſitions, and never brought to be confronted in the Court. Thus far *Cambden*.

Feb. 8. 158 6/7.

This unfortunate Princeſs died in the Forty ſixth Year of her Age, and the Nineteenth of her Impriſonment. She was buried in the Choir of *Peterborough*-Cathedral, where *Wickam* Biſhop of *Lincoln* preach'd her Funeral Sermon. About Twenty Years after, her Son King *James*, order'd her Corps to be remov'd to *Weſtminſter*:

Hhhh And

(b) Cambden Eliz.

(c) 13 Eliz. cap. 1. *Statutes at large.*

(d) Cambden Eliz.

And now ſhe lies buried on the South Side of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, where the King ſet up a Stately Monument with the following Inſcription:

D. O. M.

Mariæ Stuartæ, Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis Filiæ, & Hæredis unicæ, Henrici VII. Ang. Regis ex Margareta Majori natu filia, (Jacobo IIII. Regi Scotorum Matrimonio Copulata) proneptis, Edwardi IIII. Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha Filiarum natu maxima abneptis, Franciſci II. Gallorum Regis Conjugis, Coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit, certæ & indubitatæ Hæredis, & Jacobi magnæ Britanniæ Monarchæ Potentiſſimi Matris.

Stirpe verè Regia & antiquiſſima prognata erat, maximis totius Europæ Principibus Agnatione & Cognatione conjuncta, & exquiſitiſſimis animi & Corporis Dotibus & Ornamentis Cumulatiſſima. Verum, ut ſunt variæ Rerum humanarum Vices, poſtquam annos plus minus Viginti in Cuſtodia detenta, fortiter & ſtrenuè, (ſed fruſtra) cum malevolorum obtrectationibus, timidorum ſuſpicionibus, & Inimicorum Capitalium Inſidiis, conflictata eſſet; tandem inaudito & infeſto Regibus exemplo, ſecuri percutitur.

Et contempto Mundo, devictâ Morte, laſſato Carnifice, Chriſto Servatori animæ ſalutem, Jacobo Filio ſpem Regni & Poſteritatis, & univerſis Cædis infauſtæ Spectatoribus Exemplum Patientiæ commendans, piè & intrepidè Cervicem Regiam Securi maledictæ ſubjecit, & vitæ caducæ Sortem cum cæleſtis Regni Perennitate Commutavit.

To proceed; The *Puritans* giving further Provocations to the Government by practiſing upon their Plan, they were ſmartly proſecuted in the High Commiſſion Court. The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners preſs'd the Laws very cloſe: But that which was moſt clamour'd againſt, was the putting the Oath *Ex Officio* upon them. By this Oath the Party was obliged to anſwer all Interrogatories, though never ſo unſerviceable. There were ſeveral Objections made againſt the Juſtice of this Form of Enquiry: 'Twas alledg'd, the tendering this Oath was contrary to the Common Law, and never practis'd by the Civil Magiſtrate. To this 'twas anſwer'd, that in capital Cauſes the Oath was not forc'd upon the Priſoner; but where neither Life nor Limb were concern'd, the Oath was uſually tender'd in Chancery, in the *Council* of *Marches*, and the *Council* in the *North:* That there were frequent Inſtances of ſuch Proceedings in other Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*; where Judges have Time out of Mind given an Oath to Perſons ſuſpected of foul Dealing touching any *Writ*, *Return*, and other Matters not being capital.

Objections againſt the Oath Ex Officio, *with the Anſwers in Defence of it.*

'Twas urg'd, this Method was contrary to the Privileges of Nature, and the fundamental Laws of Liberty: By Vertue of which, *Nemo tenetur ſeipſum prodere*, No Body is bound to diſcover or betray himſelf. To this 'twas replied, That *Homo proditus per Denunciationem, Famam, &c. tenetur ſeipſum Oſtendere*; that is, When a Man's Miſbehaviour lies altogether out of Sight and Notice, he is not oblig'd to take an Oath to publiſh his Failings; but when his Practice is in ſome Meaſure reach'd by common Report, when he is *preſented* or *inform'd* againſt, in this Caſe the Fault can't be ſaid to lie conceal'd; and therefore the Governours in Church or State ought to make uſe of the beſt Expedient for a full Enquiry: That by this Means the whole Truth may come up, the Puniſhment be rightly proportion'd, and the Perſon more effectually reformed.

'Twas urg'd farther, that theſe Proceedings, *Ex Officio*, were practis'd only by Popiſh Prelates againſt thoſe of the Reformation. To this it was return'd, that Biſhop *Bonner* and *Gardiner* had the Oath *Ex Officio* put to them in King *Edward* the Sixth's Reign; and that the Court who urg'd the taking this Oath conſiſted of Biſhops, Privy Counſellors, Judges, Common Lawyers, and Civilians. (e)

Another Exception was, That the *Scripture*, which ought to be the Rule for Juſtice, affords neither Precept nor Precedent for ſuch Proceedings. To this 'twas replied, that there's no Neceſſity for either of theſe Authorities from *Holy Writ*; that there being nothing to condemn this Proceſs in the *Old* and *New-Teſtament*, was ſufficient to juſtify the Government: However, there is ſomewhat of a reſembling Inſtance in the *Moſaick* Law. For the Purpoſe, when a Man was found murder'd in the Field, the Elders of the next City were ſolemnly to declare to the Prieſt, and that with an Appeal to God Almighty, that they were wholly unconcern'd in the Murder. (f)

The laſt Objection I ſhall mention was, That no tranſmarine Proteſtant Churches manag'd in this Arbitrary Manner. To this 'twas replied, That even *Geneva* would furniſh two Inſtances to the contrary. This was, no doubt, *Argumentum ad hominem*, and ſtriking the right String with a Witneſs. The Inſtances are theſe: One *Cumperel*, a *Geneva* Miniſter, fix'd in a Pariſh within the Territory of that Republick, had a private Deſign of placing himſelf in the *State* of *Bern:* This was reckon'd a great Fault. When the Conſiſtory was inform'd of his Intentions, they put the Oath *Ex Officio* to him; and becauſe he refuſed to anſwer directly to ſome very cloſe Interrogatories, and there lay ſtrong Preſumptions againſt him, they came to a Reſolution that they had juſt Grounds to depoſe him from his Function. (g)

The other *Geneva* Precedent ſtands thus: One *Balthaſer*, a rich Widow in *Geneva*, had a *Ball* at her Houſe. This Diverſion is a great Crime by *Calvin*'s Diſcipline. It happen'd that a *Syndick*, one of the four Chief Magiſtrates, and one *Henrick* an *Elder*, were two of thoſe that danc'd. When *Calvin* underſtood what was done, he convented them before a Conſiſtory; and though they were delated by no Body, the Oath *Ex Officio* was put to them to extort Matter of Fact. The Elder pleaded St. *Paul*'s Rule to Timothy, *Receive not an Accuſation againſt an Elder under two or three Witneſſes.* This Plea was rejected, and *Calvin* call'd it no better than a pleaſant Jeſt. In ſhort, *Henriek* the *Elder*, tho' he made no Part in the Diverſion, was animadverted on for defending it. He was turn'd out of his Office, and impriſon'd for three Days. And more than that, one of the four *Syndicks*, or Chief Magiſtrates of the Town, was likewiſe ſuſpended from the Execution of his Office, 'till he had given ſome Proofs of his Repentance for being at the *Ball*. This Man reſign'd to the Conſiſtory, did Penance upon their Admonition, and ſo prevented his Commitment. There were ſeveral others, who being examin'd by *Calvin* upon their Oath, confeſs'd they were at this dancing Entertainment, upon which they were all ſent to Priſon. *

The *Engliſh* Diſſenters who refuſed this Oath may be rang'd under four Diviſions: Firſt, ſuch who would return no other Anſwer but this; *If our Faults be hidden, tarry 'till the Lord comes, and makes the Councils of our Hearts manifeſt*; * but if they

(e) Fox Acts & Mon. Fol. 1512, 1516, 1536. *Edit. ſingle* Fol.

(f) Deut. 21. *v.* 7, & 8.

(g) Calvin Epiſt. Edit. Folio, *p.* 421. 422.

1 Tim. c. 5.

(h) Calvin Epiſt. 71. ad Farell.

* Calvin Epiſt. 71.

* 2 Cor. 4, 5.

they are *manifeſt*, let the Proſecutor and the Witneſſes appear. The ſecond Sort took the Oath with a Proteſtation, That they intended not to be bound to accuſe either themſelves or their Brethren. A third Sort had ſomewhat of a larger Principle towards Compliance: They thought themſelves oblig'd to diſcover both their own, and their Brethrens Faults, **to remove Evil from the Land**, as they call it; but for ſuch Actions which were ſtrein'd and miſconſtrued, and no Faults at all in the Judgment of the Party examin'd, theſe they believ'd themſelves not bound to diſcloſe. The laſt Sort took the Oath with a Proteſtation ſomewhat different from the ſecond: They declar'd they did not reckon themſelves bound to anſwer any Interrogatives to fortify any other's Teſtimony; but where the Crime had no Evidence to prove it, they conceiv'd they might fairly be ſworn to diſcover their Knowledge. For the Purpoſe, they thought a Preacher ought not to be examin'd upon Oath concerning any Part of his Sermon: For this they cited our Saviour's Anſwer to the High Prieſt, *Why askeſt thou me? Ask them that heard me, they know what I ſaid.* (i)

John 18. 21.

(i) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9.

The *Diſſenters Book of Diſcipline* was lately reviſ'd, and approv'd by the Party. And now they began to form themſelves into Claſſes. Three of theſe Claſſes were ſet up in *Northamptonſhire*; one at *Northampton*, another at *Daventry*, and another at *Kettring*. The ſame Form of Government was likewiſe erected in moſt other Counties. (k) To ſay ſomething of the Buſineſs of theſe Claſſes, and the Manner of their Proceeding: At their Meeting, which was always in ſome private Houſe, they choſe a Moderator in the firſt Place. Their Method was this; One of them makes a Prayer for God's Direction in the Choice. This Miniſter takes a Seat by himſelf to receive the Scrutiny: Upon this all the Company give their Votes privately to him, and here the Choice turns upon a Majority. He that's choſen Moderator makes a Prayer for God's Bleſſing in the Management of his Office. After this he calls over the Names of the Brethren. The Authority of the Moderator continues 'till the next Meeting. At the Receſs of every Claſſis they always appoint a Time for meeting again: This Interval is ſometimes no more than a Fortnight, but ſeldom above three Weeks. If any extraordinary Emergency happens in the mean Time, the Moderator may ſhorten the Adjournment. When any Perſon is admitted into a Claſſis he engages to abſolute Submiſſion, and ſubſcribes himſelf ready to obey all the Orders and Decrees of that *Society*. For Inſtance, 'twas concluded at the Claſſis of *Northampton*, that when any Controverſy happens touching any Point of Doctrine, or Interpretation of Scripture, all the Brethren of that Claſſis were bound to ſtand by the Determination of the Majority: They likewiſe anſwer'd Caſes of Conſcience put to them, and reſolv'd Difficulties touching Contracts of Marriage. The Decrees and Reſolutions of the Claſſis were enter'd in a Book, which was always in the Cuſtody of their *Regiſtrary*.

(k) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3.

The Method of the Claſſes, and the Buſineſs done there.

Cartwright's *Directory printed*, London, An. 1644.

Beſides theſe Claſſes there was another Meeting call'd the *Aſſembly*: 'Twas generally form'd out of two from every Claſſis. At this Committee they chuſe a Moderator, who preſides over the reſpective Claſſes 'till the next Aſſembly, which was commonly within ſix or eight Weeks. Buſineſs of more than ordinary Importance was manag'd here, and ſuch in which the Church was generally concern'd. For Inſtance; Writing of Letters to the Brethren at *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *London*, to acquaint them with their Proceedings, and receive their Directions for Diſcipline and Government. At ſuch Times 'twas likewiſe reſolv'd which of the Committee ſhould pen the Letter; and in the *Northamptonſhire* Diviſion Mr. *Snape* was commonly the Perſon. For this Purpoſe, they wrote to *Travers* in *London*, *Gelybrand* in *Oxford*, and to a Third in *Cambridge*. There were two material Points ſettled in the *Northamptonſhire* Aſſembly this Year: One was to take a Survey of all the Churches in that County; the other was for an Order to be obſerv'd at the enſuing Parliament. The Buſineſs of the Survey was to know the Value of every Benefice in the County, the Number of the Pariſhioners, who were the Incumbents, how they liv'd, and were qualified. And here thoſe who were commiſſionated for this Enquiry commonly made a very diſadvantagious Report of the *Conformiſts*. The Deſign of this *Northamptonſhire* Survey was to make a Precedent for other Counties; that by being thus furniſh'd with Information, they might give in a general Liſt to the Parliament of all the Clergy in *England* that oppos'd their Project. The other Buſineſs tranſacted in the Aſſembly above-mentioned, was a Reſolution to ſend one or two of every Claſſis with Credentials to *London*, to attend the Parliament. And here they were to join the Brethren of other Diſtricts; to offer a Conference for Diſputation, if 'twas thought proper; and to manage any other Buſineſs at Diſcretion. This *Northamptonſhire* Survey was approv'd by the Party in other Places, and practiſ'd in moſt Counties in *England*.

To add ſomething concerning the Methods of *Cenſure* in the Claſſes. For the Purpoſe; If a Lay-Man fell into a Fault, one of the *Elders* was to admoniſh him: If the Party prov'd obſtinate, the *Elder* muſt take two or three with him the ſecond Time. If he continued unreclaim'd after this laſt Reprimand, they barr'd him the Communion. If the Perverſeneſs of the Party was ſuch as to intrude upon the Communion, 'twas then reſolv'd he ſhould be refus'd upon Pretence of an Order in the *Rubrick*. And thus they found out a Method to maintain their own *Diſcipline*, and cover'd themſelves at the ſame Time with the Authority of the *Common-Prayer*. The Claſſes and Committees in the Country were under the Direction of the General Aſſembly at *London*. At this Grand Meeting *Cartwright*, *Edgerton*, or *Travers*, were commonly Moderators. Whatever was done here was reckon'd authentick: This was the laſt Reſort, and the over-ruling Authority. Hither the Brethren in the Country ſent their Queries, and applied for Advice.

The Country Claſſes under the Direction of the Aſſembly at London.

This Account of the *Puritans* Proceedings is taken from Depoſitions in the Courts of the High Commiſſion and *Star-Chamber*: And here the Deponents were generally Perſons preſent at the *Aſſemblies*.

Id. *Book* 3.

About this Time, Sir *Thomas Bromely*, Lord Chancellor, departed this Life. And now the Queen offer'd the *Seal* to Archbiſhop *Whitgift*: But this Prelate excuſing himſelf upon the Score of his Age, and the Buſineſs of his Function, recommended his Friend, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*. The Motion being approv'd, this Gentleman had the *Seal*, and other Marks of that Office, deliver'd to him at *Whitgift*'s Houſe at *Croyden*. *

* Paul's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift.

To proceed; *John Low*, *John Adams*, and *Richard Tipdale*, were tried and found guilty of High-Treaſon, for being made Prieſts by the

Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*: For this they were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, at *Tyburn*. (l) But this ſhould have been plac'd to *October* the laſt Year.

June 20. 1587.

To take a Survey of the Affairs of the Church in *Scotland*: This Summer a General Aſſembly was conven'd by the King's Proclamation: The Deſign was to ſettle the Points of Difference between his Majeſty and the Church. But the Miniſters proving too ſtiff and pretending, the Meeting fail'd of Succeſs: For the Chancellor and *Juſtice-Clerk* coming to the *Aſſembly*, and requiring Satisfaction in the King's Name for the Miſbehaviour of *James Gibſon* and *John Cooper* Miniſters, and that *Mongommery*, Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, might be receiv'd without any Forms of Submiſſion, their Anſwer was, “That if the Church's Petitions were granted in the next Parliament, they would endeavour to bring Things to ſuch a Temper as might be beſt conſiſtent with the Honour of the Miniſtry, might *ſatisfy the Offence of the Godly, and the Conſcience of their Brethren, againſt whom his Majeſty had taken Offence*. And as for Mr. *Robert Mongommery*, they would diſpenſe with ſome Ceremonies us'd in admitting Excommunicates, provided *the King was willing to remit ſomewhat of the Satiſfaction crav'd of the other two Brethren*.” This peremptory Anſwer diſguſted the King ſo far, that he refuſed treating with them any farther at that Time. (m)

The Aſſembly at Edinborough *refuſe to give the King Satiſfaction.*

The Aſſembly continued ſitting 'till the Parliament met. At the Opening the Seſſion they ſent Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, and ſome other Commiſſioners, to the Parliament-Houſe: And here in the Name of the Church they deſir'd that the Prelates then preſent might not be ſuffer'd to ſit; their Reaſons were becauſe they had no Authority from the Church, and moſt of them executed no Function in it. Againſt this Motion, Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Abbot of *Kinloſs*, roſe up, and addreſſing the King, made a long Diſcourſe to prove the Right they had to ſit in Parliament, and vote for the Church. He complain'd the Miniſters had in a moſt illegal and diſorderly Manner thrown them out of their Buſineſs in the Church, and now they were trying to carry on their Encroachment, and deprive them of their Privilege in the *State*. This Uſage the Prelates hop'd his Majeſty would not ſuffer, but rather puniſh the Preſumption of the Petitioners. Mr. *Robert Pont* being ſomewhat too warm in his Reply, the King ſtopp'd the Conteſt, and order'd them to preſent their Petitions to the *Lords of the Articles*. But here the Aſſembly-Committee found no Satiſfaction as to this Particular.

The Aſſembly petition the Parliament againſt the Prelates.

July 29. 1587.

Some Time before the Courtiers had concerted a Project for conveying the Remainder of the Church-Lands to the *Crown*. The Colour was, The Augmentation of the Royal Revenues, and putting the King in a Condition of ſupporting his Dignity, without burthening the Subject with Taxes. To this Purpoſe a *Bill* was read, and paſs'd into an *Act*. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* blames the Churchmen for their Cowardice and Perfidiouſneſs on this Occaſion; for deſerting the Intereſt of Religion, and not cruſhing the Deſign at the Beginning. The Preamble of the Statute bears ſomewhat hard upon the Munificence of former Princes, and inſinuates them laviſh and ſhort in their Conduct. (n) As for the Biſhops, *Spotſwood* makes ſomething of an Excuſe for them: The Presbyterians had handled them ſo roughly, that they were in a Manner forc'd to apply to the Protection of the great Men, and reſign themſelves wholly to the Pleaſure of the Court. (o) And as for the Aſſembly-Men, they were ſo eager to ruin the Prelates, ſo over-heated with Paſſion and Revenge, that they were not aware of the Snare, but ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd on by thoſe Perſons who lay at Catch for the Church-Lands. Theſe crafty Men perſwaded the Presbyterians that the only Way to gain their Point upon their Adverſaries, and finiſh the Ruin of Epiſcopacy, was to alienate their Patrimony; for when the Bulk of the Prelates Eſtates was once veſted in the Crown, no Body would accept the Function, and by Conſequence the *Order* muſt ſink. And here not only the *Prelates*, but the whole Church receiv'd a terrible Blow. 'Tis true, to ſtop the Clamour of the Presbyterian Miniſters, and bring them to an Acquieſcence, they were promis'd the whole Tythes ſhould be ſettled on them, and diſpos'd of at their Pleaſure. But the rich Laity after they had gain'd the Lands, broke in even upon this Branch of the Church's Revenue: For the *Lords* of the *New Erections*, as they call them, ſeiz'd the Tythes, impoveriſh'd the Miniſters, ſet the Tythes at a higher Rate, and haraſs'd the poor Farmers that were to pay them to a great Degree of Rigour.

Idem.

To mention ſome Part of the Body of the *Act*, and ſhew the *Reader* what a Sweep it made from the Church into the *Exchequer*.

The Scotch Annexation Act for conveying the Church Lands to the Crown.

Our ſaid Sovereign Lord, and his ſaid three Eſtates of Parliament, be the Force of this preſente Act, have united, annex'd, and incorporate, and unitis, annexis, and incorporatis, to the Crown of this Realme, to remaine therewith as annexed, and as it were Propertie thereof, in all Time cumming, and with our ſaid Soveraine Lord, and his Succeſſours for ever; All and ſindrie Landes, Lord-ſhippes, Barronies, Caſtles, Towres, Fortalices, Manſions, Manour Places, Milnes, Multures, Woodes, Schawes, Parkes, Fiſchinges, Tounes, Villages, Burrowes in Regalitie, and Barronie, Annual Rentes, Tennentes, Reverſiones, Cuſtomes great and ſmall, Few Farmes, Tenentes, Tennendries, and Service of free Tennentes. And all and ſindrie utheris Commodities, Profits and Emoluments quhat ſumever, alswel to Burgh, as to Land, (except, as hereafter ſall be excepted in this preſent Acte) Quhilkis at the Day and Dait of thir Preſentis, viz. The xxix Day of Julie, the Zeir of God, 1587 Zeirs, perteinis to quhat ſumever Arch-biſhoppe, Biſhoppe, Abbot, Prior, Prioreſſe, and quhat ſumever uther Prelate, either Eccleſiaſtical or Beneficed Perſon, of quhat ſumever Eſtaite, Degree, high or lawe, and at the Day and Dait of thir preſentes perteinis to quhat ſumever Abbay, Convent, Cloiſter, quhat ſumever Ordour of Friers or Nunnes, Monkes or Channones, howſumever they be named, and to quhat ſumever Colledge Kirk, founded for Chantorie and ſinging; Or to quhat ſumever Prebendarie or Chaplanarie quhair-ever they be, or be ſituate within this Realme and Dominion thereof. And ſik like, all and ſindrie commoun Landes, bruiked be Chapters of Cathedral Kirkes, and Chantrie Colleges as Commoun: And quhariof the the ſaidis Chaptours have bene in Poſſeſſion before in Commountrie, to be in all Times hereafter taken, halden, and repute, as it were the Propertie and Patrimony of the Crown. (n)

(l) Stow's *Annal.* p. 741.

(m) Spotſwood *Church Hiſt.*

(n) Ja. 6. Parl. 11. c. 29.

(o) Spotſwood Refutat. Libell. *Page* 58.

(n) Jac. 6. Parl. 11. c. 29.

This *Annexation Act* was not paſs'd without ſeveral *Proviſo's* and Reſervations. For Inſtance: The Prelates Houſes or Caſtles where they reſided, the Tythes of Pariſhes, the Glebes, Parſonage and Vicarage Houſes, Lands granted to Colleges and Schools, and the Endowment belonging to Hoſpitals, are all forepriz'd and excepted, and left to the old Proprietors, purſuant to the Uſe of the firſt Settlement.

But then all Church-Lands already diſpos'd of by the King, and erected into Temporal Lordſhips and Baronies; all ſuch Grants and Diſpoſitions prior to the Date of this *Act*, are confirm'd to the reſpective Owners.

The King repents paſſing the Act of Annexation, and why.

The Advantage of this *Act* to the *Crown* was ſtrongly repreſented, to make Way for the Royal Aſſent. But ſoon after the *Bill* was touch'd by the *Sceptre*, the King found himſelf abus'd. (q) For a great many Eſtates which had been wreſted from the Church before, were confirm'd by this *Act*: And as for the reſt which were now veſted in the *Crown*, they were quickly granted away to the Courtiers. Theſe Gentlemen took Care to ſolicit for one another: That the Lands being thus divided amongſt a great many, the Recovery of them might be more impracticable. Thus when the King came to Maturity of Judgment, he found his Youth had been ſurpriz'd; that thoſe who contriv'd the *Statute*, had been playing their own Game: And thus he ſaw plainly what ſome People meant by *Reformation*. As for himſelf, he got little or nothing, excepting the Character of Impoveriſhing the Church, bringing a Change upon the *Conſtitution*, and maiming the firſt *Eſtate* of the *Kingdom*. 'Twas upon this Recollection that the King calls this *Statute* of *Annexation*, a *Vile Act*; and adviſ'd his Son Prince *Henry* to repeal it, if he did not find it done to his Hand. (r)

The *Miniſters* likewiſe, who either ſtood neuter, or promoted the *Bill*, miſs'd their Account; for the Tythes were not reſtor'd them as they expected: When they found themſelves over-reach'd, they began to make a Noiſe; but now 'twas to little Purpoſe.

Several Acts made in Favour of the Miniſters.

But before the *Annexation Act* paſs'd, there were ſeveral *Statutes* made in Favour of them. Theſe Proviſions laid their Jealouſie aſleep, and kept them in good Humour. To mention ſome of them: "By an *Act* made this Parliament, Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts that did not depart the Kingdom within a Month after the Publication of the *Statutes*, were to ſuffer Death, and forfeit all their Moveables; and thoſe who knew their Character, and entertain'd them, were to forfeit the Revenue of their Eſtates for their Life-time: And that thoſe who either ſaid, or heard Maſs, or diſpers'd any Book or Letters to draw People from the true Religion, were to forfeit their moveable Goods, with the Life-Rents of their Lands for the King's Uſe. (s)

"Farther, Thoſe who imported any Books containing erroneous Doctrine, or ſuperſtitious Rites, and Papiſtical Ceremonies, were to be committed to Ward, and puniſh'd in their Perſons and Goods at the King's Pleaſure. (t)

By another *Act*, "All Miniſters preferr'd to Benefices of Cure, under Prelacies, are diſcharg'd from the Payment of the firſt Year's Fruits, and the fifth Penny of their Benefifices which had been lately paid to the Crown (u)

The Penalty for an excommunicated Perſon who intrudes into the Church, and refuſes to go out upon Admonition.

"And becauſe Divine *Service* was ſometimes diſturb'd, and the Miniſters outrag'd in performing their Office, 'tis enacted, That thoſe who are guilty of making any Tumult or Fray in any Church or Church-yard, are to incur the Forfeiture of all their Goods to the King. And that thoſe who lay under Spiritual Cenſures, and aſſaulted any Miniſter for not receiving them to Communion without Penance, were to forfeit all their moveable Goods. And if any excommunicated Perſon ſhall come into the Congregation at the Time of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments and Common-Prayer, the Miniſter being inform'd of ſuch Intruſion, ſhall immediately charge the excommunicated Perſon in God's Name and the King's, to depart. But if the Perſon proves obſtinate, and ſtays in the Church, the Miniſter, after the *Service* is over, ſhall require as many of the moſt diſcreet and ſubſtantial Pariſhioners, as he ſhall think fit, to apprehend the excommunicated Perſon, and carry him before the Magiſtrate of the Precinct, who is to commit him till he gives ſuch Security for his Behaviour as the Miniſter ſhall appoint. The *Elders* who were preſent when the Offence was committed, were to engage, that the excommunicated Perſon ſhould reconcile himſelf to the Church. And laſtly, In caſe the Offender fail'd in performing his Part, he was to forfeit all his moveable Goods, and be puniſh'd at the King's Pleaſure. (w)

Anno Dom. 1587.

Notwithſtanding the *Prelates* were ſtrip'd of their Patrimony by the *Annexation Act*, they ſtill continued to ſit in Parliament, as appears by the *Statute* for regulating the Number of the *Lords of the Articles*; 'tis enacted, That the Number of this Committee ſhall be equally drawn out of every *Eſtate*; That the ſmalleſt Number of every *Eſtate* ſhall be Six, and the greateſt Ten. 'Tis likewiſe enacted, That each of the Three *Eſtates* were to appear in the Parliament-Houſe in diſtinct *Apparels* or Habits. (x)

The Reaſons ſuggeſted to the King of Spain *for an Expedition againſt* England.

The next Year, which the Aſtronomers predicted would produce ſomething extraordinary, a Deſcent upon *England* was concerted. The Pope, ſome *Spaniſh* Monks, and *Engliſh* Refugees, refreſh'd the King of *Spain*'s Memory for this Expedition: That Prince's Arms had been employ'd in the Conqueſt of *Portugal*, and thus the Deſign againſt *England* ſlept for about Ten Years. But now conceiving him at leiſure, they endeavour'd to puſh him upon the Enterprize: They ſuggeſted, That ſince Providence had bleſs'd him with ſuch remarkable Proſperity, his Majeſty was bound to do ſomething by Way of Return; That nothing was more acceptable to God Almighty, or becoming a Chriſtian Prince, than enlarging the *Pale* of the Church; That this glorious Undertaking could no Way be executed to more Advantage than by conquering *England*, exterminating Hereſie, and reſtoring the Catholick Religion; That nothing could be more juſt than this War, not only upon the Score of its being neceſſary, but becauſe 'twas undertaken for the Maintenance of the Chriſtian Religion. To prove the Juſtice of the War more particularly, they alledg'd, the Queen of *England* was Excommunicated, perſiſted in her Diſobedience to the Church of *Rome*, abetted the Rebels in *Flanders*, made continual Depredations upon the *Spaniards*, ſeiz'd and plunder'd his Towns in *Spain* and *America*; and over and above, had lately outrag'd the Majeſty of all Crown'd Heads, in murdering the Queen of *Scots*. After they had thus flouriſh'd upon the Juſtice, they endeavour'd to ſhew the Advantage of the Undertaking, which I ſhall omit. (y)

(q) Spotſwood *Church Hiſt.* p. 365.

Ibid. & Refut. lib. p. 60.

(r) Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, *Book 2d. p.* 43.

(s) Ja. 6. 11 Parl. cap. 24.

(t) Ja. 6. Parl. 11. cap. 25.

(u) Ja. 6. Parl. 11. cap. 26.

(w) Ja. 6. Parl. 11. cap. 27.

(x) Ja. 6. Parl. 11. cap. 36, 37.

(y) Cambden Eliz.

In ſhort, King *Philip* was prevail'd with to follow the Advice: And thus the *Invincible Armada* was equipp'd. But what was the Iſſue of this Formidable Preparation, and how happily it miſcarried, I ſhall leave to the *State Hiſtorian.*

Anno Dom. 1588.

This troubleſome Year the *Puritans* were very active in perfecting their Schemes, ſubſcribing their *Diſcipline*, and drawing out to a farther Defiance of the Church of *England*. The *Warwickſhire Claſſis*, where *Cartwright* was generally *Moderator*, met upon the tenth Day of the fourth Month, as they call it; and here they determine the Queſtions ſent to them from the *Cambridgſhire Synod*. Some of their Reſolutions are as follow, *viz.*

The Reſolutions of the Warwickſhire Claſſis.

" That private Baptiſm is unlawful; That 'tis
" not lawful to read *Homilies* in the Church;
" That the Sign of the Croſs is not to be us'd
" in Baptiſm; That the Faithful ought not to
" communicate with unlearned Miniſters: But
" here they allow them to be preſent at the
" Service, if they come on Purpoſe to hear a
" Sermon. Their Reaſon is, becauſe Lay-men,
" as well as Miniſters, may read Publick *Ser-*
" *vice.* That the Calling of Biſhops is unlawful;
" That within their Management of Cauſes
" Eccleſiaſtical, there is no Duty belonging to
" them, nor any publickly to be given them:
" That 'tis not lawful to be Ordain'd by them,
" or to denounce Suſpenſions or Excommunica-
" tions ſent from them; That 'tis not lawful to
" acquieſce in the Biſhops Deprivation of any
" Perſon, excepting (upon Conſultation
" with the neighbouring Miniſters and the
" Pariſhioners of the Miniſter deprived) they
" find it expedient; otherwiſe the Perſon cen-
" ſur'd, is to continue his Function, till he is
" ejected by the *Civil* Magiſtrate. Farther,
" they reſolve, 'tis not lawful to appear in a
" Biſhop's Court, unleſs with a Proteſtation a-
" gainſt his Authority; That Biſhops are not to
" be acknowledged either for *Doctors*, *Elders* or
" *Deacons*: The Reaſon is, becauſe they have
" no ordinary Calling. That touching the re-
" ſtoring their Eccleſiaſtical *Diſcipline*, it ought
" to be prudentially manag'd, and ſuggeſted to
" the People only as Occaſion ſhould ſerve;
" That the People are not to be publickly ſoli-
" cited to the Practice of the *Diſcipline*, till they
" are better inſtructed in the Theory. And laſt-
" ly, That Men of more improv'd Underſtand-
" ings are to be privately dealt with to come o-
" ver to the *Diſcipline*, as far as may be conſi-
" ſtent with the Peace of the Church. Thus far the Provincial *Synod* of the *Warwickſhire Claſſis.* (z)

At this *Aſſembly* the Book of *Diſcipline* receiv'd a farther Approbation, and was ſubſcrib'd by *Cartwright*, *Fenn*, and ſeveral other Miniſters; 'twas likewiſe handed about to other *Claſſes* for Subſcription. When this Book came to *Northampton* for the Purpoſe laſt mention'd, the *Brethren* agreed to a General Cenſure of each other: This was done partly by Way of Penance for their former Conformity to the Church, and partly to prepare them for a devout Submiſſion to the Book of *Diſcipline*. It ſeems this Reprimanding each other was done with ſo much Indiſcretion, Satyr, and Particularity, that it weaken'd their Correſpondence, brought them almoſt to a general Rupture, and made ſome of the Miniſters come off from thoſe *Aſſemblies*.

Idem *p.* 88.

However, the greateſt Part cemented and kept together; and to make Way for the Introduction of their Project, and prepare the People for ſo great a Change, they thought it neceſſary to appear farther in Print. They had two Points to manage, to anſwer ſome Books written in Defence of Epiſcopacy, and to draw an *Odium* upon the Biſhops, and bring them under Contempt. Dr. *John Bridges*, Dean of *Sarum*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, publiſh'd a Book entitled, *A Defence of the Government of the Church of* England. 'Twas chiefly levell'd againſt *Beza*, but ſo contriv'd as to meet with the *Puritans* Objections. To this an Anſwer was return'd, call'd, *A Defence of the godly Miniſters againſt the Slanders of Dr.* Bridges. *Bridges* reply'd, and the other Party publiſh'd a Rejoinder. About the ſame Time Dr. *Some* Maſter of *Peterhouſe* in *Cambridge*, publiſh'd a Diſcourſe againſt *Penry*, and expos'd the Paſſion and Weakneſs of this warm *Puritan*. This Book was ſoon after anſwer'd in a Libel call'd, *Mr.* Some *laid open in his Colours.* But the Defence of their Tenents, and repelling an Attack was not thought enough, tho' to ſpeak properly, themſelves were generally the Aggreſſors. But now they were reſolv'd to manage the War more vigorouſly, to aſſault their Enemies Camp, and charge the *Head-Quarters* of the Church: And in this Quarrel they ſcrupled the Uſe of no Weapons, or Method of Management. Where they could not reaſon, they took Care to rally and rail: To furniſh Libels and Buffoonry againſt the Biſhops, four of the moſt hot-headed and ſeditious of the Party, * club'd their Talents. This *Junto* publiſh'd a great many venomous Pamphlets under the Diſguiſe of *Martin Mar-Prelate.* Of this kind may be reckon'd, *The Epiſtle to the Confocation-Houſe: The Epitome: The Demonſtration of Diſcipline: The Supplication: Diotrephes*: Martin's *Minerals*: *Have you any Work for a Cooper*: Penry's *Epiſtles ſent from* Scotland: Theſes Martinianæ, *or* Martin *Junior*: *The Proteſtation of* Martin: Martin *Senior*: *More Work for the Cooper*: *A Dialogue ſetting forth the tyrannical Dealing of the Biſhops againſt God's Children.*

* Penry, Throgmorton, Eudale *and* Fenner.

Scandalous Pamphlets publiſh'd by ſome of the Puritans againſt the Biſhops and Church of England. Paul's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift.

To ſilence theſe Clamours, and diſable this Railing, which was carried to the laſt Degree of Coarſeneſs and Paſſion; * *Whitgift* and the reſt of the Biſhops procur'd a grave and ſolid Anſwer to theſe Invectives; 'twas entitled, *An Admonition to the People of* England, and particularly levell'd againſt *Martin Mar-Prelate.* But it ſeems their Obſtinacy and Aſſurance was ſuch, that there was no Reaſoning them out of their Rudeneſs. 'Twas thought therefore the beſt Way to anſwer a *Fool according to his Folly*, and combat theſe Pamphleteers at their own Weapon. They were attack'd in this Manner by one *Tom Naſh*, in his *Paſquil* and *Marforio*, his *Counter-Scuffle*, *Pappe with a Hatchet*, &c. This *Naſh* had a Genius for Satyr, a lively Turn, and Spirit for the Encounter: By theſe Advantages, together with that of the Cauſe, he broke the Enemy at two or three Charges, and drove them out of the *Field.*

* Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions*, cap. 11, & 12.

As for the *Puritan* Libels, they were generally printed by one *Walgrave*, he had a travelling Preſs for this Purpoſe; 'twas remov'd from *Moulſey* near *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, to *Fauſley* in *Northamptonſhire.* The next Stage was *Norton*; from *Norton* 'twas ſhifted to *Coventry*; from thence 'twas carried to *Wellſtome* in *Warwickſhire*, and from thence to *Mancheſter*, where both Preſs and Printer were ſeiz'd by the Earl of *Derby.* The Charge of the Preſs was born by *Knightly* of *Fauſley*, a Gentleman of good Faſhion. This Man was drawn into the Cauſe by *Snape* and ſome other leading Miniſters of that County. But theſe

Cambden Eliz.

(z) Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *pag.* 86.

theſe enterprizing People were brought into the *Star-Chamber*, and in Danger of receiving a ſmart Correction. But here, as it happen'd, the Perſon they had moſt inſulted, appear'd their Friend. For upon their Submiſſion, Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſolicited ſtrongly for them, and prevail'd with the Court to diſcharge their Impriſonment, and remit their Fines. 'Tis ſomewhat remarkable, that the *Puritans* were moſt Active in ſetting up their *Diſcipline*, and ſcattering their ſcandalous Pamphlets, when the *Spaniſh Armada* was ſweeping the Seas, and menacing the Kingdom with a Conqueſt. 'Tis probable they thought themſelves priviledg'd at this Juncture, and that the Government had neither Leiſure nor Courage to call them to an Account. This mutinous Behaviour under ſo terrible a *Criſis* loſt them the Friendſhip of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Sir *Francis Walſingham*. Theſe great Men, as 'tis ſaid, declar'd they had been horribly abus'd with their Hypocriſy, (*a*) This, tho' a late, might be a ſerviceable Diſcovery to their Patrons. For the Earl died this Year, and *Walſingham* within Two Years after.

Archbiſhop Whitgift *ſolicits for the Diſcharge of ſome Puritans, and procures it.*

(*a*) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions.*

That *Walſingham* abated in his Affection to the Puritans, may be collected from his Letter to Monſieur *Critoy*, a *French* Gentleman. From hence it appears, at leaſt in *Walſingham*'s Opinion, That the Queen was willing to indulge Liberty of Conſcience, provided it might have been granted without Danger to the State: That ſhe was forced on rougher Expedients in her own Defence: And that 'twas only the Mutiny and Miſbehaviour of the Papiſts which drew the Severity of the Laws upon them. The Letter is a remarkable Paper, I ſhall give it the *Reader* in the Secretary's Words.

SIR,

Secretary Walſingham's *Letter to Monſieur* Critoy, *Secretary of* France, *in Defence of the Queen's Proceedings againſt Recuſants of both Kinds.*

Cabala, ſive ſcrinia ſacra, 3d Edit. *pag.* 372.

“Whereas you deſire to be advertis'd touching the Proceedings here in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, becauſe you ſeem to note in them ſome Inconſtancy and Variation, as if we ſometimes inclin'd to one Side, ſometimes to another; and, as if that Clemency and Lenity were not us'd of late, that was us'd in the Beginning: All which you impute to your own ſuperficial Underſtanding of the Affairs of this State; having, notwithſtanding, her Majeſty's doing in ſingular Reverence, as the real Pledges which ſhe hath given unto the World of her Sincerity in Religion, and of her Wiſdom in Government, well meriteth. I am glad of this Occaſion to impart that little I know in that Matter to you, both for your own Satisfaction, and to the End you may make uſe thereof towards any that ſhall not be ſo modeſtly and ſo reaſonably minded as you are. I find therefore her Majeſty's Proceedings to have been grounded upon Two Principles.

“1. The one, That Conſciences are not to be forc'd, but to be won and reduc'd by the Force of Truth, with the Aid of Time, and the Uſe of all good Means of Inſtruction and Perſuaſion.

“2. The Other, That the Cauſes of Conſcience, when they exceed their Bounds, and grow to be Matter of Faction, loſe their Nature; and that Sovereign Princes ought diſtinctly to puniſh their Practices and Contempt, tho' colour'd with the Pretence of Conſcience and Religion.

“According to theſe Principles, her Majeſty at her coming to the Crown, utterly diſliking the Tyranny of *Rome*, which had us'd by Terror and Rigour to ſettle Commandments of Men's Faith and Conſciences, though as a Prince of great Wiſdom and Magnanimity ſhe ſuffer'd but the Exerciſe of one Religion, yet her Proceedings towards the Papiſts was with great Lenity, expecting the good Effects which Time might work in them. And therefore her Majeſty reviv'd not the Laws made in the 28th and 35th Years of her Father's Reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacy might have been offer'd at the King's Pleaſure to any Subject, tho' he kept his Conſcience never ſo modeſtly to himſelf; and the Refuſal to take the ſame Oath without farther Circumſtance, was made Treaſon. But contrariwiſe, her Majeſty not liking to make Windows into Men's Hearts and ſecret Thoughts, except the Abundance of them did overflow into overt and expreſs Acts, or Affirmations, temper'd her Laws ſo, as it reſtraineth every manifeſt Diſobedience, in impugning and impeaching adviſedly and maliciouſly her Majeſty's ſupreme Power, maintaining and extolling a foreign Juriſdiction. And as for the Oath, it was alter'd by her Majeſty into a more grateful Form, the Hardneſs of the Name and Appellation of *ſupreme Head* was remov'd, and the Penalty of the Refuſal thereof, turn'd only into Diſablement to take any Promotion, or to exerciſe any Charge, and yet with Liberty of being re-inveſted therein, if any Man ſhould accept thereof during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* had excommunicated her Majeſty, and the *Bulls* of Excommunication were publiſh'd in *London*, whereby her Majeſty was in a Sort proſcrib'd: And that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, followed the Rebellion in the *North*: Yet becauſe the ill Humours of the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purg'd, and that ſhe fear'd at that Time no foreign Invaſion, and much leſs the Attempt of any within the Realm, not back'd by ſome potent Succour from without, ſhe contented her ſelf to make a Law againſt that ſpecial Caſe of bringing and publiſhing of any *Bulls* or the like *Inſtruments*; whereunto was added a Prohibition upon Pain, not of Treaſon, but of an inferior Degree of Puniſhment, againſt the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, *hallowed Bread*, and ſuch other Merchandize of *Rome*, as are well known not to be any eſſential Part of the *Romiſh* Religion, but only to be us'd in Practice as Love Tokens, to enchant the Peoples Affections from their Allegiance to their natural Sovereign. In all other Points her Majeſty continued her former Lenity: But when, about the 20th Year of her Reign, ſhe had diſcover'd in the King of *Spain* an Intention to invade her Dominions, and that a principal Point of the Plot was to prepare a Party within the Realm, that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the *Seminaries* began to bloſſom, and to ſend forth daily Prieſts, and profeſſed Men, who ſhould by Vow taken at *Shrift*, reconcile her Subjects from their Obedience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt againſt her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon; and that by the Poiſon which they ſpread, the Humours of moſt *Papiſts* were alter'd, and that they were no more Papiſts in Conſcience, and of Softneſs, but Papiſts in Faction, then were there new Laws made for the Puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould ſubmit themſelves to ſuch Reconcilements, or Renunciations of Obedience. And becauſe it was Treaſon carried in the Clouds, and in wonderful Secreſy, and ſeldom came to Light: And that there was no Pre-ſuſpicion thereof ſo great, as the Recuſancy to come to Divine Service: Becauſe 'twas ſet down by their *Decrees,* That to come to Church before Reconcilement, was to live in Schiſm: But to come thither after Reconcilement, was abſolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing Puniſhment pecuniary againſt ſuch *Recuſants,* not to enforce Conſcience, but to enfeeble and impoveriſh the Means of thoſe of whom it reſteth indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconcil'd or no. And when notwithſtanding all this Proviſion, this Poiſon was diſpers'd ſo ſecretly, as that there were no Means to ſtay it, but by reſtraining the Merchants that brought it in: Then laſtly, there was added another Law, whereby ſuch ſeditious Prieſts of new erection were exil'd, and thoſe that were at that Time within the Land ſhipp'd over, and ſo commanded to keep hence upon Pain of Treaſon.

“ This hath been the Proceeding, tho' intermingled not only with ſundry Examples of her Majeſty's Grace towards ſuch as in her Wiſdom ſhe knew to be *Papiſts* in Conſcience, and not in Faction and Singularity; but alſo with an ordinary Mitigation towards the Offenders in the higheſt Degree committed by Law, if they would but proteſt, that in Caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a foreign Army by the Pope's Authority for the Catholick Cauſe, as they term it, they would take Party with her Majeſty, and not adhere to her Enemies.

“ For the other Part which have been offenſive to this *State,* tho' in other Degree, which named themſelves *Reformers,* and we commonly call *Puritans,* this hath been the Proceeding towards them a great While: When they inveighed againſt ſuch Abuſes in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-Reſidence, and the like; their Zeal was not condemn'd, only their Violence was ſometimes cenſur'd: When they refus'd the Uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites as ſuperſtitious, they were tolerated with much Connivance and Gentleneſs: Yea, when they call'd in Queſtion the Superiority of Biſhops, and pretended to bring a Democracy into the Church, yet their Propoſitions were heard, conſider'd, and by contrary Writings debated and diſcuſs'd. Yet all this while it was perceiv'd that their Cauſe was dangerous, and very popular: As becauſe *Papiſtry* was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths, that they ſought to purge the Church from the Relicks of Popery, a Thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extream to another. Becauſe Multitudes of Rogues and Poverty, were an Eyeſore and Diſlike to every Man: Therefore they put it into the People's Head, That if *Diſcipline* were Plaintive, there ſhould be no Beggars nor Vagabonds, a Thing very plauſible. And in like Manner they promiſe the People many other impoſſible Wonders of their *Diſcipline*; beſides, they open'd the People a Way to Government by their *Conſiſtory* and *Presbytery*, a Thing, tho' in Conſequence no leſs prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereignty of Princes, yet in the firſt Shew very Popular. Nevertheleſs this (except it were in ſome few that entred into extreme Contempt) was born with, becauſe they pretended but in dutiful Manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magiſtrate; but now of late Years, when there iſſued from them a Colony of thoſe that affirm'd the Conſent of the Magiſtrate was not to be attended; when under Pretence of a Confeſſion to avoid Slanders and Imputations, they combin'd themſelves by *Claſſes* and Subſcriptions; when they deſcended in that vile and baſe Means of defacing the Government of the Church by ridiculous Paſquils; when they began to make any Subjects in Doubt to take an Oath, which is one of the fundamental Points of Juſtice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of their Strength and Number of their Partizans and Followers, and to uſe the Communications that their Cauſe would prevail, tho' with Uproar and Violence; then it appear'd to be no more Zeal, no more Conſcience, but mere Faction and Diviſion: And therefore, tho' the *State* was compell'd to hold ſomewhat a harder Hand to reſtrain them than before, yet it was with as great Moderation as the Peace of the Church and *State* could permit. And therefore, to conclude, conſider uprightly of theſe Matters, and you ſhall ſee her Majeſty is no Temporizer in Religion. It is not the Succeſs abroad, nor the Change of Servants here at Home, can alter her; only as the Things themſelves alter, ſo ſhe applied her religious Wiſdom to correſpond unto them, ſtill retaining the Two Rules before mention'd, in dealing tenderly with Conſciences, and yet in diſcovering Faction from Conſcience. Farewel,

Your loving Friend

Francis Walſingham.

By the Account *Walſingham* gives of the ſeditious Pamphlets publiſh'd by the Puritans, their menacing the Government, and ſubſcribing the *Diſcipline*, 'tis plain this Letter, tho' without date, was written not long before his Death.

To proceed; Secretary *Knolles* was another great Favourer of the *Diſſenters*, as has been obſerv'd. This Gentleman was a much better Stateſman than Divine: As to Church Government, he was a down right *Eraſtian*: I ſhall tranſcribe his Letter to Sir *Francis Walſingham* upon this Subject. *

* *See Records, Numb.* CIV.

“ On the 4th of *February* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. There was little done this *Seſſions* relating to the Church, excepting an *Act* for puniſhing thoſe who took Bribes for electing Fellows, Scholars, Officers, and other Perſons in Colleges, Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, Schools, Hoſpitals, Halls, *&c.* The *Statute* likewiſe provides againſt Simoniacal Preſentations: And here 'tis enacted, That the Patron who receives any Sum of Money for a Preſentation or Collation, ſhall forfeit his Turn, and the Benefice or Dignity ſhall Lapſe to the *Crown*. And that thoſe “ who either take or make, any ſuch Simoniacal Promiſe, Grant, Bond, Covenant, or other Aſſurance, ſhall forfeit the double Value of any ſuch Benefice, Dignity, *&c.* And the Perſons corruptly procuring, or accepting any ſuch Benefice, Dignity, *&c.* is for ever diſabled from enjoying it by any other Title. And if any Perſon ſhall receive any Sum of Money, or other Benefit for reſigning a Be-

An Act againſt Simoniacal Preſentations, Ordinations, &c.

“ nefice with Cure of Souls, both the Giver and Receiver are to forfeit the double Value of the Sum given.

“ And laſtly; Thoſe who receive Money or other valuable Conſideration, for ordaining Prieſts or Deacons, or for Licenſes to preach, forfeit Forty Pounds, and the Party ſo corruptly ordain'd, Ten Pounds: And whatever ſpiritual Preferment he happens to gain within Seven Years after ſuch Ordination, the *Statute* declares all ſuch Benefices or Promotions void, and that the reſpective Patrons may diſpoſe of them as if the *Clerk* had been naturally dead.

(b) 31 El. cap. 7.

Feb. 9. 158$\frac{8}{9}$.

Dr. Bancroft's Sermon at St. Paul's Croſs againſt the Puritans.

That this Parliament might be farther inform'd of the weak Pretences, and foul Practice of the *Puritans*, Dr. *Richard Bancroft* preach'd a very learned and ſignificant Sermon upon this Subject at St. *Paul's Croſs*. This *Bancroft* was ſome few Years forward preferr'd to the *See* of *London*, and at laſt to that of *Canterbury*. His *Text*, for the Purpoſe above-mention'd, was 1 *John* 4. 1. *Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God: For many falſe Prophets are gone out into the World.*

Covetouſneſs, one motive to falſe Doctrine.

In proſecuting this *Text*, he gave a ſtrong Image of the Puritans, and painted them in glowing Colours: He ſet forth their intemperate Language againſt Biſhops, deſcrib'd their Ambition, and ſuch other indirect Motives that puſh'd them to Mutiny, and publick Diſturbance. Amongſt other Things he charges the Party with Covetouſneſs: He laments, That *filthy Lucre* was frequently made the Pretence for *Reformation*: And that the Proſpect many People had of plundering Biſhopricks, ſeizing the Endowment of Cathedrals, and ſcrambling for the Remainder of the Church Revenues, was the principal Cauſe of Nonconformity and Schiſm in this Church. He adds, That had not clear Evidence drove him upon this Cenſure, he ſhould have forborn the Imputation. To explain himſelf farther upon this Head, he divides the *Nonconformiſts* into Clergy and Laity, and conſiders their Plea and Pretenſions apart. Their Clergy make a warm Demand of all the Livings ſettled on the eſtabliſh'd Church. Theſe Eſtates, they pretend, ought to be convey'd to their *Presbyteries*. And for Fear of being underfurniſh'd, they put up a Claim to the Abbey-Lands. To this Purpoſe, in a Petition to the Parliament exhibited in the Name of the Commonalty, they lay it down for a Maxim in Divinity, that Things once dedicated to religious Uſes, are unalienable from their original Intendment: When they are thus encloſ'd by Vows, and ſolemn Conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the World. (c)

(c) Bancroft's *Sermon at* Paul's *Croſs*, *pag.* 22.

The Lay Nonconformiſts were of a quite different Sentiment, and ran boldly to a ſcandalous Extream. For this he quotes a Pamphlet, call'd, *An Admonition to the People of* England. Our Preachers ſay, theſe *Lay-Puritans* ought to live by the Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Now nothing was more unprovided with Conveniencies than their Maſter. *He had no Place where to lay his Head.* And as for the Apoſtles, their Predeceſſors, *Silver and Gold they had none.* Now why ſhould theſe Men that go leſs in Induſtry and Merit, be better accommodated? Why ſhould thoſe who are ſo much inferior to the Apoſtles in their Qualifications, exceed them in Figure and Preferment? There is no Coarſeneſs either in Eating or Habit, which Men of their Profeſſion ought to repine at: Alas! Their Dignities and Promotions do but hinder them in their Buſineſs, and diſſerve their Character.

Luke *the 9th.*

Acts *the 3d.*

The Lay Puritans Argument againſt the Clergy, turn'd upon them.

And to turn theſe Men's Artillery upon them, and ruin them by their own Reaſoning, he borrows ſome of the Principles of the *German Anabaptiſts*: And here he directs his Diſcourſe to the poorer Sort of the Audience in this Manner.

“ My Brethren, ſays he, theſe Gentlemen of the Laity uſe you extreamly Ill. The Children of God you know are Heirs of the World: *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Saints are to inherit it.* The Wicked therefore do but Uſurp the Bleſſings of Providence, and hold their Eſtates by a wrong Title. You have an equal Share with thoſe of the beſt Diſtinction in the Kingdom of Heaven: Why then will you ſuffer your ſelves to be thrown out of your Property upon *Earth*, and acquieſce under ſo unequal a Diſtribution? In the Apoſtles Times, the Faithful had all Things common: Then thoſe who had Eſtates ſold them, and laid the purchaſe Money at the Apoſtles Feet, and every one had his Share in Proportion to his Neceſſity: And ſince the Chriſtian Religion is ſtill the ſame, why is the Uſage ſo very different? But alas ſo it is: You are but little better than Beaſts of Burthen to the wealthier Sort. Your Landlords make no Scruple to rack your Rents, to *grind your Faces*, and exhauſt your Bodies. And to what End is all this Oppreſſion in Liberty and Livelihood? 'Tis to maintain an unneceſſary Equipage, to humour their Pride, and feed their Luxury: 'Tis to ſupply their Pockets for Gaming, and furniſh their Diverſions of Hawking and Hunting. And are theſe warrantable Motives to keep the greateſt Part of the World low and uneaſy? To make them wear out their Lives in Labour and Poverty? Why don't you puſh for Redreſs of theſe Grievances, and revive the Practice of the Apoſtles Times? To attempt ſomething of this Kind, would be Charity to your wealthy Neighbours, no leſs than your ſelves. For theſe bulky Eſtates of theirs do but Pamper their Pride, abate their Zeal, and check their Progreſs in Virtue. Indeed, unleſs you make them primitive Chriſtians in their Fortunes, they'l ne'er be ſo in their Lives: Unleſs you reduce them to Evangelical Poverty, and reſcue them from their Riches, they muſt be undone. (d)

(d) Bancroft's *Sermon.*

Dr. *Bancroft* puts the Queſtion to the wealthier Part of the *Audience*, how they like this Doctrine? And if they are unwilling to have it practis'd upon themſelves, they ſhould take Care not to urge it againſt the Clergy.

Thus much for Covetouſneſs: To make the *Text* bear upon the *Diſſenters* in other Reſpects, he ſhews on what a weak Foundation they erected their *Diſcipline*: That there was no Traces of this Scheme from the Apoſtles Time down to *Calvin*: That the Parity theſe Men are ſo earneſt to bring into the Church, was made a Mark of Infamy in the *Aerian* Hereticks. Farther, he repreſented the great Danger which muſt inevitably follow, if private Men ſhould Conteſt the Conſtitutions of the Church, and preſume to over-rule that which had been ſettled by ſo conſiderable an Authority. And as to their Complaint of the Rigour of Forcing them upon Subſcription of *Articles*, he endeavours to juſtify this Impoſition by the Precedent of *Geneva*, and ſome other reform'd Churches

Whitgift (John) *Arch-biſhop of* Cant.

(e) Beza in Vit. Calvin. Melancthon de Calumniis Oſiandri.

in *Germany.* (e) The Doctor proceeds to inſiſt upon the Excellency and Unexceptionableneſs of the *Common-Prayer-Book:* Shews what Commendation had been given it by foreign Divines: How 'twas approved by *Bucer*, *Aleſius* and *Fox:* By the Parliaments and Convocations of this Realm: How Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had defended it againſt the Papiſts, and Biſhop *Ridley* againſt *Knox* and others. And here he argues from the Abſurdity in Extemporary-Prayers. And how often ſuch unpremeditated Devotions ſlide into Indecency and Irreverence. At his next Advance he maintains the Superiority of Biſhops over Presbyters, argues for the *Civil* Supremacy, and alarms the *Audience* with the Danger they had Reaſon to apprehend from the Practice and Principles of the *Diſciplinarians.* This Sermon was manag'd with great Learning and Strength of Argument, and in all likelihood made an Impreſſion. And of this the *Act of Grace* at the Breaking up of the Parliament, ſeems ſomething of a Proof: For thoſe who did not come to Church, hear Divine Service, and conform themſelves to the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, were excepted from the Benefit of this *Statute.* (f)

(f) 31 Eliz. cap. 16.

But before I part with the Doctor's *Sermon*, I muſt obſerve he charges the *Diſſenters* with denying the *Regale*, and transferring the Pope's Supremacy upon their *Presbyteries* and Eccleſiaſtical Senates. (g) This Opinion he makes Part of their Heterodoxies in his *dangerous Poſitions, &c.* And in his *Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline.* To mention the Articles upon which they are impeach'd. "In their whole Book of *Diſ-* "*cipline* there's no mention of any Authority or "Office In or Over the Church, belonging to "the *Civil* Magiſtrate. He has no Vote or "Place in any of their Synods, except he is "choſen an *Elder:* He has no Power aſſign'd "him to convene a Synod, neither is his Aſſent "requir'd to any of the Canons. (h) And in his *Survey* he lays down more of their Principles from *Cartwright*'s *Tracts*, and other Writings of unqueſtionable Authority. The Propoſitions extracted are in theſe Words.

(g) *Sermon, pag.* 60. *prefix'd to the Survey*, &c.

(h) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *pag.* 97.

The Diſſenters Principles with Reſpect to the Civil Supremacy.

The Chriſtian Sovereign ought not to be called the Head under Chriſt, of the particular and viſible Churches within his Dominions. (i) *No Civil Magiſtrate hath Præ-eminence (by ordinary Authority) to determine of Church Cauſes. No Civil Magiſtrate in Councils or Aſſemblies for Church Matters, can either be chief Moderator, Over-ruler, Judge, or Determiner. No Civil Magiſtrate hath ſuch Authority, as that without his Conſent, it ſhould not be lawful for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to make any Church Order or Ceremony. No Civil Magiſtrate ought to receive either Tenths or firſt Fruits of any Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. The Judgment of Church Matters pertaineth to God: They ought ordinarily to be handled by the Church Officers: The Principality or Direction of the Judgment of them, is by God's Ordinance pertaining to the Miniſtry of the Church. As for the making of Orders and Ceremonies in the Church, they do (when there is a conſtituted and order'd Church) pertain unto the Miniſters of the Church, and to the Eccleſiaſtical Governors: And that as they meddle not with the making of Civil Laws, and Laws for the Commonwealth, ſo the Civil Magiſtrate hath not Power to ordain Ceremonies pertaining to the Church. The Miniſters are to determine of Controverſies as they ariſe, and to make or aboliſh needful or hurtful Ceremonies.* And farther, 'tis *Cartwright*'s Aſſertion, That in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, *an Infidel or profane Magiſtrate has the ſame Right with Chriſtian Princes.* (k)

(i) T. C. Lib. 2. T. C. Lib. 1. T. C. Lib. 3. Admon. 2. Diſciplin. Eccleſ. &c.

(k) Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended holy Diſcipline, Chap.* 23. *p.* 259.

Elizabeth Q.

The Senſe of the Ancients upon this Queſtion.

Now it may not be improper to enquire into the Senſe of Antiquity upon this Queſtion: That is, whether the Fathers ſtand on *Bancroft*'s, or the *Puritans* Side. And here it can't be denied, the Authority of the *Ancients* muſt have a great Weight in pronouncing upon the Controverſy. Their living ſo much nearer the Apoſtolical Times, muſt give them a Preference to the *Moderns:* And make them better Judges of the Privileges and Practice of the Church.

That this Spiritual *Society* was govern'd by Officers of her Own for the Three Firſt *Centuries*, is beyond all Queſtion. (l) Now whether the *Fathers* believ'd the *Civil* Magiſtrate's turning Chriſtian remov'd the Seat of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and convey'd this Spiritual Government to the *State:* Whether, I ſay, the Converſion of Princes inferr'd ſo great a Change as this, in the Opinion of the *Fathers*, is what I ſhall briefly examine. This Queſtion may be divided into Two Branches, that is, with Reſpect to Matters of *Faith* and Matters of *Diſcipline.* That Princes were not to ſettle Controverſies of Faith, and Over-rule the Deciſions of the Hierarchy in Diſputes of this Nature, is ſuppos'd evident from the firſt Four general *Councils.* Thus the *Arian* Controverſy was examin'd and determin'd by the *Council* of *Nice*, and not by *Conſtantine* the Great. *Macedonius* was declar'd a Heretick by the *Council* of *Conſtantinople*, and not by the Emperor *Theodoſius:* The Heterodoxies of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* were anathematiz'd by the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon:* Neither did the Emperors *Theodoſius* the Younger, or *Marcian* offer to diſcuſs the Doctrine, or interpoſe in the Cenſure. This is frankly own'd by the Princes themſelves: For inſtance, *Theodoſius* the Younger, in his Letter to the Council of *Epheſus*, makes no ſcruple to declare, "That 'tis utterly unlawful for a "Perſon not of the Epiſcopal Order, to con- "cern himſelf in Eccleſiaſtical Debates:" But that this Declaration is ſpoken only with Reference to Matters of Faith, appears by what goes before; "I have ſent, ſays the Emperor, Count "*Candidian* to the Synod, but with theſe In- "ſtructions, that he is not to intermeddle in "Queſtions of Belief, for that would be a very "ill unjuſtifiable Thing. *

(l) *See* 1ſt *Vol. of this Church Hiſtory.*

* 'Ἀθέμιτον γάρ. Epiſt. Theod. Synod Epheſ. *Part* 1. cap. 35.

When *Valentinian* the Emperor was importun'd by the Eaſtern Biſhops to call a Council for recovering the Conſubſtantial *Creed* which had ſuffer'd under *Conſtantius*, He return'd them this Anſwer, "That himſelf being a Lay-man, 'twas "not lawful for him to interpoſe in Affairs of "this Nature. You therefore, ſays he, that "are Biſhops, whoſe Buſineſs it is, to ma- "nage Things of this Kind, meet where you "pleaſe." (m) Upon this Anſwer, the Biſhops held a Synod at *Lampſacum:* But all that can be inferr'd from this Teſtimony is, that the Emperor believ'd Points of Faith foreign to his Cognizance, not that he thought it beyond his Prerogative to call a *Council:* For 'tis plain he gives the Biſhops leave to meet. This Return which *Valentinian* made to the Biſhops Requeſt, he afterwards put in his *Reſcript*, that is, That Debates concerning *Belief*, were to be decided by the Clergy. St. *Ambroſe* alledg'd this Law when *Valentinian* the Younger requir'd him to diſpute in the Palace with the *Arian* Biſhop *Auxentius;* St. *Ambroſe* pleaded this Law in Excuſe of his Refuſal, "Let no Body, ſays he, interpret this to Obſtinacy, ſince I only take the Benefit of the Law made by your Majeſty's Father of Au-

(m) Sozom. Lib. 6. cap. 7.

guſt Memory. And then he cites the Words of the *Reſcript*. * For Princes to define and govern in theſe Matters, was a Thing altogether without Precedent in St. *Ambroſe*'s Opinion: He expoſtulates ſomewhat warmly with the Emperor upon this Occaſion. “When did your Majeſty “hear that Lay-men ever tried Biſhops upon “Articles of Belief? Can we practice Flattery “to that Degree of Abjection as to throw up “the Privilege of our Character, and own “that Authority which God has given us, is “transferr'd upon others? The reſt of this Teſtimony has been already mention'd in *Grindal*'s Letter to the Queen.

To give another Inſtance for this Point: The Emperor *Marcian* declar'd in the Council of *Chalcedon*, “That his coming thither was not “to exerciſe any Power in determining the “Controverſy about *Eutyches*, but only to enforce the Decrees of the Fathers with the “*Civil* Sanction. (*n*)

And to conclude this *Head*, St. *Ambroſe*, at the Council of *Aquileia*, reproaches *Palladius* an *Arian* Biſhop, for betraying his Character, and appealing to a Temporal Court to purge himſelf from Heterodoxy. St. *Ambroſe* profeſſes he is perfectly aſham'd of him, and pronounces him unworthy of his Function. *

Secondly, To examine the Caſe of Diſcipline: That is, whether the Clergy are to anſwer for any Miſbehaviour in their Office before the *Civil* Magiſtrate. This is a nice Queſtion, and I deſire the *Reader* would take me for a *Reporter*.

Now the Clergy may be conſider'd, either as they are Members in the *State*, or Officers in the Church: Under the Firſt Denomination they are undoubtedly Subject to the Laws and Juriſdiction of the Prince. The Queſtion is concerning their ſacerdotal Capacity: That is, when any Queſtion ariſes touching any Defect in Ordination, or Breach of Canons: In ſhort, touching any Thing which relates purely to their Office, and lies within the Compaſs of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline: The Queſtion is, I ſay, whether theſe are not privileg'd Caſes, and proper to the Cognizance of the *Hierarchy*: And whether the making Conſtitutions for regulating this Matter, is not a Branch of that Authority which our Saviour has lodg'd in his Church.

To cite ſome Authorities of the *Ancients* upon this Queſtion: When the Biſhops in the *Council* of *Nice* happen'd to claſh, and carried their Grievances to *Conſtantine* the Great, the Emperor refus'd to arbitrate the Difference: His Reaſon is very remarkable. “God, ſays he, has made “you Biſhops, and given you a Commiſſion to “be our Judges, and 'tis by no Means convenient, that a Man ſhould judge thoſe who *are* “*call'd Gods*. (*o*)

The Emperor Conſtantine'*s Opinion in the Conteſt with the Donatiſts.*

To proceed; The Conteſt with the *Donatiſts* was a Debate of this Nature. The *Donatiſts* pretended the Ordination of *Cecilian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, was null: Their Exception was, That thoſe who ordain'd him were *Traditors*: That is, they had deliver'd up their Bibles to the Heathens in the *Dioclesian* Perſecution: That this Crime diſabled their Character, and brought *Cecilian* within the Contagion. This was purely a Crime within the Function of an Eccleſiaſtick: And here the Queſtion was, whether *Cecilian* was to be excommunicated; whether his Ordainers were Traditors; and whether a Crime of that Nature made them incapable of conveying a ſacerdotal Character: The *Donatiſts* diſtruſting their Cauſe, applied to *Conſtantine* the Great, the Emperor wrote to *Melchiades*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſome other Biſhops of *Italy* and *Gaul*, to try the Cauſe: Theſe Prelates gave Judgment for *Cecilian*. Upon this, the *Donatiſts* appeal'd to the Emperor, which he took very ill, and expoſtulates ſharply with them for their Perverſeneſs. Amongſt other Things, “He “tells them they ought to receive the Sentence “of the Biſhops with the ſame Regard as if our Saviour had ſate upon the *Bench*.” (*p*) And a little after the Emperor calls the *Donatiſts a Company of Madmen*: And that by making ſo unaccountable an Appeal, they manag'd like the Devil's Retinue. *Officia Diaboli, perquirunt ſæcularia, relinquentes Cæleſtia. O rabida Furoris Audacia!* Thus the Emperor declin'd receiving the Appeal, and order'd a Council at *Arles* to decide the Diſpute. For as St. *Auſtin* relates, *neq; enim auſus eſt Chriſtianus Imperator ſic eorum tumultuoſas & fallaces querelas ſuſcipere, ut de judicio Epiſcoporum qui Romæ ſederant, ipſe judicaret: Sed alios Epiſcopos dedit*: That is, to tranſlate the Paſſage ſoftly, the Emperor thought it an overhardy Undertaking, to bring the Cauſe to a Rehearing before himſelf: At laſt, being fatigued with the Importunity of the *Donatiſts*, he gave Way to their Application on Purpoſe to ſtop their Clamour: But then he deſign'd to beg the Biſhop's Pardon for bringing their Deciſion to a Review, and trying the Cauſe after them. (*q*)

Farther; When St. *Athanaſius* was charg'd at the *Council* of *Tyre*, with breaking the Communion Cup, and throwing down the Altar, Count *Dionyſius* came into the Synod with a Guard to keep good Order. This military Appearance look'd like menacing the *Council*, and over-awing the Biſhops. Upon this ſcore St. *Athanaſius* complains of the Figure and Proceedings of this *Council*. “If the Biſhops, ſays he, are to be “Judges, and pronounce upon the Cauſe, “which Way can the Emperor be concern'd in “the Aſſembly? (*r*)

The Diſcourſe between Conſtantius *and* Liberius.

In the next Reign, when *Conſtantius* had conven'd ſome of the weſtern Biſhops at *Milan*, to confirm the Council of *Tyre*'s Sentence againſt St. *Athanaſius*, *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Dionyſius* of *Milan*, *Lucifer* of *Sardinia*, and *Euſebius* of *Vercelles*, choſe rather to be baniſh'd than Comply. Now by the Emperor's Convening theſe Biſhops for this Purpoſe, and the Anſwers they gave for their Refuſal, it ſeems pretty plain, both Sides were agreed, the Depoſing a Biſhop belong'd to the Juriſdiction of thoſe of his own Order. To give the *Reader* a little of the Diſcourſe between *Conſtantius* and *Liberius* upon this Occaſion. *Conſtantius* begins “with very hard Words againſt *Athanaſius*, ſolicits *Liberius* to conform to the *Synod* of *Tyre*, “and hold no Communion with him. *Liberius* “replies, That the Proceſs in Eccleſiaſtical “Courts ought to be manag'd with great Equity: And therefore deſires his Majeſty to convene a *Synod*. That then, upon hearing the “Evidence on both Sides, if it appear'd *Athanaſius* deſerv'd a *Cenſure*, it ſhould paſs upon him. “But, ſays he, we can't condemn a Man without allowing him his Defence, and going “thro' the cuſtomary Forms of the Church. (*s*)

The Emperor who was violently prepoſſeſs'd againſt *Athanaſius*, lets *Liberius* know, that the Throwing this wicked Man, as he calls *Athanaſius*, out of his Function, would be a greater Satisfaction to him, than all the Victories he had gain'd in the *Field*. Sir, replies *Liberius*, “don't make the Biſhops Inſtrumental in Revenging your private Quarrels. The Hands of “Eccleſiaſticks ought to be employ'd in Bleſſing,

---

* In cauſa Fidei vel Eccleſiaſtici alicujus Ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar ſit, nec jure diſſimilis. Hæc enim verba Reſcripti ſunt. Hoc eſt, ſacerdotes de ſacerdotibus voluit judicare. Ambroſ. Lib 5. Epiſt. 35.

(*n*) Concil. Chalced. Act. 4.

* Ac per hoc quoniam & in hoc ipſo damnandus eſt qui laicorum expectat Sententiam, cum magis de laicis ſacerdotes debeant judicare, eum pronuntio ſacerdotio indignum.

(*o*) Deus vos conſtituit ſacerdotes, & nobis a Deo dati eſtis Judices: Et conveniens non eſt ut homo judicat Deos; ſed ille ſolum de quo ſcriptum eſt: Deus ſtetit in Synagoga Deorum, in Medio autem Deos dijudicat. Ruffin. Lib. 1. Hiſt. cap. 2.

(*p*) Dico enim [ut ſe veritas habet] ſacerdotum Judicium, ita debet haberi ac ſi ipſe Dominus reſidens judicet. Nihil enim his licet ſentire, nec aliud judicare niſi quod Chriſti Magiſterio ſint edocti. Inter geſta Purgationis Cæciliani & Felicis in fine Optati.

(*q*) Auguſt. Epiſ. 162. Lib. de unic. Baptiſ. lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 18. homil. 2d. in Pſalm xxxvi. lib. 4. Contra Creſcon. cap. 7.

(*r*) Athan. Apol. 2d.

(*s*) Theod. Eccles. Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 16.

"rather than maintaining Miſunderſtandings." The Emperor requires him to ſubſcribe *Athanaſius's* Condemnation, and he ſhould have Leave to go to his *See* at *Rome*, otherwiſe nothing but Puniſhment was to be expected. The Biſhop replied, That the Supporting the Conſtitution of the Church was much to be preferr'd to the Living at *Rome*. The Emperor finding him thus immoveable, baniſh'd him into *Thrace*.

Ibidem.

In this Diſcourſe between *Conſtantius* and *Liberius*, there is ſomething very remarkable of another kind. The Emperor begins with him thus; "Since you are a Chriſtian and a Biſhop "of our Capital, we thought fit to ſend for "you, and require you to break off all Religious Correſpondence with that Wretch *Athanaſius*. When *Liberius* refuſ'd to reſign himſelf to *Conſtantius*'s Pleaſure, *Epictetus* a Court-Biſhop interpoſ'd: Sir, ſays he, to *Conſtantius*, *Liberius*'s Incompliance does not proceed ſo much from a Regard for the *Nicene* Faith, or the Authority of the Church, but becauſe he has a Mind to brag to the *Roman* Senate, that he has foil'd the Emperor. Upon this the Emperor falls hard upon *Liberius*: What a ſmall Part of Chriſtendom, ſays he, do you make, that you ſhould ſtand ſingle in Defence of an ill Man, and diſturb the Peace of the *Roman* Empire, and indeed of all the World beſide? To this *Liberius* replies, Suppoſing I ſtand by my ſelf in this Matter, the Cauſe is ne'er the worſe for want of Company. For formerly there were only *Three* that denied Obedience to the King's Command. Now if the Modern Doctrine of the Papal Supremacy had been receiv'd in this Age, there's Reaſon to believe that ſuch leſſening Queſtions would not have been put by the Emperor, neither would *Liberius* have anſwer'd in ſo paſſive unpretending a Manner. For had the Court of *Rome*'s Claim for Univerſal Paſtorſhip been then acknowledg'd; had the Biſhop of *Rome* been look'd on as Chriſt's Vicar; had his Power been reckon'd Paramount to all the Biſhops of Chriſtendom, *Conſtantius* would have ſaluted him in Terms of greater Regard, not ſunk him to a common Biſhop; nor told him how ſlender a Part he made with Reſpect to the reſt of his Order. And if the Emperor ſhould have thus far forgotten the Preeminence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, it may fairly be ſuppoſ'd *Liberius* would have put him in Mind of it. *Liberius* was a plain Dealer, and a Man of Reſolution, as appears by his Manner before the Emperour: 'Tis very unlikely therefore he would be ſilent, when his Privileges were thus overlook'd, and the Honour of his *See* thus plainly attack'd. And on the other ſide, it ſeems no leſs evident, that could *Conſtantius* have depoſ'd *Athanaſius* by his Imperial Authority, he never would have ſolicited the Catholick Biſhops with ſo much Earneſtneſs.

The Emperor however, it may be, thinking himſelf concern'd in Honour not to yield, ſent for the Five Famous Biſhops abovemention'd, and commanded them to ſign the Sentence at *Tyre* againſt *Athanaſius*, and communicate with the *Arians*. The Biſhops ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at this Order, told his Majeſty, this was not agreeable to the Proceedings of the Church. To this the Emperor return'd, his Pleaſure was *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*; that the Biſhops of *Syria* paid this Deference to his Commands, and therefore, ſays he, either ſubmit or be baniſh'd. This arbitrary Manner was extremely new to the Biſhops: However, they were not at all overſet with the Emperor's *Purple*, but deliver'd themſelves with a decent Freedom. They put him in Mind of the Day of Judgment, deſir'd him not to maim the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, nor drive the *Regale* too far into the Church. (t) The Emperor being provok'd with this Remonſtrance, would not ſuffer them to go on. In ſhort, his Paſſion was ſo far rais'd, that he drew his Sword, and order'd them to be ſent off. But afterwards, recollecting himſelf, he remanded ſome of them back, in hopes of ſhaking their Conſtancy; but the Event did not anſwer: For the holy Biſhops, as *Athanaſius* expreſſes it, *ſhook off the Duſt of their Feet*, diſregarded the Emperor's Threatning, and went chearfully into Baniſhment. (u)

Paulinus Dionyſius's, *&c. Anſwer to the Emperor* Conſtantius.

The famous *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, who preſided at the Council of *Nice*, adher'd to *Athanaſius*, and lay croſs to the *Arians* Deſigns. This Biſhop had ſo great a Reputation, that unleſs they could bring him over, they deſpair'd of carrying their Point. The Emperor therefore ſent for him, and tried him every Way, but to no Purpoſe: At laſt he was treated very ruggedly, and before this the Emperor imagining ſuch Uſage might make him relent, preſs'd him to comply in a Letter. *Hoſius* continued firm, and return'd the Emperor an extraordinary Anſwer.

Part of Hoſius's *Letter to* Conſtantius.

"He complains ſecular Perſons engag'd too far "in managing the Impeachment againſt *Athanaſius*." To ſpeak in his own Perſon, I entreat "your Majeſty that you would forbear your "Methods of Violence, and neither write Letters, nor ſend your ſecular Judges to take Cognizance of theſe Matters. When was ever "any Thing of this Kind done by your Brother Emperor *Conſtans*? When was any Biſhop "baniſh'd in his Reign? Or did he ever appear "upon the *Bench* to try Cauſes relating to the "Church and Clergy? Or did any of his Court-Officers ever menace People to ſign a Sentence "againſt any Churchman? I entreat your Majeſty would wave theſe Proceedings. Remember you're a mortal Man, ſtand in awe "of the laſt Judgment, and keep your ſelf unblemiſh'd againſt that Day: Don't interpoſe "in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, nor lay your Commands upon us in Things of this Kind, but rather learn from us how theſe Things are to be "manag'd: God has entruſted you with the "Government of the *Empire*, and us Biſhops "with that of the *Church*. If any Perſon ſhould "ſeize your Adminiſtration, or ſurprize your "Prerogative, he would be guilty of breaking "the Divine Ordinance; ſo be pleaſed to conſider, the Biſhops have their proper Juriſdiction; "have a Care therefore, your drawing the Buſineſs to your own Cognizance, which belongs to Eccleſiaſticks, does not make you "deeply anſwerable. 'Tis written, *Render unto* "Cæſar *the Things which are* Cæſars, *and unto* "*God the Things which are Gods*. As *Civil* Government is no Part of our Claim, ſo neither "does *burning Incence* belong to your Majeſty. "My Regard for your Salvation makes me "write to you in this Manner.

This Teſtimony of *Hoſius* is very remarkable; and that the *Reader* may ſee his Senſe is fairly tranſlated, I ſhall tranſcribe the Original into the Records. (w) This Teſtimony conſidering the Perſon is of no ſmall Weight; now what Character *Hoſius* had in the Church of that Age, may be collected from the Report of the *Arian* Biſhops his Enemies, who we may imagine would not exceed Truth in his Commendation. Theſe Men, in their Addreſs to *Conſtantius*, acquaint him, That unleſs *Hoſius* was brought into their Intereſt, all that either themſelves

(t) Μηδὲ ἐγκαταμίσγειν τὴν Ρωμαικὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ τῆς Εκκλησίας Διαταγῇ.

(u) Athanaſ. ad Solit. Vit. Agent. p 831.

(w) *See Records Num.* XCI. Athanaſ. ad Solit. Vit. Ag. Epiſt. pag. 839.

Hoſius's Character.

ſelves, or his Majeſty had done already, would ſignifie nothing. 'Tis true, ſay they, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſeveral other Biſhops are baniſh'd; we have carried Terror and Severity through a great Part of Chriſtendom; but all your Majeſty has done for the Cauſe will turn to no Account, ſo long as *Hoſius* remains upon his *See*; while this Biſhop continues poſſeſs'd, all the reſt of his exil'd *Order* are in Effect at Home, and unreduc'd: For his Perſuaſiveneſs, and the Strength of his Character, is ſufficient to draw all the Party down upon us. This Man governs *Synods*, and whatever he writes is every where heard and regarded. He drew the *Nicene Creed*, and proclaim'd the *Arians* Hereticks all the World over. If this Biſhop therefore is ſuffer'd to live in his Dioceſe, the baniſhing the others is wholly inſignificant. Your Way therefore, Sir, is to direct your Proſecution principally againſt him, and don't let any Regards of his Age give check to your Juſtice. (x)

By this Addreſs of the *Arians*, 'tis plain they reckon'd *Hoſius* a Biſhop of a greater Figure, and one that ſway'd the Intereſt of the Church more than *Liberius* himſelf. But if the Pope had been look'd on as the Sovereign Paſtor, he would not only have been an Over-balance to *Hoſius*, but have out-weigh'd the whole *Epiſcopal College*. And if this had been the Doctrine of thoſe Times, the *Arians* in all likelihood would never have ſolicited the Emperor in this Manner, nor laid the Streſs of the Cauſe, as it were, upon *Hoſius*'s Authority.

Athanaſius's *Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of* Conſtantius.

To return: The celebrated *Athanaſius* himſelf remonſtrates ſtrongly againſt *Conſtantius*'s Proceedings, with reſpect to himſelf: He complains the Emperor made uſe of one *Epictetus*, and three other unworthy Court-Biſhops, to ſet up *Felix* againſt *Liberius*; and that they conſecrated this Intruder in the *Palace*, but that the People ſtood off from them, and refus'd to own their Communion. And now, ſpeaking of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, he delivers himſelf in this manner. "In what, ſays he, has this Prince come ſhort of Antichriſt? Or which Way can Antichriſt go farther at his Appearing? Will he not find Preſidents from this Court to plain his Way, and carry on his Impoſture? For this Prince invades the Right of the *Conſiſtory*, makes his Palace the Court for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and is both Proſecutor and Judge himſelf; and when he finds the Indictment flag, and the Evidence at a Stand, his Majeſty ſets forth the Charge, and turns Manager. And thus thoſe who are unjuſtly delated, are over-born by Force. He was plainly thus byaſs'd with Paſſion in *Athanaſius*'s Cauſe; for when the Biſhops, *Paulinus*, *Lucifer*, *Dionyſius* and *Euſebius* took the Freedom to produce the Retractation of *Urſacius* and *Valens*'s Teſtimony againſt *Athanaſius*, the Emperor refus'd to give any Credit to the Record of their Confeſſion; but riſing up in Court, declar'd himſelf an Evidence againſt *Athanaſius*. Upon this the Biſhops told him, His Majeſty could not be a legal Evidence, unleſs the Perſon impeach'd was brought into Court, and allow'd to make his Defence; That ſince it was not a Matter of Property, or *Civil* Juſtice, the Emperor's Teſtimony could not be taken upon Content; that ſince a Biſhop was to be tried, *Conſtantius* would be oblig'd to wave his Imperial Character, to ſubmit to the cuſtomary Forms, and manage upon a Level with the Criminal. The Emperor, as *Athanaſius* goes on, taking this Diſcourſe for an Exceſs of Liberty, baniſh'd the four Biſhops; and now being more incens'd againſt *Athanaſius*, he publiſh'd a ſevere Proclamation, order'd the *Arians* his Dioceſe, and gave them leave to manage at Diſcretion. "Theſe Proceedings, ſaith *Athanaſius*, are frightful Exceſſes, and lively Repreſentations of Antichriſt. For who can ſee the Emperor leading the pretended Biſhops, and preſiding upon the Eccleſiaſtical *Bench*, without ſaying, *the Abomination of Deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the Prophet*, has receiv'd its Accompliſhment? For ſince this Prince, who wears the Character of a Chriſtian, preſſes into the *Holy Place*, and ſtanding there, haraſſes the Churches, overbears the Canons, and makes them give Way to his ſecular Authority? Since Things are thus manag'd who can ſay the Chriſtians enjoy any Peace under this Reign? Who can deny but that they are rather in a State of Perſecution, and ſuch a Perſecution as never was heard of, nor it may be never will be, till 'tis rais'd by that *Son of Perdition*. (y)

Notwithſtanding the great Plainneſs of this Remonſtrance, we don't find *Athanaſius* cenſur'd by any of the *Ancients* upon this Score. S. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many others of the Fathers give him an extraordinary Character. And which is ſomewhat more remarkable, *Conſtantine* Junior, *Conſtantine* the Great his Son, *Jovian*, *Marcian* and *Juſtinian*, mention him with great Regard, and without the leaſt Abatement. Now this would ſcarcely have been done, had he abetted any Eccleſiaſtick Encroachment upon the *Crown*. (z) But to argue in Defence of the Learned Biſhop, and Famous Confeſſor *Athanaſius*, would be an Injury to his Memory, and a very unneceſſary Undertaking. St. *Hilary* an eminent Prelate and Confeſſor, in his Addreſs to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, ſpeaks to the ſame Meaning and Plainneſs with St. *Athanaſius*. *

Several Emperors Declarations againſt interpoſing in the Diſcipline of the Church.

To proceed: The Emperor *Marcian* deliver'd in three Articles to the General *Council* of *Chalcedon*, to be paſs'd into *Canons*. He declares he reſerv'd theſe Points to be ſettled by them, thinking it much more proper they ſhould be decreed by the *Council*, than eſtabliſh'd by a *Civil* Sanction. (a) This Draught was paſs'd into *Canons*, but not in the ſame Form drawn up by his Majeſty. Thus, tho' the Emperor obſerv'd ſome Inſtances of Miſbehaviour in the Monks and Clergy, which requir'd Diſcipline, yet he thought it too much to make a Proviſion himſelf, but left the Correction to the *Synod*, as being the proper Seat of Authority for theſe Matters.

This *Council* affords another remarkable Inſtance: For here in the Caſe of *Photius*, Metropolitan of *Tyre*, 'tis determin'd by the *Synod*, That the Imperial *Reſcript* is of no Force againſt the *Canons*: And yet this Caſe related only to a Conteſt of Juriſdiction between a Metropolitan and one of his Provincial Biſhops. And which is farther obſervable, the Emperor's *Reſcript* carried the whole Authority of the *Civil* Legiſlature; for neither the Nobility, nor the Commons had any Share in making Laws: This Privilege was reſign'd long agon in the *Lex Regia*, which enacts the Princes Pleaſure a Law; the Words are, *Quicquid Principi placuit, Legis vigorem habeat*.

Farther, The Weſtern Emperor *Honorius* was of the ſame Opinion with *Marcian*, and ſpeaks ſomewhat fuller to the Point. The Paſſage in his Letter to his Brother *Arcadius*, who reign'd in the Eaſt, ſtands thus. "If any Religious Controverſie happens among the Governours, of the Church, the Matter ought to be tried by the Biſhops; 'tis their Buſineſs to in-

" terpret

(x) Id. ad Solit. Vit. Agen. pag. 837.

(y) 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. *See Records, Num.* XCII.

(z) Vid. Elogia Veterum Athanaſio tributa. Athanaſ. Vol. I.

* Hilar. Lib. ad Conſtant.

(a) Concil. Chalced. Act. 6.

"rather than maintaining Miſunderſtandings." The Emperor requires him to ſubſcribe *Athanaſius's* Condemnation, and he ſhould have Leave to go to his *See* at *Rome*, otherwiſe nothing but Puniſhment was to be expected. The Biſhop replied, That the Supporting the Conſtitution of the Church was much to be preferr'd to the Living at *Rome*. The Emperor finding him thus immoveable, baniſh'd him into *Thrace*.

Ibidem.

In this Diſcourſe between *Conſtantius* and *Liberius*, there is ſomething very remarkable of another kind. The Emperor begins with him thus; "Since you are a Chriſtian and a Biſhop "of our Capital, we thought fit to ſend for "you, and require you to break off all Religi- "ous Correſpondence with that Wretch *Athanaſius*. When *Liberius* refus'd to reſign himſelf to *Conſtantius*'s Pleaſure, *Epictetus* a Court-Biſhop interpos'd: Sir, ſays he, to *Conſtantius*, *Liberius*'s Incompliance does not proceed ſo much from a Regard for the *Nicene* Faith, or the Authority of the Church, but becauſe he has a Mind to brag to the *Roman* Senate, that he has foil'd the Emperor. Upon this the Emperor falls hard upon *Liberius*: What a ſmall Part of Chriſtendom, ſays he, do you make, that you ſhould ſtand ſingle in Defence of an ill Man, and diſturb the Peace of the *Roman* Empire, and indeed of all the World beſide? To this *Liberius* replies, Suppoſing I ſtand by my ſelf in this Matter, the Cauſe is ne'er the worſe for want of Company. For formerly there were only *Three* that denied Obedience to the King's Command. Now if the Modern Doctrine of the Papal Supremacy had been receiv'd in this Age, there's Reaſon to believe that ſuch leſſening Queſtions would not have been put by the Emperor, neither would *Liberius* have anſwer'd in ſo paſſive unpretending a Manner. For had the Court of *Rome*'s Claim for Univerſal Paſtorſhip been then acknowledg'd; had the Biſhop of *Rome* been look'd on as Chriſt's Vicar; had his Power been reckon'd Paramount to all the Biſhops of Chriſtendom, *Conſtantius* would have ſaluted him in Terms of greater Regard, not ſunk him to a common Biſhop; nor told him how ſlender a Part he made with Reſpect to the reſt of his Order. And if the Emperor ſhould have thus far forgotten the Preeminence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, it may fairly be ſuppos'd *Liberius* would have put him in Mind of it. *Liberius* was a plain Dealer, and a Man of Reſolution, as appears by his Manner before the Emperour: 'Tis very unlikely therefore he would be ſilent, when his Privileges were thus overlook'd, and the Honour of his *See* thus plainly attack'd. And on the other ſide, it ſeems no leſs evident, that could *Conſtantius* have depos'd *Athanaſius* by his Imperial Authority, he never would have ſolicited the Catholick Biſhops with ſo much Earneſtneſs.

The Emperor however, it may be, thinking himſelf concern'd in Honour not to yield, ſent for the Five Famous Biſhops abovemention'd, and commanded them to ſign the Sentence at *Tyre* againſt *Athanaſius*, and communicate with the *Arians*. The Biſhops ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at this Order, told his Majeſty, this was not agreeable to the Proceedings of the Church. To this the Emperor return'd, his Pleaſure was *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*; that the Biſhops of *Syria* paid this Deference to his Commands, and therefore, ſays he, either ſubmit or be baniſh'd. This arbitrary Manner was extremely new to the Biſhops: However, they were not at all overſet with the Emperor's *Purple*, but deliver'd themſelves with a decent Freedom. They put him in Mind of the Day of Judgment, deſir'd him not to maim the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, nor drive the *Regale* too far into the Church. (*t*) The Emperor being provok'd with this Remonſtrance, would not ſuffer them to go on. In ſhort, his Paſſion was ſo far rais'd, that he drew his Sword, and order'd them to be ſent off. But afterwards, recollecting himſelf, he remanded ſome of them back, in hopes of ſhaking their Conſtancy; but the Event did not anſwer: For the holy Biſhops, as *Athanaſius* expreſſes it, *ſhook off the Duſt of their Feet*, diſregarded the Emperor's Threatning, and went chearfully into Baniſhment. (*u*)

(*t*) Μηδὲ ἐγκαταμίσγειν τὴν Ρωμαικὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ τῆς Εκκλησίας Διαταγῇ. Paulinus Dionyſius's, *&c. Anſwer to the Emperor* Conſtantius.

(*u*) Athanaſ. ad Solit. Vit. Agent. p. 831.

The famous *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, who preſided at the Council of *Nice*, adher'd to *Athanaſius*, and lay croſs to the *Arians* Deſigns. This Biſhop had ſo great a Reputation, that unleſs they could bring him over, they deſpair'd of carrying their Point. The Emperor therefore ſent for him, and tried him every Way, but to no Purpoſe: At laſt he was treated very ruggedly, and before this the Emperor imagining ſuch Uſage might make him relent, preſs'd him to comply in a Letter. *Hoſius* continued firm, and return'd the Emperor an extraordinary Anſwer. "He complains ſecular Perſons engag'd too far "in managing the Impeachment againſt *Athanaſius*." To ſpeak in his own Perſon, I entreat "your Majeſty that you would forbear your "Methods of Violence, and neither write Letters, nor ſend your ſecular Judges to take Cognizance of theſe Matters. When was ever "any Thing of this Kind done by your Brother Emperor *Conſtans*? When was any Biſhop "baniſh'd in his Reign? Or did he ever appear "upon the *Bench* to try Cauſes relating to the "Church and Clergy? Or did any of his Court-Officers ever menace People to ſign a Sentence "againſt any Churchman? I entreat your Majeſty would wave theſe Proceedings. Remember you're a mortal Man, ſtand in awe "of the laſt Judgment, and keep your ſelf unblemiſh'd againſt that Day: Don't interpoſe "in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, nor lay your Commands upon us in Things of this Kind, but rather learn from us how theſe Things are to be "manag'd: God has entruſted you with the "Government of the *Empire*, and us Biſhops "with that of the *Church*. If any Perſon ſhould "ſeize your Adminiſtration, or ſurprize your "Prerogative, he would be guilty of breaking "the Divine Ordinance; ſo be pleaſed to conſider, the Biſhops have their proper Juriſdiction; "have a Care therefore, your drawing the Buſineſs to your own Cognizance, which belongs to Eccleſiaſticks, does not make you "deeply anſwerable. 'Tis written, *Render unto* "Cæſar *the Things which are* Cæſars, *and unto* "*God the Things which are Gods*. As Civil Government is no Part of our Claim, ſo neither "does *burning Incence* belong to your Majeſty. "My Regard for your Salvation makes me "write to you in this Manner.

Part of Hoſius's Letter to Conſtantius.

This Teſtimony of *Hoſius* is very remarkable; and that the *Reader* may ſee his Senſe is fairly tranſlated, I ſhall tranſcribe the Original into the Records. (*w*) This Teſtimony conſidering the Perſon is of no ſmall Weight; now what Character *Hoſius* had in the Church of that Age, may be collected from the Report of the *Arian* Biſhops his Enemies, who we may imagine would not exceed Truth in his Commendation. Theſe Men, in their Addreſs to *Conſtantius*, acquaint him, That unleſs *Hoſius* was brought into their Intereſt, all that either themſelves

(*w*) *See Records Num.* XCI. Athanaſ. ad Solit. Vit. Ag. Epiſt. pag. 839.

ſelves, or his Majeſty had done already, would ſignifie nothing. 'Tis true, ſay they, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſeveral other Biſhops are baniſh'd; we have carried Terror and Severity through a great Part of Chriſtendom; but all your Majeſty has done for the Cauſe will turn to no Account, ſo long as *Hoſius* remains upon his *See*; while this Biſhop continues poſſeſs'd, all the reſt of his exil'd *Order* are in Effect at Home, and unreduc'd: For his Perſuaſiveneſs, and the Strength of his Character, is ſufficient to draw all the Party down upon us. This Man governs *Synods*, and whatever he writes is every where heard and regarded. He drew the *Nicene Creed*, and proclaim'd the *Arians* Hereticks all the World over. If this Biſhop therefore is ſuffer'd to live in his Dioceſe, the baniſhing the others is wholly inſignificant. Your Way therefore, Sir, is to direct your Proſecution principally againſt him, and don't let any Regards of his Age give check to your Juſtice. (x)

Hoſius's *Character.*

(x) Id. ad Solit. Vit. Agen. pag. 837.

By this Addreſs of the *Arians*, 'tis plain they reckon'd *Hoſius* a Biſhop of a greater Figure, and one that ſway'd the Intereſt of the Church more than *Liberius* himſelf. But if the Pope had been look'd on as the Sovereign Paſtor, he would not only have been an Over-balance to *Hoſius*, but have out-weigh'd the whole *Epiſcopal College*. And if this had been the Doctrine of thoſe Times, the *Arians* in all likelihood would never have ſolicited the Emperor in this Manner, nor laid the Streſs of the Cauſe, as it were, upon *Hoſius*'s Authority.

Athanaſius's *Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of* Conſtantius.

To return: The celebrated *Athanaſius* himſelf remonſtrates ſtrongly againſt *Conſtantius*'s Proceedings, with reſpect to himſelf: He complains the Emperor made uſe of one *Epictetus*, and three other unworthy Court-Biſhops, to ſet up *Felix* againſt *Liberius*; and that they conſecrated this Intruder in the *Palace*, but that the People ſtood off from them, and refus'd to own their Communion. And now, ſpeaking of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, he delivers himſelf in this manner. "In what, ſays "he, has this Prince come ſhort of Antichriſt? Or "which Way can Antichriſt go farther at his "Appearing? Will he not find Preſidents from "this Court to plain his Way, and carry on "his Impoſture? For this Prince invades the "Right of the *Conſiſtory*, makes his Palace the "Court for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and is both "Proſecutor and Judge himſelf; and when he "finds the Indictment flag, and the Evidence at "a Stand, his Majeſty ſets forth the Charge, "and turns Manager. And thus thoſe who are "unjuſtly delated, are over-born by Force. He was plainly thus byaſs'd with Paſſion in *Athanaſius*'s Cauſe; for when the Biſhops, *Paulinus*, *Lucifer*, *Dionyſius* and *Euſebius* took the Freedom to produce the Retractation of *Urſacius* and *Valens*'s Teſtimony againſt *Athanaſius*, the Emperor refus'd to give any Credit to the Record of their Confeſſion; but riſing up in Court, declar'd himſelf an Evidence againſt *Athanaſius*. Upon this the Biſhops told him, His Majeſty could not be a legal Evidence, unleſs the Perſon impeach'd was brought into Court, and allow'd to make his Defence; That ſince it was not a Matter of Property, or *Civil* Juſtice, the Emperor's Teſtimony could not be taken upon Content; that ſince a Biſhop was to be tried, *Conſtantius* would be oblig'd to wave his Imperial Character, to ſubmit to the cuſtomary Forms, and manage upon a Level with the Criminal. The Emperor, as *Athanaſius* goes on, taking this Diſcourſe for an Exceſs of Liberty, baniſh'd the four Biſhops; and now being more incens'd againſt *Athanaſius*, he publiſh'd a ſevere Proclamation, order'd the *Arians* his Dioceſe, and gave them leave to manage at Diſcretion. "Theſe Proceedings, ſaith "*Athanaſius*, are frightful Exceſſes, and lively "Repreſentations of Antichriſt. For who can "ſee the Emperor leading the pretended Biſhops, and preſiding upon the Eccleſiaſtical "*Bench*, without ſaying, *the Abomination of Deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the Prophet*, has receiv'd its Accompliſhment? For ſince this "Prince, who wears the Character of a Chriſtian, preſſes into the *Holy Place*, and ſtanding "there, haraſſes the Churches, overbears the "Canons, and makes them give Way to his ſecular Authority? Since Things are thus manag'd who can ſay the Chriſtians enjoy any "Peace under this Reign? Who can deny but "that they are rather in a State of Perſecution, "and ſuch a Perſecution as never was heard of, "nor it may be never will be, till 'tis rais'd by "that *Son of Perdition*. (y)

(y) 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. *See Records, Num.* XCII.

Notwithſtanding the great Plainneſs of this Remonſtrance, we don't find *Athanaſius* cenſur'd by any of the *Ancients* upon this Score. S. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many others of the Fathers give him an extraordinary Character. And which is ſomewhat more remarkable, *Conſtantine* Junior, *Conſtantine* the Great his Son, *Jovian*, *Marcian* and *Juſtinian*, mention him with great Regard, and without the leaſt Abatement. Now this would ſcarcely have been done, had he abetted any Eccleſiaſtick Encroachment upon the *Crown*. (z) But to argue in Defence of the Learned Biſhop, and Famous Confeſſor *Athanaſius*, would be an Injury to his Memory, and a very unneceſſary Undertaking. St. *Hilary* an eminent Prelate and Confeſſor, in his Addreſs to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, ſpeaks to the ſame Meaning and Plainneſs with St. *Athanaſius*. *

(z) Vid. Elogia Veterum Athanaſio tributa. Athanaſ. Vol. I.

* Hilar. Lib. ad Conſtant.

Several Emperors Declarations againſt interpoſing in the Diſcipline of the Church.

To proceed: The Emperor *Marcian* deliver'd in three Articles to the General *Council* of *Chalcedon*, to be paſs'd into *Canons*. He declares he reſerv'd theſe Points to be ſettled by them, thinking it much more proper they ſhould be decreed by the *Council*, than eſtabliſh'd by a *Civil* Sanction. (a) This Draught was paſs'd into *Canons*, but not in the ſame Form drawn up by his Majeſty. Thus, tho' the Emperor obſerv'd ſome Inſtances of Miſbehaviour in the Monks and Clergy, which requir'd Diſcipline, yet he thought it too much to make a Proviſion himſelf, but left the Correction to the *Synod*, as being the proper Seat of Authority for theſe Matters.

(a) Concil. Chalced. Act. 6.

This *Council* affords another remarkable Inſtance: For here in the Caſe of *Photius*, Metropolitan of *Tyre*, 'tis determin'd by the *Synod*, That the Imperial *Reſcript* is of no Force againſt the *Canons*: And yet this Caſe related only to a Conteſt of Juriſdiction between a Metropolitan and one of his Provincial Biſhops. And which is farther obſervable, the Emperor's *Reſcript* carried the whole Authority of the *Civil* Legiſlature; for neither the Nobility, nor the Commons had any Share in making Laws: This Privilege was reſign'd long agon in the *Lex Regia*, which enacts the Princes Pleaſure a Law; the Words are, *Quicquid Principi placuit, Legis vigorem habeat*.

Farther, The Weſtern Emperor *Honorius* was of the ſame Opinion with *Marcian*, and ſpeaks ſomewhat fuller to the Point. The Paſſage in his Letter to his Brother *Arcadius*, who reign'd in the Eaſt, ſtands thus. "If any Religious "Controverſie happens among the Governours, "of the Church, the Matter ought to be tried "by the Biſhops; 'tis their Buſineſs to in-

"terpret

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Elizabeth Q.

"terpret the Divine Laws, and ours to practiſe "accordingly. (a)

The Emperor *Juſtinian*'s *Novels* run much to the ſame Senſe: "If any Eccleſiaſticks Miſbe-"haviour calls for Correction, the Matter ſhall "be decided, and the Puniſhment appointed by "the Biſhops. Of theſe Things the Temporal "Judges ſhall take no Cognizance. For we "won't have Buſineſs of this Kind brought be-"fore them. Enquiries and Proſecutions of "this Nature ought to be made in Eccleſiaſtical "Courts, and corrected by the *Cenſures* of the "Church, purſuant to the Regulation of the "Canons, and the Tenor of our holy Religion. "Neither is the Management of Church Diſci-"pline in this Manner, any Ways derogatory to "the Laws of our *Empire*. (b)

To give another Inſtance, nothing can be more full than the Emperor *Baſilius*'s Declaration at the Eighth general Council of *Conſtantinople*. "I pronounce it, ſays this Prince, utter-"ly unlawful for any Lay-Perſon whatever to "debate any Eccleſiaſtical Argument, or to "oppoſe the Univerſal Church, or any Oecu-"menical Synod: For the diſcuſſing Points of "Religion belongs to Patriarchs, Biſhops, and "Spiritual Guides, with whom God has en-"truſted the Power of *Binding and Looſing*: For "a Lay-Man, tho' never ſo well qualified in "Point of Virtue, Learning and Diſcretion, is "ſtill but a Lay-Man: He is a Sheep, and no "Shepherd. But on the other Side, a Biſhop, "tho' he fails remarkably in Regularity, is "notwithſtanding a Spiritual Paſtor, as long as "his Character continues upon him: And it "does by no Means become the Sheep, to riſe "upon the Shepherd. (c)

From hence 'tis evident the Emperor bars himſelf, no leſs than his Lay Subjects, from being Judges in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. Upon the Whole, as the learned *Beveridge* obſerves, 'tis clear by this Teſtimony, and the others abovemention'd, that the Chriſtian Emperors left the Diſcipline of the Clergy, conſider'd as Clergy, and all Eccleſiaſtical Conteſts between thoſe of their own Order; and in ſhort, all Church Matters of what Kind ſoever, to Eccleſiaſtical Judges: That is, to the Biſhops who are commiſſionated by our Saviour for this Purpoſe. And for this Reaſon 'tis, that theſe Emperors never made any Laws for Eccleſiaſtical Regulations, either with Reſpect to Things or Perſons, till the Matter of theſe *Civil* Proviſions had been firſt decreed in ſome Epiſcopal *Synod*. (d)

The Decrees of the Council of Arles *and* Antioch *to this Purpoſe.*

Farther; In the firſt *Council* of *Arles* held in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, 'tis decreed, That if any Magiſtrate who profeſs'd Chriſtianity, ſhould break in upon the Diſcipline of the Church, he was to be excommunicated. (e)

And even in the Reign of *Conſtantius* himſelf, who carried the *Regale* much higher than any Prince of thoſe Times, 'tis ordain'd at the Council of *Antioch*, that if any Biſhop depos'd by a *Synod*, ſhould inſtead of appealing to a more numerous Council, apply to the Emperor for Redreſs, and refer the Cauſe to his Majeſty, if any Biſhop ſhou'd manage in this Manner, he was not ſo much as to be heard by the Epiſcopal College in his Defence, nor ever to expect the Recovery of his *See*. (f) St. *Chryſoſtom* loſt his Archbiſhoprick upon Pretence of this *Canon*. (g)

As to Matters of Diſcipline, which relate to Ceremonies, and regulating the Adminiſtration of Divine *Service*; theſe Things ſeem to lie within the Compaſs of the *Regale*, and belong to the *Civil* Legiſlature: For did not the Jewiſh Kings ſettle the Courſe of the Prieſts, and appoint the *Levites* their Function? But to this 'tis anſwer'd, There's no arguing from the Jewiſh, to the Chriſtian Conſtitution: For the Learned *De Marca* obſerves the Jewiſh Kings Regulations in Religious Affairs were not without the Conſent of the *Sanhedrim*; and for this he cites their Hiſtorian *Joſephus*. (h) Now this great *Council* conſiſted of a conſiderable Number of Prieſts and *Levites*, beſides Secular Perſons of Condition. (i) To this it may be added, that the High-Prieſt ordinarily preſided in the *Sanhedrim*. 'Tis replied farther, That *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*, had Inſtructions from God Almighty to inſtitute the *New Temple Service*, and govern the Oeconomy in the Church. As for the two firſt, 'tis plain they were Prophets no leſs than Princes: They were guided by Inſpiration, and wrote Part of the *Canon*. And as to the Matter in Queſtion, the appointing the Furniture of the Temple, and ſettling the Miniſtration of the Prieſts and *Levites*, all this was done by particular Direction from Heaven. (k) Thus *David* declar'd, *The Lord made me underſtand in Writing by his Hand upon me, even all the Works of this Pattern*: Or as it ſtands in the Vulgar, *All theſe Things came to me written with the Hand of the Lord, that I might underſtand all the Works of this Pattern.* Thus *David* by the Inſtruction of the *Holy Spirit* gave *Solomon* a Model of the Temple, and preſcrib'd him the Method for regulating *the Courſes of the Prieſts and Levites, and all the Service of the Houſe of the Lord.* * But this is not all: This Train of Religious Ceremonies was likewiſe preſcribed by *Gad* and *Nathan*, which is ſuppos'd to anſwer the Inſtance from *Hezekiah*: For 'tis ſaid expreſly, That this Prince *ſet the Levites in the Houſe of the Lord with Cymbals, with Pſaltries, and with Harps, according to the Commandment of* David, *and of* Gad *the King's Seer, and* Nathan *the Prophet: For ſo was the Commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.* (l) From hence 'tis inferr'd, That Chriſtian Princes can draw no Precedents for the *Regale* from theſe Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*: For the Jewiſh Kings govern'd in theſe Matters by Supernatual Impulſe, and Prophetick Direction: They did not act upon *Civil* Prerogative, upon any Power reſulting from the Royal Character: They declar'd plainly their Warrant came immediately from Above; and that they had Prophets ſent to them on Purpoſe to manage in this Manner.

The Jewiſh Kings acted by Divine Appointment in religious Affairs.

Thus far therefore the *Puritans* ſeem not ill fortified againſt *Bancroft*'s Attack. However, the Doctor has not a few *Engliſh* Biſhops, and other eminent Divines of the Reformation, in his Sentiment. (m) The Doctor's Opinion, in his own Words, is briefly this, "That the King hath "*Ordinary* Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: "That he is the Chiefeſt in the Deciſion and "Determination of the Church Cauſes: That "he hath *Ordinary* Authority for making all "Laws, Ceremonies, and Conſtitutions, of the "Church: That without his Authority no ſuch "Laws, Ceremonies, or Conſtitutions, are or "ought to be of Force. And laſtly, That all "Appellations, which before were made to "*Rome*, ſhould ever be made hereafter to his "Majeſty's Chancery to be ended and deter-"mined, as the Manner now is by *Delegates*. (n) Now the Queſtion will be, Whether theſe *Engliſh* Divines of the 16th and 17th *Centuries*, who fall in with *Bancroft*'s Doctrine, are conſiſtent with the *Fathers*, or not? That is, Whether in their Diſcourſes upon this Subject, they don't either over-look ſome of the moſt conſiderable Teſtimonies of the *Antients*, or fail in their reconciling Anſwers, or advance Contradictory Aſſertions? If any Thing of this ſhould happen, the Cauſe would be ſomewhat perplex'd: For 'tis a common Saying, The Stream runs cleareſt near the Fountain-Head. The Primitive Doctors being but a few Removes from the Apoſtles, ſeem the beſt Judges of the Privileges and Practice of the Church. Theſe *Fathers* were ſome of them Confeſſors for the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, Men of the braveſt Reſolution, and highly recommended both for Life and Learning. The *Antients*, may ſome People ſay, compar'd to the *Moderns*, are like *Homer*'s Heroes; they are even Single, an Over-match for numerous Bodies, and able to drive whole Armies before them.

(a) Cum ſi quid de Cauſâ Religionis inter Antiſtites ageretur Epiſcopale oportuerit eſſe Judicium. Ad illos enim Divinarum Rerum Interpretatio, ad nos ſpectat Religionis Obſequium.

(b) Juſtin. Novel. 83. cap. 81.

(c) Baſil. Imp. in Octav. Synod. Act. 10. pag. 682. Edit. Colon.

(d) Beveridg. Annot. in Can. Conc. Chalcedon. pag. 109, 110.

(e) Can. 6. Conc. 1. Arelat.

(f) Concil. Antioch. Can. 12.

(g) Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 18.

(h) Περαίνετο δὲ μηδὲν ὁ Βασιλεὺς δίχα τȣ̃ Ἀρχιερέως ϗ τῆς τῶν γερουσιῶν γνώμης.

(i) De Marca de Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(k) 1 Chron. 28. v. 2. to 20. 2 Chron. 29. ver. 25.

* 1 Chron. 28. v. 11, 12, 13.

(l) 2 Chron. 29. v. 25.

(m) See Dr. Wake's *Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of* England.

(n) *Sermon at* Paul's *Croſs pag.* 59.

The Ancients ſuppos'd preferable to the Moderns.

Dr. *Bancroft* having cited the *Fathers* againſt *Cartwright*, and the reſt of the *Diſciplinarians*, makes the Compariſon in theſe Words, *For Mr.* Calvin *and Mr.* Beza *I do think of them and their Writings as they deſerve: But I think better of the Ancient Fathers I muſt confeſs it.* (*n*) Now how far *Bancroft*'s Preference of the *Fathers* to *Calvin* and *Beza* will affect the Teſtimony of the *Moderns*, ſhall be left to the *Reader*'s Conſideration.

An abſolute Submiſſion not due from the Church to the Regale.

That an abſolute Submiſſion in Eccleſiaſtical Matters is not due from the Church to the *Crown*; that Princes have not any Authority to diſſolve the Epiſcopal College, to ſtrike the *Hierarchy* dead, or arreſt their Functions at Pleaſure; that the Civil Sovereignty does not reach thus far, is granted by a late learned Advocate for the *Regale*. His Words are theſe: "Whenever the *Civil Magiſtrate* ſhall ſo far abuſe his *Authority* as to render it neceſſary for the *Clergy*, by ſome extraordinary *Methods*, to provide for the *Church*'s *Welfare*, that Neceſſity will warrant their taking of them. (*o*) When the *Danger is apparent*, and the *Neceſſities of the Church* will not bear the farther Delaying of Synods, and the Prince does refuſe to let them meet, they muſt rather venture his Diſpleaſure, and do it of themſelves, than be wanting in ſuch Circumſtances to the *Church's Safety and Preſervation.* (*p*)

Theſe reaſonable Conceſſions put me in Mind of a Paſſage in *Euſebius*: This Hiſtorian reports that the Emperor *Licinius* forbad the Biſhops to meet in *Synods*: But this, ſays *Euſebius*, was an enſnaring impracticable Command: This Law could not be obey'd without ſubverting the Conſtitution of the Church. (*q*)

The Learned Gentleman above-mention'd, in his *State of the Church*, &c. repeats the Conceſſions in his two other *Tracts* more at large in theſe Words; "Should we be ever ſo unhappy under a *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* as to be denied all Liberty of theſe *Aſſemblies*, tho' the Governors and Fathers of the *Church* ſhould with all their *Care* and *Intereſt* endeavour to obtain it: Should he ſo far abuſe his *Prerogative*, as to turn it not only to the *Detriment*, but to the Ruin of all true *Religion* and *Morality* among us; and thereby make it *abſolutely Neceſſary* for ſomething *extraordinary* to be done to preſerve both: In ſuch a Caſe of Extremity, I have before ſaid, and I ſtill adhere to it; that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church muſt reſolve to hazard all in the Diſcharge of their Duty: They muſt *Meet, Conſult*, and *Reſolve* on ſuch *Meaſures* as by God's Aſſiſtance they ſhall think their *Unhappy Circumſtances* do require, and be content to ſuffer any *Loſs*, or to run any *Danger* for their ſo doing. For then the *Prince* would only have the *Name* of a *Chriſtian*, but would *Act* like an *Infidel*; and ſo having thrown off the *Care* and *Protection* of the *Church*, it would naturally return to the *Biſhops* and *Paſtors*, to whom Chriſt committed it, to take upon *themſelves* the *Care* and *Protection* of it. (*r*)

From hence it may be obſerv'd, firſt, That the Biſhops and Paſtors muſt be Judges of the Caſe when this Neceſſity comes up: Otherwiſe the Remedy is impracticable, and this expedient for preſerving the Church ſignifies nothing. For we may be aſſur'd a Prince, who acts like an *Infidel*, will never Confeſs his Rigour, publiſh his Mal-Adminiſtration, and tell the Biſhops when the calamitous Juncture happens, when 'tis neceſſary for them to re-aſſume their Authority, and act independently of the *Regale*. Now if the Biſhops are Judges of the Neceſſity, the Conſequence is, That 'twill be lawful for them to act upon their own Judgment, and exert their Character whenever they believe the Emergency calls for it. From whence 'twill follow, the People will be oblig'd to acquieſce in the Regulations of their *Paſtors* in Spiritual Matters, tho' contrary to the Pleaſure of the *State*. For if the Biſhops have a Right to govern, it muſt be the People's Duty to ſubmit to their Government.

I obſerve, *Secondly*, That this learned Author aſſerts, that Chriſt committed the Care and Protection of the Church, to the Biſhops and Paſtors. But he is not pleas'd to give any Evidence for the Revoking this Commiſſion: That the Paſtors ſhould be thus reduced only by Baptizing a Prince, and receiving him a Lay-Member into their *Society*, is none of the cleareſt Propoſitions. That the Church ſhould loſe her Authority by making a Prince *a Member of Chriſt, a Child of God, and an Inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven*: That the Church by conveying ſo great a Benefit, and adminiſtring ſo glorious a Sacrament, ſhould loſe her Power, and forfeit her *Charter* for Government; that the Caſe ſtands thus, I ſay, will require more Proof than is obvious at firſt Sight, or commonly produc'd upon this Occaſion.

The Doctrine of ſome learned Papiſts touching the Regale.

To proceed; *Bancroft* in his *Survey* takes Notice, that both *Puritans* and *Papiſts* go ſome Lengths in their Submiſſion to the *Regale*. For the *Papiſts* he cites the Teſtimony of *Harding*, *Fecknam*, and *Sanders*. The Words are theſe, *Good Kings may put Biſhops and Prieſts in Mind of their Duties, and bridle both their Riot and Arrogancy. The Prince, by the Word of God, may make Laws for the Obſervation of both Tables, and puniſh the Tranſgreſſors. I do here preſently offer my ſelf, to receive a corporal Oath upon the Evangeliſts, that I do utterly think, and am perſuaded in my Conſcience, that the Queen's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, &c. And further, I ſhall preſently ſwear, that her Highneſs hath under God, the Sovereignty and Rule over all Manner of Perſons, born within theſe her Highneſs's Realms, of what Eſtate Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, ſoever they be.* Fatemur, Perſonas Epiſcoporum qui in toto Orbe fuerunt, Romano Imperatori Subjectos fuiſſe: *We Confeſs, That the Perſons of all the Biſhops in the World, were Subject to the* Roman *Emperor.* Rex præeſt hominibus Chriſtianis, verum non quia ſunt Chriſtiani, ſed quia ſunt Homines, & quoniam ipſi Epiſcopi ſunt Homines, Epiſcopis etiam ea ex parte Rex præeſſet: *The King ruleth Chriſtians, not as they are Chriſtians, but as they are Men, and becauſe Biſhops are Men, the King in that Reſpect, hath Authority over them.*

(*n*) *Survey pag.* 378.

(*o*) *The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over their Eccleſiaſtical Synods aſſerted*, &c. *pag.* 43.

(*p*) *Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of* England, &c. *Preface, pag.* xxiii.

(*q*) Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. Lib. 1. cap. 51.

(*r*) *State of the Church and Clergy of* England, *pag.* 86.

Harding *againſt the* Apo. 306, 307.

Hard. ibid. 303.

Fecknam *to Biſhop* Horn.

Saunders de Viſib. Monarch. Lib. 2, cap. 3.

The Famous *de Marca*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, diſcourſes at large upon this Subject. I ſhall give the *Reader* his Opinion in a few Words: He aſſerts that the calling *Councils*, and confirming their Decrees, is a Branch of the Regal Authority, and that the firſt general *Councils* were confirm'd by the Emperors. (*s*) And that theſe Princes were addreſs'd by the Biſhops to ratify their Synods. And here to prevent Miſconſtruction, he throws in an explanatory Sentence; that Deciſions of Faith, and Ceremonies relating to the Sacraments, bind the Conſcience without the Intervention of the *Civil* Magiſtrate. However, 'tis Part of the Prince's Office to maintain the *Canons*, and re-inforce the *Cenſures* of the Church with Penalties upon Property or Perſon. He grants that Princes have a Right to be preſent in *Councils*, either in Perſon, or by their Repreſentatives. That 'tis their Privilege to ſee that nothing is acted in theſe *Aſſemblies* to the Prejudice of the *State*. For this Reaſon, 'tis their Buſineſs to inſpect the *Canons*, and examine their Tendency, before they paſs them into Laws for the Subject.

(*s*) De Concor. ſacerd. & Imper. Lib. 6. cap. 17. & 22. Id. Lib. 2. cap. 10.

That Princes not only confirm'd the *Councils* in General, but ſometimes ſelected particular *Canons* for the *Civil* Sanction. And here *Juſtinian* has gone farther than all the Reſt of the Emperors: And yet *de Marca* is of Opinion he has not exceeded in the Exerciſe of the *Regale*. For, as the Biſhop continues, he has not made any Proviſions altogether *New*, in Matters purely Eccleſiaſtical: He has only taken ſome of the Old *Canons* into the Laws of the Empire, and enlarg'd ſome Branches of them: That this is no more than what belongs to a Chriſtian Prince: And that he is bound by his Religion to make Laws in Defence of Chriſtianity. (*t*)

Id. Lib. 2. cap. 11.

(*t*) Auguſt. contra Creſcon. Lib. 3. cap. 51. Id. Epiſt. 50. ad Bonifac.

That the Emperor *Juſtinian* manag'd with this Reſerve, appears by his *Reſcript*. *It has always been our princely Care, ſays he, to preſerve ancient Cuſtom and Diſcipline, which we never ſet aſide unleſs by Way of farther Improvement: And that this has been more eſpecially our Maxim in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. For theſe Things are the Regulations of the Fathers, or rather the Suggeſtion of the Holy Spirit. For whatever is decreed by Apoſtolical Authority, is certainly the Appointment of Heaven.* And a little after, he adds, *We look upon our ſelves as Guardians and Protectors of Antiquity.* (*u*)

(*u*) Juſſio Juſtin. pro Privileg. Conc. Byzac.

Thus for Inſtance. This Emperor's *Conſtitutions* concerning the Offices, Behaviour, and Privileges of the Clergy, and *Religious*, are all drawn, either from the Old *Canons*, or cuſtomary Practice. Thus much is confeſs'd by *Juſtinian* himſelf: (*w*) That the Emperor's explaining himſelf to this inoffenſive Senſe, made his *Novels* receiv'd by the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Church, without Remonſtrance or Oppoſition.

(*w*) Juſtin. Novel. 6. c. 1. Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν τοῖς θείοις διὰ πάντων ἑπόμενοι κανόσιν. Nov. 123 c. 36. Κελεύομεν κατὰ τοὺς Μοναχικοὺς κανόνας; & paſſim ſimilia Verba occurrunt.

De Marca goes on in his Acknowledgment of the *Regale*: He maintains that Princes are ſo far Guardians of the *Canons*, that they may lawfully diſplace Biſhops uncanonically poſſeſs'd. (*x*) That in Virtue of their Chriſtianity, they are bound to promote the Intereſt of the Spiritual *Society*, of which they are Members: And therefore, that 'tis Part of their Office to prevent the Growth of Scandal in the Church, and give Check to Schiſm and Hereſies. Neither is this Aſſiſting the Church with the ſecular Authority, any Office miniſterial to the *Hierarchy*, any ſtooping to the *Mitre*, or Diſadvantage to the Royal Character. On the Contrary, 'tis an independent Branch of the *Civil* Sovereignty: 'Tis a Function reſulting from the Authority of a Chriſtian Prince: Of a Chriſtian Prince, to whoſe Government it belongs to promote the Service of God, the Honour of our Saviour's Kingdom, and the Intereſts of the other World. And laſtly, That *De Marca* mayn't ſeem to overſhoot in his Conceſſions, he reports a Paſſage, with Approbation, from *Facundus Hermianenſis*. This Author was an *African* Biſhop, and liv'd in the Reign of *Juſtinian*. Now this Emperor happen'd to interpoſe in the Controverſy of the *Three Chapters*. This, *Facundus* thought altogether foreign to the Cognizance of the *Secular* Magiſtrate. He endeavours therefore to perſuade Princes to draw in this Compaſs of the *Regale*, and manage by the Preſident of the Emperor *Marcian*: His Words are to this Senſe: "That reſerv'd Prince of famous Memory, was "very ſenſible, that King *Uzziah*'s Attempt to "ſacrifice was not unpuniſh'd; and yet this "Miniſtration was lawful to every Prieſt, tho' "of the Second Order: By greater Force of "Conſequence this religious Emperor was convinc'd, that 'twas not within his Authority to "diſcuſs thoſe Articles of the Chriſtian *Faith* "which had been regularly ſettled: That an "Enquiry of this Kind, or the making new "*Canons*, belongs to none but to a Synod of "Biſhops. For this Reaſon he was contented "with the *Civil* Prerogative; he only fortified "the Church Conſtitutions with Penal Laws, "but declin'd advancing ſo far with the *Regale*, as to make any new *Canons*. (*y*)

(*x*) De Concord. ſacerd. & Imper. Lib IV cap 2. Ibid. *pag.* 233. Id. Lib. 2. cap. 10.

(*y*) Facund. Hermian. Lib XII. cap. 3.

And this may ſerve for a Taſte of the Opinions of ſome of the learned Papiſts, not wholly bigotted to the Court of *Rome*. To go on, and give the *Reader* an Account in a Word or Two, what the old *Diſſenters* deliver'd upon this Subject.

The Diſſenters Sentiments upon this Queſtion.

Our Meanings is not (ſaith *Cartwright*) *utterly to ſeclude the Magiſtrate out of our Church-Meetings, for oftentime a ſimple Man, and* (*as the Proverb ſaith*) *the Gardiner hath ſpoken to good Purpoſe*, &c. *He may be Aſſiſtant, and have his Voice in ſuch Aſſemblies. The Prince* (*z*) *may call a Council of the Miniſtry, and* (*a*) *appoint both the Time and the Hours for the ſame. The* (*b*) *Civil Magiſtrate is not utterly to be excluded from ſuch Aſſemblies as do meet for the Deciding of Church Cauſes and Orders: He may be there Aſſiſtant and have his Voice, but he may not be either Moderator there, nor Determiner, nor Judge.* (*c*) *Neither may the Orders or Decrees there made, be ſaid to have been done by the Prince's Authority. And therefore in Times paſt, the Canons of Councels were not call'd the Emperors, but the Biſhops Decrees.* (*d*) *Princes may be Aſſiſtant in Councels, and ought to defend the ſame Aſſembled: If any behave themſelves there Tumultuouſly, or otherwiſe Diſorderly, the Prince may puniſh him.* (*e*) *The Prince ought to confirm the Decrees of ſuch Councels: To* (*f*) *ſee the Decrees executed, and to* (*g*) *puniſh the Contemners of them.* (*h*)

T. C. 2. 2. P. 164 & 167.

(*z*) T. C. 2. 2. P. 157.

(*a*) T. C. 96. 161.

(*b*) T. C. 2. 2.

(*c*) Ibid. 156.

(*d*) Ibid. 161.

(*e*) T. C. 2. 2. 157.

(*f*) T. C. 1. 2. 193.

(*g*) T. C. 2. 2. P 156.

(*h*) Bancroft's *Survey*, *Chap.* 23.

Here *Bancroft* obſerves, That the Doctrine of the *Puritans* is much the ſame with that of the *Papiſts* upon this Head: And this he urges as a Diſadvantage to their Cauſe. But with due Regard to his Memory, this Objection has little Weight: For the Agreement between the *Papiſts* and *Puritans* in any Point of Religion, does not prove the Thing either true or falſe. For neither of theſe Communions are always Right, or always Wrong. And this may ſerve for a ſhort View of the Argument touching the *Regale*. And here again I deſire the *Reader* to take me but as a *Reporter* of Part of the Controverſy: Not that I pretend to determine the Queſtion, or fix the Barriers betwixt the Church and State.

The Puritans Plea for Church Power inſufficient.

But then in the next Place, whatever independent Authority may belong to the Church, the Puritans can make out no Claim to this Privilege. The Diſſenters miſtake the Seat of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and lodge it in wrong Hands. Churches conſiſting of *Presbyters* without a Biſhop at the Head of them, is altogether unprecedented in the Primitive Times, and what the Ancients by no Means allow of. To make good this Aſſertion, I ſhall briefly prove theſe Two Things: Firſt, that the Order of Biſhops, from the Beginning of Chriſtianity, was diſtinct from that of Presbyters, and Superior to it. *Secondly*, That Orders conferr'd by Presbyters were reckn'd Null and Inſignificant by the ancient Church.

Three Orders with different Degrees of Power ſettled in the Church by our Saviour and his Apoſtles.

To prove the firſt Point, it may be obſerv'd, That our Saviour, who founded the Chriſtian Church, was the Firſt and ſole Biſhop, or chief Governor. For while our bleſſed Saviour continued upon Earth, the Apoſtles did not execute the Epiſcopal Function: They neither ordain'd, nor acted in the Exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction: They only baptiz'd and preach'd the Goſpel, which is the proper Buſineſs of Presbyters or Prieſts. But our Saviour, at his Aſcenſion, transferr'd his Power for governing the Church upon his Apoſtles, and veſted them with the Epiſcopal Authority. The Form of Conſecrating them to this Office, is ſet down in theſe Words. *Peace be unto you: As my Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you*: And having ſaid this, he breath'd upon them, and ſaid unto them, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*. 'Tis granted our Saviour had ordain'd his Apoſtles before this Time: But then 'twas only to preach the Goſpel, and work Miracles. † But 'twas not 'till after his Reſurrection, that he gave them their Commiſſion in theſe ſolemn Words: *As my Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you*: 'Twas now he convey'd a fuller Communication of the Divine Spirit, by the Circumſtance of *Breathing* upon them, and ſaying, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*: From whence 'tis plain, that by this laſt and more ſolemn Ordination, the Apoſtles were rais'd to a greater Dignity, and had new Powers given them: That is, they had a Power to ordain others, and exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical *Diſcipline*. By the Suggeſtion of the Holy Spirit, Three other Apoſtles were added to the Eleven, That is *Matthias*, *Paul*, and *Barnabas*. * Theſe Fourteen being cloath'd with a full Authority for Governing and perpetuating the Church, ordain'd *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to a Share in the Adminiſtration. † Now ſince thoſe who were commiſſionated to govern in Chief, and conſtitute theſe ſubordinate Officers, were afterwards call'd Biſhops; for this Reaſon the Apoſtles are likewiſe ſtiled Biſhops, by ſeveral of the *Fathers*. *(i)* And thus even the Apoſtolate is called 'Επισκοπὴ, or a *Biſhoprick*, as it is Tranſlated. * This Epiſcopal Authority was for ſome Time the Privilege of the Apoſtles, and manag'd only by them. But Chriſtianity ſpreading upon the Progreſs, and the Death of the Apoſtles beginning to draw near, they communicated their governing Character to others, and fix'd them in diſtinct Churches: And thus the firſt Powers were deriv'd from one Age to another, and this Spiritual *Society* made immortal. For Inſtance, *Evodius* was veſted with this Extent of Authority, and fix'd in the *See* of *Antioch*: *Linus* or *Clemens* were made Biſhops of *Rome*: And to mention no others, *Titus* had the ſame Epiſcopal Poſt in *Crete*, and *Timothy* at *Epheſus*. That *Titus* exercis'd the Function of a Biſhop in *Crete* is affirm'd not only by *Euſebius*, *Theodoret*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerome*, and others, but likewiſe by St *Paul* himſelf. † That *Timothy* manag'd with the ſame Advantage and Superiority, appears by St. *Paul*'s Inſtructions to him: The Apoſtle cautions him againſt *Ordaining* any Perſons without a previous Enquiry; and that *he ſhould not receive an Accuſation againſt an Elder, unleſs ſupported by Two or Three Witneſſes*. Now to what Purpoſe were theſe Directions ſent to *Timothy*, unleſs he had a Commiſſion to ordain, and try Cauſes; an Authority to conſtitute and govern Presbyters? * Thus St. *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians* † mentions *Timothy* as a Collegue, and joint Commiſſioner with himſelf. And the *Epiſtle* is directed to the *Philippians* in the Name of Both. The *Text* is, *Paul* and *Timotheus, the Servants of Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. Theſe Two are mention'd together with Marks of Diſtinction as Perſons of the firſt Claſs in the Church. The Two inferior *Orders* are ſet forth in the latter Part of the Verſe in theſe Words, *with the Biſhops and Deacons*. That theſe were of a different Rank from St. *Paul* and *Timothy*, may be collected from the Order of the *Text*, and the Manner in which they are mention'd: And that by the Denomination of *Biſhops*, we are only to underſtand *Presbyters* in this Place, is affirm'd by St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, and St. *Jerome*, in their Homilies and Comment upon the *Text*. Particularly *Theodoret* reports, That in theſe early Times, thoſe who were the Chief Governors in the Church, and had the Power of *Ordination*, were ſcarcely as yet ſtiled *Biſhops*, but *Angels* * and Apoſtles. And here this *Father* obſerves, that not only the Twelve Diſciples choſen by our Saviour, but likewiſe the *Seventy*, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and a great many others, were called Apoſtles. *(k)* Thoſe, ſays he, who are now called Biſhops, were then ſtiled Apoſtles. Upon this Ground, he affirms, *Epaphroditus*, who carried this *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, had an Epiſcopal Character, becauſe St. *Paul* calls him their *Apoſtle*. *(l)* Farther, 'tis generally agreed by the *Fathers*, that in this Age of the Apoſtles, *Presbyters* were called Biſhops. And for this Reaſon, the *Syriack Tranſlation*, as the learned *Beveridge* obſerves, renders theſe Words, σὺν 'Επισκόποις καὶ Διακόνοις *with the Presbyters and Deacons*. † And which is very remarkable, in almoſt all Places of the *New-Teſtament*, where the Word 'Επίσκοπος or Biſhop occurs, 'tis tranſlated by *Presbyter* in the *Syriack Verſion*. * And thus 'Επισκοπὴ, or the Office of a Biſhop is tranſlated, the Office of a *Presbyter*. † Now 'tis difficult to conjecture what can be the Reaſon of tranſlating in this Manner; excepting this, that when this *Verſion* was made, Biſhop and Presbyter were equivalent Terms, and uſed to mark Perſons in the ſame Office. However, 'tis plain by the Records of *Antiquity*, that either towards the End of the Apoſtles Times, or very ſoon after, the Term *Biſhop* and *Prieſt* were diſtinguiſh'd, and carried a different Idea: And that thoſe to whom the Apoſtles convey'd their Authority, and left for their Succeſſors, took the Diſtinction of Biſhops, as moſt ſuitable to their Office; *(m)* and quitted the Title of Presbyter, or Prieſt, to thoſe of the Second *Order*.

The Presbyterians Argument from the 1ſt of Philip. *v.* 1. *conſider'd.*

But here it may not be improper to take Notice that the Presbyterians endeavour to wreſt the firſt Verſe of the firſt Chapter to the *Philippians*, from the Expoſition above-mention'd: And from St. *Paul*'s mentioning the *Biſhops* and *Deacons*, they conclude there was but Two *Orders* of Eccleſiaſticks in the Apoſtles Days: And that theſe Two Diſtinctions were only *Presbyters* and *Deacons*.

John 20. *v.* 21, 22.

† Mark 3. *v.* 13, 14. Mathew 10. 1.

* Act. 1. 26. Acts 13. 2. Gal. 1. 1.

† Acts 14. 23. Act. 6. 6.

(*i*) Cyprian Epiſt. ad Rogatian. Ambroſ. in Epheſ. cap. 4. 2. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 27. Par. 6.

* Acts 1. 20.

† Tit. cap. 1. *v.* 5.

* 1 Tim. cap. 5. *v.* 19, 22.

† Philip. 1. *v.* 1.

* Apocalyps. cap. 1. *v.* 20. cap. 2. *v.* 1.

(*k*) Theod. in 1 Cor. *v.* 28. Id. in 1 Tim. 3, 1.

(*l*) Phil. 2. *v.* 25. Theod. in Epiſt. ad Philip. cap. 1. *v.* 1, 2.

† Phil. 1. *v.* 1.

* 1 Tim. cap. 3. *v.* 2. Tit. 1. 7.

† 1 Tim. cap. 3. *v.* 1.

(*m*) Iren. Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Deacons. Their Reaſon for this laſt Aſſertion is, becauſe the *Text* does not throw in any third *Order* between Biſhops and Deacons. But how ſlenderly they are founded, and how ill their Inference is drawn from the Apoſtles Words, may be eaſily ſhewn.

For, firſt, *Epaphroditus*, who is ſuppoſed to be conſtituted Biſhop of *Philippi*, by the Apoſtles, was at *Rome* when St. *Paul* wrote this *Epiſtle*, and was afterwards ſent with it unto *Macedonia.** Now ſince *Epaphroditus* carried this *Epiſtle*, what Reaſon is there for ſaluting him with the Biſhops, as they are call'd, fix'd at *Philippi*? Farther, granting *Epaphroditus* was not promoted to the *See* of *Philippi* at the Writing of this *Epiſtle*, yet the higheſt Order of the Clergy, that is, a Biſhop, ſtrictly taken, may be comprehended under this Form of Salutation, no leſs than *Preſbyters* of the ſecond Claſs. And therefore ſuppoſing *Epaphroditus* was not Biſhop of *Philippi*, they might have another ſingle and diſtinguiſh'd Governour in that Station. But to make a farther Conceſſion; Suppoſing the *Philippians* had no ſingle Governour Paramount to the *Preſbyters* when St. *Paul* wrote to them, 'twill by no Means follow, that there were only two Orders of Eccleſiaſticks in that City. For can it be imagin'd there was no Apoſtle preſiding over the Biſhops and Deacons? 'Tis not to be ſuppos'd that the Apoſtles ſhould forbear taking Care of the Churches as ſoon as they were founded, and quit the *Helm* before they had furniſh'd every Church with a diſtinguiſh'd and peculiar Governour: And that ſome Apoſtle ſat in the *Chair* of *Philippi*, and not only preſided over that Church, but left a Succeſſor in the ſame Station, is expreſly affirm'd by *Tertullian*. Now this Father living ſo near the Apoſtles Age, muſt be allow'd an unexceptionable Evidence. His Words are theſe; "You, ſays he, that are diſpos'd to make an exact Enquiry into the Hiſtory of your Salvation, take a View of the Apoſtolical Churches, where the *Chairs* they preſided in are to be ſeen; where their *Epiſtles* are read in their own Hand. By which Remains the very Voice and Pourtraict of them are, as it were, ſounding in the Ears of the *Audience*, and preſerv'd to the preſent Age. For Inſtance, Do you dwell near *Achaia*? You have *Corinth* for this Purpoſe: If you don't live remote from *Macedonia*, *Philippi* and *Theſſalonica* will give you the ſame Satisfaction. If you travel into *Aſia*, you have *Epheſus* for another Apoſtolick *See*. If you border upon *Italy*, *Rome* has the ſame honourable Privilege. (*n*)

* Phil. chap. 2. v. 25.

(*n*) Tertull. de Preſcript. adverſus Heret. cap. 36.

Here the *Reader* may ſee *Philippi* is reckon'd among the reſt of the Cities where the Apoſtles had their *Chair*, and preſided in Perſon: And that a Succeſſion of Biſhops was continued upon theſe *Sees* with particular Marks of Honour; that this Succeſſion was continued till *Tertullian*'s Time, is evident by this Sentence abovemention'd; *Apud quas ipſæ adhuc Cathedræ Apoſtolorum præſidentur.* Now conſidering the *Philippians* had ſo generouſly furniſh'd St. *Paul* with Conveniences; ſince he treats them with ſuch particular Regard, as to ſend them this *Canonical Epiſtle*, and eſpecially ſince the Church of *Philippi* was founded by this Apoſtle.* For theſe Reaſons 'tis likely St. *Paul* might keep the Charge of this *See* in his own Hand, till upon the Proſpect of his Martyrdom, he ſettled a Succeſſor. But there is no need of inſiſting farther upon this; That neither St. *Paul* nor *Timothy* were plain *Preſbyters* or *Deacons*, but an *Order* ſuperior to both, is confeſs'd by the *Preſbyterians* themſelves. They affirm likewiſe, That by Biſhops, in the Place abovemention'd, we are to underſtand *Preſbyters*. From this Conceſſion it evidently follows, That there were at leaſt three *Orders* in the Church when the Apoſtles were alive: And 'tis certain the firſt *Order* of theſe three was, at their Deceaſe, every where ſettled. Now how this Diſtinction could have gain'd ſuch an early Eſtabliſhment, unleſs founded by the Apoſtles, is unimaginable to conceive. That the Form of Church Government was Monarchical, and under the Conduct of the Biſhops towards the latter End of the Apoſtles Times, and ſo forward, appears from unqueſtionable Records. To produce ſomething of this Kind: *Clemens Romanus* conſtituted Biſhop of *Rome* by the Apoſtles, endeavours to recover the *Corinthians* from their turbulent Humour, and preſſes their keeping within the Compaſs of their Station, in theſe Words: "The High-Prieſt, ſays he, had his peculiar Buſineſs preſcrib'd: The *Prieſts* of the ſecond Order had their Poſts aſſign'd them; and the *Levites* had Miniſtrations particular to their Diſtinction: And Laymen likewiſe are tied to peculiar Duties. I would have all of you, my Brethren, keep within your own Station, and not break through your Bounds into foreign Buſineſs. (*o*)

* Acts 16.

The Chriſtian Hierarchy founded upon the Model of the Jewiſh.

Clem. Rom.

(*o*) 1 Epiſt. ad Corinth.

From hence 'tis plain, *Clemens Romanus* deſcribes the Chriſtian Hierarchy under the ſame Names and Diſtinctions as they ſtood rang'd in the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy. His Reaſon muſt be, That this Diſtribution of the Prieſthood was thought proper for Chriſtianity; and that our Saviour and his Apoſtles had transfer'd it, from the *Synagogue*, to the *Church*. And thus ſeveral others, beſides *Clemens Romanus*, call the Biſhop, *High-Prieſt*; the Presbyter, Ἱερεὺς; and Deacons, *Levites*: That St. *Clemens* points at the *Orders* of the Clergy then ſettled in the Chriſtian Church, appears plainly from what follows after his Recital of the Diſtinction of High-Prieſt, Prieſt, and *Levite*. "My Brethren, ſays he, let every one of you be careful to move within his Station, *&c.*" From hence it may be clearly infer'd, That the foregoing Diſtinctions in the *Synagogue* were applicable to the Caſe of the *Corinthians*; that their Hierarchy was in ſome Meaſure form'd upon the *Jewiſh* Model; That the Biſhop was in Lieu of the High-Prieſt, the *Presbyters* of the Inferiour Prieſts, and the Deacons repreſented the *Levites*: And that theſe three Orders had their Aſſignment of peculiar Buſineſs: And therefore he exhorts all of them to keep within the Bounds of their reſpective Employments. Neither is the Paſſage which follows ſoon after in this *Epiſtle*, any Contradiction to what is here deliver'd The Paſſage is this; "That the Apoſtles, after our Saviour's Reſurrection, Ordain'd their firſt Converts Biſhops and Deacons in the Places where they travell'd; and that this was done for the Benefit of thoſe who ſhould afterwards turn Chriſtians.

But here the *Reader* may obſerve, 'tis plain from the Citation, that St. *Clemens* does not deſcribe the Church as 'twas then conſtituted, but as it ſtood immediately after our Saviour's Reſurrection. However, even *then* there were three Diſtinctions in the Clergy: Firſt Apoſtles, next Biſhops or Presbyters, and under them Deacons. Biſhops, in the commonly receiv'd Senſe, ſucceeded to the Apoſtles; but then 'twas not neceſſary the Apoſtles ſhould raiſe the Epiſcopal Character for Succeſſion, till they were almoſt ready to retire themſelves: But that they did fix the Settlement of three *Orders* in the Church, is plain by the Teſtimony of St. *Clemens* already cited. Neither could this holy Biſhop be ignorant under what Diviſions, under what Diverſity of Powers, the Apoſtles had rang'd the Officers of the Church, ſince himſelf was made Biſhop of *Rome* by St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*.

Ignatius full for three diſtinct Orders.

Farther: The famous St. *Ignatius* govern'd the *See* of *Antioch* before the Death of *Clemens Romanus*; he likewiſe held a Correſpondence with ſome of the Apoſtolical College, 'tis therefore impoſſible he could be unacquainted with the Form of Government conſtituted by the Apoſtles, with the different *Orders* they had ſettled in the *Hierarchy*; and the Proportions of Power aſſign'd to each of them. Now St. *Ignatius* in thoſe Epiſtles, which unqueſtionably belong to him, frequently mentions the three *Orders* of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; and here the Biſhop is always diſtinguiſhed as their Supreme. (*p*)

Farther Proof for this Point.

Thus 'tis evident, that at the End of the Apoſtolick Age, at leaſt, there were three diſtinct *Orders* ſettled in the Church; and that they were afterwards kept on, is no leſs unqueſtionable. For Inſtance, In the Year of our Lord 142. which at moſt is but Three and forty Years after the Death of St. *John*, *Pius* the 1ſt. was promoted to the *See* of *Rome*. This Prelate, in an undoubted *Epiſtle* of his to *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Vienne*, ſpeaks thus: "Since the Brethren have elected you Biſhop of the noble City of *Vienne*, let the Epiſcopal Habit put you in Mind of your Duty, and take Care to manage up to the Function to which our Lord has call'd you." And a little after he ſubjoins; "Let the Prieſts and Deacons regard you as the Servant of Chriſt." Here *Juſtus* the Biſhop and his Prieſts and Deacons are diſtinctly mention'd.

Epiſcoporum veſtitus. Beveridge's Pandect. Canon. Annot.

In the Year of our Lord 180. *Irenæus* was Biſhop of *Lyons*. This eminent Father expreſly affirms, that the Biſhops ſucceeded the Apoſtles; and that the Apoſtles put the Government of the Churches into their Hands. (*q*) He likewiſe mentions *Presbyters* or Prieſts, in ſeveral Places. * As for *Deacons*, they occur but ſeldom in his Writings. However, no Body denies the Settlement of this Order from the Beginning: From whence the Conſequence is, That in *Irenæus*'s Time there were three Diſtinctions of the Clergy in *Gaul*; and that in this early Age the Churches in *Alexandria* and *Carthage* were furniſhed with the three *Orders* abovemention'd, is evident from the Teſtimonies of *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Origen*. "The High-Prieſt, ſays *Tertullian*, that is, the Biſhop, has the original Right of adminiſtring Baptiſm; from hence 'tis deriv'd to the Prieſts and Deacons, but not unleſs they have a Commiſſion from the Biſhop." (*r*) And elſewhere ſpeaking of the floating Condition of Heretical Communions, he obſerves "Their Biſhops were frequently thrown out of their Character, and that their Prieſts and Deacons were promoted to thoſe Orders without proper Diſtances of Time. *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions the three different Ranks of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, and believes them founded upon a Reſemblance of the Angelick Orders. (*s*) *Origen* upon the 15th of St. *Matthew* has theſe Words; "Such a Biſhop, ſays he, *does not deſire a good Work*—— And you'll ſay the ſame Thing concerning Prieſts and Deacons." And in his ſecond Homily upon *Numbers*, in his ſecond Homily upon the *Canticles*, and elſewhere he makes expreſs Mention of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.

From all theſe Authorities of the Ancients, nothing can be more evident than that the three diſtinct Orders of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, were ſettled immediately after the Death of the Apoſtles; and that not in a few Places, but in *Aſia*, *Africa* and *Europe*; that is, in all Parts of the then known World. Farther, the Officers of the Church being thus generally and early rang'd under theſe Diſtinctions, this, if we had no other Proof, would ſufficiently demonſtrate, that theſe three *Orders* were of Apoſtolick Inſtitution: For 'tis unimaginable to conceive that all the Churches of Chriſtendom, ſo remote from each other, ſhould agree in the ſame Form of Government, in the ſame Eccleſiaſtick Diſtinctions, unleſs this Inſtitution had been convey'd to them by the Apoſtles, from whom they receiv'd their Chriſtianity.

And laſtly, 'Tis particularly remarkable, that no *Canons*, no Decree of any *Council*, no Writings of any of the *Fathers*, mention either the raiſing, or confirming of any of theſe three *Offices*. 'Tis true, the ancient *Canons* afford a great deal touching the Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; they regulate their Functions, and ſettle the reſpective Limits of each Order: But neither *Canons*, *Councils*, nor *Fathers* mention their being firſt inſtituted in any Part of Chriſtendom, by any Authority, excepting that of the Apoſtles. Neither indeed was it in the Power of any *Council* to transform the Original Government, to introduce new *Orders*, and bring a Change upon the Apoſtolick Inſtitution: For 'twas a Privilege peculiar to the Apoſtles to determine the Form of Government, and ſettle the Diſtinctions of the Clergy, no leſs than to deliver the Articles of *Belief*.

Orders given by none but Presbyters, always accounted null for the firſt 1500 Years.

Secondly, I ſhall now prove in a few Words, That *Orders* conferr'd by *Presbyters*, have been all along reckon'd null and inſignificant. The Learned *Beveridge* obſerves, That from the Beginning of Chriſtianity to the Sixteenth Century, no Perſon was ever look'd on as one of the Inferiour Clergy, much leſs a Prieſt, unleſs he was ordain'd by ſome Biſhop; and that this was the Opinion of the Univerſal Church for Fifteen hundred Years together. To give ſome Inſtances: When the ſecond General *Council* at *Conſtantinople* had pronounc'd *Maximus* no Biſhop, they immediately add, That thoſe ordain'd by him ſhould not be allow'd any Eccleſiaſtick Character. (*s*) Thus when *Athanaſius* was charg'd by the *Arians*, that *Macarius*, one of his Deacons, had broken the Communion-Cup; a *Synod* at *Alexandria* meeting at that Time, examin'd this Article. And here, upon Enquiry, they found there was neither Prieſt nor Deacon where the profane Outrage was ſaid to be committed; there was no Eccleſiaſtick in that Place, excepting one *Iſchyras*, who pretended himſelf Ordain'd by one *Colluthus*: Now upon Examination 'twas found this *Colluthus* was no more than a Presbyter or Prieſt. Upon this the *Synod* pronounces *Iſchyras* no Prieſt, nor in any Clerical Station; and that he was no more than a mere Layman. The Words of the Synod being very remarkable, I ſhall give them the *Reader*. *How came* Iſchyras *to be a Prieſt? Who Ordain'd him? Was it* Colluthus? *Yes, Matter of Fact ſtands thus. Well, but* Colluthus *being never any more than a Prieſt, all his Ordinations have been declar'd null; and thoſe promoted by him were pronounced Laymen, and treated as ſuch; That they were receiv'd to the holy Euchariſt no otherwiſe than thoſe of the Laity; and that*

(*p*) Epiſt Ignat. ad Magneſ. ad Trallian. ad Philadelph. ad Epheſ. ad Smyrnenſ. & alib.

(*q*) Iren. lib. 3 cap. 3.

* Id. Lib. 3. cap. 2. & alib.

(*r*) Tertull. de Baptiſm. cap. 17.

Id. de Preſcript. adverſ. Heret. cap. 41.

(*s*) Stromat. lib. 6.

(*s*) Concil. C. P. Can. 4

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

this was ſo evident, that no Body could deny it. (t)

This Declaration of the *Alexandrian Synod* is confirm'd by the *Council* of *Sardica*, where *Iſchyras* is diſclaim'd from being a Prieſt. *The* Arians, *ſay theſe Fathers, rewarded* Iſchyras *for his falſe Evidence, with the Title of a Biſhop, tho' the Man is not ſo much as a Presbyter.* (u)

'Tis no Wonder therefore, that St. *Jerome*, tho' a great Champion for the Privilege of *Preſbyters*, ſhould own the Authority for giving Orders peculiar to Biſhops. (w)

From this Practice and Declaration of the Church, *Gregory* the 3d. lays it down for a Rule, That when 'twas queſtionable whether the Perſon who Ordain'd a Prieſt, was a Biſhop or not, the Perſon was to be Re-ordain'd by the Dioceſan before he was admitted to any Prieſtly Function. (x)

(t) Athanaſ. ad Imperat. Conſtant. Apol. pag. 732. Edit. Pariſ.
(u) Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 8.
(w) Quid facit, excepta Ordinatione, Epiſcopus, quod Preſbyter non faciat? Hieron. ad Evagrium.
(x) Greg. III. ad Bonifac. Epiſt. 2. apud Gratian. diſtinct. 68. cap. 2.

This Regulation was ſo religiouſly obſerv'd by the ancient Church, that the ſecond *Council* of *Sevil* being inform'd, That at an Ordination of a Prieſt and two Deacons, the Biſhop being troubled with ſore Eyes, only laid his Hands upon them; but that the ſolemn Benediction, or Form in the *Ordinal* was pronounc'd by a *Preſbyter*. Upon this Information the *Council* decreed, "That this Ordination carried Scandal, but "nothing of Authority with it: And therefore "'twas highly reaſonable they ſhould be ſet aſide, "and diſclaim'd in their reſpective Pretenſions." (y) And this may ſerve for the Proof of this Point. From hence the *Reader* may conclude, That if *Calvin*, *Beza*, or any other Abettors of *Presbyterian* Parity, had lived in the Time of the *Fathers*, they would have been very indifferently receiv'd. This may eaſily be collected from the Principles and Practice of the Univerſal Church. To give another Inſtance: What was it that mark'd *Aerius* and his Party for Hereticks? Was it not their confounding the Character of Biſhops and Prieſts, and ſetting them on the Level? I don't ſpeak this to reproach the *Diſſenters*, or ſuggeſt any Methods of Rigour; my Intention is only to reſcue them from their Prejudices, to bring them to Recollection, and awaken them out of their Schiſm. But now 'tis Time to come off the Digreſſion; if that which lies within the Matter of the Hiſtory, and improves the Serviceableneſs of the *Work*, may properly be called ſo.

(y) Concil. Hiſpal. 2. c. 5.

Anno Dom. 1588.

To proceed: Having mention'd what was enacted in the laſt Parliament, with Reference to the Church, I ſhall obſerve what was done in Convocation. This *Aſſembly* met at St. *Pauls* on the 13th of *November*; there was nothing done, excepting the Grant of two Subſidies, till the 15th *Seſſion*. And now the Archbiſhop brought in certain Orders to be obſerv'd through the whole *Province*. Firſt, That ſingle Benefic'd Men ſhould be oblig'd to conſtant Reſidence: But here was an Exception of Liberty for Prebendaries, and Chaplains to the King, or ſome Peer. There was likewiſe a *Saving* for thoſe who were allow'd Non-reſidence by *Act* of Parliament. However, in theſe Caſes they ſhould be compell'd to keep a licens'd Preaching-Curate. *Secondly*, Double-benefic'd Men were to reſide equal Proportions of Time upon their reſpective Livings, and to provide a licens'd Curate where they are abſent. *Thirdly*, Benefic'd Men abſent an Hundred and twenty Days, were to keep licens'd Curates, *Fourthly*, Scandalous Miniſters guilty of notorious Crimes, muſt be remov'd, and never admitted to any Cure. *Fifthly*, Unlearned Miniſters underqualify'd to Catechiſe, are barr'd Admiſſion to any Cure. *Sixthly*, None ſhall be allow'd to place or diſplace a Curate without Authority from the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Theſe *Orders* drawn by the Archbiſhop, were agreed to by both *Houſes*, who promiſ'd to obey and execute them. (z) This *Convocation* was diſſolv'd by the Queen's *Writ* and the Archbiſhop's Commiſſion, on the 2d of *April* following.

March 19.

Regulations for the Clergy made in Convocation.

Elizabeth Q.

(z) *The Extracts from Convocat. Journal.*

Seditious Pamphlets publiſhed by the Puritans.

This Year ſome ſeditious, no leſs than Heterodox Pamphlets, were publiſh'd by the *Puritans*. I ſhall mention ſome few of the Aſſertions. 'Tis here affirm'd, *That if Princes hinder them that ſeek for this Diſcipline, they are Tyrants both to the Church and Miniſters; and being ſo, may be depos'd by their Subjects. That they which are no Elders of the Church, have nothing to do with the Government of it. That if their Reformation be not haſtned by the Magiſtrate, the Subjects ought not to tarry any longer, but muſt do it of themſelves. That there were many Thouſands which deſir'd the* Diſcipline; *and that great Troubles would enſue if it were deny'd them. That their* Presbyteries *muſt prevail: And that if it be brought about by ſuch Ways and Means as would make the Biſhops Hearts ack, let them blame themſelves. Martin Mar-Prelate* in his ſecond Book may explain this Paſſage; for this Author adviſes the Parliament then aſſembled, *to put down Lord Biſhops, and bring in the Reformation which they look'd for, whether her Majeſty would or not.* (a)

(a) Heylin's Hiſt. Preſbyt. Lib. viii.

I ſhall conclude this Year with the Death of *Edwyn Sandys* Archbiſhop of *York*: He was deſcended from a Gentleman's Family at St. *Bees* in *Cumberland*, bred in *Cambridge*, and one of the *Exiles* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; the reſt of his Character and Preferments has been touch'd already.

September, Anno Dom. 1589.

An Aſſembly of the Diſſenters at Cambridge.

The *Puritans* mov'd vigorouſly in their Buſineſs, and held a *Synod* in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*. And here they made ſeveral Corrections in their *Book of Diſcipline*: 'Twas likewiſe agreed, That as many as were willing ſhould ſubſcribe it. *Cartwright*, *Snape*, *Allen*, *Gifford*, *Perkins*, *Barber*, *Harriſon*, and the Deponent *Stone*, made Part of this *Aſſembly*. About the ſame Time another *Synod* was held at *Ipſwich*. (b)

(b) Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *pag.* 89.

After the Defeat of the *Armada*, ſome People misbehav'd themſelves upon the Succeſs, printed Invectives againſt the *Spaniſh* Nation, and outrag'd King *Philip* himſelf. The Queen was diſpleas'd at this Buffooning Licence: For though this Prince was an Enemy, a Regard was due to the Royal Character. The Preſs being more particularly the Biſhop of *London*'s Care, the Lord Treaſurer ſent to him to complain of a *Doggrel* Pamphlet upon this Subject. The Biſhop was of the Treaſurer's Opinion, and ſaid, It had been much better to have return'd Thanks to God Almighty for the Deliverance, than ſpent their Satyr and Scurrility upon the *Spaniards*, and inſulted *Crown'd Heads*. This Libel, it ſeems, was firſt printed at *Oxford*, which made the Biſhop ſurpriz'd at the Conduct of that Univerſity. In ſhort, he promiſ'd the Treaſurer to call *Toby Cook*, who printed it at *London*, to an Account. *

* Strype's *Life of Biſhop* Ailmer.

After the Death of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was choſen Chancellor of *Oxford*. This Gentleman endeavour'd to ſupply the Omiſſions of his Predeceſſor. For the Purpoſe, he took Care that thoſe who were admitted to any Degree, ſhould be examin'd in Points of Belief, and paſs a kind of *Reform'd Teſt*. He likewiſe endeavour'd to prevent the *Roman* Catholicks carrying off the young Students to their *Seminaries* beyond Sea. And laſtly, he brought the Univerſity to a more unexceptionable Conduct, and reſtrain'd their Exceſſes in Cloaths. *

* Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.

Earl Bothwell *does publick Penance. This* Bothwell's *Name was* Steward. *His Father married the Heir of* Hephburne *Earl of* Bothwell.

(c) Spotſwood's Hiſt.

To paſs on, and look over the Affairs in *Scotland. Francis* Earl of *Bothwell* being touch'd with Remorſe of Conſcience, offer'd to make a publick Acknowledgment of the Scandal he had given by his Licentiouſneſs, and ſubmit to any Satisfaction the Church ſhould appoint. This Submiſſion was receiv'd, and the Nobleman did publick Penance in Mr. *Robert Bruce*'s Church, and promis'd a more regular Behaviour. *(c)*

Some of the Scotch *Miniſters object againſt the Ceremony of anointing Princes.*

In the Beginning of the next Year the King of *Scots* who had lately made a Voyage to *Norway* and *Denmark,* return'd with his Queen to *Leith.* This Princeſs was *Ann,* Daughter to *Frederick* the 2d King of *Denmark.* The next Day after the King's coming to *Edinborough,* the *Council* met to ſettle the Form for the Queen's Coronation; the King reſolv'd to have it done with all imaginable Solemnity. And becauſe all the Biſhops were out of Town, and none of them could come up againſt the Time, Mr. *Robert Bruce* was pitch'd on to perform the Ceremony. Some of the *Edinburgh* Miniſters that had more Scruples than Diſcretion, excepted to the Circumſtance of *Anointing;* they ſaid, 'twas a *Jewiſh* Ceremony, and aboliſh'd at the Coming of Chriſt; That this Cuſtom was ſince brought into Chriſtian Countries by the Pope, and therefore not to be continued. To theſe Objections 'twas anſwer'd, "That the Ceremony of *Unction* had no *Jewiſh* Original, neither was it "us'd by that Nation only; That 'twas practis'd "in other Kingdoms beſides that of *Judea,* was "evident from *Scripture.* For *Hazael* was anointed King of *Syria* by *Elijah,* and *Cyrus* King of "*Perſia* is called the *Lord's Anointed* by the Prophet *Eſaiah;* That ſince both theſe Princes, "who were foreign to the Law and Nation of "the *Iſraelites,* were anointed, 'tis plain the Ceremony was no ways peculiar to the *Jews.* "And whereas they pretended 'twas introduc'd "by the Court of *Rome,* that was more than "could be prov'd. And ſuppoſing the Objection "true, 'twas foreign to the Point: For no Man "of common Senſe would ſtand off from a Cuſtom merely becauſe 'twas us'd by the *Papiſts;* "for at this Rate we muſt part with a great many commendable and beneficial Uſages. Since "therefore the Function and Authority of Princes is the ſame 'twas at firſt, and continues unalter'd in all independent Monarchies, why "ſhould the Unction be quarrell'd any more "than the reſt of the Solemnity? Why ſhould "this Circumſtance be ſcrupled more than the "carrying the Sword and Sceptre before "them?

1590.

This Anſwer, one would have thought, would have been ſufficient to have diſintangled the Matter; but no Arguments being ſtrong enough to ſtrike through the Miniſters Prejudices, the King ſent for them, and finding their Obſtinacy unmanageable, he told them, "He would by "no Means diſpenſe with the Omiſſion of this "Ceremony: And if Mr. *Robert Bruce* refus'd to "uſe it (for it ſeems they had threatned this "Gentleman with Church Cenſures) he would "poſtpone the Coronation till ſome of the Biſhops could come to Town.

This unexpected Reſolve put them upon a ſecond Debate; and Mr. *Andrew Melvil* being wholly averſe againſt a Biſhop's officiating at the Coronation, drop'd his Opinion, and gain'd a Majority for Compliance. And thus on the *Sunday* following the Queen was crown'd by Mr. *Robert Bruce* in the Abby-Church of *Halyrood*-Houſe; and here all the cuſtomary Uſages were obſerv'd in the Solemnity.

Idem.

The Aſſembly petition the King for three Things.

In *June* this Summer, a General *Aſſembly* met at *Edinborough,* where the King was preſent. The Moderator Mr. *Patrick Galaway* addreſs'd his Majeſty for Three Things. *Firſt,* That the Church's Juriſdiction might have a firmer Settlement; And that all *Acts* prejudicial to the ſame, might be reſcinded. The next was for clearing the Country of Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and all Excommunicated Perſons that diſturb'd the eſtabliſh'd Religion. *Thirdly,* To make a competent Proviſion for the Miniſters out of the Pariſh-Tythes where they officiated; and to apply the Surpluſage to the Encouragement of publick Schools, for the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Reparation of Churches. To the *firſt* his Majeſty anſwer'd, That in all Parliaments the firſt *Act* was to guard the Liberty of the Church; and that he would take Care this Cuſtom ſhould be obſerv'd as formerly. In return to their *ſecond* Petition, he told them, 'Twas well known how earneſtly he had purſu'd that Matter before his Voyage to *Denmark,* and that he ſhould ſtill continue to put the Laws in Execution. As to the *third,* he adviſ'd them to ſelect a Committee out of the *Aſſembly* to conſult with his *Council* upon the beſt Ways and Means for making their Requeſt practicable.

The Feuds ſuppreſs'd by the King.

After this, the King diſcourſing of the *Feuds* kept up in the Kingdom, and the Murders and Barbarities conſequent to thoſe Quarrels, recommended putting a Stop to this Miſchief. He put the *Aſſembly* in Mind their Character oblig'd them to be particularly ſolicitous in promoting Friendſhip and Peace. He deſir'd them therefore to preſs that Point in their Sermons, and dilate upon the Sin and Scandal of ſuch deſperate Revenge; and that they ſhould employ ſome of the moſt diſcreet of their Body to reconcile Families, and take up Differences in the Country. This Motion of the King's was much commended, as it deſerv'd. In ſhort, this Prince never gave over, till he broke the barbarous Cuſtom, and got the Feuds wholly ſuppreſs'd. This was done partly by calling the exaſperated Parties before the *Council,* and obliging them to refer their Quarrels: And partly by making ſtrict Laws againſt thoſe who diſturb'd the publick Peace.

Idem.

An Order of the Aſſembly for ſubſcribing the Book of Diſcipline.

Before I take leave of this Aſſembly, 'twill be neceſſary to mention an Order paſs'd there, *viz. That all ſuch that then bore Office in the Kirk, or from thenceforeſhould bear any Office in it, ſhould ſubſcribe the Book of Diſcipline.* The *Act* of the Aſſembly as it ſtands upon Record, is as follows.

"Foraſmuch that it is certain, that the Word "of God cannot be kept in the own Sincerity, "without the *Holy Diſcipline* be had in Obſervance; It is therefore by the common Conſent of the whole Brethren and Commiſſioners "preſent concluded, That whoſoever hath born "Office in the Miniſtry of the Kirk within this "Realm, or that preſently bears, or ſhall hereafter bear Office therein, ſhall be charg'd by "every particular *Presbytery,* where their Reſidence is, to ſubſcribe the Heads of the *Diſcipline* of the Kirk of this Realm at length ſet "down, and allowed by Act of the whole *Aſſembly,* in the Book of Polity, which is Regiſtrate in the *Aſſembly-Books,* and namely the "Heads controverted by Enemies of the *Diſcipline* of the Reformed Kirk of this Realm, betwixt this and the next Synodal *Aſſemblies* of "the Provinces, under the Pain of Excommunication

Aug. 4. 1590.

“cation to be executed againſt the Non-ſub-“ſcribers: And the Presbyteries which ſhall be “found remiſs and negligent herein, to receive “publick Rebuke of the whole *Aſſembly*. And “to the Effect the ſaid Diſcipline may be known “as it ought to be, to the whole Brethren, it “is ordained, that the *Moderator* of each *Preſ-“bytery* ſhall receive from the Clerk of the *Aſ-“ſembly* a Copy of the ſaid Book, under his “Subſcription, upon the Expences of the Preſ-“bytery, betwixt this and the firſt Day of *Sep-“tember* next to come, under the Pain of being “openly accus'd in the Face of the whole “*Aſſembly*. *

* *Acts of the Aſſembly.*

April. Anno Dom. 1590. Snape *ſummon'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and requir'd to anſwer cretain Interrogatories.*

To return to *England*: The Steps the *Puritans* had taken, being now diſcover'd by ſome of their own Party, and their Progreſs trac'd from Point to Point, ſome of the leading Men were ſummon'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. For Inſtance: *Snape* was ſent for from *Northamptonſhire*, and had Interrogatories put to him: He wrote to *Barebone* and *Stone*, two diſſenting Miniſters, gave them an Account of the Proceedings of the High-Commiſſion-Court, and how he was impriſon'd upon refuſing to give Satisfaction. He exhorts his Friends to Reſolution, and ſeems to be of Opinion, That 'twas more adviſeable that ſome Man of Courage and Conduct ſhould be diſpens'd with to anſwer Queſtions, rather than run the Hazard of a Diſcovery by ſome weak or wicked Brother.

Theſe Letters being intercepted, gave more Light into the Myſtery, and ſuggeſted Meaſures to the Government

And thus ſome Things, which were but Jealouſy and Suſpicion before, were now open'd to Evidence and Matter of Fact.

Udal *a diſſenting Miniſter indicted upon the* 23 Eliz. cap. 3.

The Government thus awaken'd, found it neceſſary to let the Law looſe, and not connive any longer. The firſt that was call'd to Account by the Temporal Courts was *Udall*, a Nonconforming Miniſter. He was one of the Four who furniſh'd thoſe ſcandalous Libels which were lately diſpers'd through the Kingdom. But that which gave the higheſt Provocation was his writing a Book entituled, *The Demonſtration of Diſcipline which Chriſt hath preſcrib'd in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places, untill the World's End.* He addreſſes his Preface to the *ſuppoſed Governours* of the Church of *England*: And after this renouncing their Authority, outrages them in the following Expreſſions; *Who can deny you,* ſays he, *without bluſhing, to be the Cauſe of all Ungodlineſs? Seeing your Government is that which giveth Leave to a Man to be any Thing, ſaving a ſound Chriſtian. For certainly it is more free in theſe Days to be a* Papiſt, Anabaptiſt, of the Family of Love, *yea, as any moſt wicked whatſoever, than that which we ſhould be. And I could live theſe twenty Years, as well as any ſuch in* England, *(yea, in a Biſhop's Houſe it may be,) and never be moleſted for it: So true is that which you are charg'd with in a Dialogue lately come forth againſt you, and ſince burnt by you, that you care for nothing but the Maintenace of your Dignities, be it to the Damnation of your own Souls, and infinite Millions more.*

July 23. 1590.

For this whole Book, and more eſpecially for this lewd Paſſage in the *Preface*, he was indicted at an *Aſſizes* held in *Croyden* for the County of *Surrey*, and by ſufficient Evidence brought in guilty. The Priſoner pleaded his Indictment was grounded upon the Statute 23 *Eliz. cap.* 2. enacted for puniſhing ſeditious Words againſt the Queen: But that the Book for which he was proſecuted contain'd no offenſive Paſſages againſt the Queen; that whatever Satyr there might be in this *Tract*, it pointed only upon the Biſhops, and therefore could not fall within the Compaſs of that *Statute*. Againſt this Plea 'twas reſolv'd by the Judges, *That thoſe who ſpeak againſt her Majeſty's Government in Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, her Laws, Proceedings, or Eccleſiaſtical Officers, which ruled under her, did defame the Queen.*

He is brought in guilty.

Upon this Reſolution, and the Evidence heard, the Court allow'd him the Favour of having this Queſtion put, that is, Whether he would declare upon his Credit and Conſcience that he was not the Author of the Book for which he ſtood indicted? If he had anſwer'd this Queſtion affirmatively, 'tis thought the Judges and Jury would have overlook'd the Evidence, and taken his Word: But having not Aſſurance enough to purge himſelf, which, by the Way, is an Argument his Conſcience was none of the worſt, the Jury could do no leſs than find him guilty. However, the Archbiſhop prevail'd with the Court to reſpite Judgment: But the *Puritans* giving farther Suſpicions of Mutiny againſt the *State*, he was brought to the Bar at *Southwark* in *March* following, and there Sentence of Death was given againſt him. And here the Archbiſhop, who valued *Udall* for his Parts and Learning, interpos'd again in his Behalf, and addreſs'd the Queen for a Pardon. And though this was denied, he ſucceeded ſo far as to procure a Reprieve. Notwithſtanding this forgiving Temper in the Archbiſhop, and the friendly Office done by him, he was aſpers'd by ſome People for bringing on the Proſecution of the Priſoner. To take off this Imputation, 'twas argued in his Defence, that ſeveral ſeditious Sermons might have been charg'd upon *Udall* as well as the Writing that Book, which would have made him ſtill more criminal in the Eye of the Court: And that whereas one *Catsfield* could have preſs'd him harder than the reſt of the Witneſſes, he was never call'd to the Bar to give in his Evidence, the Jurors being fully ſatisfied with what had been laid before them already. And thus the Indictment being rightly grounded, the Proſecution favourable, and the Evidence full, the preſerving his Life was an undeniable Inſtance of the Archbiſhop's Goodneſs. *Stow* takes no Notice of his being executed afterwards, from whence we may conclude he was repriev'd from Time to Time, and left to the Courſe of Nature.* His Son *Ephraim* prov'd the Reverſe of his Father. He was benefic'd at St. *Auſtin*'s near St. *Paul*'s *Church-Yard*, and ſuffer'd deeply for his Conformity to the Church: He was ſequeſtred in the Reign of King *Charles* I. for refuſing ſome ſchiſmatical and rebellious Oaths and Covenants: This Uſage had one remarkable Circumſtance of Barbarity in it: For his Wife, then Bedrid, was turn'd out of Doors, and left in the open Streets.

Archbiſhop Whitgift *procures him a Reprieve.*

* *He died of Melancholy.* Fuller's *Church Hiſtory, Book* 9. *p.* 222.

Saravia writes in Defence of Epiſcopacy.

While the Government was proceeding againſt the *Puritans*, in the Proſecution of *Udall*, and the Impriſonment of *Snape*, *Cartwright* and ſome others, the Learned of each Side, were no leſs engag'd in the Defence of their reſpective Sentiments. To mention ſomething of this Kind: *Adrian Saravia*, born in the lower *Germany*, a Perſon well skill'd in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, was a ſtrong Aſſertor of Epiſcopacy. This Doctrine being diſcourag'd in his Native Country, where the Parity of Miniſters was an Article of their publick *Confeſſion*, he caſt himſelf upon the Protection of the Church of *England*. He had ſome Time before recommended himſelf to the Epiſcopal Communion, by his Anſwer to *Beza*'s Book *De triplici Epiſcopatu*. Not long after his Arrival in *England*, he publiſh'd a very learned

Book *De diverſis Gradibus Miniſtrorum Evangelii*. In this *Tract* he proves Biſhops not only of a ſuperior Degree, but of a different Order from Prieſts. This Book was dedicated to the Miniſters of the *Belgick* Churches, where, tho' not very welcome, it paſs'd without Contradiction: But *Beza*, *Danæus*, and the reſt of the *Genevians*, gave it a warmer Reception. They look'd upon the Principles as ſubverſive of their Eccleſiaſtical Government, and therefore reſolv'd to try their Strength upon it. *Beza*, it ſeems, had other Buſineſs, and therefore leaves the Undertaking to *Danæus*. This Man, whoſe Talent lay more in Railing than Reaſoning, made little on't. *Beza* therefore finding it neceſſary to reinforce *Danæus*, publiſh'd an *Anſwer* in the Year 1593, to which *Saravia* replied the next Year. *Beza* after this, ſeem'd to have enough of the Controverſy, and lay by. As for *Saravia*, his Merit was not overlook'd by the *Engliſh* Biſhops. He was made Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, and conſider'd in other Reſpects to his Satisfaction.

Suttliff *writes againſt the* Genevian *Model.*

* De vera Catholica & Chriſtiana Eccleſia.

Printed at London, Anno 1590.

Beza's Conceſſions to Archbiſhop Whitgift.

To proceed; the Miniſter of the *Italian* Church in *London*, not contented with the Privileges granted the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations, publiſh'd a Book in Defence of the *Holy Diſcipline*. Upon this, Dr. *Mathew Suttliff*, Dean of *Exeter*, printed a *Latin Tract* concerning the Form and Eſſentials of the Catholick Church. * This *Suttliff* printed a learned Diſcourſe againſt the *Engliſh Puritans*, entitled, *The falſe Semblance of counterfeit Diſcipline detected*; In which he takes the Scheme to Pieces, diſcovers the *Novelty* from Point to Point, and diſproves the Arguments alledg'd in its Defence. In his *Latin* Book he attack'd *Presbytery* with a great Deal of Force, preſs'd a little upon the Quarter of *Geneva*, and mention'd *Beza* in the Controverſy. This Miniſter thinking himſelf ill uſed, becauſe mention'd without Approbation, complains of the Affront in a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and calls *Suttliff* a petulant Railer. For this Freedom he was not only call'd to an Account by *Saravia* in his *Replication*, but the Archbiſhop ſent him a reprimanding Anſwer for Intereſting himſelf in the Diſputes touching Religion in *England*. He let him know he had been much too forward and Deciſive, and occaſion'd no ſmall Diſturbance. *Beza* perceiving the Archbiſhop and *Saravia* were likely to prove an overmatch, retir'd from the Combat, and left the *Engliſh Puritans* to ſhift for themſelves. And to do ſomething by Way of Reparation for his Intermeddling, he writes to the Archbiſhop in Terms of Reſpect, and ſalutes him in the Language of his Character. In this Addreſs he acquaints him, “ That in his Writings concerning Church Government, he only oppos'd the Hierarchy of *Rome*, but never had any Intention to reflect upon the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Polity; nor to preſs Conformity to the *Genevian Diſcipline*. He grants, that provided there was an Agreement in the Doctrine, Churches might differ defenſively enough in other Matters. And here he throws in a very ſerviceable Limitation, that in this Latitude, nothing unwarranted by *Antiquity*, ſhould be indulg'd. And that there might be a better Harmony amongſt the Reform'd in Chriſtendom, he hopes the ſacred Epiſcopal College would always continue, and manage their Privilege with Equity and Moderation. This Letter is much more friendly to Epiſcopacy than that written to *Knox* already mention'd: But *Beza* ought not to be blam'd for ſelf Contradiction: For if Time and Recollection had recover'd him from ſome Part of his Miſtakes, ſo much the better. Some of theſe Things did not come up till Three or Four Years after the Time I am upon; but for the Affinity of the Matter, I have laid them together.

Thomas Cartwright *brought before the High Commiſſion, and charged upon ſeveral Articles.* Septemb. 1.

To proceed; this Year *Thomas Cartwright*, Batchelor of Divinity, was brought before the Queen's Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and the Oath *Ex Officio* put to him to anſwer Interrogatories. The Articles upon which the Interrogatories were form'd, are as follow:

“ 1. *Imprimis*, We object and articulate againſt him, that he being a Miniſter (at leaſt a Deacon) lawfully call'd, according to the godly and lawful Orders of this Church of *England*, has renounc'd the ſame Orders Eccleſiaſtical as an Antichriſtian and unlawful Manner of Calling to the Miniſtry.

“ 2. *Item*, That he departing this Realm into foreign Parts without Licence, as a Man diſcontented with the Form of Government Eccleſiaſtical, here by Law eſtabliſh'd, the more to teſtify his Diſlike and Contempt thereof, and of the Manner of his former Vocation and Ordination, was contented in foreign Parts (as at *Antwerp*, *Middleborough*, or elſewhere) to have a new Vocation, Election, or Ordination by Impoſition of Hands to the Miniſtry, or unto ſome other Order or Degree Eccleſiaſtical, and in other Manner and Form, than the Laws Eccleſiaſtical of this Realm do preſcribe. Let him declare upon his Oath the particular Circumſtances thereof.

“ 3. *Item*, That by Virtue or Colour of ſuch his latter Vocation, Election, or Ordination, becoming a pretended Biſhop or Paſtor of ſuch Congregation as made Choice of him, he eſtabliſhed, or procured to be eſtabliſhed at *Antwerp*, and at *Middleburgh* among Merchants, and others her Majeſty's Subjects, a certain *Conſiſtory*, *Seminary*, *Presbytery*, or *Eldership* Eccleſiaſtical, conſiſting of himſelf, being *Biſhop*, or *Paſtor*, (and ſo *Preſident* thereof,) of a *Doctor*, of certain *Ancients*, *Seniors*, or *Elders* for Government Eccleſiaſtical, and of *Deacons* for diſtributing to the Poor.

“ 4. *Item*, That by the ſaid *Elderſhip*, and the Authority thereof, certain *Engliſh* born Subjects were called, elected, or ordain'd by Impoſition of Hands, to be Miniſters or Eccleſiaſtical Doctors (being not of that Degree before) as *Hart*, *Travers*, *Griſe*, or ſome of them; and ſome that were alſo Miniſters afore, according to the Orders of the Church of *England*, as *Fenner*, *Acton*, were ſo called, and other *Engliſh* Subjects were alſo called, and likewiſe ordain'd Elders, and ſome others were ordain'd Deacons, in other Manner and Form, than the Laws Eccleſiaſtical of the Realm do preſcribe, or allow of.

“ 5. *Item*, That ſuch *Elderſhip* ſo eſtabliſh'd, under the Preſidentſhip of him the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, had uſed (beſides this Authority of this Vocation, and Ordination of Officers Eccleſiaſtical) the Cenſures, and Keys of the Church, as publick Admonition, Suſpenſion from the Supper, and from Execution of Offices Eccleſiaſtical, and the Cenſures of Excommunication; likewiſe Authority of making Laws, Decrees, and Orders Eccleſiaſtical, and of dealing with the Doctrine and Manners of all Perſons in that Congregation, in all Matters whatſoever, ſo far as might appertain to Conſcience.

“ 6. *Item*, That he the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, in the publick Adminiſtration of his Miniſtry there, among her Majeſty's Subjects, us'd not the Form of *Liturgy*, or Book of Common-Prayer, by the Laws of this Land eſtabliſh'd, nor in his Government Eccleſiaſtical, the Laws and Orders of this Land; but rather conform'd himſelf in both to the Uſe and Form of ſome other foreign Churches.

“ 7. *Item*, That ſince his laſt Return from beyond the Seas, being to be plac'd at *Warwick*, he faithfully promiſ'd (if he might but be tolerated to preach) not to impugn the Laws, Orders, Policy, Government, nor Governors in this Church of *England*, but to perſuade and procure ſo much as he could, both publickly and privately, the Eſtimation and Peace of this Church.

“ 8. *Item*, That he, having no Miniſtry in this Church (other than ſuch as before he had forſaken, and ſtill condemneth as unlawful) and without any Licence (as Law requireth) he hath ſince taken upon him to preach at *Warwick*, and at ſundry other Places of this Realm.

“ 9. *Item*, That ſince his ſaid Return, in ſundry private Conferences, with ſuch Miniſters and others, as at ſundry Times by Word and Letter, have aſk'd his Advice or Opinion, he hath ſhewed Miſlike of the Laws and Government Eccleſiaſtical, and of diverſe Parts of the Liturgy of this Church: And thereby perſuaded, and prevail'd alſo with many in ſundry Points, to break the Orders and Form of the Book of Common-Prayer, who obſerved them before, and alſo to oppoſe themſelves to the Government of this Church, as himſelf well knoweth, or verily believeth.

“ 10. *Item*, That in all, or moſt of ſuch his Sermons and Exerciſes, he hath taken Occaſion to traduce, and inveigh againſt the Biſhops, and other Governors under them in this Church.

“ 11. *Item*, That he hath grown ſo far in hatred and diſlike towards them, as that at ſundry Times, in his Prayer at Sermons, and namely preaching at *Banbury*, about a Year ſince, in ſuch Place as others well diſpoſed, pray for Biſhops, he prayed to this, or like Effect; *Becauſe that they, which ought to be Pillars in the Church, do bend themſelves againſt Chriſt, and his Truth, therefore, O Lord, give us Grace, and Power, all as one Man, to ſet our ſelves againſt them.* And this in Effect (by Way of Emphaſis) he then alſo repeated.

“ 12. *Item*, That Preaching at ſundry Times and Places, he uſually reacheth at all Occaſions, to deprave, condemn, and impugn the Manner of Ordination of Biſhops, Miniſters, and Deacons; ſundry Points of the Polity, Government, Laws, Orders, and Rights Eccleſiaſtical, and of the publick Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contain'd in the Book of Common-Prayer, as namely, the Uſe of the Surplice, the Interrogatories to God-fathers, *&c.* In the Name of the Infants; the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Thankſgiving after Child-birth, Burials by Miniſters, the Kneeling at the Communion, ſome Points of the Litany, certain *Collects* and Prayers, the Reading of Portions of Scripture, for the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*, and the Manner of Singing in Cathedral Churches and others.

“ 13. *Item*, That Preaching at the Baptizing of one *Job Throgmorton*'s Children, he ſpoke much of the Unlawfulneſs, and in Derogation of the Government, Polity, Laws, and Liturgy Eccleſiaſtical of this Realm; and to the Juſtification of a Government by *Elderſhips* in every Congregation, and by Conference and Synods, *&c.* Abroad, as divine Inſtitutions commanded by Chriſt, and the only lawful Church Government: Seeking to prove and eſtabliſh ſuch *Elderſhips* out of that Word in one of the *Pſalms*, where *Thrones* are mention'd.

“ 14. *Item*, That by Toleration and Impunity, he did grow ſo confident, and withal implacable againſt the Laws, Government, and Orders of this Church of *England*, that he could not endure Mr. *Bourdman*, and others (preaching ſundry Times at *Warwick*) to ſpeak in Defence thereof, but took upon him to confute in ſundry Sermons there, theſe Things which the ſaid *Bourdman* had truly and dutifully, in that behalf ſpoken and deliver'd.

“ 15. *Item*, That in his Sermons at *Warwick* and elſewhere, within the ſaid Time, he often deliver'd many frivolous, ſtrange, and undiſcreet Poſitions: As namely; that to kneel down and pray when a Man comes into Church, or pray there privately, was but to *offer* the *Sacrifice of Fools.* That it was requiſite, all the Hearers that were able, ſhould ſtand upon their Feet during Sermons; and diſcourſing about Women, and their Child-birth, *&c.* did ſpeak thereof ſo indiſcreetly and offenſively, that ſundry of them in great Grief, had conſpired to have miſchiev'd him with Stones in the open Streets.

“ 16. *Item*, That by his Perſuaſions, privately and publickly deliver'd, ſundry Perſons in and about *Warwick*, were appointed to impugn both in Words and Deeds, the Laws, Orders, and Rites, preſcrib'd by the Book of *Common-Prayer*; inſomuch as both his own Wife, by his Procurement and Conſent, refuſed after Child-birth, to come, and give Thanks in ſuch Place of the Church, and in that ſolemn Manner as thereby is preſcrib'd; and ſome other Women alſo of that Town, by ſuch Example and Perſuaſion, did uſe the like Contempt.

“ 17. *Item*, That ſundry Times (or at leaſt once) when he communicated at the Lord's Supper there, he ſate, or ſtood upon his Feet; and divers others induc'd by his Perſuaſions and Example, both then and at other Times, did the Like. And, That at other Times there, or in other Places, where he hath communicated, both himſelf and others, (as he had appointed or perſuaded afore) did walk along and receive the Sacrament of the Miniſter, as they paſs'd by him.

“ 18. *Item*, That for theſe, and ſuch like Diſorders, he was preſented to the Biſhop of *Wigorne*, his *Ordinary*. Before whom being convented in the Conſiſtory there, he ſpake to the Juſtification, and Upholding of ſuch Doing of his, and of others: And there very publickly, and offenſively affirm'd, and diſputed, that the *Book* of *Common-Prayer*, *&c. is not eſtabliſh'd by Law.*

“ 19. *Item*, That when by Authority from the ſaid Biſhop, for his Contempt, he was ſuſpended from Preaching, *& ab omni Functione Miniſterii*, he appeal'd from the ſaid Suſ-

“ penſion, yet did not proſecute within a Year after; whereby (the Cauſe being according to Law remitted again to the Biſhop) he, the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, according to the former Proceedings, falling again into the Sentence of Suſpenſion (which was alſo intimated, and made known unto him) nevertheleſs in Contempt of the Authority Eccleſiaſtical, he hath preach'd at *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and elſewhere ſince the ſaid Time.

“ 20. *Item*, When one of his Men Servants had committed Fornication, and gotten a Baſtard in his Houſe, he, taking upon him the Authority of the *Ordinary*, did appoint unto the Delinquent a publick Form of Penance or Satisfaction, in St. *Maries* Church at *Warwick*, and cauſed him to perform the ſame.

“ 21. *Item*, Since his placing at *Warwick*, he, with others, (at ſuch Times as they thought fit) have agreed to have, and ſo have had, divers publick *Faſts*, without the Queen her Authority, and have invited, and perſuaded both ſundry Perſons to be there preſent, and alſo certain to preach, to the Number of Three, Four, or Five, ſucceſſively, one after another, being all noted to be ſuch, as miſlike and impugn ſundry Points of the Laws, Government, and *Liturgy* Eccleſiaſtical of this Church of *England*. In which Sermons, both he the ſaid *Cartwright*, and ſuch others alſo as then preached, did impugn and inveigh againſt the preſent Laws, Government, Polity, and Liturgy Eccleſiaſtical of this Church of *England*.

“ 22. *Item*, That from Time to Time, ſince his Abode in *Warwick*, by his Practice and Dealing, he hath nouriſh'd a Faction, and Heart-burning of one Inhabitant there againſt another, ſevering them in his own, and his followers Speeches, by the Names of *the Godly*, or *Brethren favouring Sincerity*, and *the Profane*.

“ 23. *Item*, That he doth know, or credibly heard, who were the Penners, Printers, or ſome of the Diſperſers of the ſeveral Libels going under the Name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, or the *Demonſtration of Diſcipline* of *Diotrephes*, and ſuch like Books, before it was known to Authority: And yet in Favour of ſuch, and Contempt of good Laws, did not manifeſt the ſame to any who had Authority to puniſh it.

“ 24. *Item*, That being asked his Opinion of ſuch Books, he anſwer'd thus in Effect, or ſomething tending this Way, *viz.* (meaning the Biſhops and others there touch'd) would not amend by grave Books and Advertiſements, and therefore it was meet they ſhould thus be dealt with, to their farther Reproach and Shame.

“ 25. *Item*, That for, and in the Behalf of the Church of *England*, he penned, or procur'd to be penned, all or ſome Part, of a little Book, intitled in one Part, *Diſciplinâ Eccleſiæ ſacra Verbo Dei deſcripta*; and in the other Part, *Diſciplinâ Synodica ex Eccleſiarum Uſu, &c.* And after it was perus'd by others, whom he firſt acquainted therewith, he recommended the ſame to the Cenſures, and Judgments of more Brethren (being learned Preachers) and ſome others, aſſembled together by his Means, for that and other like Purpoſes; which, after Deliberation, and ſome Alterations, was by them, or moſt of them, allow'd as the only lawful Church Government, and fit to be put in Practice: And the Ways and Means for the Practiſing thereof in this Realm, were alſo then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

“ 26. *Item*, That for the better, and more due Practice of it within the Space of theſe ſeven, ſix, five, four, three, two, or one Year laſt Paſt, the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, and ſundry others (as aforeſaid, according to former Appointment and Determinations by them made) have met in Aſſemblies termed Synods, more general, (as at *London*, at Terms, and Parliament Times; in *Oxford* at the Act; in *Cambridge* at the Times of Commencement, and *Sturbridge* Fair) and alſo more particular and provincial Synods, and at Claſſes, or Conferences of certain ſelect Miniſters, in one, or more Places of ſundry ſeveral Shires, as *Warwick*, *Northamptan*, *Rutland*, *Oxford*, *Leiceſter*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, and others.

“ 27. *Item*, That at ſuch *Synods* and Conferences it hath been concluded, That all the Miniſters which ſhould be receiv'd to be either of the ſaid General *Synods*, or of any more particular and Provincial, or of a *Claſſis*, or Conference, ſhould ſubſcribe to the ſaid *Diſcipline*, that they did allow it, would promote it, practiſe it, and be govern'd by it. And according to the Form of a Schedule hereunto annex'd, or ſuch like, both he the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright* and many others, at ſundry, or ſome General *Aſſemblies*, as at *Provincial*, and at ſeveral Conferences, have within the ſaid Time, ſubſcribed the ſame, or ſome Part thereof.

“ 28. *Item*, That at ſuch *Synods*, and all other *Aſſemblies*, a Moderator of that Meeting was firſt by him and them choſen, according to the Preſcription of the ſaid *Book*. And at ſome of ſuch Meetings and *Aſſemblies* amongſt other Things, it was reſolv'd and concluded, That ſuch particular *Conferences* in ſeveral Shires ſhould be erected; how many Perſons, and with what Letters from every of them, ſhould be ſent to the General *Aſſembly*: And that one of them at their coming home to their Conference ſhould make known the Determinations of the General *Aſſembly*, to be by every of them follow'd and put in practice: Which Courſe in ſundry Places of this Realm hath (within the Time aforeſaid) been accordingly follow'd and perform'd.

“ 29. *Item*, That he with others in ſome ſuch *Claſſis* or *Conference*, or in a *Synod*, or more General *Aſſembly* holden, did treat and diſpute (among other Points) theſe Six Articles contain'd in another Schedule annex'd and ſet down their Reſolution and Determination of them.

“ 30. *Item*, That he with others aſſembled in ſuch a General *Aſſembly* or *Synod* at *Cambridge*, did conclude and decree (as in another Schedule annex'd, or in ſome Part thereof is contain'd) which Decrees were made known afterwards at *Warwick* to ſundry *Claſſes* there by his Means aſſembled, and allow'd alſo by them then met together in the ſame, or like Form.

“ 31. *Item*, That at all ſuch ſeveral Meetings, *Synods* and *Conferences* within the ſaid Time, many other Determinations, as well what ſhould be done and perform'd, or omitted, as alſo what ſhould be holden conſonant to God's Word, or diſagreeing from it, have been ſet down by the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright* and others.

“As namely, That all admitted to either *Aſſembly* ſhould ſubſcribe the ſaid Book of *Diſcipline, Holy* and *Synodical*. That thoſe who were ſent from any Conference to a *Synod*, ſhould bring Letters *Fiduciary* or *Credence*: That the laſt Moderator ſhould write them: That the Superſcription thereof ſhould be to a known Man of the *Aſſembly* then to be holden: That no Book made by any of them ſhould be put in Print, but by conſent of the *Claſſis* at leaſt: That ſome of them muſt be earneſt, and ſome more mild and temperate, whereby there may be both of the Spirit of *Elias* and *Elizeus*: That all admitted amongſt them ſhould ſubſcribe, and promiſe to conform themſelves in their Proceedings, Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and of Diſcipline, to the Form of that *Book*; and that they would ſubject themſelves to the Cenſuring of the Brethren, both for Doctrine and Life. And laſtly, That upon Occaſion, when any their Brethren ſhall be ſent by them upon Affairs of the Church (as to the great *Meetings*, Parliament, *&c.*) they all would bear their Charges in Common: That there might be no Superiority amongſt them, and that the Moderatorſhip (*as it happen'd*) is not a Superiority or Honour, but a Burthen: That no profane Writer, or any other than *Canonical Scripture*, may be alledg'd in Sermons: That they ſhould all teach, that the Miniſtry of thoſe who did not preach, is no Miniſtry, but a mere Nullity: That it is not lawful to take any Oath whereby a Man may be driven to diſcover any Thing Penal to himſelf, or to his Brother, eſpecially if he be perſwaded the Matter to be lawful, for which the Puniſhment is like to be inflicted; or having taken it in this Caſe, need not diſcover the very Truth: That to a Biſhop, or other Officer Eccleſiaſtical (as is us'd now in the Church of *England*) none Obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abſtaining from that which they inhibit: That in ſuch Places as the moſt of the People favoured the Cauſe of Sincerity, *Elderſhip* ſhould warily and wiſely be plac'd and eſtabliſh'd, which Conſiſtory in ſome Places hath been either wholly, or in Part erected accordingly; yea, in ſome Colleges in the Univerſity, as he knoweth, hath heard, or verily believeth. (*d*)

(*d*) *The Copy of theſe Articles were found in* Travers's *Study after his Death, by a Perſon who gave them to* Fuller. Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9. *pag.* 198.

I thought it not improper to inſert theſe *Articles* at length, as they were drawn by the *High-Commiſſion Court*. For this *Cartwright* was a leading Man, and the Oracle, as it were, of the Nonconformiſts. So that a Narative of his Principles and Practice, is in ſome Meaſure a Hiſtory of the *Party*.

Cartwright *refuſes to anſwer the Interrogatories, and is committed.*

Some Time before *Cartwright* receiv'd his Summons, the Non-conforming Miniſters being apprehenſive they ſhould be preſs'd with Interrogatories, had a Meeting in *London*; here the Queſtion was put, *Whether 'twas fit and convenient, that Mr.* Cartwright *after his Commitment,* (*for they expected no leſs*) *ſhould diſcover all, or any of the Matters which paſs'd in Conference and Diſputation in any of their former Aſſemblies, or not?* This *Synod* conſiſted of the following Miniſters, *Cartwright*, *Charke*, *Travers*, *Egerton*, *Barbon*, *Barber*, *Oxenbridge*, *Gellybrand*, *Culverwell*, and *Stone* the *Deponent*. (*e*)

(*e*) Stone's *Depoſitions in the* Star-Chamber. Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *cap.* 9.

Which Way this Queſtion was reſolv'd in the Meeting, is not ſet down in the Depoſitions; but by *Cartwright*'s Behaviour 'tis plain 'twas determin'd in the Negative. For about a fortnight after, this Divine being convented before *Ailmer* Biſhop of *London*, the two Chief Juſtices, Juſtice *Gawdy*, Serjeant *Puckering*, Attorney-General *Popham*, and ſeveral other Commiſſioners, refus'd the taking an Oath to anſwer the Articles above-mention'd: And here he ventur'd to ſtand off againſt the Opinion of the whole Court. For every one of the Commiſſioners aſſur'd him upon their Credit, That by the Laws of the Realm he was oblig'd to take the Oath, and anſwer the Queſtions put to him. But *Cartwright* deſir'd to be excus'd, and told them, He thought the Laws of God brought him under no ſuch Neceſſity. Upon this Noncompliance he was ſent to the *Fleet*, to which Place ſeveral of his Brethren had been committed ſome Time before. And to name them, thoſe impriſon'd in the *Fleet*, and other Goals in *London*, were *Humphrey Fenn*, *Andrew King*, *Daniel Wight*, *John Payne*, *Edward Lord*, *Edmund Snape*, *William Proudlove*, *Melancthon Jewel*, and *Wigginton*.

Ibid.

A farther Account of the Book of Diſcipline.

To mention ſome few more of the *Puritan* Singularities from the Book of *Diſcipline*. Firſt, with Reſpect to *Divine Service*; the Miniſter that preaches appoints the Pſalm that is to be ſung. After the Pſalm a ſhort Diſcourſe was to be made to inſtruct the Congregation in their Preparation for Prayer. Then the Miniſter makes a Prayer containing a Confeſſion of Sin, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. After Sermon the Preacher was to make a Prayer that the Audience might be improv'd by what was deliver'd. The reſt of the Directions under this *Head* are agreeable to the *Geneva-Rubrick*. (*f*)

(*f*) Diſcipliina, *&c.* de Officio Miniſt. *&c.* Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 3. *chap.* 12.

Under the Article of *Baptiſm*, the *Book* of *Diſcipline* runs thus: *Let not Women only offer Children to Baptiſm, but the Father, if it may be conveniently, or ſome other in his Name. Let Perſuaſions be us'd, that ſuch Names that do ſavour either of Paganiſm or Popery be not given to Children at their Baptiſm, but principally thoſe whereof there are Examples in the Scriptures.*

Diſciplin. *&c.* de Baptiſmo. Bancroft Ibid

The Puritans Singularity in giving Names at Baptiſm.

The *Puritans* were very ſtrict in keeping cloſe to this Rule, as may be collected from the odd Names they gave their Children: Such as, *The Lord is near*, *More Tryall*, *Reformation*, *Diſcipline*, *Joy again*, *Sufficient*, *From above*, *Free-gifts*, *More-Fruit*, *Duſt*, &c. And here *Snape* was remarkably ſcrupulous; for this Miniſter refus'd to baptiſe one *Chriſtopher Hodkinſon*'s Child, becauſe he would have it chriſten'd *Richard*. *Snape* acquainted *Hodkinſon* with his Opinion before-hand, he told him he muſt change the Name, and look out for one in the *Scripture*. But the Father not thinking this Fancy would be ſo ſtrongly inſiſted on, brought his Son to Church: *Snape* proceeded in the Solemnity till he came to *Naming* the Child; but not being able to prevail for any other Name than *Richard*, refus'd to adminiſter the Sacrament: And thus the Child was carried away, and afterwards baptiz'd by a Conforming Clergy-man.

Bancroft Ibid.

Their Opinion of the Biſhop's Authority in giving Orders, &c.

To mention one Particular more touching the Diſcipline of theſe *Diſſenters*, with Reſpect to their *Miſſion*. When any Perſon, not already a Miniſter in their Way, is deſign'd by them for that *Office*, they command him to go to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe for his *Writings*, as they call them. But here they conſider the Biſhop no otherwiſe than as a *Civil* Magiſtrate; and therefore Letters of *Orders*, or a Licence to preach, are look'd on only as Legal Securities to keep them in a Living formerly taken, or to ſcreen them from Proſecution in Preaching amongſt their own Party. For Inſtance: Mr. *Snape* being a Clergy-man, re-

renounc'd his firſt *Calling* or *Ordination* before the *Claſſis*: And being a Man of Character among the Nonconformiſts, his Declaration upon this Subject deſerves a Recital.

Idem Book 3. *chap.* 14.

Touching the Subſtance of my Calling to the Miniſtry, I affirm that I had it of the Church of God, being approved by the Learned and Godly Neighbour-Miniſters, and choſen by the People of my Charge, to that Function. Touching that Allowance that I had of the Biſhop, I take it to be a Thing merely Civil, *belonging to a* Civil *Magiſtrate, which Authority he hath by Act of Parliament: And which therefore I might lawfully receive at his Hands for the peaceable Execution of my Miniſtry.*

The Enthuſiaſm and Conſpiracy of Coppingher, Arthington *and* Hacket.

About this Time *Coppingher*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket*, began to act the Enthuſiaſts in a deſperate Manner; they pretended Prophetick Impulſe, and that they had an Extraordinary *Call* to ſet up the *Puritan Diſcipline*. *Coppingher* and *Arthington* were Gentlemen, but of ſlender Fortunes. *Hacket* lived at Oundle in *Northamptonſhire*, where he firſt ſerv'd Mr. *Huſſey*, and afterwards Sir *Thomas Treſham*: He had the Character of a vain, quarrelſom, licentious Fellow; his Memory is ſaid to be his only good Quality, and this he made uſe of to very ill Purpoſe: For 'twas his Cuſtom to bring off Part of a Sermon at Church to ridicule it in an Ale-houſe. Afterwards he pretended himſelf awaken'd by the Preaching of the Nonconformiſts, turn'd *Puritan*, and made an intimate Acquaintance with one *Wigginton* a bigotted Miniſter of that Perſuaſion. And now being in his *Chaleur de Neophyte*, he rail'd ſtrongly againſt the Church of *England*; and to make himſelf remarkable, and raiſe a Reputation for carrying on the *Diſcipline*, he put on an Appearance of great Sanctity, pretended to ſupernatural Qualifications, and made the People believe he knew their *Thoughts*, and could work Miracles. The Matter of Fact, it ſeems, was not diſputed, tho' aſſign'd to different Cauſes: For ſome took him for a Magician; and others thought this Privilege a Reward of his Piety. His Enthuſiaſm or impoſterous Practice was diſappointed at *York* and *Lincoln*: In both theſe Places he gave out, the Spirit of St. *John Baptiſt* was tranſmigrated into him; and that his Meſſage was to *prepare the Way of the Lord before his ſecond coming to Judgment*. But here the Magiſtracy was ſo far from believing his *Miſſion*, that they order'd him to be whipp'd, and ſent out of Town.

Hacket pretends to the Commiſſion of a Prophet.

Notwithſtanding this Rebuke, he went on with his Frenzy: And tho' he began with Hypocriſie, yet now he ſeems to have been an Enthuſiaſt in earneſt, and to have paſs'd his Impoſture upon himſelf. He was a Perſon of no Learning, however by Warmth of Temper and frequent Practice he had gotten a remarkable Talent for *Extempore* Prayer. And affecting Rumbling and Bombaſt in his Devotion, he was much admir'd by the ignorant Crowd. And now the Deluſion working ſtrong, he fancy'd himſelf honour'd with an extraordinay *Calling*: He challeng'd the Character of a Prophet of God's Vengeance where his Mercy is refuſ'd; and declar'd, That if *Reformation* was not eſtabliſh'd in *England* this Year, the three great Plagues of Sword, Peſtilence and Famine, would fall upon it. (g)

Coppingher believes himſelf under the Privilege of an extraordinary Miſſion.

Wiggington the Nonconformiſt Miniſter brought *Hacket* to *Coppingher*, and made an Acquaintance between them. And afterwards *Arthington* and *Lancaſter* a Schoolmaſter, were taken into the *Junto*. *Coppingher* was a ſtrong Viſionary, at leaſt in Pretence. He talk'd of ſupernatural Privilege, and immediate Correſpondence with Heaven; and that God had reveal'd a wonderful *Myſtery* to him: He knew a Way to bring the Queen and all her *Council* and Nobility to Repentance; or at leaſt to diſcover thoſe for Traitors who refus'd to relent. The Meaning of Repentance, was the ſetting up the Presbyterian *Diſcipline*. *Coppingher* acquaints *Wiggington* with this *Myſtery*, who gave no Diſcouragement to his Pretenſions, but *Arthington* and *Lancaſter* diſlik'd the Motion; told him, the Proſecution was impracticable, and likely to prove unfortunate in the Iſſue. *Coppingher* who was willing to put his Credentials to the Teſt, and gain the Approbation of the Puritan Miniſters, wrote a long Letter to *Cartwright* upon this Subject. This was not done without ſomething of Invitation on *Cartwright*'s Part; he had, it ſeems, offer'd to examine *Coppingher*'s Proof of an Extraordinary Calling. *Coppingher*, to ſatisfie him, tells him, That after a ſolemn Faſt, and other Religious Preparations, he was thrown into an Extatick Dream, carried into Heaven, and had the Glories of that Place diſcover'd to him; That he had a ſtrong Impulſe for ſome extraordinary Undertaking, and believ'd it the Suggeſtion of the Holy Spirit; That to prevent being led into Miſtakes by the Forwardneſs of Imagination, he had written for Advice to ſeveral *Preachers*, both in *England* and elſewhere; That at laſt he wrote to a ſilenc'd Miniſter in the City; That this Miniſter aſſur'd him, God continued ſtill to work extraordinarily in ſome Perſons for ſpecial Purpoſes. He tells *Cartwright*, that in caſe he approv'd his *Miſſion*, he would give him a Detail of his Deſign, and acquaint him with the Particulars he had in Charge; That the Buſineſs of his Letter was to deſire *Cartwright*'s Reſolution of ſome Queſtions, with ſome Directions upon the Matter of what he was going about.

His Letter to Cartwright *for the Reſolution of ſix Queſtions.*

The Queſtions to be reſolv'd are as follows:

Firſt, *Whether in theſe Days there are any Extraordinary Workers and Helpers to the Church, either Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, or Prophets, where Need requires more or leſs? Or* Nazarites, *Healers, Admoniſhers, in any ſpecial Sort?*

Secondly, *If there is ſtill ſuch Extraordinary Perſons, is not their Calling immediately from God, and his Spirit a Seal unto their Spirits, through which they have ſuch excellent Gifts and Graces of Wiſdom, Knowledge, Courage, Magnanimity Zeal, Patience, Humility,* &c. *as do manifeſt ſuch their Calling to the Church?*

Thirdly, *If ſuch Graces and Gifts ſhall appear, whether may the Church enter into the Conſideration of the Succeſs which God may pleaſe to give, Yea, or No? If they may, in what Manner are they to proceed with ſuch a Perſon extraordinarily call'd?*

Fourthly, *If it ſhall be confeſs'd, that there may be Extraordinary Callings from God to the End of the World, the next Queſtion is, Whether ſuch Callings may be found in a Country where the Goſpel is truly preach'd, and the Sacraments (in ſome ſort) truly adminiſter'd, tho' not univerſally, but here and there; not perfectly, but in Part; and where the true Diſcipline is not eſtabliſh'd, but oppugn'd by the publick Magiſtrate,* &c?

Fifthly, *If it ſhall be anſwer'd, That no Extraordinary Callings are to be look'd for, but where there is a Waſte of the Church, Whether can it be ſaid truly, that there is a Waſte of the Church, where the Prince and the chief Magiſtrates are ignorant of the Neceſſity of the Diſcipline, oppoſing themſelves againſt it, perſecuting ſuch as ſeek it; by Means whereof all wicked*

(g) Coſin. *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation.*

Whitgift (John) *Arch biſhop of* Cant.

Perſons whatſoever are admitted to publick Exerciſe of the Word, and to the Lord's Table: Whether, I ſay, may it be hop'd for, that God for his Glory's ſake, and the Good of the Church, may extraordinarily call ſome Perſon by giving him a Spirit above others to deal with the Magiſtrate in the Name of God: To provide that the People may be every where taught, and true Diſcipline executed where the People already have Knowledge?

Idem.

Sixthly, *Where Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, Widows,* &c. *are wanting in the Church eſtabliſhed, and only a Miniſter thruſt upon the People to be their Paſtor, without their choice or Liking; Whether it can be truly ſaid a Man ſo plac'd (tho' furniſh'd with all inward Gifts and Graces of God's Spirit fit for that Calling) has the lawful and perfect Calling of a Miniſter, or no?*

Feb. 13 1590.

Upon *Cartwright*'s receiving this Letter, he ſent *Coppingher* a cautious Meſſage, That he ſhould attempt nothing but by Advice, and manage with Prudence and Circumſpection. This Anſwer gave *Coppingher* no Satisfaction, who preſs'd for a more particular Reſolution. Upon which a Day was fix'd to diſcourſe him: That his Motion was thus far conſider'd, appears by his ſecond Expoſtulatory Letter to *Cartwright*; in which he complains he had been check'd in his Undertaking for the Service of God and the Church; and deſires the Day appointed for the Conference might hold: His Reaſon is, becauſe the Juncture would not admit of any farther Delay: That 'twas well known ſome People were in Danger of their Lives; and that unleſs he had been hindered, he could have procured their Releaſe before now. And towards the Cloſe he conjures *Cartwright* to *adviſe the Preachers to deal ſpeedily and circumſpectly, leſt ſome Blood of the Saints be ſhed.* (*h*)

(*h*) Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 4. *chap.* 6.

Cartwright *and ſome others diſengag'd from* Coppingher.

But the diſſenting Miniſters diſtruſting *Coppingher*'s Conduct, and probably not liking his Deſign, broke their Appointment for the Conference, and refuſ'd to correſpond with him any longer. And to take their Leave, *Cartwright*, *Travers*, *Charke*, and *Egerton* ſent him Word by *Hockenbull*, *That they would leave him to himſelf, or rather to Satan: And that they thought him unworthy to be conferr'd withal.*

Idem.

He is encourag'd by Wiggington.

Wiggington prov'd a much kinder Caſuiſt, and gave him an affirmative Reſolution to his Queſtions, under his Hand: 'Tis to this Effect, That God does, and will continue to raiſe up extraordinary Aſſiſtants to his Church, under all the Diſtinctions put by *Coppingher* in his firſt Queſtion: That the Authority of theſe extraordinary Perſons cannot be diſcover'd to themſelves by any other Means, excepting by God's Spirit: Neither can it be known to others, but by the good Effects it produces. That a Perſon thus call'd, need not put many Queſtions to mortal Men for the Juſtifying his Calling: However, he muſt have the Character of a pious Man before he enters on the Undertaking; eſpecially, if he has the Misfortune of being a known Libertine formerly. That where the principal Magiſtracy of any Country are Ignorant and untaught, there it may be truly ſaid that Country is out of Order, *Deſolate*, or *Waſte*: And that this Reaſoning holds much ſtronger when not ſo much as the 30th or 40th Part of a Kingdom, is well conſtituted, or inſtructed.

Elizabeth Q.

Wiggington in another Paper of his own Hand, endeavours to maintain ſuch extraordinary *Callings* by Two Inſtances: His firſt is in a Perſon mention'd by *Joſephus*, who paſs'd thro' the Streets at *Jeruſalem*, and denounc'd Deſtruction before 'twas beſieg'd. His next Inſtance was of a Man that came from *Yorkſhire* to *London*, declar'd he had ſeen an Angel in a Viſion, and was charg'd to foretel the Judgments of God which ſhould ſhortly fall upon the whole Kingdom.

From hence it appears, That **Wiggington** was the ſilenc'd **Preacher** hinted by **Coppingher** in his firſt Letter to **Cartwright**: And that he agreed to faſt and pray with ſome others, for a farther Evidence of his *Miſſion*. (*i*) The reſt of *Coppingher* and *Hacket*'s Story comes up the next Year.

(*i*) Coſin's *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformati.n*

A Conteſt between the Aſſembly at Edinborough, *and the Lords of the Seſſion.*

Anno Dom. 1591.

Before I enter therefore upon the Remainder, I ſhall entertain the *Reader* with the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *Scotland*. A general *Aſſembly* being conven'd at **Edinborough**, there happen'd a great Conteſt between this *Body*, and the *Lords of Seſſion*. The Diſpute was concerning the Juriſdiction of the reſpective Courts: The Occaſion was this; *John Graham*, one of the *Lords* of the *Seſſion*, was charg'd with ſuborning a publick Notary to forge an Inſtrument: The Notary confeſs'd upon Examination, That the Inſtrument ſign'd by him, was brought to him engroſs'd by *William Graham*, brother to *John*, and that he knew nothing of the Contents. Now Forgery being capital in *Scotland*, he was proſecuted for the foul Practice, caſt, and executed. *Graham* inrag'd at this Diſcovery, enters an Action againſt *Simpſon*, Miniſter of *Sterling*, pretending he had over-aw'd the Notary into a falſe Confeſſion. The Miniſter complains to the *Aſſembly*; upon which **Graham** was ſummon'd to anſwer the Scandal rais'd upon one of their Members: He, making his Appearance, told them, he was ready to make good the Charge againſt *Simpſon*, before competent Judges. This was conſtrued Pleading in Bar to the Juriſdiction of their Court: The *Aſſembly* therefore replied, he muſt ſtand to their Judgment, or be cenſur'd for the Slander. Upon this the *Lords* of the *Seſſion* ſent a Meſſage to deſire the *Aſſembly* not to intermeddle in Buſineſs proper to the Cognizance of the Temporal Courts; and which was now in due Form of Law depending before them. The *Aſſembly* anſwer'd, That their Proceedings were no Encroachment upon the Privilege of *Seſſion*, neither did they intend to reach into Matters belonging to the Magiſtracy: But the Purging one of their own Members from Scandal, might be manag'd, they conceiv'd, without Derogation to any *Civil* Judicatory: They deſire them therefore not to be diſconcerted at the Churches going on with a Proceſs of this Nature. The Lords diſmiſs'd with this Anſwer, ſent for *John Graham*, who excepted to the Juriſdiction of the *Aſſembly*, affirm'd the Cauſe was of a *Civil* Nature, and ought to be tried before the *Lords* of the *Seſſion*. The *Aſſembly* on the other Hand, voted themſelves the proper Judges, order'd *Graham* to plead before them, and that otherwiſe they would proceed to Sentence againſt him. The Lords look'd upon theſe Proceedings as downright Invaſion: And that under this Colour, any Miniſter might challenge an Exemption from Pleading in the *Civil* Courts, and be carried off to the Bar of the Church. They reſolv'd therefore at firſt, to ſend a Prohibition to the *Aſſembly*, and command them to ſtop the Proceſs. But Conteſting their Juriſdiction thus far, being thought Unſeaſonable, they drop'd this Reſolution, and agreed to compound the Matter: And thus an Accommodation was ſettled by a Compromiſe, that

(k) Spotſwood's Church Hiſtory, p. 384.

neither *Seſſions*, nor *Aſſembly*, ſhould proceed any farther. (*k*)

The Aſſembly paſſes a Revocation of all Alienations of Church Revenues.

This *Aſſembly* exerted themſelves, tho' with inſignificant Spirit, on another Head: They paſs'd a general *Revocation* of all Things done in Prejudice of the Churches Patrimony: And that whether ſuch Alienations were made by beneſic'd Miniſters, or by any others of Eccleſiaſtick Character. This was thought a good Expedient for reviving the Claim to the Tythes and Eſtates which had been lately convey'd to the *Laity*: But thoſe who had enrich'd themſelves with the Plunder of the Church, ridicul'd this *Revocation*; It muſt be ſaid the *Aſſembly* had diſabled themſelves in a great Meaſure from purſuing their Claim, by ſuppreſſing the ancient Diſtinctions of the *Hierarchy*, and altering the Form of the Church, upon which theſe Privileges and Eſtates were all along ſettled.

Ibid.

To return to the *Engliſh Nonconformiſts*, who 'tis thought, intended not to continue Paſſive under their Diſappointments. 'Twas ſuſpected, not altogether without Cauſe, that ſome of theſe Men deſign'd to reſcue their Brethren from Confinement; *Wiggington*'s Letter to one *Porter* at *Lancaſter*, looks towards this Meaning, and ſeems to menace the Government. His Words are theſe.

Wiggington's *odd Letter to* Porter.

(*l*) Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 4. *Chap.* 5.

Maſter Cartwright *is in the Fleet, for Refuſal of the Oath, (as I hear) and Maſter* Knewſtubbs *is ſent for, and ſundry worthy Miniſters are diſquieted, who have been ſpar'd long. So that we look for ſome Bickering e're long, and then a Battle, which cannot long endure.* (*l*)

Another from Scotland *upon the ſame Subject.*

That there was an Expectation of ſome bold Puſh, may be conjectur'd from a Letter written by a *Scotch* Gentleman to his Friend in *England*. *I attend*, ſays he, *your next Anſwer, as well of the Eſtate of your Church, as of all other Affairs. For there is here great Word of ſundry Uproars which I truſt be falſe, or repreſ'd in due Seaſon by her Majeſty.* That ſome Attempt upon the *State* was concerted, appears farther by Letters and Papers found upon *Hacket*, *Coppingher*, and *Arthington*: But of this by and by.

At preſent I ſhall proceed to mention the Application made by the *Presbyterians* to the King of *Scots*. Some of the moſt Eminent of the Party ſolicited this Prince to write to Queen *Elizabeth* for gentle Uſage. They procur'd two Letters for this Purpoſe: The laſt was directed to one *Johnſon*, a *Scotch* Merchant in *London*: This Gentleman deliver'd it to the Queen, who having read it, laid it before the *Council*; I ſhall give it the *Reader* in the King's Words.

The King of Scots's *Letter to Queen* Elizabeth, *in behalf of the* Engliſh *Nonconformiſts.* June 12. 1591.

Right Excellent, High and Mighty Princeſs, our deareſt Siſter and Couſin, in our heartieſt Manner, We recommend us unto You. Hearing of the Apprehenſion of Mr. Udal *and Mr.* Cartwright, *and certain other Miniſters of the Evangel within your Realm; of whoſe good Erudition and faithful Travels in the Church, We hear a very credible Commendation, howſoever, That their Diverſity from the Biſhops and others of your Clergy, in Matters touching them in Conſcience, hath been a Mean by their Delation, to work them your Miſliking; at this preſent we cannot (weighing the Duty which we owe to ſuch as are afflicted for their Conſcience in that Profeſſion) but by our moſt effectuous and earneſt Letter interpone us at your Hands to ſtay any harder Uſage of them for that Cauſe. Requeſting you moſt earneſtly, That for our Cauſe and Interceſſion it may pleaſe you to let them be reliev'd of their preſent Strait, and whatſoever farther Accuſation, or purſuit depending on that Ground, reſpecting both their former Merit, in ſetting forth the Evangel, the Simplicity of their Conſcience in this Defence, which cannot well be, their Let by Compulſion, and the great Slander which could not fail to fall out upon their farther Streightning for any ſuch Occaſion. Which We aſſure us your Zeal to Religion, beſides the Expectation We have of your good Will to pleaſure us, will willingly accord to our Requeſt, having ſuch Proofs from Time to Time of our like Diſpoſition to you in any Matters which you recommend unto us, and thus right Excellent, right High and Mighty Princeſs, Our dear Siſter and Couſin, We commit you to God's Protection.*

Edinburgh, June *the* 12*th*, 1591.

The Queen looking upon this Letter as extorted from the King by the Importunity of the *Kirk*, rather than Proceeding from his own Inclination, took little Notice of it.

Cartwright *brought a ſecond Time before the High Commiſſion.*

To go back a little to the farther Proſecution of the *Diſſenters*. In *May* this Summer, *Cartwright* was brought from the *Fleet* to *London-Houſe* before ſeveral of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. And here Biſhop *Ailmer* charg'd him with Three Things. *Firſt*, That he petition'd the *Council* for Liberty upon falſe Suggeſtions, counterfeiting Diſeaſes with which he was not troubled. *Secondly*, That he had miſreported the Oath tender'd to him, to the *Council*. And *Thirdly*, That he had ſeveral Times own'd, that a Man who liv'd up to the Ceremonies and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* might be ſav'd; from whence the Biſhop inferr'd the Inſignificancy of a farther Reformation. When *Ailmer* had done, *Cartwright* began to ſpeak, but was ſtop'd by Sir *John Popham*, Attorney General. This Gentleman ſuggeſted how dangerous a Thing it was for Men to be governed by their own Singularities, and pretend Conſcience for Diſobedience to the *Conſtitution*. That the Oath to anſwer Interrogatories was warranted by the Laws and ancient Uſages of the Kingdom: That he had Two Things to urge againſt Mr. *Cartwright*; one was the Breach of the publick Peace by unlawful *Meetings*, and Regulations for *Diſcipline*: The other, was an Offence againſt the Juſtice of the Realm, by refuſing the Oath now tender'd: That this Oath was offer'd in other Courts: Neither did he believe any Perſons learned in the Laws could think it unlawful.

The Lawfulneſs of the Oath for anſwering to Interrogatories maintain'd by Attorney-General Popham.

Dr. *Lewin*, a Civilian, and another of the Commiſſioners, told *Cartwright* he was much miſtaken in calling it an Oath *ex Officio*: For that the Tendering the Oath was injoin'd by the Queen's Commiſſion. And here Dr. *Bancroft* obſerv'd, That the Methods of this Court had not been always exactly the ſame; and that in ſome Commiſſions, the Clauſe of examining upon Oath had been omitted. The Biſhop diſagreed with the Doctor upon this Point. He had been a Commiſſioner Thirty Years, and vouch'd the Practice of Inſerting the Oath for all that Time. *Bancroft* told *Cartwright* he had taken this Oath Twenty Years ſince, and ask'd him which Way the Courſe of Time could Work upon the Matter of this Teſt, and make that unlawful which was lawful before. To this *Cartwright* return'd, that he then took the Oath with an expreſs Reſervation, and beſides, that he was now farther inform'd in the Point. *Bancroft* inſiſted, That every Perſon that had done an injury, was oblig'd to make an Acknowledgment, and give Satisfaction; and that this Reaſon would ſtill hold ſtronger from the Subject to the Prince. *Cartwright* replied, That this general Rule muſt come under ſome Exceptions: And an Inſtance being demanded, he argued, that if he had reported any Thing to the Diſadvantage of a Third Perſon, who knew nothing of it; in this Caſe 'twas not agreeable to the Rule of Charity to relate what had paſt, to the injur'd Perſon. His Reaſon was, becauſe ſuch a Confeſſion might probably break Friendſhip which would otherways have continued: But I ſhall leave this Caſuiſtry to the *Reader.* To proceed; *Bancroft* objected to *Cartwright*, that none could be receiv'd into their Conferences or *Meetings*, without ſubſcribing a Submiſſion to all Orders preſcrib'd by the governing Part: And that if the Interpretation of a Text of *Scripture* was thus determin'd, none of their Communion had the Liberty of going off from it: And that their Proceeding in this Manner was Matter of Fact, was affirm'd by the Depoſition of Three or Four Witneſſes. As to the requiring Subſcriptions from thoſe admitted, much leſs ſuch Subſcriptions as *Bancroft* mention'd, *Cartwright* declar'd, that neither himſelf nor any he knew of, had done any ſuch Thing. *Laſtly*, *Bancroft* objected the dangerous Reſerves in the *Diſſenters Diſcipline.* That they deſign'd to drive over the Laws, and force their *Reformation* upon the Government. For this Jealouſy he brings Inſtances from ſome of the *Engliſh Refugees* at *Geneva*, from the *French* Hugonots, from *Calvin* and *Knox* To this *Cartwright* returns a lame Anſwer, and overlooks Matter of Fact. (*m*) But for this I ſhall refer the *Reader* to what has been already related.

Bancroft *objects the Danger to the Government, by ſetting up the Diſcipline.*

(*m*) Strype's *Life of Biſhop* Aylmer.

And now it may not be improper to give a more particular Account of the Articles charg'd upon the *Nonconforming* Miniſters in Priſon. The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners having ſpent ſome time in examining Witneſſes, and other preparatory Buſineſs, referr'd the farther Proſecution to the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*. And here an Information was preferr'd againſt the *Diſſenters* by the Attorney General. The Complaint ſuggeſts, “That ſome ſeditious People had form'd a Government of the Church, conſiſting of Doctors, Paſtors, *Elders*, Deacons, and ſuch like. That a new Form of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and Church Diſcipline, compriz'd in a Book, entitled, *Diſciplina Eccleſiæ ſacra, Dei verbo deſcripta*, had been lately ſet forth, together with other Books and Pamphlets of a reſembling Nature. That the Defendants had unlawfully and ſeditiouſly aſſembled themſelves together concerning the Premiſſes. That in thoſe *Aſſemblies* they had treated of, and concluded upon ſundry ſeditious Articles in Allowance of the ſame Books, and of the Matters therein contain'd. That in ſome of thoſe *Aſſemblies*, the Defendants had ſubſcrib'd thoſe Articles, and put Part of them in Execution: That for theſe Miſdemeanors they had been brought before the High Commiſſioners, where they refus'd to take the Oath for anſwering ſuch Interrogatories as were to be put to them on her Majeſty's Behalf: That under Pretence of *Diſcipline* and Charity, they claim'd a Power of intermedling in all Sorts of Cauſes whatſoever: And that they had perſuaded ſundry of her Majeſty's Subjects to refuſe the taking an Oath to anſwer to any Matter that might concern the unlawful Proceedings, and Doings of themſelves, their Brethren and Teachers.

A Bill preferr'd in the Star-Chamber againſt ſeveral Nonconforming Miniſters.

To go on with the Narrative of this Affair.

“To the *Bill* of Complaint, the *Defendants* in their Anſwer have confeſs'd their Refuſing to take the Oath before the Commiſſioners: And to the reſt of the moſt material Matters have made an evaſive and inſufficient Anſwer. That this Anſwer being referr'd by the Court to the Conſideration of the Chief Juſtices, the Chief Baron, and Mr. Juſtice *Gawdy*, theſe Reverend Judges mark'd the Queſtions where their Anſwers were ſhort and unſatisfactory: That notwithſtanding this Reſolution of the Judges, their next Anſwer was little leſs Imperfect: That when Interrogatories were afterwards put to them upon the Parts of the *Bill*, they declin'd making Anſwer to the main Queſtions: That the Judges, at the Inſtance of the Court, pointed out more diſtinctly the Interrogatories which ought to have been clearly and directly anſwer'd: That the *Defendants*, notwithſtanding being examin'd upon theſe Interrogatories, refus'd to anſwer.

The Queſtions put to them were theſe.

The Defendants refuſe to Anſwer ſeveral Queſtions. June 23. 1591.

“Where the ſaid Aſſemblies were made, when, and how often? Who were at the ſame Aſſemblies as well as themſelves? What Matters were treated of in the ſame Aſſemblies? Who made or ſet forth, corrected or reform'd the ſaid Book of Diſcipline, or any Part thereof? Who ſubſcrib'd, or ſubmitted themſelves to the ſame Book, or to the Articles therein concluded, beſides the ſaid Defendants? Whether in a Chriſtian Monarchy the King is to be accounted among the Governors of the Church, or among thoſe which are to be govern'd by Paſtors, Doctors, or ſuch like?

“Whether in a well order'd Church, it is lawful for the ſovereign Prince to ordain Orders and Ceremonies appertaining to the Church? Whether Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſh'd by her Majeſty's Authority within the Church of *England*, be lawful, or allow'd by the Word of God? Whether the Sacraments miniſtred within her Majeſty's Dominions, as they be ordained by the Book of Common-Prayer to be miniſtred, be godly and rightly miniſtred?

Idem.

The Proſecution of theſe *Miniſters* occaſion'd a farther Conſultation amongſt ſome of the Party, which Way the Priſoners might be aſſiſted. But before any Thing was either done for them by their Friends, or againſt them by the *Star-Chamber*, another ſurpriſing Buſineſs broke out. I ſhall therefore now proceed to finiſh the Story of the Three *Impoſtors* above-mention'd. Theſe Men, were by this Time, as they pretended, thoroughly convinced of the Lawfulneſs of their *Miſſion*: And that 'twas now Time to hang out the Signal, to make a Blaze, and ſet up *Hacket*. Things being thus far believ'd, or concerted, *Coppingher* and *Arthington* came to *Hacket*'s Lodgings, and here after ſome preparatory Prayers for the Direction of the Holy Spirit, *Arthington* charged *Coppingher* in the Name of the Lord Jeſus to break off his Devotions, and anoint the King (meaning *Hacket*) with the Holy Ghoſt. Upon this, *Coppingher* roſe from his Knees; and after Three profound Reverences to *Hacket* then in Bed, approach'd to perform the Ceremony. *Hacket* taking him by the Hand, told him, there was no Occaſion for his anointing him, for he had been anointed already in Heaven by the Holy Ghoſt. Then *Coppingher* deſiring they might receive his Commands, he gave them their Inſtructions in theſe Words. (*n*)

Coppingher *and* Arthington *proclaim* Hacket *King of* Europe *in* Cheapſide.

Go your Way both, ſays he, *and tell them in the City, that Chriſt Jeſus is come with his Fan in his*

(*n*) Coſin's *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation.*

Hand, to judge the Earth. And if any Man aſk you where he is, tell them he lies at Walker's Houſe *by* Broken Wharf: *And if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me, if they can; for as truly as Chriſt Jeſus is in Heaven, ſo truly is he come to judge the World.*

The Subſtance of what they deliver'd.

Coppingher and *Arthington* obey'd the Orders immediately. The Firſt pretended to be the Prophet of *Mercy*, and the other the Prophet of *Judgment*. *Coppingher* publiſh'd his Meſſage below Stairs; and then both of them running into the Streets, went on in the Diſcharge of their Commiſſion, adding over and above from themſelves, *Repent, England, Repent.* When they came towards the *Croſs* in *Cheapſide*, the Crowd grew ſo big that they could paſs no farther.

Upon this, they mounted an empty Cart, and harangued the People. And here they began to dilate farther upon *Hacket's* Character, to blazon his Authority, and proclaim his Buſineſs and their own. And to prevent Miſtakes, in the Delivery they had ſet down their Speech in a Paper, which they read in the Cart. The Subſtance of it was, that *Hacket* repreſented Chriſt by a Communication of his glorified Body, by his principal Spirit, as their Cant goes on; by the Office of parting the Good from the Bad, with his *Fan* in his Hand; and by Eſtabliſhing the *Reformation*, and the *Holy Cauſe*, throughout all *Europe*; This Diviſion, it ſeems, they took for the whole World. That theſe glorious Things were immediately to be accompliſh'd; and that themſelves were Two Prophets ſent to proclaim his Dignity, and preach Submiſſion: For that *Hacket* was King of *Europe*, and ought to be obey'd as ſuch. That all Princes were to hold of him as Lord *Paramount*: That the Queen had forfeited her Crown, and deſerv'd to be depos'd. In the Cloſe, they charge Two Lords and another Member of the Privy *Council* with Treaſon, and pray'd God to confound them.

Their Deſigns againſt the Queen, Privy Council, &c.

That theſe Men deſign'd Violence againſt the Government, appears by their Letters and Examination. For Inſtance, *Coppingher* ſpeaking of the Lords of the Council, uſes this Expreſſion, *The Lord pardon their Souls, for in their outward Man they muſt be puniſh'd, tho' they repent.* (*o*) And the Time for executing their Plot drawing nigh, *Coppingher* adviſes that all her Majeſty's Privy *Council* ſhould be commanded to keep their Houſes or Apartments, for Fear of *Stirs* and Danger.

(*o*) Coppingher's *Letter.* Bancroft's *Dangerous Poſitions, Book* 4. *Chap.* 11.

Ibid.

Farther, *Arthington* confeſs'd, that he verily believ'd *Hacket* intended to have ſet aſide her Majeſty, to have murder'd thoſe Noblemen which oppos'd his Enterprize, and to have done ſomething more, which he had not Courage to expreſs. As to the Queen, they ſaid ſhe deſerv'd to be depos'd for giving Credit and Countenance to the Biſhops and ſuch other wicked Perſons, and for mal-treating her good Subjects. What was farther confeſs'd by *Hacket*, ſhall be related by and by.

They are examin'd and impriſon'd.

The Entertainment the *Miſſionaries* met with in the City, was ſhort of their Expectation and Deſert. For as on the one Hand, the People admir'd their Reſolution, and heard their Blaſphemy and Treaſon, without ſhewing any Signs of Diſlike: So on the other Hand they did not receive them with Acclamations: They did not declare for *Hacket*, ſalute him with his Royal Titles, nor offer themſelves as a Guard. *Coppingher* and *Arthington* being thus diſappointed, as 'tis moſt likely, and balk'd of an Inſurrection, return'd to *Hacket's* Lodging. When this ſurprizing Scene was open'd, the Court was at *Greenwich*: When the News came, the Queen diſpatch'd Two of the Privy *Council* to examine the Matter. About one in the Afternoon, *Coppingher, Arthington* and *Hacket* were brought before ſome of the Privy Council, and the Lord Mayor. When they appear'd, they kept on their Hats, and refus'd to pay any Reſpect: And being demanded the Reaſon of this Rudeneſs, their Anſwer was, they were Perſons of much greater Quality than thoſe that pretended to examine them. Thus they ſupported the Character they had taken, with a great Deal of inſolent Aſſurance. *Hacket* at his firſt Examination held up his Pretenſions, own'd that he had mov'd *Coppingher* and *Arthington* to deliver the Meſſage God had charg'd them with, declar'd the Queen had forfeited her Crown by ſuffering her Miniſters to apply to extraordinary Methods for eſtabliſhing Religion. But being afterwards ſet upon the Rack, he acknowledg'd her Majeſty his lawful Sovereign, and declar'd himſelf ſorry for his Miſbehaviour: Adding withal, That if *Coppingher* and *Wiggington* were cloſely examin'd, they would make a conſiderable Diſcovery of Treaſon. And now the Two prophetick Heraulds, and their Principal, were committed. And upon the 26th of *July*, *Hacket* was tried at the *Old Baily*, and Two Indictments found againſt him. The Indictments ſet forth, That *Hacket* had publiſh'd that Queen *Elizabeth* was not Queen of *England*: That he had defac'd her Majeſty's Arms, and ſtruck a Dagger thro' the Heart of her Picture, with ſome other treaſonable Practices already mention'd.

Hacket *brought to his Tryal.*

Hacket pleaded guilty to one Indictment, and ſtood mute to the other. And thus there was no Occaſion, either for the Queen's Council to open the Charge, or to bring any Evidence againſt him. However, for publick Satisfaction the Attorney and Solicitor General, ſet forth the Treaſon carried on by *Hacket*, and the other Two. The Attorney General * obſerv'd, That theſe Plots and Conſpiracies had their Riſe and Encouragement from the *Sectaries*. That *Coppingher* in a Letter to *Udall* bid him, and the reſt in Priſon, not be diſpirited; for that himſelf and ſome others had taken a Courſe for their ſpeedy Deliverance: That Letters menacing the Government were diſpers'd in the Street Five or Six Days before *Hacket* was proclaim'd: That printed Pamphlets were found in *Wiggington's* Chamber, to be ſent to a great Number of Women. But who theſe Women were, the Attorney was not willing to Name.

* Popham.

The Queen's Solicitor † diſcours'd, That no Treaſon was more dangerous than that which was wrap'd up in Myſtery, and went under Diſguiſe. And that thoſe who cover'd their Rebellion with Pretences of Zeal for Religion, did commonly moſt miſchief.

† Egerton.

This Remark he made good by Inſtancing in the *Anabaptiſts* at *Munſter*, and the Ravages committed by the *Boors* in *Germany*. After this he recited ſome of *Hacket's* treaſonable and blaſphemous Expreſſions, already mention'd. Then the Recorder gave Judgment upon him. In the Interval between the Sentence and the Execution, he was viſited by ſeveral Divines, and brought to Sobriety and Repentance. But when he came to ſuffer, he relaps'd into Raving and Blaſphemy, and died in that deſperate Condition. (*p*)

He Blaſphemes at his Death.

July 28. 1591.

(*p*) Coſin's *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation.*

Coppingher refus'd to eat for Eight Days, and died ſtarv'd in *Bridewel*. *Arthington*, upon *Hacket's* Execution, wrote to the Privy *Council*, deſir'd their Lordſhips to intercede for his Pardon to the Queen, confeſs'd his being ſeduc'd, and made a farther Diſcovery.

Now what the Principles were that work'd theſe Men to this ſurprizing Pitch, what were the main Springs of the Enterprize, and what Motions hurried them to ſuch deſperate Declarations and Deſigns, is not eaſy to account for. Whether Heat of Temper, Streins of Hypocriſy, or Diabolical Illuſion, carried them thus far, is ſomewhat uncertain. 'Tis poſſible they might think it neceſſary to flaſh in the Face of the Crowd, and give their Confidence a Luſtre; and that the People were not to be gain'd without bold Puſhing, and extraordinary Pretentions. But let this be as it will, 'tis pretty plain the Men were ſhort of Diſtraction: For though Art or Enthuſiaſm might make their Conduct very odd, and carry them to Flights of Singularity; granting this, yet that they were unſeiz'd by Madneſs appears by the Conſiſtency of their Letters, by the Reſerves of their Management, and by the Dexterity of their Anſwers when examin'd. This the learned *Coſins* proves at large in Vindication of the Queen's Juſtice, and draws a Parallel betwixt them and *John a Leiden*, *Rotman*, and *Kniperdoling*, at *Munſter*.

Theſe Enthuſiaſts not under Diſtraction.

Id. *Page* 130. *to Page* 134.

Whether the Nonconformiſt Miniſters behaved themſelves unexceptionably in this Juncture.

Now whether the Nonconforming Miniſters may be clear'd from approving the Deſigns of theſe Impoſtors is ſomewhat queſtionable: That ſomething of a Correſpondence was held, may be conjectur'd from *Coppinger*'s Letter to *Udal* already mention'd; that *Cartwright* had condeſcended ſome Lengths to ſatisfy *Coppingher*'s Conſcience, appears by another Letter of this Gentleman; in which he deſires his Friend to give *great Thanks to good Mr.* Cartwright *for ſatisfying him in ſome Queſtions, which at the firſt he thought little Uſe to be made of.* (q) In this Letter *Coppinger* takes Notice that *Hockenhull*, who brought him the renouncing Meſſage from *Cartwright* and the other Preachers above-mention'd; *Coppinger*, I ſay, takes Notice that *Hockenhull* miſreported theſe Nonconforming Miniſters, exceeded his Commiſſion, and deliver'd their Diſlike in harſher Terms than they had given him.

(q) Coppinger's *Letter to a Friend*, May 21. 1591. Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 4. *Chap.* 8.

Farther, 'twas expected that at the End of *Trinity Term* this Year, *Cartwright*, and the other Miniſters in Priſon would have been brought to their Trial in the *Star-Chamber*. And now ſomething of Rigour being apprehended from the Proceſs, *Coppinger* writes theſe menacing Expreſſions to *Lancaſter*, the School-maſter. (r) *If our Preachers in Priſon*, ſays he, *do appear to Morrow in the* Star-Chamber, *and our great Men deal with them ſo as 'tis thought they will; if God does not throw ſome fearful Judgment amongſt them, ſo as ſome of the Chief go not alive out of the Place, then never give* Credit *to me in any Thing whilſt you live*. But *Cartwright* and the reſt not being called for by the *Court*, this deſperate Reſolve came to nothing.

(r) Bancroft, Ib. *Chap.* 9. June 24. 1591.

The Reader may obſerve farther, That *Coppingher*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket*, the ſame Morning they made their ſeditious Proclamation in *Cheapſide*, came to *Wigginton*, and told him that *Cartwright* had done more againſt Antichriſt than any Perſon living ſince the Apoſtles; that *Wigginton* himſelf was a Man of equal Merit; and that *Lancaſter* exceeded them both. They likewiſe aſſur'd *Wigginton*, That *Reformation* and the *Lord's Diſcipline* ſhould be immediately eſtabliſh'd.

Id. *Chap.* 10.

Farther, *Arthington* confeſs'd in his Examination, That one *Penry*, a Puritan Miniſter, wrote to him from *Scotland*, to acquaint him *That Reformation muſt ſhortly be erected in* England, *and that he took him for a true Prophet.* This *Penry* was in *London* when *Hacket* was proclaim'd; and 'tis probable, if the Train had taken Fire, and the *Mob* kindled he might have made his Advantage of the Juncture: That he waited the Event ſeems not very unlikely, becauſe when *Hacket* was executed he poſted immediately towards *Scotland*.

Id. *Chap.* 10.

That ſome of the *Diſſenting* Miniſters in *London* were acquainted with *Coppingher*'s Intention, is plainly affirm'd by himſelf. He grants the Warrantableneſs of the Buſineſs was not denied; but they thought the Weight was more than he could move, and that the Enterprize could not be attempted without Danger to himſelf and the Cauſe. This was *Egerton*'s Senſe, who notwithſtanding he would not venture to approve *Coppingher*'s Extraordinary *Calling*; yet for Fear of giving Diſcouragement, he threw in this qualified Expreſſion, *That he would be loath to quench the Spirit of God in him, or hinder his Zeal.*

Id. *Chap.* 14.

To fortify this Suſpicion upon the Diſſenters, 'tis obſerv'd that a great many bold *Libels* were publiſh'd about this Time to over-awe the Biſhops and Magiſtracy, and to fright them into laying the Reins on the Neck of the Faction. Some of the Expreſſions, as *Bancroft* reports, are very remarkable. For the Purpoſe: They threaten, "That if the Brethren are diſturb'd, great Troubles will enſue: That 'tis Time to ſet up the *Diſcipline* themſelves, without waiting any longer for Parliaments: That there are greater Numbers in this Intereſt than can be ſuppreſſed: That there are a Hundred thouſand of this Sentiment in *England*, who if they addreſs her Majeſty for the Diſcipline, ſhe can't refuſe them without Danger: That the Biſhops ſhall be treated here as they were in *Scotland*, and ſent packing with the Monks and Friars; with a great deal more to this Purpoſe.

Id. *Chap.* 11.

From what has been already related it appears, that *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, *Travers*, *Charke*, and others, were acquainted that *Coppingher* had ſome deſperate Deſign in Hand; that he laid Claim to an extraordinary *Calling*, pretended a Privilege from the common Rules of Duty, and had diſcover'd a general Reſolution of doing ſome Things by no Means juſtifiable. Now why did not theſe Miniſters combat his Enthuſiaſm, cenſure his Meaſures, and do their Utmoſt to bring him off his Deſigns? Why did not they lay open the Iniquity of his Principles, and reſcue him from ſo damnable a Deluſion? Now it does not appear any great Pains was taken towards his Recovery: But if they deſpair'd of Succeſs, and found him incorrigible, why did they not inform againſt him, and lay open the Danger to the Government? What made them conceal their Knowlege, venture the Iſſue, and ſuffer *Coppingher* and the reſt to run the Length of their Diſtraction? Theſe are Queſtions, I am afraid, not eaſily anſwer'd.

Stone's *Confeſſion with Reference to the Diſſenters.*

To proceed; The ſame Day *Hacket* was executed, *Thomas Stone*, Parſon of *Warkton* in *Northamtonſhire*, took the Oath to anſwer to Interrogatories, and was examin'd in *Grays-Inn* by the Examiner for the *Star-Chamber*. This *Stone* was, notwithſtanding his Living, a Diſſenting Miniſter, and had a Share in the Conſultations and Aſſemblies of the Puritans: He gave an Account of the greater and leſſer Aſſemblies, where they met, how often, and what Perſons aſſiſted in them. He likewiſe anſwer'd ſeveral Queſtions concerning the Authority by which they met, who were *Moderators*, what Points were debated, and what Cenſures exerted. Moſt of which Par-

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

(*s*) Fuller, *from* Stone's *Confeſſion under his own Hand, Book* 9.

Particulars having been mention'd upon other Occaſions, I ſhall paſs over. (*s*)

This Confeſſion of *Stone* was ill taken by his Party: They look'd upon it as an unkind Singularity, and a Reflection upon the reſt. To wipe off this Aſperſion, he found it neceſſary to draw up the Reaſons of his Compliance with the Government thus far.

" *Firſt*, He thought it unlawful to refuſe an " Oath given by a lawful Magiſtrate in Behalf " of the Prince, for a lawful End. *Secondly*, " That having taken ſuch a lawful Oath, he had " not the Liberty to ſay nothing, and much " leſs to deliver any Untruth. *Thirdly*, That had " he not been under the Engagement of an " Oath to diſcover his Knowlege, yet he conceiv'd ſuch a Silence unwarrantable which " gave juſt Suſpicion of Treaſon, Rebellion, " Sedition, *&c.* *Fourthly*, He thought ſuch Concealment might be of ill Precedent, and encourage Traitors, and other Malefactors, to " keep their Accomplices undiſcover'd. *Fifthly*, " That the clearing of a doubtful Fact requires " the laying open the Circumſtances. *Sixthly*, " That Silence which ſmothers an important " Truth, and leaves it unſupported with Evidence, is unlawful. *Seventhly*, That the Concealing Matter of Fact any longer was impracticable: His Reaſons were, becauſe ſeveral Letters of the Miniſters impriſon'd had " been intercepted; ſome falſe Brethren had given Information; and ſome weak People had " been ſurpriz'd into voluntary Confeſſions; and " *laſtly*, becauſe ſeveral Diſſenters were of his " Opinion, and reſolv'd to anſwer upon Oath " when call'd to it. *Eighthly*, That the Reputation of a Miniſter eſpecially ought to be " preferr'd to his Liberty, *&c.* But by this " myſterious Refuſing to anſwer Queſtions, a " great many good Miniſters have ſuffer'd in " their Character. *Ninthly*, Standing mute to " Interrogatories of this Kind has occaſion'd " the Commitment of ſome People, and lengthen'd the Confinement of others: And over " and above, has made them ſuſpected of a Practice againſt the *State*. *Tenthly*, Refuſing to " anſwer Interrogatories touching Religion, argues either Guilt, or Want of Courage. (*t*)

(*t*) *Tranſcrib'd by* Fuller *from* Stone's *Letters*, Church-Hiſt. *Book* 9.

Theſe are the main Grounds *Stone* went upon in his Vindication. Whether this Defence gave his Party Satiſfaction or not, is more than I can affirm. However, 'tis certain the Ingenuity of his Confeſſion recommended him to the Biſhops: And thus looking on him as a Man of Conſcience, they ſuffer'd him to enjoy his Living, notwithſtanding his Nonconformity.

This Year the Univerſity of *Dublin* was founded by Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Conteſt between Hooker *and* Travers.

About this Time the Conteſt between *Hooker* and *Travers* began: The firſt was Maſter, and the other *Lecturer*, of the *Temple*. *Hooker* was a general Scholar, and particularly well read in the *Fathers*, *Councils*, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *Travers* was a good Orientaliſt, and ſeem'd farther improv'd in Words than Things: He was of the ſame College with *Cartwright*, and had made an Acquaintance with him. From *Cambridge* he travell'd to *Geneva*, where he fell into an Intimacy with *Beza* and the Conſiſtory, and was much affected with their *New Diſcipline*. After ſome Time he return'd into *Flanders*, and was made a Miniſter by the *Presbytery* of *Antwerp*; * that is, they did what they could towards the giving him a Holy Character. And here he preach'd with *Cartwright* to the *Engliſh* Factory. When he came over, he was recommended to the Lord *Burleigh*, who entertain'd him as Chaplain. And now nothing but his ſcrupling Conformity could have hindred his Preferment; but not being able to paſs the Teſt of the Ceremonies and Articles, he found himſelf embarraſs'd. However, the Intereſt of his Patron procur'd him the Lecture of the *Temple*. And here managing with Addreſs, and preaching plauſibly, he was much valued among the Students. He had ſeveral good Qualities to recommend him; for his Geſtures were moving and graceful, his Delivery affecting enough, his Method was clear and artificial, and his Style Rhetorical. By theſe Advantages he gain'd upon the *Long-Robe*, diſinclin'd them to the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, and brought them to a Fancy for the *Geneva* Model. And 'twas thought the wrong Impreſſion the Lawyers receiv'd from *Travers*'s Preaching, made ſome of them afterwards abet the *Puritans* in the Houſe of *Commons*. *Travers* being thus planted in *London*, and having the Character of a celebrated Preacher, made a Figure among the *Diſciplinarians*, preſided for the moſt Part in their Claſſical Meeting, and tranſmitted their Reſolutions to their Churches in the Country. Upon this raiſed Ground *Travers* ſtood when *Hooker* was made Maſter of the *Temple*: This Divine was a thorough Conformiſt, and a Perſon of great Learning and Judgment. He made it his Buſineſs to recover the Audience to a due Regard for the Worſhip and Government of the *Engliſh* Church. Nothing could be more ſolid and inſtructive than his Matter: But then his Manner was not very engaging; his Voice was neither muſical, nor ſtrong; his Geſtures were languid, and his Periods drawn out too far. In ſhort, there was neither Sound or Motion to make his Way, and he had little more than the Strength of his Reaſoning to aſſiſt him: And bare Argument without Equipage and Oratory is not always ſucceſsful. However, the more judicious Part of the Audience reach'd the Senſe through theſe Diſadvantages; and thus his Sermons were not without their Effect. *Travers* was ill pleas'd with *Hooker*'s Management, and made it his Buſineſs to confute that in the Afternoon which the other preach'd in the Morning. *Hooker* being a Man of a gentle unpretending Temper, took no Notice of this Uſage for ſome Time: But at laſt, concluding theſe Pulpit-Combats might prove unſerviceable, he complain'd to the Archbiſhop. This Complaint happen'd to be made at a ſeaſonable Juncture; for now *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and ſome other leading Men of the Puritan Perſwaſion, were brought before the High Commiſſion. And thus the Commiſſioners finding the Nonconformiſts puſhing and troubleſome, they ſign'd an Order for the ſilencing *Travers* in the *Temple* and elſewhere. The Order was paſs'd upon theſe Suggeſtions; " That he was no lawfully ordain'd Miniſter " according to the Church of *England*: That he " preach'd without being licenſed: That he " had openly preſum'd to confute ſuch Doctrine " as had been publickly deliver'd by another " Preacher, without giving Notice of theſe " controverſial Sallies to the lawful *Ordinary*: " And that this Liberty was contrary to a Proviſion made in the Seventh Year of this Reign, " for avoiding Diſturbances in the Church.

* *This appears by their Certificate of* May *the* 14th, 1588.

Travers *ſilenced by the High Commiſſion.*

He petitions the Council, but without Succeſs.

Travers had too much Spirit and Intereſt to acquieſce under this Diſcouragement: He petitions the Lords of the Council for Redreſs, and excepts to the Legality of the Proceedings againſt him. But when the Articles were preſſed cloſe, he made but a weak Defence. For the Purpoſe, to the Charge of his executing the Function of a Preſbyter without lawful *Orders*, he replied no more than that by Virtue of the Communion of Saints, all Ordinations were equally valid in a Chriſtian Church. As to his Preaching without a Faculty in Form from the *Dioceſan*, his Anſwer was, The Biſhop of *London* had recommended him by two Letters to the *Templers*; and this he conceiv'd tantamount to a Licence for preaching to that Congregation. And laſtly, As for his Claſhing with *Hooker*, and endeavouring to diſprove his Sermons, he conceiv'd St. *Paul's withſtanding St.* Peter *to his Face* would juſtify his Conduct; for where Truth is likely to ſuffer, all Regard to Perſons muſt be overlooked. *Hooker*, in his *Anſwer* to *Travers*'s *Supplication*, rub'd out theſe Colours. And thus *Travers* miſcarried at the Council-Board. The Archbiſhop not forgetting to remind the Lords of what ill Conſequence it might be, to ſuffer a Man ſo dangerouſly furniſh'd both with Parts and Principles, to harangue the Inns of Court.

This Diſappointment was made eaſy in ſome Meaſure to *Travers* by an Invitation he receiv'd from *Adam Loftus*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and Chancellor of *Ireland*. This Prelate gave him an Offer of the Provoſtſhip of *Trinity*-College in that City, which he accepted. He liv'd not many Years in this Iſland: Whether his being unacceptable upon the Score of his Nonconformity, or a Proſpect of that Kingdom's being embroil'd, brought him back into *England*, is uncertain. After his Return hither he was leſs enterprizing, and the Edge of his Zeal was ſomewhat rebated. And thus, though with a ſlender Fortune, he paſs'd the Remainder of his Time more comfortably. *(u)*

(u) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.*

The *Nonconformiſts* being ſomewhat ſeverely handled by the High Commiſſion, endeavoured to diſarm that Juriſdiction. To this Purpoſe they fram'd Objections againſt the Authority and Proceedings of the Court. The Occaſion was this; One *Caudrey*, Parſon of *South-Luſnam*, in the County of *Rutland*, had been proſecuted in the *High Commiſſion* for preaching againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, and refuſing to officiate in Divine Service purſuant to the Directions of the *Rubrick*. Theſe Articles being prov'd upon him, he was depriv'd by the Biſhop of *London*, and ſome other of the Queen's Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. He acquieſc'd for four Years in the Judgment of the Court: But now incited, as 'tis thought, by ſome Lawyers of *Travers*'s Party, he reſolv'd to queſtion the Authority of that Commiſſion, and by Conſequence the Legality of his Deprivation. To this Purpoſe, he brings an Action of Treſpaſs againſt one *George Atton* for breaking his Cloſe, which was Parcel of the aforeſaid Rectory. The Jury gave a ſpecial Verdict; that is, they found the Matter of Fact alledg'd in the Action true: But whether 'twas juſtifiable or not, this they referr'd to the Judgment of the Court. *(w)*

(w) Coke's *Reports, p.* 5. Caudrey's *Caſe.*

A Reſolution of the Judges concerning the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy.

The Cauſe was argued at Length by the *Council* at the Bar, and by the *Bench*; who having conſulted the Judges of the other Courts, came at laſt to this Reſolution, That the Act of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. concerning Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, was not a Statute introductory of a new Law, but declaratory of the Old: *That this Act does not annex any Juriſdiction to the Crown, but that which in Truth was, or of Right ought to be, by the ancient Laws of the Realm Parcel of the King's Juriſdiction, and united to his Imperial Crown, and which lawfully had been, or might be exerciſed within the Realm.*

Ibid.

'Twas reſolv'd farther by all the Judges, *That if the Act* 1 Eliz. cap. 1. *had never been made, that the King or Queen of* England, *for the Time being*, may make ſuch an *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* (as was in Force when the Caſe was argued) *by the ancient Prerogative and Law of* England. Their Ground is, *That by the ancient Laws of this Realm the Kingdom of* England *is an abſolute Empire, conſiſting of one Head, which is the King: And that this Kingly Head is furniſh'd with Plenary Power, Prerogative, and Juriſdiction, to render Juſtice to every Part of this Body in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal.* Their Reaſon is, *Becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould not be a Head of the whole Body.* After this, they come to a Recital of the Cauſes which by the Laws of *England* are to be tried in Eccleſiaſtical Courts. In this Liſt they reckon *Blaſphemy, Apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, Hereſies, Schiſm, ordering Admiſſions, Inſtitutions of Clerks, Celebration of Divine Service, Rights of Matrimony, Divorces, General Baſtardy, Subtraction and Right of Tythes, Oblations, Obventions, Dilapidations, Reparation of Churches, Probat of Teſtaments, Adminiſtration and Accounts upon the ſame, Simony, Inceſts, Fornications, Adulteries, Solicitation of Chaſtity, Penſions, Procurations, Appeals in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, Commutation of Penance. Theſe, and ſuch other Cauſes as do not belong to the Cognizance of the common Laws of* England, *are to be determined and decided by Eccleſiaſtical Judges according to the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm.*

Coke, ibid. Fol. 9.

In this Reſolution there are ſeveral remarkable Things maintain'd by theſe reverend Judges.

Remarks upon the Reſolution.

Firſt, That an Authority *to aſſign ſuch natural-born Subjects as the King or Queen ſhall think fit for the Exerciſing all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and for the reforming and correcting all manner of Hereſies, Schiſms, Offences,* &c. *which by any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority can or may be lawfully reform'd or order'd*; that ſuch an Authority *was, or of Right ought to be, by the ancient Laws of the Realm, Parcel of the King's Juriſdiction, and united to his Imperial Crown; and which lawfully had been, or might be, exercis'd within the Realm.*

Now by qualifying their Aſſertion with this Disjunctive, that all This *had lawfully been, or might be, exercis'd*, 'tis plain the Judges were ſenſible the *Regale* had not been always carried out to this Extent: Unleſs they knew this, we muſt ſuppoſe them ſtrangely unacquainted with the Hiſtory of former Times.

Id. Fol. 8.

Secondly, 'Tis reſolv'd by all the Judges, that if the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. had never been enacted, the Crown might have made ſuch an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and erected ſuch a Court as gave Judgment againſt *Caudrey*. And if ſo, this *Act* for reſtoring the *Antient Juriſdiction to the Crown* ſeems, as to this Branch at leaſt, altogether unneceſſary. Upon the Whole, it muſt be ſaid this Deciſion declares ſtrongly for the Prerogative.

Ibid.

Thirdly, The Reverend Judges Found this Force and Extent of the *Regale* upon the Abſoluteneſs of the *Engliſh* Monarchy; they make it a Crown-*Jewel*, and a Quality eſſential to *Civil* Sovereignty. Now 'tis well known the *Roman* Emperors were much more abſolute than the Kings of *England* have been, at leaſt, for ſome late Centuries. Therefore if the *Regale*, with the Compaſs above-mention'd, is a neceſſary Branch of the Prerogative Royal, it will follow by inevitable Conſequence, That all the Heathen Emperors from *Tiberius* to *Conſtantine* the Great, had a Right to exerciſe all Manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and to viſit, reform and correct all Hereſies, Schiſms, Offences, *&c.* which by *any Manner of Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority can, or may be lawfully executed, or redreſs'd.* And thus thoſe Princes who are no Members of the *Spiritual Society*, muſt be Heads of it. And thoſe who profeſs their Diſbelief of the Chriſtian Faith, have the whole Government and Diſcipline of the Church lodg'd in their Hands. And by this Reaſoning they may erect a Court of *Pagan* Commiſſioners to exert Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſures*, and pronounce in Caſes of Hereſie and Schiſm. Now whether this Way of arguing can be reconcil'd to the Commiſſion granted by our Saviour to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, to the Practice of the Primitive Church, to the Perpetuity of the Chriſtian Religion, the *Reader* may judge by what I have formerly obſerv'd upon this Subject. To fortifie the Reſolution of theſe Reverend Judges, the Learned Sir *Edward Coke* cites ſeveral Hiſtorical Paſſages, and Law-Caſes. But the Pertinency and Force of theſe Authorities has been conſider'd already, and therefore I ſhall add nothing farther. (x)

Coke *from fol.* 9, *to fol.* 40.

A Complaint againſt the High Commiſſion, and other Spiritual Courts.

The *Nonconformiſts* miſcarrying in *Cawdrey's* Caſe, made a more direct Attack upon the High Commiſſion and the Biſhops Courts. They complain'd in Print, That the Queen could not convey that Authority which was exercis'd by the High Commiſſioners, and that they had no Power to tender the Oath *ex Officio*: And that the Spiritual Courts were only to take Cognizance of Teſtamentary and Matrimonial Cauſes. To This the *Civilians* reply'd, That to conteſt the Authority veſted in the Queen by *Act* of Parliament, was downright Invaſion of the Prerogative Royal, and Subverſive of the Government. And as for the ordinary Epiſcopal Courts, they had not exceeded their Bounds. From hence they proceeded to a Defence of the Oath *ex Officio*, upon ſome of the Grounds already mention'd. In this Controverſie Dr. *Richard Coſins* Dean of the *Arches*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a Learned *Tract*, intitled, *An Apology for Proceedings in Courts Eccleſiaſtical*, &c.

Notwithſtanding the Misfortune of the Combat, the *Puritans* rallied the Cauſe in a Book call'd, *A Petition to her Majeſty*. The Deſign of this Pamphlet was to perſwade the People, That the Eccleſiaſtical Government ought to be chang'd, and the Presbyterian Diſcipline ſet up: That this latter was practis'd in the Primitive Church, and commanded to be continued thro' all Ages: That the *Nonconformiſts* had done nothing againſt the *Statute* of 23 *Eliz. cap.* 2. and that *Udall* was illegally condemn'd: That the Abettors of the *Conſiſtory* are unjuſtly charg'd with Innovation and Diſloyalty. After this the Author makes it his Buſineſs to draw an *Odium* upon the *Engliſh Hierarchy*.

By theſe publick Challenges the Queen was fully convinc'd the *Puritans* were not to be govern'd by Gentleneſs and Connivance, and that nothing but Fear and Impotence would make them ſit down and be quiet. To cure the Stubborneſs of their Temper, ſhe provided a harſher Remedy in the next Parliament; but of that afterwards.

Petitions preſented by the Kirk to the Parliament.

In the mean Time I ſhall bring the *Reader* to the Parliament held at *Edinborough*, where ſeveral Petitions were exhibited in behalf of the *Kirk*. *Firſt*, That the *Statutes* made in the Year 1584. againſt the Liberties and Diſcipline of the Church, might be repeal'd, and the *Diſcipline* now practis'd, confirm'd. *Secondly*, That the *Annexation Act* ſhould be repeal'd, and Reſtitution made of the Churches Patrimony. *Thirdly*, That the Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates carrying the Diſtinctions of *Eccleſiaſticks*, and voting in that Quality for the Church, without Commiſſion from the *Aſſemblies*, might not be admitted for the future as Members of Parliament. And, *Fourthly*, That an effectual Remedy might be provided for purging the Realm of *Idolatry* and *Blood*. The ſecond and Third Petitions were ſet aſide; to ſatisfie the laſt, 'twas enacted, That *Saying of Maſs, Receiving of Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and Trafficking Papiſts againſt the King's Majeſty, and Religion preſently profeſs'd, ſhould be a juſt Cauſe to infer the Pain and Crime of Treaſon.* (y) This *Statute* came ſhort of what was deſir'd by the *Kirk*; for the *Trafficking* againſt Religion, as they call it, was not made Treaſon, unleſs an Attempt againſt the Prince could be made out. As to the Complaint of Murther, 'twas left to the Courts of Juſtice.

The Presbyterian Government and Diſpline ſettled by Act of Parliament.

The granting their firſt Petition ſtuck for ſome Time: The King was unwilling either to abrogate the *Acts* of 1584. or confirm the preſent *Diſcipline*: He was apprehenſive this might prove a dangerous Conceſſion, and that the *Miniſters* would prove very troubleſome under ſuch Privilege. But on the other ſide, ſeveral of the Nobility being diſaffected to the *Reformation*, and ſuſpected for a Correſpondence with *Spain*, and *Bothwell* having lately eſcaped out of Cuſtody, and forc'd *Halyrood-Houſe*, the King thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by obliging the *Kirk*. And thus the *Statute* paſs'd, by which 'tis enacted, "That it ſhall be lawful to the *Kirk* and *Miniſters* every Year at leaſt, and oftener *pro re nata*, as Occaſion and Neceſſity ſhall require, to hold General *Aſſemblies*; with this *Proviſo* however, That the King or his Commiſſioners ſhall be preſent at each General Aſſembly, and appoint the Time and Place for the next *Meeting*. But in caſe neither his Majeſty, nor his Commiſſioners appear in the *Aſſembly*, that then the *Aſſembly* may fix theſe Circumſtances themſelves. Farther, the Synodical and Provincial Aſſemblies held twice a Year, are ratify'd and confirm'd; and ſo are the *Presbyteries*, and particular *Seſſions*, together with the whole Juriſdiction and Diſcipline of the *Kirk* agreed on by his Majeſty in Conference with certain of the Miniſters. The Tenor of the Articles agreed, is as follows.

" *Matters to be treated in Provincial Aſſemblies.*

"These Aſſemblies are conſtituted for weighty Matters, to be manag'd by mutual Conſent and Aſſiſtance of Brethren within the Province, as Need requires. This Aſſembly has Power to debate, order and redreſs all Things omitted, or miſmanag'd in the particular Aſſemblies. It has Authority to depoſe the *Office-bearers* in that Province; and in General, this Aſſembly has the whole Power of the particular Elderſhips of which it conſiſts.

" *Matters to be tranſacted in the Presbyteries.*

"The *Presbyteries* have Authority within their Bounds to ſee the Churches are kept in good Order; to enquire into the Misbehaviour of thoſe within their Precincts, and to endeavour their Recovery by Admonition or Correction. It belongs to this *Elderſhip* to take Care the Word of God is preach'd in its Purity within their Bounds; That the Sacraments are rightly adminiſtred, the Diſcipline maintain'd, and the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues fairly diſtributed.

(x) *See this Church Hiſt. Vol.* 1. *And above Vol.* 2.

(y) Ja. 6. Parl. 12. cap. 122.

“It belongs to theſe Presbyteries to execute the Decrees made in the Provincial and General *Aſſemblies*, and to make Conſtitutions for Order and Decency in the particular Kirk where they govern; provided that they alter no Regulations made by Provincial or General Aſſemblies; And that they acquaint the Provincial Aſſemblies with the Conſtitutions made by them. They have Power to excommunicate the Obſtinate, the Forms of Law, with Reſpect to Time, and other Circumſtances, being obſerv'd.

“As to particular Kirks, if they are lawfully govern'd by ſufficient Miniſtry and *Seſſion*, they have Power and Juriſdiction in their own Congregation, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical.

Theſe *Articles* agreed by the King and the Miniſters, are confirm'd by the *Statute* which declares, “and Enacts, the ſaid *Aſſemblies*, *Presbyteries* and *Seſſions*, with their Juriſdiction and Diſcipline aforeſaid,” to be *in all Times coming moſt juſt, good and godly in the ſelf*; “Any Statutes, Canon, *Civil* or Municipal Laws to the contrary notwithſtanding. And all *Acts* made in Favour of the Papiſtical Kirk, and tending to the Prejudice of the Liberty of the true Kirk of God, are abrogated, caſſed and annull'd.

Farther, 'Tis enacted, That the Hundred and nine and twentieth *Act* of the Parliament held at *Edinborough*, *Anno Dom.* 1584.* *ſhall be no Ways prejudicial nor derogate any Thing to the Privilege that God has given to Spiritual Office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning Heads of Religion, Matters of Hereſie, Excommunication, Collation, or Deprivation of Miniſters, or any ſuch eſſential Cenſures, eſpecially grounded, and having Warrant by the Word of God.* (z)

** See above.*

(z) Ja. 6. Parl. 12. cap. 116.

This *Act* of 1584, which eſtabliſh'd the *Regale*, is repealed in general and guarded Expreſſions. 'Twas thus couch'd without Queſtion to ſecure a Reſerve for the King's Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy*. 'Tis declar'd the *Act* of 1584. ſhall be no Ways prejudicial to the Spiritual *Office-bearers* in the Church: But then 'tis not preciſely ſet forth what thoſe Privileges are, nor who muſt be Judges whether they are warranted by the Word of God, or not.

Laſtly, The *Statute* made in the ſaid Year 1584. “granting Commiſſion to Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges to receive his Highneſs's Preſentation to Benefices, to give Collation thereupon, and to govern in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, is declar'd to be expir'd, and of none Effect: And that for the future all Preſentations to Benefices ſhall be directed to the reſpective *Presbyteries*.

Ibid.

Thus Epiſcopacy was at laſt aboliſh'd, and *Presbytery* made the Eſtabliſh'd Religion.

The Queen's Progreſs to Oxford, Sept. 1592.

To return to *England*. In *September* this Year the Queen made her laſt Progreſs to *Oxford*, where ſhe was entertain'd with all imaginable Regard. Beſides other Exerciſes there was a Divinity *Act* kept in St. *Mary's*, Dr. *Weſtphaling* Biſhop of *Hereford*, determin'd upon the Queſtion, *An liceat in Rebus Divinis diſſimulare?* His Reſolution was, That a Chriſtian might be allow'd to keep Part of his Belief to himſelf, but never to deſert the Truth, or profeſs any Thing contrary to it. One of the Opponents argued, 'That ſince 'twas lawful to diſpute upon Religious Points, 'twas lawful to diſſemble ones Opinion; and that he was now counterfeiting what he did not believe, and yet was engag'd in a lawful Exerciſe. This was look'd on as an ingenious Turn, and commended by the Court.

The Queen took her leave in a *Latin* Speech, in which after having expreſs'd her Eſteem of the Univerſity in very obliging Terms, ſhe caution'd them againſt Innovation in Religion, and put them in Mind of Conformity to the Laws eſtabliſh'd. Her Majeſty told them, ſhe expected they ſhould follow, and not *lead* the Conſtitution; not diſpute whether the Laws might be mended, but keep cloſe to what was already ſettled.*

* Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. Lib. 1.

The Queen in the latter End of the Winter ſummon'd a new *Parliament*, which began at *Weſtminſter* the 19th of *February*, and ſate till the 10th of *April*, when 'twas diſſolv'd. The famous *Coke* then Solicitor-General, was choſen *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons: To the cuſtomary Requeſt for Liberty of Speech, the Lord Keeper *Puckering* return'd this Anſwer in the Queen's Name, he told him, Wit and Speech, two moſt neceſſary Things did moſt Harm. As to privilege of *Speech*, ſays the Chancellor, 'tis granted: *But you muſt know what Privilege you have; 'tis not a Licence for every one to ſpeak what he liſts, or to throw out every Fancy that comes into his Brain: But your Privilege is to ſay* Yea, *or* No. *Therefore, Mr. Speaker, her Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That if you perceive any idle Heads that are hardy enough to run themſelves upon Danger, that will venture to meddle with Reforming the Church, and Transforming the Commonwealth; if any ſuch Bills are offer'd, her Majeſty's Pleaſure is, that you ſhould not receive them, till they are view'd by thoſe, who 'tis fitter ſhould conſider ſuch Things, and can better judge of them.* (a)

What the Queen meant by granting Liberty of Speech to the Commons.

(a) D'Ewe's *Journal of the, Houſe of Lords, pag.* 460.

Morrice Attorney of the Court of *Wards*, and a Member of the Lower *Houſe*, made a Speech for bringing in two *Bills* againſt Inquiſitions in the Spiritual Courts, offering the Oath *ex Officio*, and Impriſonment upon Refuſal to ſwear. *Morrice's* Speech, tho' ſeconded by ſome others, was anſwer'd by Dr. *Lewin* a *Civilian*; but having had Occaſion to ſpeak to this Subject already, I ſhall wave what was objected or return'd by either ſide. The Queen being advertis'd of theſe Proceedings, ſent for the *Speaker*, and commanded him to deliver the following Meſſage to the *Houſe*: That the Calling and Diſſolving of Parliaments; That the Aſſenting or Diſſenting to any *Bills* paſs'd there, was Part of the Prerogative Royal; That her Majeſty's Intention in calling this Parliament, was only that God might be more religiouſly ſerv'd; and that thoſe who neglected his Service, might be forc'd to Reformation and Duty by ſome ſharper Expedients; That the Lord *Keeper* had acquainted the Lower Houſe, That 'twas the Queen's Pleaſure they ſhould not meddle with Matters of *State*, or *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*; That ſhe wonder'd any could be of ſo *high Commandment*, as ſhe ſpeaks, to attempt a Thing ſo expreſly contrary to what ſhe had forbidden; and that ſhe was highly offended with this Liberty. And laſtly, ſhe charg'd the *Speaker* to tell them, That 'twas her expreſs Command, that no *Bill* touching Matters of *State*, or Reformation in *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical* be exhibited. And upon my Allegiance (continues the *Speaker* to the *Houſe*) I am commanded, if any ſuch *Bill* be exhibited, not to read it. (b) And thus the *Bills* above-mentioned were ſtifled.

She commands the Speaker not to read any Bill relating to Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

(b) D'Ewe's *Journal of the Houſe of Commons, pag.* 478, 479.

An Act againſt Diſſenters.

For a farther Reſtraint upon the *Puritans*, an *Act* was made for *retaining the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects in their due Obedience.* The *Statute* begins thus: **For the preventing and avoiding ſuch great Inconveniencies and Perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practice of ſeditious Sectaries, and diſloyal**

diſloyal Perſons, 'tis enacted, That if any Perſon above the Age of Sixteen Years, ſhall obſtinately refuſe to repair to ſome Church, Chappel, or uſual Place of Common Prayer, to hear Divine Service, or ſhall forbear to do the ſame for the Space of a Month without lawful Cauſe, or ſhall at any Time after Forty Days from the End of this Seſſion, by Printing, Writing, or expreſs Words, purpoſely practice, or go about to move or perſwade any of her Majeſties Subjects, or any others within her Highneſs's Dominions, to deny, withſtand, or impugn her Majeſties Power and Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: Or to that End and Purpoſe ſhall adviſedly or maliciouſly move or perſwade any other Perſon whatſoever from coming to Church, to hear Divine Service, or to receive the Communion according to her Majeſties Laws and Statutes aforeſaid; or to come to, or be preſent at any lawful Aſſemblies, Conventicles, or Meetings, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, contrary to her Majeſties ſaid Laws and Statutes; that then every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall be committed to Priſon, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till they ſhall conform, and yield themſelves to come to ſome Church, Chappel, or uſual Place of Common Prayer, and hear Divine Service, and make ſuch open Submiſſion and Declaration of their Conformity, as by this Act is afterwards appointed. (*c*)

(*c*) 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

The Form of the Submiſſion was this:

The Form of Submiſſion.

I A. B. do humbly confeſs and acknowledge, that I have grievouſly offended God in contemning her Majeſties godly and lawful Government and Authority, by abſenting my ſelf from Church, and from hearing Divine Service, contrary to the godly Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and in uſing and frequenting diſordered and unlawful Conventicles and Aſſemblies, under Pretence and Colour of Exerciſe of Religion: And I am heartily ſorry for the ſame, and do acknowledge and teſtifie in my Conſcience, that no other Perſon hath, or ought to have any Power or Authority over her Majeſty. And I do promiſe and proteſt, without any Diſſimulation, or any Colour or Means of any Diſpenſation, that from henceforth I will from Time to Time obey and perform her Majeſties Laws and Statutes in repairing to the Church, and hearing Divine Service, and do mine uttermoſt Endeavour to maintain and defend the ſame.

The Offenders againſt this *Statute*, who refus'd to make this Submiſſion, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majeſty's ſpecial Licence, under the Penalty of ſuffering as Felons, without Benefit of the Clergy. By another Clauſe, All thoſe who entertain'd or reliev'd ſuch *Diſſenters* after Notice given of their Recuſancy, were to forfeit Ten Pounds a Month. But here there was an Indemnifying *Proviſo* for thoſe who reliev'd their near Relations. 'Twas likewiſe provided, That no Popiſh Recuſant, or *Feme Covert*, ſhall be compell'd to abjure by Virtue of this *Act*. And laſtly, the Wife was not to loſe her Dower, neither was any Corruption of Blood to grow upon the Score of any Offence therein mention'd. This *Act*, tho' made to continne no longer than the End of the next Seſſion of Parliament, was afterwards kept in Force by the two ſucceeding Parliaments of this Reign. (*d*)

(*d*) *This Act was continued by* 3 Car. 1. cap. 4.

An Act againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

There was another *Act* made this *Seſſions* againſt Popiſh *Recuſants*, by which they are confin'd within Five Miles of their reſpective Dwellings: And in caſe they travel farther than this Diſtance, they were to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, together with their Lands and Tenements during Life: And that thoſe who refus'd to conform themſelves to the *Act*, were to abjure the Realm for ever, and not to return without ſpecial Licence, under the Penalty of ſuffering as Felons. And if ſuch *Recuſants* had neceſſary Buſineſs to travel out of the Compaſs of Five Miles, they were to get a Licence under the Hands of two Juſtices of Peace, with the Aſſent in Writing of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or of the Lieutenant, or ſome Deputy-Lieutenant of the ſaid County. Thoſe who offended againſt this *Statute*, were to be diſcharg'd, provided they made a Submiſſion before Conviction. The Form is much the ſame with that injoined the *Puritans*, only with this Difference, That the Popiſh *Recuſants* were to make their Submiſſion in theſe Words: I do acknowledge and teſtifie in my Conſcience, that the Biſhop or See of Rome has not, nor ought to have any Power or Authority over her Majeſty, or within any her Majeſties Realms or Dominions. (*e*)

(*e*) 35 Eliz. cap. 2.

An Act to confirm the Grants of Abbey Lands.

By another *Act* all the Abby-Lands which came to the Poſſeſſion of King *Henry* the VIIIth, and all Conveyances of ſuch Lands made by him to any Perſon, are confirm'd to the Crown, and Grantees reſpectively. All *Patents* likewiſe made by King *Henry* the VIIIth. for the Foundation or Endowment of any Dean and Chapter, or College, are declar'd and enacted good and effectual in the Law, touching every Thing relating to the *Premiſes*. (*f*)

(*f*) 35 Eliz. cap. 3.

At the Beginning of this Parliament Mr. *Peter Wentworth* and Sir *Henry Bromley* deliver'd a Petition to the Lord Keeper, to deſire him to move the Upper Houſe to join with the Commons in addreſſing the Queen to entail the Succeſſion of the Crown. For this Motion they were commanded by her Majeſty to forbear coming to the Houſe, and not to ſtir from their Lodgings. The next Day they were call'd before the *Council* and committed: *Wentworth* was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Bromely*, and *Welſh* a Knight for *Worceſterſhire* were committed to the *Fleet*. (*g*)

Feb. 24. 159$\frac{2}{3}$.

Several Members of the Houſe of Commons committed by the Privy Council.

(*g*) D'Ewe's *Journal of the Houſe of Commons, pag* 470.

The Convocation met on the 20th of *February* at St. *Paul's*; but excepting the Grant of two Subſidies, little or nothing was done. On the 11th of *April*, the next Day after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the Convocation was diſſolv'd by the Queen's Writ. *

* *Extract from The Convocat. Book.*

To proceed: That Suffragan Biſhops were continued to this Time, appears by *Whitgift*'s Regiſter, where one *John Sterne* Batchelor of Divinity, is enter'd Suffragan of *Colcheſter*: He was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Briſtol*. *Ailmer* Biſhop of *London* preſented this *Sterne*, and one *William Fiſher* Clerk, to the Queen; and her Majeſty made Choice of *Sterne*. (*h*)

Townſend's *Hiſtorical Collections*, &c. *pag*. 54.

(*h*) *Regiſt.* Whitgift, *Part* 2. *fol*. 81.

The Biſhop of St. David's *ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion.*

This Year *Marmaduke Middleton* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, was ſuſpended *ab Officio & Exercitio Eccleſiaſticæ Juriſdictionis*, by the High-Commiſſion'd Court. (*i*)

(*i*) Ibid. *fol*. 177.

In

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Barrow *and* Greenwood's *Tenents.*

In the Year 1587. *John Greenwood*, Clerk; and *Henry Barrow*, Gentleman; were brought before the High Commiſſion, for maintaining and ſpreading ſchiſmatical and ſeditious Doctrine. Their moſt remarkable Tenents were as follow. They held, “ That the Church of *England* was “ no true Church: That the Worſhip in this “ Communion was downright Idolatry: That “ unſanctified Perſons were taken into the “ Church: That the conforming Preachers had “ no lawful Calling: That no Biſhop or “ Preacher, preaches Chriſt ſincerely or truly: “ That the People of every Pariſh ought to “ chuſe their Biſhop: And that every *Elder*, “ tho' neither Doctor or Paſtor, is a Biſhop. “ That all of the Preciſer *Nonconformiſts*, who re- “ fus'd the Ceremonies of the Church, ſtrain at “ a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel: And are no “ better than cloſer Hypocrites; ſuch as *Cart-* “ *wright, Wiggington, &c.* That all thoſe who “ make or expound any printed or written Ca- “ techiſms, are idle Shepherds: As *Calvin, Ur-* “ *ſin, Nowel, &c.* That the Children of Uſu- “ rers, Drunkards, and ſuch ungodly Parents, “ ought not to be baptiz'd. And laſtly, That “ Praying by a Form, is Blaſphemous.

Being committed for theſe ſcandalous Doctrines, they promis'd to recant, and were inlarg'd upon giving Bond. But 'twas not long before they made an ill Uſe of their Liberty, broke out into farther Exceſſes, and perverted more Proſelytes. Their principal Followers were *Saxio Billet*, Gentleman; *Daniel Studley*, Girdler; and *Robert Bowler*, Fiſhmonger. Theſe with *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, were committed to the *Fleet* in the Year 1588. During their Confinement, *Cartwright* had a Conference with them. For *Barrow*, it ſeems, had declar'd that he had neither Writ, nor done any Thing, but what he could juſtify by *Cartwright*'s Principles. What the Reſult of this Conference was, is not known: But when Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and Dr. *Ravis* his Chaplain, deſir'd *Cartwright* to engage in a ſecond Conference, he would by no Means agree to it: Upon which *Barrow* fell into a Strain of Expoſtulation, complain'd of his being deſerted: That he had taken his Grounds from *Cartwright*: And that thoſe Tenents which brought him to Priſon, were nothing but Concluſions drawn from *Cartwright*'s Premiſſes.

Barrow, *Greenwood*, and the Three others above-mention'd, were indicted at the *Old Baily*, for Writing and Publiſhing ſeveral ſeditious Books tending to the Slander of the Queen and *State*. The Indictment was grounded upon the 23 *Eliz. cap.* 1. They were all brought in Guilty, and had Judgment to ſuffer as Felons.

March 21. Anno Dom. 159$\frac{2}{3}$.

Before the Execution, Dr. *Andrews*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Parry*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Biſſe*, Archdeacon of *Taunton*, and Dr. *White*, Reſidentiary of St. *Paul*'s, were ſent to *Barrow* to exhort him to a Recantation. After they had diſcourſed him ſome time, he told them, “ they were not the Men “ he moſt diſliked in the preſent Differences. “ For tho', ſays he, you are miſtaken, yet you “ think your ſelves in the Right, and walk up “ to that Light God has given you. But I can't “ but complain of Mr. *Cartwright* and his Bre- “ thren, by whoſe Books we have been taught “ your Calling is *Antichriſtian*. Upon this Dr. *White* told him, That thoſe Callings which he reproach'd as *Antichriſtian*, had been approv'd by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and ſeveral others of eminent Piety, who were Martyrs for their Religion in Queen *Mary*'s Reign. *Barrow* reply'd, *Moſt true it is, that they and others were Martyrs in Queen* Mary'*s Days: But theſe holy Bands of mine*, ſays he, ſhaking his Fetters, *are much more glorious than any of theirs; becauſe they had the Mark of Antichriſt in their Hands.* (k) In ſhort, theſe Learned Men were not ſo ſucceſsful as to make an Impreſſion upon the Priſoners, or recover them from their Heterodoxies. On the laſt of *March Barrow* and *Greenwood* were brought to *Tyburn* in a Cart, and carried back to *Newgate*; but proving incorrigible, both under Menacing, and Mercy; they were executed on the 6th of *April* following. The other Three were Repriev'd, being look'd on as Criminals of a more pardonable Guilt.

Elizabeth Q.

They are executed.

(k) Heylin's *Hiſt. Presbyt.* Lib. 9.

Anno Dom. 1593.

Penry, *a Nonconformiſt Miniſter indicted for ſeditious Writings.*

The Matter charg'd againſt him in the firſt Indictment.

About this Time, *John Penry*, a *Nonconformiſt* Miniſter, was indicted for publiſhing ſcandalous Writings againſt the Orders of the Church, and againſt the Queen. To deſcribe the Temper of this Man, and his dangerous Tenents, I ſhall give the *Reader* part of the Two *Indictments* found againſt him. The firſt *Indictment* ſets forth, That *Quidam J. P. nuper de* London *Clericus, Deum præ Oculis ſuis non habens, &c. apud* Edinburg. *infra Regnum* Scotiæ, *adviſate & cum malitioſâ Intentione contra Dominam Reginam, & Felonicè ut Felo dictæ Dominæ Reginæ deviſavit, & ſcripſit quaſdam falſas, ſeditioſas, & ſcandaloſas Materias in Defamationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ nunc, & ad Inſtigationem, Suſcitationem, & Motionem Rebellionis & Inſurrectionis infra hoc Regnum Angliæ in his Anglicanis Verbis ſequentibus inter alia*, viz. The laſt Days of your Reign (*Regnum dictæ Dominæ Innuendo*) are turn'd rather againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and his Goſpel, than to the Maintenance of the ſame; And I have great Cauſe of Complaint, Madam, (*dictam Dominam Reginam Innuendo*) nay, the Lord and his Church hath Cauſe to complain of your Government (*Gubernationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ Innuendo*) not ſo much for any outward Injury, as I, or any other of your Subjects have received, as becauſe we your Subjects this Day are not permitted to ſerve our God under your Government (*Gubernationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ Innuendo*) according to his Word, but are ſold to be Bond Slaves, not only to our Affections, to do what we will, ſo that we keep our ſelves within the Compaſs of eſtabliſh'd Civil Laws, (*Leges dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) but alſo to be Servants to the Man of Sin, and his Ordinances, And it is not the Force which we ſeem to fear, that will come upon us, for the Lord may deſtroy both you, (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) for denying, and us for ſlack ſeeking of his Will, by Strangers, I come unto you with it, if you wil, hear it, that our Caſe may be eaſed, if not, that yet Poſterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this Age may ſee that there is no great Expectation to be look'd for at your Hands (*Manus dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) And amongſt the reſt of the Princes under the Goſpel, that have been drawn to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Goſpel, you (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) muſt think your ſelf to be one, for until you ſee this Madam (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) you ſee not your ſelf, and they are but Sycophants and Flatterers whoſoever tell you otherwiſe. Your ſtanding is and hath been by the Goſpel, it is little or ſmally beholding unto you, for any Thing that appeareth, the Practice of your Government, (*Gubernationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*)

innuendo) ſheweth, That if you could have ruled without the Goſpel, it would have been to be feared whether the Goſpel ſhould be eſtabliſhed, or not; for, now that you are eſtabliſh'd in your Throne, and that by the Goſpel, you (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) have ſuffer'd the Goſpel to reach no further than the End of your Scepter (*Sceptrum dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) limited unto it, and briefly, Madam, you (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) may well ſee the Foundation of England rooted up, but this Cauſe (*Cauſam dicti* J. P. *& aliorum Schiſmaticorum & Sectariorum infrà hoc Regnum Angliæ innuendo*) will you never ſee ſuppreſs'd, And now whereas we ſhould have your Help (*Auxilium dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) both to join our ſelves to the true Church, and to reject the falſe, and all the Ordinances thereof, we are in your Kingdom (*Regnum dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) permitted to do neither, but accounted ſeditious Men, if we affirm either one or the other of the former Points. And therefore Madam, you (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) are not ſo much an Adverſary to us poor Men, as unto Chriſt Jeſus, and the Wealth of his Kingdom, And but Madam (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) yet thus much we muſt needs ſay, that in all likelihood, if the Days of your Siſter Queen Mary, and her Perſecution had continued to this Day, this Church of God in England had been far more flouriſhing than at this Day it is, And now, Madam, (*dictam Dominam Reginam innuendo*) your Majeſty may conſider what Good the Church of God hath gotten at your Hands (*Manus dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) even outward Peace, with the Abſence of Chriſt Jeſus; and his Ordinances, otherwiſe, as great Troubles likely to come as ever were in the Days of your Siſter. (*l*)

The Second Indictment ſets forth, That the ſame *J. P. nuper de* London, *Clericus, primo die* Martii, *Anno Regni Dominæ* Elizabeth, *Dei Gratia triceſimo tertio extra hoc Regnum* Angliæ, *& extra Dominationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ, viz. apud* Edinborough *infra Regnum* Scotiæ *adviſatè & cum Malitioſâ Intentione deviſavit, & ſcripſit, quaſdam, falſas, ſeditioſas & ſcandaloſas Materias in Defamationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ, & ad ſuſcitationem & motionem Rebellionis, &c. in his* Anglicanis *Verbis ſequent. inter alia, videlicet,* What has England anſwer'd, ſurely with an impudent Forehead ſhe hath ſaid, I will not come near the Holy One, and as for the Building of his Houſe, I will not ſo much as lift up a Finger towards that Work, nay, I will continue the Deſolations thereof; And if any Man ſpeaketh a Word in the Behalf of this Houſe, or bewaileth the Miſery of it, I will accompt him an Enemy to my State, As for the Goſpel, and Miniſtry of it, I have already received all the Goſpels, and all the Miniſteries that I mean to receive, I have received a Reading Goſpel, and a Reading Miniſtry, a Pompous Goſpel, and a Pompous Miniſtry, a Goſpel and a Miniſtery that ſtrengtheneth the Hands of the Wicked in his Iniquity, a Goſpel and a Miniſtry that will ſtoop to me, and be at my Beck, either to ſpeak or to be mute, when I ſhall think good; briefly, I have received a Goſpel and Miniſtry that will never trouble my Conſcience with the Sight of my Sins, which is all the Goſpels, and all the Miniſtries that I mean to receive; And I will make a ſure Hand, that the Lord's Houſe, if I can chuſe, ſhall be no otherwiſe edified, than by the Hands of ſuch Men as bring unto me the foreſaid Goſpel, and the foreſaid Miniſtry: And, as for the general State either of the Magiſtracy, of the Miniſtry, or of the common People (*Magiſtrat. Miniſtros, & populum hujus Regni* Angliæ *innuendo*) behold, nothing elſe but a Multitude of Conſpirators againſt God, againſt the Truth, againſt the Building of his Houſe, againſt his Saints and Children, and conſequently againſt the Wealth of their own Souls, and publick Peace and Tranquility of this whole Kingdom, and you ſhall find amongſt this Crew, (*innuendo Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, & Miniſtros Eccleſiæ hujus Regni* Angliæ *per Authoritatem regiam, & leges & ſtatuta ejuſdem Regni, infra hoc Regnum manutent.*) nothing elſe but a Troupe of bloody Soul-Murtherers, ſacrilegious Church-Robbers, and ſuch as make themſelves fat with the Blood of Men's Souls, and the utter Ruin of the Church, and it is now grown, and hath been of long Time a common Practiee of theſe godleſs Men (*Magiſtrat. & Judices infra hoc Regnum* Angliæ, *per dictam Dominam Reginam aſſignat. & manutent. innuendo*) to make of the Statutes ordain'd for the Maintenance of Religion, and common Quietneſs, a Pit wherein to catch the Peaceable of the Land (*hoc Regnum* Angliæ *innuendo*) and becauſe our Councel (*Concilium privat. dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) may be truly ſaid to delight in this Injury and violent Oppreſſion of God's Saints and Miniſters; therefore, whenſoever the Lord ſhall come to ſearch for the Sins of England with Lights, as Zephaniah ſaith, he will ſurely viſit our Councel (*dictum Concilium dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) with an heavy Plague, becauſe they are undoubtedly frozen in their Dregs, and perſwade their own Hearts, that the Lord will do neither good nor evil in the Defence of his Meſſengers and Children; And then they ſhall feel what it is to wink at (much more to procure) the Oppreſſion of the Church of Chriſt, I (*dictum* J. P. *Innuendo*) will not in this Place charge our Councel (*dictum Concilium dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) with that which followeth in Jeremy, upon the Place before alledg'd, namely, that they execute no Judgment, no, not the Judgment of the Fatherleſs; But this I will ſay, that they cannot poſſibly deal truly in the Matter of Juſtice between Man and Man; Inſomuch, as they bend all their Forces to bereave Chriſt Jeſus of that Right which he hath in the Government of the Church; the which ungodly and wicked Courſe, as they (*dictum Conſilium dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) have held on ever ſince the Beginning of her Majeſty's Reign, (*Regimen dictæ Dominæ Reginæ innuendo*) ſo at this Day they have taken greater Boldneſs, and grown more rebellious againſt the Lord, and his Cauſe than ever they were. *Ad magnum Scandalum & Defamationem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ, Subverſionem Legum hujus Regni* Angliæ, *&c.* (*m*)

Penry's *Character and Management.*

By the Heat of this Expoſtulation, the *Reader* may judge of what Spirit *Penry* was of. He had lain at *Edinborough* for ſome Time, as the Indictment ſets forth. His Buſineſs without Queſtion was, to ſolicit for the *Cauſe*, and make an Intereſt with the *Kirk*. From hence he played his

---

(*l*) Coke's *Entries, Fol.* 352.

(*m*) Coke's *Entries* Ibid. 35. Eliz. Rot. 3. inter Placita Coronæ in Banco Regis.

Libels into *England* upon the Church and *State.* He is very intemperate in his Remonſtrance: Takes the utmoſt Liberties of Satyr, arraigns the Adminiſtration, and endeavours to bring an Odium upon the Queen and Biſhops. He ſtaid at *Edinborough* till *Hacket*'s Plot was concerted, and began to come forward. And when the Juncture appear'd ſomewhat promiſing, he told *Arthington* in a Letter, *That Reformation muſt ſhortly be erected in* England. *(n)* Upon this Proſpect he comes for *England:* And upon the Miſcarriage of *Hacket*'s Buſineſs, retir'd into *Scotland*, as has been already obſerv'd. About the Beginning of the laſt *Seſſions*, he ventur'd to make another Journey to *London*. And notwithſtanding his endeavour to paſs *Incognito*, he was diſcover'd by the Vicar of *Stepney*, committed and tried at the *King's-Bench Bar*; the Indictment was grounded upon the 23d of *Eliz. cap.* 1. *(o)*

May 29. 1593.

A poſthumous Pamphlet of Penry*'s publiſh'd.*

He was found guilty, and not long after executed at St. *Thomas Wattrings:* Care was taken that the *Mob* might not have Notice of the Time when he ſuffer'd, for Fear ſome Tumult might have happen'd. This *Penry* had a bold and buffooning Manner of Writing: He had a principal Share in thoſe ſcurrilous *Pamphlets* which went under the Title of *Marten-mar-Prelate*, as has been already related. Soon after his Execution, another ſeditious Pamphlet of his Writing was publiſh'd: 'Tis entitled, *The Hiſtory of* Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *applied to the Prelacy and Miniſtry of the Church of* England, *by Mr.* John Penry, *a Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt.* The *Publiſher*, to raiſe the Author's Character, and give Force to the Performance, informs the *Reader* in his *Preface*, "That Mr. *John Penry* was a godly "Man, learned, zealous, and of a moſt Chriſtian Carriage and Courage: That he was "born and bred in the Mountains of *Wales*, and "with all godly Care and Labour, endeavour'd "to have the *Goſpel* preach'd among his Countrymen, whoſe Caſe he greatly ſeem'd to pity, wanting all the ordinary Means for their "Salvation. That being us'd by God for a "ſpecial Inſtrument in the Manifeſtation of his "Truth, he was hardly intreated, impriſon'd, "condemn'd, and executed, and ſo ſuffer'd "Martyrdom for the Name of Chriſt: And "more particularly, that he was adjudg'd at "the *King's-Bench* by Sir *John Popham*, Lord "Chief Juſtice, and the reſt of the Judges then "aſſembled, on the 25th of the Fifth Month, "and executed on the 29th of the ſame. That "he was not brought to Execution the Next, Second or Third Day, as moſt Men expected, "but that when Men did leaſt look for it, he "was taken while he was at Dinner, and haſtily bereav'd of his Life, without being ſuffer'd "(tho' he much deſir'd) to make a Declaration "of his Faith towards God, or his Allegiance "to the Queen.

And in his *Poſtſcript* to the *Preface*, he concludes thus: "That *Penry* was apprehended, "adjudg'd, and executed for the Truth of "Chriſt, whatſoever other Things were pretended againſt him.

Cartwright *relents, and is inlarg'd by the Archbiſhop's Intereſt.*

The Preſſing the Law thus cloſe, ſtruck a Terror into the Party, and made the *Diſſenters* of all Sorts leſs Enterprizing againſt the Government. And now *Cartwright* either out of Caution or Conviction, began to relax a little, and give Way to prudential Conſiderations. Archbiſhop *Whitgift* being inform'd this leading Nonconformiſt was coming about, reſolv'd to encourage his Diſpoſition. To this Purpoſe he ſolicited the Queen in his Behalf, procur'd him his Liberty, and her Majeſty's Pardon. The Archbiſhop likewiſe gave him Leave to ſettle at *Warwick*, where he was Maſter of the *Hoſpital* founded by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Here he had the Liberty of Preaching, upon Condition that he ſhould neither write, preach, nor act, againſt the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*. *Cartwright* anſwer'd the Terms, and kept within the Bounds preſcrib'd. However, the Queen was not pleas'd with his being ſo much conſider'd, and thought the Archbiſhop had gone too far in his good Nature. But *Whitgift* conceiv'd *Cartwright* might deſerve more Indulgence than *Travers*, tho' both of them were ordain'd in a foreign Communion. For *Travers* had never any other *Orders* but thoſe receiv'd from the *Presbyters* at *Antwerp*. But *Cartwright* had a much better Conveyance of his Character, and was Canonically ordain'd in the Church of *England*. To give him his due, he was not ungrateful for the Favours receiv'd. For from this Time onwards, he treated the Archbiſhop with a ſuitable Regard, and continued quiet and inoffenſive to his Death, which happen'd about Ten Years after. *(p)*

A general Aſſembly at Dundee.

In the latter End of *April* this Year, there was an *Aſſembly* held at *Dundee* in *Scotland*. To prevent the Encroachment of the *Kirk* upon the Prerogative, Sir *James Melvil* was ſent to ſignify the King's Pleaſure. His Inſtructions were digeſted under ſeveral Articles.

Several Things requir'd of the Kirk by the King.

Firſt, The King let them know, he would not ſuffer the Diminution of his Honour: And expected they ſhould be leſs arbitrary in appointing the Place, and Time for their *Aſſemblies*. Before they broke up therefore, he commanded them to ſend Two or Three of their *Members* to Court, to receive his Orders *when*, and *where*, they were to meet next.

Secondly, They were requir'd to make a Decree to check the Confidence and Indiſcretion of the Miniſters, and forbid them declaiming in the *Pulpit* againſt the Proceedings of his Majeſty and *Council:* And that Deprivation might be the Penalty of ſuch Miſbehaviour.

Thirdly, That ſince Mr. *Craig* was worn up with Age, his Majeſty deſir'd the *Aſſembly* to nominate Five or Six Miniſters, that he might chooſe Two of them to officiate in his Family.

Fourthly, That every *Presbytery* ſhould be order'd to advertiſe his Majeſty of the Practices of the *Papiſts*, and thoſe who abetted or entertain'd *Bothwell*.

And *Fifthly*; That they ſhould appoint ſome of their Number to cauſe the Magiſtrates in Sea-Port Towns to examine thoſe who embarked, or came Aſhore: And ſend up their Names to Court: That by ſuch ſtrict Enquiries, the Attempts upon the eſtabliſh'd Religion, might be the better diſcover'd. *(q)*

To the Two firſt complaining Articles, the *Aſſembly* return'd a General, not to ſay an evaſive Anſwer. As to their *Meetings*, they ſent the King Word they ſhould govern themſelves by the *Act* of Parliament made laſt Year. And for Satiſfaction to the Second *Article*, they made an *Act* couch'd in theſe looſe ambiguous Terms: That is, they prohibited *all Miniſters to utter in Pulpit any raſh or irreverent Speeches againſt his Majeſty, or Council, or their Proceedings: But to give their Admonitions upon juſt and neceſſary Cauſes, with all Fear, Love, and Reverence.* The King look'd upon this as a trifling Reſtraint, as a Reſerve for intemperate Liberty, and no better than down-

(n) Bancroft's *dangerous Poſitions, Book* 4. *Chap.* 10.

(o) In Craſtino Aſcenſionis. Stow Annal.

(p) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory, Book* 9.

(q) Spotſwood. *Book* 6.

October 17.

downright Colluſion. And being thus diſappointed, he took little Notice of the Kirk's Addreſs againſt conveying the Tythes to the *Laity*, and erecting them, as they ſpeak, into Temporalties.

Ibid.

The Aſſembly prohibits Commerce with Spain.

At this *Aſſembly* an Ordinance was made, that none of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* ſhould travel into any Part of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, for the Buſineſs of Commerce. The Reaſon was, becauſe the Merchants might be call'd in Queſtion by the *Inquiſition*, and menac'd out of their Religion. Therefore unleſs the King of *Spain* could be prevail'd with not to moleſt the *Reform'd* in their Perſons or Effects upon the Score of their *Belief*, they forbid going into his Territories, under Pain of Excommunication.

The Merchants ſhock'd at this *Decree*, petition'd the King and *Council* for Liberty of Trade, and ſucceeded. But the Government, it ſeems was no ſufficient Shelter. For the Miniſters went on with their *Cenſures* with ſo much Vigour, that the Merchants were glad to reſign and compound the Matter. In ſhort, they promis'd to break off their Commerce with *Spain*, as ſoon as their Accounts could be ſettled, and their Effects withdrawn.

They endeavour to alter the Market-Day of Edinburgh, *but without Succeſs.*

The next Advance in *Diſcipline* was to put down the *Monday* Market in *Edinburgh*. They prevail'd ſo far as to get their *Act* ſeconded by the Magiſtracy and common *Council*. But this Reformation was ſtrongly diſlik'd by the Shoemakers. Theſe Tradeſmen coming in a Body to the Miniſters Houſes, threatn'd to drive them out of Town, if they preſs'd that Matter any farther. This Ruffle made an Impreſſion; and the *Kirk* flagging in their Reſolution, let the Market continue as before: Their Acquieſcence made a Jeſt at Court, where 'twas ſaid, *That Raſcals and Sowtars could obtain at the Miniſters Hands, what the King could not, in Matters more reaſonable.*

Idem.

Octob. 1593.

The Kirk excommunicate the Roman Catholick Lords.

Some Roman Catholick Lords having taken Arms upon Pretence of getting Grievances redreſs'd, they were ſummon'd to appear before the laſt Parliament: But the Summons not being drawn in Form of Law, the *Eſtates* referr'd the Proſecution to the King and *Council*. This was reſented by the *Kirk*, and interpreted to Favour and Partiality. The Miniſters of the *Synod* of *Fife* therefore meeting at St. *Andrews*, excommunicated the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *James Chiſholm*. They likewiſe ſent Letters to all the Presbyteries to publiſh their Cenſure in the Churches. And for a ſupplemental Proviſion, they requir'd the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to meet ſome of the well affected Barons to conſult, and take proper Meaſures for the Defence of Religion, and putting a Stop to counter Deſigns. The King ſent for Mr. *Robert Bruce*, a Miniſter of Character, and order'd him to ſtop the Publication of the *Synod's Cenſure*: His Majeſty told him the *Sentence* was neither Juſt in the Ground, nor legal in the Form: That none of theſe Perſons were within the Juriſdiction of the *Synod* of *Fife*, nor ſo much as cited to anſwer the Articles objected: And that if the *Kirk* was thus Arbitrary in their *Diſcipline*, it might prove of ill Conſequence to the Subject. *Bruce* replied 'twas not in his Power to ſtop the Publication, or ſuperſede the Reſolution of the *Brethren*: That the Miniſters of *Fife* had particular Reaſons for their Proceedings, and were to account for what they did to the general *Aſſembly*. The King told him, with ſomewhat of Reſentment, that ſince he found the *Diſcipline* abus'd, and that no Redreſs was to be expected from the *Kirk*, he would provide a Remedy himſelf.

They refuſe to ſtop the Cenſure at the King's Inſtance.

Idem.

The Publication of the *Cenſure* went on notwithſtanding, and a conſiderable Number of Miniſters and Barons met at *Edinburgh*. The King was then upon his Progreſs to *Jedburgh* for quieting ſome Diſturbances in the *Borders*. The Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, and *Arrol*, met his Majeſty on the Way at *Falaw*, beg'd they might be brought to their Tryal, and referr'd the Time and Place to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. Upon this, by the Advice of the Council, they were order'd to go to *Perth*, and ſtay there till the Proſecution was ready.

The Kirk petitions the King touching this Matter.

When this was known, the *Aſſembly* ſent Commiſſioners to the King to deſire the Tryal of theſe Popiſh Lords might be put off to a longer Time: That by this Means the *Profeſſors* of Religion, who intend to bring in a Charge of Treaſon againſt them, may have Time to examine the Buſineſs, and reſolve upon a proper Expedient.

Secondly, That according to the cuſtomary Proceedings in ſuch Caſes, thoſe excommunicated and treaſonable Apoſtates (as the *Kirk* expreſs themſelves) may be committed to ſafe Cuſtody in *Edinburgh*, *Dundee*, and *Sterling*, till the *Eſtates* ſhall have ſettled the Circumſtances of the Tryal.

Thirdly, That the Jury may not be nominated at the Suggeſtion of the Priſoners, but by the Proſecutors, *Profeſſors of the Goſpel*.

Fourthly, That the Criminals above-mention'd, being excommunicated by the Church, and cut off from the *Society* of Chriſt's Body, may not be admitted to their Tryal, or have the Benefit of Law, till they are reconcil'd to the Church.

Fifthly, If his Majeſty is unalterably Reſolv'd not to change the Time or Place of their Tryal, they then deſire, that ſuch as *profeſs Religion* may be admitted for a Guard to his Majeſty to defend his Perſon from Violence, and to proſecute the Criminals to the Utmoſt; which they are fully determin'd to do, tho' at the Hazard of all their Lives.

The King at the Reading the Title of the Addreſs, was ſomewhat diſpleas'd: He told them, that ſince the *Aſſembly* had met without his Conſent, he would not own them in the Quality of Commiſſioners: But notwithſtanding he refus'd to treat them under that Character, he condeſcended to hear them as Subjects; and to give Satisfaction, he acquainted them that the Time and Place for the Tryal of theſe Lords was aſſign'd by the Advice of the *Council*. That upon farther conſidering the Matter, he found the Time too ſhort, and the Town of *Perth* not ſo convenient: And therefore had appointed a Meeting of the *States* at *Linlithgow*, by whoſe Advice he ſhould govern this Affair: That ſince theſe Noblemen were brought to their Tryal at the Requeſt of the Miniſters, he was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd they ſhould now Addreſs him for delaying it. And laſtly, he aſſur'd them Care would be taken that the Judges and Jury ſhould be Perſons unbiaſs'd, and well affected to Religion.

They order the Subjects to meet, and appear in Arms.

The Commiſſioners reported the King's Anſwer to their Principals. The *Aſſembly* being unpleas'd, made a Reſolve to proſecute the Lords, and to appear in Arms at the Place aſſign'd for the Tryal. To this Purpoſe, ſome of the Members ſtaid at *Edinburgh* to give Notice to the reſt. The King being inform'd of this Reſolution, ſent for the Miniſters that were in

Town, and put them in Mind how groſly they had fail'd in their Duty, by preſuming to draw the Subjects together in Arms without his Authority: And charg'd them not to execute any Thing of that Kind. To this they return'd a canting rebellious Anſwer in theſe Words, *That it was the Cauſe of God, and in Defence thereof they could not be deficient.* Upon this the King iſſued out a Proclamation to forbid all Perſons meeting in Arms.

And refuſe to obey the King's Proclamation.

Notwithſtanding this Proclamation, great Numbers came to *Edinburgh*, where the *Eſtates* were conven'd, and the People began to riſe in all other Parts of the Country. The Tryal of the Popiſh Lords was refer'd to a Committee of the *Eſtates*, who had likewiſe an Authority to conclude upon an Expedient for the Preſervation of Religion, and quieting the Diſorders in the Kingdom: And that their Deciſion was to have the ſame Force as if it had been made by the Parliament. Several of the Miniſters likewiſe had the Liberty to ſit with the Committee if they pleas'd: But then their Buſineſs was only, as far as it appears, to ſuggeſt and argue, but not to vote with the Reſt. The Committee, after a long Debate, agreed upon ſeveral Heads. I ſhall mention only ſome of them.

Articles agreed on by the Committee of the Eſtates at Edinburgh, *with Reſpect to the Roman Catholicks.*

Firſt, That ſuch as have not yet profeſs'd the Reform'd Religion, or deſerted it, ſhould conform before the Firſt of *February* next, give Satisfaction, and ſubmit to the Orders appointed them by the King, and the Church: And in Caſe they pretended Scruple of Conſcience, they ſhould quit the Realm, and tranſport themſelves to ſuch Countries as his Majeſty ſhould appoint: And not return home till they reſolv'd to turn *Proteſtants*, and ſatisfy the Church. And that during their Baniſhment, themſelves and their Heirs, ſhould enjoy their Eſtates, and have the Liberty of conſtituting Proxies or Attornies to defend their Right, and appear for them in Courts of Juſtice.

That the Earls above-mention'd, and others of that Perſuaſion, ſhould neither diſpute, nor allow any Diſputing, at their Tables againſt the Reform'd Religion: That they ſhould entertain a Miniſter in their Houſes, admit of Conferences for diſentangling them from their Errors, and that they may be the better prepar'd to ſubſcribe the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*.

That ſuch of them as make it their Choice to depart the Country, rather than conform to the Religion eſtabliſh'd, ſhall give Security to forbear entring into any Concert with *Jeſuits*, and others againſt Religion, and the *State*: And that they ſhould keep no ſuch Correſpondence before they Embark.

Id. *pag.* 400.

And laſtly, That in the mean Time the Church ſhall convent all ſuſpected Perſons before them, and demand Satisfaction: And in Caſe they prove obſtinate, delate their Names to the King and *Council*: And that Maſters, and Landlords, ſhall be oblig'd to anſwer for Perſons under their Charge and Juriſdiction.

June 3. 1594.

Biſhop Ailmer*'s Death.*

To return to *England*, where the next Thing that occurs is, the Death of *John Ailmer*, Biſhop of *London*. He died in the Seventy third Year of his Age, and was buried at St. *Paul's*. He was deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable Family of the *Ailmers* of *Ailmer-Hall* in *Norfolk*. They pretend to a *Saxon* Original, and claim a Relation to the *Ailmers*, Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, before the Conqueſt. A younger Branch of the Family tranſported themſelves into *Ireland*, where they intermarried with the *Fitz-geralds*, and one of them was Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth. As to the Biſhop, he was a Perſon of Learning and Reſolution, govern'd with Vigour, and was ſtrict in requiring Conformity. Part of his Character, which has been touch'd already, is comprehended in theſe Two Verſes upon his Monument.

Life of Biſhop Ailmer.

Ter Senos annos Præſul; Semel Exul, & Idem
Bis Pugil in Cauſa Religionis erat.

He was ſucceeded by *Richard Fletcher*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

The latter End of *Auguſt* this Year, Prince *Henry*, the King of *Scots* Eldeſt Son was baptiz'd with great Solemnity: The Sacrament was adminiſtred by *Cunningham*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*.

William Reynolds, *His Death and Charcter.*

This Summer *William Reynolds*, an eminent Roman Catholick Divine, departed this Life. He was extracted from a wealthy Family at *Pinhoe* in *Devonſhire*. His Uncle *Jerom Reynolds*, Dr. in Divinity, took ſome Care of his Education at firſt. He was afterwards ſent to *Wincheſter*-School, from thence to *New* College in *Oxford*, where he appear'd a promiſing Genius, and made a conſiderable Proficiency in moſt Parts of Learning. He went in with the *Reformation* at firſt, and continued in our Communion ſeveral Years: But it ſeems Biſhop *Jewel's Works*, which fix'd a great many other People, unſettled *Reynolds*. He fancied this Prelate did not manage the Argument fairly; and that his Reaſonings were looſe and inconcluſive. He went to *Rome* upon this Diſſatisfaction, and reconcil'd himſelf to that Church. And having travell'd thro' the greateſt Parts of *Italy* and *France*, he ſettled at *Rheimes*, where Cardinal *Allen* gave him a friendly Entertainment, and made him Divinity and *Hebrew Profeſſor* in the *Engliſh* College. He overfatigued himſelf with Study, which occaſion'd the Breaking a Vein, and haſten'd his End. *Pitts* reports him a Poet, an Orator, an Hiſtorian: That he had skill in Muſick and Mathematicks; that he was a Philoſopher, a Linguiſt, and an eminent Divine. To mention ſome of his Works: He addreſs'd a Tract upon the Holy Euchariſt to the King of *Scots*, againſt one *Bruce*, a *Scotch* Miniſter: He wrote another Diſcourſe in Defence of the *Rhemiſh* Tranſlation of the *New-Teſtament*, againſt Dr. *Whitaker*, Divinity *Profeſſor* at *Cambridge*. And at the Inſtance of the Heads of the *Holy League* in *France*, he publiſh'd an ill Diſcourſe to juſtify the Arms of the *Leaguers* againſt the Government. And to mention only one more; he wrote a Book by Way of Dialogue, intitled, *Calvino Turciſmus*: This Book, tho' left imperfect at his Death, was afterwards finiſh'd and printed by his Friend *William Gifford*, who dedicated it to *Albert* Archduke of *Auſtria*. *(r)*

(r) Pitts de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor.

Cardinal Allen *his Death*, &c.

His Patron, Cardinal *Allen*, died about two Months after. He was deſcended from a Gentleman's Family in *Lancaſhire*, bred in *Oxford*, and was Principal of St. *Mary's-Hall*. When the *Reformation* came on he retir'd to *Doway* in *Flanders*, where he ſtudied Divinity, and was made *Profeſſor* in that Faculty. This *Allen* was the firſt who drew the *Engliſh* Refugees together, and form'd them into an Academical Society at *Doway* and *Rheimes*. Here their Capacities were examin'd, their Buſineſs preſcrib'd, and their Poſts aſſign'd them. Some of them engag'd the Proteſtants in Print, and ſpent their Time in Controverſial Divinity; others collected *Memoirs* upon the Perſecution of their Friends in *England*, and digeſted the Accounts they received

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Canc.

Idem.

ved into a Kind of *Martyrology*. *Allen* had a conſiderable Share in maintaining the Doctrine of his Church: He wrote ſeveral Tracts, too long to mention. It muſt be granted his Merits, with reſpect to his own Communion, ran high, for which he was created a Cardinal by *Sixtus Quintus*. His Death was much regretted by the *Roman* Catholicks: For beſides the Services of his Pen, he kept the *Engliſh* Papiſts from breaking out into Miſunderſtandings, and made up the Differences between the *Secular Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*.

A Miſunderſtanding between the Seculars and Jeſuits in Wiſbich *Caſtle*.

But this Accommodation was but of ſhort Continuance; for after *Allen*'s Death the Prieſts and *Religious*, confin'd in *Wiſbich*-Caſtle, came to an open Rupture. The Occaſion was this: One Father *Weſton, alias Edmunds*, a *Jeſuit*, pretended to make Orders, and ſet up for Governour over all the reſt; and to conceal his Ambition, he gave out this Authority was forc'd upon him by *Henry Garnet*, the *Engliſh* Provincial. But thoſe of his own Society, who reſign'd to his Pretenſions, were miſled, as ſome ſay, by the counterfeit Sanctity of the *Jeſuits*, by large Shares in the Diviſion of the Contributions, and by Promiſe of Preferment in Caſe of Succeſs. (s)

The Majority of the *Seculars* refus'd to come under *Weſton*'s Command: They alledg'd this Poſt had been offer'd to *Watſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who died Priſoner in the Caſtle: That this Prelate refus'd this governing Diſtinction as unſuitable to their preſent Circumſtances: That Affliction and Confinement were great Levellers, and ought to put a Stop to Projects of Dominion: And that if any Order could pretend to Preference and Juriſdiction, the *Benedictines* had the beſt Claim: For theſe *Religious* had been ſettled in *England* near a Thouſand Years.

Idem.

Weſton, to cover his Encroachment, took a modeſt Title, and only ſtiled himſelf *Agent* for the Priſoners. 'Twas thought his Forwardneſs was under-hand encourag'd by the Jeſuits both in *England*, and elſewhere. The Bottom of the Buſineſs was probably to try the Temper of the *Secular Prieſts*: And if they had prov'd tame and paſſive under *Weſton*'s Pretentions, they might have made a Precedent of it; and *Garnett* the Provincial, 'tis likely, would have ſtretch'd his Authority over all the *Engliſh* Seculars.

About this Time a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt of Character came to *Wiſbich*: He had been very ſerviceable to the Priſoners in collecting and conveying Contributions. And thus being a Friend to both Parties, they agreed to refer the Difference to his Arbitration. He gives the Cauſe againſt the Jeſuits, and orders *Weſton* to deſiſt from his Claim of *Superiority*. The Jeſuits, notwithſtanding they had referr'd the Controverſy to him, ridicul'd his Award, and refus'd to ſtand by it.

Weſton *oblig'd by his Provincial to lay down his Claim.*

Soon after they came to another Compromiſe, and two Prieſts by the Conſent of both Parties were ſent for to put an End to this Diſpute. Theſe Referrees declar'd *Weſton*'s Agency would create Miſunderſtandings too miſchievous in the Conſequence, and therefore ought to be given up: And *Weſton* once more refuſing to abide by the Reference, an Order was with ſome Difficulty procur'd from the *Provincial Garnett* to command him to lay down his Claim. (t) But this Accommodation amounted to no more than a Truce; for the Conteſt between the two *Orders* broke out again not long after.

The Puritans having miſcarried in their open Attacks upon the Church, endeavour'd to carry on their Deſigns more under Covert. Their magnifying the Sabbath-Day, as they call *Sunday*, was a ſerviceable Expedient for this Purpoſe. Preaching the ſtrict Obſervance of this Feſtival had a ſtrong Colour of Zeal, and gain'd them the Character of Perſons particularly concern'd for the Honour of God Almighty. To what Degrees of Rigour this Doctrine was ſtrein'd the Reader may ſee by ſome of the Aſſertions in Dr. *Bound*'s Book of the *Sabbath*, printed this Year. This Divine maintains:

Bound's *Doctrine concerning the Obſervation of the Sabbath.*

1ſt, That the Command of Sanctiſying every Seventh Day, in the *Moſaick* Decalogue, is moral, and perpetual.

2dly, That whereas all other Parts in the Jewiſh Oeconomy were to ceaſe under Chriſtianity, this of the *Sabbath* was only to change the Day, but to remain unalter'd in other Circumſtances.

3. That the *Reſt* upon this Day muſt be particular and diſtinguiſh'd, and quite different from the cuſtomary Uſage. He defines the Manner of this *Reſt* by affirming,

4thly, That Scholars muſt not ſtudy the creditable Sciences, nor Lawyers entertain Clients, nor peruſe Evidences; Serjeants, Apparators, and Summoners, muſt be prohibited executing their reſpective Offices: Juſtices of Peace are not to take Examinations, nor act upon that Day. To ring more Bells than one is pronounc'd unlawful. (u) No publick Entertainments or Wedding-Dinners are to be made. Under this Inſtance of Reſtraint, there was an odd Reſerve of Liberty for Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of Faſhion: But which Way this Ceremony could conſiſt with *Bound*'s Principles is difficult to imagine. And laſtly, All Diverſions lawful upon other Days were to be forborn; and no Perſon was to diſcourſe of Recreations, News, or Buſineſs.

This Doctrine being ſingular in Strictneſs, and thoſe who recommended it Perſons of unexceptionable Behaviour, grew very popular, and great Numbers were proſelyted to it. The Learned notwithſtanding were divided in their Opinion. Some look'd on this Doctrine as agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and a ſeaſonable Revival of ancient Truth. Others believ'd *Bound* built upon a weak Foundation; and that though his Inferences might be right, his Principles were wrong. However, ſince they tended to the Advancement of Piety, they thought it more ſerviceable to let the Miſtake paſs upon the People. Others look'd farther, and cenſur'd theſe Aſſertions as a Reſtraint of Chriſtian Liberty, and throwing us back to the *Moſaick* Diſpenſation. Beſides, 'twas reaſonably ſuſpected *Bound* could have no friendly Deſign in this Performance: 'Tis plain he ſtruck at ancient Uſage and the Authority of the Church; and that by appearing ſo ſtrongly for the ſtrict Obſervation of the *Lord's-Day*, his Intention was to put down the other *Feſtivals*: That he wrote upon this View is pretty evident by his affirming, *That he ſees not where the Lord has given any Authority to his Church ordinarily, and perpetually to ſanctify any Day, excepting that which he hath ſanctified himſelf*. And farther, he urges it as a Proof of Degeneracy and Innovation in the Church of *Rome*, that they had rais'd ſeveral Days to an Equality of Regard with the *Seventh*; that their Religious Offices were as ſolemn, and their Prohibitions of Working as peremptory, for Holidays as Sundays. Beſides, the Diſſenters might have a farther Reaching in preſſing theſe *Sabbatarian* Rigours; and that by gaining the People to this new Doctrine they might improve their Intereſt, and recover ſome Part of the Ground they loſt in the Miſcarriage of their Diſcipline; it ſeems

Several extravagant Aſſertions of the Sabbatarians.

(s) Declaratio Motuum & Perturbationum, &c. ad Clem. octav. exhibita.

(t) Id. *p.* 20.

(u) Bound's *Book of the Sabbath.*

ſome of the Party run the Doctrine to a ſcandalous Extremity, and deliver'd frightful Paradoxes in the Pulpit. They were ſo hardy as to ſay, *That to do any ſervile Work or Buſineſs on the Lord's Day, was as great a Sin as to kill a Man, or commit Adultery.* *In* Somerſetſhire, *That to throw a Bowl on the Lord's-Day was as great a Sin as to kill a Man.* *In* Norfolk, *That to make a Feaſt, or dreſs a Wedding-Dinner on the ſame, was as great a Sin as for a Father to take a Knife and cut his Child's Throat.* *And in* Suffolk, *That to ring more Bells than one on the Lord's Day, was as great a Sin as to commit a Murder.* (*w*)

(*w*) Heylin's *Hiſt. Presbyt.* Lib. 10.

Upon theſe Exceſſes a Complaint was preferred againſt ſome of the Preachers, and their Books order'd to be deliver'd to the Biſhops and Magiſtracy by *Whitgift* and the Chief Juſtice *Popham.* But notwithſtanding this Care in the Government the Doctrine ſpread, and catch'd upon the People. The Nonconformiſts were not wanting in their Endeavours: For in moſt of their Books they made it their Buſineſs to reinforce the Subject, and preſs the Practice. *Thomas Rogers,* a Clergyman of Character, obſerves, That what the *Brethren* wanted in Strength and Learning they ſupplied in Conduct and Art: That when they found their Presbyteries not defenſible againſt the Attacks of the Church, they quitted their old Works, and rais'd new ones; and that from hence they play'd their Artillery with no ſmall Advantage. (*x*) *'Tis a Comfort to my Soul,* ſays this Divine, *and will be to my dying Hour, that I have been the Man and the Means that the Sabbatarian Errors are brought into Light and Knowlege of the State,* &c.

(*x*) Roger's *Preface to the Book of Articles.*

A Conteſt at Cambridge *concerning the Five Points.*

To proceed; For ſome Time paſt there had been a warm Diſpute among the Reformed in *England* about Predeſtination, Free-Will, the Force of Divine Aſſiſtance, Perſeverance, and the Extent of Redemption. The Puritans held the *Calvinian* Side: And here it muſt be confeſs'd, they were abetted by no ſmall Numbers of the Conforming Clergy. The *Arminian* Tenents, as they were afterwards call'd, were look'd on as bordering upon Popery, which made ſome People ſtart at them. Thus *Travers,* in his Complaint to the *Council* againſt *Hooker,* ſuggeſts this Article amongſt the reſt, *That he had taught another Doctrine of Predeſtination than what was laid down in the Word of God, as it was underſtood by all the Churches which profeſs'd the Goſpel.* *Calvin's* Scheme of Predeſtination was fortify'd by *Perkin's Golden Chain,* publiſh'd about four Years ſince. But that which brought it the neareſt to a publick Eſtabliſhment, was the Countenance of the *Lambeth Articles.* This Doctrine, handed from *Geneva* by the *Engliſh* Refugees, and propagated by *Cartwright* in the *Margaret*-Profeſſor's Chair, had gain'd great Footing in *Cambridge,* eſpecially amongſt the *Heads;* inſomuch that thoſe who held the other Side of the Queſtion were reckoned little better than *Novelliſts.* Dr. *Whitaker,* the Queen's Profeſſor, fell in with *Perkins.* This Party having ſtated the Controverſy to their own Liking, and drawn the Articles into Form, laid them before Archbiſhop *Whitgift:* But then they had taken Care to prepoſſeſs him with an ill Opinion of thoſe who differ'd from them: That they had behav'd themſelves mutinouſly, and diſturb'd the Harmony of the Univerſity. Dr. *Whitaker,* and ſome other eminent Predeſtinarians, were diſpatch'd to *London* on this Meſſage. The Archbiſhop having a great Value for *Whitaker* upon the Score of his Performance againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine,* and being willing to put an End to the Differences amongſt the Students, enter'd upon a farther Debate of the Queſtion. To this Purpoſe, he ſent for Dr. *Fletcher* Elect of *London,* Dr. *Richard Vaughan* Elect of *Bangor,* Dr. *Trindall* Dean of *Ely,* Dr. *Whitaker,* and the reſt of the Divines who came from *Cambridge,* and propos'd the Points above-mention'd to their Conſideration. This was done at *Lambeth* on the 10th of *November:* Theſe Prelates and Divines, after ſome Conſultation, came to the following Reſolution, digeſted under Nine Heads, and call'd the *Lambeth Articles.* They ſtand thus:

The Lambeth Articles ſettled the Calvinian Way.

1. Deus ab æterno Prædeſtinavit quoſdam ad Vitam, Quoſdam reprobavit ad Mortem.	1. *God from all Æternity has predeſtinated ſome Perſons to Life, and ſome he has reprobated, or doomed to Death and Deſtruction.*
2. Cauſa movens aut Efficiens Prædeſtinationis ad Vitam non eſt Præviſio Fidei, aut Perſeverantiæ, aut bonorum Operum, aut ullius Rei quæ inſit in Perſonis Prædeſtinatis, ſed ſola Voluntas bene Placiti Dei.	2. *The Moving or Efficient Cauſe of Predeſtination unto Life, is not the Divine Præſcience of Faith, or of Perſeverance, or of good Works, or of any other commendable Quality in the Perſon predeſtinated, but only the Good-will and Pleaſure of God.*
3. Prædeſtinatorum præfinitus, & certus eſt Numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui poteſt.	3. *The Number of the Predeſtinate is fix'd and præordain'd, and can neither be encreaſed or leſſen'd.*
4. Qui non ſunt Prædeſtinati ad ſalutem, neceſſariò propter Peccata ſua Damnabuntur.	4. *Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to Salvation, ſhall be neceſſarily or inevitably damn'd for their Sins.*
5. Vera, Viva, & Juſtificans Fides, & Spiritus Dei Juſtificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non Evaneſcit in Electis, aut finalitèr, aut totalitèr.	5. *A True, Lively, and Juſtifying Faith, and the Operation of Juſtifying Grace, is not extinguiſh'd, it neither fails, nor goes off, in the Elect finally or totally.*
6. Homo verè Fidelis, id eſt Fide Juſtificante præditus, certus eſt Plerophoria Fidei de Remiſſione Peccatorum ſuorum, & ſalute ſempiterna ſua per Chriſtum.	6. *A Man truely ſaid to be one of the Faithful, that is, one furniſh'd with Juſtifying Faith, has a full Aſſurance and Certainty of the Remiſſion of his Sins, and of his everlaſting Salvation by Chriſt.*
7. Gratia ſalutaris, non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur Univerſis Hominibus, qua ſervari poſſint ſi velint.	7. *Saving Grace is not given or communicated to all Men; that is, they have not ſuch a Meaſure of Divine Aſſiſtance as may enable them to be ſaved, if they will.*
8. Nemo poteſt venire ad Chriſtum, niſi datum ei fuerit, & niſi Pater eum traxerit, & omnes Homines non trahuntur à Patre ut veniant ad Filium.	8. *No Perſon can come to Chriſt unleſs it be given unto him, and unleſs the Father ſhall draw him; but all Men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.*
9. Non eſt poſitum in Arbitrio, aut Poteſtate unius cujuſque Hominis ſervari.	9. *'Tis not in every one's Will and Power to be ſaved.* (*y*)

(*y*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 9.

That Archbiſhop *Whitgift* believ'd the Articles true under this State, I think is pretty plain from his aſſenting to them. The learned *Heylin* endeavours to relieve his Memory from this Imputation, and ſuppoſes he might afford his Countenance

nance upon other Motives. For Inſtance; That he might prefer the taking up the preſent Differences, and allaying the Heats in the *Univerſity*, to the guarding againſt remoter Inconveniencies, which lay more out of Sight: Or, that he might think it proper to ſupport the Queen's Profeſſor againſt thoſe of the contrary Sentiment: That *Whitaker* having ſomewhat of a publick Character, and done Service to the *Reformation*, deſerved ſomewhat more than ordinary Conſideration. Farther, he ſuppoſes it poſſible, that *Whitgift* not having penetrated the Subject, nor viewed the Articles on all Sides, might be ſurpriz'd into an Approbation. But this Excuſe can do little Service. But to fortify the reſt of his Conjectures, he obſerves this Archbiſhop took *Hooker*'s Part againſt *Travers* at the *Council-Board*, and entertain'd Dr. *Harſnet* in his Family, who had decry'd the Doctrine of Irreſpective Reprobation in a Sermon at St. *Paul's-Croſs*. (z)

(z) Heylin's *Hiſt. Presbyt.* Book 10.

Octob. 1595.

Some Time before theſe Articles were paſs'd at *Lambeth*, *Whitgift* wrote to *Hutton*, Archbiſhop of *York*, for his Opinion upon the Controverſy; acquainting him withal with the Claſhings and Animoſities at *Cambridge*. *Hutton* returns an Anſwer dated *October* the 1ſt. "This Prelate, in his Letter, laments the Miſunderſtandings in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and ſeems to throw the Blame on thoſe of the *Anticalvinian* Side. He takes Notice of his having a Copy of the *Lambeth Articles*: And that at firſt he thought to have offer'd ſomething upon each of them." But whether theſe Strictures were to reinforce, or qualify, or object, he does not tell us. "But upon farther Conſideration he laid this Method aſide, and choſe rather to deliver his Opinion briefly upon the Points of Election and Reprobation, which ſeem'd to have given Riſe to the Diſpute. This Way he thought the moſt adviſeable: For by treating the particular Articles, he was afraid ſome People, for whom he had a great Regard, might be exaſperated. And laſtly, he puts the Archbiſhop in Mind, that they two while they liv'd in *Cambridge* were exactly of the ſame Sentiment in Religious Matters." But what his Opinion was upon the Heads of Reprobation and Election was drawn up, I ſuppoſe, in a diſtinct Paper, for 'tis not inſerted in the Letter. (a) Upon the Whole, 'tis not clear from this Letter that Archbiſhop *Hutton* was wholly for the *Lambeth Articles*: But let this be as it will, 'tis certain the Queen was extreamly diſoblig'd at ſo publick a Reſolution; inſomuch, that had it not been for the Intereſt of ſome of *Whitgift*'s Friends, and the particular Regard her Majeſty had for this Prelate, ſhe had order'd all theſe *Lambeth* Divines to be proſecuted to a *Præmunire*. But now being ſoftned to a gentler Reſolve, ſhe condeſcended to hear the Archbiſhop in his Defence. He excuſed himſelf by alledging, "That neither himſelf, or the other Divines, had made any Canons, Articles, or Decrees, for a ſtanding Rule or Direction to the Church; but that their Deſign was only to ſettle ſome Propoſitions to be ſent to *Cambridge* for quieting ſome unhappy Differences in that Univerſity." The Queen, tho' ſomewhat ſatisfied with this Apology, commanded the Archbiſhop to recal and ſuppreſs thoſe Articles with all Expedition. This Order was ſo carefully executed, that a Copy of them was not to be met with for a long Time after. (b)

Archbiſhop Hutton's *Letter to* Whitgift.

(a) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Lib. 9.

The Lambeth *Articles ſuppreſs'd by the Archbiſhop at the Queen's Order.*

(b) Heylin's *Hiſt. Presbyt.* Lib. 10.

Farther, That theſe *Lambeth Articles* were not the general Doctrine of the *Engliſh Reformation* appears both from the *Homilies*, and the Writings of ſeveral eminent Divines in the Church's Communion.

The Homilies declare againſt ſome of them.

Firſt, The *Homily* of the *Nativity* of our Bleſſed Saviour, ſpeaking of the Redemption purchas'd by him, declares, *That this Deliverance or Redemption was not Partial, Intended only for a few, but General and Univerſal for all Mankind.* And afterwards, in the ſame Diſcourſe, 'tis ſaid, *That the Promiſe and Covenant of God made unto* Abraham *and his Poſterity, was to deliver Mankind from the bitter Curſe of the Law: And that the promis'd Meſſiah was to make perfect Satisfaction by his Death for the Sins of all People.* And thus this Paſſage pronounces clearly againſt the *Lambeth Articles* upon the Point of *Univerſal Redemption*.

The Homily of the *Reſurrection* ſeems plainly to combat another Article: 'Tis with Reſpect to the falling finally from a State of Grace and Safety: For ſpeaking how dangerous a Thing 'twould be, to relapſe into Immorality after the Pardon of our Sins, theſe Expreſſions are uſed, *What a Folly would it be for us to loſe the Inheritance we are now ſet in, for the Vile and Tranſitory Pleaſures of Sin? And what an Unkindneſs would it be to drive our Saviour Chriſt from us, to baniſh him violently out of our Souls; and inſtead of him, in whom is all Grace and Vertue, to receive the Ungracious Spirit of the Devil, the Founder of all Naughtineſs and Miſchief!* And can the falling away from Grace, and the Forfeiture of Happineſs be inſinuated in plainer Language? And as to the Co-operation of the *Will* with the Aſſiſtances of Heaven, it may well be ſuppos'd as a Matter beyond all Queſtion from the publiſhing the Homilies. For to what Purpoſe are all thoſe Arguments to Virtue, and Diſſuaſives from Vice, made Uſe of by the Compilers, if Men are perfectly diſabled in their natural Faculties, and can do nothing for themſelves?

The famous Biſhop *Jewel* affirms, That by the Words ['*tis finiſh'd*] pronounc'd by our Saviour upon the Croſs, 'twas plainly ſignified, *Perſolutum jam eſſe Pretium pro Peccato humani Generis*, That the Ranſom for the Sin of Mankind was now fully Diſcharg'd. And does not this imply his Belief of Univerſal Redemption? And as this Prelate was a leading Member in the Upper Houſe of *Convocation*, ſo *Noel* was Prolocutor for the Lower Houſe, when the Nine and thirty Articles were debated and ſettled. Now this Divine in his *Latin Catechiſm* aſſigning the Reaſons why God is ſaid to be Our Father, mentions this as one of the moſt ſignificant. *Quod nos divinè per Spiritum Sanctum regeneravit, & per Fidem in verum ſuum & Naturalem Filium Jeſum Chriſtum nos Elegit, ſibiq; Filios & Regni Cæleſtis Hæredes per eundem Inſtituit, i. e.* Becauſe he has regenerated us by the Holy Ghoſt, and elected us by Faith in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.* From hence 'tis inferr'd, that if Election is the Effect of our *Faith* in Chriſt, and is conſequent upon this Quality, then the *Supra-&-Sublapſarian Schemes* are out of Doors, and can't be ſaid to be any Part of *Noel*'s Perſwaſion.

Jewel's *Defenſ. Apolog.* cap. 18.

Biſhop Jewel, *and* Noel, *Dean of Saint* Paul's, *write to the ſame Purpoſe.*

Dr. *Baroe*, *Margaret*-Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, about the Year 1574, declares ſtrongly againſt the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Doctrine of Predeſtination. In his Lecture upon theſe Words of *Jonah*, *Yet forty Days, and* Nineveh *ſhall be overthrown*, he aſſerts, that the denouncing this Judgment is not to be look'd on as if the Prophet had proclaim'd an abſolute Decree from Heaven; but this deciſive Language was uſed only to awaken the *Ninevites* to Repentance: For notwithſtanding the Sentence has a poſitive and decretory

Dr. Baroe Margaret-*Profeſſor, determines againſt abſolute Reprobation.*

tory Sound, 'tis certain there was a Condition imply'd; and therefore the Threatning muſt be conſtrued to this Meaning, That the *Ninevites* ſhould certainly be *overthrown* unleſs they *repented.* That the Text is thus to be underſtood is evident from the Event. (*c*) From hence he proceeds to diſcourſe the Point of Election to Eternal Life. And from this Hiſtory of *Jonah*, and a reſembling Caſe in *Geneſis*, he makes no Scruple to affirm, "That 'tis the Will of God we ſhould have Eternal Life, if we believe and perſevere in the Faith of Chriſt; but if we don't believe, or fall ſhort in our Perſeverance, then 'tis not the Will of God we ſhould be ſaved. He illuſtrates this Point farther by the Meſſage deliver'd to *Hezekiah* by the Prophet *Eſaiah.* (*d*) And here notwithſtanding the Iſſue ſeems not to correſpond with the Sentence pronounc'd, he ſalves the Inconſiſtency with the Implication of a tacit Reſerve: And thus, ſays he, the Immutability of the Divine Attributes is obvious and intelligible. But of this *Baroe* more afterwards.

(*c*) Baroe Prælect. 29.
Gen. 20. *v.* 3.

2 Kings 20. v. 1.

(*d*) Baroe Prælect. 30.

Harſnet's Sermon at St. *Paul's-Croſs* preach'd in the Year 1584, is more full and remarkable for this Purpoſe. His Text was theſe Words, *As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I have no Pleaſure in the Death of the Wicked.* From hence he takes Occaſion to break out into ſome Warmth againſt the *Calvinian* Doctrine of Reprobation, *There is a Conceit in the World*, ſays he, *which ſpeaks little better of our Gracious God than this, That God ſhould deſign many Thouſand of Souls to Hell before they were, not in Eye to their Faults, but to his own abſolute Will and Power, and to get him Glory in their Damnation. This Opinion is grown high and monſtrous, and like a Goliah, and Men do ſhake and tremble at it, yet never a Man reaches to* David'*s Sling to caſt it down. In the Name of the* Lord of Hoſts *we will encounter it, for it has* revil'd *not* the Hoſt of the Living God, *but the Lord of Hoſts.* (*d*)

Ezek. 33. v. 11.

A remarkable Sermon againſt the Predeſtinarians preached at Saint Paul'*s-Croſs by Mr.* Harſnet.

(*d*) Harſnet'*s Sermon at* Paul'*s-Croſs. bound up at the End of Dr.* Steward'*s Three Sermons in the Year* 1658.

Firſt, *That it is directly in Oppoſition to this Text of Holy Scripture, and ſo turns the Truth of God into a Lye: For whereas God in this Text doth ſay and ſwear, That he doth not delight in the Death of Man, this Opinion ſaith, That not One or Two, but Millions of Men ſhould fry in Hell; and that he made them for no other Purpoſe than to be the Children of Death and Hell; and that for no other Cauſe but his mere Pleaſure Sake: And ſo ſay, That God doth not only ſay, but will ſwear to a Lye. For the Oath ſhould have run thus,* As I live, (ſaith the Lord) I do delight in the Death of Man.

Secondly, *It doth (not by Conſequence, but) directly make God the Author of Sin. For if God without Eye to Sin did deſign Men to Hell, then did he ſay and ſet down that he ſhould ſin; for without Sin he cannot come to Hell: And indeed, doth not this Opinion ſay, That the Almighty God, in the Eye of his Councel, did not only ſee, but ſay, that* Adam *ſhould fall, and ſo order, and decree, and ſet down, his Fall, that it was no more poſſible for him not to fall, than it was poſſible for him not to eat? And of that, when God doth Order, ſet down, and decree, (I truſt) he is the Author, unleſs they will ſay, then when the Right Honourable Lord-Keeper doth ſay in open Court, We order, he means not to be the Author of that his Order.*

Which ſaid, he tells us Thirdly, *That it takes away from* Adam *(in his State of Innocency) all Freedom of Will and Liberty not to ſin: For had he had Freedom to have alter'd God's Deſignment,* Adam'*s Liberty had been above the Deſignment of God. And here I remember a little witty Solution is made, that is, If we reſpect* Adam'*s Will, he had Power not to ſin; but if God's Decrees, he could not but ſin. This is a ſilly Solution: And indeed it is as much as if you ſhould take a ſound ſtrong Man that hath Power to walk, and to lie ſtill, and bind him Hand and Foot, (as they do in* Bedlam) *and lay him down, and then bid him riſe up and walk, or elſe you will ſtir him up with a Whip, and he tell you that there be Chains, ſo that he is not able to ſtir: And you tell him again, that that is no Excuſe; for if he look upon his Health, his Strength, his Legs, he hath Power to walk, or to ſtand ſtill; but if upon his Chains, indeed in that Reſpect he is not able to walk. I truſt he that ſhould whip that Man for not walking, were well worthy to be whipped himeſlf.*

Fourthly, *As God doth abhor a Heart and a Heart, and his Soul deteſteth alſo a double-minded Man, ſo himſelf cannot have a Mind and a Mind; a Face like* Janus, *to look two Ways. Yet this Opinion maketh in God two Wills, the one flat oppoſite to the other. An* Hidden Will, *by which he appointed and willed that* Adam *ſhould Sin; and an* Open Will, *by which he forbad him to ſin. His* Open Will *ſaid to* Adam *in Paradiſe,* Adam *thou ſhalt not eat of the Tree of Good and Evil: His* Hidden Will *ſaid,* Thou ſhalt eat; *nay, now I my ſelf cannot keep thee from eating, for my Decree from Eternity is paſſed; thou ſhalt eat, that thou may drown all thy Poſterity into Sin, and that I may drench them, as I have deſigned, in the Bottomleſs Pit of Hell.*

Fifthly, *Among all the Abominations of Queen* Jezabel, *that was the greateſt* (1 Kings 21) *when, as hunting after the Life of innocent* Naboth, *ſhe ſet him up amongſt the Princes of the Land, that ſo he might have the greater Fall. God planted Man in Paradiſe, (as in a pleaſant Vineyard) and mounted him to the World as on a Stage, and honour'd him with the Sovereignty over all the Creatures: He put all Things in Subjection under his Feet, ſo that he could not paſs a Decree from all Eternity againſt him, to throw him down Head-long into Hell: For God is not a* Jezabel, Tollere in altum, *to lift up a Man,* ut Caſu graviore ruat, *that he may make the greater Noiſe with his Fall.*

He goes on to a conſiderable Length upon the ſame Argument: But what has been cited is enough to ſhew his Opinion.

However, notwithſtanding what has been produc'd on this Side of the Queſtion, 'tis certain the *Calvinian* Syſtem prevail'd upon great Numbers, and ſeems to have been the general, or at leaſt the governing, Perſwaſion in the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge.* Though as for *Harſnet*, it does not appear he met with any Check or Diſcountenance for laying ſuch black Imputations upon the Predeſtinarian Doctrine; though it muſt be confeſs'd he expos'd himſelf ſufficiently by dilating ſo much upon the Subject, and declaiming ſo vigourouſly in ſo publick a Place: For commonly at St. *Paul's-Croſs* the Privy-Council, the Biſhops in Town, and the Judges, made Part of the *Audience.* But we don't find *Harſnet* underwent any Cenſure upon this Score, either by the *High Commiſſion*, or that any Complaint was made to the Queen or Council: Whereas had the Diſcourſe been judg'd inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of the Church, this might have been expected. On the other Hand, *Harſnet* was one of *Whitgift*'s Chaplains, and afterwards recommended by him to King *James*, by whom he was firſt preferr'd to the Maſterſhip of *Pembroke-Hall*, and then to the *See* of *Chicheſter*, from whence he was tranſlated to *Norwich*, and in the next Reign promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *York.*

But notwithſtanding *Harſnet*'s Succeſs, the oppoſite Opinion ſeems to have had the Aſcendant in *Cambridge*, where the Heat of the Controverſy being kept up, Dr. *Baroe* finding himſelf overbalanc'd, was willing to relinquiſh the Chair, and quit the *Univerſity. Fuller* will have it, he expected being turn'd out when the Term of his Profeſſorſhip was expir'd. He takes Notice his *Triennial Lecture began to draw near* an End. Here Dr. *Heylin*, from the *Records* of the Univerſity, proves *Fuller* miſtaken in aſſigning the Length of the Time, and ſhews the *Margaret-Profeſſor* was never choſen for more than two Years. (*e*) This learned Writer obſerves elſewhere, that *Baroe* held his Profeſſor's Place to the End of the Term, and did not ſo much as offer himſelf for another Election. But notwithſtanding he was not ejected, 'tis probable he might retire from his Poſt upon the Score of being uneaſy: For now his Doctrine was not only cenſur'd by the *Lambeth*-Articles, but a Complaint againſt him, ſubſcrib'd by ſome of the Heads, had been ſent up to the Lord *Burleigh*. Now ſince this Letter opens the Hiſtory of this Controverſy, ſhews the Riſe of the Diſpute, and the Strength of the contending Parties, it may not be improper to lay it before the *Reader*.

A Copy of the Letter ſent from ſome of the Heads *in* Cambridge *to the Lord* Burleigh, *Lord High Treaſurer of* England, *and Chancellor of the Univerſity.*

A Letter to the Lord Burleigh, *Chancellor of* Cambridge *touching the Predeſtinarian Controverſy.*

Right Honourable,

“Our bounden Duty remember'd: We are right ſorry to have ſuch Occaſion to trouble your Lordſhip. But the Peace of this Univerſity and Church (which is dear unto us) being brought in Peril by the late Reviving of new Opinions, and troubleſome Controverſies, amongſt us, hath urg'd us (in Regard of the Places we here ſuſtain) not only to be careful for the Suppreſſing the ſame to our Power, but alſo to give your Lordſhip farther Information hereof as our Honourable Head and careful Chancellor.

“About a Year paſt (amongſt divers others who here attempted publickly to teach new and ſtrange Opinions in Religion) one Mr. *Barret*, more boldly than the reſt, did preach divers Popiſh Errors in St. *Mary*'s to the juſt Offence of many, which he was enjoin'd to retract, but hath refus'd ſo to do in ſuch Sort as hath been preſcrib'd: With whoſe Fact and Opinions your Lordſhip was made acquainted by Dr. *Some*, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor. Hereby Offence and Diviſion growing as after by Dr. *Baroe*'s Publick *Lectures* and *Determinations* in the Schools, contrary (as his Auditors have inform'd) to Dr. *Whiteacres*, and the ſound received Truth ever ſince her Majeſty's Reign; we ſent up to *London* by common Conſent in *November* laſt, Dr. *Tyndal* and Dr. *Whiteacres* (Men eſpecially choſen for that Purpoſe) for Conference with my Lord of *Canterbury*, and other principal Divines there, that the Controverſies being examin'd, and the Truth by their Conſent confirm'd, the contrary Errors and Contentions thereabouts might the rather ceaſe. By whoſe good Travel with ſound Conſent in Truth, ſuch Advice and Care was taken by certain Propoſitions (containing certain ſubſtantial Points of Religion, taught and receiv'd in this Univerſity and Church during the Time of her Majeſty's Reign, and conſented unto and publiſh'd by the beſt approv'd Divines both at home and abroad) for the maintaining of the ſame Truth and Peace of the Church, as thereby we enjoy'd here great and comfortable Quiet until Dr. *Baroe*, (in *January* laſt, in his Sermon *ad Clerum* in St. *Mary*'s, contrary to Reſtraint and Commandment from the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads) by renewing again theſe Opinions, diſturbed our Peace, whereby his Adherents and Diſciples were and are too much embolden'd to maintain falſe Doctrine, to the corrupting and diſturbing the Univerſity and the Church, if it be not in Time effectually prevented. For Remedy whereof we have with joint Conſent and Care (upon Complaint of divers Batchelors of Divinity) proceeded in the Examination of the Cauſe, according to our Statutes, and uſual manner of Proceeding in ſuch Cauſes, whereby it appeareth by ſufficient Teſtimonies, that Dr. *Baroe* hath offended in ſuch Things as his Articles had charg'd him withal.

“There is alſo, ſince the former, another Complaint preferr'd againſt him by certain Batchelors in Divinity, that he hath not only in the Sermon, but alſo for the Space of this Fourteen or Fifteen Years taught in his Lectures, preach'd in his Sermons, determin'd in the Schools, and printed in ſeveral Books, divers Points of Doctrine not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo contrary to that which hath been taught and received ever ſince her Majeſty's Reign, and agreeable to the Errors of Popery, which we know your Lordſhip hath always diſliked and hated: So that we (who for the Space of many Years paſt have yielded him ſundry Benefits and Favours here in the Univerſity, being a Stranger, and forborn him when he hath often heretofore (buſy and curious *in aliena Republica*) broach'd New and Strange Queſtions in Religion. Now unleſs we ſhould be careleſs of maintaining the Truth of Religion eſtabliſh'd, and of our Duties in our Places, cannot (being reſolv'd and confirm'd in the Truth of the long profeſſed and received Doctrine) but continue to uſe all good Means, and ſeek at your Lordſhip's Hands ſome effectual Remedy hereof, leſt by permitting Paſſage to theſe Errors, the whole Body of Popery ſhould by little and little break in upon us, to the Overthrow of our Religion, and conſequently the Withdrawing of many here and elſewhere from true Obedience to her Majeſty.

“May it therefore pleaſe your Lordſhip to have an honourable Conſideration of the Premiſſes, and (for the better maintaining of Peace, and the Truth of Religion ſo long receiv'd in this Univerſity and Church) to vouchſafe your Lordſhips good Aid and Advice, both to the Comfort of us, (wholly conſenting and agreeing in Judgment) and all others of the Univerſity truly affected, and to the Suppreſſion in Time, not only of theſe Errors, but even of groſs Popery like, by ſuch Means, in Time eaſily to creep in amongſt us, (as we find by late Experience it hath dangerouſly began.) Thus craving Pardon for troubling your Lordſhip, and commending the ſame in Prayers to Almighty God, we humbly take our Leave.

Your Lordſhip's Humble,
and bounden to be commanded,

From Cambridge,
March *the* 8*th*,
1595.

Roger Goad, *Procan.*
R. Some,
Tho. Leg,
John Jegon,
Thomas Nevil,
Thomas Preſton,
Hump. Tyndal,
James Mountague,
Edmond Barwell,
Laurence Cutterton.

(*e*) Examen Hiſtor. *p.* 165. Quinquart. Hiſt. *p.* 623.

The Church of England *not reform'd upon the* Calviniſt *Scheme, either in Diſcipline or Doctrine.*

By this complaining Letter the *Reader* may perceive the Univerſity began to make a Stand upon the Predeſtinarian Novelties, to throw off the Impoſitions of *Calviniſm*, and recover the old Doctrine of the *Reformation.* I ſay, the old Doctrine, for that the Church *reform'd* upon different Notions of *Free Will, Perſeverance*, &c. may be collected from what has been already obſerv'd in the Reigns of King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth. And here, beſides the *Inſtitution and Erudition of a Chriſtian Man* drawn up by the Biſhops, we have the ſingle Authorities of *Latimer* and *Hooper*. (*f*) To which may be added the *Homilies* ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth; ſome of which are very full to this Purpoſe. (*g*) I might ſubjoin more Teſtimonies from the *Homilies*, and other Divines in the Reign of King *Edward*; but what has been ſaid may ſerve to ſatisfie the *Reader*, that as *Calvin*'s Church Government found no Entertainment with our firſt *Reformers*, ſo neither did his Doctrine paſs their Teſt, or ſettle into any publick Eſtabliſhment.

March 5. 1595.

To proceed: *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of *London*, drew up ſome Regulations for his Dioceſe, and reforming his Spiritual Courts. How far they were executed, is uncertain; for they run in a Form of Recommendation, rather than Command. However, ſince they mention the Complaints againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, point to the Remedy, ſet forth the *Diſcipline*, and open the Methods of Proceeding, I ſhall tranſcribe them into the Records. (*h*)

A General Aſſembly at Montroſs *in* Scotland.

And now this Year may conclude with the Mention of a General *Aſſembly* at *Montroſs* in *June* laſt. At this Meeting the King's Commiſſioners inſiſted upon the following Articles.

1*ſt*. That whoſoever engag'd in any treaſonable Practice againſt the King's Perſon and Government, ſhould, after legal Conviction, be excommunicated; that by this Means there might be a conſtant Harmony between the Church and *State*.

2*dly*. That no Excommunication ſhould be pronounced at the Diſcretion of particular Perſons, but that a ſufficient Number of the Church ſhould be firſt convened, and the Cenſure agreed by publick Conſent.

3*dly*. That none ſhould be excommunicated for *Civil* Cauſes, for petty Inſtances of Miſbehaviour, or particular Injuries to Miniſters, leſt by ſuch Miſmanagement this ſolemn Exerciſe of the *Keys* ſhould fall under Contempt.

4*thly*. That for the future none ſhould be ſummarily excommunicated, but that the legal and cuſtomary Summons of the Parties ſhould be premiſ'd.

The *Aſſembly* agreed to the firſt Propoſition, with the Limitation of *Legitima Cognitione Eccleſiaſtica præeunte*; or that *the Cauſe ſhould be firſt examin'd by the Church.* The ſecond Article was paſs'd without Reſerve; but they demurr'd to the third and fourth: Theſe, they ſaid, were Points of great Weight, and requir'd Time for Deliberation. And thus the ſettling thoſe two Articles was poſtpon'd to the next *Aſſembly*. However, to offer ſomething towards Satiſfaction in the mean Time, they forbid any ſummary Excommunication, *niſi Salus Eccleſiæ periclitetur*, i. e. *unleſs the Church was in Danger*: And when that Caſe came up, they intended, no doubt, to be Judges themſelves. This Clauſe was interpreted by the King as a Reſerve for Liberty, and a Colour for Arbitrary Proceedings. (*i*)

An Aſſembly at Edinburgh. Anno Dom. 1596.

The next Year affords little Church Hiſtory in *England*, but in *Scotland* a great Deal. The *Aſſembly* met at *Edinburgh* to conſult upon the Danger with which the Kingdom ſeem'd to be threaten'd: For now a *Spaniſh* Invaſion was the general Diſcourſe, and here the Enquiry turn'd upon two Points. Firſt, What might be the Cauſes of ſo black a Proſpect: And ſecondly, they deliberated upon the Means to reſiſt the Common Enemy. As to the Cauſes, they concluded them the Sins of the Nation, and more eſpecially of the Miniſtry: And to give the better Direction to a Remedy, they order'd a Committee to draw up the Failings of the Churchmen under ſeveral Heads, both with Reſpect to their Office and private Life. Thus within a Day or two ſeveral Articles of the Miniſters Miſbehaviour were laid before the *Aſſembly*. And to diſcharge their Commiſſion more effectually, they brought in a Lay-Liſt of the Diſorders in the King's Family; the Mal-adminiſtration in the Courts of Juſtice, and the Failings common to all Degrees, together with the Proper Remedies.

They appoint a publick Faſt.

This Performance being well receiv'd, and the *Aſſembly* acknowledging that Part of the Charge which concern'd themſelves, appointed a Day of Humiliation for making a New *Covenant*, as they call'd it, to awaken their Conſciences to a better Diſcharge of their Duty. This is the *Covenant* which the Parity-Men object was broken at the ſettling Epiſcopacy: But this, as Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* obſerves, is a great Miſtake: For this *Humiliation-Covenant* has not ſo much as a Syllable ſounding to this Senſe: Nothing that relates either to the confirming the *Presbyterian* Government, or renouncing the ancient *Hierarchy*; they only oblig'd themſelves in general to continue in *the Profeſſion of the Truth*, and live anſwerably: But as to any Regulations of Ceremony, or Eccleſiaſtical Polity, there's no Mention of that in the *Records*. As to the Expedients for oppoſing the Common Enemy, they addreſs'd the Court, That all thoſe who had abetted the Inſurrection of the Popiſh Lords, ſhould ſurrender themſelves, and be confin'd till they had given Security not to hold any Correſpondence with thoſe Noblemen, in caſe they return'd into the Country: And that the Revenues of the baniſh'd Lords Eſtates ſhould be ſeized for raiſing and paying Troops for the Defence of the Kingdom, with ſome other Suggeſtions of this Kind, not neceſſary to be mention'd. (*k*)

This Addreſs was by no means acceptable to the King; he conſider'd the Queen of *England* was far advanc'd in Years: For this Reaſon, beſides others, he deſir'd to live eaſie at home, and give general Satiſfaction to his Subjects: For that otherwiſe his Right to the *Engliſh* Crown might probably be diſturbed. To this purpoſe, ſome Time before this Meeting of the *Kirk*, he ſent for Mr. *Robert Bruce*, a leading Man in the *Aſſembly*, open'd the Deſign of recalling the *Roman* Catholick Lords, with the good Effect it might have upon the publick Repoſe. *Bruce* excepts only againſt the Earl of *Huntley*, whom the King ſeem'd to favour above the reſt. The King condeſcended to argue the Point, and offer'd ſeveral Reaſons to juſtifie the Motion. To this *Bruce* reply'd, with a ſurprizing Aſſurance; *I ſee Sir*, ſays he, *that your Reſolution is to take* Huntley *into Favour; which if you do, I will oppoſe, and you ſhall chuſe whether you will loſe* Huntley *or me; for us both you cannot keep.* (*l*) By the Way, notwithſtanding this Size of

Bruce's *Anſwer to the King.*

(*f*) Latimer's *eighth Sermon in* Lincoln. Hooper's *Preface to Expoſ. on the Ten Commandments.*

(*g*) *A Sermon how dangerous a Thing it is to fall from God. Homil. Edit.* 1687. *pag.* 78. *Second Part of the Sermon of falling from God.* Id. *pag.* 83.

(*h*) *See Records Num.* XCV.

(*i*) Spotſwood.

(*k*) Spotſwood, *p.* 416.

(*l*) Id. *p.* 417.

of Confidence, this Miniſter was reputed one of the moſt modeſt unbigotted Men of the whole Party.

There were two Conventions of the *Eſtates* this Summer, one at *Falkland*, and the other at *Dunfermling*; in both of which the Return of the *Roman* Catholick Lords, who had been baniſh'd for holding a Correſpondence with the *Spaniards*, was agreed. Now notwithſtanding the Conditions requir'd of theſe Noblemen were a ſufficient Guard to the *Scotch Reformation*, the Commiſſioners for the *Kirk* were much diſturbed at this Permiſſion. To alarm their Party, and fill the Country with Jealouſies and Fears, they order'd a publick Humiliation ſhould be kept on the firſt *Sunday* of *December*; that upon that Day the Miniſters ſhould enlarge upon the Danger Religion was in by the Return of the excommunicated Lords; That the *Presbyteries* ſhould convent thoſe who entertain'd or kept any Correſpondence with theſe Exiles; and proceed ſummarily upon one Citation with the *Cenſures* of the Church, *quia periclitatur Salus Eccleſiæ & Reipublicæ*. And laſtly, 'twas reſolv'd, that a ſelected Number of Commiſſioners pick'd out of the Country ſhould come up to *Town*, ſit with the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and conclude upon Meaſures proper for the Juncture.

The Commiſſioners of the Kirk take Check at what was agreed by the Convention of the Eſtates.

This new Body call'd *The Council of the Church*, ſat every Day, and gave out ſuch Orders as they thought proper upon every Emergency. By the Direction of this *Board*, the Lord *Alexander Seaton* Preſident of the *Seſſion*, was called before the *Synod* of *Lothian*, for holding Intelligence with the Earl of *Huntley*. This *Synod* referr'd him back to the *Council*, where after having ſolemnly purged himſelf from the Imputation, and engaged againſt any ſuch Correſpondence for the future, he had the Favour of being diſmiſs'd.

The King being apprehenſive of farther Diſturbances, and willing to keep fair with the Kirk, order'd his *Council* to enter upon a Conference with ſome of the moſt moderate Miniſters, and endeavour giving them Satisfaction touching the Return of the baniſh'd Lords. To this Purpoſe *David Lindeſay*, *Patrick Galaway*, *James Nicholſon*, and *James Melvil*, were ſent for to Court, and deſir'd to anſwer this Queſtion; "Whether the baniſh'd Lords, after having given the Church proper Satisfaction, (for without this Condition the King intended them no Favour) might not be pardon'd, and reſtor'd to their Eſtates?" To this the Miniſters reply'd, They came only to hear Propoſals, but could give no Anſwer to a Buſineſs of that Importance, till they had made a Report to their *Brethren*. Upon this the Conference was poſtpon'd till the Afternoon, when they promis'd to return with the Opinion of their Principals. They kept their Time, and reported, "That the *Brethren* were glad of the Reſpect his Majeſty had ſhewn the Church; but in their Judgment the Popiſh Lords having deſerv'd Death by the Law of God, and forfeited their Eſtates by the Sentence of the Higheſt Court in the Kingdom, they could not be lawfully pardon'd or reſtor'd. And if the King and Council would undertake ſo far in their Favour, they muſt anſwer it to God and the Country: But as for themſelves, they could give no Concurrence, but muſt ſolemnly proteſt againſt ſuch Proceedings.

A Conference between ſome of the Privy Council and the Miniſters, but without Effect.

After this Anſwer, made up of Paſſion and Ignorance, they were ask'd in the next Place, Whether in caſe the *Roman* Catholick Lords mov'd to be reconcil'd to the *Reformation*, they could reaſonably be rejected, it being a received Maxim, That the Arms of the Church are always open to Recollection and Repentance. To this the Miniſters reply'd, *That tho' the Church could not refuſe their Satisfaction, if ſincerely offer'd, the King was oblig'd to do Juſtice.* The King's *Council* finding no Reaſoning could reach them, or diſengage them from the Extravagance of their Demands, broke off the *Conference*, and gave an Account to the King of what paſs'd. His Majeſty was extremely diſpleas'd at the Miniſters Behaviour, and ſpoke out his Reſentment upon all Occaſions. Some of the more prudent foreſeeing the ill Effects which might be conſequent upon this Provocation, adviſ'd the Miniſters to ſend ſome of their Body to wait upon the King, and take off the Impreſſion. They were to offer his Majeſty Satisfaction, to repreſent their Grievances, and to manage themſelves in the Addreſs with due Submiſſion and Regard.

And here they found the King more decretory and correcting in his Anſwers than they expected: For being intreated to acquaint them with the Reaſons of his Diſpleaſure, with a Promiſe to rectifie what lay in their Power; he told them, "There could be no Agreement till the Limits of the two Juriſdictions were better diſtinguiſh'd; That in their Sermons they took the Liberty to cenſure the Proceedings of his *Council*, and the publick Adminiſtration; That they conven'd General *Aſſemblies* without his Leave, made Orders there at diſcretion, without applying for his Approbation; and in their *Synods*, *Presbyteries*, and Parochial *Seſſions*, took Cognizance of every Thing upon Pretence of *Scandal*. Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral other Diſorders which he muſt have reform'd, without which 'twas in vain to expect ſtanding fair in his Opinion.

The King expoſtulates with the Church-Commiſſioners.

Idem.

The Miniſters not willing the King ſhould declare farther upon this Subject, made a modeſt Reply to the Points objected. After this they began to lay open their Grievances. "They complain'd of the Reſolution of the *Eſtates* in Favour of the Popiſh Lords; of the Countenance given the Lady *Huntley*, and the Lady *Levingſton*'s being entruſted with the Princeſs's Education. To this Remonſtrance the King return'd an Anſwer which might reaſonably have given Satisfaction.

While Things were thus perplex'd betwixt the King and the *Church*, *David Blake*, a Miniſter at St. *Andrews*, made the Breach wider. This Man in one of his Sermons had run an extravagant Length of Satyr and ill Manners againſt the King, the Queen, the *Council*, and Lords of the *Seſſion*: And that his Rudeneſs might reach the whole Iſland, he call'd the Queen of *England* an Atheiſt, and a Woman of no Religion. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador complaining of this Inſolence to the King, *Blake* was order'd to appear before the *Council*. *Andrew Melvil* came along with *Blake* to *Edinburgh*, and ſolicited ſtrongly for him: He endeavour'd to perſwade the Miniſters, that the Common Cauſe was concern'd, that the Juriſdiction of the *Kirk* was ſtruck at in *Blake*'s Proſecution; and that the King and *Council* deſign'd to make a Precedent of the Caſe. *Melvil*'s Heat and Rhetorick prevail'd ſo far upon the Church-Commiſſioners, that they ſent ſome of their Number to addreſs the King the Proceſs might be ſtopp'd, ſuggeſting, that the Proſecuting the Miniſters upon trifling Informations, would be ill interpreted, eſpecially ſince the Enemies of the *Truth* were connived at. Some little

Blake *rails in the Pulpit againſt the King, the Council, and* Q. Elizabeth.

November *the 10th. He is ſummon'd to appear before the Council.*

tle Time before theſe Commiſſioners waited upon the King, his Majeſty had publiſh'd the Conditions upon which the Earl of *Huntley* and the other Popiſh Lords were to be received into his Protection. The King asked theſe Commiſſioners if they had ſeen this Paper? adding withal, That both *Huntley*, and the reſt in his Circumſtances, ſhould ſatisfie the Church in every Point, or be proſecuted to the utmoſt Rigour: And that no Body ſhould have Reaſon to complain of the Partiality of the Government with Reſpect to the *Roman* Catholicks. As for *Blake*, that Matter ſhould not go very near him, only he expected his Appearance, and that ſome Expedient might be thought on for ſatisfying the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. *But*, continued the King, *have a Care you don't decline the Judicature; for if you do, it will be of worſe Conſequence than any Thing that has yet happen'd.*

Notwithſtanding the Conduct of the Court with the *Roman* Catholicks was clear and unexceptionable, yet nothing was enough to ſtop the Clamours of the People. This ill-founded Jealouſie againſt the Government was fomented by the *Preachers*, who were perpetually haranguing upon this Subject. The *Audience* were generally made to believe, that the Papiſts were careſs'd, and the Miniſters call'd in Queſtion for doing their Duty, and reproving Sin; and that the *Sceptre* of Chriſt's Kingdom was plainly graſp'd at. As for the Proceſs againſt *Blake*, 'twas only a Piece of Fineneſs in the Court to divert the Miniſters from urging the Proſecution of the Popiſh Lords; and that if *Blake* ſhould ſubmit his Doctrine to the Cognizance of the *Council*, *the Liberties of the Church, and the Spiritual Government of the Houſe of God, would be wholly loſt and ſubverted.* In fine, therefore, they concluded a *Declinator* the only Remedy, and that there was a Neceſſity of proteſting againſt the preſent Proceedings. This was a bold Expedient, and ſtrongly diſſuaded by ſome of the more ſober and diſpaſſionate: But theſe were quickly over-voted by a Majority, who cried out, 'Twas the Cauſe of God, and that they ought to ſtand the Event at the utmoſt Hazard. Purſuant to this raſh Reſolution, a *Declinator* was put into *Blake*'s Hand to exhibit at his Appearance. The *Inſtrument* ſet forth,

His Declinator, or Plea againſt the Juriſdiction of the Temporal Courts.

“That notwithſtanding his Innocence put him in a Condition of bearing up againſt Calumny and Miſreport, and that he was ready to juſtifie his Sermon with reſpect either to the firſt Meaning, or Application; yet ſince his Majeſty and the Council had undertaken to make themſelves Judges of his Doctrine, and that his pleading to the Information might diſſerve the Liberties of the Church, and be conſtrued as an Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's Juriſdiction in Matters purely Spiritual, he was oblig'd in all Humility to demur to the Authority of the Court for the Reaſons following.

“*Firſt*, Becauſe the Lord Jeſus, from whom he had the Honour of a Commiſſion, had given him a Rule in the holy *Scriptures* for the Management of his Office: And that he could not fail in his Regards to the *Civil* Government, unleſs he had exceeded his Inſtructions. Now whether he had been thus unhappy or not, belong'd to the ſole Cognizance of the Prophets and *Paſtors*: *For the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject only to the Prophets.*

1 Cor. 14.

“*Secondly*, In Regard the Liberties of the Church, and the *Diſcipline* eſtabliſh'd was confirm'd by ſeveral *Acts* of Parliament, and the *Office-bearers* peaceably poſſeſs'd of the Trial of Doctrine, he ought to be remitted to the *Eccleſiaſtical Senate*, as his competent Judges in the firſt *Inſtance*. For theſe and other weighty Conſiderations, particularly for preventing the Inconveniencies which might happen to Religion, and his Majeſty, in caſe any Alienation of his Majeſty's Mind from the Miniſtry, and the Cauſe of God, ſhould appear. To prevent theſe Inconveniencies, he both for himſelf, and in the Name of the Commiſſioners of the General *Aſſembly*, who had ſign'd his *Declinator*, humbly beſeech'd his Majeſty not to overbear the Liberties of the Church, but rather diſcover his Inclination to ſupport it.

Blake's Plea to the Information.

When the Trial came on, and he was requir'd to plead to the *Information*, he told the Court, That tho' 'twas in his Power to object to the Legality of the Forms, yet he ſhould wave that Advantage, apply to the cuſtomary Remedy, and deſire to be remitted to his proper *Ordinary*. Being ask'd his Meaning, he told them, his *Ordinary* was the *Presbytery* within whoſe Precinct the Sermon was preach'd. And whereas he had alledg'd the Charge was general, and contrary to the Proviſions of Parliament; to this when the King reply'd, the general Terms of the *Information* were qualify'd to a particular Reference produc'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. To this his Anſwer was, That ſince the Matter of the Charge was deliver'd in the *Pulpit*, he ought to be judg'd by the Church *in the firſt Inſtance*. Being farther demanded, Whether the King was not as competent a Judge of Treaſon, as the Church was of Hereſie? He reply'd, That *Words ſpoken in the Pulpit, tho' alledg'd to be treaſonable, could not be judg'd by the King, till the Church took firſt Cognition thereof*: But he was not come thither, he ſaid, to argue, and diſentangle Queſtions; and then exhibited his *Declinator*. Now the Solemnity of the Princeſs's Chriſtning drawing near, the Trial was put off to the laſt of *November*.

A Copy of the Declinator ſent to the Presbyteries.

The Commiſſioners in the mean Time ſent a Copy of *Blake's Declinator* to all the *Presbyteries*. They wrote to them at the ſame Time to ſign the Inſtrument, to recommend the Cauſe in their private and publick Prayers, to uſe their Intereſt with their Pariſhioners, and exert themſelves with all imaginable Vigour. The King looking upon theſe Motions as preparatory to Mutiny and Rebellion, publiſh'd a Proclamation to forbid the Church-Commiſſioners meeting together, cenſur'd their Proceedings as tending to an Inſurrection, and order'd them to return to their reſpective Pariſhes within Twenty-four Hours, under the Penalty of being proſecuted for Rebels.

The Church-Commiſſioners order'd to quit Edinburgh.

This *Proclamation* ſhock'd the Commiſſioners, and put them to a Stand; but they quickly recollected their Spirits, and reſolv'd to riſque the Event. However, to embarraſs themſelves as little as may be, they ſent ſome of their Members to the King to repreſent the Inconveniencies likely to follow this hard Uſage upon the Church; to entreat the Proſecution againſt *Blake* might be ſuperſeded, and that all other Controverſies of this Nature might be referr'd to a General *Aſſembly*. The King anſwer'd, Theſe Diſputes were no leſs unacceptable to him, than to themſelves; and that if they would either withdraw the *Declinator*, or declare 'twas no more than a perſonal Remonſtrance; that only *Blake* was concern'd in the Inſtrument, and that being Matter of *Defamation*, it belong'd to the

Deciſion of the Church; provided this was done, his Majeſty was contented to wave the Proſecution.

Men of Thought and Ballaſt look'd upon this Temper as a gracious Overture, and adviſ'd the cloſing with it. “Thus they mov'd ſtrongly “for Acquieſcence: For, ſay they, if we ſtand “off from good Terms, and grapple with the “*Crown*, we ſhall certainly ſink in the Conteſt. “At preſent the Court has ſome reverential Regard for the Church: We had beſt therefore “compound with them while this Deference “laſts: For unleſs we relax in our Demands, “we ſhall loſe their good Opinion. And “when they are once exaſperated, and exert “their Strength upon us, our Weakneſs will “quickly be diſcover'd. Stiffneſs and Overgraſping ſeldom ſucceeds, and thoſe who are “ſo ſtrong in their Will, commonly ſuffer in “their Power.” Thus 'twas argu'd by the more thinking and moderate Diviſion: But theſe were overul'd by a raſh Majority, who inſiſted, “That “the only Way to gain their Point, was to ſtand “their Ground; That God would maintain his “own Cauſe; That they ought not to be overaw'd by ſecular Conſiderations; That the “Hearts of Princes were in the Hand of God; “And that they had an Inſtance of his turning “them to their Advantage in the preſent Buſineſs.” In ſhort, they reſolv'd to ſtand by the *Declinator*, unleſs the King would ſuperſede the Proceſs, remit the Cauſe to Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and make an act of *Council*, That no Miniſter ſhould be proſecuted for Preaching; at leaſt not before the Meeting of the General *Aſſembly*.

The Miniſters refuſe to come to a Temper with the Court.

The King finding himſelf ſlighted in ſo condeſcending an Offer, was very angry, and told thoſe ſent to wait on him, That he would hear no more propoſals from the Church, unleſs they recall'd the *Declinator*, and order'd *Blake* to appear, and acknowledge the Court. This being refus'd, the Commiſſioners were charg'd to depart the Town, and *Blake* had a new Summons for the laſt of *November*.

Upon this the Commiſſioners preſented a Petition to the King, and the Nobility; they entreated the King to refer the Deciſion of the Controverſie to a General *Aſſembly*, and not gratifie the Common Enemy by engaging in an intricate Diſpute: A Diſpute which ſeems to be preſs'd only to create a Miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and the Miniſters. They deſir'd the Nobility to repreſent the Tendency of this Affair to his Majeſty; to give frank and Impartial Advice, not to be ſurpriz'd by thoſe who are diſaffected to Religion, or ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into a Party againſt the Church. *(m)* Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock* were ſent with the Addreſs, and had Orders, in caſe 'twas rejected, to proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the *Council*.

The Church-Commiſſioners Petition rejected.

The Charge againſt Blake.

The King having peruſ'd the Paper, laid it aſide as not deſerving an Anſwer. And now *Blake* being call'd into Court, the Summons or Information was read. He was charg'd with affirming in the Pulpit, That the *Popiſh Lords* were return'd home with his Majeſty's Knowledge and Aſſurance of Protection; and that by giving this Countenance, his Highneſs *had diſcover'd the Treachery of his Heart*. Secondly, The Information ſet forth, That *Blake* had call'd all Kings the *Devil's Barns*; and that the *Devil was in the Court, and in thoſe who directed it*. Thirdly, That in his Prayer for the Queen, he us'd this Expreſſion, *We muſt pray for her for the Faſhion, but we have no Cauſe; ſhee'll never do us Good.* Fourthly, That he had called the Queen of *England* an *Atheiſt*. Fifthly, That he had argued in the Pulpit againſt the Proceedings of the Lords of the *Seſſion*, and called them *Miſcreants* and *Bribers*. Sixthly, That ſpeaking of the Nobility, he reproached them by ſaying, *They were Degenerated, Godleſs, Diſſemblers, and Enemies to the Church*: And that, mentioning the *Council*, he had called them *Holliglaſſes, Cormorants, and Men of no Religion*. Laſtly, That in *June* 1594. he had drawn together ſeveral Noblemen, Barons, and others in the Town of St. *Andrews*, incited them to run to Arms, and form themſelves into Troops and Companies; and that by ſo doing, he had uſurp'd the Regal Authority, and inſulted the Government.

After the Information was read, Mr. *Robert Pont* made a Proteſtation for ſaving the Authority of the Church in determining Matters of Doctrine. The King anſwer'd, He had no Intention to decide any Points of Doctrine; but that himſelf and his *Council* would proceed to cenſure treaſonable Expreſſions in a Sermon, unleſs they could prove by clear *Scripture*, that Miniſters in theſe Caſes were exempted from the Juriſdiction of the *Civil* Magiſtracy.

Proteſtation againſt the Proceedings of the King and Council.

And now *Blake* being order'd to make his Defence, alledg'd, the Information was drawn upon falſe Suggeſtions. And here he produced two Teſtimonials in his behalf: The one was from the Provoſt, Bailiffs, and Common Council of St. *Andrews*; the other from the Rector, Dean of the Faculty, Profeſſors and Regents of the Univerſity. This Evidence he urg'd, ought to be preferr'd to any other Report whatever. Having premiſ'd this, he pleaded in the next Place, That the Lords of the *Council* were not proper Judges of the firſt Six Articles charg'd upon him; That theſe pretended criminal Expreſſions being deliver'd in a *Pulpit*, ought to be try'd by a *Presbytery* for the Reaſons abovemention'd; and then repeating his former *Declinator*, he exhibited a new one of the ſame Tenor. As to the Charge of raiſing the Nobility and Barons, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Trial of the King and *Council*. Being order'd to withdraw, the Queſtion was put to the *Board*, Whether Churchmen in all Matters, either Criminal or *Civil*, were not within the Juriſdiction of the King's Courts? This Queſtion was reſolv'd affirmatively. Upon this the *Council* broke up, and the Evidence againſt *Blake* was poſtpon'd to the next Day.

In the mean Time, the King being of a gentle Temper, and diſpos'd to accommodate the Matter, diſpatch'd the Prior of *Blantire*, Treaſurer; and *Alexander Hume*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, to the Miniſters. The Meſſage was to acquaint them his Majeſty had no Intention to proceed to Extremities; That if *Blake* came to him, and declar'd his Conſcience concerning the Articles charg'd upon him, the King would take his Word, and give him leave to return to his Pariſh. It being Night when theſe Gentlemen were ſent, moſt of the Commiſſioners were gone to their Lodgings. However, they found Four of them, *Bruce*, *Rollock*, *Nicholſon*, and *James Melvil*. Theſe being acquainted with the King's Meſſage, *Bruce* anſwer'd in the Name of the Reſt; “*That if none but* Blake *had been concern'd, the Offer might be accepted; but the Liberty* “*of Chriſt's Kingdom had receiv'd ſuch a Wound by* “*the late Proclamations, and by uſurping the Spiritual Juriſdiction, that if Mr.* Blake *and Twenty* “*others had ſuffer'd Death by the Government, it* “*would have been a leſs Affliction to the good Brethren* “*than theſe injurious Proceedings*: *And that unleſs*

The King offers an Accommodation.

(m) Spotſwood Church Hiſt. pag 423.

“*theſe Things were retracted, they would continue their Oppoſition as long as they had Breath.*

Expoſtulates with the Miniſters.

Notwithſtanding this provoking Anſwer, the King's Patience held on. The next Morning he ſent for two or three of the Miniſters, argu'd with them, and had the Goodneſs to acquaint them, that he was ſo far from any Deſign of leſſening the Spiritual Juriſdiction, or laying his Hands upon any Privileges belonging to the Church, that he was rather inclin'd to make them greater upon a proper Occaſion: “But this licentious Canvaſſing Affairs of State, ſays he, in the Pulpit cannot be endur'd. I claim no more than to have the Cognizance of Criminal and *Civil* Cauſes, and to try my Subjects for Sedition: That People ought to be proſecuted for mutinous Expreſſions whereſoever deliver'd; for that the Pulpit ſhould be a privileg'd Place for unwarrantable Liberty, and Sermons made a Skreen for Sedition, is more I believe than any good Man will allow. If Sedition and Treaſon deſerve Puniſhment, the Pulpit ſhould be rather an Aggravation of the Fault, than a Protection for the Offender: For here nothing but Truth and Duty ſhould be deliver'd to the Audience.

To this one of the Miniſters reply'd, “They did not plead for any ſuch Privilege of the Pulpit; but ſince the Miniſters Commiſſion and *Meſſage* was from God Almighty, they conceiv'd it ought not to be call'd in Queſtion, or over-rul'd by any Temporal Court. I wiſh you would keep cloſe to your *Meſſage*, replies the King, for then there would be no Diſpute between us. But I hope 'tis no Part of your Inſtructions to ſit at the *Helm*, to arraign the Government, harangue the People to Sedition, and draw an *Odium* upon your Prince by Clamour and Invectives. If any Eccleſiaſtick exceeds his Commiſſion, and miſbehaves himſelf in this Manner, rejoins the Miniſter, he ought to be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity: But then whether Matter of Fact ſtands thus or not, muſt be tried by the Church: And ſhall not I, ſays the King, be allow'd the Authority to call a Miniſter into my Courts, and puniſh him for Treaſonable Diſcourſes? Or is there no Redreſs without coming to your *Presbyteries*, and preferring a Complaint againſt one of my own Subjects? I have had Proof already in the Buſineſs of *Gibſon* and *Roſſe* what Reparation I may expect from your Juſtice. Were the Caſe doubtful, or any Colour to excuſe the Diſcourſe, 'twould not be ſo ſurprizing to deſire the Miniſter might be convented before his own *Body*: But this cannot be pretended in the preſent Diſpute; for *Blake* has taken the Liberty to ſay, *The Treachery of the King's Heart is diſcover'd*; *and that all Kings are the Devil's Barnes.* Now what can be plainer than that the Man has over-run his Bounds, and gone off from his *Meſſage*? I am not ignorant, continues the King, what Convulſions *France* and *England* has ſuffer'd by the Violence of ſuch Tempers, and I have been ſufficiently exercis'd with them my ſelf; and therefore you muſt not expect I ſhould connive any longer at ſuch Licence. As for any defenſible Authority annex'd to your *Character*, or ſettled upon your *Aſſemblies* by the Scriptures and the Laws of the Realm, I have no Deſign to leſſen any Privilege of this Kind; and if you deſire it, I am willing to make a publick Declaration to that Purpoſe.

And condeſcends to publiſh a Declaration in Favour of the Church.

This Conceſſion being reported, the Church-Commiſſioners agreed to requeſt it; the Heads ſuggeſted were theſe: That the King would publiſh a Declaration, that 'twas not his Majeſty's Intention to prohibit any Church Aſſemblies, or null any Orders made there; but that ſuch Decrees ſhould ſtand in Force as formerly they had done, being warranted by the *Holy Scriptures*, and the Laws of the Realm: And that the late prohibiting the Barons and Gentlemen to meet with the Miniſters, was not to be ſtretch'd to any Eccleſiaſtical *Synods*, but only meant for a Reſtraint of their appearing in Arms: That nothing which has hitherto happen'd at *Blake*'s Trial ſhould be urg'd to the Prejudice of himſelf, or any other Miniſter. And laſtly, That the whole Diſpute ſhould be referr'd to a General *Aſſembly*, where the Barriers between the Church and *State* might be fairly adjuſted.

The King not only agreed to this Petition, but made a farther Overture of Razing the late Proclamations out of the *Council-Book*; that is, by inſerting a Marginal Note, which imported a Deletion. And as for *Blake*, he was willing he ſhould be brought into the Preſence, that the Truth of the Articles charg'd upon him, ſhould be referr'd to his Conſcience; And that upon his ſolemn Declaration how far they held good, three Miniſters, *Lindeſay*, *Nicholſon*, and *Buchanan*, upon hearing his Confeſſion, ſhould pronounce what Sentence they thought fit: And now the Difficulties ſeem'd all over. For the King demanded very moderate Satiſfaction; his Majeſty only required *Blake* to come before the *Council*, and acknowledge his Miſbehaviour to the Queen. But *Blake* was too ſtiff for this Reparation; he would neither condemn himſelf, he ſaid, nor own the *Council* had any Authority to proſecute him for his Sermon. Upon his perſiſting in this Obſtinacy, the Depoſition of the Witneſſes was read, and the Articles of Information fully prov'd upon him. The Judgment given againſt him was, That he had treaſonably ſlander'd the King, ſcandalouſly maltreated his Majeſty's Conſort, the Queen of *England*, and the Lords of the *Council* and *Seſſion*; and that therefore till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was farther known, he ſhould be confin'd on the North-ſide of the *Frith*.

Blake refuſes to aſk the Queen's Pardon.

The King offers farther Terms of Accommodation.

Notwithſtanding this Sentence, the King was willing to ſuſpend the Execution, and offer gentler Terms: He condeſcended ſo far, as to propoſe the razing the offenſive Paſſages in the *Council-Book*, and to turn the complaining Paſſages in the Proclamation upon the *Papiſts*: He likewiſe agreed, that no Interlocutory Proceedings againſt *Blake* ſhould be made a Precedent againſt any other Miniſter; and that none ſhould be queſtion'd by the *Council* for Preaching, till 'twas reſolv'd by a lawful *Aſſembly*, that the King might take Cognizance of thoſe Preachers who had run out into Heterodoxy, and exceeded their Commiſſion. On the other ſide, he requir'd no more than a reaſonable Security for the good Behaviour of the Miniſters: That they would not fail in their Regards to the Government, nor ſpeak diſreſpectfully of his Majeſty, or his *Council*, and that they would keep themſelves thus in Compaſs, he expected a Promiſe under their Hands. And all the Puniſhment he asked for *Blake* was, either that he might be removed from St. *Andrews* to another Congregation, or ſuſpended ſome Time from his Function. And theſe, conſidering the Nature of the Crime, and the Stubborneſs of the Offender, were very merciful Corrections.

The Overture refuſ'd by the Commiſſioners.

However, This laſt Condition was more than the Commiſſioners would digeſt. They pretended, that to puniſh a Man without a legal Tryal, was not practicable in Juſtice: That both the Court and the Procedings againſt *Blake*, were exceptionable: And that the Evidence produc'd againſt him were diſaffected, and under the *Cenſures* of the Church. To ſilence this Cavil, the King offer'd to name Twenty unexceptionable Witneſſes: That *Blake* ſhould chuſe Seven or Eight out of this Number. That theſe Men of his own Chuſing ſhould be examin'd touching thoſe Paſſages deliver'd by him in the Pulpit. And which was more too, the King condeſcended to make them Judges: And that if upon their Conſciences they could acquit him, his Majeſty would proſecute no farther. But all this yielding, turn'd to no Account; the Miniſters were peremptory in their Demands, and held up their Claim as high as ever. The Commiſſioners order'd Two of the *Brethren* to go to the King and acquaint him, “That ſince they could have no Redreſs of Injuries done to *Chriſt's Kingdom:* Since none but the Enemies of *Truth* were countenanc'd; ſince the faithful Paſtors of the Church were proſecuted and reviled, they could not forbear oppoſing theſe Meaſures with the Spiritual Arms God had given them. After this, they indicted a *Faſt* with ſolemn Prayers for averting the Judgments the Mal-Adminiſtration was likely to bring down upon the Kingdom.

Decemb. 12. *1596.*

The King publiſhes a Declaration againſt the Miniſters.

And now the King found it neceſſary to aſſert his Sovereignty, and ſtrike the Miſbehaviour of theſe Men. To this Purpoſe he publiſh'd a Declaration, in which his own Condeſcenſions, the unreaſonableneſs and extraordinary Freedoms of the Miniſters were ſet forth: He likewiſe gave his Subjects an Aſſurance of his Reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the Liberties of the Church, in their legal Extent. And laſtly, All Miniſters were required to give the King an Aſſurance of their Loyalty by ſubſcribing an Inſtrument: And that till this Security was given, their Livings and Stipends ſhould be ſequeſtred.

The Breach made wider by ſome Courtiers.

About this Time, ſome Courtiers being ſecretly averſe to an Accommodation, inform'd the King that the Miniſters in *Edinburgh* had a ſtrong Guard about them. And that they would never be quiet, till ſome factious People who abetted them, were ſent out of Town. The King believing this Suggeſtion, order'd 24 moſt ſuſpected for their Partiality, to quit the Town within Six Hours. This they knew would be ſtrongly reſented by the Miniſters. And to alarm them farther, a forg'd Letter was ſent to bid them ſtand upon their Guard, for *Huntley* had been with the King late laſt Night, and put his Majeſty upon that Severity to the Burghers. This Letter directed to *Bruce*, was given to *Balcanquel*, who was to preach that Morning. And thus theſe Miniſters, who needed no imaginary Danger to raiſe their Spirits, and ſharpen their Satyr, thought it neceſſary to exert their Zeal, and awaken the People. Thus *Balcanquel* run out in a long and violent Invective againſt the Court, call'd the Proceedings of the Council, *Treacherous Forms:* And treated the Preſident, the Comptroller, and Advocate, with moſt opprobrious Language. Then applying himſelf particularly to the Noblemen and Barons, reminded them of their Anceſtors Zeal in reforming Religion, and exhorted to the ſame Reſolution, for maintaining it. And after the concluding Prayer, he deſired the Noblemen and Barons to meet the Miniſters in the *Little Church*, and aſſiſt them with their Advice. When they were met, *Bruce* began with a Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of the Court, and deſir'd them to ſolicit the King that the Miniſters might enjoy the Benefit of their Character, and not be diſturb'd in their Function.

Balcanquel's *ſcandalous Sermon.*

This Requeſt ſeeming reaſonable, the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Forbes*, with Two Lairds, and Two Miniſters, were pitch'd on to preſent the Petition.

The King then happen'd to be at the *Seſſion* or Court of Juſtice in *Edinburgh*; and here the Lords and the reſt being admitted, *Bruce* ſpoke the Petition, and made ſomewhat of a tragical Repreſentation of the Dangers hanging over the Church: And amongſt other Grievances, he mention'd the Lady *Huntley's*, a profeſs'd Papiſt, being entertain'd at Court. The King, 'tis likely, not thinking ſuch bold Complaints fit to be anſwer'd, ask'd, *Who they were that durſt meet againſt his Proclamation.* The Lord *Lindeſay* with ſome Paſſion replied, *That they durſt do more than that, and that they would not ſuffer their Religion to miſcarry.* And now the People crowding in rudely, and filling the Room, the King without giving any Anſwer, withdrew into the Lower Houſe, where the Judges ſit, and order'd the Doors to be ſhut. Thoſe who were ſent with the Petition, returning to their Principals, told them there was no Hopes of Redreſs, till evil Counſellors were remov'd, and that therefore 'twas their Way to reſolve upon ſome farther Expedient. To this, the Lord *Lindeſay* anſwer'd, there was no Courſe to be taken but one, and that was to keep together, and engage for mutual Defence, and give their Friends Notice to come and join them: For, ſays he, *it ſhall be either Theirs or Ours.* This Advice was ſeconded with a great Noiſe, throwing up of Hands, and other Signs of Mutiny and Miſbehaviour: At laſt they came to a Sedition in Form, cried to Arms, *bring out* Haman, *the Sword of the Lord and of* Gideon: In ſhort, the *Mob* were upon the Point of forcing the *Seſſions* Door, and breaking in upon the King, had they not been kept off by ſome of the Burghers, better diſpos'd. However, the Tumult not being over, Sir *Alexander Hume*, Provoſt of the Town, tho' then Sick, came into the Street, and by his Dexterity prevail'd with the People to lay down their Arms, and diſperſe.

The King inſulted.

Mutiny in Edinburgh.

Idem.

The King quits the Town and carries off the Courts of Juſtice.

To make the Story as ſhort as may be, the King perceiving the Miniſters and their Adherents extravagant in their Demands, went off with his *Council* to *Linlithgow:* And immediately after a Proclamation was publiſh'd at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*. 'Twas to this Effect: “That the King, conſidering the late treaſonable Tumult ſtir'd up by certain factious Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who after behaving themſelves ſeditiouſly in the Pulpit, had drawn ſeveral Noblemen and Barons together, and ſent ſome of their Body to his Majeſty in the Upper Houſe of *Seſſion*, treated Him in an unbecoming undutiful Manner, and prevail'd with a great Number of the Burghers to put themſelves in Arms, with an Intention to murder the King and his *Council*; for theſe Reaſons his Majeſty thought that *Town* an improper Place for the Seat of Juſtice, and therefore had order'd the Lords of *Seſſion*, the Sheriffs, and others of the *Civil* Liſt, to leave *Edinburgh*, and repair to ſuch Places as ſhould be

“ appointed, commanding all Noblemen and
“ Barons to retire to their reſpective Houſes,
“ and not to preſume to meet either there, or
“ elſewhere, without Leave from his Majeſty.

This lively Motion of the Government, prov'd a ſerviceable Effort, and gave the *Cauſe* a Turn. The People now began to cool in their Ferment, and grow ſenſible they had gone too far: But the Miniſters ſcorn'd to relent, bore up with their former Reſolution, did their Utmoſt to keep the Noblemen and Barons together, and mov'd to ſend into the Country, and reinforce themſelves; to this Purpoſe an *Aſſociation* was drawn up, and ſign'd by ſome few. When 'twas put to the *Common Council*, they made a Civil Excuſe, and thus the *Inſtrument* did little Buſineſs. Notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, the Courage of the Miniſters was not to be baffled: Several of them at a Debate mov'd for Excommunicating the Lord Preſident of the *Council*, and the Lord Advocate: But 'twas at laſt reſolv'd to leave this Cenſure to the *Aſſembly*: That by being iſſued from thence, it might be executed with greater Force and Solemnity. In the mean Time, to amuſe the People, and keep them from recovering their Underſtandings, a Faſt was proclaim'd through the City, and Sermons appointed in all Churches.

The Miniſters endeavour to reaſſure the Faction.

Welſh's *treaſonable Sermon.*

Rev. 2.

Id. *pag.* 430.

One *Welſh* Preaching in the Cathedral, and taking his Text out of Part of the Letter to the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, rail'd hideouſly upon the King. He ſaid *He was poſſeſs'd with a Devil: And that one Devil being put out, ſeven worſe were entred in his Room: And that the Subjects might lawfully riſe, and take the Sword out of his Hand.* This wretched Aſſertion he endeavour'd to make good by the Inſtance of a *Fathers falling into a Frenzy, who during his Diſtraction, might be ſeiz'd by the Children and Servants, and bound Hand and Foot*: A moſt execrable Doctrine, ſays Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, and directly repugnant to the Holy *Scriptures*: And yet, as this Prelate continues, the Parallel was well received, and the Poiſon ſwallow'd by a great Part of the *Audience.*

The Miniſters having diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the Lord *Hamilton* to come and join them, this Nobleman at firſt ſeem'd to promiſe Compliance: But upon Recollection, he went to the Court at *Linlithgow*, and carried a Copy of the Miniſter's Letter with him. This Letter was treaſonable to the laſt Degree: For having ſet forth the Oppreſſion the Church lay under by the Malice of ſome Counſellors; theſe extraordinary Sentences followed; *That the People animated by the Word and Motion of God's Spirit, had gone to Arms, and that the godly Barons and other Gentlemen that were in Town had convened themſelves, and taken on them the Patrociny of the Church and her Cauſe: Only they lacked a Head, and ſpecial Noblemen to Countenance the Matter; And ſince with one Conſent they had made Choice of his Lordſhip, their Deſire was, that he ſhould come to* Edinburgh *with all convenient Diligence, and utter his Affection to the good Cauſe, accepting the Honour which was offer'd unto him.*

A treaſonable Letter ſent to the Lord Hamilton.

This Letter written by Mr. *Bruce* was ſign'd by him and *Balcanquel.* This was plain ſoliciting for a Rebellion, and an open Revolt from the Government: And therefore the King had great Reaſon to draw the Sword of Juſtice, and puniſh the Defiance. To this Purpoſe an Order was ſent to the Provoſt and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh* to commit the Miniſters: But they having Notice given them, made their Eſcape to *Newcaſtle* in *England.* The ſame Day the Town ſent ſome of their Body to wait upon the King. Their Buſineſs was to purge themſelves from the Imputation of the late Tumult: And to offer their Submiſſion. His Majeſty not allowing any Juſtification, told them that good Words were no ſufficient Excuſe for a Miſbehaviour of that Size: And that he *would come to them e'er long, and let them know he was their King,*

The Burghers of Edinburgh *make their Submiſſion to the King, and are refus'd.*

And now perceiving the late Diſorders would not be eaſily paſs'd over, the Provoſt, Bailiffs, and Common Council waiting on the King, preſented him with a very humble Petition, and reſign'd themſelves wholly to the Award of his Majeſty and *Council*; proteſting at the ſame Time, that the Mutiny was neither concerned nor countenanc'd by them. This *Proteſtation* having too much the Air of an Apology, might probably make their Submiſſion be refus'd. What Reſerves of Puniſhment the King might have, is Uncertain. But ſome Noblemen adviſ'd him to demoliſh the Town, and erect a Pillar to mark the Rebellion. Others ſuggeſted milder Revenge, but at preſent nothing was reſolv'd. Not long after the Queen of *England* ſent him a ſoftning Letter, and interceded for gentler Puniſhment. The King was glad of the Colour of ſo conſiderable an Interceſſion, to come off from Extremities, with a Saving of his Honour: For he was far from a vindictive Humour; and deſired no more than to quiet the People, and ſecure the Government. But of this more afterwards.

February 28.

The King having made the Faction begin to plie, order'd a general *Aſſembly* to be conven'd at *Perth*. For now 'twas thought the Juncture preſented fair for correcting the Diſorders in the Church, and bringing off the Miniſters from their Encroachments upon the *State*. And that they might be the better appriz'd of the Matter they were to go upon, the King order'd ſome Articles to be drawn up and printed: In his Preface his Majeſty appeals to God, that he had no Intention to diſturb the Church by putting intricate Queſtions, nor to ſtretch his *Regale* to an arbitrary and tyrannical Exceſs: His Meaning was only to have ſome Doubts and Ambiguities clear'd, which might otherwiſe prove Occaſions of Diſpute: That by a fair Diſcuſſion of Controverſies of this Nature, a laſting Harmony between himſelf and the Miniſtry might be ſettled.

The Articles were 55 in Number, and drawn up by Way of Queſtion as follows:

Queſtions relating to the Government and Diſcipline of the Church publiſh'd by the King.

1. May not Matters relating to the external Government of the Church, be argued without any Prejudice to Points of Faith, and the Fundamentals of Religion?

2. Is the Authority of making Orders for the Government of the Church, ſolely veſted in the King, or in the Paſtors, or have each of them a joint Share? If the latter, in what Manner are they to combine their reſpective Powers for this Purpoſe?

3. Is not the Conſent of the greateſt Part of the Pariſhioners, and likewiſe of the Patron, requir'd for the Election of Paſtors?

4. Is it lawful for the Paſtor to quit his Flock againſt their Inclination, provided he has the Conſent of the Presbytery for going off? And for what Reaſons ought the *Presbytery* to give their Conſent?

5. Is it lawful for a Miniſter to make Uſe of any Application foreign to the Edification of his own Flock? Or is the whole World within the Charge of every particular Paſtor?

6. Is he a lawful Miniſter who had no Impoſition of Hands at his Ordination?

7. Is it lawful for Paſtors to name Privy Counſellors, Magiſtrates, or any others in the Pulpit? Or to point them out ſo plainly, that the People may underſtand them by the Deſcription? And are ſuch marking Strokes of Satyr to be us'd without notorious Immorality, and private Admonition before given?

8. What Vices and Irregularities are thoſe which will juſtify the Miniſters in Reprimanding a Magiſtrate in the Pulpit, when either Abſent, or Preſent?

9. Is the Application in Pulpits lawful, which ſtands only upon Rumors and Reports, Suſpicion or Suppoſition, the Probability or Improbability of Events? The Reaſon of this Queſtion is, becauſe the Grounds of ſuch Application may be all falſe, and by Conſequence the Inference made upon them? And therefore ſhould not all Applications of Diſadvantage be founded on unconteſted Fact, and Notoriety of Misbehaviour?

10. Is the Text read in the Pulpit to be the Baſis of the Doctrine, and give Meaſures to the Sermon? Or may any Diſcourſe, tho' never ſo remote, be grafted upon any *Text*? So that the Naming it is only Matter of Form?

11. May a private Paſtor exerciſe any Branch of Juriſdiction without the Conſent of moſt Part of his Parochial Seſſion?

12. Is his Seſſion a competent Judge of his Doctrine?

13. Should not all thoſe who have a Right to Vote in the Seſſion, and particularly the Moderator be annually choſen?

14. May the Seſſion be fairly choſen by Miniſters only, without the Conſent of the whole Congregation?

15. Why ſhould not Elders and Deacons of particular Seſſions be elected to hold their Offices, *durante Vita*?

16. How many Presbyteries will ſerve for the whole Country, in what Places are they to be fix'd, and of how many Paſtors is every Presbytery to conſiſt?

17. Are the Elders and Deacons of every parochial Seſſion to Vote in Presbyteries, or does this Privilege belong to none but Paſtors?

18. What is the Buſineſs proper to the Juriſdiction of the Presbytery, and what Caſes are too big for the Cognizance of particular Seſſions?

19. What Forms of Proceſs in Libelling and Citation? In what Manner are the Tryals to be manag'd, and what Evidence is requiſite at parochial Seſſions and Presbyteries?

20. What Cauſes are thoſe which belong to the Cognizance of Synods, and which Presbyteries are not to meddle with?

21. Ought not all thoſe who have a Right of Suffrage in Presbyteries or Parochial Seſſions, have likewiſe a Vote in Synodal Aſſemblies?

22. Should every Univerſity or College, or every particular Maſter or Regent, within ſuch *Societies*, have a Vote in Presbyteries and Synods in the Towns and Precincts where they live? And in what Manner and Proportion are they to vote in general Aſſemblies?

23. Is it lawful to convene a general Aſſembly without a Licence from his Majeſty, ſince he cannot be denied the Character of a pious and Chriſtian Magiſtrate?

24. Muſt the Reaſons for calling a general Aſſembly be drawn from Buſineſs relating to the whole Church?

25. Have not all Men of Orthodoxy and Learning a Right to vote in general Aſſemblies?

26. Is every particular Paſtor oblig'd to go to the general Aſſembly? Or are Commiſſioners from every particular Seſſion, Presbytery, or Synod, ſufficient for this Purpoſe?

27. Who are the proper Electors of Commiſſioners from every Shire to vote in the general Aſſembly?

28. What Number of Perſons is neceſſary for compleating a general Aſſembly? And how many of that Number are to be Paſtors?

29. May any Decree paſs in the general Aſſembly without his Majeſty's Conſent?

30. Is two Thirds of the Members neceſſary to the Validity of a judicial Sentence, to prevent the Inconvenience of a ſlender Majority?

31. Has not every Eccleſiaſtical Court ſubordinate to the general Aſſembly, a limited Precinct, beyond which they have no Authority, either for Citation or Juriſdiction?

32. Which is the ordinary Eccleſiaſtick Court for taking Cognizance of his Majeſty's Houſehold and *Council*, conſidering this Family is Ambulatory, and removes with his Majeſty to any Part of the Realm?

33. Should there be libelled Præcepts, containing the Cauſe of the Citation and Certification of the Cenſures before all Eccleſiaſtick Judgments? Or ſhould they Anſwer *Super Inquirendis*?

34. Have inferior Courts Authority to ſummon any to compeir before the Superior? Or ought People to be ſummon'd only by that Court where they are bound to make their Appearance?

35. Are not private Admonitions, with reaſonable Diſtances of Time, to go before all Manner of Citations?

36. What intervals are neceſſary between every private Admonition, between the firſt Citation, and the Day for Appearance between the Citation and the laſt Admonition? And whether are theſe Diſtances of Time to be the ſame in every Eccleſiaſtical Court? Or what is to be the Difference?

37. How many Citations diſregarded amount to Contumacy?

38. Is ſingle Contumacy without the Proof of a Crime, a ſufficient Ground for Excommunication? Or does any Crime abſtracted from Contumacy deſerve ſuch a Cenſure?

39. Are there not different Kinds of Spiritual Cenſures? Such as *Prohibitio privati Convictus*, or forbearing cloſe Correſpondence, private Forbidding the Perſon coming to the Holy Euchariſt; and laſtly, a Publick delivering him over to Satan?

40. Are the Presbyteries Judges of every Thing that imply Slander? And if ſo, does not the next Conſequence make them Judges in almoſt all Cauſes whatſoever?

41. Are Thieves, Murtherers, Uſurers, and People that don't pay their Debts, to be excommunicated? If ſo, Why is not this Spiritual Curſe diſcharg'd againſt the High-land and *Border*-Thieves? Why are not Tradeſmen and Uſurers that forſwear themſelves, put under this Cenſure?

42. Muſt there be any Appeal from a lower to a higher Court? If there is, ought not the Sentence to be ſuſpended, hanging the Appeal?

43. Should not Copies of all Proceſſes and Acts of Court, be tranſcrib'd for the Parties concern'd?

44. Is ſummary Excommunication without Admonition and Citation, warrantable in any Caſe?

45. Have any others, excepting Paſtors, a Vote to excommunicate?

46. Has every Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory the ſame Power for Excommunication?

47. Is it lawful to excommunicate thoſe Papiſts who never profeſs'd our Religion?

48. Is an Orthodox and uncenſur'd Perſon, oblig'd not to cohabit with his Wife when excommunicated?

49 Is it not reaſonable, that before any Letters of *Horning* are granted by the Lords of the *Seſſion*, upon Proceſs of Excommunication, the Party or Criminal ſhould be cited to hear them granted? The Reaſon is, becauſe if any Exceptions could be urg'd againſt the Church Cenſure, the *Horning*, or Outlawry, might be ſtop'd.

50. Has not a Chriſtian King Power to reverſe a notoriouſly unjuſt Sentence of Excommunication?

51. May any *Council*, *Society*, or Univerſity be excommunicated? For what Cauſe, by whom, and in what Manner?

52. When the Paſtors fail in their Duty, or when one Spiritual Juriſdiction encroaches upon another? Or when any other Failure or Breach happens in the Church, is it not within the Authority of a Chriſtian King to rectify ſuch Diſorders?

53. May publick Faſts be proclaim'd in a Chriſtian Kingdom, without the Sovereign's Command?

54. May any Eccleſiaſtical *Conſiſtory* force a Man to ſwear *in ſuam Turpitudinem?* That is, ſwear to diſcover ſuch Things as muſt of Neceſſity ſtick a Blemiſh upon his Character.

55. Are Eccleſiaſtical Courts to take Cognizance of any Thing to the Prejudice of Property and *Civil* Juriſdiction? And is it not lawful for the ſecular Magiſtrate to ſuperſede all ſuch Proceedings?

(n) Spotſwood's Church *Hiſtory*, p. 434.

The Presbyterian Miniſters were not a little embarraſs'd with theſe Queries. For moſt of them ſuppos'd Abuſes in the *Diſcipline*, and were plainly levelled againſt them Now to find the Church Government mooted, which had been all along pretended no leſs than Part of the *Goſpel*, was a ſevere Mortification. To prevent the Progreſs of this Controverſy, or any unſerviceable Impreſſions upon the People, all imaginable Precaution was us'd, and ſeveral private Conſultations held for this Purpoſe. The King on the other Side was not negligent to make an Intereſt with the Members of the *Aſſembly*. And being inform'd the Miniſters in the *North* Parts were moſt likely to be gain'd, he diſpatch'd Sir *Patrick Murray*, a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, to that Quarter. Sir *Patrick* mov'd, their Publiſhing an Abhorrence of the late treaſonable Practices at *Edinburgh*. He was likewiſe, amongſt other Things, to inſiſt on their ſigning an *Inſtrument*, recognizing his Majeſty's ſupreme Authority for trying all Treaſons, Seditions, and other *Civil* and Criminal Matters: And for calling Miniſters to an Account for all Diſcourſes deliver'd in Pulpits, Schools, or elſewhere, which implied any of the aforeſaid Crimes.

The King's Meſſage to the Miniſters in the North.

The Northern Miniſters replied, That as to the *Tumult* at *Edinburgh*, they were unacquainted with what Share the *Town* Miniſters might have in it: And not being within their Juriſdiction, they had no Authority to Cenſure them: But in General, they made no ſcruple to ſay, that whoever was found Guilty of that Inſurrection, ought to ſuffer as Traitors: And if they were Miniſters, they deſerv'd to be doubly puniſh'd.

When the general *Aſſembly* met, the King's Commiſſioners laid the following Articles before them, letting them know that his Majeſty was contented to refer the Deciſion of the greateſt Part of the *Queſtions*, to a farther Opportunity, and would be ſatisfied with an affirmative Reſolution in the following Points.

A general Aſſembly at Perth.

The Articles inſiſted on by the King.

1. That 'tis not unlawful either for Prince or Paſtors, to propoſe Reformation in the external Government and Diſcipline of the Church; provided 'tis in Things not eſſential to Salvation, nor expreſly determin'd in *Scripture*.

2. That ſince the *Civil* Adminiſtration belongs properly to the King and *Council*, and is by no Means included in the Function of an Eccleſiaſtick; for this Reaſon, no Miniſters ſhould meddle with *State-Matters* in the Pulpit, or quarrel the *Conſtitution:* But if any Part of the Government ſeems to bear hard upon Religion, they ſhould make their Complaint to the King and *Council*.

3. That no Miniſters ſhall take the Liberty to name People in the Pulpit, or paint them out in an equivocal Deſcription, unleſs the Crimes happen to be notorious: And that the Proofs allow'd to make a Crime notorious, muſt be either the Perſons flying from Juſtice, or the Verdict of a *Jury*, or Excommunication.

4. That every Miniſter ſhall be oblig'd to confine his Application to the Edification of his own Pariſhioners, and not run out into Reflections in which they are no Ways concern'd.

5. That every *Presbytery* be commanded to examine the Doctrine of their Miniſters, and take Care they keep themſelves within their Bounds.

6. Summary Excommunications were never to be uſed, and that Three lawful Citations of Eight Days interval betwixt each of them, ſhould precede the Sentence.

7. That no Seſſion, Presbytery, or Synod, ſhould exert Cenſures upon any Perſons out of their Precinct. And that in Caſe they ſtretch'd their Juriſdiction farther, their Proceedings ſhould be of none Effect.

8. That all Summons ſhould aſſign particular Reaſons and Crimes, and not run generally *ſuper Inquirendis, quod eſt merè Tyrannicum.*

9. That the Miniſters ſhould hold no *Meetings* without his Majeſty's Knowlege and Conſent, excepting parochial Seſſions, Presbyteries, and Synods.

10. That no Miniſters ſhould be ſettled in the principal Burrows, without the Conſent of his Majeſty and the Congregation: And that this Order ſhould immediately take Place at *Edinburgh*.

11. That the reſt of his Majeſty's Queſtions may ſleep, and lie uncenſur'd till the next general *Aſſembly:* And that the Church Conſiſtories take Cognizance of no Cauſes but purely ſuch as are Eccleſiaſtical.

12. That Seven or Eight diſcreet Miniſters may be commiſſionated to argue upon the remaining

Idem.

maining Queſtions, when Opportunity ſhall ſerve.

Some of theſe Articles being demurr'd to at firſt, the King requir'd the *Aſſembly* to attend him at the Convention of the *Eſtates*. And here his Majeſty making a Speech, told them, amongſt other Things, that he claim'd nothing more than what belongs to every Chriſtian King, that is to be *Cuſtos & Vindex Diſciplinæ: To guard the Canons, and provide for the Execution of Diſcipline.* In the Cloſe, he deſir'd to hear what Reaſons they had to urge againſt the Twelve *Articles*.

The Church's Proteſtation.

Upon this, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, purſuant to his Commiſſion, made his *Proteſt* in the Name of the *Aſſembly*, "That their coming thither was only in Obedience to his Majeſty, and to hear what was propounded: 'Twas not to ſubmit the Buſineſs of the Church, either with Reſpect to Doctrine or Diſcipline, to the Cognizance of the *Eſtates*, or to incorporate themſelves with that *ſecular* Body: And therefore he deſir'd they might have Leave to return to the Place of their Aſſembly; and there debate and determine upon the Points in Queſtion.

And that their Reſolutions might be govern'd by the Word of God, and a good Conſcience. This *Proteſtation* being admitted, *Buchanan* return'd his Majeſty Thanks for his Affection to the Church, and the Care he expreſs'd for redreſſing Things amiſs in ſo gentle and condeſcending a Manner. After this, offering the *Aſſembly*'s Exceptions to the Articles propos'd, he added, they were ready to be farther inſtructed. This Compliance brought on a new Conference, which ended in the following Agreement.

Several Articles agreed.

1. That 'tis lawful for his Majeſty by himſelf or his Commiſſioners, and likewiſe to the Paſtors, to propoſe in a general *Aſſembly* what Queſtions they deſire ſhould be reſolv'd, or what Things they would have Reform'd in the external Government of the Church.

2. That no Miniſter ſhall be allow'd to Remonſtrate againſt his Majeſty's Laws or Adminiſtration, till by the Advice of his Presbytery, of a Synod, or general *Aſſembly*, he has applied to the King for Redreſs, and reported his Majeſty's Anſwer.

3. That no Man ſhould be named in the Pulpit by Way of Invective, excepting the Miſbehaviour happens to be publick and notorious. As to the Notoriety of the Fact, 'tis defin'd in the Manner above-mention'd.

4. The Anſwer to the Sixth Article above-mention'd was poſtpon'd 'till the next general *Aſſembly*: However, all ſummary Excommunications were to ceaſe in the mean Time.

5. The Seventh Article was likewiſe to be refer'd to the next general *Aſſembly*. The reſt of the Articles were agreed in the Terms propounded by the King.

This Year *John Leſley*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, departed this Life at *Bruſſels*. Notwithſtanding his dying in a different Communion, Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* gives him an honourable Character for his Loyalty to the late Queen of *Scots*. He commends him likewiſe for his Hiſtory of *Scotland* written in *Latin*, and that this Performance was a Proof of his Learning and Judgment. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter of *Leith*, was prefer'd to that Biſhoprick the Year following. And thus it appears, that notwithſtanding *Presbytery* was the Regnant Religion, yet the Title of Biſhop was ſtill continued upon ſome *Sees*.

To return to *England*; this Year *Richard Fletcher*, Biſhop of *London*, departed this Life. He is ſaid to have taken the *See* of *Briſtol* upon Terms of Compliance, cloſ'd with foul Propoſals, and almoſt *ſeculariz'd* the *See*, by letting Leaſes upon inconſiderable Rents reſerv'd. He likewiſe miſmanag'd in the ſame Kind upon his Tranſlation to *London*. (o)

(o) Harrington's *ſhort View*, &c.

John Coldwell, Dr. of Phyſick, and Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, died about the ſame Time. He prov'd a very unfortunate Prelate to the Biſhoprick. Sir *John Harrington* obſerves, that in this Reign 'twas the Method of ſome Courtiers to look out for Churchmen unfurniſh'd with Merit and Honeſty, and prefer them for Tools to their Avarice. (p) *Coldwell* happening to be thus qualified, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* made Uſe of the Opportunity, and ſnap'd *Sherborn* Caſtle, with the Manor, Park, &c. To make his Deſign bear, he ſolicits Queen *Elizabeth* to give Way to the Alienation: He knew ſhe had often been ſurpriz'd at that Quarter. Having got over this Difficulty, the remaining Part was eaſy enough; for *Coldwell*, either out of Cowardice or Covetouſneſs, ſeems to have reſign'd without Struggle. But notwithſtanding Sir *Walter*'s gaining his Point, 'twas firmly believ'd a Coal ſtuck to the Fleſh ſnatch'd from the *Altar*. Sir *John Harrington* makes no Scruple to report, that the *Judgments of God were manifeſt* on both of them. The Biſhop, who I hope repented his Bargain, died a Beggar. And as for the Knight, 'twas thought this forbidden ſeizure overlaid his Proſperity, hung a Weight upon his Fortune, and made him ſink with his Sacrilege.

(p) Harrington's *ſhort View*, &c. *pag.* 23.

Coldwell *Biſhop of* Saliſbury, *his Death and Miſmanagement.*

Id. *pag.* 89.

I ſhall begin the next Year at *Edinburgh*. The Burghers, who for the late Inſurrection, and Abetting the factious Miniſters, had been proclaim'd Rebels: But now upon their humble Submiſſion, they were receiv'd into the King's Protection. 'Twas at the Interceſſion of the Noblemen they were thus reſtor'd. However, the Pardon was not without Conditions of Reſtraint, and Articles for better Behaviour. (q)

The Town of Edinburgh *proclaim'd Rebels for abetting the Miniſters, and pardon'd.*

(q) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory.*

Anno Dom. 1597.

An Aſſembly at Dundee.

Soon after, the ſeditious Miniſters were permitted to return, but not ſuffer'd to preach in their Pariſhes. At the Breaking up of the laſt general *Aſſembly*, the King appointed another to be held at *Dundee* in *May* following. The main Buſineſs of this *Meeting* was to go upon the Queſtions undecided in the laſt: And here Things were ſettled both to the Satisfaction of the King, and the Church. For the Purpoſe, the Queſtion being put touching the *Convening of Paſtors with his Majeſty's Conſent*, 'twas declar'd, that the Reſolution in the Affirmative was to reach all *Aſſemblies*, either General or Particular, *authoriz'd by his Highneſs's Laws, and having Warrant in the Word of God*. On the other Side, touching the furniſhing Burroughs with Miniſters, the King agreed, that when the *Aſſembly* ſhould think it Neceſſary to fix a Miniſter in any Town, he would either give his Conſent, or a ſufficient Reaſon for his Refuſal. Theſe Preliminaries being ſettled, the following Queſtions were thus determin'd.

The Principal remaining Queſtions ſettled between the King and the Aſſembly.

1. Whereas, before the Concluding any weighty Buſineſs, his Majeſty expects to be applied to for his Advice and Approbation, the *Aſſembly* are very willing his Majeſty ſhould interpoſe in all important Affairs tranſacted by the Church; with this Proviſo, that Buſineſs formerly ſettled, ſhould not be re-examin'd, and put to the Queſtion.

2. That the Form for ordaining Miniſters ſhall be uniform, and none paſs without Impoſition of Hands, and being tied to a particular

Congregation. And that thoſe unordain'd ſhall not be permitted to preach in private Houſes unleſs upon urgent Neceſſity, and where regular Miniſters can't be had. And laſtly, That eſpecial Care ſhall be taken they don't ramble from their Buſineſs, and fly out into foreign Application.

3. That no Miniſter ſhall exerciſe any Juriſdiction, either in making Conſtitutions, or forming Proceſſes, without the Concurrence of his *Seſſion*, the Presbytery, Synod, or general Aſſembly.

4. That no Seſſion ſhall be elected without the Conſent of their own Congregations.

5. That Seſſions, Presbyteries, and Synods, ſhall keep cloſe to Forms and ſtated Regulations in their Proceedings; and that the Practice of lower Conſiſtories in this Point ſhall be tried by ſuperior Courts.

6. That in the Exerciſe of the *Word* or Liberty of *Propheſying*, for which Miniſters meet, no Application ſhall be uſed.

7. That in Matters of great Conſequence where the Queſtion is put, and the Majority riſes only to two or three Votes, nothing ſhall be concluded 'till farther debated; and here thoſe who are on the negative Side are to give a Reaſon of their Diſſent.

8. That *Presbyteries* ſhall not concern themſelves with any Buſineſs not unconteſtedly within Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance: That this Practice ſhall be uniform through the whole Kingdom.

9. That no Copies of Proceſſes and Acts ſhall be tranſcribed at the Inſtance of the Parties concern'd.

10. Summary Excommunication ſhall ceaſe, and in great Crimes, after publick Notice, the Offender ſhall be barr'd the Benefit of *Divine Service* and Sacraments, and avoided in Converſation.

11. That when his Majeſty ſhall write to any *Presbytery* to deſire them to ſtop their Proceſs, as being prejudicial to *Civil* Juriſdiction, or private Property, they ſhall deſiſt till the *Crown* is ſatisfied.

Commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly to tranſact for the Church.

That the main Queſtions being thus ſettled, 'twas thought proper to wave diſcuſſing the reſt, and give a general Commiſſion to ſome of the beſt diſtinguiſh'd Miniſters, for tranſacting all Affairs relating to the Intereſt of the Church. The Perſons pitch'd on were Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Thomas Nicholſon*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Alexander Dowglaſs*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, Mr. *Patrick Galoway*, *John Duncanſon*, Mr. *Patrick Sharpe*, Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *William Cowper*, and *John Clapperton*. Theſe, or any Seven of them, were authoriz'd to attend his Majeſty when requir'd, for ſettling Miniſters in the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Dundee*, and St. *Andrews*, in the King and Prince's Family, and in any other Churches of the Kingdom. 'Twas likewiſe Part of their Buſineſs to addreſs the King, to repreſent their Grievances, and offer their Advice to his Majeſty in every Thing that might be ſerviceable to the Church.

Upon the Receſs of the Aſſembly, theſe Commiſſioners held a Viſitation at St. *Andrews*. And here the Elders and Deacons of *Blake*'s Church being ſummon'd before them, they all took their Oaths that the Articles charg'd upon him before the Privy-Council were true. The Univerſity in this Town, where Mr. *Andrew Melvil* had been Rector for ſeveral Years, was much out of Order: The Revenues were ill manag'd, the Exerciſes neglected, and the Divinity Lectures were turn'd into Politicks. The Queſtions commonly diſcuſs'd were, Whether Elective or Succeſſive Kingdoms were the beſt Forms of Government? What was the Extent of the Regal Authority? And whether Kings might be call'd to Account for Mal-Adminiſtration, and depos'd by the *Eſtates*? To prevent the Miſchiefs of ſuch licentious Diſputes, the King clap'd them under a Reſtraint, and preſcrib'd every Profeſſor the Argument he was to go upon.

A Reformation in the Univerſity of St. Andrews.

In the latter End of the Year, a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*. Amongſt other Articles preſented by the Commiſſioners of the Church, one was, That the Miniſters conſidering they repreſented the Church, and the third Eſtate of the Kingdom might be admitted to ſit and vote in Parliament, purſuant to their ancient Privileges. The King thinking the Requeſt highly reaſonable, undertook the Cauſe, and procur'd the Paſſing a Bill. The Preamble of the Act declares, “That the Prelates have all along repreſented one of the Eſtates of the Realm: And that this Privilege has been preſerv'd through the Succeſſion of his Majeſty's Predeceſſors without Leſſening or Diſadvantage.” By the Body of the Statute, “All ſuch Paſtors and Miniſters as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to promote to the Office, Title, and Dignity, of Biſhop, Abbot, or other Prelate, ſhall at all Times to come have a Vote in Parliament with the ſame Freedom and Significancy as any other Eccleſiaſtical Prelate had at any Time formerly: And that all Biſhopricks now void, and undiſpos'd of by his Majeſty, ſhall be beſtow'd upon none but actual Preachers and Miniſters in the Church; or to ſuch other Perſons as ſhall be found qualified to exerciſe the Function of a Preacher and Miniſter: And who, upon their Promotion to the ſaid Biſhopricks, ſhall engage to perform the Office of a Paſtor.

A Statute for reſtoring Biſhops to their Right of voting in Parliament.

“And as to the ſtating and adjuſting the Office and Authority of theſe Biſhops in their Spiritual Government, the Parliament refers the Regulation of this Matter to the King and the General Aſſembly; provided nothing be done in the mean Time to the Prejudice of the Juriſdiction and Diſcipline of the Church eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament. (r)

By another Statute 'tis enacted, “That two Thirds of all Prelacies now void, or which ſhall happen to be void; and all Iſſues, Profits, and Emoluments, thereof *ſede vacante*, ſhall be veſted in his Highneſs and Succeſſors, for the Support of his Court and Government, and ſhall not be beſtow'd upon any Subject by Way of Grant, Penſion, or other Diſpoſition whatſoever. (s)

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

To go back a little to *England*: In *October* this Winter the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, in which there were two Acts paſs'd relating to the Church. By one of them the Deprivation of the Biſhops who refus'd to comply with the Reformation is confirm'd; and all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Deans, promoted by the Queen to their reſpective Dignities and Stations from any Time ſince her Acceſſion to the Throne, to the 10th of *November* in the 4th Year of her Reign, are declared lawfully conſtituted. The Reaſon of making this Act was, as the Preamble ſets forth, becauſe the Parties deprived made *ſecret Appeals*, and us'd other clandeſtine Methods to ſupport their Claim and Pretenſions. (t)

The other Act, in which the Church is concern'd, was *the Eſtabliſhment of the Biſhoprick* of Norwich, *and the Revenues belonging to it againſt a pretended concealed Title.*

(r) Jac. 6. Parl. 15. cap. 235.

(s) Jac. 6. Parl. 15. cap. 246.

(t) 39 Eliz. cap. 8.

To let the Reader better into the Meaning of this Statute Sir *Edward Coke* obſerves, That certain *Concealers*, *Templorum Helluones*, as he calls them, produc'd Letters Patents of *Concealment* bearing Date *Auguſt* the 2d, in the 27th Year of this Reign: And that *William Redmayn*, Doctor in Divinity, and Biſhop of *Norwich*, cauſed one *Hammond* to take an Eſtate to him and his Heirs, from the ſaid *Concealers*, of all or the greateſt Part, of the Monaſtery of St. *Bennet's de Hulmo*, belonging to the Biſhoprick. Sir *Edward Coke*, then Attorney-General, foreſeeing the Damage the Church of *Norwich* might receive by this Management, diſcours'd the Biſhop, and prevail'd with him at laſt to agree to the bringing in a Bill for eſtabliſhing the Biſhoprick and the Revenues. This Bill, as may be collected from what this Learned Gentleman reports, was drawn and ſolicited by himſelf, and which I mention to do Juſtice to his Memory. *(u)*

An Act for the eſtabliſhing the Biſhop of Norwich, &c.

The *Statute* ſets forth, That in the 27th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, 'twas enacted, That ſuch Perſon as ſhould then next after be Biſhop of the See of Norwich, being then void, and his Succeſſors, Biſhops of the ſaid See, ſhould have and enjoy, united and knit to the ſaid Biſhoprick the Monaſtery of St. Bennets in the County of Norfolk, and all the Poſſeſſions of the ſame —— That certain Perſons of a covetous and greedy Deſire to enrich themſelves, have to the great Deceit of her Highneſs, to the Impeachment of the ſaid Biſhoprick, and to the unjuſt Diſturbance of the Biſhops of the ſaid See, their Tenants and Farmers obtain'd of her Majeſty (little ſuſpecting their evil Intention) a Grant in Fee-Farm by her Letters Patent of, all or moſt Part of the Poſſeſſions of the ſaid Biſhoprick under the Name of a Cottage, and of all Lands, Tenements, Tythes, and Hereditaments, with the Appurtenances within the Deanries of Flegg, Brook, Waxham, Blowfield, Repes, and Deepwade, or any of them in the County of Norfolk, belonging to the ſaid Monaſtery of St. Bennets of Hulm. After this Preamble the Statute enacts, That the Surrender of the Hoſpital of St. *Giles* in *Norwich* by *William Rugge*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, and *Nicholas Shaxton*, Maſter of the ſaid Hoſpital, and the Brethren of the ſame made to the late King *Edward* the VIth, in the Firſt Year of his Reign, Shall be taken, conſtrued, and adjudg'd, not to have convey'd to the ſaid King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, any Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, whatſoever, of the ſaid late Monaſtery of St. Bennet's of Hulm, or of the ſaid Biſhoprick, or belonging thereunto, or to either of them: But the ſame, and every Part thereof, ſhall be deem'd and adjudg'd to have remain'd in the ſaid William, then Biſhop of the ſaid See, and ſhall be adjudg'd to remain in the now Biſhop of the ſaid See, and his Succeſſors, for ever, as if the ſaid Deed and Surrender had never been made. *(w)*

By the Way, the Method of theſe *Concealers* was to inform the Crown that the Subject had uſurp'd upon it, either by keeping ſome Part of an Eſtate ſurrender'd to the Crown, or by extending Grants from the Crown, to Lands not compriz'd within the Conveyance. Upon this Information, the *Concealers* procur'd *Patents* or Conveyances of ſuch pretended concealed Eſtates. To make their *Patent* paſs the better, they commonly had only ſome little Part of the Eſtate inſerted, with other general Words which reach'd to a great deal more. Theſe *Concealers* uſually quarried upon the Church, as finding a Conqueſt much more feaſible at that Quarter. And as they ſtruck at the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, ſo they were very near carrying off the Eſtates belonging to the Deanery and Chapter of that Cathedral. Of this Attempt Sir *Edward Coke* gives a full Account in the Third Book of his *Reports*. I ſhall give the *Reader* the Subſtance of the Argument.

The Concealers endeavour to ſeize the Eſtate of the Deanery and Chapter of Norwich.

King *Henry* the Eighth by his Letters *Patents*, bearing Date the 2d of *May*, in the 30th Year of his Reign, turn'd the Priory and Convent of the Cathedral of *Norwich* into a Deanery and Chapter; and by the ſame Letters *Patents* diſcharg'd the Prior and Convent from wearing the *Habit*, and obſerving the *Rule*; and erected the Dean and Prebendaries into a Corporation, and convey'd the Manors, Lands, *&c.* to them and their Succeſſors, which formerly belong'd to the Prior: And over and above the *Patent*, granted them the Privilege of being a *Chapter* to the Biſhop of *Norwich* and his Succeſſors. Upon peruſing the Inſtrument of the Foundation, and ſome other ancient Deeds belonging to the Priory, a Queſtion was put, Whether the King or *Herbert*, firſt Biſhop of *Norwich*, was the Founder. And here 'twas taken for granted, that *Herbert* was the Founder. Afterwards the ſaid Dean and Chapter, by their Deed enrolled, ſurrender'd their Church, and all their Eſtates to King *Edward* the VIth, in the Second Year of his Reign. The King in the ſame Year incorporates them again *per nomen Decani & Capituli Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ & Individuæ Trinitatis Norwici ex Fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti.* Afterwards the King in the ſame Year grants them back their Church, and all their Eſtates, (except certain Manors, *&c.*) which were convey'd to them and their Succeſſors by the Name of Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of *Norwich*, omitting theſe Words, *Ex Fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti.* Now one *William Downing*, and ſome other indigent Perſons, endeavouring to repair their Fortunes by the Ruin of the Deanry and *Chapter*, pretended that the Cathedral Church, and all the above-mention'd Poſſeſſions, were conceal'd from the Queen, and that they were granted to them (though this Grant was drawn in general and obſcure Words) in *Letters Patents* of *Concealment.* And that theſe Eſtates were conceal'd from the *Crown* they endeavour'd to prove.

This Caſe argued by Attorney-General Coke, *with the Reſolution of the Lord-Keeper and Judges.*

1. Becauſe the converting the Priory and Convent into a Deanery and Chapter was void: And that the old Corporation ſubſiſted in Law, 'till all the Monks were dead. And after the Deceaſe of all the Monks, which happen'd in the 18th Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, all the Eſtates belonging to the Convent were veſted in the Queen, purſuant to the Statute of the 31ſt of *Henry* the Eighth, *Cap.* 13.

2. Granting the *Tranſlation*, as the *Report* calls it, was good, yet by the Surrender made to King *Edward* the Sixth, the King was ſeized of all their Poſſeſſions; and that the Granting them back above-mention'd was void by the Miſnoſmer of the Corporation of the Dean and Chapter; that is, becauſe of the Omiſſion of theſe Words, *Ex Fundatione Regis Edward Sexti.* Now this being a Caſe of great Concern, and the Queen finding her ſelf ſurpriz'd by theſe *Con-*

(u) Coke Inſt. *p.* 4. *fol.* 257.

(w) 39 Eliz. cap. 22.

cealers, referr'd the Conſideration of this Matter to Sir *Thomas Edgerton* Lord-Keeper, to *Popham* and *Anderſon* Chief Juſtices, and to *Periam* Chief Baron. And thus at *York-houſe*, belonging to the Lord-Keeper, the Caſe was argued by the *Concealers* Council. The Subſtance of their Objections and Arguments were to this Effect:

Firſt, They granted that *Herbert*, formerly Biſhop of *Norwich*, was the Founder of the Priory. And from hence they infer, that ſince the Founder was not a Party to the *Tranſlation* of the Priory and Convent into a Deanry and Chapter, that Tranſlation was void. And to prove that the Founder of a Priory has ſuch an Intereſt in the *Houſe* as to make his Joining neceſſary, they cited ſeveral Year-Books and other Authorities, too long to mention. But as to this Point Attorney-General *Coke* replied, *Firſt*, That if the King was the Founder, as it appear'd he was by the Foundation-Charter and other *Records*, that then the Caſe was out of all Queſtion. But admitting the Biſhop was Founder, the *Tranſlation* was good notwithſtanding: For 'tis clear by old Law-Books that 'twas in the Pope's Power to diſcharge a Monk, or any other Religious Perſon, from his *Profeſſion*: And by Conſequence, by the 25th of *H.* 8. *cap.* 21. that King was impower'd to diſpenſe thus far, and accordingly he actually diſengag'd the Prior and Monks from their Rule and Profeſſion, and turn'd them into a Dean and Chapter: And that this Tranſlation was legal, he proves farther from *Dyer*'s *Reports*, (x) and from an Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Harry* the Eighth, (y) not to mention other Authorities. But granting this Tranſlation was imperfect or void upon the Score of the Objection above-mention'd, or for any other Reaſon, yet the 35th of *Eliz. cap.* 3. ſupplies ſuch Defects, and makes it perfectly good. And to ſhew the *Statute* comes full to the Caſe in Hand, and takes all Objections away, the Words run thus: **All Letters Patents made,** &c. **for the Erection, Foundation, Incorporation, or Endowment, of any Dean and Chapter or College, were and ſhall be reputed, taken, and adjudg'd, to have been good, perfect, and effectual, in Law, for all Things therein contain'd, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſame: Any Thing, Matter, or Cauſe, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.** And thus all thoſe who pretend Title by any Letters *Patents* of Concealment are for ever barr'd all Claim and Pretenſion to any Eſtate belonging to the Deanry and Chapter.

(x) 11 Eliz. Dyer. *fo.* 280. Corbet's *Caſe*.
(y) 33 H. 8. cap. 29.

Secondly, 'Twas argued by the *Concealers* Council, That ſuppoſing the *Tranſlation* was good, yet the Dean and Chapter had no Eſtate, or Right in the Eſtates, above-mention'd: For by the Surrender of their Church, and all their Manors, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, to King *Edward* the Sixth, that King was ſeiz'd of them in Fee 'till he reincorporated them by the Addition of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the holy and undivided Trinity in *Norwich*, founded by King *Edward* the Sixth; and afterwards, when that King regranted them their Poſſeſſions by the Name of Dean and Chapter, *Sanctæ & Individ' Trinitat' Norwic'*, theſe Words, *Ex Fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti*, were omitted. And here 'twas urged the Grant was void by the Miſnoſmer of the Corporation; that the Name of the Founder was material; and that the Omiſſion affected the Charter ſo far as to make it inſignificant. To this the Attorney-General pleaded, that the Dean and Chapter had an unqueſtionable Eſtate in the Lands and Poſſeſſions above-mention'd for ſeveral Reaſons.

Firſt, Granting they had made a Surrender of their Church and Eſtates, their Corporation would ſubſiſt nevertheleſs, and they would ſtill continue the Biſhop's Chapter. And to ſet this in a due Light *Coke* obſerves, that ſince 'twas not poſſible the Church of God ſhould always be free from Sects and Hereſies, 'twas thought neceſſary every Biſhop ſhould be provided with the Aſſiſtance of a ſtanding Council or Chapter: And that *firſt* for the Benefit of their Advice in Matters of Difficulty relating to Diſcipline and Controverſies in Religion. *Secondly*, To conſent to all Grants, *&c.* ſign'd by the Biſhop, ſo as to make them of Force to bind his Succeſſor. For 'twas not thought reaſonable to lay ſo great a Burthen, or to reſt ſo much Truſt and Confidence, in any one Perſon, or to put it in a ſingle Man's Power to prejudice Succeſſion. And here the Attorney-General cites ſeveral Authorities to prove that all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues were originally veſted in the Biſhop; and that afterwards certain Proportions were aſſign'd to the *Chapter*: From whence it follows, the *Chapter* was Prior to this Aſſignment, and in Being when they had no Property. And therefore by Common Law the Biſhop is Patron of all the *Prebends*, becauſe the Eſtate and Revenues belonging to them were originally granted by him. Thus notwithſtanding the Dean and *Chapter* happen'd to convey away their Eſtates, yet they muſt of Neceſſity remain a Corporation, as well to aſſiſt the Biſhop in his Function and Government, as to give their Conſent to any Grants or Conveyances made by the Biſhop of his Temporalties.

But to clinch the Matter, and diſable all Manner of Objections, the Attorney-General argued, that granting the Corporation newly erected by King *Edward* the Sixth was good in Law, and that their ancient Corporation was ſurrender'd. Granting farther, that the Omiſſion of the Words *Ex Fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti* were material, and not merely Words of *Ornament*: Suppoſing all this, the King's Grant to them was good notwithſtanding this Miſnoſmer, as appears plainly by the *Statute* of *Confirmations.* (z) The *Preamble* of this *Act* ſetting forth, That whereas King **Edward the Sixth had made divers Grants, as well to Bodies Politick and Corporate, as to divers and ſundry of his Loving and Obedient Subjects, &c. In avoiding of which ſundry and many Ambiguities have or might be moved for lack of true naming the ſame Bodies Politick or Corporate.** 'Tis enacted, **That all ſuch Grants already made, or hereafter to be made, during the King's Life, ſhall be good and effectual, notwithſtanding any of the Cauſes or Defects above-mention'd.** After this Argument of the Attorney-General, the Lord-keeper and the Juſtices abovemention'd conſulting together, came to this unanimous Reſolution: That in Caſe there was any Imperfection in the *Tranſlation* of King *Henry* the Eighth, the 35th of *Eliz. cap.* 3. has given a full Relief and Remedy to all ſuch Defects. *Secondly*, Suppoſing the Corporation of the Dean and Chapter made by King *Henry* the Eighth was gone and deſtroy'd by the Surrender to King *Edward* the Sixth; and that the Miſnoſmer was material, and no ornamental Addition: Granting all this, 'twas unanimouſly agreed that

(z) 1 Ed. 6. cap. 8.

(a) 1 Ed. 6. cap. 8.

that the above-mention'd *Act* of *Confirmation (a)* made the King's Grant good, notwithſtanding ſuch Miſnoſmer. And *Thirdly*, 'twas reſolv'd by the Lord Keeper and Juſtices, That the ancient Corporation of the Dean and Chapter continued in Being notwithſtanding their Surrender of the Church, and all the Eſtates belonging to it. And here, as the Learned Attorney-General obſerves, though the Cathedral of *Norwich* was principally concern'd in theſe Reſolutions, yet by Parity of Reaſon, and Force of Conſequence, they may very well ſerve for ſecuring the Titles both in other Cathedrals, and ſeveral Colleges in *Cambridge* and *Oxford. (b)* And for this Reaſon, as well as for the Learning of the Argument, I have given it the *Reader*.

(b) Coke's Reports, Lib. 3. fol. 73. Le Caſe Del Dean & Chapter de Norwich.

To return to the Parliament: And here I ſhall only obſerve that a Bill for relieving the Poor out of Impropriations was twice read in the Houſe of Commons, and after ſome Speeches with and againſt it, 'twas thrown out. (c) This Parliament was diſſolv'd on the 9th of *February* following. There was nothing done by the *Convocation* this *Seſſion*, excepting their granting *Subſidies*.

(c) D'Ewe's, pag. 561. Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, &c. Pag. 107.

An Aſſembly at Dundee.

In *March* the next Year a General *Aſſembly* was held at *Dundee* in *Scotland*. The King being preſent, told them, He had anticipated the Time of Meeting, to know their Opinion concerning their Sitting in Parliament; and that they might come to a Reſolution upon all the Circumſtances. His Majeſty deſir'd them to debate this Matter through the whole Extent.

The Queſtion was accordingly conſider'd, firſt by a Committee for that Purpoſe; and afterwards 'twas reſolv'd in the Aſſembly, *That 'twas lawful for Miniſters to vote in Parliament, and other publick Meetings of the Eſtates; and that 'twas expedient to have always ſome of their Body at ſuch Conventions, to repreſent the Church.*

Secondly, Another Queſtion being put for adjuſting the Number of thoſe that were to vote for the Miniſtry, 'twas agreed that the Church Repreſentatives ſhould come up to the Number made uſe of in ancient Times; that is, One and fifty *Members*, or thereabouts.

Thirdly, Touching the Election of thoſe who were to ſerve in Parliament, 'twas reſolv'd the Chuſing theſe Members belong'd partly to the King, and partly to the Church. And becauſe the Time would not ſerve for diſcuſſing the remaining Points, a Commiſſion was given to ſome Members of the Presbyteries and Doctors of the Univerſities, to attend his Majeſty when and where they were appointed. This Committee were impower'd to treat all the *Heads* of this Queſtion. And in caſe they could not come to an Agreement, the Matter was to be referr'd to the next General Aſſembly.

An. Dom. 1598.

Farther, 'Twas found ſome *Synods* ſent overproportion'd Numbers to the General Aſſembly. To bar this Encroachment, and bring Things to a Balance, 'twas decreed, That for the Time to come no *Presbytery* ſhould ſend above two or three Repreſentative Miniſters, at moſt, to the General Aſſembly: To theſe with one Baron of the *Bounds*, and one Commiſſioner from every Burrough, was only to be added, *Edinburgh* excepted, which in all publick Meetings was allow'd two.

The Right, &c. of Miniſters Voting in Parliament ſettled.

About three Months forward the Doctors of the Univerſity, and the Commiſſioners of the Church, waited on the King at *Falkland*; where after a long Debate, the Buſineſs of the Miniſters Voting in Parliament was unanimouſly agreed. The Circumſtances adjuſted were rang'd under Ten Articles. I ſhall mention ſome of them:

1. With Reference to the Election, 'twas agreed, That for each Prelacy that was void the Church ſhould name ſix of their Body, out of which the King ſhould chuſe one to ſerve in Parliament; or if his Majeſty like none of this Number, the Church was to recommend ſix others, of which Number his Majeſty oblig'd himſelf to accept one.

2. That the General Aſſemblies ſhould nominate the Perſon with the Advice of the Synods and Presbyteries.

The Conditions the Miniſters that ſat in Parliament were oblig'd to ſign.

3. For ſettling a Revenue to ſupport his Character, 'twas agreed, that when the Churches of the Precinct or Dioceſe were ſufficiently provided for, the Remainder of the Eſtate belonging to the Prelacy or Biſhoprick ſhould be aſſign'd him.

4. For Fear his Title, Revenues, and repreſenting Diſtinction ſhould tempt him to affect Dominion, and break through the eſtabliſh'd Parity, there were ſeveral Reſtraints thrown in to check him from acting like a Biſhop. As,

Firſt, He was not to propoſe any Thing by way of Repreſentation at the Council-Board, Convention or Parliament, without expreſs Inſtructions from the Church; neither was he to be paſſive and ſilent when any Motion was made prejudicial to the Intereſt of his *Body*; and in caſe of Miſmanagement in this Article, he was to be depriv'd.

Secondly, He was tied to give an Account of the Diſcharging his Truſt to every General *Aſſembly*, and to procure their Approbation of his Proceedings: And here he was to ſubmit to their Award without making any Appeal, under the Penalty of Infamy and Excommunication.

3. He was to acquieſce in ſuch Proportions of Revenue as ſhould be aſſign'd him, without encroaching upon the Livings of the Miniſters within his Precinct.

4. He was not to commit any Waſte, or dilapidate his Benefice, nor make any Leaſes without the Conſent of his Majeſty and the General *Aſſembly*.

5. He was oblig'd to diſcharge every Part of the Paſtoral Office in the Congregation where he was fix'd: And to prevent his riſing to any Epiſcopal Privilege, his Behaviour was to lie under the Cognizance of his own *Presbytery*, or Provincial *Aſſembly*: And to their Cenſure he was oblig'd to reſign himſelf no leſs than any other Miniſter that carried no Commiſſion.

6. In the Adminiſtration of Diſcipline, Collation of Benefices, Viſitations, and other Branches of Eccleſiaſtical Government, he was not to pretend to any more Juriſdiction than the reſt of his Brethren. No Claim of this Nature was to be made without a particular Commiſſion, under the Penalty of Deprivation. And in caſe any Uſurpation of this Kind ſhould happen in Oppoſition to the *Presbytery*, Synod, or General *Aſſembly*, whatever was done, ſhould be void and ſignifie nothing.

7. At his Admiſſion to his repreſenting Office he was to ſwear and ſign theſe Articles, and any other that ſhould be thought neceſſary.

8. In caſe he ſhould happen to be depos'd from the Miniſtry by the Presbytery, Synod, or General *Aſſembly*, he was to loſe his Benefice, and ſit no longer in Parliament.

9. That the Name of his Office might be inoffenſive, and put him in Mind of his Dependence, he was to be call'd *a Commiſſioner of ſuch a Place* or *Precinct*, provided the Parliament and his Majeſty were willing to paſs that Title; if not, the General *Aſſembly* would give him ſome other Diſtinction. They would likewiſe determine, whether he was to hold his Office during Life, in caſe of unexceptionable Management; or that he was only to continue for a ſhorter Term at the Pleaſure of the Church.

Notwithſtanding the Singularity of theſe Conditions, the King gave Way to them at preſent, foreſeeing that Time would probably bring ſome Remedy, knock off the Chains, and give a freer Motion. (*d*)

(*d*) Spotſwood C. *Hiſt.*

Attorney General Coke *proſecuted in the Archbiſhop's Court for marrying without Bans or Licence.*

To return to *England*: This Year *Edward Coke* Eſq; afterwards Sir *Edward*, and the Lady *Hatton*, Relict of Sir *William Hatton*, marrying without Bans or Licence, *Henry Bothwell* Prieſt, Rector of *Oakeover*, who marry'd them, and ſeveral Perſons of Condition, preſent at the Wedding, were proſecuted in the Archbiſhop's Court; and upon their Submiſſion by their Proxies, abſolv'd from the *Cenſures* incurr'd. The *Inſtrument* ſets forth, That their over-looking the Authority of the Church, they had all of them fall'n under the greater Excommunications, and the conſequent Penalties. (*e*)

(*e*) See Records, *N.* XCVI.

There's another Abſolution in the ſame Form granted to Sir *Thomas Edgerton* Lord Keeper, and *Alice* Counteſs Dowager of *Derby*; and another to the Earl of *Hertford*, not to mention the Reſt in the ſame *Regiſter*. The *Regiſters* of the ſucceeding Archbiſhops have likewiſe Inſtances of the ſame Kind.

Squire *tried for High-Treaſon.*

About this Time *Edward Squire* was tried for Treaſon: To ſay ſomething of him in a Word or two. He was bred an Attorney's Clerk, afterwards turning Soldier, he went to Sea in *Drake*'s laſt Expedition, was taken by the Enemy, and carried Priſoner into *Spain*. Here one *Walpole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit got him proſecuted for Hereſie in the *Inquiſition*. After a great Deal of harſh Uſage and farther Menacing, he reconcil'd himſelf to the Church of *Rome*. And now *Walpole*, as *Squire* confeſs'd, puſh'd him upon a deſperate Enterprize, told him, That the killing of the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Queen would be of great Service to Religion; That this might be compaſs'd without Danger, only by dropping a little Poiſon on the Pummel of the Queen's Saddle where ſhe reſted her Hand. *Squire* conſented to this villainous Motion, and bound himſelf under the moſt ſolemn Engagements to Secrecy and Buſineſs. *Walpole*, as *Squire* confeſs'd, put the Poiſon in his Hands, and to prevent Suſpicion, procur'd him and another a Commiſſion to be ſent into *England* for the ranſoming ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners. Soon after his Arrival he practiſed the Directions given him both upon the Queen's Saddle and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Chair; but by the Providence of God the Barbarity miſcarry'd. *Walpole*, as *Squire*'s Narrative goes on, ſuſpecting his Convert had broke his Promiſe, is ſuppos'd to have contriv'd a Revenge. In ſhort, a Perſon was privately diſpatch'd into *England* to charge *Squire* with High Treaſon. Being cloſely examin'd, and fancying his Confeſſor had betray'd him, he confeſs'd *Walpole*'s Suggeſtion, that he conſented to the Villainy, and made Uſe of the Poiſon purſuant to the Directions above-mention'd. However, both at his Trial, and at the Place of Execution, he proteſted, though he had been inſtigated by *Walpole* and others to commit the Fact, yet he could never maſter his Conſcience ſo far as to do it. Soon after *Walpole* printed a Vindication of himſelf, in which he denied with all imaginable Abhorrence, every Part of *Squire*'s Confeſſion. (*f*)

(*f*) Cambden Eliz.

Octob. 1598. *Dr.* Stapleton*'s Death and Character.*

This Year *Thomas Stapleton* Doctor in Divinity, departed this Life. He was deſcended of a Gentleman's Family in *Suſſex*, bred in *New College* in *Oxford*, and was afterwards Divinity Profeſſor at *Doway*. *Pitz* is very large in his Commendation, deſcribes him a Man of great Penetration and Judgment, and a Maſter almoſt in all Sorts of Learning. At the King of *Spain*'s Invitation he remov'd from *Doway* to *Lovain*, where he had the Divinity *Chair*, and ſeveral other conſiderable Preferments. He was a famous Controverſialiſt, and wrote againſt *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Jewel* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, beſides ſeveral other Tracts. (*g*)

(*g*) Pitts de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor.

Dr. Coſins*'s Death, &c.*

Richard Coſins no leſs eminent in the *Reformation*, died this Year. He was bred at *Cambridge*, commenc'd Doctor of Law, was made Dean of the *Arches*, and wrote a learned and ſignificant Tract, entitled, *An Apology for Proceedings in Courts Eccleſiaſtical*. In this Book he defends the Juriſdiction and Proceſs of the Biſhops Courts, and the High Commiſſion, againſt the Exceptions of *Eraſtians* and *Puritans*.

King James *publiſhes his* Doron Baſilicon, *and upon what Occaſion.*

The next Year the King of *Scots* publiſh'd his *Doron Baſilicon* upon the following Occaſion. Sir *James Semple*, a Gentleman belonging to the Court, tranſcrib'd this Treatiſe by the King's Order. Having the Copy thus in his Cuſtody, he gave his old Friend Mr. *Andrew Melvil* a Sight of it. *Melvil* finding the Miſbehaviour of the Miniſters expos'd, and the *Diſcipline* deſcrib'd to Diſadvantage, took ſeveral Tranſcripts and diſpers'd them. Upon this a Libel or Charge was drawn up againſt the *Book*, and laid before the *Synod* of St. *Andrews*; where after a Recital of the exceptionable Paſſages, a Queſtion was put, What Cenſure ſhould paſs upon the Perſon that had given ſuch Inſtructions to the Prince? For by the Way the *Treatiſe* is addreſs'd to Prince *Henry*. 'Twas farther ask'd in the *Libel*, Whether he could be thought well affected to Religion that had ſuggeſted ſuch Rules for Government? Sir *Patrick Murray* and Mr. *James Nicholſon*, the King's Commiſſioners, finding his Majeſty ſtruck at in the Libel, made Enquiry by whom 'twas exhibited? The whole *Synod* pretending Ignorance, the Commiſſioners order'd the Doors to be ſhut, and the Miniſters Names to be called over, who being all put to their Oaths, ſwore they knew nothing of the Matter However, the next Day 'twas found, that one *Dykes* a Miniſter at *Anſtruthar*, laid it on the Table. This Miniſter being ſummon'd to appear before the *Council*, and abſconding, was proclaim'd *Rebel*. The King thus miſreported as diſaffected to Religion, and leaving ſome unſerviceable Directions to the Prince his Son, publiſh'd the *Book*; which, without Queſtion, was the beſt Way to confute the Calumny. By this Performance 'twas plain he had made very uſeful Obſervations both upon Books and Men. The *Tract* is written with a Compaſs of Thought and Learning, and every where diſtinguiſh'd with a Predominancy of Honeſty and Conſcience. The Royal Author receiv'd the Juſtice of being admir'd for his Vertue and Capacity; particularly this Book recommended his Majeſty ſtrongly to the Eſteem of the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that all the Diſcourſes then

Whitgift (John) *Arch-biſhop of* **Cant.**

(*b*) Spotſwood C. *Hiſt.*

Hooker's *Death*, &c.

publiſh'd for maintaining his Right to ſucceed Queen *Elizabeth*, did not do him ſo much Service as this Product of his own Pen. (*b*)

This Year the famous *Hooker*, Maſter of the *Temple*, and who wrote the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, departed this Life. His Character as to his Learning and Judgment, has been touch'd already, I ſhall only add, that the Regularity of his Life, the Benevolence of his Temper, his unaffected Modeſty, his being free from the leaſt Tincture of Pride, was no leſs commendable than the Strength of his *Genius*, and the Improvements of his Underſtanding. As for his Books of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, nothing can be more ſolidly manag'd. He has recited the principal Objections of the *Puritans* againſt the Worſhip and Government of the Church of *England*, gone through the whole Argument, and return'd a full Anſwer to every Exception. In ſhort, he has baffl'd the Presbyterian *Cauſe* ſo effectually, that they have never ſince been able to appear in the Controverſie to any Purpoſe. This Celebrated Divine was born in *Devonſhire*, and died at his Pariſh of *Biſhopsburn* in *Kent*.

The General Aſſembly at Montroſs *confirms the Agreement at* Falkland. Anno Dom. 1600.

In *Scotland* there was a publick Order for a new Computation in the *Kalendar*; and the Year which formerly began on the 25th of *March*, was to be reckon'd henceforward from the Firſt of *January*. On the 28th of *March* a General *Aſſembly* was held at *Montroſs*, where the King was preſent: And here, after a long Debate, the late Agreement at *Falkland* was confirm'd; 'twas at laſt unanimouſly reſolv'd, That a Churchman might lawfully vote in Parliament and *State-Conventions*; and that there was no Inconſiſtency between the Functions of a Paſtor and a *Secular* Judge: Tho' it muſt be ſaid ſome few Members being apprehenſive their *Diſcipline* might ſuffer, were of a different Opinion. However, none of them could ſay the King over-aw'd their Votes, or menac'd them out of their Freedom. On the contrary, they had all imaginable Liberty for propoſing their own Objections, and anſwering thoſe of the other Party: There was nothing forc'd or hurried, but the Cauſe was argued at length on all Sides, and every Thing was done in an orderly incompulſive Manner. (*x*) To be ſomewhat particular, the Perſon elected for this Purpoſe, was every Year to give an Account of the Management of his Commiſſion to the General *Aſſembly*: And if his Majeſty and the *Aſſembly* thought fit to employ another, he was to acquieſce. There were two other Articles added, That thoſe Churchmen who ſate in Parliament ſhould have no Vote in the General *Aſſembly*, unleſs they had a Commiſſion for that Purpoſe from their own *Presbytery*. *Secondly*, That *Crimen Ambitus*, or undue ſoliciting for Election, ſhould diſable a Man for this Employment.

(*x*) Spotſwood Refut. Libel, &c. Et C. Hiſt.

The ill Condition of the Sees in Scotland.

And now nothing remain'd but to fill the vacant Biſhopricks; and here the Condition of Things was very lamentable. 'Tis true, the *Sees* of *Aberdeen* and *Argyle* were full, and furniſh'd two Prelates that preach'd, but the Biſhopricks were in a manner ſeculariz'd: The Patrimony of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow* was ſeiſed by the Duke of *Lenox*; *Murray* was ſwallow'd by the Lord *Spiney*, and *Orkney* by the Earl of *Orkney*; *Dunkeld*, *Brichen* and *Dunblain* had their Titulars: But theſe, as *Spotſwood* ſpeaks, were not *ordinary Preachers*; by which Deſcription I ſuppoſe he means they were *Roman* Catholicks. As for *Galoway* and the *Iſles*, they were ſo harraſs'd in their Revenues, that there was ſcarcely the Face of a Biſhoprick remaining. *Roſs* and *Cathneſs* were the only two *Sees* where ſome Part of the Lands were left *unreform'd*. And to theſe Prelacies Mr. *David Lindeſay*, and Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, were preferr'd by the Churches Conſent: The firſt was made Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the other of *Cathneſs*.

Idem.

The Gowrey *Conſpiracy.*

In *Auguſt* this Year the Conſpiracy of *Gowrey* happen'd: 'Twas concerted only between the Earl and Mr. *Alexander* his Brother. That which puſh'd them upon this deſperate Attempt, was their Reſentment for the Loſs of their Father, who was tried and executed in the Year 1584. But the King being then in his Minority, his Inclination was plainly over-rul'd in this Matter; for his preſerving and cheriſhing the late Earl's Family, was a ſufficient Proof of his Diſlike of the Proceedings againſt him. For the Purpoſe, he reſtor'd the eldeſt Son to his Father's Honour and Eſtate: His Brother *Alexander* was made one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber, and their Siſter was Maid of Honour to the Queen: And over and above, the King intended to prefer the Earl to ſome Principal Poſt in the Adminiſtration. But no careſſing, or kind Uſage had Force enough to make any Impreſſion upon the two Brothers, or prevail with them to drop their Revenge. Their Plot was to draw the King to the Earl's Houſe at *Perth*, and murder him there. His Majeſty being then at *Falkland*, and going out one Morning to hunt in the Park, *Alexander Ruthen* came to him and told him his Brother had ſeiz'd a Perſon with a great deal of Gold about him, whom he ſuppos'd to be a *Jeſuit*; That he had ſecur'd the Man in his Houſe at *Perth*; That he deſir'd the King would pleaſe to come thither with all ſpeed, not queſtioning but that his Majeſty would receive ſuch Information as would make him amends for his Trouble. The King being ſtrongly importun'd, promis'd to be with the Earl before Dinner, and came at the Time appointed. After Dinner he was carried into a private Room, under Pretence of a better Opportunity for examining the *Jeſuit*. And now *Alexander* locking the Door to keep out the King's Attendants, told his Majeſty, He muſt be call'd to an Account for his Father's Death. To be ſhort, he attempted to tie the King's Hands: Upon this they grappled; and the King dragging him to a Window next the Street, ſpied the Earl of *Marr*, and cried, *Help*. Upon this the Lords and Gentlemen ran to the King's Reſcue, but found the Doors lock'd and barricadoed: However, Sir *Thomas Areskin*, *Hugh Herriff* Doctor of Phyſick, *John Ramſey* a Page, and *Wilſon* a Footman, made their Way by a back Paſſage. *Alexander Ruthen* was run through by Sir *Thomas Areskin* for not giving a ſatisfactory Anſwer concerning the King. After this the Earl of *Gowrey*, with two or three Servants, entred the Room where the King was, and with a Sword in each Hand made a deſperate Charge upon the ſmall Guard: But being upbraided with the Murther of his Sovereign, he was check'd with a ſudden Remorſe; he ſeem'd as it were aſtoniſh'd; made a Pauſe, and ſet the Points of his Swords on the Ground, as if he intended to go no farther. *Ramſey* the Page taking the Opportunity, drove his Rapier through his Heart, and kill'd him outright. The Earl's Servants ſeeing their Maſter fall, made their Eſcape. Sir *Thomas Areskin* and Doctor *Herriff* received each of them a ſlight Wound. By this Time the Lords and their Retinue had forc'd the Doors; when they underſtood what had happen'd, they fell upon their Knees with the King to give God Thanks for the Deliverance.

Aug. 5th.

But the Danger was not yet over; for the Burghers running to Arms, ſurrounded the Houſe, and cried out, That unleſs they would give them their *Provoſt*, meaning the Earl *Gowrey*, they would blow them all up with Gun-powder. 'Twas with great Difficulty that the *Mob* was prevail'd with from doing all the Miſchief in their Power: At laſt the Bailiffs, and ſome other Townſmen, being admitted to the King, and inform'd of the Truth of what had paſs'd, ſatisfied the People, and brought them to Temper. And now the Mutiny being huſh'd, the King took Horſe and return'd to *Falkland*.

The Edinburgh *Miniſters refuſe to give Thanks for the King's Deliverance.*

The News of this Conſpiracy being ſent the next Day to *Edinburgh*, the Privy *Council* deſir'd the Miniſters of the Town to call their Pariſhioners to Church, and return God Thanks for his Majeſty's Deliverance. They endeavour'd to excuſe themſelves as not being acquainted with the Particulars of what had happen'd. To take off this Pretence, 'twas anſwer'd, an exact Information of every Circumſtance was not neceſſary; their Buſineſs was only to ſignifie the King had eſcaped a great Danger, and exhort the People to thank God for ſo merciful a Providence. They made a ſhuffling Reply, *That nothing ought to be deliver'd in the Pulpit without preciſe Certainty of the Truth; and that every Thing mention'd in that Place, ſhould be ſpoken in Faith.* In ſhort, when no Arguments could bring them to their Duty, the *Council* made a Cavalcade to the Market-*Croſs*, where the Biſhop of *Roſs* gave a Narrative of the Conſpiracy, and cloſ'd his Diſcourſe with a Thankſgiving. The next Week when the King came to *Edinburgh*, there was a Sermon upon the Occaſion preach'd by Mr. *Patrick Galoway*: And in *November* following, when the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, an Act was made for keeping the 5th of *Auguſt* Holy-day, as an Anniverſary Thankſgiving. (y)

(y) Jac. 6. Parl. 16. c. 1.

Some of them recollect themſelves, and give Satiſfaction.

As to the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, thoſe who refuſ'd to concern themſelves in the publick Solemnity for the King's Preſervation, were order'd to depart the Town within Eight and forty Hours, and not to preach under Pain of Death, in any of his Majeſty's Dominions. Three of this Number, *Balcanquel*, *Watſon* and *Hall*, recollecting themſelves, declar'd they were fully convinc'd of the Truth of *Gowrey*'s Conſpiracy, and willing to make Reparation for their former Miſbehaviour: They were pardon'd upon the Conditions following. Before they return'd to *Edinburgh*, they were publickly in the Churches aſſign'd them to declare their Belief of the treaſonable Attempt at *Perth*, and aſk God and the King's Pardon for queſtioning the Matter of Fact. The next Day Mr. *James Balfour*, another Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, was pardon'd upon the ſame Terms: But Mr. *Robert Bruce* refuſing to give this Satiſfaction, was baniſh'd, and travell'd into *France*. At the Receſs of the Parliament the King went to *Dunfermlin*, where the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, who was chriſtned *Charles*. This Prince, though unlikely to live at firſt, ſurviv'd his eldeſt Brother *Henry*, and ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Great Britain*.

Spotſ. C *Hiſt.*

Clement *the Eighth's* Briefs.

About this Time Pope *Clement* the VIIIth knowing Queen *Elizabeth* far advanc'd in Life, ſent two *Briefs* into *England* to ſecure the next Reign, and recover the Intereſt of his *See*. One of theſe was ſent to the Clergy, and the other to the *Laity*. The Subſtance of them imported a Charge "not to admit any Perſon (how near ſoever upon the Line) for King, after the Queen's Death, unleſs ſuch a one as would not only tolerate the Catholick Religion, but promote it to the utmoſt of his Power, and engage himſelf by Oath, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, for that Purpoſe. Theſe Inſtructions were deliver'd with great Secrecy, and communicated only to a few: But 'tis thought the horrible *Powder Plot* was afterwards projected upon this Encouragement.*

* Cambden Eliz.

Anno Dom. 1600.

In the Beginning of this Year the Kingdom of *Ireland* was miſerably harraſs'd and embroil'd: The capital Rebel *Tir-Owen* had rang'd the length of the Iſland from *Ulſter* to *Munſter* without Reſiſtance. At this Time there ſeems to have been a general Concert of the *Iriſh* Nobility to recover their ancient Liberty; they having for ſome Time made loud Complaints of the Hardſhips they ſuffer'd from the *Engliſh*. They were encouraged to this Rebellious Enterprize by an *Indulgence* ſent them in Form by Pope *Clement* the VIIIth: The *Bull* is directed to the Biſhops, the Temporal Nobility, and Commons of that Kingdom. The Pope puts them in Mind, "How honourably they had formerly engag'd with *James Fitz-gerrald*, Earl of *Deſmond*, and lately with *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Owen*, in Defence of their Country againſt Hereticks: And being inform'd they were ſtill diſpos'd to venture themſelves in the ſame Service, he ſends them his Apoſtolical Benediction, and gives them the ſame Plenary Indulgence uſually granted by his Predeceſſors to thoſe who undertook a Cruſade for recovering the Holy Land from the *Saracens* and the *Turks*. (z)

The Iriſh *encourag'd to an Inſurrection by the Pope's Bull*

(z) *See Records Num.* XCVII.

Harrington. Cambden. *Biſhop Bancroft entertains ſome of the Secular Prieſts, and why.*

To proceed: The Miſunderſtandings between the *Seculars* and *Jeſuits* ſtill continuing in *England*, *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, entertain'd ſome of the former, and furniſh'd them with Conveniencies to write againſt their Adverſaries. This probably was done partly out of a Deſign to keep up the Diviſion, and partly to encourage the honeſter Side. For that the Seculars, notwithſtanding their Difference in Religion, were Men of Loyal Principles, appears by a *Paper* ſign'd by ſeveral of them about this Time. I ſhall give it the *Reader* in their own Words.

Anno Dom. 1601.

The Secular Prieſts loyal Proteſtation.

"Whereas it hath pleaſed our Dread Sovereign to take Notice of the Faith and Loyalty of us her natural-born Subjects, Secular Prieſts, and of her Princely Clemency hath given a ſufficient Earneſt of ſome merciful Favour towards us, being all ſubject by the Laws of the Realm to Death, by our Return into our Country after our taking the Order of Prieſthood, ſince the firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign; and only demandeth of us for this intended Favour, an Aſſurance of the ſaid Fidelity unto her Majeſty's Perſon, Crown, Eſtate and Dignity. We whoſe Names are under-written in moſt humble-wiſe proſtrate at her Majeſty's Feet, do acknowledge our ſelves infinitely bound unto her Majeſty therefore; and are moſt willing to give ſuch Aſſurance and Satiſfaction in this Point as any Catholick Prieſts can give unto their Sovereign.

"*Firſt*, Therefore we acknowledge and confeſs the Queen's Majeſty to have as full Authority, Power and Sovereignty over us, and over all the Subjects of the Realm, as any of her Highneſs Predeceſſors ever had. And farther, we proteſt that we are moſt willing and ready to obey her in all Caſes and Reſpects,

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

ſpects, as far forth as ever Chriſtian Prieſts within this Realm, or in any other Chriſtian Country, were bound by the Law of God, and Chriſtian Religion, to obey their Temporal Princes.

“*Secondly*, Whereas for theſe many Years paſt, divers Conſpiracies againſt her Majeſty's Perſon and Eſtate, and ſome forcible Attempts for invading and conquering her Dominions, have been made under we know not what Pretences and Intendments of reſtoring Catholick Religion by the Sword; (a Courſe moſt ſtrange in the World, and undertaken peculiarly and ſolely againſt her Majeſty and her Kingdoms, among other Princes departed from the Religion and Obedience of the *See* Apoſtolick no leſs than ſhe) by Reaſon of which violent Enterprizes her Majeſty (otherwiſe of ſingular Clemency towards her Subjects) hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute ſeverer Laws againſt Catholicks (which by Reaſon of their Communion with the *See* Apoſtolick in Faith and Religion, were eaſily ſuppos'd to favour theſe Conſpiracies and Invaſions) than perhaps had ever been enacted or thought upon, if ſuch Hoſtilities and Wars had never been undertaken. We, to aſſure her Majeſty of our Faithful Loyalty alſo in this particular Caſe, ſincerely proteſt, and by this our publick Fact make known to all the Chriſtian World, that in theſe Caſes of Conſpiracies and Invaſions which hereafter may be made by any Foreign Prince or Potentate for the Diſturbance and Subverſion of her Majeſty's State and Dominions, under the aforeſaid Pretences and Intendments; we will according to the Rules of Chriſtian Religion, defend our Prince and Country from all theſe violent Aſſaults and Injuries. And moreover, we will not only our ſelves reſiſt 'em as inconvenient Means to introduce Catholick Religion into our Country, but alſo earneſtly perſwade Lay-Catholicks to do the ſame.

“*Thirdly*, If upon any ſuch Invaſions the Pope ſhould excommunicate every one that would not forſake the foreſaid Defence of her Majeſty and the Realm, and take Part with ſuch Conſpirators and Invaders; in this Caſe we do think our ſelves and the Lay-Catholicks not bound in Conſcience to obey this *Cenſure*, but will defend our Prince and Country.

“And becauſe nothing is more certain than that whilſt we endeavour to aſſure her Majeſty of our dutiful Affection and Allegiance by this our Chriſtian and ſincere Proteſtation; there will not want thoſe who will condemn and miſconſtrue our lawful Fact: Yea, and by many ſiniſter Suggeſtions and Calumnies diſcredit our Doings with the Chriſtian World, but chiefly with the Pope's Holineſs, to the greateſt Prejudice and Harm of our good Names and Perſons that may be, unleſs we maturely prevent their Malice herein. We moſt humbly beſeech her Majeſty, that in this our Recognizing, and yielding *Cæſar*'s Due unto her, we may alſo by her gracious Leave be permitted, for avoiding Obloquy and Calumnies, to make known by like publick Act, that by yielding her Right unto her, we depart from no Bond of that Chriſtian Duty which we owe to our Supreme Spiritual *Paſtor*.

Elizabeth Q.

“And therefore we acknowledge and confeſs the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the Succeſſor of St. *Peter* in that *See*; and to have as ample, and no more Authority or Juriſdiction over us and other Chriſtians, than had that Apoſtle by the Gift and Commiſſion of Chriſt our Saviour. And that we will obey him ſo far forth as we are bound by the Laws of God to do, and may ſtand with Performance of our Duty to our Temporal Prince, in ſuch Sort as we have before profeſs'd: For as we are moſt ready to ſpend our Blood in Defence of her Majeſty and our Country, ſo will we rather loſe our Lives than infringe the Authority of Chriſt's Catholick Church. (*a*)

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

A Bill againſt Plurality of Benefices.

On the 27th of *October* this Year the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: At this *Seſſion* a *Bill* againſt Plurality of Benefices was brought into the Lower Houſe, and read the ſecond Time. The paſſing this *Bill* was oppos'd by ſeveral Members: To mention ſome of them, Doctor *Crompton* wiſh'd the *Laity* would lead the Way in this pretended Reformation; and that *Secular* Men might be reſtrained from Plurality of Offices in the firſt Place; that formerly Impropriations belong'd to the Spiritualty; That in thoſe Times Clergymen being bound to Cœlibacy, might ſubſiſt upon leſs Expence: But that now ſince Impropriations are taken from them, and Marriage allow'd, their Revenues are leſſen'd, and their Charge encreas'd; and therefore a ſingle Benefice of ſlender Value muſt be an incompetent Maintenance. Serjeant *Harris* ſeconded this Doctor, and ſuggeſted, That this *Bill* could not paſs without breaking in upon a Cuſtom of the *Houſe*, which they had conſtantly obſerv'd; and that was, *not to meddle with any Matter which touches her Majeſty's Prerogative*: And that ſuppoſing the Act ſhould paſs, her Majeſty might grant a Diſpenſation with a *Non Obſtante*. To ſhew the Extent of the Prerogative, Sir *George Moor* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, in his Speech to the *Bill* againſt Monopolies, has theſe Words: “We know the Power of her Majeſty cannot be reſtrain'd by any Act: Admit we ſhould make the *Statute* with a *Non Obſtante*, yet the Queen may grant a *Patent* with a *Non Obſtante*, to croſs this *Non Obſtante*. (*b*) Theſe Aſſertions were neither cenſured, nor contradicted by the *Houſe*: And that there was no great Singularity in this Doctrine rightly underſtood, appears by the Reſolution of all the Judges of *England* about two Years forwards; where after mature Deliberation upon a Caſe propos'd, they deliver'd it as their Opinion, “That the King has Power (upon Conſiderations moving him, with Reſpect to Time, Place, or Perſon, *&c.*) to grant a *Non Obſtante* for diſpenſing with any particular Perſon to cover him from incurring the Penalty of a *Statute*.” And for this they vouch'd the Authority of their Law-Books. (*c*)

A Defence of Pluralities.

As to the *Bill* againſt *Pluralities*, it miſcarry'd, and therefore I ſhall look after it no farther. But for Fear it might have gone through both Houſes, Archbiſhop *Whitgift* (as 'tis moſt probable) drew up ſome Reaſons to diſſuade the Queen from giving her Royal Aſſent; I ſhall tranſcribe them from the *Lambeth* Manuſcript.

The Title ſtands thus:

(*a*) *This Paper* (*ſays Biſhop* Bancroft *under his own Hand*) *was deliver'd to me by the Prieſts.* Ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig.

(*b*) Townſend's *Hiſtor. Collections*, &c. pag. 219, 234.

(*c*) Coke's *Reports* lib. 7. Hilar. 2 Jacob. *Penal Statutes.*

“*Reaſons againſt the Bill now exhibited in the Lower Houſe of Parliament, againſt Plurality of Benefices.*

A Defence of Pluralities.

“It is to be conſider'd, That by the Laws now in Force, none may have Two Benefices with Cure, above Eight Pounds (meaning the King's Books) but Men of eſpecial Note and Degree; *Firſt*, Such as be of her Majeſty's Privy *Council*, the Sons and Brethren of Noblemen and Knights, Chaplains to her Majeſty, to Noblemen and Biſhops, Batchelors, and Doctors of Divinity, and other Perſons of publick Calling in the Realm; neither may any be Non-reſident (but upon ſpecial Reſpects of great Moment) as for the Service of her Majeſty in Embaſſages, and ſuch like: And for Attendance in her Highneſs's Houſe, or in the Houſes of Biſhops and great Men, or for executing ſome publick Office in the Common-Wealth, or for Reading publick *Lectures*, or for Government in the Univerſities, *&c.* All which have been permitted as neceſſary for this Church and *State*, ever ſince the firſt Light of the *Goſpel*, and confirm'd by divers Parliaments ſince that Time, in all the Days of the Princes, that have favour'd the *Goſpel*: Yet for the Satisfying of the Wayward (if that might be) this Liberty is of late reſtrain'd, ſo far as our State can well bear, and it is not poſſible to have the ſame alter'd without great Inconveniencies, as hereafter follows:

“*Inconveniencies to the State of the Church.*

“1. Firſt ſeeing the Tenth Part of the Benefices are not ſeverally Competent for the State of a mean Perſon, nor the Twentieth Part eſteem'd to be worth Thirty Pounds *de Claro*, (as will be proved) this Reſtraint will deprive the far greateſt Part of learned Miniſters of ſufficient Maintenance, which hath always been allowed, both by the Laws of God and Man, not only for Neceſſity, but alſo for plentiful Hoſpitality.

“2. Inequality of Gifts, requireth Inequality of Rewards, which cannot be in our State (the Number of competent Livings being ſo ſmall) unleſs Pluralities be in ſome Sort admitted.

“3. Yea the worthieſt Men ſhall (for the moſt Part) be worſt provided, for the beſt Livings being few, do ſeldom fall void. And that will make Miniſters of the meaneſt Gifts, equal with the beſt.

“4. Thoſe that are meet to be employ'd upon Preaching before her Majeſty, or in other ſolemn Places, or to attend upon *Synods*, or other her Majeſty's Services, and publick Affairs, ſhall not be able to defray their Charges.

“5. It will overthrow the Maintenance of learned Men, and Hoſpitality in Cathedral Churches, where not only many Poor are greatly reliev'd, but divers Ambaſſadors, and great Perſons, to the Honour of the Prince and Realm, are often entertain'd. For ſeeing the Livings in ſuch Churches are not able of themſelves to ſuſtain that Burthen, it is requiſite that they have other Benefices, and that they may be ſometimes abſent from them; elſe both Preaching and Hoſpitality there, muſt needs decay. And in the old Churches it is gravely provided that none be Reſidentiaries, but ſuch as are of ſufficient Ability beſide their Prebend, to the End the State of their Place might be better maintain'd.

“6. The Biſhops of ſmall Biſhopricks ſhall not be able to maintain any tolerable Countenance agreeable to their Eſtate, who are chiefly reliev'd by Benefices granted to them in *Commendam*.

“7. It is abſurd, that this *Bill* doth not reſtrain a *Layman* to have divers Benefices impropriated, and to ſerve them by ſilly Curates, and yet doth deny the like Liberty to learned Divines, who are bound by Law and Conſcience to diſcharge their Duties upon their Livings in Perſon, and to place ſufficient Subſtitutes in their Abſence.

“*Hindrance of Learning and the Univerſities.*

“1. *Honos alit Artes*: Therefore when the Means of Preferment is taken from Learning, Learning it ſelf muſt needs in ſhort Time decay: For rich Men will not ſet their Children to School, and poor Men cannot, by reaſon the *Clergy* ſhall not be able for Want of Maintenance, to help them therein, as before they have done. The beſt *Wits* will divert their Studies from Divinity; *Divines* will be leſs painful, and not labour to excel; and ſo in ſhort Time all will be brought to ignorance and barbariſm.

“2. If thoſe that have Benefices cannot be in ſome reſpect *Non-reſident*, the publick *Readers* in the Univerſities, and the Maſters of Colleges, *&c.* ſhall want Maintenance, unleſs they obtain Livings *ſine Cura*; (which are few, and hard to come by,) ſo that will drive all ancient Men from the Univerſities, which would be very prejudicial, and dangerous to the ſame.

“3. By the *Local Statutes* of divers Colleges, 'tis wiſely provided, that the Maſters thereof having very ſmall Stipends of the Houſe allowed them, ſhould be ſuch as are otherwiſe furniſh'd with a Living for the better Maintenance of their Countenance and Calling; which cannot be in Caſe they cannot have Benefices, and be abſent from them.

“*Hindrance of Religion.*

“1. It will bring the Miniſtry into Contempt, conſequently Religion. When the beſt Part of the Miniſters in our State ſhall not be able to maintain themſelves competently.

“2. The Want of ſuch competent Maintenance will be an Occaſion for the Miniſters to preach *Placentia*, and to feed the Humours of thoſe from whom they are driven to ſeek Relief.

“3. The greateſt Number of Pariſhes ſhall either have no Miniſters for Want of competent Living, or thoſe that are very baſe, contrary to the Pretences of the *Bill*. And it were better one ſufficient Man had the Charge of *Two*, than Two inſufficient, of One.

“4. If it be hurtful for the Common-Wealth not to commit divers Offices to one, where there are not divers meet, rather than have the Offices unlook'd unto; why holdeth not the like Reaſon in Offices of the Church and Reli-

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

“Religion, ſeeing there are not ſufficient learned Men for the ſeveral Livings?

“5. In Caſe the Miniſters may not be abſent, her Majeſty's *Houſhold*, and the *Houſhold* of great Perſons ſhall be deſtitute of learned Divines for the Service of God, and depriv'd of the Uſe of *Chaplains* for the moſt Part, unleſs they maintain them at their own Charge: The Want whereof may breed in Time irreligiouſneſs in ſuch Places.

“6. The Biſhops ſhall not have convenient Aſſiſtance about them of learned Men in their Houſes for deciding Matters of Religion, which daily do ariſe and come unto them. Many Men of ſingular Gifts, that may profit the Church publickly, ſhall be tied within the Compaſs of a Pariſh, where there are not ſometimes Twenty Perſons.

“*It is prejudicial to her Majeſty's Authority and State.*

“1. It abridges her Majeſty's *Authority* in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, whereof Diſpenſations in theſe Caſes is one Branch.

“2. It diminiſhes the Revenues of the *Crown*, which are augmented by the Fees of the *Court of Faculties*.

“3. It abridgeth her Majeſty of the free Employment of any benefic'd Man in Embaſſage, in any *Council*, in Wars, or other neceſſary Attendance, unleſs he leave his Benefice.

“4. Her Majeſty ſhall be debar'd of many Means to recompence, and prefer ſuch Divines as ſhe ſhall employ in Service.

“5. It will greatly diminiſh the Contributions and Proviſion for *Horſe* and *Armour*, which the inferior Clergy hath heretofore yielded to her Majeſty in Time of Neceſſity. For that hath been almoſt altogether born by ſuch as have *Pluralities*; neither could her Majeſty have had the like in Caſe they had enjoyed but one Benefice apiece.

“6. It abridgeth her Majeſty's Authority, whereas ſhe may now reſtrain or enlarge the Liberty at her Pleaſure.

“*It is prejudicial to the* Nobility *and* Gentry.

“1. The Privileges granted by the *Statute* to the Sons and Brethren of Noblemen and Knights (in Caſe they ſhould be Miniſters) will be taken away.

“2. The Queen's *Council* (if happily any be Clergymen) ſhall loſe the like Privilege.

“3. *Noblemen* can qualify no *Chaplains* for their Honour, nor have any in their Houſe for their Aſſiſtance, but upon their great Charges. (*d*)

A Bill for puniſhing Abſentees from Church.

The next Thing I ſhall mention relating to the Church this Parliament, was a *Bill* brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt voluntary Abſence from Church on Sundays. The Forfeiture was to be Twelve-pence each Sunday, which was to be levied by Diſtreſs upon a Warrant from a Juſtice of Peace. Mr. *Owen*, a Member of the Houſe, diſlik'd this *Bill* upon Two Accounts *Firſt*, Upon the Score of the Penalty; he obſerv'd that there was a ſevere Law already for this Purpoſe; and that the pooreſt *Recuſant* in *England* was liable to the Forfeiture of Twenty Pounds *per* Month, and therefore the drawing a double Puniſhment upon the ſame Fault, was againſt Equity. *2dly*, He objected the penal Statutes were too numerous, without any farther Addition. And that if this *Bill* ſhould paſs, a Juſtice of Peace's Houſe would, like a *Quarter-Seſſions*, be crowded with a Multitude of Complainants. 'Twas likewiſe in his Opinion, a Breach upon *Magna Charta*, for that Law gives a Tryal *per Pares*; *But by this Two Witneſſes before a Juſtice of Peace*, were ſufficient. This *Bill* was engroſs'd with ſome Amendments. At the 3d Reading, Mr. *Bond* made a Speech againſt it. He urg'd, That if the *Bill* paſs'd, Two Imputations of ill Conſequence would be drawn upon the *State*. *Firſt*, The inferior Clergy would lie under Diſcredit and Reproach: And the Adverſaries would ſay, they had *Reform'd* away their Pariſh, and preach'd their Audience out of the Church. *Secondly*, The *Bill* would imply a ſtrong Reflection upon the Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Governors: It would either ſuppoſe them Remiſs in their Management, or elſe, that their Authority was in a Manner inſignificant, and could not come up to the Force of a Twelvepenny Fine. He urged farther, the real Grievances which might be conſequent upon the Execution: For, put the Caſe a Perſon abſent from the Church-Service, comes to be examin'd at the *Quarter-Seſſions*, he may ſometimes have a reaſonable Excuſe, which notwithſtanding might be very prejudicial to diſcover. And laſtly, he obſerv'd, that Miſunderſtandings and Breach of Charity would neceſſarily follow upon this *Bill*: For ſuppoſing the Church-Wardens preſent ſome, and either connive at, or forget others, what Complaints would there be of Partiality and Diſaffection? So that in ſhort, the Home-Proſecution would be extremely troubleſome and embarraſs'd, and all Manner of Favour or Neglect, be productive of Complaints and Quarrels. The *Bill* notwithſtanding went on, and being put to the Queſtion, the *Noes* carried it but by a ſingle Vote, upon which the *Yeas* ſaid the *Speaker* was with them, which would make the Number even. Upon this, the next Queſtion was, whether the *Speaker* had a *Voice*, which being decided in the Negative, the *Bill* was loſt. And here the *Speaker* himſelf own'd he was foreclos'd from giving his *Voice* by taking the Chair; and that by being elected to this Poſt, he was to be indifferent to both Parties, and therefore to vote on neither Side. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and Secretary *Cecil* delivered themſelves to the ſame Opinion, and the *Houſe* acquieſced in it. (*e*) This Parliament being the laſt of this Reign, was diſſolv'd on the 19th of *December*.

It is oppos'd and miſcarries.

The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons has no Vote.

Anno Dom. 1601.

The Convocation.

The *Convocation* met on the 18th of *October*: The Archbiſhop preſiding, exhorts the Biſhops to manage with Vigilance and Vigour, and be careful to obſerve the *Canons* paſt in the laſt *Convocation*. And particularly he gives them the following Cautions. *Firſt*, Not to proceed in Court upon Apparitors Suggeſtions, without Church-Wardens Preſentment, or other juſt Inquiſition. 2. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges hold no more than one Court within the Compaſs of Five Weeks 3. That Chancellors and Officials do not call Men to ſeveral Courts for the ſame Cauſe. 4. To have Bills of Preſentment but once a Quarter. 5. That the Curates of Non-Reſidents be able Perſons, and have good Allowances. 6. That none but Chancellors grant Licenſes for Marriage. There was nothing more material done this *Convocation*, excepting the Granting of Four Subſidies payable in Four Years,

(*d*) Ex Cod. Biblioth. Lambeth.

(*e*) D'Ewes's *Journal of the Houſe of Commons, p.* 663, 682, &c.

Years, which Grant, according to Cuſtom, was confirm'd in Parliament. (*f*)

(*f*) *Extract. of Convoc. Book.*

The next Year one *Watſon*, a *Secular* Prieſt, publiſh'd a Book againſt the *Jeſuits*: 'Tis written in a ſcholaſtick Way. 'Tis made up of Ten *Quodlibets*, as he calls them, with the ſame Number of Articles in each Subdiviſion. He draws up a ſevere Charge againſt the *Jeſuits* for their Latitude in Equivocation and mental Reſervation, flies out into ſtrong Reproaches, and treats the *Society* with the laſt Extremity of Language. The Paper-War between the *Seculars* and *Jeſuits* run now as high as ever. The *Secular Prieſts* were much diſguſted that *Blackwell* was put over them for their Arch-Prieſt. For this *Blackwell*, it ſeems, they look'd on as a Perſon at the Diſpoſal of *Garnet* the Jeſuits *Provincial*. *Blackwell*'s Commiſſion being thus conteſted, he firſt diſabled them in their Character, and afterwards got them cenſur'd for Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, in a *Brief* from *Rome*. But the Univerſity of *Paris* declaring for them, this Blemiſh would not ſtick. In their Prints againſt their Adverſaries, they ſpoke very honourably of the Queen's Clemency, and that every Thing conſider'd, ſhe had all along dealt gently with the Papiſts. For the Purpoſe: They prov'd that in the firſt Eleven Years of her Reign, not one Roman Catholick was capitally proſecuted for his Religion. And that Ten Years after *Pius Quintus*'s excommunicating *Bull*, and the Rebellion under the Earls of *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, there were not above Twelve Prieſts executed, and even ſome of theſe were convicted of Practices againſt the *State*. And thus Matters ſtood till the Year 1580, when the *Jeſuits* made their firſt Miſſion into *England*. That theſe *Religious*, by their Diſloyalty and Treaſon, embroil'd Buſineſs to the laſt Degree, diſſerv'd the Catholick Religion, and provok'd the Legiſlature to ſeverities againſt that Communion. That notwithſtanding this Misbehaviour, there were not in the Ten next Years above Fifty Prieſts executed, and Fifty five baniſh'd, who had forfeited their Lives by Law. That afterwards, at the Inſtance of the Jeſuit *Parſons*, there were *Engliſh Seminaries* founded in *Spain*: And from hence, every Year, ſeveral turbulent Prieſts were diſpatch'd into *England*. That this *Parſons* prompted the *Spaniard* to a Second Invaſion of *England* and *Ireland*: That in a printed *Tract* he maintain'd the *Infanta*'s Title to the Crown of *England*: And requir'd an Oath of the Students of the *Seminaries*, to declare for her. That *Holt* of the ſame *Society* did his Utmoſt to puſh *Hesket* to a Rebellion, and tamper'd with *Cullin*, *York*, and *Williams*, to kill the Queen. And that *Walpole*, a *Jeſuit*, perſuaded *Squire* to the ſame Villany. And thus the Queen, whoſe Opinion it was, that Conſcience ought not to be overborn with Rigour and Compulſion, was forced in her own Defence upon Methods of Severity: For that without ſuch rugged Expedients, the preſerving herſelf, and her Kingdoms was thought impracticable. As for *Parſons*, they deſcribe him as a rank Incendiary, and one remarkably Defective in common Honeſty. The Libels publiſh'd by the Jeſuits againſt the Queen, theſe *Seculars* charg'd with downright Falſhood, and that the Authors are no better than Traitors againſt God and her Majeſty. And here they argue very commendably: That Religion is not to be propagated by Inſurrections, by Fire and Sword: But that Proſelytes are to be gain'd by Perſuaſion, Meekneſs, and inoffenſive Behaviour. And laſtly, they caution'd the *Engliſh* Papiſts againſt ſending their Children for Education to the Jeſuits *Seminaries*: For that theſe Men would make a dangerous Impreſſion upon their Youth, form them to Treaſon and Rebellion, and Poiſon them in their Principles. (*g*)

The Secular Prieſts write againſt the Jeſuits.

Anno Dom. 1602.

And charge them with diſloyalty.

(*g*) Cambden Eliz.

Notwithſtanding theſe Profeſſions of Loyalty, the Queen and *Council* ſuſpected ſome latent Reſerves. A Proclamation therefore was publiſh'd, commanding the *Jeſuits*, and thoſe *Secular* Prieſts who join'd them, to quit the Kingdom immediately: And that the reſt who appear'd more moderate and better diſpoſed, ſhould be gone within Two Months, unleſs they would give a ſatisfactory Declaration of their Allegiance: And that neither *Jeſuits* nor *Seculars* ſhould return under the Penalty of ſuffering the Law.

Idem.

This Year *Alexander Nowel*, Dr. of Divinity, and Dean of St. *Paul*'s, *London*, departed this Life. He was educated in *Brazen-Noſe* College in *Oxford*; which Houſe he endowed with Two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, for the Maintenance of Thirteen Students. He was a Perſon of Learning and exemplary Life. Dr. *John Overal*, Divinity Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, ſucceeded him in his Deanery.

Feb. Anno Dom. 1602.

The Death of Dr. Nowel, *Dean of* St. Paul's, *and of* Weſtphaling, *Biſhop of* Hereford.

Herbert Weſtphaling, Biſhop of *Hereford*, a very religious Prelate, died about this Time, and left Twenty Pounds *per Annum* to *Jeſus* College in *Oxford*. (*h*)

(*h*) Godwin de Præſul. Angl.

To go back a little for *Scotland*: In *November* laſt a general *Aſſembly* met at *Holyrood Houſe*, where amongſt other Things, 'twas agreed, That in Memory of his Majeſty's Deliverance there ſhould be Sermons in all the Burroughs every Tueſday, and the 5th of *Auguſt* ſolemnly kept, purſuant to the late Act of Parliament. By the Way, the Parliament not only provided for this Anniverſary; but enacted the Name of *Ruthen* ſhould be extinguiſh'd, the Bodies of the Earl and his Brother brought to *Edinburgh*, there hang'd and quarter'd, and their Heads fix'd upon the Top of the Common Priſon: This was all executed accordingly, excepting the Clauſe relating to the Name of *Ruthen*, which the King diſpens'd with in Favour of thoſe unconcern'd in the Plot.

A general Aſſembly at Holyrood-Houſe.

The King having a near Proſpect of being Monarch of the whole Iſland, and reſolving to bring the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* towards an Uniformity, prevail'd with the *Aſſembly* to paſs an Order that Marriages might be ſolemniz'd without Diſtinction of Days; whereas by the Rules of the *Diſcipline* it ſtood prohibited on Sundays. Farther, before this Time the initiating Sacrament was not adminiſtred, unleſs at the Times of Preaching. Some are of Opinion this Practice proceeded from an Opinion of the Indifferency, or at leaſt the Non-Neceſſity of Baptiſm. But now the *Aſſembly* ordain'd, "That in Caſe this Sacrament was "requir'd by the Parents, or others in their "Names, it ſhould neither be refus'd to Infants, "or delay'd upon any Pretence whatſoever:" And thus the *Scotch* Miniſters made ſomewhat of an Advance towards the Church of *England*. (*i*)

(*i*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory*. MS. Penes Archibald Campbell Armig.

About this Time Pope *Clement* the VIIIth. perceiving the Diſputes between the *Engliſh Seculars* and *Jeſuits* was like to diſſerve his Intereſt, wrote to the Arch-Prieſt *Blackwell* to ſtop the Progreſs of the Conteſt: To call in all Defamatory Books, and not to ſuffer either Party to

Pope Clement's *Letter to* Blackwell *the Arch-Prieſt.* Octob. An. Dom. 1602.

to mal-treat the other; and that they ſhould print nothing upon the Controverſy without a Licence from the Cardinal *Protector*. The Pope takes Notice that ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts had appeal'd, and prefer'd a Complaint againſt *Blackwell*: He therefore cautions him to manage his Commiſſion with Temper: As for his Inſtructions at Length, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to the *Records*. (k)

(k) *See Records* N° XCVIII.

Queen Elizabeth's Death and Character.

The Queen, who had hitherto been all along happy in her Health, began now to decline very ſenſibly. On the laſt of *January* ſhe remov'd from *Weſtminſter* to *Richmond* for Retirement, and the Benefit of the Air. She was ſeiz'd ſome Time before her Death with a deep Melancholy. Whether this Diſtemper proceeded from Conſcience or Conſtitution: Whether her Mind affected her Health, or ill Habit of Body clouded her Imagination, is ſomewhat uncertain: 'Tis poſſible her extraordinary Uſage of the Queen of *Scots*, embroiling the neighbouring Kingdoms, and harraſſing the Patrimony of the Church, might not altogether pleaſe in the Retroſpection. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Friends pretended her giving Way to the Execution of that Nobleman, ſate hard upon her Spirits. Some thought ſhe ſuſpected the Inclinations of her Subjects began to remove, that they grew weary of her Government, and look'd towards the King of *Scots*. (l) But without pronouncing upon the Cauſe, 'tis certain the laſt Scene was dark and diſconſolate. However, her Silence and ſolitary Appearance, her refuſing Converſation, unleſs with Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, might proceed from a religious Diſpoſition. She was willing, we may charitably ſuppoſe, to keep herſelf in a Poſture of Recollection, and reſerve her Time for Eternity. When the Symptoms grew mortal, the Lord-Keeper and Secretary *Cecil* waited on her by the Direction of the *Privy-Council*: Their Buſineſs was to ask her Pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor: She told them *her Throne was a Throne of Kings, and that ſhe would not have any mean Perſon ſucceed her.* And the Secretary deſiring her Majeſty to explain herſelf farther, ſhe anſwered, *That the King of* Scots, *her neareſt Relation, ſhould ſucceed her.* After this, the Archbiſhop put her in Mind to turn her Thoughts to the other World, and think upon God: *That I do*, ſays ſhe, *nor does my Mind at all wander from him.* And when her Speech fail'd her, her Geſtures were devout and ſignificant. She died on the 24th of *March*, in the 70th Year of her Age, and the 45th of her Reign.

(l) Cambden Eliz.

Idem.

To ſay ſomething of this Princeſs by Way of Deſcription: She ſeems form'd by Nature and Education for the Greatneſs ſhe was born to. It muſt be ſaid her Qualities were many of them correſpondent to her Station. To be ſomewhat particular; ſhe was furniſh'd with Learning, Senſe, and Courage, to an unuſual Degree. She ſpoke *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian*, with Eaſe and Propriety, and underſtood *Greek* and *Spaniſh*. She tranſlated *Salluſt de bello Jugurthino*, the greateſt Part of *Horace de Arte Poeticâ*, and *Plutarch de Curioſitate*. She had a good Ear for Muſick, and played upon ſeveral Inſtruments: Her *Mien* and *Behaviour* was graceful and majeſtick. And being prepar'd to anſwer Ambaſſadors Speeches in the Language they were deliver'd, and diſcourſe upon Government, and the State of foreign Kingdoms, ſhe appear'd with great Advantage at her giving *Audience*, and upon other publick Occaſions. Thus the Duke of *Anjou*, and other Strangers of Quality, are ſaid to have admir'd her extremely. She was generally awake for the Functions of Government: Her Meaſures for Precaution were well taken, her Conduct reſted upon Art, and her Politicks were carried to the fartheſt Improvement. And when the Proſpect was black, and the *Criſis* grew dangerous, nothing was more brave than this Princeſs. For Inſtance, when the *Spaniſh Armada* was ready to deſcend upon the Kingdom, ſhe appear'd at *Tilbury* with an Air of Reſolution: Rode about the Army, harangued her Troops, and encourag'd them like an Heroine.

Neither was ſhe leſs remarkable in her Adminiſtration at *Home*; ſhe knew how to govern her Dominions, as well as guard them. She always took Care to keep a due Diſtance between the Subject and Sovereign; and never ſuffer'd her People, *either without Doors, or within*, to grow upon the Prerogative. And notwithſtanding theſe Reſerves of Majeſty, this holding the Reins ſtreight, and keeping the Spirit of Government always ſtirring, ſhe avoided the Imputation of a rigid Prince, and gain'd the Affections of the Generality. She had the Secret of engaging the People, without leſſening her Authority; was condeſcenſive and popular in her Geſtures and Diſcourſe, and knew how to ſtoop without ſhrinking her Stature. And to make her Management more acceptable, ſhe never burthen'd the Country with unneceſſary Taxes. And that which was given, was conſtantly applied to the publick Benefit: To which I may add the Recovery of the Mint to a juſt Standard of Fineneſs. In ſhort, had the Intereſt of her Subjects lain wholly in this World, few Princes would have left their Memory better recommended.

But as to the Service of Religion, I am ſorry I cannot ſay her Conduct was altogether ſo happy. She reſtor'd the *Reformation*, 'tis true, but in many Places left little Proviſion to maintain it. She drew back the Patrimony of the Church, reſtor'd by her Siſter Queen *Mary*, and reach'd ſomewhat unkindly into the Remainder. To give an Inſtance or Two farther of the Depredations during this Reign: The Biſhoprick of *Ely*, after *Cox*'s Death, was kept Vacant near Twenty Years, and the People almoſt left *like Sheep without a Shepherd.* 'Tis ſaid, the ejected King of *Portugal* was ſubſiſted with the Rents: And when the *See* was fill'd, the next Succeſſor *Heaton* found moſt of the Manors wreſted from it. (m) Sir *John Harrington* confeſſes this Kind of Management was reckn'd one of the Blemiſhes of her Reign. The taking away the Biſhop's Lands, and returning the lamentable Exchange of *Impropriations* was a great Blow to the Church. For not to mention theſe *Impropriations* were Part of the conſecrated Revenues; not to mention the Exchange, was far ſhort of an Equivalent; not to mention this, the Forcing the Biſhops to ſubſiſt on theſe parochial Endowments, put them out of Capacity of relieving the poor Vicars, which in many Places are very deſpicably provided for. To give ſome modern Proof of this Matter: When *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, viſited the Dioceſe of *Lincoln* in the Reign of King *James* the IId. Part of this Prelate's Report to his Majeſty was this; That for about Thirty Miles together beyond *Lincoln*, many of the Livings were worth but Five Pounds *per Annum*, and none more than Ten. * And to ſet this Matter in a fuller Light, I ſhall give

(m) Harrington's *brief View*.

* *This Account I receiv'd from a Reverend Clergyman, who had it from the Biſhop himſelf.*

give the *Reader* a Computation of the Livings in *England*, and ſubjoin an Authentick Account of the ſlender Value of moſt of them. (n)

To return; If 'tis ſaid Queen *Elizabeth* had an *Act* of Parliament to juſtify her taking away the Biſhops Lands, I grant ſhe had ſo: But then it muſt be conſider'd her Majeſty had ſolemnly ſworn † to maintain the Clergy in their Rights and Privileges: The Difficulty therefore will be to reconcile her paſſing this *Bill*, with the Coronation-Oath. However, the Knot was cut, and the Scruple maſter'd: And which is more, the *Act* was driven Home in the Execution. Inſomuch, that *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had the bold Honeſty to tell the Queen in a Sermon, that if the Temporalties of the Biſhops ſhould ſuffer the next Thirty Years, as much as they had done for Thirty Years laſt paſt, * there would ſcarcely be enough remaining on any *See* to keep the Cathedral in Repair. (o)

Theſe Things conſider'd, if this Queen's Uſage of the Clergy was compar'd with what they met with in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth. 'tis to be fear'd it might be ſaid, *her little Finger was thicker than her Fathers Loins*: And that he *diſciplin'd them with Whips*, but ſhe *chaſtis'd them with Scorpions*. (p) And as to the Parallel between this Princeſs and her Siſter Queen *Mary*; may it not be affirm'd, That the one made *Martyrs* in the Church, and the other *Beggars*? The one executed the *Men*, and the other the *Eſtates*? And therefore, reſerving the Honour of the *Reformation* to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Queſtion will be, whether the Reſuming the firſt *Fruits* and *Tenths*, putting many of the Vicaridges in this deplorable Condition, and ſettling a Perpetuity of Poverty upon the Church, was not much more prejudicial than Fire and Faggot? Whether deſtroying Biſhopricks is not a much greater Hardſhip than deſtroying Biſhops? Becauſe this Severity affects Succeſſion, and reaches down to future Ages. And laſtly, Whether as the World goes, 'tis not more eaſy to recruit Biſhops, than the Revenues to ſupport them? But this only by Way of Query; And ſo much for Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

(n) *See Records*, XCIX.

† *At her Coronation.*

* *This Sermon was preach'd before the Queen in the Year* 1595.

(o) Harrington's *brief View*, &c. *pag.* 66.

(p) 1 Kings cap. 12. v. 10 & 11.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK VIII.

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

April, An. Dom. 1603.

King James I. *proclaimed, and comes into* England.

James I. K.

UPON the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland* was proclaim'd in *London*. And now Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas Somerſet*, Brother to the Earl of *Worceſter*, were diſpatch'd by the Privy-Council to acquaint his Majeſty with the Queen's Deceaſe, and with what had paſs'd for recognizing his Right. Upon this News the King prepares for his Journey into *England*, and made a Speech to the People at *Edinburgh*, who parted with him not without Regret. “He told them, they ſhould find the “Effects of his Government no leſs beneficial “at a Diſtance than when he continued with “them: And ſince his Power was encreas'd, “his Affections ſhould not go leſs.” When he came to *Berwick*, *Toby Mathews*, Biſhop of *Durham*, congratulated his Acceſſion to the Throne in a Sermon. At *Burleigh*-Houſe, near *Stamford*, his Majeſty was acquainted with the Death of *James Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*. This Prelate was deſcended of the Houſe of *Balfour* in *Fife*, and conſecrated in the Year 1552. When the *Scotch* Reformation began, he quitted the Country, and carried away all the *Manuſcripts* and Records of his *See*, together with the Plate and Ornaments of the Cathedral. He ſettled at *Paris*. Amongſt other Things of Value, convey'd beyond-Sea by this Archbiſhop, there was a Figure of our Saviour in Gold, and the Twelve Apoſtles in Silver. When the late Queen *Mary* return'd from *France* into *Scotland*, ſhe gave him a publick Character, and order'd him to reſide at the *French* Court. Under the *Regencies* he was proclaim'd Rebel, his Eſtate ſeiz'd, and his *See* diſpos'd of to ſeveral Perſons ſucceſſively. The King, when a *Major*, reſtor'd him to his Honour and Fortune, and gave him his former Poſt of Ambaſſador in *France*. *Spotſwood* gives him the Commendation of a worthy Perſon: That he continued Loyal to the Queen as long as ſhe lived, and was afterwards no leſs true to the King her Son: And that he all along ſerv'd his Country to the Utmoſt of his Power. He left Ten thouſand Crowns for breeding poor *Scotchmen* to Learning. The *Records*, Plate, and other Things of Value, carried along with him, he lodg'd in the Hands of the *Carthuſians* at *Paris*, with a Clauſe in his Will for reſtoring them when *Glaſcow* turn'd Catholick. (*a*)

The Death and Character of Beaton, *Archbiſhop of* Glaſcow.

(*a*) Spotſwood's *Ch. Hiſt.*

The Puritans omit the Ceremonies of the Church.

In *England*, thoſe who were *Puritanically* inclin'd preſuming either upon the King's Favour, or Connivance, began to maim the Church-*Service*, to forbear the Uſe of the Surplice, and omit the Ceremonies. Theſe Omiſſions they hoped might be acceptable to the King, conſidering his Education, and the Practice of the *Scotch*

A Proclamation againſt Innovation.

Scotch Kirk: But theſe Men were wide in their Conjectures, and miſcalculated upon his Majeſty's Inclination: For ſoon after his Coming into *England* a Proclamation was iſſued out, forbidding all Manner of Innovation either in Doctrine or Diſcipline.

But all thoſe affected to *Preſbyterianiſm* were not thus exceptionably forward. Some diſlik'd theſe Sallies of Zeal, and reſolv'd to manage by a more regular Motion. To this Purpoſe they addreſs'd the King in the Name of certain Miniſters of the Church of *England*, *deſiring Reformation of ſundry Ceremonies and Abuſes*. This Addreſs was ſaid to be ſign'd by a Thouſand, and therefore call'd the *Millenary Petition*, though there wanted ſome Hundreds to compleat the Number. The Petition runs thus:

To the Moſt Chriſtian and Excellent Prince, our Gracious and Dread Sovereign James, *by the Grace of* God, &c. *We the Miniſters of the Church of* England *that deſire Reformation, wiſh a long, proſperous, and happy Reign over us in this Life, and in the next Everlaſting Salvation.*

Moſt Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

The Millenary Petition.

“Seeing it hath pleaſed the Divine Majeſty, to the great Comfort of all good Chriſtians, to advance your Highneſs, according to your juſt Title, to the peaceable Government of this Church and Commonwealth of *England*: We the Miniſters of the Goſpel in this Land, neither as Factious Men, affecting a popular Parity in the Church, nor as Schiſmaticks, aiming at the Diſſolution of the State Eccleſiaſtical; but as the faithful Servants of Chriſt, and loyal Subjects to your Majeſty, deſiring and longing for the Redreſs of divers Abuſes of the Church, could do no leſs, in our Obedience to God, Service to your Majeſty, Love to his Church than acquaint your Princely Majeſty with our particular Griefs: For, as your Princely Pen writeth, *The King, as a good Phyſician, muſt firſt know what Peccant Humours his Patient naturally is moſt ſubject unto, before he can begin his Cure.* And although divers of us that ſue for Reformation have formerly, in reſpect of the Times, ſubſcrib'd to the *Book*, ſome upon *Proteſtation*, ſome upon *Expoſition* given them, ſome with Condition, rather than the Church ſhould have been depriv'd of their Labour and Miniſtry: Yet now we, to the Number of more than a Thouſand of your Majeſty's Subjects and Miniſters, all groaning, as under a common Burthen of human Rites and Ceremonies, do, with one joint Conſent, humble our ſelves at your Majeſty's Feet, to be eas'd and reliev'd in this Behalf. Our Humble Suit then unto your Majeſty is, That theſe Offences following, ſome may be remov'd, ſome amended, ſome qualified:

“I. *In the Church Service*: That the Croſs in Baptiſm, Interrogatories miniſter'd to Infants, Confirmations, as ſuperfluous, may be taken away. Baptiſm not to be miniſter'd by Women, and ſo explain'd The Cap and Surplice not urg'd. That Examination may go before the Communion. That it be miniſter'd with a Sermon. That divers Terms of *Prieſts*, and Abſolution, and ſome other uſed, with the *Ring in Marriage*, and other ſuch like in the *Book*, may be corrected. The Longſomeneſs of Service abridg'd. Church-Songs and Muſick moderated to better Edification. That the Lord's-Day be not prophan'd. The Reſt upon Holidays not ſo ſtrictly urg'd. That there may be an Uniformity of Doctrine preſcrib'd. No Popiſh Opinion to be any more taught, or defended. No Miniſters charg'd to teach their People to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*. That the Canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church.

“II. *Concerning Church Miniſters*: That none hereafter be admitted into the Miniſtry, but able and ſufficient Men, and thoſe to preach diligently, and eſpecially upon the Lord's-Day. That ſuch as be already enter'd, and cannot preach, may either be removed, and ſome charitable Courſe taken with them for their Relief; or elſe to be forc'd, according to the Value of their Livings, to maintain Preachers. That Nonreſidency be not permitted. That King *Edward*'s Statute for the Lawfulneſs of Miniſters Marriage be revived. That Miniſters be not urg'd to ſubſcribe, but, according to the Law, to the Articles of Religion, and the King's Supremacy only.

“III. *For Church Living and Maintenance*: That Biſhops leave their Commendams; ſome holding Prebends, ſome Parſonages, ſome Vicarages, with their Biſhopricks. That double benefic'd Men be not ſuffer'd to hold, ſome two, ſome three Benefices with Cure, and ſome two, three, or four Dignities beſides. That Impropriations annex'd to Biſhopricks and Colleges be demiſ'd only to the Preachers Incumbents for the old Rent. That the Impropriations of Lay-Mens Fees may be charg'd with a ſixth or ſeventh Part of the Worth, to the Maintenance of the Preaching Miniſter.

“IV. *For Church Diſcipline*: That the Diſcipline and Excommunication may be adminiſter'd according to Chriſt's own Inſtitution; or at leaſt, that Enormities may be redreſs'd: As namely, That Excommunication come not forth under the Name of Lay-Perſons, Chancellors, Officials, *&c.* That Men be not excommunicated for Trifles and Twelve-penny Matters, that none be excommunicated without Conſent of his Paſtor. That the Officers be not ſuffer'd to extort unreaſonable Fees. That none, having Juriſdiction or *Regiſters* Places, put out the ſame to Farm. That divers Popiſh Canons (as for Reſtraint of Marriage at certain Times) be revers'd. That the Longſomeneſs of Suits in Eccleſiaſtical Courts (which hang ſome Times two, three, four, five, ſix, or ſeven Years) may be reſtrain'd. That the Oath *Ex Officio*, whereby Men are forc'd to accuſe themſelves, be more ſparingly uſed. That Licenſes for Marriage, without Banes asked, be more cautiouſly granted.

“Theſe, with ſuch other Abuſes, yet remaining, and practiſ'd in the Church of *England*, we are able to ſhew not to be agreeable to the *Scriptures*, if it ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs farther to hear us, or more at large by Writing to be inform'd, or by Conference among the Learned to be reſolv'd. And yet we doubt not, but that, without any farther Proceſs, your Majeſty (of whoſe Chriſtian Judgment we have receiv'd ſo good a Taſte already) is able of your ſelf to judge of the Equity of this Cauſe.

“God, we truſt, hath appointed your Highneſs our Phyſician to heal theſe Diſeaſes. And we ſay with *Mordecai* to *Heſter*, *Who knoweth whether you are come to the Kingdom for ſuch a Time?* Thus your Majeſty ſhall do that which we are perſwaded ſhall be acceptable to God, Honourable to your Majeſty in all ſucceeding Ages, profitable to his Church, which ſhall be thereby encreaſed, comfortable to your Miniſters, which ſhall be no more ſuſpended, ſilenced, diſgraced, impriſon'd, for Mens *Traditions*; and prejudicial to none but thoſe that ſeek their own Credit, Quiet, and Profit, in the World. Thus, with all dutiful Submiſſion, referring our ſelves to your Majeſty's Pleaſure for your Gracious Anſwer, as God ſhall direct you; We moſt humbly recommend your Highneſs to the Divine Majeſty, whom we beſeech for Chriſt's Sake to diſpoſe your Royal Heart to do herein what ſhall be to his Glory, the Good of his Church, and your endleſs Comfort. (b)

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subjects,

The Miniſters of the Goſpel,
that deſire not a diſorderly
Innovation, but a due and
godly Reformation.

(b) Fuller.

And here it may be obſerv'd, that notwithſtanding this *Petition* makes no expreſs Remonſtrance againſt Epiſcopacy, or ſtated Forms of Prayer, yet the Deſign ſeems laid againſt both: For when ſo many of the Outworks were taken, 'tis not likely the Place could have held out long: When the Branches of a Tree are thus lopp'd, the Body muſt make an odd Figure, and ſuffer of Courſe. To come out of the Allegory, the two Univerſities thought it neceſſary to appear in Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. To this Purpoſe, an Order paſſed at a *Congregation* in *Cambridge*, that whoever oppoſed the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, either by Word or Writing, ſhould be ſuſpended from all Degrees already taken, and diſabled from taking any new ones. 'Twas likewiſe reſolv'd to return an Anſwer to the *Millenary Petition*: But being inform'd the Undertaking was conſiderably advanc'd at *Oxford*, they reſted the Controverſy with that *Univerſity*. However, a Letter of Thanks was ſent to *Oxford* for their Forwardneſs in the Cauſe. This Civility was no more than what was deſerv'd; for ſoon after the Petition was effectually anſwer'd. The King was fully appriz'd of theſe Proceedings, but intended to draw the Cognizance of the Matter to himſelf. The Method he thought fit to pitch upon was a publick Conference. This Way of deciding the Diſpute was propos'd by the Puritan Party in the late Reign: But Queen *Elizabeth* could not be prevail'd with to grant the Requeſt. She conceived the expoſing Things ſettled to Queſtion and Diſpute would breed Diſorder, and weaken the Force of Government. But King *James*, either out of a Deſire to ſatiſfy himſelf, or to ſhew his Talent in Arguing and Elocution, was of a different Sentiment, and gave Order for a Conference. And now certain Delegates of each Party receiv'd a Summons to attend his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*. Here the *Petition* was to be diſcuſs'd, and the King's Pleaſure farther known in the Controverſy.

The Univerſities declare and write againſt it. June 9. An. Dom. 1603.

Jan. 14. An. Dom. 160¾.

A Conference at Hampton-*Court.*

The Commiſſioners for the Church were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, * the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, St. *David's*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliſle*, and *Peterborough*, the Dean of the Chapel, the Deans of *Weſtminſter*, *Chriſtchurch*, St. *Paul's*, *Worceſter*, *Salisbury*, *Cheſter*, and *Windſor*; to theſe muſt be added Dr. *King*, Archdeacon of *Nottingham*, and Dr. *Field*, afterwards Dean of *Glouceſter*. All theſe were dreſs'd in the Habits of their reſpective Diſtinctions.

* *The Biſhops Names, who aſſiſted for the Church, were, as they ſtand in the Liſt,* Whitgift, Bancroft, Mathew, Bilſon, Babington, Rudd, Watſon, Robinſon, Dove. *The Deans of* Weſtminſter, St. Paul's, Cheſter, *and* Salisbury, *were* Andrews, Overall, Barlow, *and* Bridges. *All the Lords of the Privy Council were preſent at the Conference.*

On the other Side, the *Millenary Petitioners* ſent Dr. *John Reynolds* and Dr. *Thomas Sparke* of *Oxford*, Mr. *Chadderton* and Mr. *Knewſtubbs* of *Cambridge*. Theſe Delegates had nothing of the Canonical Habit, but appear'd in Gowns of the Shape of thoſe then commonly worn by *Turkey* Merchants.

The King open'd the Conference with a Speech to this Effect:

† *The King's Speech.*

“† He told them 'twas a cuſtomary Practice amongſt all Chriſtian Princes to lead the Way in Religious Affairs, and provide for the Settlement of the Church both with Reference to Belief and Government: Of this he gave Inſtances in the Reigns of King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this Reſpect he conceiv'd he was more happy than thoſe Princes; becauſe they thought themſelves oblig'd to alter the Eſtabliſhment: But as for himſelf, he could yet diſcover no Ground for making any Change: That by the Bleſſing of Providence he was *brought into the promis'd Land*, where Religion was profeſs'd in its Purity; where he ſat amongſt Grave, Learned, and Reverend Men: And that now he was not, as formerly, a King without State and Honour; nor in a *Place* where Order was baniſh'd, and beardleſs Boys would brave him to his Face. (c)

(c) *The Sum and Subſtance of the Conference at* Hampton-*Court by* William Barlow, *Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of* Cheſter, *printed* An. Dom. 1604.

“His Majeſty aſſur'd them he did not convene this Aſſembly out of any Deſire of Innovation. He owns the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Government to have been plainly countenanced by Heaven; and that the propagating of Truth and the Publick Repoſe have been conſequent upon it. But ſince the beſt Proviſions are capable of Improvement, and Decay and Corruptions are commonly the Effect of Time; and becauſe ſince his coming into this Kingdom he had received Complaints of many Diſorders, of Diſobedience to the Laws, and falling off to Popery, his Majeſty deſign'd to examine the Complaints, and in caſe they were ſcandalous, to remove the Occaſion; and though they were but trifling, to take Notice of them, and give *Cerberus a Sop* to keep him quiet.” His Meaning was, That Factious People might have no Pretences to continue their Clamour. And here by the Way we are to obſerve, that at this firſt Day's *Conference*, none but the Biſhops and Deans abovemention'd, and the Lords of the Council, were admitted into the Preſence. “And now the King acquainted the Biſhops and the reſt, That the Reaſon of his conſulting them by themſelves, was to receive Satiſfaction concerning ſeveral Uſages in the Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church. Theſe his Majeſty rang'd under three general Heads: The *Firſt* related to the Book of *Common-Prayer*. The *Second* was touching Excommunication in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The *Third* was

The firſt Day's Conference.

“ to ſuggeſt a Proviſion of well qualified Miniſters for *Ireland*.

“ I. As to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, he required Satisfaction in three Things:

“ *Firſt*, About *Confirmation*. 1. He ſcrupled the Term; for if it imported a Confirming of Baptiſm, as if this Sacrament was inſignificant without it, then there was Blaſphemy in the Name. For though the ancient Cuſtom was defenſible, that Infants anſwering by their Godfathers ſhould be examin'd when they came to Years of Diſcretion; that after having own'd the Engagement made for them at the Font, they ſhould be confirm'd with the Biſhop's Bleſſing and Impoſition of Hands; yet his Majeſty abhorr'd the Abuſe of raiſing this Uſage to a Sacrament, and attributing its giving any Force to Baptiſm.

“ The *Second* Thing he deſir'd to be clear'd was concerning *Abſolution*. His Majeſty had been inform'd, that this Uſage in the Church of *England* had ſome Reſemblance with the Pope's *Pardons*: But in his Opinion, God had given a Commiſſion to abſolve only in two Caſes: The one was General, the other Particular. For the *Firſt*, All Prayer and Preaching his Majeſty conceiv'd imported an Abſolution. As to the *Second*, It was to be applied to thoſe who had repented of ſcandalous Crimes; otherwiſe, where the Perſon is neither excommunicated, nor under Penance, there was no Neceſſity of his being abſolv'd.

“ His Majeſty's *Third* Objection was *Private Baptiſm*. And here he made a Diſtinction: If it was private with Reference to the Place, he thought it conſiſtent with the Practice of the Primitive Church: But if it related to the Perſon, he diſliked it to the laſt Degree. And upon this Occaſion he expreſſed himſelf with ſome Warmth againſt Women and *Laicks* adminiſtring this Sacrament.

“ II. The *Second* general Head was *Excommunication*. And here his Majeſty propoſed two Things: *Firſt*, The Matter. *Secondly*, The Perſon. *Firſt*, He deſir'd to be ſatisfied as to Matter of Fact, Whether this *Cenſure* was executed upon light Occaſions, as the Complainants pretend? *Secondly*, Whether 'twas not too frequently exerted? As to the Perſons, he expected to be reſolv'd, Why Lay-Chancellors and Commiſſaries ſhould exerciſe this ſolemn Part of Eccleſiaſtical Authority? *Secondly*, Why the Biſhops themſelves did not take in the Aſſiſtance of the Dean and Chapter, or ſome other Clergymen of Character? That the Dignity and Weight of the *Cenſure* would be better underſtood this Way; and that ſuch an Aſſiſtance in lower *Cenſures*, and giving of *Orders*, would be likewiſe ſerviceable.

“ III. The Proviſion for *Ireland* the King poſtpon'd to a Conſultation after the Conference was ended.

When the King had ended this Introductive Diſcourſe, the Archbiſhop kneeling ſuggeſted to the *Audience* how bountiful the Providence of God had been to this Kingdom in ſetting ſo Learned and Judicious a Prince at the *Helm*. After this Prefatory Reſpect, he addreſs'd himſelf to give his Majeſty Satisfaction in the Order propos'd.

Firſt, As to *Confirmation*, he ſhew'd the Antiquity of it at large; and that it had been all along practis'd in the Church from the Apoſtles Times: That this had been the conſtant Uſage of Chriſtendom, 'till ſome particular Churches had unadviſedly thrown it off of late; and that 'twas a very untrue Suggeſtion, that the Church of *England* held Baptiſm imperfect without *Confirmation*. And this he made good by the *Rubrick* before this *Office*.

The Biſhop of *London* * ſeconding the Archbiſhop, affirming that *Confirmation* had not only the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the Teſtimony of the Fathers for its Defence, (*d*) but that 'twas over and above an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and a Part of the Catechiſm expreſly mention'd in the *New-Teſtament*: (*e*) That *Calvin* expounded the Text in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* to this Senſe; and earneſtly wiſh'd the Cuſtom might be reviv'd in thoſe Reform'd Churches which had ſuppreſs'd it. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* † reinforc'd this Reaſoning, and urg'd the *Text* with great Learning and Pertinency. The Biſhop of *Durham* * likewiſe cited St. *Matthew* to juſtify the Impoſition of Hands upon Children. The Reſult was, That for the clearer Explanation that the Church of *England* makes *Confirmation* neither a Sacrament, nor a Corroboration of Baptiſm, it ſhould be referr'd to their Lordſhips whether the *Office* ſtanding as it did might not be called an *Examination* with a *Confirmation*.

The Point of *Abſolution* came up next. And here the Archbiſhop clear'd the Practice of the Church of *England* from all Abuſe and Superſtition: For this he appeal'd to the *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* in the Beginning of the Communion-Book. The King peruſing the Book found the Allegation true, and acquieſced. But the Biſhop of *London*, ſtepping forward, told his Majeſty, That in the Communion-Book there was another particular and perſonal Form of *Abſolution* preſcrib'd in the *Viſitation of the Sick*; adding withal, that not only the *Confeſſions* of *Augsburgh*, *Bohemia*, and *Saxony*, retain'd it, but that *Calvin* approved ſuch a general *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* as is uſed in the Church of *England*. The Form being read, the King liked it extreamly, and call'd it an *Apoſtolical Ordinance*. The Concluſion was, That the Biſhops ſhould conſult whether the *Remiſſion of Sins* might not be added to the *Abſolution-Rubrick* for Explanation Sake.

Farther, The Archbiſhop went on to ſpeak concerning *Private Baptiſm*. He endeavour'd to ſatisfy his Majeſty that the Adminiſtration of *Baptiſm* by Women and Lay-Perſons was not allow'd by the Church of *England*; that the Biſhops in their *Viſitations* cenſur'd this Practice; and that the Words in the *Office* don't infer any ſuch Latitude. To this the King excepting, cited the *Office*, and argued that the Words could not be conſtrued to leſs than a Permiſſion for Women and Lay-Perſons to baptize. Here the Biſhop of *Worceſter* * ſtruck in, and confeſs'd that the Words were ſomewhat ambiguous, and might be ſtrein'd to that Meaning: But by the counter Practice of the Church, by Womens being cenſur'd upon this Score, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe the Compilers of the *Office* did not deſign to be ſo underſtood: And yet notwithſtanding couch'd the Form in ambiguous Expreſſions, becauſe otherwiſe perhaps the Book might not have paſs'd in Parliament. (*f*) The Biſhop of *London* not ſatisfy'd with this Diſcourſe, replied, That thoſe Learned and Reverend Perſons who drew up the *Common-Prayer*, had

* Bancroft.

(*d*) Cyprian Epiſt. 73. Hieron. adverſus Luciferian.

(*e*) Heb. 6. v. 2.

† Robinſon.

* Mathew.

* Babington.

(*f*) *For this Conjecture he cited the Teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of* York.

had no Intention to miſlead the People by perplex'd and double-meaning Expreſſions, but really deſign'd a Permiſſion to private Perſons for baptizing in Caſe of Neceſſity: And for this he appeal'd to their Letters, ſome Paſſages of which were then read. This Biſhop proceeded to prove this Permiſſion was agreeable to the Practice of the Primitive Church. To this Purpoſe he urged the Text in the Second of the *Acts*, where Three thouſand are ſaid to have been baptiz'd in one Day; that it was impoſſible, or at leaſt improbable, that the Apoſtles could adminiſter the Sacrament to ſuch Numbers in ſo ſmall a Time; and that in thoſe early Days of Chriſtianity there were no Biſhops or Prieſts excepting the Apoſtles. He likewiſe cited the Authorities of *Tertullian* and St. *Ambroſe*. (g) And here he laid open the Abſurdity and Impiety of the Opinion which ſuppoſes no Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

(g) Tertull. de Baptiſm. Ambroſ. in 4 Cap. Ephes.

To this the King replied, That the Inſtance in the *Acts* was an extraordinary Caſe; and that to argue from the Practice of a Church in its Beginning, and before 'twas perfectly form'd, to a Church ſettled, and in a flouriſhing Condition, was no good Reaſoning. He went on to maintain the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, and argued that the Text in St. *John*, *Except a Man be born of Water, &c.* (h) was meant of the Sacrament of Baptiſm: And that he had defended this Senſe of the Text againſt ſome Miniſters in *Scotland*. It may ſeem ſtrange to you my Lords, continues the King, *That I think you in* England *give too much to Baptiſm, ſince Fourteen Months ago I argued with my Divines in* Scotland *for aſcribing too little to that Sacrament; inſomuch that a pert Miniſter ask'd me, If I thought Baptiſm ſo neceſſary, that if it were omitted the Child ſhould be damn'd? I anſwer'd him, No; but if you being called to baptize the Child, though privately, ſhould refuſe to come, I think you ſhall be damn'd.* And here the King declar'd ſo far for the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, that when it could be adminiſter'd by the Clergy it ought never to be omitted; but the *Laity* he conceiv'd ought not to preſume on that Office in any Caſe. And yet, which was ſomewhat particular, he diſapprov'd all Rebaptization, though that Sacrament had been adminiſter'd by private unauthorized Perſons.

(h) John. 3. v. 5.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* * diſcourſing learnedly upon this Subject, affirm'd, That to bar private Perſons baptizing in Caſes of Neceſſity, was to croſs upon all Antiquity: That 'twas a Maxim in Divinity, that the Miniſter was not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament. To this the King anſwer'd, that though the Miniſter was not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament, he was notwithſtanding of the Eſſence of the Right and Lawful Miniſtry of the Sacrament. His Ground was the Words in the Apoſtles Commiſſion, *Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.* Upon the whole, 'twas reſolv'd the Biſhops ſhould debate afterwards, whether the Words *Curate or Lawful Miniſters* might not be inſerted in the *Rubrick* for *Private Baptiſm*.

* Bilſon.

The King proceeding to the Point of Excommunication in Inſtances of leſſer Miſbehaviour; demanded *Firſt* if the Name might not be chang'd, and yet the ſame Cenſure continued: Or *Secondly*, Whether an equivalent Correction might not be ſubſtituted in lieu of it. The Affirmative of this Motion was unanimouſly aſſented to. An Alteration of this Kind had been often deſir'd in the late Reign; but the Queen was reſolv'd to unſettle nothing, but abide by the firſt Eſtabliſhment. And thus the Reader has the Subſtance *Of the firſt Day's Conference*.

Jan. 16.

The ſecond Day's Conference.

On the *Monday* following the four Complainants, *Reynolds*, *Sparkes*, *Knewſtubbes*, and *Chadderton*, were call'd into the Privy-Chamber, *Patrick Galoway*, Miniſter of *Perth*, being likewiſe admitted. For the Church the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter* appear'd, together with the Deans and Doctors above-mentioned. The King entring the Room with * Prince *Henry*, made a ſhort Speech to the ſame Effect with the former: Only in the Cloſe he directed his Diſcourſe to the four Nonconformiſts, commending them for their Modeſty and Learning, and letting them know he was ready to hear what they had to object. Upon this Dr. *Reynolds* reduc'd his Remonſtrance to four Heads:

“ I. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerv'd in its Purity according to God's Word.

“ II. That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches to preach the ſame.

“ III. That the Church Government might be ſincerely miniſter'd according to God's Word.

“ IV. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more Encreaſe of Piety.

1. He requeſted his Majeſty that the Articles of Religion paſs'd in *Convocation* in the Year 1562, might be explain'd in ſome obſcure Paſſages, and enlarg'd in others. For Inſtance, in the 16th Article 'tis ſaid, *After we have received the Holy Ghoſt we may depart from Grace*: He deſir'd this Expreſſion might be explain'd to an evident Conſiſtency with the Doctrine of Predeſtination in the Seventeenth Article; and that this, or a reſembling Addition, might be inſerted, *Yet neither totally, nor finally*. He likewiſe deſir'd that the Nine Orthodoxal Aſſertions, as he call'd them, concluded at *Lambeth*, might be thrown into the Book of Articles.

Secondly, Whereas 'tis ſaid in the Twenty third Article, “ That 'tis not lawful for any one to take upon him the Office of Preaching or Adminiſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation before he is lawfully called.” Dr. *Reynolds* excepted to theſe Words [*in the Congregation,*] as if they implied a Liberty for any Man to perform theſe Functions out of the *Congregation*, though without the Warrant of a Regular Calling.

3*dly*, He objected an Inconſiſtency between the Twenty fifth Article and the *Collects* of *Confirmation*. That the firſt confeſs'd *Confirmation*, a miſtaken Imitation of the Apoſtles; whereas the ſecond grounded the Practice upon their Example. (i) As if the Biſhop in confirming Children, and laying his Hand on them, could convey the Force of the Apoſtolical Benediction, and confer the viſible Graces of the Holy Ghoſt. He therefore deſir'd the Inconſiſtency might be conſider'd, and the Ground for *Confirmation* examined.

(i) Acts 8. v. 9.

Here *Reynolds* was interrupted by the Biſhop of *London*. This Prelate was ſomewhat diſturb'd to find theſe Men fly off from their friendly Declaration: For it ſeems ſome of them both the Evening before, and the Morning of the Conference, profeſs'd themſelves ready to concur with the Biſhops; and that their Intention was nothing but Unity.

But now he perceiv'd their Buſineſs was to batter the Conſtitution, and diſmantle the Church: And therefore kneeling to the King, he humbly deſired the ancient Canon might be remembred, that *Schiſmatici contra Epiſcopos non ſunt audiendi.* *Secondly*, That if any of theſe Four *Agents* for the Nonconformiſts had ſubſcrib'd the *Communion-Book*, and yet exhibited a Remonſtrance againſt it, he deſir'd they might be ſet aſide, purſuant to an ancient Council, in which 'tis decreed, That no Man ſhall be allowed to plead againſt his own Act and Subſcription.

Thirdly, He put *Reynolds* and his Partners in Mind, how much they were oblig'd to his Majeſty's Clemency: That they were indulg'd, a *Non obſtante* to the *Statute* of the *Firſt* of *Elizabeth*; and ſuffer'd to ſpeak ſo freely againſt the Liturgy and Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd. And laſtly, Since he perceiv'd their Buſineſs was to break the Conſtitution of the Church, he deſired to know what they drove at, and whether they were of *Cartwright*'s Opinion, and that in Ceremonies and Diſcipline we ought to conform to the *Turks*, rather than the *Papiſts*: And he was afraid they had ſomething of this Tincture by the Singularity of their Habit. *

The King perceiving the Biſhop of *London* diſcours'd with ſome Heat, told him that notwithſtanding ſomething offer'd by him might be excus'd, yet he could not help diſliking the reſt: His Majeſty thought the *Millenary-Agents* Reproaching the Conſtitution of the Church, croſſing upon what they pretended, and defeating the Deſign of the *Meeting*, might juſtify the Biſhop's Reſentment. But then his Majeſty diſlik'd the giving Dr. *Reynolds* ſo quick an Interruption, who ought to have had the Liberty of his Method, and gone on his own Length: And that if each Party were ſuffer'd to chop in upon the other, and break their Argument, the Cauſe could never be fairly examin'd, nor the *Fort* and the *Foible* diſcover'd. His Majeſty order'd therefore, that either the Dr. ſhould proceed, or that the Biſhop ſhould Anſwer what had been already objected. And that the Memory might not be overburthen'd with Objections, and the Anſwers grow perplex'd and Foreign, 'twas thought fit to reply in the firſt Place to *Reynolds*'s Exceptions.

As to what had been offer'd concerning *falling from Grace*, the Biſhop of *London* ſuggeſted that many People grew Libertines by relying too much upon Predeſtination. This Propoſition, *If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved*, he called a deſperate Doctrine: That 'twas a Contradiction to orthodox Belief: That in the Points of Predeſtination we ſhould infer rather *Aſcendendo*, than *Deſcendendo*: That is, we ſhould conclude our *Election* from the Regularity of our Lives, rather than reſt our Happineſs upon any abſolute irreſpective Decree: And that if God has ordain'd us to Happineſs, no Habits or Degrees of Wickedneſs can make us miſcarry. From hence the Biſhop went on to acquaint his Majeſty with the Doctrine of the Church of *England* touching Predeſtination. And here he cited the 17th *Article*, Part of which runs thus: *We muſt receive God's Promiſes in ſuch Wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth to us in Holy Scripture: And in our Doings, the Will of God is to be follow'd, which we have expreſly declar'd unto us in the Word of God.* This Part of the *Article* the King approv'd: And after having diſcours'd upon the Text of St. *Paul*, *Work out your Salvation with Fear and Trembling*, he left it to be conſider'd, whether 'twas proper to throw in a ſupplemental Expreſſion for ſatisfying the Doctor's Scruple, by putting in the Word *Often*, or the like: As thus, *We may often depart from Grace.* Upon the Whole, his Majeſty wiſh'd the Doctrine of Predeſtination might be handled with great Caution and Reſerve: That unleſs the Matter was diſcreetly manag'd, one of theſe Two bad Conſequences would follow: Either the Omnipotency of God might be queſtion'd, *by Impeaching the Doctrine of his eternal Predeſtination*, or a deſperate Preſumption encourag'd *by Inferring the neceſſary Certainty of ſtanding and perſiſting in Grace.*

'Twas anſwer'd, *Reynolds*'s Second Objection was trifling and inſignificant: For by the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *England*, none but a licenſed Miniſter was allow'd to preach or adminiſter the Holy Euchariſt: And as for private Baptiſm, the King told the *Complainants* he had taken Order for that with the Biſhops already.

When they came to the Point of *Confirmation*, the *Article* and the *Collect* being read, the King pronounc'd *Reynolds*'s Pretence of a Contradiction no better than a Cavil.

And the Ground for *Confirmation* having been demanded, the Biſhop of *London*, after repeating what had been delivered in the firſt Days *Conference* added, That the Thing which vexed *Reynolds* and his Party was, that they had not the Management of this Uſage in their own Hands; And that if every Paſtor was allow'd to confirm his own Pariſh, they would reckon it an apoſtolical Inſtitution: And here he deſired Doctor *Reynolds* to ſpeak his Mind. The Dr. ſeem'd to aſſent, but in Defence of his Opinion added, that ſince there are Six hundred Pariſhes in ſome Dioceſes, he thought it very Inconvenient to reſerve *Confirmation* to the Biſhop alone: And that 'twas impracticable for the Dioceſan to examine all thoſe who came to be confirm'd. As to the Matter of Fact, *Bancroft* anſwer'd, that 'twas the Cuſtom of the Biſhops in their *Viſitations* to appoint either their Chaplains, or ſome other Miniſters, to examine thoſe who came to be confirm'd: And that they ſeldom confirm'd any, unleſs their Qualifications were certified by their own Parſons or Curates. To the *Opinion*, his Anſwer was, that none of the *Fathers* ever admitted any to *Confirm*, under the Order of Biſhops. And that even St. *Jerome* (tho' otherwiſe no Friend to the Epiſcopal Superiority) confeſſes the executing this Function was ſolely lodg'd with the Biſhops; tho' with this qualifying Expreſſion, *ad Honorem potius Sacerdotii, quam ad legis Neceſſitatem.* However, this *Father* owns the Biſhops ought to have a Power Paramount to the reſt of the Clergy: And that without this Prerogative, the Unity, and well being of the Church, could not ſubſiſt. (*k*) And here the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* challeng'd *Reynolds* to ſhew from Antiquity, that ever any, excepting Biſhops, *confirm'd*: To this he ſubjoin'd, That this Uſage was partly practis'd to examine Children, and give them the Biſhop's Bleſſing, with Impoſition of Hands; and partly to enquire whether they had been baptiz'd in an Orthodox Form, or not: For ſome of the ancient Hereticks threw their Miſbelief into their Baptiſm. For Inſtance, the *Arians* baptiz'd *in nomine Patris majoris, & Filii minoris.* * Some adminiſtred this Sacrament *in nomine Patris per*

---

* *They appeared in* Turkey *Gowns.*

(*k*) Eccleſiæ Solus in ſummi Sacerdotis Dignitate pendet; Cui ſi non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur Poteſtas, tot in Eccleſiis efficerentur, Schiſmata quot Sacerdotes.

* *In the Name of the Father as the greater, and the Son as the leſs.*

per Filium in Spiritu ſancto. † And others omitting the *Trinity*, baptiz'd in the Death of Chriſt, *&c.* For theſe Reaſons, the Catholick Biſhops found themſelves oblig'd to examine thoſe who were baptiz'd in diſtant Places. And if they were right in the Article of Baptiſm, they *confirm'd* them, if not, there was an Opportunity for Inſtruction.

The King concluding this Point, reflected on St. *Jerom* for affirming Biſhops were not of divine Inſtitution, and cloſed the Remark with this Maxim, *No Biſhop, No King.* And as for *Confirmation*, he conceived the permitting it to every Pariſh Prieſt, was neither decent, nor ſuitable to the Solemnity of that Function. However, whether the Word *Examination* might be added to the *Rubrick*, was refer'd to the Biſhops, purſuant to what was reſolv'd the Day before. And now his Majeſty order'd Dr. *Reynolds* to proceed.

This Divine deſiring not to be taken for a Schiſmatick, and proteſting he had no Intention of making any Perſon uneaſy, objected a Defect in penning the Thirty ſeventh *Article*; where 'tis ſaid, *the Biſhop of* Rome *has no Authority in this Land.* This he thought inſufficient without the Addition, *nor ought to have any*: This odd Scruple made the King and the Lords of the *Council* laugh: However, That the Dr. might not pretend any Thing overlook'd, the King anſwer'd, *Habemus Jure quod habemus*: And therefore by ſaying, the Pope had no Authority here, 'tis ſuppos'd he has no Right to any.

This, and other ſlender Exceptions, occaſion'd ſome rallying Diſcourſe: And particularly one of the *Council* mention'd *Butler* of *Cambridge*'s Deſcription of a *Puritan*; a *Puritan*, ſays this Gentleman, *is a Proteſtant frighted out of his Wits.* And here the Biſhop of *London* reminded the King what Monſieur *Rognie*, the *French* Ambaſſador had lately declar'd upon the View of our ſolemn *Service* and Ceremonies; "If the "reform'd Churches in *France*, ſays this Am"baſſador, had kept on the ſame Advantage of "Order and Decency, I'm confident there "would have been many Thouſand Proteſtants "in that Country, more than there is;" and yet the *Engliſh Nonconformiſts* ſtumbled at a Grain of Sand, and *ſtrein'd at a Gnat*, to the Diſgrace and Diſturbance of the whole Church.

After this, *Reynolds* mov'd, That this Propoſition, *the Intention of the Miniſter, is not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament*, might be added to the *Book of Articles*: His Reaſon was, becauſe, as he affirm'd, ſome in *England* had preach'd this *Intention* neceſſary. And here he repeated his Requeſt concerning the *Lambeth Articles.* The King wholly diſapprov'd the firſt Part of the Motion: He thought it very improper to charge the *Articles* all along with negative Propoſitions. That this Method would ſwell the *Book* to an unſerviceable Bulk, and confound the *Reader*. And by Way of Inſtance, took Notice of the Diſadvantage of this Expedient in one *Craig*, a *Scotch* Miniſter, who with his diſclaiming Forms of, *I renounce and abhor his Deteſtations* (meaning the Pope) *and Abrenunciations*, did ſo amaze and overſet the Underſtandings of the Vulgar, that they deſpair'd of reaching his Inſtructions; and ſo either relaps'd into Popery, or continued in their former Ignorance: Now, ſays the King, if I had been oblig'd to run the Length of this Miniſters Form, I muſt have carried my Faith in my Pocket-Book, for my Head would never have held it. But becauſe you lay ſome Streſs upon *Intention*, continues his Majeſty, I'll apply it thus, If you come hither with a fair Intention to be farther inform'd, and ſatisfied with reaſonable Anſwers, the *Conference* will have a good Iſſue; but if your Intention is to ſtand out againſt Argument, and go off with the ſame Sentiments you brought hither, this is a Demonſtration that the Quality of the Intention is very material and eſſential to the preſent Buſineſs.

As to the *Lambeth Articles*, the King declin'd making any Anſwer, as not being inform'd of the Meaning of them. To acquaint his Majeſty with this Matter, the Biſhop of *London*, as 'tis probable, ſuggeſted the Occaſion: And that upon the Score of ſome Controverſies in *Cambridge*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent for ſeveral Divines of Character, who couch'd their Opinions in Nine Aſſertions: And that theſe were ſent down to *Cambridge* for ſilencing the Diſpute. To this the King returned, that when ſuch Queſtions happen'd amongſt Scholars, the beſt Method was to determine them in the *Univerſities*, and not ſtuff the *Articles* with Theological Concluſions. And farther, That the Puniſhing thoſe who began the Error, and ſtarted falſe Doctrine, was the moſt eligible Expedient. For were the *Articles* never ſo much multiplied, and guarded, there was no preventing contrary Opinions: For which Way can miſtakes be ſuppreſs'd before they are diſcover'd?

Here the *Dean* of St. *Paul*'s * kneeling, humbly deſir'd Leave to ſpeak, acquainting his Majeſty that he was particularly concerned in this Matter: That a Controverſy had lately happen'd between himſelf and ſome others in *Cambridge*, upon an Aſſertion maintain'd by him there. The Propoſition was, That whoever (tho' before juſtified) committed Murther, Adultery, Treaſon, or any other great Crime, was *ipſo Facto*, obnoxious to the Wrath of God, and in a State of Damnation: That is, they were in this ſad Condition, *quoad præſentem Statum*, till they recover'd by Repentance. But to this the Dean added, That thoſe who were juſtified according to the *Purpoſe of God's Election*, tho' they might (and ſometimes actually did) fall into grievous Sins, and by Conſequence, into a preſent State of Wrath and Damnation; yet they never fell totally from Grace, nor finally from Juſtification: But were in Time recover'd by God's Spirit to a lively Faith and Repentance. This Doctrine, the Dean obſerv'd, was oppos'd by ſome People, who held that all Perſons, once truly juſtified, tho' they fell off into the groſſeſt Immorality, continued in a State of Juſtification, even before they repented their Miſcarriage. Nay, tho' Forgetfulneſs or ſudden Death carried them into the other World without Recollection or Reforming, they ſhould nevertheleſs be juſtified and ſaved.

His Majeſty declar'd ſtrongly againſt this Doctrine, and dilating upon the Subject of Predeſtination, affirmed a neceſſary Connexion between true Faith, and good Practice; concluding that *Faith* without *Works*, was no better than Hypocriſy: For notwithſtanding *Election* did not depend on humane Virtue, which is mutable and uncertain, but on God's eternal Decree; yet the Neceſſity of Repentance for known Sins is ſuch, that without this Condition, Remiſſion cannot be expected.

---

† *In the Name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt.*

* Overall.

After this, Dr. *Reynolds* complain'd the *Catechiſm* in the *Common-Prayer* was too ſhort: And the Supplemental one drawn up by *Nowell*, late Dean of St. *Paul's*, too long for Children to get by Heart: He deſired therefore an uniform Catechiſm might be made for general Uſe.

The King approv'd the Dr.'s Motion, tho' not without Limitation. His Majeſty would have a *Catechiſm* drawn in the Plaineſt and moſt Comprehenſive affirmative Terms that might be. And here he found Fault with a great Number of ignorant Catechiſms made Uſe of in *Scotland.* And thus what was fundamental Doctrine in one Congregation, would hardly paſs for Truth in another. He therefore ſuggeſted the obſerving Two Rules: *Firſt,* That perplex'd and curious Queſtions might be avoided in the rudimental Principles of Chriſtianity. *Secondly,* That our Agreement with the *Papiſts* in ſome Points, ſhould not be cenſured as a Mark of Heterodoxy.

Dr. *Reynolds* going on with his Remonſtrance, took Notice of the Profanation of the Sabbath, and the Contempt of his Majeſty's Proclamation for Reforming that Abuſe: He deſired therefore ſome ſtronger Remedy might be applied: This Motion was unanimouſly agreed to.

The King diſlikes marginal Notes in the Tranſlation of the Bible, and why?

His next Requeſt was for a new *Tranſlation* of the Bible: For that the *Verſions* now Extant did not come up to the Meaning and Force of the Original. And of this he gave Three Inſtances; *Firſt, Galat.* 4. *v.* 25. the *Greek* Word συϛοιχεῖ is turn'd *bordereth,* and that this Tranſlation is wide of the Apoſtle's Senſe: *Secondly, Pſalm* the Hundred and fifth, *v.* 28. the Verſion runs, *they were not Obedient*; whereas the Original ſpeaks a counter Senſe, and ſays, *they were not diſobedient*: *Thirdly, Pſalm* the Hundred and ſixth, *v.* 30. the tranſlated Text ſtands, *then ſtood up* Phineas *and prayed*; whereas the *Hebrew* has it, Phineas *executed Judgment*: But theſe being old Objections, and already anſwer'd in Print, little Notice was taken of them. Only the Biſhop of *London* obſerved, That if every Man's Humour was to be pleas'd, there would be no End of *Tranſlating.* Upon this, the King declaring he never ſaw a good *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible, tho' he thought that done at *Geneva* the Worſt; wiſhed that Undertaking might be reſumed: The Method ſuggeſted by his Majeſty was this: He would have the *Verſion* made by the moſt Eminent in the Univerſities: After this to paſs the Teſt of the Biſhops, and other learned Eccleſiaſticks. Upon this Review it ſhould be laid before the Privy *Council,* and in the laſt Place ratified by his Majeſty's Authority: And then the whole national Church be oblig'd to make Uſe of this *Verſion,* and no other. His Majeſty likewiſe threw in a Caution againſt *Marginal* Notes: His Reaſon for barring this Expoſition, was becauſe the Comment on the *Geneva Tranſlation* was untrue, ſeditious, and treaſonable. For Inſtance, the marginal Note upon the firſt Chapter of *Exodus* * allows Diſobedience to Kings: And the Annotation in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles* † Cenſures *Aſab* for ſtopping ſhort at the Depoſing his own Mother, and not executing her. To theſe Exceptions againſt the *Geneva* Verſion, I ſhall add Two more: The Firſt is, their Comment upon the 12th Verſe of the 2d of St. *Mathew*: Here they tell us, *That Promiſe ought not to be kept where God's Honour, and Preaching of his Truth is hindred, or elſe it ought not to be broken.* Now what looſe Caſuiſtry is this? What a deſperate Expedient is this to juſtify the Breach of Promiſes and Oaths, of Contracts between Man and Man? How precariouſly muſt private Juſtice and publick Duty ſtand upon this Bottom? What Rebel ever inſulted his Sovereign without this Colour upon the Revolt? What Inſurrections and Confuſions have been rais'd in *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland*; in *France,* the *Netherlands,* and *Germany* upon this Pretence!

The Plea for theſe ſcandalous Commotions is commonly this, That *God's Honour, and the Preaching of the Truth would be hindred,* by good Faith, and paſſive Behaviour. The *Geneva* Tranſlators next extraordinary Comment, is on the 9th of the *Revelations,* ver. 3. where the Locuſts that come out of the Smoke, are ſaid to be *falſe Teachers, Hereticks, and worldly ſubtle Prelates, with Monks, Fryars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Maſters.* This is downright *Lollardiſm,* and looks like a ſtrong Compoſition of Ignorance and Ill-Will. What broad *Innuendo's* are here upon the *Engliſh* Clergy, upon the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, upon all thoſe diſtinguiſh'd with Degrees in the Univerſities? Theſe, it ſeems, according to the Skill and Charity of the *Genevian Annotators,* are Part of the *Locuſts* that came ſmoaking out of the *Bottomleſs Pitt.*

To return; the King concluded this Point with this Advice, That Errors in Matter of Faith (ſuppoſing there were any ſuch) ſhould be rectified: But as for Things of Indifferency, the Way would be to explain them to an inoffenſive Senſe. For as *Bartolus de regno* obſerves, a King with ſome Defects is more Eligible than a Change of Government; ſo the Bearing with ſome Blemiſhes in a Church, is preferable to Innovation. And if theſe are your greateſt Grievances, continues the King, you might have applied to ſome more private Method for Satiſfaction, and not have given me the Trouble of ſuch importunate Complaints.

Seditious Books complain'd of.

Dr. *Reynolds* went on, and deſired his Majeſty, that ſeditious Books might be ſuppreſs'd, or at leaſt the Reading them reſtrain'd, and permitted only to a few: That the Liberty of publiſhing ſuch Books unſettled young People in the Univerſities, debauch'd their Principles, and ſpread the Infection thro' the Kingdom. And here he inſtanc'd in a *Tract, De jure Magiſtratus in Subditos,* written by *Ficlerus,* a *Papiſt,* and applied againſt the late Queen, in Favour of the Pope, who is ſuppos'd her Superior. The Biſhop of *London* apprehending an *Innuendo* againſt himſelf, anſwer'd, there was no ſuch unreſtrain'd Diſperſing of theſe Books, as was complain'd of. And that the Government allowed none to buy them, excepting ſuch as Dr. *Reynolds,* who was ſuppos'd to read them in Order to Confutation. And beſides, the private Importation of ſuch Books could not always be diſcover'd. And laſtly, he obſerv'd the Author of this Book *De jure Magiſtratus,* was a great *Diſciplinarian*: From whence it appear'd what Advantage thoſe People gave the *Papiſts,* who *Mutatis Perſonis,* could apply their own Arguments againſt Princes of their Religion.

Here the Lord Secretary *Cecil* interpos'd, and took Notice that the Liberty of diſperſing Popiſh and ſeditious Pamphlets, had done a great Deal of Miſchief: And eſpecially a Tract called *Speculum Tragicum.* That, ſays the King, and the Lord *H. Howard,* is a dangerous Book, both for Matter and Intention. The Lord Chancellor

---

* *Ver.* 19.

† 2 Chron. *v.* 16.

Edgerton diſtinguiſh'd theſe Pamphlets into *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and concluded the laſt did moſt Harm. To this the Lord *Secretary* anſwer'd, That the Biſhop of *London*, and no Body elſe, had done his utmoſt to ſuppreſs them. Upon this Occaſion the King told Dr. *Reynolds*, he was a better *Collegeman* than a *Stateſman*; for if his Intention was to reflect upon the Biſhop of *London*, for permitting thoſe Books a free Paſs lately publiſh'd upon the Controverſie between the *Secular Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, he deſir'd him to acquaint his Party, That the Biſhop had been miſreported and injur'd; That his Conduct in this Affair was altogether defenſible; That he did nothing without Warrant from the Privy-*Council*; and that by this Management a Conteſt was kept up between thoſe *Roman* Catholicks, and his Majeſty's Title diſcuſs'd to Advantage. The Lord *Cecil* added, That the publiſhing theſe Books was tolerated, becauſe they confuted the Pretenſions of *Spain* to this Crown. The Lord Treaſurer obſerv'd, that Dr. *Reynolds* might have diſcover'd a farther Serviceableneſs in thoſe Books: For that now by the Teſtimony of the *Roman* Catholick Prieſts themſelves the late Queen and the Government are clear'd of the Imputation of Executing *Papiſts* purely upon the Score of their Religion; for in theſe Books 'tis plainly confeſs'd by themſelves they were executed for Treaſon.

The Nonconformiſts Agents move for a ſufficient Miniſtry in every Pariſh.

And now *Reynolds* having gone over his firſt Point relating to *Doctrine*, went on to the *ſecond*, and deſir'd every Pariſh might be furniſh'd with *Learned Miniſters*. The King reply'd, He had already conſulted the Biſhops in this Buſineſs, and found them ready to engage: But that as ſudden Evacuations were dangerous in the Body natural, ſo ſudden Changes were no leſs in the Body Politick; That this Affair could not be preſently adjuſted; That the *Univerſities* could not furniſh a ſufficient Incumbent for every Pariſh; That his Majeſty was convinc'd there was more *Learning* than *Maintenance* in this Kingdom; And that therefore a Fund for Encouragement ought to be provided in the firſt Place. In the mean Time ignorant Miniſters, if young, and no hopes of their Improvement, ought to be removed; if old, their Death ſhould be waited for; And that *Jeruſalem* could not be built in a Day.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* acquainted the King, That this Inſufficiency of the *Clergy* was not chargeable upon the Miſconduct of the Biſhops, but partly upon Lay-Patrons who preſented mean Clerks; and partly upon the Indulgence of the Law, which allows very ſlender Qualifications: And if the Biſhop refuſes to admit them upon the Terms of the *Conſtitution*, a *Quare Impedit* is preſently iſſued out againſt him.

Here the Biſhop of *London* addreſs'd his Majeſty kneeling, and humbly deſir'd, That ſince it 'twas a Time for moving *Petitions*, he might have Leave to put up two or three. *Firſt*, He requeſted Care might be taken for a *Praying Clergy*: For notwithſtanding there are many ſerviceable Branches in the Sacerdotal Function, ſuch as abſolving Penitents, praying for the People, pronouncing the Bleſſing, and adminiſtring the Sacraments, 'tis now come to that paſs, that ſome Men conceive the Duty of a Pariſh Prieſt is wholly confin'd to the *Pulpit*; where, God knows, they ſometimes manage with a very ſlender Share either of Learning or Diſcretion; that Preaching has ſuch an Aſcendant in their Fancy, that the Celebrating Divine Service is ſcandalouſly neglected; That ſome Miniſters choſe rather to walk in the Church-yard till Sermon-time, than join in Publick Prayer. He confeſs'd, that for *Miſſionaries* in unconverted Countries where a Church was planting, Preaching was moſt neceſſary; but where Chriſtianity had been a long Time ſettled, he thought Pulpit-Harangues were not the only Buſineſs of a *Paſtor*; and that this Exerciſe ought not to be preſs'd to the Neglect of other Parts of his Office.

This Motion was much approv'd by his Majeſty, who very ſmartly took Notice of the Hypocriſie of the Times, who lodg'd all their Religion in their Ears; that Lazineſs led the People to this Miſtake, and that Hearing being the eaſier Part, they were not willing to undergo the Labour and Preparations requir'd in Devotion.

The Biſhop of *London*'s ſecond Requeſt was, That till Men of Learning and Sufficiency might be procur'd for every Congregation, Godly *Homilies* might be read, and their Number increas'd; And that thoſe Men who had decryed theſe Inſtructions would retract their Cenſures, and endeavour to bring them into Credit. The Biſhop's Reaſon for recommending the *Homilies* was, becauſe every Clergyman that could pronounce well, had not a Talent for Compoſing. Both the King and the *Millenary Agents* thought the Requeſt reaſonable.

The Lord Chancellor objected, That Livings rather wanted Learned Men, than Learned Men Livings: And therefore arguing againſt *Pluralities*, he wiſh'd ſome might have *ſingle Coats*, before others had *Doublets*; and that himſelf had manag'd in this Manner, in beſtowing the Benefices in the King's Gift. To this the Biſhop of *London* reply'd, *I commend your Honourable Care that Way, but a Doublet is neceſſary in cold Weather.*

The Biſhop of *London*'s laſt Motion was, That *Pulpits* might not be turned into *Batteries*, and every Mal-content allow'd to play his Spleen upon his Superiors from thence. The King receiv'd this Complaint very graciouſly, ſhew'd his Reſentment of that lewd Cuſtom, and threaten'd to make an Example of thoſe that ſhould miſbehave themſelves in that Manner. He concluded with an Admonition to the *Plaintiffs*, That every Man ſhould ſolicit for Peace; and if any Thing happen'd amiſs in the Church-Officers, not to let fly perſonal Reflections in the *Pulpit*, but appeal in the firſt Place to the *Ordinary*, then to the Archbiſhop, from thence to the Lords of the *Council*; and if all theſe Applications fell ſhort of a Remedy, then to bring the Grievance before his Majeſty himſelf. The King chalk'd out the Method, and threw in theſe Degrees; upon the Biſhop of *London*'s ſuggeſting, that in Caſe he left himſelf open to receive all Complaints at the firſt Inſtance, neither his Majeſty would be quiet, nor his Under-Officers regarded: For the Criminal when preſs'd with Diſcipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his Complaint to the King.

The Objections againſt the Common Prayer and Subſcription.

Dr. *Reynolds* came now to his Fourth General Head relating to the *Common Prayer*; though here he leap'd over the third, and broke through his own Order: And here he complains of the preſſing *Subſcription*, That this Impoſition was a great Hinderance to a Learned Miniſtry, and therefore deſires it may not be requir'd as formerly; That this Rigour had kept a great many good Men out of Buſineſs, who notwithſtanding were not unwilling to ſubſcribe the *Articles of Religion*, and the King's *Supremacy*, purſuant to the *Statutes*. But the Reaſon of their Backwardneſs againſt *ſubſcribing* without Exceptions was, becauſe the *Common Prayer* injoins the Reading the *Apocrypha* in the Church; notwithſtanding ſome Chapters in thoſe Books deliver apparent Errors, and Contradictions to Canonical Scripture. For Inſtance, *Eccleſ.* 48. *v.* 10. *Elias* in Perſon is ſaid to come before Chriſt; whereas in the New *Teſtament* this Fore-runner of our Saviour was only to be *Elias* in Repreſentation, or Reſemblance of Character, that is, *John* the *Baptiſt*. (l)

To this the Anſwer was, firſt, That this Cenſure of the *Apocryphal* Books, were old Exceptions of the *Jews* reviv'd by St. *Jerome*, who was the firſt that called them *Apocrypha*; and that upon *Ruffinus*'s Challenge, he in ſome Meaſure renounc'd his Opinion.

And here the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſuggeſted St *Jerome*'s Diſtinction, That theſe Books were *Canonici ad informandos Mores, non ad confirmandam Fidem.* This Diſtinction he ſaid muſt be maintain'd, unleſs we would drop ſeveral *Councils.* The King, to cut the Controverſy even between both Parties, declar'd his Diſlike of reading all the *Apocryphal Books* in the Church, or any Chapter containing erroneous Doctrine; and then order'd Dr. *Reynolds* to mark the offenſive Paſſages, and bring them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* againſt the next *Wedneſday*. *

The King retiring into an inward Chamber, and finding at his Return the Lords of the *Council* and others canvaſſing the Text of *Eccleſiaſticus*, and inſiſting ſtrongly upon the Objection, called for the Book, made a ſhort Comment upon the Chapter, and proved the Author's Senſe miſtaken by Dr. *Reynolds*.

Theſe *Nonconformiſts* next Scruple againſt *Subſcription* was, becauſe 'tis twice inſerted in the *Common Prayer* Book, * *Jeſus ſaid to his Diſciples*; whereas 'tis plain by the Original he ſpoke to the *Phariſees*. The King's Determination was, That the Word *Diſciples* ſhould be omitted, and *Jeſus ſaid*, be printed in a different Letter, that theſe Words might appear to be no Part of the Text.

The third Objection againſt *Subſcription* were the *Interrogatories* in Baptiſm: And here Mr. *Knewſtubbs* urged from St. *Auſtin*, That *Baptizare* was *Credere*: But his Diſcourſe was ſo perplex'd, that the Audience could not collect his Meaning. However, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* gueſſing what he drove at, clear'd St. *Auſtin*'s Citation, and wreſted the Advantage of it from *Knewſtubbs*. This was done by quoting an Explanatory Paſſage of St. *Auſtin*'s Aſſertion: The Words are theſe; *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero.* The King ſeconded the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the Defence of the *Interrogatories*, and argued firſt, That the Queſtion ought to be put to the Party principally concern'd in the Sacrament. Secondly, He brought a reſembling Precedent at his Coronation in *Scotland*, where notwithſtanding his Infancy, *Interrogatories* were uſed in the Solemnity.

Mr. *Knewſtubbs* next Exceptions were at the *Croſs* in Baptiſm. Firſt. The weak Brethren he alledg'd, were offended at this Uſage; and that giving ſuch Offence ought to be avoided by the Apoſtles Doctrine. (m)

To this the King began his Anſwer with that General Rule of the Fathers; *Diſtingue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturæ*: That there was a great Difference between the preſent State of the Church, and that in St. *Paul*'s Time; That then Chriſtianity was newly emerg'd out of *Paganiſm*, and not thoroughly ſettled, and therefore requir'd a different Conduct. Secondly, He ask'd them, How long they intended to be weak? And whether Five and forty Years was not long enough for them to get Strength in? Thirdly, He deſir'd to know who they were that pretended this Weakneſs? For, ſays he, we don't require *Subſcriptions* from *Laicks* and Idiots: This Teſt is only put to the Clergy; and theſe, I hope, are not to be dieted with *Milk*, but in a Condition to feed others. Fourthly, 'Twas to be fear'd, continues the King, that ſome of them were ſtrong enough, if not *Headſtrong*; and how much ſoever they might plead their Weakneſs upon this Occaſion, yet ſeveral of thoſe now repreſented, thought themſelves able to inſtruct him, and all the Biſhops in the Kingdom.

Mr. *Knewſtubbs* next Objection againſt the *Croſs* was put into Three Queſtions. 1. He deſir'd to know whether the Church had a Power to inſtitute an external ſignificant Sign? To this was anſwer'd, Firſt, That he miſtook the Uſe of the *Croſs*; and that the Church of *England* us'd it in Baptiſm no otherwiſe than a Ceremony.

Secondly, The Nonconformiſts Precedent was urg'd to diſable their Queſtion: For in Ordaining their Paſtors, they uſe Impoſition of Hands, and that upon the Score of its being a ſignificant Sign.

Thirdly, The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* argued, That Kneeling, lifting up the Hands, and ſtriking the Breaſt, in Prayer, are all warrantable, and yet ſignificant Geſtures.

Laſtly, The Dean of the *Chappel* * urg'd, That the *Jews*, as the *Rabbins* write, had added both Signs and Words to the Inſtitution of the *Paſſover*: For Inſtance; When they eat the ſour Herbs preſcrib'd by *Moſes*, they did it with this Expreſſion, *Take, and eat theſe in Remembrance*, &c. And when they drank the Wine, 'twas with this Form of their own Invention, *Drink this in Remembrance*, &c. And upon theſe Supplemental Ceremonies our Saviour inſtituted the *Holy Euchariſt*: And by his Approbation of this Practice in the *Jews*, it follows, the inſtituting a ſignificant Sign is within the Power of the Church. With theſe Anſwers the King was fully ſatisfied.

And here his Majeſty deſir'd to be inform'd concerning the Antiquity of the Uſe of the *Croſs*. Dr. *Reynolds* confeſs'd this Cuſtom would reach to the Apoſtles Times; but the Difficulty was to prove it ſo anciently us'd in *Baptiſm*: This Scruple was thrown in by the Dean of *Sarum*: * But the Matter was ſufficiently clear'd by the Dean of *Weſtminſter* *, who proved from *Tertullian, Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, and others, That the *Croſs* was uſed *in immortali Lavacro*. And here the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as the Publiſher of the Controverſie ſuppoſeth, argued, That the *Croſs* was us'd in Baptiſm in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great. “And is it come to that paſs, ſays “the King, that we muſt charge *Conſtantine* “with Superſtition and Popery? If it was us'd “ſo early, I ſee no Reaſon why it may not be “continued.

Mr. *Knewſtubbs* ſecond Queſtion was, That granting the Church's Authority reach'd to the Impoſing ſignificant Signs, Whether this Power might be us'd where our Saviour had ordain'd one already? In this Caſe all Additionals are no leſs Derogatory to our Saviour's Inſtitution than if a Subject ſhould preſume to fix his own Seal to an Inſtrument ſign'd by the Broad *Seal* of *England*.

(l) Matth. 11. v. 14. Luke 1. v. 17.

* *Which was to be the third Days Conference.*

* *In the Dominical Goſpels.*

(m) Rom. 14. 2 Cor. 8.

* Mountague.

* Bridges.

* Andrews.

land. To this the King anſwer'd, There was a Diſparity in the Caſe: For the Sacrament of Baptiſm was altogether compleated before they came to the Ceremony of the *Croſs*.

'Twas objected in the laſt Place, That ſuppoſing the Power above-mention'd lodg'd in the Church, the Difficulty was, how far this Power might bind the Conſcience without Encroachment upon Chriſtian Liberty? The King ſomewhat diſturb'd at this Queſtion, told *Knewſtubbs*, *Le Roy ſ'aviſera*: That he thought the Scruple had a ſtrong Tincture of *Anabaptiſm*; That 'twas like one *Black*'s Reaſoning, a young *Scotch* Miniſter, who at a late publick *Conference* told the King, That he would conform to his Majeſty's Settlement in Points of Doctrine; but as for Matters of Ceremony, they were to be left to every Man's Liberty. But, continues the King, I'll have none of that; I'll have one Doctrine, one Diſcipline, one Religion both in Subſtance and Ceremony; and therefore I charge you never ſpeak more to that Point, how far you are to obey the Orders of the Church.

Dr. *Reynolds* objected the Inſtance of the *Brazen Serpent* beaten to Powder by *Hezekiah*, becauſe it had been abus'd to Idolatry. By Parity of Reaſoning he conceiv'd the Uſe of the *Croſs* ſhould be ſuppreſs'd, becauſe it had been carry'd to a ſuperſtitious Exceſs in Times of Popery. The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer was, "That the Objection they reſted upon, made againſt them: For the ſuperſtitious Abuſe of it in Times of Popery, ſuppoſing it true, is an Argument 'twas commendably uſed in the Ages prior to Popery. I have lived, continues the King, amongſt theſe Men ever ſince I was Ten Years old, and nothing has given me a ſtronger Averſion for their *Syſtem*, than their peremptory diſapproving every Thing us'd by the Papiſts: This Way of Reaſoning I deteſt. For my Part, continues the King, I I know no Way of avoiding the Charge of Novelty objected by the Papiſts, but by anſwering, that we retain the Primitive Uſe of Things, and only ſtand off from the Innovations brought in by themſelves: But Dr. *Reynolds*'s Argument would bring us to renounce the Trinity, and many other Fundamental Points of Belief, becauſe they are common to us and the Papiſts. Dr. *Reynolds*, ſays the King, with an Air of Pleaſantry, they us'd to wear Shoes and Stockings in Times of Popery, have you therefore a Mind to go Bare-foot? Secondly, The King deſir'd to know what Reſemblance there was between the *Brazen Serpent* a material viſible Thing, and the Sign of the *Croſs* made in the Air? Thirdly, He was inform'd by the Biſhops, and found their Account true, That the Papiſts themſelves never attributed any Spiritual Grace to the Sign of the *Croſs* in Baptiſm. And laſtly, That material Croſſes worſhipped by the People in Times of Popery, were already demoliſh'd.

The next Scruple was the wearing of the *Surplice*: This, as 'twas pretended, was a Habit worn by the Prieſts of *Iſis*. This Objection the King ſaid, was ſomewhat new, becauſe 'twas uſually called *a Rag of Popery*. But granting the Suppoſition, we do not live now amongſt Heathen Neighbours, and therefore there was no Danger of reviving *Paganiſm*. Farther, Since 'twas evident from Antiquity, that the Clergy officiated in a different Habit, and particularly in White Linen, he ſaw no Reaſon why it might not be ſtill continued in this Church; laying down this admirable Rule, That no *Society* of Chriſtians ought to ſeparate farther from the Church of *Rome*, either in Doctrine or Ceremonies, than ſhe had departed from her ſelf, and her own Primitive Condition.

Dr. *Reynolds* excepted at thoſe Words in the *Office* of *Matrimony*; *With my Body I thee Worſhip*. The King peruſing the Place, ſaid, He was made to believe this Phraſe imported no leſs than Divine Worſhip; but upon Enquiry he found the Words ſink to a much lower and inoffenſive Senſe: *A Gentleman of Worſhip* being a cuſtomary Expreſſion with the *Engliſh*; and thus it agrees with the Apoſtles Precept of giving *Honour to the Wife*, &c.

The Dean of *Sarum* took Notice the Ring in Marriage was ſcrupled by ſome People, but this was approv'd by *Reynolds*; and the King thought they could ſcarcely be well married without it.

Dr. *Reynolds* objected againſt the Churching Women by the Name of *Purification*; but this Scruple was over-ruled by his Majeſty, and eaſily drop'd, as far as it appears.

Under the Fourth General Head touching *Diſcipline*, Dr. *Reynolds* objected againſt lodging Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſures* in the Hands of Lay-Chancellors; That this Cuſtom had been condemn'd by the Biſhops themſelves. For by the *Canons* made in the Year 1571. 'tis decreed, That Lay-Chancellors ſhould not excommunicate in Matters of *Correction*. And in the Years 1584, and 1589. they are barr'd the Exerciſe of this Diſcipline in Matters of *Inſtance*: And that ſuch *Cenſures* are only to be exerted by thoſe who have the Power of the *Keys*. To this the King anſwer'd, He had already diſcours'd this Matter with the Biſhops, and that convenient Orders ſhould be taken about it. And now *Reynolds* being commanded to proceed to ſomething New, deſir'd, that according to certain *Provincial Conſtitutions*, the Clergy might have Meetings once in three Weeks.

Firſt, In Rural Deanries to have the Liberty of *Propheſying*, purſuant to Archbiſhop *Grindal*, and other Biſhops Requeſts, to her late Majeſty.

Secondly, That thoſe Things which could not be reſolv'd there, might be referr'd to the Arch-Deacon's Viſitation.

And, *thirdly*, from thence to the Dioceſan-*Synod*, where the Biſhop with his *Presbytery*, ſhould determine ſuch Points as prov'd too difficult for the other Meetings.

The King miſtaking the Drift of this Diſcourſe, appear'd ſomewhat concern'd; he thought they aim'd at a *Scotch Presbytery*, which, ſays he, agrees as well with Monarchy as God and the Devil. *Then* Jack, *and* Tom, *and* Will, *and* Dick *ſhall meet, and at their Pleaſures cenſure me and my Council, and all our Proceedings: Then* Will *ſhall ſtand up and ſay, It muſt be thus: Then* Dick *ſhall reply, and ſay, Nay marry, but we will have it thus. And therefore here I muſt once reiterate my former Speech,* Le Roy ſ'aviſera: *Stay, I pray you, for one Seven Years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me purſy and fat, and my Wind-Pipes ſtuff'd, I will perhaps hearken to you: For let that Government be once up, I am ſure I ſhall be kept in Breath; then ſhall we all of us have Work enough, both our Hands full. But, Dr.* Reynolds, *till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.*

After this the King reminded Dr. *Reynolds*, that he had ſeveral Times argu'd for his *Supre-*

Whitgift (John) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

macy, which his Majeſty lik'd well, and then put this Queſtion to him, Whether he knew any Perſons at the *Conference* or elſewhere, who approving the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Government, diſlik'd the *Regale*? Dr. *Reynolds* anſwer'd, No. Why then, ſays the King, I'll tell you a Story: When the Reformation in *England* was overturn'd by Queen *Mary*, we found the Effect of it in *Scotland*; for then *Knox*, in a Letter to the Queen Regent, (a virtuous and moderate Lady) told her, She was *Supreme Head of the Church, and charg'd her as ſhe would anſwer it before God's Tribunal, to take Care of Chriſt's Evangel, and of ſuppreſſing the Popiſh Prelates who withſtood the ſame.* “But how long, think you, continues the King, “did he hold this Opinion? Why, till by her “Authority the Popiſh Biſhops were diſabled, “till himſelf and his Adherents were ſettled “and grown ſtrong enough to work by themſelves: For when they found themſelves “in the Seat, and big enough to manage the “Conteſt, they deſerted from her *Supremacy*, “undertook the Buſineſs without her; and pretending new Degrees of Illumination, reform'd “farther at Diſcretion. How they us'd that “poor Lady, my Mother is well known, and “lies uneaſie in my Memory. This Princeſs “only deſir'd a private Chapel for her ſelf and “a few of her Family, to ſerve God in the Way “of her Education: But her *Supremacy*, it ſeems, “was not conſiderable enough to procure this “Liberty. And how they treated me in my “Minority, you all know. Then putting his Hand to his Hat; My Lords the Biſhops, ſays his Majeſty, *I may thank you that theſe Men plead thus ſtrongly for my Supremacy: They think they can't make their Party good againſt you, but by appealing to the* Regale; *as if you, or ſome of your Friends were diſaffected to it. But if once you are out, and they in Place, I know what would become of my Supremacy: For* No Biſhop, No King, *as I ſaid before.* And after having asked them, whether they had any Thing more to object, and Dr. *Reynolds* anſwering, No; the King appointed the next *Wedneſday* following for the *Conference*: And riſing from his Chair, ſays he, *If this be all they have to ſay, I'll make them conform, or I'll Harry them out of this Land, or elſe do worſe.* And this is the Sum of the ſecond Day's *Conference*. The King was extremely admir'd by the Lords for the Quickneſs of his Apprehenſion, his Skill in Controverſie, and his Dexterity in Diſintangling Difficulties. One of them ſaid, His Majeſty ſpoke by *the Inſtinct of the Spirit of God.* The Lord Chancellor, as he went out, told the Dean of *Cheſter*, He had often heard, that *Rex eſt mixta Perſona cum Sacerdote, That a King is Part of a Parſon*; but that he never ſaw an Inſtance of the Truth of that Aſſertion till now.

The third Days Conference.

Upon *Wedneſday* all the Biſhops and Deans abovemention'd attending at the Court, were called into the Privy-Chamber: And ſince the *High Commiſſion* was to be the Subject of this Day's Debate, the *Civilians* following were admitted, *viz.* Sir *Daniel Dunne*, Sir *Thomas Crumpton*, Sir *Richard Swale*, Sir *John Bennet*, and Dr. *Drury*.

James I. K.

As to the *High Commiſſion*, the King took Notice of his being inform'd, that the Perſons authoriz'd were too many and too mean: That the Matters they took Cognizance of, were of too ſlender a Conſideration, and ſuch as the *Ordinaries* might manage in their own Courts: And that the Branches of this Authority granted out to *Dioceſans* were too large. To all theſe Objections the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* return'd a ſatisfactory Anſwer; which in Regard the *High Commiſſion'd Court* is put down, I ſhall forbear to mention. One of the Lords of the *Council* complain'd on Behalf of the Nonconformiſts, That Men were preſs'd to *ſubſcribe* more than the Law requir'd; and that by the Oath *ex Officio* they were forc'd to accuſe themſelves.

As to the three *Articles* formerly mention'd, which the Clergy were oblig'd to ſubſcribe, the King having read them, dilated upon the Subject, and ſhew'd how neceſſary this Expedient was for preſerving Peace: That ſince the Biſhop was to anſwer for every Clerk in his Dioceſe, 'twas reaſonable he ſhould know the Sentiments of thoſe he admits. Now the beſt Way to underſtand the Inclinations of his Clergy, and prevent Faction, was to offer them the Teſt of *Subſcribing* at their firſt Entrance. And laſtly, That the Temper of People, whether they were like to prove peaceable or turbulent, might be diſcover'd by this Trial.

As to the Exception of the Oath *ex Officio*, the Archbiſhop reply'd, The Proceedings were not ſo rigorous as were pretended: For if any Article touch'd Life, Liberty, or Scandal, the Party was not bound to anſwer to ſuch Interrogatories, neither was it the Cuſtom to preſs him to ſuch a Diſcovery. The Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treaſurer ſeconded the Archbiſhop in Defence of the Oath *ex Officio*, and pleaded both the Uſe and Neceſſity of it in ſeveral Courts and Caſes. After this the King undertaking the Argument, obſerv'd, That whereas Temporal Courts took Notice only of Matters of Fact, but in Courts Eccleſiaſtical 'twas requiſite to make Uſe of Methods of Prevention, and look into Fame and Scandal. And here the King went through all the Circumſtances of the Subject, gave a Deſcription of the Oath *ex Officio*, laid down the Ground upon which it ſtood, and juſtify'd the Wiſdom of the Conſtitution. After this he diſcours'd upon the Manner of Proceeding, and the ſerviceable Conſequences of ſuch a Proviſion; and all with ſo much Method, Brevity, and Strength, that the Lords, and all the *Audience* were exceedingly ſurpriz'd; inſomuch that the *Civilians* declar'd, that they could not with many Hours Preparation have handled the Argument ſo much to Advantage.

After this the King, the Biſhops, and the Temporal Lords held ſome Diſcourſe touching the Quality of Perſons, and Cauſes in the *High Commiſſion*, taking off the Charge of the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*, puniſhing Recuſants, furniſhing *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northern Borders* with Preachers. And laſtly, the providing a ſufficient Maintenance for the Clergy, and ſettling a Learned Incumbent in every Pariſh, was farther debated. And to make theſe Things practicable and eaſie, the King order'd a Committee of the Biſhops and Privy-*Council* to conſult upon Ways and Means.

After this the King order'd Dr. *Reynolds*, and the other three *Agents* to be call'd in: And now the few Alterations, or rather Explanations of the *Common Prayer* agreed by the King and the Biſhops, were read to them. Thoſe mention'd by the Dean of *Cheſter*, who publiſh'd the *Conference*, are as follow. 1ſt. In the *Rubrick* of Abſolution, *Remiſſion of Sins* is added. 2dly. Whereas 'twas ſaid in the *Rubrick* for Private Baptiſm, Firſt, *Let them that be preſent*, &c. 'Tis now alter'd thus, *Firſt, Let the lawful Miniſter, and them that be preſent*, &c. 3dly. *Examination* is added, as

Doctor *Barlow* obſerves, to the Title of *Confirmation.* This Difference in the two Books ſtands thus: That printed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time has only theſe Words; *Confirmation; wherein is contain'd a Catechiſm for Children.* The other of King *James*'s Reign is ſomewhat larger, the *Rubrick* begins thus; *The Order of Confirmation, or Laying on of Hands upon Children baptized, and able to render an Account of their Faith, according to the Catechiſm following. Fourthly, Jeſus ſaid to them,* to be put twice in the Dominical Goſpel, inſtead of, *Jeſus ſaid to his Diſciples.* Farther, the King turning to the *Office* of Private Baptiſm, ſuggeſted, that where the Words ſtood, *They baptiz'd not Children,** it ſhould be read, *They cauſ'd not Children to be baptiz'd.* And in the ſame Paragraph of the *Rubrick,* inſtead of, *Then they miniſtred,* ſhould be put, *The Curate, or lawful Miniſter preſent ſhall do it on this Faſhion.* To theſe Explanations *Reynolds* and the other *Agents* for the Nonconformiſts aſſented, ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with the Reſult of the *Conference,* and promis'd to regard the Biſhops as their Spiritual Fathers, and perform all Duty to them.

* *Common Prayer Book printed* Anno 1599. *compar'd with that printed* Anno 1615.

* *In the ſecond Paragraph of the Rubrick.*

The Agents for the Nonconformiſts acquieſce, and promiſe Obedience.

Beſides the few Alterations already related by Dr. *Barlow,* there is Mention of ſome others in the *Paper-Office,* which I ſhall give the *Reader* in the *Records.* But notwithſtanding this Review is ſaid to be made by the King, the Biſhops, and the Lords of the *Council,* 'tis plain all theſe Heads were either not carried to the laſt Digeſtion, or elſe recall'd afterwards; for every Thing ſet down there was not put in Practice. (*n*) But then there were ſome Thankſgivings added at the End of the *Litany,* and ſome Queſtions and Anſwers in the Cloſe of the *Catechiſm.*

Some Alterations, or rather Explanations made in the Rubrick, &c.

(*n*) *See Records Num.* C.

The Thankſgivings added, are *for Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Victory,* and *for Deliverance from the Plague.* The Additions in the *Catechiſm* take in all the Queſtions and Anſwers touching the *Sacraments.**

* Idem.

But here it muſt not be forgotten, Mr. *Chadderton* requeſted the wearing the *Surplice,* and the *Croſs* in Baptiſm might not be urg'd on ſome godly Miniſters in *Lancaſhire;* and particularly he begg'd this Indulgence for the Vicar of *Ratſdale.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* reply'd, he could not have moved for a more unluckly Man; for not many Years ſince a Complaint was made good againſt him, that by his irreverent Adminiſtration of the Holy Euchariſt, he gave the People an Averſion to *Receiving,* and coming to Church.* And for the Truth of this the Archbiſhop appealed to the Lord Chancellor then preſent, who atteſted it.

* *This Vicar put the conſecrated Bread in a Basket, handed it to all the Communicants, who every one took out a Piece for themſelves.*

To *Chadderton*'s Requeſt the King anſwer'd, That 'twas neither his Intention nor the Biſhops to come to any ſudden Rigors, or preſs Conformity in theſe Points, till Admonitions and Argument had been try'd upon them. And therefore his Majeſty conſented the Biſhop of the Dioceſe ſhould aſſign them a Time within which Conformity would be expected. Mr. *Knewſtubbs* deſir'd the ſame Favour of Forbearance for ſome honeſt Miniſters in *Suffolk:* His Reaſon was, That their Reputation would ſuffer in the Country, if the *Surplice* and *Croſs* in Baptiſm was forc'd upon them. Here the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* beginning to anſwer, the King ſtop'd him, and undertook *Knewſtubbs:* He told this *Agent* he had ſhewn himſelf an uncharitable Perſon. "We have taken Pains here, ſays the King, and "at laſt concluded in a Reſolution for Uniformity, and you, forſooth, muſt prefer the "Credit of a few private Men to the Peace of "the Church. This is juſt the *Scotch* Argument. "For when any Thing was there ſettled which "croſs'd upon ſome Peoples Fancies, the only "Reaſon why they refus'd Submiſſion was, becauſe it would not conſiſt with their Credit "to change their Opinion. I'll have none of this "arguing; and therefore let them either conform, "and that quickly too, or they ſhall hear of it." In ſhort, the *Millenary Agents* promis'd to acquieſce and obey. And now the King clos'd the Conference with a very affecting Diſcourſe.

Notwithſtanding the Nonconformiſts came off with this Diſadvantage, they gave out the News of their having gain'd an abſolute Victory: For the Purpoſe, that the King gratify'd Dr. *Reynolds* in every Thing deſir'd: That theſe Conceſſions were but the Beginnings of Reformation, and that greater Things were expected: That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was ſilent upon the Matter: That the Biſhop of *London* call'd Dr. *Reynolds* Schiſmatick, but ſaid little to the Purpoſe: That the King treated the Biſhops ruggedly, but was kind and careſſing to Doctor *Reynolds:* That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* kneeling to the King, entreated his Majeſty to take their Cauſe into his own Hands, and put ſuch an End to it as might not diſoblige their Reputation.

The Conference miſrelated by the Nonconformiſts.

This, and a great deal more of Miſrepreſentation they diſpers'd in Pamphlets to keep up the Spirit of their Party. Two of theſe Libels coming to the Hands of Dr. *Barlow,* were publiſh'd by him at the End of the *Conference.* (*o*)

(*o*) Phœnix, p. 178.

Some conſiderable Time after the Doctor's Death, he was charg'd in Print by ſome *Puritans* with miſreporting Matter of Fact: But that this is no better than downright Calumny may appear from the King's Proclamation iſſued out in the Beginning of *March* this Year. His Majeſty ſets forth, "That ſome of thoſe who miſliked "the State of Religion here eſtabliſh'd, tranſported with Humour, began ſuch Proceedings, "as did rather raiſe a Scandal in the Church, than "take Offence away: That they both uſed Forms "of publick ſerving God not here allow'd, "held Aſſemblies without Authority, and did "other Things carrying a very apparent Shew "of Sedition more than of Zeal:—That the Succeſs of the *Conference* was ſuch, which happens "to many other Things which give great Expectation before they are cloſely examin'd: "That he found ſtrong Remonſtrances ſupported with ſuch ſlender Proofs, that both "himſelf and his *Council* perceiv'd there was no "Ground for any Change in thoſe Things "which were moſt loudly clamour'd againſt: "That the Book of *Common Prayer,* and the "Doctrine of the eſtabliſh'd Church were both "unexceptionable. And as to the Rights and "Ceremonies, they had the Practice of the "Primitive Church to plead in their Defence. And laſtly, That notwithſtanding "with the Conſent of the Biſhops and other Learned Men, ſome Paſſages were rather explain'd than alter'd, yet with a reaſonable Conſtruction every Thing might very "well have ſtood in its former Condition. And this may ſerve to do Juſtice to Dr. *Barlow*'s Memory, who was never challeng'd with Miſrecital till after his Death.

March 5th. 160¾. *A Calumny upon Dr.* Barlow's *Memory diſprov'd.*

The King's Proclamation relating to the Conference.

To go on with the *Proclamation:* "The "King proceeds to acquaint the Subject with "the Methods he had taken for explaining and "printing the *Common Prayer,* not doubting but "all his Subjects, both Clergy and Laity, would

receive

“ receive it with due Regard and Conformity. That notwithſtanding this favourable Opinion his Majeſty conceiv'd it neceſſary to publiſh his Authorizing the *Book*. And by this his *Proclamation* requires and enjoins all Men as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, to conform to it, as being the only publick Form of ſerving God eſtabliſh'd and allow'd in this Realm.” And here his Majeſty takes Notice, “ That all the Learned Men preſent at the *Conference*, as well the Biſhops as others, promis'd their Conformity, only requeſting that ſome few might be born with for a Time.” * Then follows, “ A ſtrict Command to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other publick Miniſters, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, to ſee the Proclamation executed, and to puniſh all Offenders purſuant to the Laws of the Realm. And laſtly, He admoniſhes all his Subjects, of what Rank ſoever, not to expect any Alteration in the *Publick Service*; and that he would give no Perſons any Occaſion to preſume his Reſolution, ſo maturely ſettled, could be remov'd by any frivolous Suggeſtions; neither was he ignorant how much a Government muſt ſuffer by admitting Innovation, and going off from Things ſettled upon a thorough Debate. And yet ſuch is the Deſultory Levity of ſome People, that they are always languiſhing after Change and Novelty; inſomuch that were they humour'd in their Inconſtancy, they would expoſe the publick Management, and make the Adminiſtration ridiculous.

Archbiſhop Whitgift's *Death and Character.*

On the 19th of *March* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. Some Time before the Seſſion Archbiſhop *Whitgift* appointed a Meeting at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe at *Fulham*. The Buſineſs was to diſcourſe ſome of the Biſhops and Judges of his Court, what was proper to be mov'd in either of the Houſes with Reference to the Church. The Archbiſhop going by Water got a great Cold: This Accident occaſion'd a dead Palſy. The King hearing of his Sickneſs, made him a Viſit at *Lambeth*, and expreſs'd his Eſteem in a very remarkable Manner. He died the laſt of *February* this Year. This Prelate was deſcended of an ancient Family ſeated at *Whitgift* in *Yorkſhire*. His Grandfather was *John Whitgift*, Gentleman. His Father, *Henry Whitgift*, was bred a Merchant at *Great-Grimsby* in *Lincolnſhire*. Here the Archbiſhop was born in the Year 1530. He was firſt inſtructed by his Uncle *Robert Whitgift*, Abbot of *Wellow* in *Lincolnſhire*. From hence he remov'd to *London*, and from thence to *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow. He commenc'd Doctor in Divinity in the Year 1569. He was afterwards Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*, and Margaret, and Queen's Profeſſor: And being a Celebrated Preacher, he was ſent for up to Court, made the Queen's Chaplain, and preferr'd to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*. His next Promotion was to the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and from thence to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, where he was likewiſe made Vice-preſident of the *Marches* of *Wales*: And here both with Reſpect to his Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Station, he had the Reputation of a good Governour, and was much valued for his Conduct, Integrity, and good Temper. He treated the *Recuſants* of both Denominations with Mildneſs and Moderation, and brought off a great many *Roman* Catholicks to the Church of *England*. He had a general Capacity: His Performances in Controverſie have been already related: Neither was his Talent confin'd to this Sort of Learning, and the Exerciſes of the Pulpit, though he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in both. He was no leſs form'd for a Governour than a Scholar, and manag'd at the Council-Board and Conſiſtory, in the High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber, to great Commendation. His publick Character having been touch'd already, I ſhall add a Word or two concerning the Oeconomy of his Family; and here his Judgment, Generoſity, and publick Spirit, were not a little remarkable. His Houſe was a Sort of Academy, where young Gentlemen were inſtructed in Languages, Mathematicks, and other creditable Sciences. He entertain'd a great many indigent Scholars in his Family, exhibited to ſeveral in the Univerſities, and encourag'd them in Proportion to their Merit and Neceſſities.

And living in Times of publick Diſturbance, the Kingdom having been ruffled with Inſurrections, threaten'd with Invaſions, he did his Part in providing for the Defence of his Country. For this Purpoſe he train'd his Domeſticks to Military Exerciſe, was well furniſh'd with Arms, and kept a Stable of manag'd Horſes; and thus he was in a Condition to furniſh an Hundred Foot, and Fifty Horſe upon any ſudden Occaſion. For Inſtance; When the Earl of *Eſſex* endeavour'd to raiſe the City upon the Government, the Archbiſhop immediately ſent threeſcore of his Servants well armed, to reinforce the Court, and had Forty Horſe ready to march upon the firſt Order. His Foot were the firſt that forc'd the Gates of *Eſſex-Houſe*, and maintain'd their Poſt till the Earl ſurrendred. He was no leſs conſiderable for his Hoſpitality, where every Thing was manag'd with great Decency, and Largeneſs of Mind.

And being ſenſible that Appearance was neceſſary to make his Character better underſtood, he was not forgetful to apply to this Expedient. And therefore, beſides the conſtant Figure in his Family, he uſually travell'd with a great Retinue. For Inſtance; In the Year 1589. he came into *Canterbury* with a Train of Five hundred Horſe, of which an Hundred were his own Servants, the reſt conſiſting of the Clergy and Lay-Gentry of the Country. At this Time a Perſon of ſome Character diſpatch'd from *Rome* for Intelligence, happen'd to be there: This Gentleman was much ſurpriz'd to ſee the Archbiſhop thus pompouſly attended; but coming the next Day to the Cathedral, and entertain'd with the Solemnity of the Choir and *Habits*, the Exquiſiteneſs of Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, he was almoſt overſet with Admiration. He told an *Engliſhman* of Condition, * “ That this Nation had been very much miſreported at *Rome*; That the People were made to believe, that there was neither Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Cathedral, or any Face of Eccleſiaſtical Government in *England*: That the Churches were razed, and the People met to hear their Miniſters in Woods and Fields: But this he found was a great Miſtake; for excepting in the Pope's Chapel, he never ſaw a more ſolemn Service, or heard more Seraphick Harmony.

To proceed: The Archbiſhop, beſides the Hoſpitality of his Table, and his common Charities, was no leſs remarkable for his publick Benefactions; witneſs the Hoſpital founded by him at *Croyden*: 'Tis built in the Form of a College, and affords a ſettled Maintenance for Eight and twenty Brothers and Siſters: Near this Hoſpital is built a fair Free School, and endow'd with Lands of Twenty Pounds *per Annum* for the Maſter. In ſhort, no Part of his Character was without its proper Commendation: He had Learning, Courage, and Temper ſuitable to his Station: His publick Motions were eaſy, but not without Vigour. And 'twas his Cuſtom to do a great Deal of Buſineſs without much Appearance of Effort and Struggle. He was honourably interr'd at *Croyden*. The Earl of *Worceſter*, and the Lord *Zouch* grac'd the Funeral, and carried his Banners, and *Babington*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, preach'd the Sermon. (*q*)

---

* *Proclamation prefix'd to the Common Prayer Book printed* Anno 1615.

* *Sir* Edward Hobby.

March 27. 1604.

(*q*) Sir George Paul's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift.

Before I take leave of this worthy Archbiſhop, 'twill be but Juſtice to mention the frank Remonſtrance he made againſt the ſacrilegious Invaſions in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. When this Prelate was Biſhop of *Worceſter*, * the Earl of *Leiceſter* had importun'd the Queen to paſs ſome Grant to him, very prejudicial to the Church. *Whitgift* being appriz'd of this Matter, counter-ſolicited, and put a Stop to the Earl's Buſineſs. Upon this they happen'd to claſh a little before her Majeſty, and quitted the Room with no friendly Appearance. The Biſhop being apprehenſive the Earl might weary the Queen to a Compliance, return'd immediately into the *Preſence*, and addreſs'd her with the following Diſcourſe. †

* *The Year is not reported, which is the Reaſon I mention it here.*

† Walton's *Life of* Hooker.

Whitgift's *Diſcourſe to Queen* Eliz. *againſt Sacrilege.*

I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with Patience, and believe that Yours and the Church's Safety are dearer to me than my Life: But my Conſcience dearer than Both: And therefore give me leave to do my Duty, and tell you, That Princes are deputed Nurſing-Fathers of the Church, and owe it a Protection; *and therefore God forbid that you ſhou'd be ſo much as Paſſive in her Ruins, when you may prevent it; or that I ſhould behold it without Horror and Deteſtation, or ſhould forbear to tell your Majeſty of the Sin and Danger of* Sacrilege: *And though you and my ſelf were born in an Age of Frailties, when the Primitive Piety and Care of the Churches Lands and Immunities are much decayed; yet* (Madam) *let me beg that you wou'd firſt conſider, that there are ſuch Sins as* Prophaneneſs *and* Sacrilege; *and that if there were not, they could not have Names in holy Writ, and particularly in the New-Teſtament. And I beſeech you to conſider, that though our Saviour ſaid,* He judged no Man; *and to teſtify it, would not judge nor divide the Inheritance betwixt the Two Brethren; nor would judge the Woman taken in Adultery: Yet in this Point of the Churches Rights, he was ſo zealous, that he made himſelf both the* Accuſer *and the* Judge, *and the* Executioner *too, to puniſh theſe Sins;* witneſſed, *in that he himſelf made the Whip to drive the Prophaners out of the* Temple, *overthrew the Tables of the* Money-Changers, *and drove them out of it. And I beſeech you to conſider, that it was St.* Paul *that ſaid to thoſe Chriſtians of his Time that were offended with Idolatry, and yet committed* Sacrilege; Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacrilege? *And to incline you to prevent the Curſe that will follow it, I beſeech you alſo to conſider, that* Conſtantine *the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and* Helena *his Mother; that King* Edgar *and* Edward *the Confeſſor, and indeed many others of your Predeceſſors, and many private Chriſtians, have alſo given to God, and to his Church, much Land, and many Immunities, which they might have given to thoſe of their Families, and did not: But gave them for ever as* an abſolute Right and Sacrifice to God: *And with theſe Immunities and Lands* they have entail'd a Curſe upon the Alienators of them; *God prevent your Majeſty and your Succeſſors from being liable to that Curſe, which will Cleave unto Church Lands, as the Leproſy to the* Jews.

And to make you that are truſted with their Preſervation, the better to underſtand the Danger of it, I beſeech you forget not, that to prevent theſe Curſes, the Churches Land and Power have been alſo endeavoured to be preſerved (as far as humane Reaſon, and the Law of this Nation, *have been able to preſerve them,) by an immediate and moſt ſacred Obligation on the Conſciences of the Princes of this Realm. For, they that conſult* Magna Charta, *ſhall find, that as all your Predeceſſors were at their Coronation, ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the Nobility and Biſhops then preſent, and in the Preſence of God, and in his ſtead to him that anointed you,* To maintain the Church-Lands, and the Rights belonging to it; *and this you your ſelf have teſtified openly to God at the Holy Altar, by laying your Hands on the Bible, then lying upon it: And, not only* Magna Charta, *but many modern Statutes have denounced a Curſe upon thoſe that break* Magna Charta: A Curſe *like the* Leproſy, *that was intail'd on the* Jews; for *as that, ſo theſe Curſes have and will cleave to the very Stones of thoſe Buildings that have been conſecrated to God;* and, *the Father's Sin of Sacrilege, hath and will prove to be intail'd on his Son and Family. And now Madam, what Account can be given for the Breach of this Oath, at the laſt great Day, either by your Majeſty, or by me, if it be willfully, or but negligently violated,* I know not?

And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lords Exceptions againſt the Failings of ſome few Clergymen, prevail with you to puniſh Poſterity, for the Errors of this preſent Age; let particular Men ſuffer for their particular Errors; but, let God and his Church have their Inheritance: And though, I pretend not to propheſy, yet I beg Poſterity to take Notice of what is already become viſible in many Families; That Church Land added to an ancient and juſt Inheritance, hath proved like a Moth fretting a Garment, and ſecretly conſumed Both: Or, like an Eagle that Stole a Coal from the Altar, and thereby ſet her Neſt on Fire, which conſumed both her young Eagles, and her ſelf that ſtole it. And, though *I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproachfully of your* Father, yet I beg you to take Notice, that *a Part of the Churches Rights, added to the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable Conſumption upon both, notwithſtanding all his Diligence to preſerve them. And conſider, that after the Violation of thoſe Laws, to which he hath ſworn in* Magna Charta, *God did ſo far deny him his* Reſtraining Grace, *that as King* Saul, *after he was forſaken of God, fell from one Sin to another; ſo he, 'till at laſt he fell into greater Sins than I am willing to mention.* Madam, Religion is the Foundation and Cement of humane Societies: *And when they that ſerve at God's Altar, ſhall be expoſed to Poverty, then Religion it ſelf will be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible, as you may already obſerve it to be in too many poor Vicarages in this* Nation. *And therefore, as you are by a late Act or Acts of Parliament entruſted with a great Power to preſerve or waſte the Churches Lands, yet diſpoſe of them* for Jeſus ſake, as you have promiſed to Men, and vowed to God, that is, as the Donors intended; *Let neither falſhood nor Flattery beguile you to do otherwiſe: But put a Stop to God's and the* Levites *Portion, (I beſeech you) and to the approaching Ruins of his Church, as you expect Comfort at the laſt great Day;* for, Kings muſt be judged; *pardon this affectionate Plainneſs, my moſt dear Sovereign; and let me beg to be ſtill continued in your Favour, and the Lord ſtill continue you in his.*

The Parliament meets at Weſtminſter.

Upon the 19th of *March* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The King entertain'd the Lords and Commons with a long Speech. I ſhall only mention ſome Part of that which relates to Religion. Upon this Head he acquaints the Houſes, “ That at his coming into *England* he found three different Ways of worſhipping God profeſs'd. The *Firſt* was the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, and now profeſs'd by himſelf. The *Second* was that of the *Roman* Catholicks. The *Third* was that of the Puritans: And theſe Novelliſts he took rather for a *Sect* than a *Society* of Chriſtians: That theſe laſt, notwithſtanding their differing from us in ſubſtantial Points was not great, yet their Schemes of Polity were very untoward: They were ſo fond of Parity and Levelling, ſo perpetually remonſtrating againſt all Kind of Superiority, that they were always uneaſy, and diſaffected to the publick Eſtabliſhment: For which Reaſon they were ſcarcely to be endur'd in a well regulated Commonwealth. But as to his Intention of dealing with them, he refers the Houſes to his Proclamations upon that Subject.

Part of the the King's Speech.

Then ſpeaking of the Papiſts, he declares, “ That notwithſtanding his being bred to the *Reformation*, and afterward giving it a Preference upon Thought and Enquiry, yet he never carried his Belief to any Exceſſes of Bigottry, or unreaſonable Diſtance. He owns the *Roman* Communion for his Mother Church, though under the Diſadvantage of ſome Blemiſhes and Corruptions. And as he is no Enemy to the Life of a Patient becauſe he adviſes the purging off ill Humours; for the ſame Reaſon he ought not to be reckon'd unfriendly to their Church becauſe he ſuggeſts the reforming their Errors, and bringing Things up to the Primitive Standard. He is by no Means for throwing down the Temple, but only wiſhes every Thing offenſive might be remov'd, and the Appearance ſuited to the ſolemn Service for which 'twas deſign'd. No Man, continues the King, can be more unwilling than my ſelf to ſtretch to any unwarrantable Latitude in my own Practice; but then on the other Hand, I ſhould be ſorry to make my private Conſcience the Meaſure of Belief to all my Subjects. I was never of a perſecuting Temper, nor for tying up other People to my own Opinion: And of this I hope I have given ſufficient Proof ſince my coming into this Kingdom. But if the Judges have formerly preſs'd the Puniſhment of Recuſancy farther than the Laws intended, I deſire the preſent Parliament would think of a better Remedy for this Grievance.

“ As to my *Roman* Catholick Subjects, I muſt range them under two Diviſions, Church-Men and Lay-Men. Of theſe I think the *Laity* the moſt excuſable, in regard of the profound Submiſſion and implicit Belief requir'd in their Church. Again, the *Laity* muſt be farther ſubdivided into two Sorts: The firſt are Men of peaceable Tempers, who having been educated in that Church, take Things upon Truſt, chuſe rather to continue in that Communion than run the Cenſure of being over-curious, and affecting a Change. The other Sort are commonly young People, who have fallen under unhappy Inſtruction, and been poiſon'd with ill Principles. As to the firſt Sort, I ſhould be ſorry their Perſons ſhould ſuffer for their Miſtakes: But for the reſt of the Laity, who either out of Affectation, Paſſion, or Perverſeneſs, have alter'd their Perſuaſion, who have revolted from our Communion only to embroil the Commonwealth, and play their Sedition to more Advantage: Theſe People muſt be better look'd after, and their Obſtinacy corrected.

“ And to ſpeak to the *Clergy*; There are two Things inſufferable in many of them. The one relates more immediately to Belief, and the other to Practice. The Error in Doctrine, is their carrying the Pope's Supremacy to an extravagant and ſcandalous Exceſs; their giving him not only the Spiritual Government of Chriſtendom, but a Temporal Authority over Princes; as if the Diſpoſal of Crowns and Scepters, the Dethroning of Kings and Emperors, was Part of his Privilege. The other Point, which runs into common Practice, is the embroiling of *Civil* Government, and the Murder of Kings, as if all Hoſtile Attempts againſt their Sovereign were Inſtances of Merit: Againſt their Sovereign, I ſay, when he is once excommunicated, his Subjects diſcharg'd of their Allegiance, and his Kingdoms given away by that Three-crown'd Monarch, or rather Monſter of a Head, the Pope. But upon this I ſhall inſiſt no farther at preſent; only I heartily wiſh that God would make me inſtrumental to a general Union in Chriſtendom; and that all Prejudice and Obſtinacy being quitted on both Sides, we might meet in the Middle; and this I take to be the true Centre for Reſt and Advantage. If the *Papiſts* would retire from the Ground they can't maintain, give up their Innovations, and make the old Belief and Practice the Meaſures for an Accommodation, I would be contented to meet them half Way, and conſent to the removal of Novelties on either Side: For as my Faith, founded on the *Scriptures*, is truly Catholick and Apoſtolick; ſo I ſhall ever be ready to give all imaginable Deference to Antiquity in Points of Diſcipline and Government. And by this Means, by the Grace of God, I hope always to preſerve my ſelf from Hereſy and Schiſm.

“ After this the King gives the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks a Caution not to miſapprehend him, or preſume too far upon his Lenity, nor ever entertain any viſionary Hopes of bringing their Perſuaſion to a publick Eſtabliſhment. He bids them aſſure themſelves, that as he is a Friend to their Perſons on Condition of their dutiful Behaviour, ſo ſhall he always continue a mortal Enemy to their Errors. And as he ſhould be ſorry their mutinous and diſorderly Carriage ſhould force him to withdraw his Protection, ſo he ſhall always make it his Buſineſs to proſecute and cruſh their Miſtakes: For that he ſhould either countenance or connive at the Spreading their Religion, as it now ſtands, can never be expected upon three Accounts: *Firſt*, Such an Indulgence cannot be granted without going counter to his own Conſcience. *Secondly*, The Liberties of the Iſland muſt ſuffer by relaxing to ſuch an Exceſs. And *Thirdly*, The *Crown* would be convey'd to his Poſterity in a worſe Condition than he found it. (r)

There was an *Act* made this Parliament for diſabling the *Crown* from receiving any Conveyances of Archbiſhops and Biſhops Eſtates. (s)

Thus

(r) Stow's Annal.

(s) 1 Jac. 1. cap. 3.

An Act for diſabling the King and his Succeſſors from having any Archbiſhop or Biſhop's Lands convey'd to them.

Thus thoſe of the Clergy who wanted either Honeſty or Courage were diſabled from impoveriſhing the Church. Thus the King ſtop'd the Iſſue of Sacrilege, and deliver'd himſelf from the Importunity of the Courtiers.

There was likewiſe a *Bill* paſs'd for the better executing the Laws againſt all Manner of *Recuſants.* (*t*) Farther, an *Act* paſs'd for repealing a *Statute* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and thus the *Statute* of King *Edward* the Sixth, touching the Lawfulneſs of Marriage in the Clergy, was reviv'd. (*u*) And laſtly, 1 *Mar.* 2. which repeals 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. concerning the Election of Biſhops, is repeal'd: The paſſing this *Act* gave the Biſhops ſome Trouble in their Juriſdiction; but the Queſtion was clear'd, and the Difficulty got over in the 4th Year of this Reign, as has been already related. This Parliament ſat 'till the 7th of *July*, and was then prorogu'd till the 7th of *February* following.

(*t*) 1 Jac. 1. cap. 4.

(*u*) 1 Jac. cap. 25.

The Convocation meets.

To ſay ſomething of the Convocation, which met the next Day after the Parliament. The *See* of *Canterbury* being now vacant, the Dean and *Chapter* of that Church gave a Commiſſion to *Bancroft*, Biſhop of *London*, to preſide in the *Synod*. In the Eleventh *Seſſion* the Preſident deliver'd the Prolocutor a Book of *Canons*, which paſs'd both Houſes, and were afterwards ratified by the King's Letters Patents. Theſe *Canons*, being a Hundred and forty one, were collected by Biſhop *Bancroft* out of the *Articles*, *Injunctions*, and *Synodical Acts* paſs'd and publiſh'd in the Reigns of King *Edward* the Sixth and Queen *Elizabeth*.

To proceed; A Petition for reforming the Book of *Common-Prayer* was brought into the Houſe by *Edgerton*, *Fleetwood*, and *Wotton*, Clerks, together with ſome others. This Motion 'tis likely was coldly receiv'd: That it miſcarried is certain: All that appears upon Record is, that the *Preſident*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, admoniſh'd the Petitioners and their Adherents to acquieſce and conform. (*w*) The *Convocation* was on the 9th of *July* prorogu'd by the King's Writ to the 8th of *February* next following, and afterwards to the 6th of *November*, 1605.

(*w*) *Abſtract of the Convocation Journal.*

The Collegiate Church at Rippon founded by the King.

This Summer the Corporation of *Rippon* in *Yorkſhire* petition'd Queen *Anne* for a better Maintenance for the Incumbent of that Pariſh. There had formerly been founded a fair *Collegiate* Church, but at the Diſſolution of the Abbeys the Lands were ſeiz'd by the *Crown*, and no tolerable Remainder left for the Pariſh Prieſt. There was little Need of the Queen's Intereſt in ſoliciting on the Petitioners Behalf: For the King was always diſpos'd for the Benefit of Learning and Religion. In ſhort, his Bounty was conſiderably large upon this Occaſion: For he founded a Dean and *Chapter* of ſeven Prebendaries, and ſettled Two hundred and forty ſeven Pounds *per Annum* of Crown Lands for their Maintenance.

An. Dom. 1604.

The Family of Loves Addreſs to the King.

This Year the *Family of Love* preſented a Petition to the King. The Deſign of their Addreſs is to clear themſeves of ſome Imputations, which, as they pretend, lay unjuſtly on their *Perſuaſion*. They complain of their being miſrepreſented in his Majeſty's Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον. They diſclaim the *Puritans*, ſuch as *Brown*, *Penry*, *&c.* and all erroneous *Sects* of the *Anabaptiſts*, and make fair Pretenſions of Obedience to *Church* and *State*. They take the Diſtinction of their Belief from one *Henry Nicholas*, confeſs ſome dark Paſſages in that Author's Works, and offer to explain them. As for Learning they declar'd themſelves unfurniſh'd: They take Notice of their lying under the Reproach of licentious Doctrine, but diſown the Charge. And laſtly, They ſolicit for Indulgence and common Protection, and deſire their Principles may be interpreted by their Practice. (*x*) What Effect this *Petition* had, does not appear: 'Tis poſſible the Inconſiderableneſs of the Number and Condition of theſe *Sectaries* might make them over-look'd.

(*x*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 10.

Dec. 4. 1604. Bancroft *tranſlated from* London *to* Canterbury.

After a Vacancy of about Nine Months in the *See* of *Canterbury*, *Bancroft*, Biſhop of *London*, was tranſlated thither. This Prelate govern'd with great Vigour, and preſs'd a ſtrict Conformity to the *Rubrick* and Canons, without the leaſt Allowance for Latitude and different Perſuaſion. This Management was interpreted to Rigour by thoſe who favour'd the Nonconformiſts. The Author of the *Altar of Damaſcus* reports that Three hundred Preaching Miniſters were either ſilenc'd or depriv'd for refuſing to paſs this Teſt. But this Narrative ſwells the Proſecution to a Romantick Bulk: For by the *Rolls* deliver'd in by *Bancroft* not long before his Death, 'tis evident there were but Forty nine depriv'd upon any Account whatever. Now this in a Kingdom of about Nine thouſand Pariſhes was no very tragical Number. However, by animadverting upon ſome few of the Principals, he ſtruck a Terror into the reſt, and made their Scruples give Way.

In ſhort, *Bancroft*'s unrelenting Strictneſs gave a new Face to Religion: The Liturgy was more ſolemnly officiated: The Faſts and Feſtivals were better obſerv'd: The Uſe of Copes was reviv'd, the Surplice generally worn, and all Things in a Manner recover'd to the firſt Settlement under Queen *Elizabeth*. Some who had formerly ſubſcrib'd in a looſe reſerved Senſe, were now called upon to ſign their Conformity in more cloſe unevaſive Terms. For now the 36th *Canon* oblig'd them to declare that they did *willingly* & ex animo *ſubſcribe the three Articles, and all Things contain'd in the ſame:* So that now there was no Room left for Scruples and different Perſuaſion. And thus ſome Miniſters of Conſideration loſt their Livings to preſerve their Conſcience: I ſay, to preſerve their Conſcience; for 'tis a hard Matter to bring every Body's Underſtanding to the common Standard, and make all honeſt Men of the ſame Mind.

Amongſt the more eminent *Nonconformiſts* who were laid aſide upon this Score, we may reckon Dr. *Burgeſs*, benefic'd in *Lincoln* Dioceſe. This Divine for ſome exceptionable Paſſages in a Sermon of his preach'd before the King this Summer, was firſt committed; and afterwards being preſs'd to ſubſcribe the *three Articles*, reſign'd his Benefice. He wrote the Reaſons of his Conduct to *Chatterton* his Dioceſan. He likewiſe endeavour'd to purge himſelf from ſiniſter Conſtruction to the King, and addreſs'd his Majeſty for Favour and his former Poſt. The King pleas'd with the Manner of his Application did him the Honour of a Perſonal Conference. And here the Matters in Queſtion being diſcuſs'd, *Burgeſs* was gain'd to an entire Conformity, and return'd to his Station. After this he ſignaliz'd himſelf againſt the *Diſſenters*, and became a Champion for the Government and Ceremonies of the eſtabliſh'd Church.

But the Loſs of this Divine did not diſhearten his former Brethren: For ſoon after a warm Pamphlet, entituled the *Abridgment* was publiſhed by the *Lincolnſhire* Miniſters. The Book rallied all the former Objections, and reinforc'd them with new ones: And in fine, made an Attack upon the Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Government of the Church. Dr. *Burgeſs* in his Anſwer (y) complains the State of the Queſtions was much alter'd: That *Cartwright* and the old Nonconformiſts drew up a gentler Charge againſt the Ceremonies, and quarrell'd them only upon the Score of their being inconvenient: That in Conſequence of this Opinion they adviſ'd the Miniſters to conform, rather than quit their Flocks: And exhorted the People to receive the Communion *kneeling*, rather than loſe the Benefit of that Sacrament. But the Authors of the *Abridgement*, and other Pamphlets in this Reign, carried their Exceptions much farther, pronounced the Ceremonies altogether unlawful, and look'd on it as a diſtinguiſhing Mark of Piety to lay the Surplice aſide. And thus by widening the Breach, enlarging the Heads of their Remonſtrance, and puſhing their Diſaffection farther than formerly, they loſt the good Opinion of the Biſhops, who otherwiſe probably would have manag'd with more Lenity, and not drawn the *Canons* ſo cloſe upon them.

(y) *Anſwer rejoin'd to the applauded Pamphlet*, &c.

The Nonconformiſts multiply their Exceptions againſt the Church of England.

In *Scotland* a General Aſſembly was to have met at *Aberdeen* in *July* the laſt Year: But the King being wholly taken up with the Project of the Union, the Church Meeting was adjourn'd for a Twelve-month. The Court being now ſettled in *England*, the Preſbyterian Miniſters relying upon the Juncture, form'd a Deſign to break the King's Meaſures, and recover the Ground they had loſt. The King appriz'd of their Motions commanded the Aſſembly ſhould be put off 'till farther Order. His Majeſty was generally obey'd, for of the Fifty *Preſbyteries* only Nine ſent their Commiſſioners to *Aberdeen*. And thus, when the Day came, their Meeting conſiſted at the moſt but of One and twenty. However, theſe Members were all Men of Reſolution, and prepar'd to ſtand the Shock. Sir *Alexander Straiton*, Laird *Lowreſton*, Commiſſioner for his Majeſty in Church Affairs, commanded them to retire, and break up that unlawful Aſſembly. They told him their Meeting was allow'd by the Laws of the Realm: And that they ought not to betray the Liberties of the Church by giving Way to ſo illegal a Diſcharge. The Commiſſioner argued againſt their Plea, aſſerted the King's Prerogative in calling, and diſſolving Church Aſſemblies. But being requeſted to withdraw, and give them ſome little Time for farther Deliberation, he complied with the Motion. Being thus left to themſelves, they immediately choſe one *Forbes* for their *Moderator*, and adjourn'd the *Aſſembly* to the laſt of *September* following. (z)

Some of the Scotch *Preſbyterians refuſe to diſcontinue their Aſſembly at the King's Order.*

(z) Spotſwood's *Ch. Hiſt.*

Lowreſton finding himſelf ill uſed, complain'd to the Council, and proclaim'd them Rebels. *Forbes* and *Welſh*, two of the principal Malcontents, are ſummon'd to appear before the *Board*, and perſiſting in their Stiffneſs, ſent Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. On the 3d of *October* the reſt were order'd to appear before the Lords of the *Council*. And now Thirteen of their Number own'd their Miſbehaviour, and intreated their Lordſhips would intercede with the King for their Pardon. The reſt, which were but Eight, juſtifying their Braving the Government, were committed to ſeveral Priſons. As for the Thirteen, who confeſs'd their Fault, they were diſmiſs'd, and had the Liberty of returning to their reſpective Charges.

Theſe Proceedings of the *Council* were cenſur'd in the Pulpit by ſeveral Preachers: And to draw a greater Odium upon the Adminiſtration, 'twas given out that the ſuppreſſing Aſſemblies, and the eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline was the bottom Deſign; and that the Ceremonies of the Church of *England* were to be forc'd upon them. The King publiſh'd a Declaration to ſatiſfy the People, and diſable theſe falſe Reports; intimating withal that another Aſſembly ſhould meet at *Dundee* in *July* following.

Sept. 26. 1605.

This Declaration making no Impreſſion upon the diſaffected Miniſters, they were ſummon'd to appear at the *Council-Table* to be farther puniſh'd for their Miſbehaviour. When they came, they exhibited an Inſtrument ſubſcrib'd by Fourteen of them. The Subſtance of this Paper, call'd a *Declinator*, was, "That the Meeting or Diſcharge of a General Aſſembly was a Matter of Spiritual Cognizance, and belong'd to the Deciſion of the Church: That therefore they muſt be forc'd to plead in Bar to their Lordſhip's Juriſdiction, and ſubmit themſelves to the Trial of a General Aſſembly, who are the only competent Judges of the Cauſe.

October 24.

They ſubſcribe a Declinator of the Temporal Courts, and appeal to a general Aſſembly.

The King receiving Advice of the *Declinator*, order'd their Proſecution: Accordingly ſix of them were indicted upon the Statute made in the Year 1584, found guilty of Treaſon, and return'd to their Priſons 'till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was farther known.

Idem.

They are proſecuted, and found guilty of Treaſon.

To go back to *England*: In *Michaelmas* Term this Year Archbiſhop *Bancroft* exhibited *Articles* to the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Name of the whole Clergy againſt the Judges. They are call'd *Certain Articles of Abuſes which are deſir'd to be reform'd in granting Prohibitions.* To this Remonſtrance in *Eaſter* Term following all the Judges of *England* gave in their Anſwers ſign'd to the *Council-Board*. This unanimous Reſolution Sir *Edward Coke* calls the *Higheſt Authority in Law.** But this Caſe being a Complaint of Encroachment, and a Conteſt for Juriſdiction between the Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical Judges, by the Principles of Equity the Controverſy ought to be determin'd by neither Side. That this learned Gentleman was clearly of this Opinion when Competition and Conqueſt was not in his View, appears from his Report of Dr. *Bonham*'s Caſe.* The *Cenſors* of the College of Phyſicians had impriſon'd this Dr. *Bonham* for practiſing in *London* without their Licence. *Bonham* brings an Action of falſe Impriſonment againſt the College. In reporting this *Coke* cites the Judgment of *Warberton* Chief Juſtice, and *Daniel* another of the Juſtices, that the Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians could not be Judges and Parties, *Quia aliquis non debet eſſe Judex in propria Cauſa*; and that no Body can be Judge and Attorney for any Party.* This in the Opinion of theſe reverend Judges is ſo fundamental a Maxim of Reaſon and Common Law, that even an Act of Parliament ſhall be over-rul'd by it. Thus for the Purpoſe: If a Statute impowers any Perſon to have Cognizance of all Manner of Pleas, ariſing within his Manor; notwithſtanding ſuch an *Act*, he ſhall hold no Plea of any Matter where himſelf is a Party: The Reaſon aſſign'd is, *iniquum eſt aliquem ſuæ Rei eſſe Judicem.*

Archbiſhop Bancroft *exhibits Articles againſt the Judges.*

* Coke's *Inſtit. Part* 2. *Fol.* 601.

* Coke's *Reports, Lib.* 8. *Fol.* 117, 118, & 120.

* Dyer 3. Ed. 6. *Fol.* 65. 38 Ed. 3. 15. 8 *H.* 6. 19, 20, 21. Ed. 4. 47. &c.

In the Cloſe of the Argument, *Coke* then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, where the Cauſe was tried, declares the College no Judge in the preſent Diſpute: And in ſhort, Judgment was given for the Plaintiff. By this *Report* 'tis plain the Judges Reſolution upon *Bancroft*'s Articles are ſo far from being the *Higheſt Authorities in Law*, that they are no Authority at all: What they deliver is in Favour of their own Juriſdiction and Intereſt: And thus by being deeply Parties, they are by this *Report* diſabled from pronouncing in the Cauſe. Sir *Edward Coke* having mention'd theſe Articles againſt undue *Prohibitions* in his Expoſition of the Statute call'd *Articuli Cleri*, I have tranſcrib'd them with ſome Remarks under the Reign of King *Edward* the Second. *

See my Ch. Hiſt. *Vol.* I. *Pag.* 510, *to* 523.

The Gunpower-Plot diſcover'd by a Letter to the Lord Mounteagle.

About this Time the horrible Gunpowder Plot was diſcover'd. The Deſign was to have blown up the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, to have rais'd the Country in the Confuſion, laid the Plot upon the *Puritans*, proclaim'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, and by Degrees brought Popery back upon the Kingdom. The Hiſtory of this Conſpiracy being ſo well known, I ſhall be ſhort in the Narrative.

About Ten Days before the Parliament was to meet, a Letter was deliver'd to a Footman of the Lord *Mounteagle*'s for his Maſter. The Letter runs thus:

My Lord,

" Out of the Love I bear to ſome of your " Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation. " Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender " your Life, to deviſe ſome Excuſe to ſhift off " your Attendance at this Parliament: For God " and Man have concurr'd to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. And think not ſlightly of " this Advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into " your Country, where you may expect the " Event in Safety. For though there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall " receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and " yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This " Counſel is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it " may do you Good, and can do you no Harm, " for the Danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have " burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give " you the Grace to make good Uſe of it: To " whoſe holy Protection I commend you. *(a)*

(a) King James's *Works.*

This Letter brought by the Lord *Mounteagle* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State, and being read by ſeveral of the Council was carried to the King. His Majeſty interprets the Darkneſs of the Contents to ſome Treaſon to be effected by Gunpowder. Upon this, the Cellar under the Parliament-Houſe being ſearch'd, a great Quantity of Wood and Coals was found in the Vault. The Cellar was hired by *Piercy*; and *Faux*, who under another Name pretended to be his Man, was met with there.

The King's Apprehenſion of Miſchief encreaſing, a ſecond and more particular Search was order'd. 'Twas made by Sir *Thomas Knevett*, who diſcover'd the Barrels of Gunpowder, and ſeiz'd *Faux*. This Conſpirator was apprehended on the 5th of *November*, the Morning on which the Parliament were to begin their Seſſion. He behav'd himſelf with great Reſolution before the *Council*, and nothing could be drawn from him. But afterwards being ſent to the *Tower*, and the Rack brought out, he made a Confeſſion to ſeveral of the Privy-Council, That himſelf, *Thomas Winter*, *Robert Katesby*, *Thomas Piercy*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, concerted a Plot againſt his Majeſty for the *Relief of the Catholick Cauſe*; and that *Katesby* propos'd the Scheme of Gunpowder. This Motion being approv'd, they fix'd upon the Place, Time, and Manner, above-mention'd.

Idem.

Afterwards the Conſpiracy was communicated to Sir *Everard Digby*, *Ambroſe Rookewood*, *Francis Treſham*, *John Grant*, and *Robert Keyes*.

Soon after *Thomas Winter* being apprehended, made the ſame Confeſſion in Subſtance with what had been own'd by *Faux*.

The Plot being thus diſcover'd, the reſt of the Conſpirators quit *London*, and endeavour to raiſe the Country, and ſeize the Lady *Elizabeth*, but miſcarried in their Deſign: Their Party when moſt numerous, including their Servants, was not more than Eighty. To cover their Practice, they pretended a Hunting-Match, but being at laſt more open in their Treaſon, they were purſued by Sir *Richard Walſh* and Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriffs of *Worceſterſhire* and *Warwickſhire*. At laſt they were moſt of them ſeiz'd as *Holbech* in *Staffordſhire* at one *Stephen Littleton*'s. This Houſe being beſet by the Sheriffs Forces, ſeveral of the Conſpirators were hurt by the caſual Blowing up of a Bag of Gunpowder, which they had laid to dry by the Fire. Thus being unprovided for Defence, the Accident awaken'd their Conſciences, and ſurpriz'd them into Remorſe. In the firſt Place they fell upon their Knees, and ask'd God Pardon for the Villainy they intended: Then they reſolv'd to open the Gate, and break through, or die fighting. *Katesby* and *Piercy* were kill'd with one Shot, and *Winter* was wounded and made Priſoner.

Id. *Page* 245.

Part of the King's Speech in Parliament.

Nov. 9.

On the 9th of *November* the King went to the Parliament-Houſe, and acquainted the Lords and Commons with the Circumſtances and Barbarity of the Plot. In his Speech he acquits all foreign Princes and their Miniſters from having any Knowlege or Share in this horrible Conſpiracy: Neither does his Majeſty charge the Plot upon the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Papiſts, but believes many of them, notwithſtanding their Superſtition, may be good Subjects. And here he declaims againſt the Rigour of the *Puritans* Opinion, *and thinks their Cruelty worthy of Fire, who will admit no Salvation to any Papiſt.*

Id. *Pag.* 503. 504.

The Conſpirators tried, and condemn'd, and moſt of them penitent at their Execution.

The two Houſes adjourn'd to the 21ſt of *January*: And on the 27th the principal Conſpirators were tried at *Weſtminſter*. Their Names with their Additions are as follow; *Thomas Winter*, late of *Hoddington* in *Warwickſhire*, Gentleman; *Guido Faux*, late of *London*, Gentleman; *Robert Keyes*, late of *London*, Gentleman; *Thomas Bates*, late of *London*, Yeoman. Theſe Four were arraign'd for plotting to blow up the Parliament-Houſe with Gunpowder; for taking an Oath and the Sacrament to bind themſelves to Secreſy; for hiring a Houſe near the Parliament, digging a Mine, and afterwards hiring the Cellar; for bringing Powder, Match, and Touchwood, to execute their Treaſon. *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoddington*, Eſq; elder Brother to the above-mention'd *Thomas*; *John Grant*, late of *Yorthbrooks* in *Warwickſhire*, Eſq; *Ambroſe Rookwood*, late of *Stammingfield* in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; and Sir *Everard Digby* of *Gothurſt* in *Buckinghamſhire*, Knight; were indicted for being acquainted with the Treaſon after 'twas concerted by thoſe above-mention'd, for conſenting to it, and taking an Oath and the Sacrament to aſſure their Secreſy. Sir *Everard Digby* confeſs'd the Indictment, and the reſt ſtood on their Defence, but were brought in guilty. Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, were executed at the Weſt End of St. *Paul*'s, where all of them, excepting *Grant*, died very penitently. The next Day *Thomas Winter*, *Rookwood*, *Keys*, and *Faux*, ſuffer'd in the Palace-yard at *Weſtminſter*.

Jan. 30.

Bancroft (Richard) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Faux declar'd his Repentance more remarkably than the reſt, and exhorted all *Roman* Catholicks never to engage in any ſuch Bloody Enterprize, it being a Method never allow'd nor proſper'd by God Almighty. *(b)* As to the Conſpirators, 'twas purely a bigotted Frenzy for their Religion which puſh'd them upon the Attempt; the Government had given them no Manner of Provocation: For before this Conſpiracy, no Papiſt had been puniſh'd in this Reign either in Perſon or Fortune. *(c)*

(*b*) Stow's *Annal.*

(c) Preface to King James's *Works.*

The latter End of this Year *Matthew Hutton* Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this Life. He was deſcended from an ancient Family ſeated at *Huttton Hall* in *Lancaſhire*, as *Fuller* ſuppoſes. He was bred in *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*. In this Univerſity he was Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*, and *Margaret*-Profeſſor. His next Preferments were the Deanery of *York*, and the See of *Durham*, from whence he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick in that Province. He was a Prelate of Learning, and exemplary Life. As to his Benefactions he left an Hundred Marks for inlarging the Buildings in *Trinity*-College, founded an Hoſpital in the North, and endow'd it with Lands of the Value of 35 Pound *per Annum.**

* Godwin de Præſul. Angl. Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.*

Garnet's Excuſe for not diſcovering his Knowlege of the Conſpiracy.

Henry Garnet, Provincial of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, was apprehended, impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and charg'd with concealing the Plot. He endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf by alledging 'twas diſcover'd to him under the Seal of *Confeſſion*. *Overall*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, told him that Confeſſion related to Things paſt, and not to Intentions of doing ſomething for the future. He urg'd farther, That the old *Schoolmen*, and their beſt Caſuiſts, oblig'd the Prieſt to diſcover a Deſign, though never ſo ſecretly communicated, where the Concealment is likely to prove dangerous to the State. And *Garnet* confeſs'd at laſt that the Party reveal'd it to him as they were walking, and not at the Time of Confeſſion. However, 'twas lodg'd with him under the Ties of the ſtricteſt Secreſy by which he conceiv'd the Party might mean the Seal of Confeſſion. Beſides, he thought it had a Relation to Confeſſion, in Regard he was Confeſſor to the Perſon, had lately taken his Confeſſion, and was to aſſiſt him in that Office ſome few Days after. But then to diſable even this lamentable Excuſe, he own'd that two Perſons diſcours'd him concerning the Treaſon; and that *Katesby* entertain'd him upon this horrible Subject in the Preſence and Hearing of another. Now, as the King infers, what Sort of Confeſſion muſt this be which was made in the Hearing of a third Perſon? This *Garnet* was tried at *Guild-Hall* for concealing the Powder-Treaſon, found guilty, and executed at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's*. He frankly acknowledg'd the Crime, declar'd himſelf heartily ſorry for it, and ask'd Pardon of God and the King. He pray'd for his Majeſty and all the Royal Iſſue, and admoniſh'd all Catholicks never to attempt any Inſurrection or violent Practice againſt the King and Government: For all Engagements of this Nature were wholly inconſiſtent with the Catholick Religion. About ten or twelve Gentlemen and Yeomen were indicted in the Country for Miſpriſion of Treaſon, for entertaining ſome of the Conſpirators after they were mark'd as ſuch in the King's Proclamation. They were found guilty by the Jury, and executed near their reſpective Dwellings. *(d)*

Id. *Premonition to all Chriſtian Monarchs.*

May 3.

He dies penitently.

(*d*) Stow's *Annal.*

Tortus's ſcandalous Doctrine.

As to *Garnet*'s Concern, the Author of *Tortus*, who was either *Bellarmin*'s Chaplain, or more probably the Cardinal himſelf, has the Aſſurance to maintain as a principal Point of Catholick Doctrine, *That the Secret of Sacramental Confeſſion ought not to be reveal'd; no, not for the eſchewing of whatſoever Evil.* *(e)* He likewiſe gives *Garnet* a great Character, reports him a *Man of incomparable Learning and Holineſs of Life; and that he was put to Death becauſe he would not reveal that which he could not do with a ſafe Conſcience.*

James I. K.

(e) Premonition to all Chriſtian Monarchs, p. 334. Id. *Pag.* 342. Tortus, p. 65.

This horrible Conſpiracy awaken'd the Government, put the Legiſlature upon a farther Guard, and brought new Preſſures upon the *Roman* Catholick Party. The Reader may ſee the Particulars in the Statute intituled, *An Act for the diſcovering and repreſſing Popiſh Recuſants.* *(f)* By this *Act* the *Bill* which miſcarried in the latter End of the laſt Reign was taken in; it being now enacted that every one who did not repair to Church every *Sunday*, ſhould forfeit Twelve-pence, unleſs the Parties abſenting themſelves could make ſuch an Excuſe as appear'd Satisfactory to a Juſtice of Peace. This Parliament ſat till the 27th of *May*, and was then prorogued to the 18th of *November* next following.

(*f*) 1 Jac. 1. cap. 4.

Blackwell the Arch-Prieſt had the Honeſty to declare his Abhorrence of the *Powder-Plot*, and wrote Two Letters to diſſuade the *Roman* Catholicks from all violent Practices againſt the King and Government. His firſt Letter is as follows:

Blackwell's *Abhorrence of the Gun-Powder Plot.*

"*To my Reverend Brethren the Aſſiſtants and other* "*Prieſts, and to all the Catholicks whoſoever,* "*within the Realm of* England.

"Since my late Letters publiſh'd, (declaring "the Unlawfulneſs of the late deſperate At"tempt againſt our gracious Sovereign, the "Prince, Nobility, and other Eſtates of the "Realm; as alſo the inward Heart-grief con"ceiv'd amongſt us, that any Catholicks ſhould "be Inſtruments in ſo **Deteſtable** and **Damnable** *a Practice*, ſo odious in the Sight of God, "and horrible to the Underſtanding of Men) "ſome uncertain Rumors have lately been "ſpread of Intentions againſt Perſons of ſpecial "Honour and State (which, how true they be, "God beſt knows) yet my ſelf in tender Diſ"charge of my Duty, (with the Firſt to fear "the Worſt, and hoping charitably of the beſt, "that they are rather Untruths or Reports, "than true Suggeſtions) have thought it "good to ſignify unto you my Aſſiſtants, and "all other my Brethren, Prieſts, and Catho"licks whatſoever in this Realm: That no vio"lent Action or Attempt againſt the Perſon of "our dread Sovereign the King, his Royal Iſſue, "Nobility, Counſellors, or Officers of State, "can be other than a moſt grievous and hei"nous Offence to God, ſcandalous to the "World, utterly unlawful in it ſelf, and a"gainſt God's expreſs Commandment. The "which I deſire you, *my Aſſiſtants*, to commu"nicate to our Brethren the Prieſts; and we "and they, as heretofore we have done, to in"ſtruct our Ghoſtly Children accordingly: Aſ"ſuring my ſelf, that as his Holineſs has al"ready in general to me, prohibited all ſuch "unlawful Attempts: So undoubtedly, when "Notice of ſuch ſhall come unto him, he will "by his publick **Inſtruments** manifeſt and de"clare to the World, his utter Diſlike and De"teſtation thereof, with as deep Eccleſiaſtical "Cenſures, as are in his Power to impoſe upon "ſuch, as ſhall ſo wickedly and maliciouſly "contrive ſuch deviliſh Devices. In the mean

“ Time, by the Authority I have, and ſo much as in me is, I do humbly intreat, and ſtraitly charge, and injoin all Catholick Perſons, that live under Obedience of mine Authority, upon the utter Pain that can, or may enſue thereby, that none of them dare, or do preſume, to attempt any Practice or Action, tending in any Degree to the Hurt or Prejudice of the Perſon of our Sovereign Lord the King, the Prince, Nobility, Counſellors, or Officers of State: But towards them in their ſeveral Places and Degrees, to behave themſelves as becomes dutiful Subjects, and religious Catholicks to their Royal King, his Counſellors, and Officers, ſerving in Place of Authority under him, the 28th of *November*, 1605. *

* Biblioth. Cotton Titus. B. 7. circa finem.

Veſter Servus in Chriſto Blackwellus,
Archipresbyter.

About Six Months after being furniſh'd with a more particular Authority from the Pope, he wrote again to his Brethren of the Clergy, with Orders to publiſh his Inſtructions to the *Laity* of that Communion. This Second Letter tranſcrib'd in Sir *Edward Coke*'s Hand, runs thus:

Blackwell's *Second Letter to diſſuade violent Attempts upon the Account of Religion.*

Reverendis ſuis Aſſiſtentibus, *D. Sharb*, *D. Standiſhio*, *D. Stanford*, *D. Clenoko*, & aliis Compresbyteris.

My very Reverend good Brethren, what I write unto you now, is his Holineſs's Mandatum; *That you endeavour to ſuppreſs all the late ſuſpected Attempts and Proceedings for Liberty.* (g)

(g) *Paper Office.*

Quia non ſolum multa Incommoda eaq; graviſſima Religioni allatura, ſed etiam Catholicos omnino in Diſcrimen Perniciemq; vocatura, ſua Sanctitas nullo modo probat tales Tractatus agitari inter Catholicos; imo jubet, ut hujuſmodi Cogitationes deponantur. Pro viribus ergo in illud incumbamus efficiamuſq; noſtra authoritate nè tales Cogitationes & Molitiones tractentur, aut perficiantur, non ſolum ob inſigne Damnum, quod indè omnino conſequeretur omnes Catholicos, verum etiam & Mandatum Papæ, qui ſic jubet & prohibet.

Of this much you are to give Notice to all our Brethren, eſpecially to ſuch as are in, or about thoſe Parts in which ſuch unlawful Matters are ſuſpected to have been contrived or deviſed: My ſelf never allow'd of any ſuch Attempts, but ſtill was of the ſelf ſame Mind, which is now plainly deliver'd unto us from his Holineſs. I hope you will be forward to publiſh this Mandatum, *to the Suppreſſing of all ſuſpected diſcommendable Actions. And ſo I commend my ſelf unto your Prayers.* July 22. 1606.

Veſter Servus Georgius Blackwellus,
Archipresbyter.

Anno Dom. 1606.

The Annexation Act repeal'd at the Parliament of Perth.

At a Parliament held at *Perth*, the 9th of *July* this Year, an *Act* paſs'd touching the King's Prerogative: In this *Statute* his Majeſty's Sovereign Authority, Royal Prerogative and Privilege is acknowledg'd over all Eſtates, Perſons, and Cauſes whatever, within that Kingdom. By another *Statute*, the Biſhops are reſtor'd to their Temporalties, and the *Act of Annexation* is repeal'd. And thus thoſe Biſhops Eſtates which were lately veſted in the *Crown*, were recover'd to their reſpective *Sees*: But then the *Act* is clog'd with Exceptions, and confirms the Grants of ſeveral Caſtles and other Eſtates granted by the *Crown* to the Nobility and Gentry. There's likewiſe an *Act* paſs'd, entitled, *Anent ſalvo Jure cujuſlibet*; which ſeems to be made on Purpoſe to ſecure the late Alienation of Church Lands to the *Laity*. (h)

(*h*) Ja. 6. Parl. 18. cap. 1,2 &20.

Several of the Scotch *Biſhops, and Presbyterian Miniſters ſent for to* Hampton-Court.

Soon after the Diſſolution of this *Parliament* ſeveral of the *Scotch* Clergy were order'd to attend the King at *Hampton-Court*. The Buſineſs was to give the King Satisfaction concerning the late *Aſſembly* at *Aberdeen*. His Majeſty ſent for ſeveral of both Parties. The Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews*, and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Orkney*, *Galloway*, and Mr. *James Nicholſon* deſign'd for the *See* of *Dunkeld*, made one Part of the Diviſion. Thoſe on the other Side, were Mr. *Andrew*, and Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *James Balfour*, Mr. *William Watſon*, Mr. *William Scot*, Mr. *John Carmichel*, and Mr. *Adam Colt*.

The King order'd ſome of the *Engliſh* Biſhops to attend him at the ſame Time, and preach by Turns upon the Subjects given them. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, began the Exerciſe; his Text was, *Acts* the 20th, ver. 28. *Take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt has made you Overſeers*, &c. From theſe Words he took Occaſion to prove the Superiority of Biſhops over Presbyters, both from the Scriptures and the Teſtimony of the *Ancients*. He likewiſe inſiſted upon the Inconvenience of Parity in the Church, and the Confuſions conſequent upon that Scheme.

Buckeridge, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, came next, and preach'd upon *Romans* 13. ver. 1. *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers.* From this *Text*, which ſeems ſomewhat ſurprizing, he endeavour'd to eſtabliſh the *Regale*. However, he is ſaid to have maintain'd the King's *Supremacy* in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to the Satisfaction of the Audience. But the *Scotch* Miniſters were ſomewhat gall'd to hear a Parallel drawn between the Pope, and the Presbyterians, in their Encroachment upon Princes.

Andrews, then Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, follow'd *Buckeridge*, and took ſome of the firſt Verſes of the 10th of *Numbers* for his Text, *Make thee Two Trumpets of Silver*, &c. From theſe Words his Buſineſs was to prove the Authority of *Secular* Princes for convening *Synods* and *Councils*. *King*, Biſhop of *London*, came up laſt. His Text was Verſe 11, of the Eighth Chapter of the *Canticles*. The Diſcourſe, tho' ſomewhat remote from the Words, was ſuitable to the Occaſion: For the Sermon was principally ſpent in proving that *Lay-Elders* were Church Officers, unknown to the ancient Church. And that the modern Scheme had no Warrant either from Precept or Example, no Countenance in *Scripture* or primitive Practice. (i) The King order'd theſe Sermons as a preliminary Expedient: He hoped the Controverſy between the *Kirk* and the *Hierarchy* being thus learnedly manag'd, might bring the *Scotch* out of their Miſtakes, or at leaſt make them more tractable.

(*i*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory.*

At their Firſt appearing in the *Preſence*, the King acquainted them, “That the Reaſon of his ſending for them, was to know their Opinions touching the *Meeting* at *Aberdeen*; where a few Miniſters in Contempt of his Authority, had conven'd themſelves: And notwithſtanding they fail'd both in Numbers and cuſtomary Method, they had the Preſumption to keep together, and call their *Junto* a general *Aſſembly*, and that ſome of them had ſince maintain'd their Miſbehaviour, and de-

Septemb. 22.

“ clin'd the Juriſdiction of his *Council.* His Majeſty therefore deſir'd to hear their Thoughts upon this Conduct, becauſe he was inform'd ſeveral Miniſters juſtified that *Meeting*, and recommended the principal Criminals to the Prayers of their Congregations.” Now this, as the King obſerves, was in effect to proclaim him a Tyrant, and a Perſecutor.

To this Mr. *James Melvil* anſwer'd, That the Miniſters had no ſuch peremptory Command to break up the *Aſſembly*, as was reported, and turning to Sir *Alexander Straiton*, then preſent, conjur'd him to declare his Knowledge of that Matter. In ſhort, *Melvil* endeavour'd to defend the Legality of the *Aſſembly*, notwithſtanding the Defects objected in Numbers and Form.

The Presbyterian Miniſters refuſe to condemn the Aberdeen *Aſſembly.*

The King finding them diſpos'd to maintain their Ground, demanded their Anſwer to theſe Three Queſtions. Firſt, *Whether 'tis lawful to pray publickly for Criminals convicted by a legal Court, as Perſons afflicted and in Diſtreſs?* 2. *Whether I may not, continues the King, as a Chriſtian Prince, by Virtue of my Authority Royal, convene, adjourn, and diſſolve any Aſſemblies within my Dominions for neceſſary Reaſons beſt known to my ſelf?* 3. *Whether I am not impower'd by my Regal Authority, to ſummon any Perſons whatſoever, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, before me and my Council, to anſwer for Miſdemeanors by them committed in any Place of my Dominions? And whether 'tis not lawful for me to try the Offence, and proceed to Judgment? And farther, Whether all my Subjects being ſummon'd before me and my Council, are not oblig'd to make their Appearance, and own me, or my Council, competent Judges?*

Idem.

Mr. *James Melvil* deſiring ſome Time to deliberate upon ſuch weighty Queſtions; the King was contented to ſtay for their Reſolution till the next Day. When they came, the *Scotch* Biſhops being firſt ask'd their Opinion, unanimouſly condemn'd the *Aberdeen Aſſembly* as illegal, turbulent, and factious. But the Two *Melvils*, *Balfour*, and *Scot*, made ſhuffling and evaſive Anſwers; upon which theſe Miniſters, and the reſt of the Brethren that came along with them, were order'd not to return into *Scotland* without the King's Licenſe, and forbidden to appear at the Queen and Prince's Court.

They Anſwer evaſively to the King's Queſtions. October 20.

Idem. *The Miniſters convicted of Treaſon Baniſh'd.*

The King being thus diſappointed by the Obſtinacy and Singularities of theſe Men, ſent an Order into *Scotland* for baniſhing the Miniſters convicted of Treaſon.

About this Time Pope *Paul* the Vth publiſh'd a Brief directed to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks.

The Pope's Brief, forbidding the Engliſh *Papiſts to come to Church, or take the Oath of Allegiance.*

The Pope, after having lamented the Suffering of thoſe of his Communion in *England*, acquaints them of his being inform'd, “That the Government had lately oblig'd them under ſevere Penalties, to go to the Hereticks Churches, to make Part of their Congregation, and hear their Sermons: That he hopes thoſe who have behav'd themſelves with ſuch remarkable Conſtancy, will never yield to ſo criminal a Compliance: However, out of his paſtoral Care, and paternal Affection, he charges them, never to indulge themſelves any ſuch Latitude, or take ſuch dangerous Steps: That they can't join with Hereticks in religious Worſhip, without incurring God Almighty's Diſpleaſure, and hazarding their own Salvation. From hence he proceeds to caution them againſt taking the Oath of *Allegiance.*” The reſt may be ſeen in the *Records.* (k) And how ſlenderly the Pope was founded in his Exceptions to the *Oath of Allegiance*, will be obſerv'd by and by.

A Tranſlation of the Bible undertaken.

The *Reader* may remember a new Tranſlation of the *Bible* was reſolv'd at the late *Hampton-Court Conference.* To encourage this Work, the King had already made ſome preparatory Advances, as appears by his Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* It ſtands thus:

The King's Letter for encouraging and advancing the Work.

“Right Truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed certain learned Men, to the Number of Four and fifty, for the Tranſlation of the Bible, and that in this Number divers of them have either no Eccleſiaſtical Preferment at all, or elſe ſo very ſmall, that the ſame is far unmeet for Men of their Deſerts. And yet we of our ſelf in any convenient Time cannot well Remedy it. Therefore we do hereby require you, That preſently you write in our Name, as well to the Archbiſhop of *York*, as to the reſt of the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, ſignifying unto them, that we do well and ſtreightly charge every one of them, as alſo the other Biſhops of the Province of *York*, as they tender our good Favour towards them, that (all Excuſes ſet apart) when any Prebend or Parſonage being rated in our Book of Taxations, the Prebend to Twenty Pound at the leaſt, and the Parſonage to the like Sum and upwards, ſhall next upon any Occaſion happen to be void, and to be either of their Patronage and Gift, or the like Parſonages ſo void, to be of the Patronage and Gift of any Perſon whatſoever, they do make ſtay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying us of the Avoidance of it, and of the Name of the Patron (if it be not of their own Gift) that we may commend for the ſame ſome ſuch of the learned Men, as we ſhall think fit to be prefer'd to it; not doubting of the Biſhops Readineſs to ſatisfy us herein, or that any of the Laity, when we ſhall in Time move them to ſo good and religious an Act, will be unwilling to give us the like due Contentment and Satisfaction: We our ſelf having taken the ſame Order for ſuch Prebends and Benefices as ſhall be void in our Gift, what we write to you of others, you muſt apply to your ſelves, as alſo not forget to move the ſaid Archbiſhop, and all the Biſhops, with their Deans and Chapters of both Provinces, as touching the other Point to be imparted by you unto them. Furthermore, we require you to move all our Biſhops to inform themſelves of all ſuch learned Men within their ſeveral Dioceſes, as having eſpecial Skill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, have taken Pains in their private Studies of the Scriptures, for the Clearing of any Obſcurities either in the *Hebrew* or in the *Greek*, or touching any Difficulties, or Miſtakings in the former *Engliſh* Tranſlation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly view'd and amended, and thereupon to write unto them, earneſtly charging them, and ſignifying our Pleaſure therein, that they ſend ſuch their Obſervations, either to Mr. *Livelie*, our *Hebrew* Reader in *Cambridge*, or to Dr. *Harding* our *Hebrew* Reader in *Oxford*, or to Dr. *Andrews*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to be imparted to the reſt of their ſeveral Companies, that ſo our ſaid intended Tranſlation may have the Help and Furtherance of all our principal learned Men within this our

---

(k) See *Records*, N° CI.

" Kingdom. Given under our Signet, at our " Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the Two and twentieth " of *July*, in the Second Year of our Reign of " *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* " the 37th. (*l*)

This Letter being written about Three Years ſince, 'tis probable Seven of the Perſons nominated for this Performance, died in the Interval: For *Fuller*'s *Liſt* of the *Tranſlators* amounts but to Forty ſeven. This Number rang'd under Six Diviſions, entred upon the Work this Spring. The Names of the Perſons, the Places where they met, together with the Portions of *Scripture* aſſign'd each Company, are as follow:

A Liſt of the Tranſlators, with the Portions of Scripture aſſign'd them. An. Dom. 1606.

WESTMINSTER 10.

The *Pentateuch*; The Hiſtory from *Joſhua* to the firſt Book of the *Chronicles*, excluſively.	Doctor *Andrews*, Fellow and Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, then Dean of *Weſtminſter*, after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Dr. *Overall*, Fellow of *Trinity* College, Maſter of *Katherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, then Dean of St. *Paul*'s, after Biſhop of *Norwich*. Dr. *Saravia*. Dr. *Clarke*, Fellow of *Chriſt* College in *Cambridge*, Preacher in *Canterbury*. Dr. *Laifield*, Fellow of *Trinity* in *Cambridge*, Parſon of St. *Clement-Danes*. Being ſkill'd in Architecture, his Judgment was much relied on for the Fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple. Dr. *Leigh*, Archdeacon of *Middleſex*, Parſon of *Allhallows-Barking*. Maſter *Burgley*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Thompſon*. Mr. *Bedwell* of *Cambridge*, and (I think) of St. *John*'s, Vicar of *Tottenham* nigh *London*.

CAMBRIDGE 8.

From the Firſt of the *Chronicles*, with the reſt of the Hiſtory and the *Hagiographia*, *viz. Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Eccleſiaſtes*.	Maſter *Lively*. Mr. *Richardſon*, Fellow of *Emanuel*, after D. D. Maſter firſt of *Peter-houſe*, then of *Trinity* College. Mr. *Chadderton*, after D. D. Fellow firſt of *Chriſt* College, then Maſter of *Emanuel*. Mr. *Dillingham*, Fellow of *Chriſt* College, beneficed at —— in *Bedfordſhire*, where he died. Mr. *Andrews*, after D. D. Brother to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Maſter of *Jeſus* College. Mr. *Harriſon*, the Reverend Vice Maſter of *Trinity* College. Mr. *Spalding*, Fellow of St. *John*'s in *Cambridge*, and *Hebrew* Profeſſor therein. Mr. *Bing*, Fellow of *Peter-houſe* in *Cambridge*, and *Hebrew* Profeſſor therein.

OXFORD 7.

The 4 greater Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the Twelve leſſer Prophets.	Dr. *Harding*, Preſident of *Magdalen* College. Dr. *Reynolds*, Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College. Dr. *Holland*, Rector of *Exeter* College, and King's Profeſſor. Dr. *Kilby*, Rector of *Lincoln* College, and *Regius* Profeſſor. Maſter *Smith*, after D. D. and Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. He made the learned and religious Preface to the Tranſlation. Mr. *Brett*, benefic'd at *Quainton* in *Buckinghamſhire*. Mr. *Fairclowe*.

CAMBRIDGE 7.

The Prayer of *Manaſſeh*, and the reſt of the *Apocrypha*.	Dr. *Duport*, Prebendary of *Ely*, and Maſter of *Jeſus* College. Dr. *Braintḥwait*, Firſt Fellow of *Emanuel*, then Maſter of *Gonvil* and *Caius* College. Dr. *Radclyffe*, one of the Senior Fellows of *Trinity* College. Maſter *Ward*, *Emanuel*, after D. D. Maſter of *Sidney* College, and *Margaret* Profeſſor. Mr. *Downes*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College, and *Greek* Profeſſor. Mr. *Boyſe*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College, Prebendary of *Ely*, Parſon of *Boxworth* in *Cambridgeſhire*. Mr. *Ward*, of King's College, after D. D. Prebendary of *Chicheſter*, Rector of *Biſhop-Waltham* in *Hampſhire*.

OXFORD 8.

The 4 Goſpels, *Acts* of the Apoſtles, *Apocalypſe*.	Dr. *Ravis*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, afterwards Biſhop of *London*. Dr. *Abbot*, Maſter of *Univerſity* College, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Dr. *Eedes*. Mr. *Thompſon*. Mr. *Savill*. Dr. *Peryn*. Dr. *Ravens*. Mr. *Harmer*.

WESTMINSTER 7.

The Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, the canonical Epiſtles.	Dr. *Barlowe*, of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, Dean of *Cheſter*, after Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Dr. *Hutchenſon*. Dr. *Spencer*. Mr. *Fenton*. Mr. *Rabbet*. Mr. *Sanderſon*. Mr. *Dakins*. (*m*)

And that they might proceed to the beſt Advantage in their Method and Management, the King ſuggeſted the Inſtructions following.

Directions recommended to the Tranſlators by the King.

1. The Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Biſhop's Bible*, was to receive as few Alte-

---

(*l*) *Regiſt.* Whitgift, *Part* 3. *fol.* 155.

(*m*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. ok 10.

Bancroft (Richard) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Alterations as might be: And was to paſs thro'-out, unleſs the Originals call'd plainly for an Amendment.

2. The Names of the Prophets and the inſpired Writers, with the other Names in the Text, to be kept as near as may be, as they ſtand recommended at preſent by cuſtomary Uſe.

3. The old Eccleſiaſtical Words to be retain'd. For Inſtance, the Word *Church* not to be tranſlated *Congregation*, &c.

4. When any Word has ſeveral Significations, that which has been commonly uſed by the moſt celebrated *Fathers*, ſhould be prefer'd; provided 'tis agreeable to the Context, and the Analogy of Faith.

5. As to the *Chapters*, they were to continue in their preſent Diviſion, and not to be alter'd without apparent Neceſſity.

6. The Margin not to be charg'd with any Notes, excepting for the Explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Words, which can't be turn'd without ſome Circumlocution, and therefore not ſo proper to be inſerted in the Text.

7. The Margin to be furniſh'd with ſuch Citations as ſerve for a Reference of one Place of *Scripture* to another.

8. Every Member of each Diviſion to take the Chapters aſſign'd for the whole Company; and after having gone thro' the Verſion or Corrections, all the Diviſion was to meet, examine their reſpective Performances, and come to a Reſolution, which Parts of them ſhould ſtand.

9. When any Diviſion had finiſh'd a Book in this Manner, they were to tranſmit it to the reſt to be farther conſider'd.

10. If any of the reſpective Diviſions ſhall doubt or diſſent upon the Review of the *Book* tranſmitted, they were to mark the Places, and ſend back the Reaſons of their Diſagreement: If they happen to differ about the *Amendments*, the Diſpute was to be refer'd to a general Committee, conſiſting of the beſt diſtinguiſh'd Perſons drawn out of each Diviſion. However, this Deciſion was not to be made till they had gone thro' the Work.

11. When any Place is found remarkably obſcure, Letters were to be directed by Authority to the moſt learned Perſons in the *Univerſities*, or Country for their Judgment upon the Text.

12. The Directors in each Company were to be the Deans of *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter*, and the King's Profeſſors in *Hebrew* and *Greek* in each *Univerſity*.

13. The Tranſlations of *Tindal*, *Mathews*, *Coverdale*, *Whitchurch*, and *Geneva*, to be us'd when they came cloſer to the Original, than the *Biſhop's Bible*.

Laſtly, Three or Four of the moſt eminent Divines in each of the *Univerſities*, tho' not of the Number of the *Tranſlators*, were to be aſſign'd by the Vice-Chancellor, to conſult with other Heads of *Houſes* for reviewing the whole *Tranſlation*. This undertaking being manag'd with great Care and Deliberation, 'twas about Three Years before 'twas finiſh'd.

May 21. 1607. *Dr.* Reynold's *Death*, &c.

Dr. *John Reynolds* died ſoon after his engaging in this Work. He was born at *Pinhoe* in *Devonſhire*, bred in *Oxford*, where he was King's *Profeſſor*: His Brother *William* and himſelf happen'd to divide in their *Perſuaſion*: *John* was a zealous Papiſt, and *William* as heartily engag'd in the *Reformation*. Afterwards the Two Brothers entring into a cloſe Diſpute, argued with that Strength, that they turn'd each other. This ſurprizing Event gave Occaſion to a handſome Copy of Verſes.

James I. *King.*

Bella inter geminos pluſquam civilia Fratres,
Traxerat ambiguus Relligionis Apex. &c.

This Dr. *Reynolds*, notwithſtanding his Appearing for the *Diſſenters* at the *Hampton Court Conference*, conform'd himſelf to the Church Ceremonies. For Inſtance, he conſtantly wore the Hood and Surplice, and receiv'd the Holy *Euchariſt* kneeling. And on his Death-Bed, he earneſtly deſired Abſolution in the Form preſcrib'd by the *Rubrick*: And having receiv'd it with Impoſition of Hands by Dr. *Holland*, expreſs'd his Satisfaction in a particular Manner. He had the Reputation of a great Scholar, and was unuſually happy in his Memory. (*n*)

The Pope's 2d Brief againſt the Oath of Allegiance.

The next conſiderable Occurrent, is Pope *Paul* the Vth's Second *Brief* to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks. The Deſign of it is to diſſuade their taking the *Oath* of *Allegiance*. The Pope had been inform'd the Authority of his firſt *Brief* had been queſtion'd: That the Directions in it were not the Reſult of his Holineſs's Judgment, but that he was over-rul'd into it by the Importunities of others: And that for this Reaſon the Practice of the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks ought not to be govern'd by this *Inſtrument*. To remove this Miſtake, he aſſures them the Declaration againſt the Oath of Allegiance in the *Brief* above-mention'd was drawn by his ſpecial Direction, after he had thoroughly debated the Matter: And that therefore they are bound to practice by the plain and obvious Conſtruction of the *Brief*, rejecting all ſtrein'd Interpretations for Indulgence. This Second Admonition is dated from *Rome*, *Auguſt* the 22d. *Anno Dom.* 1607.

This *Brief* was ſeconded by a Letter of Cardinal *Bellarmine* to *Blackwell*: This Arch-Prieſt had lately been committed to Priſon, and enlarg'd himſelf by taking the Oath of *Allegiance*. To prevent being cenſur'd for this Compliance, he juſtifies his Conduct in a Letter to the *Engliſh* Clergy of his Communion: I ſhall give the *Reader* the Letter in his own Words.

The Arch-Prieſt Blackwell's *Letter recommending the taking this Oath.*

" *My very Reverend Aſſiſtants, and Dear Brethren.*

" You know how many Years I have paſs'd over amongſt you in much Tribulation, and how often under God his holy Protection I have eſcaped Dangers, albeit they were ſtill imminent, and hanging over my Head. But now of late it hath pleas'd our gracious Lord to ſuffer me to fall into the Mouth of one who long hath gaped after me; for the Safety of whoſe Soul, if I be as careful as he hath been forward upon the Apprehenſion of my Body, I ſhall but perform the Duty of a good Chriſtian. I thank God, that in all my Afflictions of Twelve Days cloſe Impriſonment, and of Eight Examinations at *Lambeth*, I have given no Occaſion to any Perſon to ſpeak evil of me, neither (as I truſt) ſhall I run upon their hard Cenſures for any Thing I have done, I muſt confeſs, but not without much Grief, that in the Courſe of mine Examinations, I eſpied great Defects of ſincere Dealing among our ſelves; for the Lord Archbiſhop made an heavy preſent unto me of his Holineſs's *Briefs*, and of the Copies of my Letters about the Publication of the ſame,

---

(*n*) Crackanthorp's *Defence*, &c. *againſt* Spalato. Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, Lib. 10.

Bancroft (Richard) *Archbiſhop of Cant.*

“ with ſuch other preſſing Evidences of all my Proceedings that I could not avoid, without a reproachful Note, and much diſcredit, the Force of Truth in the Points objected againſt me: But the urging ſuper-eminent Point was to know, whether I had alter'd, or retain'd ſtill the Continuance of my former Opinion about the Lawfulneſs of taking the Oath of Allegiance: For Anſwer, finding what Hatred and Jealouſies we have incurr'd in the Opinion of his Majeſty and the State, for the Refuſal of the Oath, and thereupon making a Review of the Reaſons drawing me into the former publick Approbation thereof, and relying upon very moving Conſiderations deliver'd by his Majeſty 19 *Martii*, *Anno* 1603. which are now in Print. And farther, being inform'd how the Parliament did purpoſely avoid to call into Queſtion the Authority of the Pope to excommunicate, but did only intend to prevent the Dangers which might enſue, by the ſuppos'd Doctrine of ſuch Inference, as thereupon hath been made, and are mention'd in that Oath: Upon theſe Reſpects, and others, I granted and made known the Admittance of my former Opinion, and did accept of the Oath of Allegiance, and have taken the ſame, Word for Word, as it is ſet down in the *Statute* —— Afterwards falling into Speech of Excommunication, I deliver'd my Mind; *Firſt*, That I thought his Holineſs would not at any Time excommunicate his Majeſty: *Secondly*, That no lawful Excommunication can or ought to enforce ſuch grievous Effects, as have been made, and are mention'd in that Oath. *Thirdly*, That if any ſuch Excommunication ſhould come from his Holineſs, that by Virtue thereof it ſhould be thought that his Majeſty's Subjects were diſcharg'd of their Oaths, and Duties of Allegiance, or that they were bound to bear Arms againſt him, or to offer Violence unto his Royal Perſon, or to commit any Treachery or Treaſon againſt any of his Dominions; I would hold my ſelf nevertheleſs for my Part and Eſtate, bound by the Law of God to continue his Majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful Subject: And my Judgment farther is, that all good Catholicks ought to concur with me herein, and to do the like, for this is my Conſcience and Reſolution, that no lawful Excommunication can be juſtly denounc'd and publiſh'd by the Pope againſt his Majeſty, which can or ought (as I have ſaid) to inculcate, command or work, and bring forth any ſuch Effects: And that all his Majeſty's Subjects, the ſame notwithſtanding (if any ſuch ſhould ever happen) do ſtill continue as firmly oblig'd to his Majeſty, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as they were ever oblig'd at any Time before, or as if ſuch an Excommunication had never been thought of, framed, denounced, or publiſhed. And therefore not knowing whether ever I ſhall have Opportunity again to write unto you, I have thus at large diſcharg'd my Conſcience in this Matter, perſuading my ſelf, that you my Aſſiſtants and Dear Brethren will take the Oath as I have done, when it ſhall be offer'd unto you; and that you will inſtruct the Lay Catholicks that they may ſo do when it is tender'd unto them, ſo ſhall we ſhake off the falſe and grievous Imputations of Treaſons and Treacheries; ſo ſhall Lay Catholicks not overthrow their Eſtates, ſo ſhall we Effect that which his Holineſs deſireth, That is, to exhibit our Duties to God and our Prince, ſurely this will bring us gain and encreaſe of many Comforts, and ſo to conclude in the Apoſtle his Words. *Charitas mea cum Omnibus vobis in Chriſto Jeſu.* Amen. July 7. 1607. (o)

James I. *King.*

(o) *Paper Office.*

Georgius Blackwellus *Archipresbyter*, &
Protonotarius Apoſtolicus.

Bellarmine's *diſſuaſive*, &c. *to* Blackwell.

Bellarmine not pleas'd with *Blackwell*'s Management, writes to him in an expoſtulatory Strain: And tells him, “That notwithſtanding the Modifications, Pretenſions of *Civil* Homage, and all the ſpecious Colours put upon the Oath of Allegiance, 'twas levell'd againſt the Pope's Supremacy; and that the Tendency of it was to transfer the Government of the Church from St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, to the Succeſſor of King *Henry* the VIIIth. That 'twas no better than a Snare laid to ſurprize the Catholicks: That the Impoſing this *Oath* might be compar'd to the Art made Uſe of by the Emperor *Julian:* That this Prince, to bring the Chriſtians under a Dilemma, and Diſtreſs them either in Fortune or Conſcience, planted the Figures of his pretended Deities about his *Own:* And thus if the Chriſtians paid a Reſpect to the Emperor's Statue, they lay under the Imputation of Idolatry: And if they refus'd this cuſtomary Regard, they were charg'd with Diſaffection, and puniſh'd as Mal-contents. For a farther diſſuaſive, the Cardinal reminds *Blackwell* of the Fortitude of *Eleazer* the Jewiſh High-Prieſt, who reſign'd himſelf to the Extremity of Torture, rather than eat Swine's Fleſh. * That the great St. *Baſil* deſpis'd the Menaces of the Emperor *Valence*, and choſe rather to run the utmoſt Hazzards, than give up the leaſt Syllable of the *Conſubſtantial Belief.* He likewiſe mentions the Conſtancy of Biſhop *Fiſher*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, who loſt their Lives for their Adherence to the *See* of *Rome.* (p)

* Macc. id.

(p) *See Records* N° CII.

But here, not to mention the Inconcluſiveneſs of the Cardinal's Reaſoning, not to mention this, I ſay, he goes upon a wrong Ground, and quite miſtakes the Queſtion. He takes it for granted, the Pope's Spiritual Authority was ſtruck at, argues upon that Suppoſition, and brings his Inſtances in Defence of that Privilege. In ſhort, he miſtakes, as the King obſerves, (r) this Oath, for that of *Supremacy.* For the *Oath* of *Allegiance* touches nothing of this Nature, nor makes any Deciſion between the *Pontificate* and *Regale.* 'Tis deſign'd for no more than a Teſt of Loyalty: 'Twas contrived only to diſtinguiſh thoſe who believe the Pope a Temporal Monarch over all Chriſtendom, and ſuppoſe the King had forfeited his Dominions by his Revolt, as they call it, from the *See* of *Rome*; 'twas to diſtinguiſh, I ſay, ſuch intolerable Bigots from other *Roman* Catholicks of ſounder Principles: From ſuch who are ready to ſtand by their Prince, tho' under never ſo great a Miſperſuaſion: Who readily grant that neither Schiſm nor Hereſy can affect a Title to the Crown, or diſable the Prince's Government. That this is the Meaning of the Oath of *Allegiance*, will appear from the Recital. It ſtands thus:

The Cardinal Miſtakes the Oath of Allegiance, for that of Supremacy.

(r) *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. King* James's *Works, p.* 263.

The Oath of Allegiance.

I A. B. *do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtifie, and declare in my Conſcience before God and the*

the World, that our Sovereign Lord King James *is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majeſty's Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church or* See *of* Rome, *or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe of any of his Majeſty's Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majeſty, or to give Licence or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raiſe Tumult, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, State or Government, or to any of his Majeſty's Subjects, within his Majeſty's Dominions.*

Alſo I do ſwear from my Heart, that notwithſtanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his Succeſſors, or by any Authority deriv'd, or pretended to be deriv'd from him or his See, againſt the ſaid King, *his Heirs and Succeſſors, or any Abſolution of the ſaid Subjects from their Obedience: I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by Reaſon or Colour of any ſuch Sentence or Declaration, or otherwiſe, and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe, and make known unto his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him or any of them.*

And I do further ſwear, that I do from my Heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be depos'd or murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever.

And I do believe, and in Conſcience am reſolved, that neither the Pope, nor any Perſon whatſoever, hath Power to abſolve me of this Oath, or any Part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the Contrary. And all theſe Things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſs Words by me ſpoken and according to the plain and common Senſe and underſtanding of the ſame Words, without any Equivocation or mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God. (s)

(s) 1 Jac. 1. cap. 4.

And that this Oath was no modern Impoſition, no Preſſure upon the Conſcience of the Subject, the King proves in his *Apology* (t) from unexceptionable Authorities. To this Purpoſe he cites the Decrees of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 10th *Councils* of *Toledo*. To begin.

(t) *King* James's *Works, pag.* 265.

The Decree of the 4th *Council* runs thus:

The King cites ſeveral Councils for the Oath of Allegiance.

Whoſoever either of us, or any of the Spaniſh *Nation, ſhall by Conſpiracy or diſloyal Practice, break his Oath of Fidelity which he has taken for the Preſervation of his Country, and the Life of his Prince; or ſhall engage in any violent Attempt upon the King's Perſon, or endeavour to deprive him of his Regal Power; or ſhall preſume to graſp at the Sovereignty by Uſurpation; let him be accurs'd in the Sight of God, the Father, and his Holy Angels, and thrown out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, which he has profan'd by his Perjury: Let him be declar'd an Alien to the Society of all Chriſtian People: And let all the Abettors of his Wickedneſs ſtand in the ſame foreign Condition; for thoſe who join in the Crime, ought not to be parted in the Puniſhment.* (u)

(u) Concil. Tolet. 4. Can. 47. Anno Dom. 633.

This Sentence is thrice repeated in the ſame *Canon*, and almoſt in the ſame Words.

After this, the *Synod* mov'd it might be confirm'd by the Approbation of all preſent. To this all the Clergy and People anſwer'd: *Whoſoever ſhall have the Confidence to violate this Decree of yours, let them be* Anathema Maran-atha: *That is, let them utterly periſh at the Lord's coming, and let them and their Accomplices have their Portion with* Judas Iſcariot. Amen.

And in the 5th *Council* of *Toledo* (w) 'tis farther decreed, That this *Canon* touching the *Oath of Allegiance*, ſhall be repeated in every *Spaniſh Council*. The Words are theſe: *Conſidering Men are prone to Miſchief and Forgetfulneſs of Duty, the holy Synod has ordain'd, that in every Council of the* Spaniſh *Biſhops, the Decree of the general Council* (x) *made for the Security of our Princes, ſhall be pronounc'd with an audible Voice at the End of the Synod: That thus being frequently proclaim'd in the Ears of the People, their Memories may be refreſh'd, and their Conſciences frightned from the Practice of Rebellion.*

(w) Concil. Tolet. 5. Can. 7. An. Dom. 636.

(x) Synod. Tolet. 4. Univerſalis & Synodus magna dicta. Synod. Tolet. 5. cap. 2.

The 6th *Council* ſpeaks thus; *We declare before God and all the heavenly Hierarchy, in the Preſence of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and the glorious Company of Martyrs, and before all the Catholick Church, That no Man ſhall preſume to attempt the Deſtruction of the King: No Man ſhall touch the Life of the Prince: No Man ſhall deprive him of the Kingdom: No Man ſhall traiterouſly or tyrannically preſume to uſurp the Sovereignty of the Realm: No Man ſhall diſtreſs the Prince in his Adverſity, by joining Traitors and Rebels againſt him: And if any of us ſhall venture upon any of theſe Inſtances of Diſloyalty and Prevarication, let the Curſes of God be diſcharg'd at him; and let him be look'd on as a Perſon irrecoverably condemn'd to eternal Vengeance.*

And in the 10th *Council* held at the ſame Place 'tis ordain'd, (y) *That if any of the Clergy or Religious from the higheſt to the loweſt Order, ſhall be found guilty of breaking the Oaths made* for the *Preſervation of the King's Perſon, let him be forthwith degraded from all Dignity and creditable Diſtinction, and barr'd all Poſts of Honour and Truſt.*

(y) Conc. Tolet. 10, Can. 2. Anno Dom. 694.

The Occaſion of making theſe *Canons* was to meet with the Diſloyalty of the Subject; for it ſeems many of them were ſuſpected for Inſincerity; and that they either took the Oath with Equivocating Reſerves, or elſe made no Conſcience to fly off from the ſolemn Engagement. (z)

(z) Concil. Tolet. 4. cap. 74.

The *Council* of *Aix la Chapelle* deliver themſelves to the ſame Purpoſe. (a) *If any Biſhop or other Churchman of inferior Degree ſhall hereafter through Fear or Covetouſneſs, or any other Motive, revolt from our Lord the Emperor* Lewis, *or violate the Oath of Allegiance ſworn to him, or ſhall adhere to his Enemies, let him by Vertue of this Synodical Sentence be depriv'd of all his Preferments.*

(a) Concil. Aquiſgran. ſub Ludovic Pio & Greg. 4. Can. 12. Anno Dom. 836.

Bellarmine, in the Letter before us, to *Blackwell*, endeavours to clear the Pope from giving Countenance to Violence againſt Princes. *Was it ever heard*, ſays the Cardinal, *from the Beginning of Chriſtianity to the preſent Time, that any Pope ever commanded or allow'd the Killing of any Prince, though an Heretick, an Heathen, or a Perſecutor?* But here the King takes Notice, in the firſt Place, that *Bellarmine* makes an artificial Omiſſion; he forgets taking off the Imputation of the Pope's abetting Inſurrections, and depoſing of Princes; and that the Cardinal had elſewhere plainly aſſerted the Pope's Authority for diſpoſing of *Crowns*. But,

King James's *Works, p.* 266, 267.

But, ſecondly, That ſome Popes have directly allow'd the Killing of Princes his Majeſty endeavours to prove from the ſeveral Rebellions they have raiſed in the Empire; particularly *Gregory* the 7th inciting *Henry* the 5th to make War upon the Emperor his Father *Henry* the 4th. But the King waving theſe more ancient Relations, comes cloſer to a modern Inſtance, and cites *Sixtus Quintus*'s Oration in Commendation of *James Clement*, who murder'd King *Henry* the Third of *France*.

Id. *pag.* 270.

As to the *Oath of Allegiance*, Pope *Paul* the Vth was ſo far from allowing it upon any Conſideration, that he remov'd *Blackwell* from his Poſt of Arch-Prieſt for his Compliance above-mention'd; and afterwards directed a third *Brief* to one *Birchett*, whom his *Holineſs* had put in *Blackwell*'s Place. The *Brief* was to admoniſh this *Birchett*, that if any *Engliſh* Prieſt had either taken the Oath, or aſſerted it might be lawfully taken, he was to declare ſuch a Complier had incurr'd the Forfeiture of all Rights and Privileges granted him by the Church, or the Apoſtolick *See*.

But the Learned Monſieur *Du Pin* takes Notice theſe *Briefs* of Pope *Paul* are little to be regarded in this Matter: For as this Gentleman obſerves, moſt of the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks took the *Oath of Allegiance* without the leaſt Imputation of Heterodoxy; and not only *Blackwell*, but *Widdrington*, and ſeveral other Papiſts wrote in Defence of it. And afterwards when the *Sorbon* Divines were conſulted upon the Caſe, Whether this Oath might be ſworn to King *Charles* the Firſt? The *Faculty* made no Scruple to reſolve the Queſtion in the Affirmative. (*b*)

The Sorbon *Divines declare for the lawfulneſs of the Oath of Allegiance.*

(*b*) Du Pin de Antiq. Eccleſ. Diſciplin. Diſſert. Hiſtoric. Diſſer. vii. cap. 3.

This Year in *July Martin Heton* Biſhop of *Ely* departed this Life. He was Son to *George Heton* Eſq; of *Heton Hall* in the County of *Lancaſter*, who was deſcended in a direct Line from Sir *Alan de Heton* living in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second. The reſt of this Prelate's Character and Preferment may be ſeen in my *Supplement* to *Morery*'s Dictionary.

The Death of *Thomas Ravis*, firſt Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Glouceſter* and *London*, happen'd about this Time. He was born at *Malden* in *Surrey*, and extracted from a conſiderable Family, as appears by the Inſcription on the Tomb: He was a very graceful Perſon, and ſupported his Character to Advantage.

Chelſea College *founded by the King at the Inſtance of* Dr. Sutcliffe.

To proceed: The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter February* the 19th, 1609. ſate till *July* the 23d, 1610, and was then prorogued again till the 10th of *October* following. There was nothing done excepting the making an Act to enable the **Fellows and Provoſt of Chelſea College to dig a Trench out of the River Lee, to erect Engines, Water-Works, &c. to convey and carry Water in cloſe Pipes under Ground unto the City of London, and the Suburbs thereof, for the perpetual Maintenance and Suſtentation of the ſaid Provoſt and Fellows, and their Succeſſors by the Rent to be made of the ſaid Water ſo conveyed.** (*c*)

(*c*) 7 Jac. 1. cap. 9.

The Preamble of the *Statute* ſets forth the Deſign, That **his Majeſty for Defence of true Religion now eſtabliſhed within this Realm of England, and for the refuting of Errors and Hereſies repugnant unto the ſame, hath been graciouſly pleas'd by his Letters-Patents under the Great Seal of England, to found a College at Chelſea near London, and therein to place certain Learned Divines, and to incorporate the ſame by the Name of the Provoſt and Fellows of the College of King James, in Chelſea near London, of the Foundation of the ſame James King of England, and hath of his moſt Gracious Bounty and Goodneſs, not only endowed the ſame with certain Lands, Privileges, and Immunities, but hath alſo for their further Maintenance and Suſtentation, given unto them a Capacity and Ability to receive and take from his Majeſty, or any of his Loving Subjects, any Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Gifts, Benefits and Profits whatſoever, not exceeding in the whole, the yearly Value of Three thouſand Pounds, as in and by the ſaid Letters-Patents doth more at large appear.**

From hence the *Reader* may perceive 'twas founded for a *Defence* of the eſtabliſh'd Church: 'Twas to afford Divines Leiſure and other Conveniences to ſpend their Time wholly in Controverſy, and maintain the Reformation againſt Papiſts and Diſſenters.

The Names of the Provoſt and Fellows ſettled by the King are as follow.

May 8. Anno Dom. 1610.

Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of *Exeter*, Provoſt.
1. *John Overal*, Dean of St. *Pauls*.
2. *Thomas Morton*, Dean of *Wincheſter*.
3. *Richard Field*, Dean of *Glouceſter*.

4. *Robert Abbot*,
5. *John Spenſer*,
6. *Miles Smith*,
7. *William Covitt*,
8. *John Howſon*,
9. *John Layfield*,
10. *Ben. Charrier*,
11. *Martin Fotherbie*,
12. *John Boys*,
13. *Richard Brett*,
14. *Peter Lilie*,
15. *Francis Burley*,

} Doctors of Divinity.

16. *William Hellier*, Archdeacon of *Barnſtable*.
17. *John White*, Fellow of *Mancheſter* College.

There was likewiſe a Proviſion made for two Hiſtorians, who were to tranſmit the Affairs of *Church* and *State* to Poſterity: Thoſe appointed by the King, were

William Cambden, Clarenceaux.
John Haywood, Doctor of Law. (*d*)

(*d*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.*

Next to the King, Dr. *Sutcliffe* the Provoſt, went fartheſt in the Foundation, having convey'd Farms to the Value of Three hundred Pounds *per Annum* upon this College. This Foundation, though ſtrongly countenanc'd at firſt, miſcarry'd afterward, and came to nothing. The Conjectures upon the Cauſes of this Miſfortune are too long to mention.

Archbiſhop Bancroft's *Scheme for furniſhing a better Maintenance for the Clergy.*

Archbiſhop *Bancroft* offer'd a ſignificant Project to the *Parliament* for furniſhing the Clergy with a competent Maintenance. The Heads of the Scheme are as follow. (*e*)

"1. That all Predial Tythes of Benefices with
"Cure may be paid in Kind hereafter, &c.
"2. That Perſonal Tythes may be urg'd upon Oath, being confeſs'd to be due by Law.

(*e*) Paper-Office.

“ 3. That as Oblations are due by Law to Parſons and Vicars that have Cure of Souls, they may accordingly be paid unto them, as heretofore hath been accuſtom'd, *viz.* at Marriages, Burials, and upon ſolemn Feaſt-Days, as *Chriſtmas-day, Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, Allhallows-day,* and at the Times of receiving the Holy Communion, *&c.*

“ 4. That all Abby-Lands now exempted, may pay Tythes in Kind to the Parſons and Vicars in whoſe Pariſhes they lie.

“ 5. That all Lands alter'd within theſe Sixty Years paſt from Tillage, may pay Tythes according to the Value they formerly paid.

“ 6. That all Parks and Warrens made within theſe Sixty Years laſt paſt, may pay Tythes, either according to their former Value when they were in Tillage, or according to ſome reaſonable Rate by the Acre.

“ 7. That Parks diſpark'd within theſe Sixty Years, may pay Tythes in Kind.

“ 8. That the Occupiers of Lands of ſuch Pariſhes that have been within theſe Sixty Years paſt utterly depopulated, and do now pay no Tythes at all, may hereafter pay all their Tythes in Kind to the next poor Parſons adjoining.

“ 9. That ſmall Benefices near adjoining may be ſo united, as they may be holden by one Man.

“ 10. That Parſons and Vicars may have Right and Freedom of Common with the reſt of the Pariſhioners.

“ 11. That the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Conſtition in *England* for paying of Tythe-Lambs, and Wool, may be renewed and eſtabliſh'd. *Lindewood de Decimis.* §. *Quoniam.*

“ 12. That all Penſions may hereafter be diſcharg'd, which are not paid to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons.

“ 13. That Miniſters in Cities and Towns incorporate, and other great Towns, may have their Tythes according to the Rents of Houſes after the Rate of *London.*

“ 14. That the Landlords of ſuch Houſes in every City incorporate, and great Towns, may be chargeable with ſuch Payments to their Miniſters, and not their Under-Tenants.

“ 15. That Parſons and Vicars may have Tythe-Wood duly paid unto them according to the Conſtitution of *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury. Lindewood de Verborum Significatione.*

“ 16. That an Order may be taken for the ſettling of Glebe-Lands, which are by ſtrong Hand detain'd from divers Parſons and Vicars, by ſome Commiſſions for Survey upon Oaths: And that it may be provided, that no Patron or Lord of any Manor in any Pariſh may hereafter have the Glebe in Farm.

“ 17. That in Chapels of Eaſe the Cure may be maintain'd hereafter by them that have Eaſe thereby, without diminiſhing the Parſons or Vicars Tythes.

“ 18. That it may be lawful hereafter for any well-diſpoſed Man or Woman to give, purchaſe, or lay Tenements, Rents, Lands or Annuities in Fee, unto the Glebe of the Church notwithſtanding the Statute of *Mortmain.*

“ 19. That all Lay-Patrons, when they preſent any Miniſter to an Eccleſiaſtical Living, may take the like Oath againſt Simony that Miniſters do; or elſe that they may forfeit their Patronage for ever to the King, when it ſhall be proved that they have committed Simony upon any ſuch Preſentation.

“ 20. That it may be held Simony to ſell Advowſons as well as Preſentations; or that all Advowſons to be made hereafter may be utterly void.

“ 21. That the Tythes of Oade, Hops, Roots, Coals, and other Minerals, and likewiſe of Lime-kilns and Brick-kilns, may be truly paid to the Parſon or Vicar that hath Cure of Souls.

“ 22. That it may be lawful for Spiritual Perſons to purchaſe and take Leaſes for Lives or Years, as other of his Majeſty's Subjects may do, notwithſtanding any *Statutes* made to the contrary.

“ 23. That all Lands that have been either won from the Sea, or otherwiſe drained and recovered from ſurrounding, may be laid to ſome Pariſhes adjoining; and that the Owners or Occupiers, and all others that have any Benefit of ſuch Lands, may pay their Tythes in Kind to the Parſons or Vicars of thoſe Pariſhes whereunto the ſaid Lands are laid.

“ 24. That a Subſidy may be granted for the redeeming of Impropriations, and that the ſame redeem'd may be of the Biſhop's Patronage in whoſe Dioceſe they lie.

“ 25. That if the laſt Motion may not now be entertain'd, then there may be a free Paſſage given to the Law yet in Force (as it is ſuppos'd) that all Impropriations may be declar'd void, and become Preſentatives, which have no Endowment for Vicars.

“ 26. That where there are Vicaridges endow'd, which do belong to Impropriations, but yet are no competent Living for a ſufficient Miniſter, Biſhops may have Authority in their Dioceſe where ſuch Vicaridges are, to allot ſome farther Portions for their better Maintenance out of the ſaid Impropriations.

“ 27. That ſome Order may be ſet down for the repairing of Chancels of Churches impropriate, which are every where in wonderful Decay.

“ 28. That Mortuaries may be reſtor'd.

Paper-Office. Ibidem.

Whether *Bancroft*'s Project ended here or not, I am uncertain; but the Subject is continued upon a Break with theſe Initial Letters,

The *L. S.*

Further Ways and Means ſuggeſted for this Purpoſe.

“ A ſecond Means for raiſing ſufficient Maintenance, may be done by ſevering unto divers Churches ſuch Vicaridges or Parſonages as are united into one: As for Example: At *Bampton* in the County of *Oxford,* there are three perpetual Vicars canonically inſtituted and inducted to ſerve the Cure in that Parochial Church, every one of the ſaid Vicars having Maintenance ſufficient according to one of the Values aforeſaid. At *Watſdon* in the County of *Buckingham,* there be two, if not three Parſons canonically inſtituted and inducted to ſerve the Cure of that one Pariſh-Church, every of them alſo having ſufficient Maintenance as aforeſaid. At—in the County of *Devon,* as I have been credibly inform'd, is the like; and it may be that there are in many other Places the like.

“ Now then it ſeemeth there be Eight or Nine Miniſters, every of them enjoying Competency of Maintenance appointed to ſerve theſe three Cures, that ſix of thoſe Livings, as they ſhall happen to fall void, might ſerve ſix other Parochial Churches near adjoining and wanting Maintenance.

“That out of the Glebe or Demeſn Lands belonging to any Church appropried, all Manner of Tythes be paid to the Vicar of the ſame Church appropried, by the Owner, Proprietary, or Farmer of the ſame Appropriation. That the Tenth of the Tenth of all Corn, Hay, Wood, Wool, Lamb, *&c.* ariſing within the Places tythable of any Church appropried, be likewiſe paid in their proper Kind to the Vicar of the ſame Church appropried.

“That it may be lawful for any Lord of a Manor, leaving ſufficient Commons belonging to the ſaid Manor (the Vicaridge of the Pariſh-Church wherein the ſame Manor lieth, having no Glebe-Land, or not having Glebe-Land to the Number of twenty Acres) to endow the ſame Vicaridge or Parſonage with twenty Acres of Waſte, or with ſo many Acres as ſhall make up the Acres already belonging to the Vicaridge to the Number of twenty Acres, and no more.

“That all *Novalia* ariſing within any Pariſh wherein there is a perpetual Vicar endowed, whether the ſame *Novalia* be of Hops, Oade, Iron, Mine, Coals, Turff, Peat, *&c.* ſhall from thenceforth only be payable to the Vicars of the ſame Parochial Church, and not to any Owner, Farmer, or Proprietor of the Impropriation.

“Whereas unto the Parſons whoſe Churches are not appropried, and unto Vicars, whoſe Churches are appropried, for Gardens, heretofore hath been paid only a Penny, which Penny at the firſt was alſo paid only in Reſpect of Flowers, Pot-Herbs, and ſuch-like ſmall Trifles; that from henceforth out of all Gardens, and Garden-Plots be paid unto the ſaid Parſons and Vicars, not only the ſaid Penny, but alſo the Tenth of all Hops, Beans, Peaſe, Wheat, Rye, Barly, Roots, Roſes, Apples, Cherries, Strawberries, Artichokes, and ſuch-like.

“Where in ſome Place certain Money called *Mead-Silver*, by Cuſtom hath been paid in Lieu of Tythe-Hay, that in thoſe Places the Tenth be paid from henceforth in *Specie*: And if the Church whereunto the *Mead-Silver* heretofore hath been paid, be a Church appropried, that then the Tythe-Hay be paid unto the Vicar only; and that the Vicar pay to the Improprietary ſuch *Mead-Silver*, as uſually hath been receiv'd.

“Where it is pretended in many Places, that by Cuſtom there is not any Tythe-Milk to be paid by him who hath not ſeven Calves at the leaſt, by which Means ſome that may keep Seven or Eight Kine, will never keep above Six; that from henceforth this, as an unreaſonable Cuſtom, be annull'd; and that the Tythe-Milk of all Kine be paid in *Specie* as by the Eccleſiaſtical Law it is due, and that always either to the Parſon of the Church not appropried, or to the Vicar of the ſaid Church appropried.

“Whereas much Fraud is daily uſed among the meaner Sort of People about the Payment of their Tythes, Wool, Lambs, Calves, White of Kine, *&c.* by Reaſon of taking Grounds, and keeping Cattle in divers Pariſhes, and by removing them out of one Pariſh into another, at or immediately before the Sale and ſhearing their Sheep, whereupon much Trouble and Wrangling for ſmall Matter oftentimes enſueth: I leave it to be conſider'd, whether it were not meet that their Tythe of Wool, Lamb, Calf, and White of Kine, ſhould entirely be paid to the Miniſter of that Parochial Church wherein the ſame Sheep and Cattle for the greateſt Part of the Year be feeding and couchant. And if they happen to be feeding and couchant within two Pariſhes alike, that then the ſaid Tythes to be paid yearly to that Miniſter only, within whoſe Pariſh the Owner ſhall inhabit, provided that the Miniſter to whom ſuch entire Tythes ſhall be paid, or to whom the ſaid ought to be paid, be anſwerable to the Miniſter of the other Church, for ſuch Part of thoſe Tythes, as for the feeding and couching of the ſame Sheep and Cattle within his Pariſh proportionably ſhall be due.

“Whereas the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty is poſſeſs'd of divers Parks out of which Tythes, and other Eccleſiaſtical Commodities are due, and out of which alſo Tythes in Time paſt have been paid; that his Highneſs in Regard of ſome Maintenance to be allow'd out of his Imperial Grounds, unto the Miniſters within whoſe Pariſhes the ſame Parks are ſituate, would graciouſly be pleas'd to take Order that the ſame Miniſters from henceforth might enjoy a competent Allowance of ſome Paſtorage within the ſaid Parks, for the keeping of a certain Number of Kine, or other Cattle, towards the Proviſion of their Houſes, and keeping Hoſpitality.

“And whereas divers Vicaridges valued in the King's Books at 10, 16, 20 Pounds, or above, have no other kind of yearly Maintenance but theſe Values paid unto them only in Money; out of which alſo, according to their Rates, the Vicars pay Firſt-Fruits, Tenths and Subſidies, by Means whereof that which is left becometh very ſmall; That his Majeſty would graciouſly be pleaſed either to remit the whole Firſt-Fruits, *&c.* due out of theſe Vicaridges, or at leaſtwiſe abate ſomewhat of their uſual Payments.

“That it may be lawful for any learned, able preaching Miniſter, plac'd in any Parochial Church, to take to Farm the Impropriation of the ſame Church, or any Part thereof, the ſame Farm no longer to continue than only during the Time of his Reſidency and Miniſtry in the ſame Church.

“That it may not be lawful for any Miniſter inſtituted to any Benefice with Cure, to demiſe the Manſion-houſe, Glebe-Land, or any Part of the Tythes thereof directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately to the Patron, or to his Uſe.

“That no Leaſe hereafter to be made by any Incumbent of any Benefice with Cure, ſhall be confirm'd by the Biſhop and the Patron: And that all Leaſes heretofore made of any Benefice with Cure, and confirm'd by the Biſhop and Patron for more Years than one and twenty, may utterly be void, as being at the firſt made upon corrupt Conſideration.

“That it may be lawful for any Perſon holding any Impropriation or Tythes of the King *in Capite*, or *Knights-Service*, to give the ſame Impropriation and Tythes, or any Part thereof to the Uſe of a learned and able preaching Miniſter, to be plac'd within the ſame Pariſh.

By this Scheme the Archbiſhop's Care for the Intereſt of Religion, and his Capacity in ſuggeſting Meaſures, are ſufficiently diſcover'd. However, the Attempt fail'd of Succeſs; for the Parliament, it ſeems, was not diſpos'd for going in to the Propoſal.

During this *Seſſion* King *Henry* the 4th of *France*, was ſtab'd in his Coach by *Ravilliac*. This execrable Murther gave another Alarm to the *Engliſh*: For now the King publiſh'd a Proclamation ſtrictly commanding all Jeſuits and *Roman* Catholick Prieſts to depart the Kingdom; and all *Recuſants* of the Laity were forbidden coming within Ten Miles of the Court. There was likewiſe a *Statute* enacted for all Perſons of Office, Character, or publick Conſideration, to take the Oath of Allegiance. (*f*)

An Act obliging the moſt conſiderable Part of the Subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance.

(*f*) 7 Jac. 1. cap. 6. Febr. 10. 160$\frac{9}{10}$.

The *Convocation* met ſome few Days before the *Parliament*; but all the Buſineſs they did, was the granting a Subſidy. Upon the King's Writ the Archbiſhop prorogu'd the two *Houſes* to the 17th of *October* following. (*g*)

(*g*) *Extract of Convoc.*

A Parliament at Edinburgh *reſtores the Temporal Juriſdiction of the Church.* June 24. Anno Dom. 1609.

To ſay ſomething of *Scotland*: The laſt Year at a *Parliament* held at *Edinburgh*, the *Acts* paſs'd in the preceding *Convention* were confirm'd; “ particularly the Juriſdiction of Commiſſaries “ were reſtor'd to the Church. The *Preamble* ſets “ forth, That in all well-govern'd Republicks, the “ Eccleſiaſtical and *Civil* Juriſdictions are ſeparate “ and diſtinct; and that the Temporal Juriſdiction “ of the *Kirk* flows only from his Majeſty; which is an implied Conceſſion, that the *Spiritual* does not. By the *Act*, the Cognizance of ſeveral “ Cauſes anciently belonging to the Biſhops “ Courts, but lately ſettled in the *College* of *Juſtice*, are now return'd to the *Ordinaries* and the “ Lords of the *Seſſion*, by Way of Compenſation, “ are allow'd Ten thouſand Pounds *Scotch*, to “ be yearly paid out of the Cuſtoms of that “ Kingdom. (*h*)

(*h*) Jac. 6. Parl. 20. cap. 6, & 11. Id. cap. 2.

By another *Statute*, “ Thoſe who are already, “ or ſhall hereafter be excommunicated for not “ Conforming to the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, incur the Forfeiture of their Eſtates, which are “ to be ſeiz'd for his Majeſty's Uſe.

Id. cap. 8.

By this Parliament the *Habits* of the Judges and Magiſtracy, of Churchmen and Lawyers, was referr'd to the King's appointment.

To proceed: His Majeſty wrote earneſtly to the *Scotch* Biſhops to extend their Adminiſtration and manage to the Length of their Character: But theſe Prelates were apprehenſive the venturing upon ſuch a Change without the Conſent of the Miniſters, might be ill receiv'd. To make the Affair therefore more practicable, a General *Aſſembly* was held at *Glaſgow*, the Earl of *Dunbar* and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* were the King's Commiſſioners. The Earl open'd the Meeting by acquainting them, that his Majeſty's Intention was to ſettle the Church in a commendable Condition of *Diſcipline*; and to give more particular Directions, and diſpoſe them to a through Compliance, his Majeſty's Letter was read. 'Tis ſuperſcrib'd thus:

July 8. Anno Dom. 1610.

The Biſhops Authority recovered in a great Meaſure by the Aſſembly at Glaſgow.

> *To the Right Reverend Fathers in God, our Right Truſty, and Well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, and others our Truſty and Well-beloved the Prelates, Noblemen, and others our Loving Subjects, as well Miniſtry as Laity, preſently met and convened in this Aſſembly.*

The King's Letter to the Aſſembly.

“ The Letter ſets forth, That nothing has ſo “ much diſſerv'd the Glory of God, and the “ Repoſe of the Church, as the Want of Order “ and Government, without which no *Society*, “ either Eccleſiaſtical or *Civil*, can poſſibly ſubſiſt. And notwithſtanding the Singularity, “ the Obſtinacy, or Ignorance of ſome People “ kept up a Sort of *Headleſs Government* for a “ while; yet the Inconvenience and Impotence “ of this Adminiſtration was quickly diſcover'd. “ The King therefore, to put a Stop to this Evil which had *otherwiſe proved an incurable Cancer*, had aſſiſted in Perſon at ſeveral *Aſſemblies*, “ had provided a Maintenance for Eccleſiaſticks, and recover'd their Juriſdiction from “ the Encroachments of the *Laity*. Theſe “ Things conſider'd, his Majeſty hoped that “ the Church being ſenſible of their Errors in “ ſuffering the late *Anarchy* in their Body, would “ have made their Application to him for eſtabliſhing the Eccleſiaſtical Government upon “ the Primitive Model; That a proper Remedy might be found out to cloſe the Diviſions, “ and put an End to the preſent Diſtractions. “ But whether this Negligence and Miſconduct “ was chargeable upon the *Unwillingneſs* or *Unworthineſs* of the *Fathers* of the Church, or “ that the Factious Singularity of thoſe of lower “ Condition, was the Occaſion of continuing “ this Confuſion, his Majeſty is uncertain. “ However, conceiving himſelf bound not to “ ſuffer ſuch dilatory Proceedings in ſo important a Matter, he has thought fit to convene “ the preſent *Aſſembly*; not ſo much upon the “ Score of Neceſſity, as if the Conſent of the “ *Members* was abſolutely requiſite to the Things “ propoſed: But to ſhew his Majeſty's Zeal for “ the Glory of God, and the Inexcuſableneſs of “ thoſe who refuſe to concur with him for the “ Intereſt of the Church. However, hoping “ their preſent Management will give him a “ better Opinion of them for the future, he refers them to the Earl of *Dunbar* and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who have Inſtructions “ to acquaint them farther with his Majeſty's “ Pleaſure.” The Letter is dated from *Thetford*, *May* the 8th, 1610. (*k*)

(*k*) *MS. Acts of the Aſſembly*, penes Archibald. Campbell Armig.

After the reading his Majeſty's Letter, the *Aſſembly* appointed a Committee to draw up ſuch Heads of Diſcipline as they thought neceſſary for the Government of the Church, and giving the King Satisfaction.

After ſome Days ſpent in forming a Draught, and debating the Matter, the following Articles were all ratify'd and approv'd by the whole *Aſſembly*.

The Articles ſettled.

“ 1. 'Twas declar'd, That the late Aſſembly “ at *Aberdeen* was null, principally becauſe it “ had not his Majeſty's Allowance; and that “ the appointing *Aſſemblies* is Part of the Prerogative Royal: 'Tis likewiſe agreed, “ a General *Aſſembly* ſhall be held once a “ Year.

“ 2. 'Tis declar'd expedient, that the Biſhops “ ſhould be Moderators in every Dioceſan *Synod*; “ That theſe *Synods* ſhould be held twice a “ Year; And that where the Dioceſes are large, “ there may be two or three Synods conven'd “ at a proper Diſtance for the Eaſe of the “ Miniſtry.

“ 3. That no Sentence of Excommunication “ or Abſolution be pronounced againſt, or in “ Favour of any Perſon, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Biſhop of the “ Dioceſe, who muſt be anſwerable to his Majeſty for the Regularity of his Proceedings.

“ And when the Proceſs is fairly and legally finiſh'd, Sentence is to be pronounc'd at the Biſhop's Direction, by the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the Offender dwells. And in caſe the Biſhop ſhall delay pronouncing the Sentence againſt any Perſon that deſerves it, and where the Proceſs has been carry'd on to a juſt Length; in caſe the Biſhop ſhall be convicted of ſuch Misbehaviour by a General *Aſſembly*, his Majeſty ſhall be acquainted with what is paſs'd in order to furniſh the *See* with another Prelate.

“ 4. That for the future all Preſentations ſhall be directed to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, and that a Teſtimonial of the Life and Abilities of the Perſon preſented ſhould be ſent to the Biſhop by the neighbouring Miniſtry: And the Biſhop finding him qualify'd upon his own Examination, is to take in the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Miniſters of the *Bounds* where the Perſon is to officiate: And then, as the *Manuſcript* ſpeaks, to perfect the *whole Act of Ordination.*

“ 5. That in Order to the depriving of Miniſters, the Biſhop, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Miniſters of the Neighbourhood where the Delinquent officiates, ſhall proceed to try the Cauſe, and pronounce Sentence.

“ 6. That every Miniſter at his Admiſſion, ſhall ſwear Obedience to his Majeſty and his *Ordinary*, purſuant to the Form ſet down in the *Conference* held in the Year of our Lord 1571. in the following Tenor.

The Oath taken by Miniſters at their Admiſſion to a Benefice.

I A. B. *now nominated and admitted to the* Church *of* D. *utterly teſtifie and declare in my Conſcience, That the Right Excellent; Right High and Mighty Prince* James *the 6th, by the Grace of God, King of* Scots, *is the only lawful Supreme Governor of this Realm, as well in Things Temporal, as in Conſervation and Purgation of Religion: And that no foreign Prince, Prelate, State or Potentate, has or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm. And therefore I utterly renounce and forſake all foreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities, and promiſe that from this Time forth I ſhall and will bear Faith, and true Allegiance to his Highneſs, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors: And to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preeminences and Authorities, granted and belonging to his Highneſs, his Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors, or united and annexed to his Royal Crown. And farther, I acknowledge and confeſs to have and hold the ſame* Church *and Poſſeſſions of the ſame (under God only) of his Majeſty and Crown Royal of this Realm. And for the ſaid Poſſeſſions I do Homage preſently unto his Highneſs in your Preſence; And to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors ſhall be faithful and true.* So help me God.

Ibidem.

“ 7. The Dioceſan *Viſitations* are to be made by the Biſhop in Perſon, unleſs the Bounds are too large for him to go over: In which Caſe he is to make Choice of ſome worthy Miniſter of the Dioceſe to viſit for him. And whatever Miniſter ſhall, without lawful Excuſe, refuſe to appear at the *Viſitation*, or Dioceſan *Aſſembly*, ſhall be ſuſpended from his Office and Benefice, and unleſs Amendment follows, depriv'd.

“ 8. That the *Exerciſe of Doctrine* be continued weekly among the Miniſters at the Time of their cuſtomary Meetings; And that the Biſhop either moderates himſelf, or appoints ſome Perſon to repreſent him.

“ 9. That the Biſhops ſhall be ſubject to the Cenſure of the General *Aſſembly* in all Things relating to private and publick Conduct; or as the *Aſſembly* ſpeaks touching *Life, Converſation, Office and Benefice*. And the Biſhops being convicted of Misbehaviour by the *Aſſembly*, are, with his Majeſty's Advice and Conſent, to be depriv'd.

“ 10. That no Biſhop be elected under Forty Years old, and who has not for ſome Years been a Teaching Miniſter.

“ Laſtly, 'Twas unanimouſly decreed, that no Miniſter either in Pulpit, or Publick Exerciſe, ſhould argue againſt, or diſobey the *Acts* of this preſent *Aſſembly*, under the Penalty of Deprivation; And particularly, that the Queſtion of Equality or Inequality in the Church ſhould not be diſcours'd in the Pulpit under the ſame Forfeiture.

Ibid. & Spotſwood Refutat. Libel &c. Et *Church Hiſt. pag.* 512.

The Reſolutions of this Synod were unanimous almoſt to an Univerſality, there being but three Diſſenting Members amongſt about 140. *

* Spotſwood Refutat. Libel. de Regim. Eccleſ. Scotic. p. 83.

Soon after the breaking up of the *Aſſembly*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was ſent for to attend the King, and order'd to bring two other Churchmen of his own chuſing along with him. He pitch'd upon the Biſhops of *Brichen* and *Galloway*, and came to Court about the Middle of *September*.

The Conſecration of three Scotch *Biſhops at* London.

The King opening the Buſineſs for which they were order'd *hither*, acquainted them, *That at a great Expence he had recover'd the Biſhopricks out of Foreign Hands, and beſtow'd them upon ſuch as he hop'd would acquit themſelves well in that Station: But ſince he could not make them Biſhops, neither could they aſſume that Honour to themſelves; and that in* Scotland *there was not enough of that Order to manage a Canonical Conſecration, for theſe Reaſons he had called them into* England, *that being Conſecrated themſelves, they might propagate the Character, and ordain at Home.* That by this Expedient *the Adverſaries might be effectually ſilenc'd, who gave out, that he took upon him to make Biſhops, and beſtow Spiritual Offices: But this Report was altogether Aſperſion, for that he had not done any Thing of this kind, nor would he ever preſume to go thus far: And that he acknowledg'd ſuch an Authority belong'd to none but our Bleſſed Saviour, and thoſe commiſſionated by him. (l)*

The Archbiſhop ſpeaking for the reſt, profeſs'd their Willingneſs to obey his Majeſty, only they were apprehenſive of being miſunderſtood by their Brethren at Home; and that in Regard of the ancient Encroachments of the *Engliſh* Hierarchy upon the *Scots*, their complying with this Expedient might be interpreted a Kind of Subjection to the Church of *England*. The King reply'd, He had guarded ſufficiently againſt that Inconvenience; and that to prevent Cavil, and Miſconſtruction, he had order'd, that neither the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* or *York*, who were the only Pretenders, ſhould have any Share in the Solemnity, but that the Conſecration ſhould be perform'd by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells*. The propoſing this Temper ſet the *Scotch* Biſhops at Eaſe, who returning his Majeſty Thanks for his Care of their Church, declar'd themſelves willing to obey his Pleaſure.

Things being thus far adjuſted, his Majeſty iſſued a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Rocheſter*, requiring them to proceed to the Conſecration of the three Biſhops abovemention'd,

(l) Spotſwood C. *Hiſt.* p. 514.

mention'd purſuant to the Form of the *Engliſh Ordinall*. This Commiſſion was accordingly executed in the Chapel of *London-houſe* upon the 21ſt of *October*.

But between the Commiſſion and the *Solemnity*, a Difficulty was offer'd by *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Ely*, with Reference to the Conſecration of the *Scotch* Biſhops. This Prelate affirm'd, "They "ought firſt to be made Prieſts upon the Score "of their having not been ordain'd by a "Biſhop. Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, as *Spotſwood* "reports, maintain'd there was no Neceſſity of "proceeding in this Manner: That where Biſhops could not be had, Orders given by *Preſbyters* muſt be reckon'd lawful: That unleſs "this was granted, the *Calling* and *Character* "of the Miniſtry in moſt of the *Reformed* Churches might be Queſtion'd." But with due Regard to *Bancroft*'s Memory, his Argument ſeems to ſtand upon a ſlender Bottom: For without Doubt neither *Luther*, nor *Calvin*, *Beza*, or *Zuinglius*, are the Standards of Diſcipline and Government: 'Tis the Primitive Plan we ought to proceed by in theſe Matters. And therefore, if any modern Chriſtians happen to refine upon Catholick Meaſures, and deſert from the Government of the Church ſettled for 1500 Years together: If any Chriſtians, I ſay, pretend to *reform* in this unfortunate Manner, though they may call for our Pity and our Prayers, they ought never to command our Imitation. And therefore, with Submiſſion, it ſeems moſt adviſable to leave them to farther Recollection, and not make our ſelves a Party to their Singularities by ſtraining Courteſy, and interpoſing in their Defence.

But after all, as the Learned *Heylin* repreſents the Matter, *Bancroft* went upon a much more defenſible Principle: He argued, there was no Neceſſity the *Scotch* Biſhops ſhould paſs through the intermediate *Orders* of Deacon and Prieſt; for that the Epiſcopal Character might be fully convey'd at a ſingle Conſecration: And for this he cited ſome conſiderable Precedents in the ancient Church. (m)

(m) Heylin's *Hiſt. Presbyt. Pag.* 387.

The Biſhops ſometimes conſecrated in the ancient Church without paſſing thro' the inferior Orders.

'Tis true, the general Cuſtom of the Church was to proceed by gradual Advances, and not to mount the higheſt Station at a Step. The Reaſon was, that ſome proper Intervals might be allow'd by Way of Probation: That the Conduct and Abilities of the Perſon might be recommended in a lower Office before the Truſt was enlarg'd, and the Promotion rais'd. (n) However, in Caſe of Neceſſity, or extraordinary Merit, the cuſtomary Methods were diſpens'd with, and the Epiſcopal Character convey'd at once, without going through the inferior *Orders*. Thus St. *Ambroſe* and *Nectarius*, two Lay-Men, were conſecrated Biſhops, the firſt of *Milan*, and the other of *Conſtantinople*. (o) Thus *Eucherius*, a Monk, which is no more than a Lay-Man, was ordain'd Biſhop of *Lyons* without paſſing through the preparatory Stages of Subdeacon, Deacon, or Prieſt. (p) Thus when by the unexpected Concurrence of the People, or by ſome other unuſual Accident, Providence ſeem'd to point at a particular Perſon, the Apoſtles *Canons* gave Leave to relax, and go off from the common Rule. (g) The Diſtinctions or Additions of theſe three *Scotch* Biſhops, before Conſecration ſtand thus in the *Regiſter*; Mr. *John Spotſwood* (Miniſter and Concionator, as the King's Mandate ſpeaks) was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, Miniſter and Concionator, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, Miniſter and Concionator, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Brichen*. They were conſecrated by *George* Biſhop of *London*, *Lancelot* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Worceſter*. (r)

(r) Abbot's *Regiſt. Fol.* 414.

About this Time the King ſet up a *High Commiſſion* in *Scotland* for the managing of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. To give this Court and the Clergy Meaſures, the King diſpatch'd the Inſtructions following:

The King's Directions to the High Commiſſion and Clergy in Scotland.

1. That no Application ſhould be made to the High Commiſſion for any Thing brought before that Court, unleſs in Caſes either of Appeal, or Complaint by ſome Biſhop; that the Grievance could not be redreſs'd by the Diogeſan, or that the Cauſe had ſuffer'd very much in the Ordinary's Court by the Remiſſneſs of the Biſhop.

2. That every Archbiſhop and Biſhop ſhould reſide at his Cathedral, and repair it as far as he was able.

3. That all Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be careful in managing their Viſitation, and every third Year, at leaſt, inſpect the Conduct of the Miniſters and *Readers*.

4. That every Archbiſhop ſhould viſit his Province every Seven Years at leaſt.

5. Whereas in ſeveral Dioceſes ſome Pariſhes belonging to other Biſhops lie intermix'd, Care ſhould be taken to exchange the Churches, that the whole Dioceſe, if the Expedient is practicable, may lie together: And in Regard ſome Dioceſes are too large, and ſome too little, a Method ſhould be projected to bring them to a better Proportion.

6. That the Meeting of Miniſters for the *Exerciſe* of *Doctrine* ſhould not exceed the Number of Twelve, at moſt: That *Moderators* ſhould be aſſign'd them by their reſpective Biſhops: That theſe Moderators ſhould be impower'd to bring all ſcandalous Perſons within the Precinct before them, and to cenſure Offenders purſuant to the Canons of the Church. However, they are not to proceed to Excommunication or Suſpenſion without the Direction of the Ordinary. And in caſe theſe Miniſters go beyond the Liberty allow'd them, either in Teaching or Behaviour, that then the Biſhops ſhall diſcharge the Meeting, and cenſure the Parties.

7. Conſidering *Lay Elders* have neither any Warrant in the *Scripture*, nor Precedent in the Primitive Church, and yet notwithſtanding 'tis convenient for the Miniſter to have ſome Aſſiſtants for repairing the Church, providing Bread and Wine for the Holy Euchariſt, and collecting Contributions for the Poor, the Miniſter is authoriz'd to make Choice of ſome of the moſt Diſcreet of his Pariſhioners for this Purpoſe, and certify their Names to the Ordinary for his Approbation.

8. That the Pariſh Miniſters may be impower'd to convene before themſelves and their Aſſiſtants above-mention'd, all notorious Offenders; and put them under Penance purſuant to the Canons of the Church: And in caſe of Contumacy and Incorrigibleneſs, delate their Names to the Biſhop for farther Correction.

9. That no Miniſter may be admitted to any Cure without a preceding Examination, and Impoſition of Hands by the Biſhop, and two or three Miniſters at the Ordination: And for ſettling an Uniformity in the Admiſſion of Miniſters, a Form is order'd to be printed, and practis'd without Deviation, by every Biſhop.

(b) Concil. Sardicen. Can. 10. Concil. Conſtantinopol. Sub. Photio Can. 17. vid. Bevereg. Pandec. Canon. Tom. 1. Pag. 358. 9. & 496.

(o) Socrat. Lib. 4. cap. 30. Sozom. Lib. 6. cap. 24. Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 4. cap. 6. & 7. Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 8. Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 8.

(p) Baron. Annal. ad an. 441.

(q) Can. Apoſt. Can. 80.

10. That for the future the Election of Biſhops ſhall be govern'd by the Rules ſet down at the Conference held in the Year 1571. And during the Vacancy of the Biſhoprick, the Dean ſhall be *Vicarius in Omnibus ad Epiſcopatum pertinentibus*, and have the Cuſtody of the Temporalties 'till the See is fill'd.

11. That the Dean ſhall ſummon a *Chapter* at leaſt once a Year, and take Care that nothing may paſs unleſs they are *Capitulariter Congregati*. And that every Thing done by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop with Reference to the Revenues of the *See* may be enter'd upon the Regiſter, and kept in the *Chapter-houſe*.

12. That when a General Aſſembly ſhall be thought neceſſary, Application may be made to his Majeſty for Leave to meet: And that the Aſſembly ſhall conſiſt of Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and ſuch others of the Miniſtry as ſhall be elected by their own Body.

13. And becauſe young People in *Scotland*, having gone through a Courſe of Philoſophy, frequently preſs into the Pulpit before they have got either Orders or Diſcretion: To prevent this Abuſe, ſtrict Care muſt be taken for putting a Reſtraint upon ſuch Perſons; and that none unordain'd may be allow'd to preach ordinarily, or in publick. (*s*)

(*s*) Spotſwood's *Ch. Hiſt.* 514.

These Directions, deliver'd to the Biſhops and ſome of the principal Clergy conven'd at *Edinburgh*, were generally approv'd. The High Commiſſion being likewiſe publiſh'd at the ſame Time, diſguſted thoſe in the Adminiſtration. It ſeems they conceiv'd their Juriſdiction leſſen'd, and were unpleas'd with the Church's recovering her Authority.

Ibid.

The Death of Babbington.

This Year *Gervaſe Babbington*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, departed this Life. He was deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable Family in *Nottinghamſhire*. He was bred in *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*, firſt promoted to the *See* of *Landaff*, thence tranſlated to *Exeter*, and from thence to *Worceſter*. He was reckon'd an eminent Preacher, and particularly happy in touching the Paſſions. He wrote a Comment upon the Five Books of *Moſes*, upon the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

The next Thing I ſhall mention is the Conſecrating of St. *Olaves Silver-ſtreet* in *London* by *Abbot*, Biſhop of *London*: The Reader may ſee the Inſtrument in the *Records*. (*t*)

(*t*) See *Records*, Num. 103.

Nov. 2. *Archbiſhop* Bancroft's *Death*.

I ſhall conclude the Year with the Death of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*. The Character of this Prelate may be collected from the foregoing Hiſtory; and therefore I ſhall take Leave of his Memory in a Word or two. This Prelate was extracted from a Gentleman's Family in *Lancaſhire*, and bred in *Cambridge*. He was a learned Controverſialiſt, and an excellent Preacher; a great Stateſman, a vigilant Governor, and fill'd his See to great Commendation.

The *See* of *Canterbury* being vacant, ſeveral of the Biſhops in Town met to conſult about *Bancroft*'s Succeſſor, And here the great Learning and Piety of *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Ely*, gave him the Preference to that Station. The Biſhops thus agreeing in his Merit, recommended him to the King. And believing his Majeſty diſpoſed to a Concurrence, and that there was no Occaſion for ſoliciting any farther, they either retir'd to the Country, or gave over their Application. And thus by deſiſting too ſoon, the Deſign miſcarried; for the Earl of *Dunbar* taking Advantage of this Overſight, put in ſtrongly for *Abbot*, Biſhop of *London*, and got him tranſlated to *Canterbury*. The King's pitching upon *Abbot* inſtead of *Andrews* was no Advantage to the Church. But of this the Reader will ſee more in the Courſe of the Hiſtory.

The next Year the *Tranſlation* of the Bible was printed. In this Work the Originals were not only carefully conſulted, but the *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *French*, and *Dutch* Verſions inſpected and compar'd.

The King's Declaration againſt Vorſtius.

About this Time the King ſolicited the *States* of the United Provinces againſt entertaining *Vorſtius* in their Dominions. His Majeſty happen'd to read two of this Divine's Books in his Progreſs. One was intituled *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, dedicated to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and the other *Exegeſis Apologetica*, dedicated to the *States*. Theſe *Tracts* were ſtuffed with very dangerous Aſſertions, ſome of which, remark'd by the King, are as follow:

Some of this Divines Heterodoxies.

'Tis no Miſperſuaſion to affirm God has a Body, provided we take the Notion of a Body in a laxer Signification.

We do not find it any where written, that the Subſtance of the Deity is abſolutely immenſe, or without Limits: On the other Hand, there are many Places in Scripture which ſeem to imply a contrary Meaning. No Magnitude is actually infinite, and by Conſequence neither can an Attribute of this Kind belong to God.

If all Events were ſettled from Eternity, there would be no Occaſion for continual Providence.

God has more Cauſes of Certainty in the View of Things preſent and paſt, than in Events which are future and contingent.

All Things preciſely decreed by the Deity are afterwards fully comprehended at a ſingle Act of Knowlege: But this cannot be affirm'd of all other Things ſeparately conſider'd; becauſe they exiſt not only ſucceſſively in Time, but contingently, being oftentimes ſuſpended upon Conditions.

Farther, in his Apology, he aſſerts, *The Father has a peculiar, and as it were, a certain limited and reſtrained Being:*

From whence 'tis not difficult to infer, that there are certain internal Accidents in God.

And elſewhere in this Book he diſagrees ſcandalouſly from the receiv'd Doctrine of the Divine Ubiquity: Neither does he make any Scruple to attribute Magnitude and Quantity to God Almighty. (*u*)

(*u*) King James's *Works*, *Pag.* 359.

Upon his Majeſty's Peruſal of theſe Books he wrote to his Ambaſſador, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, to advertiſe the *States* of the Danger from theſe Heterodoxies.

An. Dom. 1611.

The States Anſwer to the King's Admonition.

Their Lordſhips return'd the Ambaſſador a cold Anſwer, and enlarg'd in the Commendations of *Vorſtius*. They acquaint him, “That “the *Curators* of the Univerſity of *Leyden* had “according to ancient Cuſtom made a diligent “Enquiry for ſome Perſon to fill the Divinity-“Chair: That after a long Conſultation they “were inform'd, that at *Steinford*, in the Territories of the Counts of *Tecklenbourg* and *Bentem*, there was one Dr. *Conradus Vorſtius*, a Miniſter, who had reſided there with great Reputation about Fifteen Years: That upon the “Score of his Parts and Learning he was much “eſteem'd by Prince *Maurice*, Landgrave of “*Heſs*, who deſign'd to make him Divinity-Profeſſor in ſome of his *Univerſities*: That this “*Vorſtius* had ſignaliz'd himſelf in Controverſy “againſt the famous Cardinal *Bellarmine*: That “being thus rais'd in his Character, he was in-

Octob. 1. 1611.

“vited into *Holland* by the *Curators* abovemention'd: That in *Auguſt* laſt his Election was, notwithſtanding conteſted by ſome over-buſy People, who had nothing to do in that Affair. And being charg'd with unſound Doctrine, he went to the *Hague* for a publick Juſtification, where no Body appear'd againſt him: That afterwards the Charge of falſe Doctrine being reviv'd upon him, he was brought before a full Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland*: The Cauſe was manag'd againſt him by Six Divines; the *Curators* and Six other Miniſters being preſent. After the Matter had been fully argued on both Sides, the *States* were of Opinion *Vorſtius* had made a ſatisfactory Defence, and that they could ſee no Reaſon for his being refuſ'd the Chair at *Leiden*. Afterwards new Articles of Impeachment being publiſh'd againſt *Vorſtius*, the States reſolv'd to allow him the Equity of another Hearing. They add, 'twas never their Intention to permit any other than the *Reform'd* Religion in *Leiden*: And that if *Vorſtius* held any Thing repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, he ſhould not be admitted Profeſſor: That if his Majeſty of *Great Britain* was fully inform'd of all the Circumſtances, they believ'd he would entertain a favourable Opinion of them: And that they ſhould proceed in the whole Courſe of this Affair with all due Regard to his Majeſty's Admonition.

Id. *Declaration againſt* Vorſtius, *Page* 352.

Before the King receiv'd this Anſwer, ſome of *Vorſtius*'s Books were brought over, and diſpers'd here. About the ſame Time *Bertius*, a Diſciple of *Arminius*, lately dead, had the Impudence, as the King ſpeaks, to ſend a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with a Book *de Apoſtaſia Sanctorum*. The Title of this Book was not only ſhocking to his Majeſty, but he was highly diſpleas'd with the Confidence of the Man for affirming in his Letter, that the Contents of the Book was agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Upon this the King order'd *Vorſtius*'s Books to be publickly burnt in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and both the Univerſities; and then renew'd his Requeſt to the *States* for the Baniſhment of this Divine. His ſecond Letter was deliver'd by the Ambaſſador *Winwood* to the *States* at the *Hague*. 'Tis written in a Strain of Zeal and Expoſtulation, and deſcribes *Vorſtius*'s Hereſy in Tragical Language. He complains of the States, “For giving *Vorſtius* Leave to print his *Apology*, and addreſs it to their Lordſhips: That the Heterodoxies in it are frightfully rank and ſcandalous: And that he does not charge theſe Imputations upon Report, but his own Knowlege.” And here it may be obſerv'd, that his Majeſty both in this, and his firſt Letter, falls hard upon the Memory of *Arminius*, “Calls him the *Enemy of God*, taxes him with downright Hereſy, and puts the *States* in Mind that the Diſputes rais'd by him had embroil'd their Country, and broke them into Factions. Farther, that unleſs they give a ſpeedy Check to theſe Beginnings of Hereſy and Schiſm, they can expect no better Iſſue than the Curſe of God, than Infamy among the Reform'd Churches, and a laſting Diſtraction at Home.

The King's ſecond Letter to the States.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador proteſts againſt their Proceedings.

Notwithſtanding this Warm Expoſtulation, *Vorſtius* and his Family were encourag'd to come into the *States* Territories, receiv'd at *Leiden* with Protection and Reſpect, and treated in the Quality of a publick Profeſſor. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador proteſts againſt this Careſſing *Vorſtius*, tells the *States*, “They had ſuffer'd in their Reputation, and tarniſh'd the Honour of the *Reformation* by theſe Proceedings: That the Alliance between the King of *Great Britain* and their Lordſhips was founded on the Maintenance of the Reform'd Religion: That this publick Correſpondence was injur'd by countenancing ſo notorious a Heretick: And that 'twas ſurprizing their Lorſhips ſhould prefer the Friendſhip of *Vorſtius* to that of his Maſter.

To this Proteſtation the *States*, after ſome Deliberation, return'd this Anſwer, “That notwithſtanding his Majeſty of *Great-Britain* had not yet receiv'd the Satisfaction he might expect in the Buſineſs of *Vorſtius*, they did not queſtion but that the next Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland* would content his Majeſty.

And that People might not be at a Loſs about the King's Reaſons in importuning the *States*, and engaging ſo far in this Matter, his Majeſty aſſigns the Motives in his *Declaration*.

The King's Reaſons for appearing in this Matter.

The *Firſt* was his Zeal for God's Glory. Upon this Head he declares, That had *Vorſtius*'s Miſperſuaſions been grounded upon Queſtions of no greater Importance than thoſe between us and the Papiſts, his Majeſty, though ſorry for ſuch Deviations from Primitive Belief, ſhould not have appear'd with ſo much Earneſtneſs: But *Vorſtius*'s Hereſies are of a much greater Bulk, and of the blackeſt Complexion: He has inſulted the Attributes of God, attack'd the *Creed*, over-turn'd as much as in him lies the Baſis of Religion, and ſtruck at the Vitals of Chriſtianity.

His laſt Book, intituled, *A Chriſtian and Modeſt Anſwer*, is at the beſt Sophiſtical and Evaſive, and in many Places the Heterodoxy is boldly expreſs'd, and lies a-top on the Letter: For the King does not charge him upon Inference and remote Reaſoning, but open Senſe, and direct Aſſertion. To give ſome of thoſe many Inſtances extracted by his Majeſty:

Vorſtius's *Apology ſhort and evaſive.*

To this Queſtion, *Has God a Body?* *Vorſtius*'s Anſwer is, *If we ſpeak properly the Deity muſt be ſaid to be incorporeal; however, in a looſer Way of Expreſſion, 'tis no Abſurdity to attribute a Body to God.*

Is God equally immutable in his Will as he is in his Eſſence? He anſwers in the Negative.

Is God ſubject to Accidents? His Anſwer is, *Not to any real ones: However, God by his voluntary Motion receives Accidents, largely taken, into himſelf.*

Does God conjecture upon future Events by Ratiocination or Diſcourſe? He anſwers, *God does ſometimes in ſome Manner proceed by Way of Principle and Inference, and, as it were, gueſſes upon Things uncertain. But this muſt be metaphorically underſtood, and without any Notion of Imperfection. And in ſhort, the Manner of his Conjectures are different from human Reaſoning, and wholly Divine.*

Id. *Pag.* 373, *&c.*

And whereas he had before categorically aſſerted that the Arguments us'd by the Fathers for the Eternal Generation of our Saviour, are inconcluſive and trifling, he now endeavours to ſcreen the Slander, and take Shelter in a qualified Expreſſion, and pretends to defend himſelf by ſaying, that *ſome* of the Proofs fall ſhort of Satiſfaction.

The

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of Cant.*

The King's *Second* Reaſon for giving the *States* this Warning againſt *Vorſtius*, was out of the Affection his Majeſty had for his Neighbours and Allies, and the Common Charity one Chriſtian owes another.

And *Thirdly*, He was apprehenſive theſe Heterodoxies might croſs the Seas, and reach his Majeſty's Dominions: That the Fame of the Univerſity of *Leyden* drew a great many of the young People of his Subjects thither: That *Miſbelief* was apt to catch upon unwary Minds, and ſpread from one Country to another: That ſo fatal a Contagion ought to be prevented with all the Precaution imaginable: That Hereſy was more dangerous than the Plague: And that People had much better be poiſon'd in their Veins, than in their Principles. In the Cloſe, his Majeſty ſolemnly declares, That the Motives which carried him thus far, were only a Regard to the Honour of God, the Intereſt of Truth, and the Happineſs of Mankind: And that he had not the leaſt Intention to dictate to the *States*, or ſet Rules to their Government.

Id. *Pag.* 380.

About this Time Archbiſhop *Abbot* being inform'd that ſome depriv'd Miniſters in the Dioceſe of *Peterborough* exercis'd their Function, wrote to the Biſhop of *Peterborough* to reſtrain this Liberty. 'Tis true, the Archbiſhop was commanded to advertiſe this Dioceſan of his Remiſſneſs: However, 'tis an Argument that *Abbot* was not ſo embaraſs'd with Scruples as to refuſe the following ſuch ſtrict Directions for Conformity, though 'tis poſſible he would not have led in them.

The Condition of Religion in the Iſlands of Jerſey *and* Guernſey *ſince the Reformation.*

I ſhall now give the Reader ſome Account of the State of Religion in the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*. And to give a more entire View of the Matter, I ſhall diſpenſe a little with the Regards of Time. To begin; The Reformation of Religion in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth was ſettled in this Iſland; the *Engliſh* Liturgy being tranſlated into *French*, and ſent thither. But when Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, the Communion of the Church of *Rome* recover'd. This Way of Worſhip being diſcharg'd again in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, theſe Iſlands fell into the other Extream: Great Numbers of the *French* Proteſtants, now harraſs'd in their own Country, retir'd hither for Shelter. Theſe *French* Refugees, forming their Churches by the Model of *Geneva*, brought a great many of the Inhabitants of *Jerſey* to a Diſlike of the *Engliſh* Reformation. Theſe Singularities were too much encourag'd by the Governors, who either out of Miſtake, Popularity, or mercenary Views, countenanc'd that Party. Theſe *Hugonots* poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Pariſh-Church of St. *Helier*, where the Sieur *de la Ripaudiere* preach'd, and adminiſter'd the Sacrament, in the Manner of *Geneva*, and ſoon after a ſolemn Addreſs was made to the Queen to bring all the other Churches to *Calvin*'s Plan.

This Application miſcarried at Court. 'Tis granted the Queen allow'd them the Church they had already; but in all other Pariſhes of the Iſland the *Engliſh* Service was ſtrictly injoin'd, as appears by a Letter of the Privy-Council to the *Bailiff* and *Jurats*, bearing Date *Auguſt* the 5th, 1565. However, all the other Churches of this Iſland ſoon follow'd the Example of that of St. *Helier*, and the *Engliſh* Liturgy was generally laid aſide. This gave great Encouragement to the Puritans in *England*, who to improve the Opportunity diſpatch'd *Cartwright* and *Snape* into theſe Iſlands. Theſe leading Nonconformiſts procur'd a Synod of the Miniſters and *Elders* of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, *Sark*, and *Alderney*. 'Twas held at the Town of St. *Peter's-Port* in *Guernſey*, *June* the 28th, 1576. And here the Governors of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* being preſent, a Form of *Claſſical Diſcipline* digeſted in Twenty Chapters, and each Chapter into ſeveral Articles, was agreed to be us'd in the Four Iſlands. This Diſcipline afterwards was confirm'd by another *Synod* held in *Guernſey October* — 1597. And which is ſomewhat remarkable, the Governors took the Liberty to countenance this illegal Aſſembly, and throw the Liturgy out of thoſe Churches where the Uſe of it was expreſly injoin'd by the Queen. However, theſe Politicians found their Account in the Matter; for by thus reforming the *Reformation*, they *ſeculariz'd* the Church Lands, and ſwept the Revenues of both the *Deaneries* into their Coffers.

At King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, the Puritanical Party addreſs him with a falſe Suggeſtion that the Diſcipline had been allow'd by Queen *Elizabeth*. Upon this Miſrepreſentation they procur'd a Letter from his Majeſty under the Privy-Seal in Confirmation of the pretended Permiſſion in the late Reign. The Letter runs thus:

James, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *&c. unto all thoſe whom theſe Preſents ſhall concern, greeting. Whereas we our ſelves, and the Lords of our Council, have been given to underſtand, that it pleas'd God to put into the Heart of the late Queen, our moſt dear Siſter, to permit and allow unto the Iſles of* Jerſey *and* Guernſey, *Parcel of the Dutchy of* Normandy, *the Uſe of the Government of the Reformed Churches of the ſaid Dutchy, whereof they have ſtood poſſeſs'd until our coming to the Crown. For this Cauſe We, deſiring to follow the Pious Example of our ſaid Siſter in this Behalf, as well for the Advancement of the Glory of Almighty God, as for the Edification of his Church, do will and ordain, that our ſaid Iſles ſhall quietly enjoy their ſaid Liberty in the Uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, there now eſtabliſh'd: Forbidding any one to give them any Trouble or Impeachment, ſo long as they contain themſelves in our Obedience, and attempt not any Thing againſt the Power, and ſacred Word of God. Given at our Palace at* Hampton-Court *the 8th of* Auguſt, *in the firſt Year of our Reign of* England, 1603.

This Letter was read in a *Synod* of both Iſlands, held in *Guernſey* in the Year 1605. But the Indulgence was but of ſhort Continuance. For Sir *John Peyton*, who ſucceeded Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, was no Friend to the *Geneva* Platform. And over and above, he might poſſibly have ſome ſecret Inſtructions for recovering the Uſe of the *Engliſh* Liturgy. For this Purpoſe, an Opportunity offer'd upon the following Occaſion. The Curate of St. *John's* being lately dead the *Colloquy*, or Eccleſiaſtical Meeting of the Iſland, purſuant to their late Method, appointed one *Brevin* to ſucceed him. The Governor, the King's Attorney, and other Officers of the *Crown*, proteſted publickly againſt theſe Proceedings, alledging the Prerogative was injur'd, and the Royal Revenues leſſen'd by this pretended Privilege. However, their Remonſtrance was overrul'd, and the *Colloquy* carried their Point. But the *Proteſtors* refuſing to acquieſce, exhibited a Bill of Articles to the Lords of the *Council* againſt the *Jerſey* Miniſters. The Complaint ſet forth, *That theſe Miniſters had uſurp'd the Patronage of all* *the Benefices in the Iſland: That they admitted Men to Livings without any Form or Preſentation: That by this Means his Majeſty loſt the Profits of Vacancies and Firſt-Fruits: That by the Connivance, to ſpeak ſoftly, of the former Governors, they exercis'd a Kind of Arbitrary Juriſdiction, making and nulling Laws at their own Diſcretion. To prevent theſe Inconveniencies, they humbly pray his Majeſty to ſettle ſuch a Diſcipline as may be moſt ſuitable to the Iſland, and leſs prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal.*

This being look'd on as a reaſonable Complaint, Commiſſioners were ſent into the Iſland to rectify Diſorders, and recover the Church to a better Eſtabliſhment. To theſe Commiſſioners the *Jerſey* Miniſters gave in their Anſwer under two Heads: Firſt, That their Exerciſe of Juriſdiction, and aſſigning Incumbents to void Pariſhes, were principal Branches of Church-Diſcipline, and confirm'd to them as ſuch by his Majeſty. Secondly, That the Payment of Firſt-Fruits and Tenths had never been demanded ſince they were diſengag'd from the See of *Conſtance*.

But this Anſwer not giving Satisfaction to the Council of *England*, and the Conteſt remaining undecided, the *Hugonotick* Church loſt Ground a-pace, and was much embarraſs'd. For whereas formerly thoſe who enter'd upon any publick Office, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, uſed to ſwear the Maintenance of the *Diſcipline*; now that Security was refus'd, and the Oath cenſur'd as dangerous and unwarrantable. 'Twas likewiſe their Cuſtom to require Subſcription to the *Geneva* Regulation of all ſuch as receiv'd the Holy Euchariſt. But now the King's Attorney, and others in that Intereſt, choſe rather to abſtain from that Sacrament than communicate upon thoſe Terms. Their *Elders* likewiſe, who thought themſelves impregnable againſt Proſecution, were dragg'd into the Temporal Courts, and ſtripp'd of their pretended Privilege. Nor had they much better Quarter in their *ſacred Conſiſtory*. For the *Jurats* in their *Cohu* or Town-Hall took the Freedom to reverſe their Sentence, and ſuperſede their Eccleſiaſtical Proceſs. And which is common in a Turn of Diſadvantage, their Affairs went farther backwards: For the People finding the Miniſters ſink in their Credit, refus'd to pay their Tythes, and forc'd them to a Remedy at Law. And to finiſh their Misfortune, a *Bill* was preferr'd againſt them in the Common *Cohu*. And here they were charg'd with Hypocriſy in Converſation, Tyrannick Exerciſe of Juriſdiction, and ſecret Practice againſt the Governor.

An. Dom. 1612. To weather this Storm, and reſtore their Affairs, they addreſs the Earl of *Salisbury*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*. This Nobleman ſeeming well pleas'd with their Application, advis'd them to ſolicit their Brethren of *Guernſey* to join with them in a Petition to the King. This Advice, though carrying an Air of Regard, had ſomething of Art and further Meaning at the Bottom: For the King by this Means would not only gain Time, but by engaging thoſe at *Guernſey* in the ſame Addreſs, they muſt of Conſequence come under the ſame Settlement. But the Death of the Treaſurer happening ſoon after, the Project fell with him.

And now their Singularities drew another Misfortune upon them. The Pariſh of St. *Peter's* falling void by the Death of the Incumbent, the Governor preſents one *Aaron Meſſering*. This Miniſter, a Native of *Jerſey*, had ſtudied in *Oxford*, and receiv'd Prieſt's Orders from *Bridges*, Biſhop of that Dioceſe. An. Dom. 1615. This Approach to the Church of *England* was highly reſented by the *Colloquy*. They were poſitively reſolv'd againſt his Admiſſion to the Cure. And here his taking a Preſentation from the Governor was reckon'd a much leſſer Crime than his Orders from a Biſhop. The forcing a Man of ſuch a Latitude upon them, was ſtrongly clamour'd againſt. They fancied Popery was breaking in, and reſolv'd upon the utmoſt Oppoſition. Upon this a new Information was preferr'd againſt them to the Lords of the Council. The *Bill* amongſt other Things ſuggeſted the Inhabitants were diſſatisfied with the preſent Diſcipline, and that moſt of them might eaſily be prevail'd with to comply with the *Engliſh* Form.

An. Dom. 1618. This Complaint brought the Governor and the Miniſters to Court. The latter kept cloſe to the common Cauſe: But before the Matter was determin'd, *De la Place*, one of the ſoliciting Miniſters, deſerted from his Brethren. Some of the Governor's Party it ſeems had tempted the Ambition of this Divine, and gain'd him. He was made to believe that if the Church Government was alter'd, and the Deanery reſtor'd, he would certainly be the Perſon for that Preferment. Upon this View he betray'd the Secrets of his Party, and furniſh'd thoſe in the Governor's Intereſt with Intelligence. And now the Miniſters not being unanimous in their Requeſt, and receiving an immediate Anſwer to their Objections, the Strength of their Defence being diſcover'd before-hand by *De la Place*. Things ſtanding thus unreſolv'd and broken, Archbiſhop *Abbot* at the Council-Table acquainted them with the King's Pleaſure to this Effect, *That for the ſpeedy Redreſs of Diſorders, 'twas thought moſt convenient to revive the Office and Authority of the Dean; that the Book of Common-Prayer ſhould be reprinted in* French, *and us'd in their Churches; but that the Miniſters ſhould not be tied to it in every Particular. That* Meſſering *ſhould be admitted to his Living; and that upon theſe Conditions they might return to their reſpective Cures.*

This Award meeting with no quick Compliance, the Council order'd the Miniſters to make Choice of three Perſons of Character out of their own Body; and that the Names of theſe being return'd to the Board, his Majeſty would nominate one of them for the Deanery.

1620. But this Expedient not being reliſh'd by the Miniſters, Mr. *David Bandinell*, an *Italian*, then Miniſter of St. *Mary's*, was ſent off for *England* with the Governor's Recommendation. And the Archbiſhop finding him anſwerable to Report, he was made Dean by his Majeſty's Letters Patents, and the Profits and Juriſdiction of that Office veſted in him. And to direct the Management ſome Articles, call'd the *Interim* were drawn and ſign'd by the King. Theſe were to continue in Force 'till a Body of *Canons* ſhould be form'd for that Purpoſe. By this *Interim* the Miniſters were at Liberty not to bid the Holidays, to forbear the Uſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Wearing the Surplice, and to give the Holy Euchariſt to thoſe who ſcrupled receiving it kneeling. The Book of Canons, afterwards drawn up by the Dean and Miniſters, was examin'd and corrected by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Lord-Keeper, and by *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in whoſe Dioceſe the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* lay. For which Reaſon 'twas order'd in the King's Letters Patents which confirm'd theſe Canons, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*

1623. *The Deanery reviv'd in* Jerſey, *and the Iſland brought to a Conformity with the Church of* England.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

ſhould by his Commiſſion under the Epiſcopal Seal as *Ordinary* of the Place authorize the Dean to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, purſuant to the Tenor of the Canons. And thus the Iſland was recover'd to an entire Conformity with the Church of *England*.

The ſame Regulations had taken Place in *Guernſey*, had not the Rupture with *Spain* diverted the King to other Affairs. This Reign and the next growing embarraſs'd, ſome of the Miniſters made uſe of the Juncture to return to their Nonconformity, particularly *De la Place* above-mention'd, reſenting his miſſing the Deanery, retir'd into *Guernſey*, and made a bold Oppoſition againſt the *Engliſh* Liturgy. *(w)*

(w) Heylin's *Hiſt. Preſbyt.*

As to *Jerſey*, 'twas firſt Parcel of the *Dioceſe* of *Dol* in *Bretagne*, and ſo continued from the Time of St. *Sampſon* 'till the coming of the *Normans* into *Neuſtria*. Theſe Strangers happening to conteſt with the *Britons* about their Frontiers, withdrew theſe Iſlands of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, *&c.* from the Obedience of their Prelate, and annexed them to a See of their own, to *Coûtance* in *Normandy*.

March 18. An. Dom. 161½.

Legat *and* Wightman *burnt for Hereſy.*

And now to come back to the Order of Time. One *Bartholomew Legget* was convented for *Arrianiſm* before *King*, Biſhop of *London*. At his appearing he denied the Authority of the Court, and perſiſting in his Obſtinacy, was pronounc'd an incorrigible Heretick, and deliver'd over to the Secular Magiſtrate. Upon which a *Writ De Heretico Comburendo* being directed to the Sheriffs in *London*, he was burnt in *Smithfield*.

April 11.

About a Month forward, *Edward Wightman*, of *Burton* upon *Trent*, convicted of Hereſy before *Neile*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, was burnt at *Litchfield*. This unhappy Perſon was charg'd with the Hereſies of *Simon Magus*, *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, of *Valentinian*, *Arius* and *Macedonius*, of *Manes*, *Photinus*, and the *Anabaptiſts*. *(x)*

(x) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory, Book* 10.

The next Year, at a Parliament held at *Edinburgh*, the *Concluſions* agreed in the late general *Aſſembly* at *Glaſgow* were confirm'd, with ſome Explanations. To mention ſomething of this latter Kind. In caſe the *Dioceſan* ſhould refuſe to admit a qualified Miniſter preſented by the Patron, 'tis lawful for the Patron to enter upon the Profits of the Living, and keep them in his Hand. And here, either the Patron, or the Pariſh unprovided with a Paſtor, may complain to the Archbiſhop, and in caſe the Archbiſhop refuſes to give due Satisfaction, the Lords of the *Privy Council*, upon the Party's Complaint, are impower'd to direct Letters of *Horning* againſt the *Ordinary*. But here 'tis provided, that if any Archbiſhop or Biſhop ſhall perceive the Perſon preſented guilty of *Simony* with the Patron, in not reſerving a ſufficient Maintenance for him and his Succeſſors; if this can be prov'd either by the Party's Oath, or other Evidence, in ſuch Caſes the *Ordinary* may lawfully refuſe the Perſon preſented: 'Tis likewiſe enacted, That when any Controverſy of this Nature ſhall happen, it ſhall be decided by the Lords of *Council* and *Seſſion*. And to conclude, by this *Statute* the *Act* made in the Year 1592, and all other reſembling *Acts* in Favour of Preſbytery, and derogatory to the Articles of the general *Aſſembly* at *Glaſgow*, are repeal'd. *(y)*

Octob. Anno Dom. 1612.

(x) Jac. 6. Parl. 21. cap. 1.

The Death of Prince *Henry*, which happen'd in *November* this Year, was extremely regretted. He died in the 19th Year of his Age, and was a very promiſing Prince. By this Calamity at Court, the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, was poſtpon'd till *February* following.

James I. *King.*

The Divorce between the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lady *Francis Howard* occurs next. A Commiſſion of Delegacy to Six Biſhops, to Two Privy Councellors learned in the Law, and Four Civilians, was iſſued to try the Cauſe. I ſhall wave relating the Grounds for the Divorce, or the Circumſtances of the Evidence. The *Reader*, if he pleaſes, may ſee the whole Detail in the *Annals* of King *James*. *(z)* The Judges who concurr'd in the Sentence, were *Bilſon*, Biſhop of *Winchester*; *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Neile*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and *Buckeridge*, Biſhop of *Rochester*; Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Sir *Thomas Parry*, and Sir *Daniel Dun*. Now, tho' the Men were unexceptionable, and the Proceſs regular, and manag'd in the Forms of Law, the Judgment did not eſcape uncenſured. Two of the *Delegates*, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and *King*, Biſhop of *London*, were againſt the Divorce. The Firſt wrote the Reaſons of his Diſſent, which were anſwer'd by his Majeſty.

The Earl of Eſſex, *and the Lady* Francis Howard *divorced.*

(z) *Annals of King* James, &c. *pag.* 1, &c.

To proceed; *Nicholas Wadham* of *Merryfield* in the County of *Somerſet* Eſq; bequeath'd Four hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and Six thouſand Pounds in Money towards the Building and endowing a College in *Oxford*; leaving his Wife Executrix, and ſome Feoffees in Truſt for the Performance of his *Will*. The Revenue ſettled was for the Maintenance of a Warden, Fifteen Fellows, the ſame Number of Scholars, Two Chaplains, Two Clerks, beſides Officers and Servants. *(a)*

Wadham *College founded.*

(a) Wood Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſ. Oxon. Lib. 2.

Some few Years ſince the famous *Iſaac Caſaubon*, was invited into *England* by the King, and made Prebendary of *Canterbury*. He was born at *Bourdeaux*, a ſmall Town in *Dauphiny*. *Joſeph Scaliger* commends him for the beſt *Græcian* of his Time. He wrote ſeveral Things. His laſt Work was a Critick upon *Baronius*'s *Annals*. Theſe *Exercitations*, as he calls them, were anſwer'd by *Roſweidus* a Jeſuit, and defended by *Capellus*, Divinity Profeſſor at *Sedan*.

The Death of Iſaac Caſaubon.

Anno Dom. 1614.

This Year the King made a Progreſs to *Cambridge*, where the Comedy call'd *Ignoramus*, was acted to entertain him. In this Play, the barbarous *Latin* us'd by the common Lawyers, is expos'd with Advantage enough. This Satyrical Diverſion was reſented by the *long Robe*, and as 'tis ſaid, occaſion'd *Selden*'s Writing his *Hiſtory of Tythes*, by Way of Revenge: But of this more afterwards.

The King's treating *Arminius* with hard Language in his *Declaration* againſt *Vorſtius*, was ſomewhat miſconſtrued by the *Puritans*. They thought his Majeſty much farther in their Sentiments, than he really was. Upon this Miſperſuaſion they held up their Tenents, and puſh'd the Points of *Calviniſm* with more freedom than formerly. For the Purpoſe, *Calvin* had publiſh'd a hideous Notion concerning our Saviour's Paſſion; and maintain'd, That he ſuffer'd the Torments of Hell, even to the Horrors of Deſpair: This ſcandalous Opinion happening to be animadverted on by one *Corbet* in a *Good-Friday Sermon* at *Oxford*, the Preacher was ſmartly reprimanded by the *Repetitioner*, for taking this Freedom. To give another Inſtance, Dr. *John Houſon*, Canon of *Chriſt Church*, a worthy Perſon and formerly Vice-Chancellour, was order'd a Recantation, for ſpeaking to the Diſadvantage of the *Geneva Annotations*; which was ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering theſe *Annotations* had been cenſured for ſeditious Doctrine by his Majeſty

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The King's Directions to the Univerſity, with Reference to the Study of Divinity.

at the *Hampton-Court Conference*: And laſtly, Dr. *William Laud*, then Preſident of St. *John's* College, for declaring himſelf againſt *Calviniſm*, was charg'd with Popery in a publick Sermon preach'd upon *Eaſter-Day*, by Dr. *Robert Abbot*, then Vice Chancellor and Divinity Profeſſor. This over enterprizing Temper in the *Puritanical* Party, 'tis thought, occaſion'd his Majeſty's publiſhing ſome Directions for the *Univerſities*; in which, among other Things 'tis enjoin'd, *That young Students in Divinity ſhould be directed to ſtudy ſuch Books as were moſt agreeable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Church of* England; *and be excited to beſtow their Time in the Fathers and Councils; Schoolmen, Hiſtories, and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon* Compendiums *and Abbreviators, making them the Grounds of thoſe ſacred Studies.* This was the firſt remarkable Check given to *Calviniſm* in this Reign.

The Progreſs of Calviniſm *in the Kingdom of* Ireland.

And now to take a ſhort View of the Condition of Religion in *Ireland*. The *Puritan* Perſuaſion had for ſome Time gotten great Footing in this Kingdom, the late Reign proved but Unfortunate to that Church. Here the Lay-managers to enrich themſelves, ſtruck in with the Nonconformiſts againſt the Hierarchy. The Revenues of the Prelates and Cathedrals were ſet to Sale; and the Ravage was carried on to ſo great a Calamity, that ſome *Sees* had nothing towards a Competency left to maintain a Biſhop. For which Reaſons ſeveral Dioceſes were thrown together to make a tolerable Subſiſtence. Thus the Biſhopricks of *Ardagh* and *Kilmore*, *Oſſory* and *Kilkenny*, *Down* and *Connor*, *Waterford* and *Liſmore*, *Cork* and *Roſs*, &c. were united.

This Poverty reach'd the inferior *Orders*. For the Pariſh Tythes being moſtly appropriated to religious Houſes, fell to the *Crown* at the Diſſolution; afterwards King *Henry* the VIIIth, and his Succeſſors convey'd them to their Favourites: And thus they were now alienated from the Church, and turn'd to Lay-Fees. The Vicaridges were generally ſunk to a lamentable Proviſion: Inſomuch, that in the Province of *Connaught*, the common Allowance to the Vicar amounted but to Forty Shillings *per Annum*, and ſometimes but to Sixteen. Thus the Church Revenues being ſeiz'd, the Authority of the Biſhops and Clergy went off of Courſe, and the People follow'd their own Fancy in the Choice of Religion: And in this deſpicable Condition, the Church of *Ireland* was left at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.

At the *Hampton-Court Conference* the King propos'd the ſending Preachers into *Ireland*, complaining he was but half a Monarch in that Kingdom: That nothing but their Bodies were Subject to his Authority; for their Conſciences were under the Pope's Command. However, it does not appear any Expedient was tried to bring the *Iriſh* farther into the *Reformation* till after the Year 1607: About which Time the Earl of *Ter-Owen*, *Ter-Connel*, Sir *John Odbagharty*, and other Noblemen of the *North*, quitted the Iſland with their Families, and left their Eſtates to the King's Diſpoſal. Upon this, the Plantation of *Ulſter* was undertaken by the City of *London*: Theſe Adventurers fortified *Coleraine*, built *Londonderry*, and purchas'd a great Tract of Land in the adjacent Parts. But the Planting this Province was more vigorouſly purſued by ſome of the *Scots*, who tranſported numerous Colonies. Theſe Planters improved the Country, and brought Preaching into the Churches where they ſettled. But being of the *Presbyterian* Perſuaſion, they form'd the Church upon their own Scheme. And as for Epiſcopal Government, and the *Engliſh Common-Prayer*, nothing was more deſpis'd and neglected.

The Difference between the Engliſh *and* Iriſh *Articles.*

And thus *Calviniſm* advancing by Degrees, both in Diſcipline and Doctrine, the latter was at laſt receiv'd as the publick Belief of the *Iriſh* Church. Thus the *Articles* of the Church of *England* not paſſing the Teſt, the Divines there went ſo far in their Singularities, as to bring in a *Confeſſion* of their own. The Draught was refer'd to the Conduct of Dr. *James Uſher*, then Provoſt of *Dublin* College, and afterwards Lord Primate. By this Gentleman's Management the *Lambeth* Articles rejected at the *Hampton-Court Conference*, were taken into the *Confeſſion*. *Secondly*, An Article was framed to juſtify the Morality of the Sunday Sabbath; and requiring the Spending it wholly in religious Exerciſes. *Thirdly*, Something of *Calvin*'s Notion concerning our Saviour's Agony and Deſcent into Hell is maintain'd. *Fourthly*, Forbearing Fleſh upon certain Days of Abſtinence, is declar'd not to be done upon the Score of Mortification, but for politick Conſiderations. *Fifthly*, All Clergymen are ſuppos'd, lawfully called, who have their Buſineſs aſſign'd them by thoſe who have Authority in the Church: But that theſe authoriz'd Perſons are none but Biſhops, is not aſſerted. *Sixthly*, The Power of the *Keys* is ſaid to be only *Declarative*, which expounds away one main Branch of the ſacerdotal Commiſſion, and makes the Apoſtolick Privilege of *binding* and *looſing* ſignify nothing. The Pope is made Antichriſt, purſuant to the Doctrine of the Calviniſtick *Synod* at *Gappe* in *Dauphiny*. And laſtly, The Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, is paſs'd over in Silence; as if 'twas done on Purpoſe to avoid aſſerting the Diſtinction between this *Order*, and that of Prieſts. Thus *Uſher*'s private Opinions were thrown into the *Articles* for the Church of *Ireland*, paſs'd in the *Convocation* there this Year, and ratified by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter* in the King's Name.

Anno Dom. 1615.

Conjectures upon the Grounds why his Majeſty confirm'd the Iriſh *Articles.*

As to his Majeſty's Sentiment, 'twas plainly different from many of theſe Deciſions: How then came it about that the *Articles* were confirm'd by his Authority? There are ſeveral Conjectures to ſatisfy this Queſtion. *Firſt*, 'Tis ſaid Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and *James Mountague*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, had the Aſcendant at Court in Church Affairs: Now theſe Prelates had formerly undertaken the Defence of ſome, or moſt of theſe Opinions. *Secondly*, The King's engaging ſo earneſtly in the Controverſy with *Vorſtius*, and taking Part with the Prince of *Orange* againſt *Barnevelt*, and the *Remonſtrants*, might probably preſs him with his own Precedent; and thus he might be prevail'd with not to reject thoſe Opinions in *Ireland*, which had been countenanc'd by him in *Holland*. *Laſtly*, 'Twas no unuſual Method with this Prince to balance one extreme, by throwing Weight into another: Thus the *Papiſts* were ſometimes countenanc'd againſt the *Puritans*, and the *Puritans* againſt the *Papiſts*: That by this Means the Growth of each Diviſion might be check'd, and the *Engliſh Reformation* better ſecured. Whether the King was determin'd by theſe Motives, or by which of them, is uncertain. However, the *Puritans* made their Advantage of the *Ratification*: And when they happen'd to be pinch'd in any of the Points above-mention'd, their Way was to take Shelter in the *Iriſh Articles*, and appeal to King *James*'s Teſtimony.

Abbot (George) Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

This Year, *King*, Biſhop of *London*, conſecrated a Chappel at *Edmington*, ſituate near the Houſe of *John Weld* Eſq; The Conſecration Prayer ſtands thus:

Biſhop King's *Form for conſecrating a Chappel.*

O moſt merciful Father, the Heaven is thy Throne, and the Earth is thy Footſtool, what Houſe then can be built for thee! Or what Place is there that thou ſhould reſt in! But yet ſince it has ever been thy Delight to be with the Sons of Men, therefore in all Ages of the World, thy Servants have ſeparated and Hallowed certain Places from all profane and common Uſes unto thy Divine Service, either by thy ſpecial Commandment, or by the Inſpiration of thy bleſſed Spirit. So Adam *had his Oratory in Paradiſe, and* Jacob *his praying Place in the Fields.* Moſes *his holy Ground in the Wilderneſs, and the Children of* Iſrael *their Tabernacle for thy Worſhip in the Land of Promiſe; until it pleas'd thee at the laſt to put into the Heart of King* Solomon *to build a Temple to thy Honour in* Jeruſalem, *admirable for Beauty, unvaluable for Riches, renown'd for Sanctity throughout all the World; whither the Tribes of* Iſrael *did aſſemble Three Times a Year to offer Sacrifices and Oblations unto thee: And afterwards, thy People being inflamed with the Zeal of thine Houſe, added daily unto their Mother-Church, leſſer Synagogues in every Town. By which godly Examples reveal'd in thy Word, the Chriſtian Churches in their Succeſſion have made and conſecrated Houſes unto thee, as well for the Celebration of Divine Ordinances and Preaching of thy heavenly Word, as for the Invocation of thy great Name and Adminiſtration of thy Holy Sacraments. For the Temple is the Court of Audience wherein thou doſt ſit to hear our Prayers, and it is our Heaven upon Earth wherein we aſſemble and meet together to laud and magnify thy glorious Majeſty. And does not Reaſon and Religion enforce us to this Work? For ſhall the Sparrow have an Houſe, and the Swallow her Neſt, and ſhall we not find out an Houſe for thee, O Lord, our Redeemer? Shall we which are but Duſt and Aſhes build unto our ſelves ceil'd and beautified Houſes for our worldly Affairs, yea and for our Pleaſures; and ſhall we not build and dedicate ſome Houſes for thy Worſhip, unto thy great and fearful Name? And repay, as it were, the Tythes of our dwelling Places back again unto thee? For all Things come from thee, and we can give thee but thy own. Accept therefore, we beſeech thee, moſt gracious Father, this our bounden Duty; and becauſe, except thou build the Houſe, they labour but in vain that build it, ſanctify this Houſe with thy gracious Preſence, which is erected unto the Honour of thy Service. Now therefore ariſe, O Lord, and come unto this Place of Reſt; let thine Eyes be open to this Houſe Night and Day. Let thine Ears be ready towards the Prayers of thy Children, which they ſhall pour forth to thee in this Place. And let thine Heart delight to dwell here perpetually. And whenever thy Servants ſhall make their Petitions unto thee in this Houſe, either to beſtow thy good Graces and Bleſſings upon them, or to remove thy heavy Puniſhments and Judgments from them, hear thou from Heaven thy dwelling Place, and when thou heareſt, have Mercy, and grant, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that here and elſewhere thy Prieſts may be clothed with Righteouſneſs, and that all the Saints may rejoice in thy Salvation: So that when we ſhall ceaſe to pray to thee in theſe earthly Temples, we may at the laſt praiſe thee in thy glorious Temple, not made with Hands, but eternal in the Heavens, for thy dear Son, our bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his Sake, who lives and reigns with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, one God, World without End.* Amen.

After this a Pſalm was ſung, and the Biſhop diſmiſs'd the Congregation with his Bleſſing.

(*b*) King. Regiſt. *Fol.* 401.

James I. King.

The ſame Form was uſed at the Conſecration of a Chappel in *Clay-Hall* in the Pariſh of *Barkin* in *Eſſex*, belonging to Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Grandfather to the late Vicount *Hatton*. The Chappel was conſecrated by *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*. (*c*)

(*c*) Vaughan. Regiſt. *Fol.* 406. Septem. 15. *1616.*

Anno Dom. *1616.*

Biſhop Bilſon's *Death and Character.*

Wood Athen. Oxon.

In *June* the next Year, *Thomas Bilſon*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, departed this Life. His great Grand-father *Arnold Bilſon*, a high *German*, married a Daughter of the Duke of *Bavaria*. This Prelate, born in *Wincheſter*, and bred at *New-College*, was afterwards School-Maſter of *Wincheſter*, and then Warden of the College. His firſt *See* was that of *Worceſter*, from whence he was tranſlated to *Wincheſter* in the Year 1597. He was a Perſon of great Learning, particularly a good Linguiſt, and well read in the *Fathers* and Schoolmen. He was an Author of Character, and Writ in Defence of the Church of *England*, both againſt the *Papiſts* and *Puritans*. His Book intitled, *The true Difference between Chriſtian Subjection, and Unchriſtian Rebellion*, gives a dangerous Latitude to Subjects in ſome Caſes. 'Tis ſaid to be written at the Inſtance of Queen *Elizabeth*, who upon her Undertaking the Protection of the *Dutch*, was willing to put the beſt Colours upon their Revolt from the King of *Spain*. In his *perpetual Government of Chriſt's Church*, the Patriarchal Power with Reſpect to Religion, is aſſerted in the Fathers of Families before the *Law*; this Authority, as he endeavours to prove, was afterwards transferred upon the Tribe of *Levi*. In this *Tract* the Powers and Extent of Juriſdiction in the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim* is likewiſe conſidered. His *Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings and Deſcent into Hell*, is a learned Work, and levell'd againſt *Calvin* and the *Puritans*.

Auguſt 13. *The Aſſembly at* Aberdeen *decree the Drawing up a Book of Common-Prayer and Canons.* Sept. 1616.

At a general Aſſembly at *Aberdeen* 'twas agreed, That a *Liturgy* or Book of *Common-Prayer* ſhould be compil'd for the Uſe of the Church. That the *Acts* of *General Aſſemblies* ſhould be collected and digeſted into Method for a Rule of *Diſcipline*. The King ſent the *Aſſembly* a Draught of ſeveral *Articles*, but the paſſing them was refus'd at preſent. (*d*)

(*d*) Spotſwood's *Church Hiſtory.*

To return to *England*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having deſired the Opinion of one *Rives* a learned Civilian, concerning the Tranſlation of Biſhops: And whether 'twas within the Power of the Prince to remove them at Pleaſure, from one *See* to another: To this Queſtion, *Abbot* receiv'd a Sort of negative Anſwer, tho' worded with Modeſty and Caution. (*e*)

(*e*) *See Records* N° CV.

Canons of the ancient Church concerning Tranſlations.

Upon this Occaſion it may not be improper to give a brief Report of the Senſe of the ancient Church, with reſpect to *Tranſlations*. To begin with the Apoſtles Canons: 'Tis here decreed, "That 'tis not lawful for a Biſhop to "leave his own Dioceſe, and remove to another, without a juſtifiable Motive: That is, "unleſs he has a fair Proſpect of doing more "Service to the Church upon ſuch a Tranſlation: But even in this Caſe, he is not to "remove without ſtrong Solicitation, and by "the Order of a great Number of Biſhops. (*f*)

(*f*) Canon. Apoſtol. Can. 14.

The *Council* of *Nice* determines the Point to the ſame Senſe, and declares, "That if any "Biſhop quits his own *See*, and ſettles in another; his *Tranſlation* ſhall be void, and he "ſhall be return'd to the Dioceſe to which he "was firſt conſecrated. (*g*) But then this Prohibition is to be underſtood with the Limitation mention'd in the *Apoſtles Canons*.

(*g*) Concil. Nicen. 1. Can. 15. Anno Dom. 325.

Anno Dom. 347.

Notwithſtanding this Proviſion, the *Council* of *Sardica* complain'd, "That Covetouſneſs and Ambition had brought an ill Cuſtom upon the Church: And that 'twas too common a Practice for Biſhops to remove from a leſs City to a greater; and that an Inſtance the other Way, was ſeldom, or never to be met with. From whence 'twas plain they were govern'd by Conſiderations of Intereſt. 'Tis therefore decreed at the Suggeſtion of the famous *Hoſius*, that when *Tranſlations* are thus indirectly manag'd, the Criminal Biſhops ſhall be thrown even out of Lay Communion. (*h*)

To put a Stop to this Prevarication, the *Council* of *Antioch* ſomewhat before reſolv'd the Caſe to the ſame Purpoſe: The *Canon* ſpeaks thus, "If any undioceſed Biſhop * ſeizes a vacant *See* without the Conſent of an entire *Synod*, let him be diſcarded, tho' all the People of the new Dioceſe have concurr'd in his Election:" And to ſettle their Notion of an entire *Synod*, they tell us there muſt be a Metropolitan at the Head of it. (*i*)

* 'Επίσκοπος Σχολάζων.

Anno Dom. 341.

Thus we ſee by the Conſtitutions of the ancient Church *Tranſlations* were put into the Hands of the Biſhops, and not reckned valid when under any other Direction. But in after Ages, the *Canons* were overborn by the *Pontificate* and the *Regale*. And now the Biſhops choſe rather to lie paſſive under the Change, than run the Riſque of a Conteſt, and loſe the Protection of ſuch Sovereign Powers. But by the Way, the Inſtance before us is ſomewhat different: The Caſe put to *Rives* is not whether 'tis in the Prince's Power to aſſiſt the Ambition of a Biſhop, and promote him to a more wealthy and honourable *See*; but whether he may fairly remove him againſt his Will?

The King's Power for granting Commendams, *argued in* Weſtminſter-Hall.

About this Time the King's Power, in granting *Commendams* was diſputed in the Court of *Common-Pleas*, Serjeant *Chibborn* argued againſt the *Crown*, that *Tranſlation* of Biſhops was againſt Common Law: His Proof was the *Canons* of the *Council* of *Sardis*, he meant *Sardica*. But not to mention the giving the *Canons* of a provincial *Council* the ſame Authority with Common Law, is ſomewhat unuſual in a Serjeant; not to mention this, I ſay, what Connexion is there between *Tranſlations* and *Commendams*? Or which Way will the Conſequence hold from one to the other? The Serjeant argues farther, That nothing but Neceſſity could juſtify the King's granting *Commendams*: And that the preſent Caſe would not admit of this Plea: There was no need, he pleaded, for augmenting the Biſhops Revenues by *Commendams*, becauſe no Man is bound to Hoſpitality beyond the Bulk of his Fortune. But this Way of Reaſoning looks ſhort of the Point: For has not a Biſhop an honourable Station both in Church and State? Is it not therefore Neceſſary he ſhould be furniſh'd with a ſuitable Maintenance? With an Eſtate proper to recommend his Character, to enable him to anſwer his Poſt, and do publick Service?

This Caſe of *Commendams* was farther argued by all the Judges. The King being now upon his Progreſs, and advertis'd of the Diſpute, order'd the Attorney-General to acquaint them by Letter, that they ſhould defer their Reſolution till they had conſulted his Majeſty.

The Judges refuſe to ſtay the Proceedings at the King's Order.

The Judges notwithſtanding, proceed to the Argument, and return the King an Anſwer, that they look'd upon his Majeſty's Letter to be contrary to Law; and that their Oath would not give them Leave to obey: And to juſtify themſelves, they cite Two *Acts* of Parliament, *That in Caſe any Letters came to them from the King contrary to Law, they are not to obey them, but proceed to Juſtice.* To this Anſwer Ten of the Judges put their Hands, of which the Chief Juſtices, *Coke* and *Hubbart* were Two. The King replies in a Letter, That the alledging their Oath for their Noncompliance, was a weak and impertinent Pretence: That 'twas very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe his Predeceſſors ſhould be carried off their Guard to ſuch a Degree, as to paſs an *Act* ſo very prejudicial to their Prerogative: That their Oath reach'd only to private Caſes between Subject and Subject, and was deſign'd to prevent the Prince being ſolicited by either of the Parties. And in the Cloſe, commands them not to proceed in the Plea till his Return to *London*.

At his Majeſty's coming to *Town*, the Judges were all ſent for to the *Council-Table*. The King began with taking their Letter in Pieces, and ſhewing their Miſbehaviour with Reſpect both to Matter and Manner. He reprimands them for their Remiſneſs in permitting the *Council* to diſpute his Prerogative at the *Bar*; and tells them 'twas their Duty to check thoſe intemperate Sallies, and not ſuffer ſuch Inſolence upon the *Crown*. Then as to their own Buſineſs, he acquaints them, That deferring their Reſolution upon juſt and neceſſary Reaſons, is neither a Denial nor Delay of Juſtice: 'Tis rather a Pauſe of neceſſary Prudence: Nothing being more proper and adviſeable then to conſult the King where the *Crown* is concern'd. He told them farther, That to ſay the Point was a private Conteſt between the Subject, was wide of the Caſe: For that a Biſhop, the Defendant, pleaded for a *Commendam* only in Virtue of the Prerogative Royal: And beſides, they could not prove either of the Parties ſolicited for Expedition. And laſtly, he let them know their Letter was indecently couch'd, and fail'd in the Form. Upon this all the Judges kneel'd, own'd their Error, and crav'd Pardon. But as to the Matter, the Chief Juſtice *Coke* ſtood upon his Defence; declar'd that his Majeſty's Command for ſtopping the Proceedings, was a Delay of Juſtice, and by Conſequence againſt Law and their Oath: And that as they intended to manage the Pleading, the King's Prerogative ſhould not have been concern'd. To this the King anſwer'd, that for them to pronounce whether his Prerogative was concern'd or not, without conſulting him, was prepoſterous Management. And his Majeſty requir'd the Lord Chancellor to deliver his Opinion, whether he had commanded the Judges any Thing againſt Law, and their Oath.

They acknowledge their Error and ask Pardon.

The Chancellor excuſing himſelf as to the Point of Law, refer'd the Queſtion to the King's Council. Upon this, the Attorney-General *Bacon* declar'd, *That to put off the Day, was no Delay of Juſtice, nor any Failure in their Oath: That the King's Reaſons for this Delay, were only to ſecure his Prerogative*: And therefore puts the Queſtion to the Judges, *Whether this Refuſal of theirs to make a Halt, was not nearer a Breach of their Oath? For they were ſworn* **to Counſel the King when they are called.** *But not to give his Majeſty Counſel till the Buſineſs is over, is in Effect not to give Counſel at all.* The reſt of the King's Council concurr'd with the Attorney.

The Chief Juſtice *Coke* argued, the King's Council had exceeded their Bounds: That 'twas their Duty to plead before the Judges, but not againſt

---

(*h*) Can. 1.

(*i*) Can. 16. Pandec. Canon Bevereg. Tom. 1.

againſt them. To this the Attorney *Bacon* replied, That the King's *Council* were oblig'd by their Oath and Office, *not only to plead, proceed, and declare againſt the greateſt Subject, but alſo againſt any Body of Subjects, were they Judges, Courts, or Commons in Parliament: That the Judges had diſoblig'd their Character by making this Challenge.* And in the Cloſe, *the Attorney appealing to the King, the Chief Juſtice ſaid he would not diſpute it with his Majeſty.* The Lord Chancellor gave his Opinion for the King, and his Council learned in the Law.

Upon this, the Queſtion was put by all the Lords of the *Board, Whether in a Caſe, where the King believ'd his Prerogative or Intereſt concern'd, and requires the Judges to attend him for their Advice; whether in ſuch a Caſe they ought not to ſtay Proceedings till his Majeſty has conſulted them.*

All the Judges ſubmitted to the Affirmative-Side of the Queſtion, excepting *Coke*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, who ſaid, that when the Caſe happen'd, he would do his Duty. The *Chief Juſtice* of the *Common-Pleas* was more compliant in his Anſwer, and declar'd, *That for his Part he would always truſt the Juſtice of the King's Command.*

The Day drawing nigh for arguing the *Commendams* further, the King ask'd the Judges if they intended to diſcuſs, whether the King had a general Power for granting *Commendams*, or not? They all agreed not to draw his Majeſty's Power into Queſtion, and promis'd to correct the Preſumption of thoſe Pleaders who took the Liberty to ſtate the Prerogative. And as to the preſent Caſe, Judge *Doderidge* gave his Opinion for the King; that the Church was void, and in his Majeſty's Gift; And that he might grant a *Commendam* to a Biſhop before or after Conſecration, and that either during Life, or for Years.

The Privy Council ſign the King's Command to the Judges, warrantable.

When the Judges were gone, 'twas reſolv'd by the *Privy Council*, that what the King requir'd was neither againſt Law, nor the Judges Oath: And this Opinion was ſign'd by all the *Board.* (*k*)

This Year the King being at *Royſton*, Mr. *Edward Sympſon*, a good Scholar, and Fellow of *Trinity* College, preach'd before his Majeſty: His Text was, *That which is born of the Fleſh is Fleſh.* * From hence he endeavour'd to prove, that the committing any great Sin extinguiſhes the Operations of Grace while the Perſon continues in that State. To this he added, That St. *Paul* in the 7th Chapter to the *Romans* does not deſcribe himſelf, or the Condition of a Regenerate Perſon, but one *ſub ſtatu Legis.* The King expreſs'd his Diſlike of this Doctrine with ſome Warmth, becauſe *Arminius* had been lately cenſur'd for drawing a reſembling Expoſition out of *Socinus*'s Works. His Majeſty, to ſatisfie himſelf farther, ſent to the two Divinity *Profeſſors* at *Cambridge* for their Judgment upon the Point. Theſe Learned Divines argu'd on the *Contra-Remonſtrant*'s Side, and gave it under their Hands, That the Predominancy of Appetite, and the acting counter to Conſcience, mention'd in the 7th of the *Romans*, was to be underſtood of a *Regenerate* Man; And that this was St. *Auſtin*'s laſt Opinion in his *Retractations.* After this Determination the Preacher was injoin'd a publick Recantation before the King, to which Sentence he ſubmitted. (*l*)

Sympſon *recants his Expoſition of the 7th of the* Romans, *before the King.*

But the Learned *Heylin* obſerves, That no Offence was taken at the firſt Part of *Sympſon*'s Sermon; for here he went no farther than Dr. *Overall*'s Precedent above-mention'd. *Secondly*, In the Opinion of this Learned Gentleman, 'tis probable the latter Part of his Diſcourſe might have paſs'd the Teſt, had it not been his Misfortune to have fall'n in with an unacceptable Author; *Arminius* having formerly declar'd himſelf of the ſame Opinion, might poſſibly give the King a Prejudice, and diſencline him to the *Expoſition.* (*m*) But whether *Heylin* is right or no in this Conjecture, is more than I ſhall determine.

Dr. Mocket*'s Book burnt, and why.*

To proceed; Dr. *Mocket* Warden of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, and Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, publiſh'd a Book in good *Latin* containing the following *Tracts*, viz. *The Apology of the Church of* England; *The* Greater and Leſſer *Catechiſm*; *The Nine and thirty Articles*; *The Common Prayer*; *The Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*; *The Polity or Government of the Church of* England. The *Homilies* being thought too voluminous for a full Tranſlation, he abridg'd them into *Propoſitions.* This Book was attack'd by ſeveral Criticks at its firſt Appearing. Some taxed him for Preſumption for undertaking ſuch a Work without the King's Commiſſion: Others complain'd he had been too looſe and Paraphraſtical, and exceeded the Liberty of a Tranſlator: And that the Propoſitions extracted out of the *Homilies* had a Biaſs in the *Verſion*, and run to his private Opinions. Another Objection was, That he had aſſerted the Privilege of the *See* of *Canterbury* too far, (*n*) and allow'd the Archbiſhop a Power to confirm the Election of his *Provincials.* And for this he cites the Authority of the firſt *Council* of *Nice* confirm'd by *Conſtantine* the Great. The *Canon* runs thus: "If any Perſon is conſecrated a Biſhop without the Conſent of his "Metropolitan, the *Synod* declares he ought "not to be own'd under that Character. This Doctrine, it ſeems, bore too cloſe upon the *Regale*: But *Mocket* afterwards brings himſelf off; for he expreſly declares, that the Kings's Aſſent to the Election, muſt precede the Metropolitan's Confirmation. (*o*) Farther, Dr. *Mocket* in his Tranſlation of the Nine and thirty Articles omitted the firſt Clauſe in the Twentieth, concerning the *Authority of the Church in Controverſies of Faith.* This Omiſſion, amongſt other Things, might probably occaſion the Burning his Book. This publick Cenſure made a melancholy Impreſſion upon the Doctor, who died in a ſhort Time after. (*p*)

Tho' as Fuller *obſerves*, cum Privilegio *ſtands on the Title page.*

The King having lately made a Progreſs thro' *Lancaſhire*, obſerv'd that the exceſſive Scruples of ſome Magiſtrates and Miniſters, and their tying People up from all Sort of Relaxation on the *Sunday*, had given the Papiſts an Occaſion to miſreport the Church of *England*; as if no innocent Recreation was allow'd among the *Reform'd.* Now to prevent their gaining Proſelytes upon this Colour, the King then at *Greenwich* publiſh'd the following Declaration.

The King's Declaration for Recreation on Sundays.

May 24. 1618.

That for his good Peoples lawful Recreations, his Pleaſure was, That after the End of Divine Service they ſhould not be diſturb'd, letted or diſcouraged from any lawful Recreations; ſuch as Dancing, either of Men or Women; Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any ſuch harmleſs Recreations: Nor from having of May-Games, Whitſun-Ales, or Morrice-Dances, and ſetting up of May-poles, or other Sports therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame be had in due and convenient Time, without Impediment or Let of Divine Service: And that Women ſhould have Leave to carry Ruſhes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old Cuſtom; withal, prohibiting all unlawful Games to be

uſed

(*k*) *Annals of* King James, *p. 17. from the Council Book.*

* John 3. 6.

(*l*) Fuller's *Hiſt. Univerſ.* Cambridge, *pag.* 160.

(*m*) Heylin Quinq. Artic. Hiſt. pag. 632.

(*n*) Politic. Angl. cap. 5. pag. 314.

(*o*) Can. 6.

(*p*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book 10.

uſed on the Sundays *only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and (at all Times in the meaner Sort of People by Law prohibited) Bowling.*

To prevent the ill Uſe of this Liberty, there were ſeveral Reſtraints in the Indulgence. *Firſt*, Theſe Recreations were to be ſo managed as not to hinder the Performance of publick Duty at Church. *Secondly*, That no Recuſant ſhould have the Benefit of this Liberty. Nor, *thirdly*, ſuch as Were not preſent at the whole of Divine Service. And, *fourthly*, That none ſhould have the Freedom of this Relaxation, but ſuch as kept to their own Pariſhes.

However, this *Declaration* was ſomewhat ſhocking to a great many People: And the Clergy were apprehenſive the Reading it in Churches would have been injoin'd them: And though 'twas publiſh'd only for the Uſe of *Lancaſhire*, they were afraid the Order might be enlarg'd, and reach the whole Kingdom. But whatever the firſt Intentions of the Court might have been, the *Declaration* was afterwards in a manner dropt, and no Churchman oblig'd to read it. And ſince this Subject will return in the next Reign, I ſhall diſmiſs it at preſent.

The General Aſſembly at Perth *decree Kneeling at the Holy Euchariſt.*

On the 31ſt of *Auguſt* this Summer a General *Aſſembly* met at *Perth*: The Lords *Haddington*, *Cannegey* and *Scone* were the King's Commiſſioners. And here the Five Articles which ſtuck at *Aberdeen*, after being debated by a Committee, paſs'd in the full *Aſſembly*.

Firſt, *That in Reverence to the Divine Majeſty, and due Regard to the Myſtery of the Holy Euchariſt, 'tis decreed, that this bleſſed Sacrament ſhall be celebrated, and received kneeling.*

Communicating the Sick.

Secondly, *If any good Chriſtian viſited with long Sickneſs, and unable to come to Church; or ſhall declare to the Paſtor upon his Conſcience, that he believes his Sickneſs will prove mortal, earneſtly deſires to receive the Holy Euchariſt in his Houſe, the Paſtor ſhall not deny him ſo great a Comfort: But after Notice given the Night before, and upon Condition there ſhall be Three or Four unexceptionable Perſons to communicate with him, and all Things decently prepar'd, the Miniſter ſhall give him the Holy Sacrament according to the Order preſcrib'd.*

Private Baptiſm.

Thirdly, *The Miniſter ſhall frequently admoniſh the People not to defer the Baptiſm of Infants beyond the next* Sunday *after their Birth, unleſs the Reaſon for deferring this Sacrament is approved by him: The Miniſters are likewiſe to precaution the People againſt Baptizing their Children at Home, excepting in Caſes of apparent Neceſſity. But when this happens the Paſtor ſhall baptize the Child in the cuſtomary Form, and ſignifie what has been done the next Lord's Day to the Congregation.*

Confirmation.

Fourthly, *Since* Confirmation *is moſt neceſſary for the Education of Youth, and may be brought back to Primitive Practice, 'tis ordain'd that the Miniſter in every Pariſh ſhall catechiſe all Children of Eight Years old: And when they are inſtructed to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, with the Anſwers to the Queſtions contain'd in the ſmall Catechiſm, that then the reſpective Biſhops ſhall order the Children to be brought to them, and give them their Bleſſing, with a Prayer for Encreaſe of Grace and Knowledge.*

And obſerving ſome of the Church Feſtivals.

Fifthly, *In Regard the ineſtimable Benefits convey'd to Mankind by the Birth of our Bleſſed Saviour, by his Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and by the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, were commendably commemorated at ſtated Times by the Univerſal Church, 'tis therefore agreed by the* Aſſembly, *that theſe Anniverſary Feſtivals ſhall be kept for the future; And that upon ſuch Days all Miniſters ſhall chuſe their Text, and manage their Diſcourſe ſuitably to the Occaſion.* (q)

The *Articles* thus ſettled, Order was given to read them in all Pariſh-Churches: The Miniſters were likewiſe oblig'd to dilate upon the Lawfulneſs of them, and exhort their People to Submiſſion. The Burghers of *Edinburgh* expected their Paſtors would ſtand off from this *Aſſembly*, and keep cloſe to their old Practice: And therefore when they found themſelves diſappointed in the Compliance of their Paſtors, they deſerted their Communion, and applied to others of a more ſtubborn Behaviour. The King order'd the *Articles* to be publiſh'd at the Market-Croſs of the principal Burroughs, and commanded Conformity under Pain of his Diſpleaſure. And thus the Church of *Scotland* came ſtill nearer the *Engliſh Eſtabliſhment*, and made a conſiderable Advance to the Primitive Form.

1618.

Selden's *Hiſtory of Tythes publiſh'd.*

This Year the Learned *Selden* publiſh'd his *Hiſtory of Tythes*. The *Preface* diſcovers his Diſaffection to the Clergy in a remarkable Manner: He takes the Freedom of coarſe Language, reproaches the *Order* with *Ignorance* and *Lazineſs*; That they had nothing to ſupport their Credit but *Beard*, *Title*, and *Habit*; and that their Learning reach'd no farther than the *Breviary*, the *Poſtilles*, and the *Polyanthea*. Theſe Outrages were ſmartly reveng'd by *Richard Mountague*, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. This Divine had a better Talent at Satyr, rallied with more Breeding and Wit, and beat him at his own Weapon. His *Diatribæ* is principally levell'd againſt the *Philological* Part of *Selden*'s Diſcourſe: The Remainder, that is, the Authorities from Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, and Imperial Conſtitutions, is undertaken by Dr. *Richard Tilleſly*, Arch-Deacon of *Rocheſter*. And becauſe theſe Books are out of Print, and not commonly met with, I ſhall abſtract ſome little of the Performance, and give the *Reader* a Taſte of the Argument.

He is anſwer'd by Mountague *and* Tilleſly.

An Abſtract of Part of Mountague's *Anſwer.*

To begin with *Mountague*: This Author takes Notice that *Selden* reſolves all the Right of Tythes into Temporal Laws, Cuſtom, *Modus decimandi*, Preſcription, *Prohibition*, &c. And that all Pleas for Tythes, without Reference to Poſitive (he means Human) Law, are perfectly idle: And that neither in this Kingdom, nor any other Parts of Chriſtendom the *Jus divinum* of Tythes was ever maintain'd or acknowledg'd (r) And yet after all this direct Aſſertion he pretends not to meddle with the Divine Right of Tythes. On the other Side, *Mountague*, in the Name of the Church of *England*, puts the Cauſe boldly upon the *Jus Divinum*, and offers to reſign all Benefit of Human Laws, if he fails in the Proof. He grants ſome *Papiſts* and *Puritans* are of a contrary Opinion; but as to the Conforming Clergy, they are wholly in his Sentiment. And here he cites Sir *James Sempell*, Sir *Harry Spelman*, and Sir *Harry Mountague* Chief Juſtice, in Favour of the Divine Right of Tythes.

Selden declares, That to hold the Payment of Tythes is no better than voluntary Alms, is a falſe Opinion. Notwithſtanding this Conceſſion, he pretends the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* made Tythes no more than an Inſtance of Charity. This *Mountague* affirms a Miſtake; and for Proof argues, That had *Selden*'s Remark been true, the *Council* of *Conſtance* would never have condemn'd *Wickliff*'s Doctrine upon this Score. *Selden* confeſſes, that if Tythes are due *Jure Divino*, they remain equally ſo, as well after, as before Human Laws: For *nullum Tempus occurrit Regi*; no Cuſtom can preſcribe againſt the King of Heaven and Earth. No *State* has any Power to diſpenſe with the Natural, Moral, or Poſitive Law of God. And here *Mountague* lays it down for an unconteſted Truth, that the *Evangelical* Prieſthood is more honourable than the *Legal*, and by Conſequence ought to receive a more honourable Maintenance: That *Conſtantine* the Great out of a Motive of Piety, refus'd to ſeize the Wealth of the Pagan Temples.

(q) Sporſwood's *Ch. Hiſt.*

(r) Mountague Diatrib. pag. 77, 8, 9.

Ibidem.

Idem pag 89.

Id. pag. 95.

Id. pag. 100.

Selden aſſerts the Tythes paid by *Abraham* to *Melchiſedech*, were only the Tythes of the Plunder. But *Solomon Jarki*, and the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Interpreters expound it to a Tythe of all *Abraham*'s Subſtance. *Selden* vouches *Joſephus* for his Opinion, that *Abraham* gave only the Tythe of the Spoils: But *Mountague* wreſts this Teſtimony from him. *Philo-Judæus* is produc'd on *Mountague*'s Side of the *Text* concerning *Abraham*'s giving Tythes of all in General. And to reinforce the Argument, 'tis obſerv'd, that none of the Fathers or Commentators affirm, that *Abraham* paid Tythes only of Spoils. From hence *Mountague* makes a farther Advantage, and infers from this Precedent of *Abraham*, That Tythes of Plunder in a juſt War, are due to the *Evangelical* Prieſthood. He argues from Probabilities, that *Abel*'s Offering was a Tenth, and that Part of *Cain*'s Fault was falling ſhort of that Proportion. He takes Notice that the Tenth which the *Levites* paid to the High-Prieſt, is call'd *Therumah* or *Primitiæ*; And that Pagan Authors make *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths* the ſame Thing.

Selden pretends the *Jews* paid Firſt-Fruits only of Seven Kinds of the Year's Product, *viz*. Wheat, Barley, Figs, Grapes, Olives, Pomegranates, and Dates. This *Mountague* rejects as a Rabbinical Fancy, and diſproves it from 2 *Chron*. 31, and 5. He remarks farther, that where all the Tenth was given to the Children of *Levi*, *Numb*, 18. 21. no Place for Payment is appointed: And therefore *Selden* and *Joſeph Scaliger* are miſtaken in ſaying Tythes were only to be paid at *Jeruſalem*. This Notion is diſprov'd from the Trouble and Impracticableneſs of the Thing: And for farther Evidence, from *Nehemiah* the 10th and 37th. it appears the *Levites* receiv'd their Tythes at their reſpective Dwellings: And in the next Verſe 'tis ſaid, they were to bring up the Tythe of the Tythe to the Houſe of God. From whence it ſeems plain the firſt Tythe was taken in the Country. All the Tythe of the Land, both *Seed* and *Fruit*, are declar'd to be the Lord's: The ſame is ſaid of the *Flocks* and *Herds*.

To proceed: *Mountague* obſerves Four Tythes were paid by the *Jews*. The firſt Tythe of all Encreaſe was paid to the *Levites* as their Inheritance; becauſe they had no Share in the Diviſion of the Lands. The ſecond Tenth was paid by the *Levites* to the High-Prieſt: The Laity paid another Tenth out of the Nine Parts remaining. This ſecond Tenth paid by the Laity, was reſtrain'd to Proviſions for Entertainment, being deſign'd only to furniſh the three great Feaſts at *Jeruſalem*. And here the Remainder unſpent ſerv'd for the Uſe of thoſe Prieſts and *Levites* that dwelt at this Capital: This Tythe therefore was to be paid at *Jeruſalem*.* This third Tythe was paid annually like the other two. Beſides theſe, the poor Man's Tythe made a Fourth, which was payable only every third Year.* This third Year is call'd *the Year of Tything*, becauſe it was an Addition to the former, *Deuteronomy* 26. 12. therefore the *Septuagint* tranſlate it ἐπιδέκατον, which ſignifies an Additional Tythe. And here *Mountague*, for a farther Mortification to *Selden*, charges him with being a Plagiary, and that he took his whole Diſcourſe of *Jewiſh* Tythes out of *Joſeph Scaliger's Diatriba* upon that Subject.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Id. pag. 105, 107.

Ibid.

Id. pag. 110.

Julian. Miſopog.

Id. pag. 156, 7.

Id. pag. 159.

Pag. 180.

Pag. 243, 4, 5.

Numb. 21, 28.

Pag. 305.

Pag. 314.

Pag. 318, 9.

Levit. 27, 32.

Deut. 14. v. 22. *compared with* Numb. 18. 21.

Deut. 14. 23, 28.

* Deut 14. 23.

2 Chron. 31.

Nehem. 13.

* Deut. 14. 28, 29.

Deut. 26. 12.

Mountague obſerves from *Deuteronomy* 14. 28. that Tythe Cattle were paid at the Second Laytything no leſs than at the firſt, and proves Self-contradiction upon his Adverſary.

Selden grants, that from the Purification of the Temple by *Maccabæus*, till *Hircanus*'s Time, his Brother *Simon*'s Son, which takes in about thirty Years; during this Period *Selden* grants, that both *Therumahs* and Tythes were paid as formerly. And why, ſays *Mountague*, not afterwards as well as then? The *Rabbins* deny it; but the *Rabbins* are late Writers, and Whimſical Authority. After the *Captivity* the *Jews* are remarkable for obſerving the Sabbath, and ſtanding clear of Idolatry; and why not for the Payment of Tythes? The *Phariſees*, a prevailing Sect in our Saviour's Time, were punctual in this Matter. And more than that, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* are commended by our Saviour for their Exactneſs in paying Tythes.

To go on: *Mountague* obſerves, that the firſt Tythe paid to the *Levites* was Moral and Evangelical; as for the three others, they ſeem only *Levitical*: And therefore by preciſe Precept in Scripture, no Tythe was general of all, but the Firſt.* And that Chriſtian Prieſts claim only this Tythe which was paid to *Melchiſedech*, and given to the *Levites*. Upon the Progreſs of the Argument he produces *Selden*'s Confeſſion, that the *Levites* had near a Fifth Part in Firſt-Fruits and Prædial Tythes; that they enjoy'd this Proportion beſide their other Advantages in Offerings and Sacrifices, in Ranſoms of the Firſt-born, in Cities and Suburbs. And here he harangues with ſome Vehemence againſt depriving the *Engliſh* Clergy of their Dues, and avers, that they loſe more than Half their Tythes by *Cuſtom*, *Preſcription*, and *Prohibitions*; and argues ſtrongly, that Tythes were due antecedently to the *Moſaick* Conſtitution.

Selden, to prove Tythes uncommanded and arbitrary, affirms the Pagan *Greeks* and *Romans* paid Tythes only to ſome particular Deities; and that this Homage was no Part of Natural Religion, but left to Diſcretion, and voluntary Devotion. Theſe Aſſertions are oppos'd by *Mountague*, and Counter-Teſtimonies alledg'd. *Paulus Diaconus*, who abridg'd *Feſtus Pompeius*, affirms from *Feſtus*, that *Decima quæque Veteres Diis ſuis offerebant*. And here *Joſeph Scaliger* puts *Herculi* inſtead of *Diis*, and falls foul upon *Paulus* without Reaſon. And to ſhew the ancient Uſage of paying Tythes among the *Pagans*, *Mountague* cites *Dionyſius Halycarnaſſæus* an Author of the firſt Claſs. This Hiſtorian relates, that *Hercules* at his Return out of *Spain* with *Geryon*'s Oxen, offer'd the Tenth of the Spoil to the Gods. The ſame Duty was afterwards paid by *Tarquinius Priſcus* at the taking of *Sueſſa*, and by *Aulus Poſthumius* upon his Victory againſt the *Latines*. And to theſe are added the Precedents of *Marcus Coriolanus*, and *Marcus Horatius*. And here he brings his Adverſary to a frank Confeſſion, and tells us, *Selden* owns the Heathens paid the Gods the Tenth of their Plunder, the Tenth of their Gain in Trade, and the Tenth of the Product of their Land: Now this Diſtribution gives up this Branch of the Cauſe, and takes in the whole Thing conteſted.

James I. K.

Joſeph. Antiquit. Judaic.

Mountague Diatrib. pag. 348, 349

Pag. 353.

Pag. 356, 357.

Pag. 358, 359.

St. Matthew 23. 23.

Mountague, Pag. 387, 395

Pag. 397.

Pag 402, 5.

Pag. 410. & deinc.

Pag. 411.

Id. pag. 417, 8.

Dion. Halycarnaſſ. pag. 196.

Id. Frag. Lib. 11.

Mountague Diatrib. pag. 460.

Mountague proceeds to prove, that *Decimæ* and *Primitiæ* are the ſame, from the Authorities of *Philo-Judæus*, and *Dionyſius Halycarnaſſæus*, and cites *Callimachus* for the ſame Purpoſe. From hence he infers, that ſince *Primitiæ* among the Heathens reach'd all Parts of Encreaſe, their paying of Tythes to the ſame Compaſs cannot be queſtion'd. And a little forward he catches *Selden* at Self-Contradiction; for this Author in his *Review* grants, that *Tythes* and *Firſt-Fruits* were paid yearly.

Pag. 464. to 467.

Pag. 473.

And becauſe *Selden* attempted to make good, that Tythes depended moſtly upon Vows and voluntary Acknowledgment, *Mountague* undertakes the Diſproof of this Aſſertion; and argues, that the Matter of a Vow may be a Duty prior to the ſolemn Engagement. * Thus *Jacob* vow'd, that if God would be with him, and proſper him in his Journey, *the Lord ſhould be his God.* † And yet without doubt his Duty of worſhipping God did not commence upon that Vow. And for the ſame Reaſon his Obligation to pay Tythes, which he promis'd, might be antecedent to his Vow, and independent on it.

* Vid. St. Auguſt. in Pſalm. 75.

† Gen. 28. 20, & 21.

And to harraſs *Selden* farther in his Philological Learning, he proves that the *Roman* Feſtivals, in which they paid their Tenths to their Gods, return'd annually; that 'twas the Cuſtom of this Noble Nation not to touch their Vintage till their Deities had receiv'd the *Firſt-Fruits.* (*s*) That the *Siphnians* gave the Tenth of the Mines of Gold and Silver to *Apollo* at *Delphi*; and that when they left off paying this Duty, the Sea broke in and ſwallow'd them. That the Tythes of *Sardis* were to be paid to *Jupiter* when the *Perſians* took it, and that this was Matter of Right and common Cuſtom. More Teſtimonies for this Point are produc'd by *Mountague* out of *Herodotus*, *Pauſanias*, *Ariſtotle* and *Xenophon.* (*t*)

(*s*) Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 3. cap. 5. Arnob. Herodot. in Thalia. Pauſan. in Phocen. Diatrib. pag. 493, 496, 498, 500.

(*t*) Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2.

Mountague obſerves from *Porphyry*, that *Primitiæ* (the ſame in Proportion with Tenths) were given to God by the Pagans out of all Things ſerviceable to Life; That thoſe who forbore making this Acknowledgment, were mark'd as irreligious; and that a memorable Judgment happen'd upon the *Thoes*, a Nation confining upon *Thracia*, for this Omiſſion. He brings farther Evidence from *Harpocration* and *Didymus*, that 'twas a general Cuſtom among the *Grecians* to give the Tenth of their Encreaſe to the Gods. And *Selden* in his *Review*, though in Contradiction to what he had formerly maintain'd, confeſſes the *Gentiles* were very devout in giving the yearly Encreaſe to their Deities.

And to make the Argument more full, *Mountague* cites *Diodorus Siculus*, who reports it the cuſtomary Practice of the *Carthaginians* to pay the Tenth of all their Iſſues and Profits to *Hercules* of *Tyre.* (*u*) And that the old *Arabians* were oblig'd to pay Tythes to the Prieſts of *Sabis*, before they had the Liberty of ſelling their Goods. (*w*)

Diatrib. pag. 449.

(*w*) Plin. lib. 12. cap. 14. Diatrib. ibid. Id. p. 776, 7. Id. p. 574.

Farther, *Demoſthenes* declaim'd againſt *Androtion* and *Timocrates* for robbing *Minerva* of her Tythes. And here this Orator brands both thoſe who kept back the Homage, and thoſe who conniv'd at the Fraud, with Sacrilege. And laſtly, *Mountague* challenges *Selden* to ſhew any Nation or Country that omitted paying Tythes to their Gods, and offers to give up the Cauſe upon Proof by his Adverſary.

To proceed: Dr. *Tilleſly* in his *Animadverſions upon* Selden's *Hiſtory of Tythes*, lays down theſe three Propoſitions.

Some Strictures of Tilleſly's *Anſwer to* Selden.

I. *Firſt*, That the *Fathers* who liv'd before *Conſtantine* the Great, held Tythes due *Jure Divino.*

II. That after the ceaſing of the Pagan Perſecutions, Tythes were paid to the Clergy before the making any Imperial Laws or Canons for this Purpoſe.

III. That the Imperial and Eccleſiaſtical Laws touching Tythes, are only declarative of a Divine, and not merely introductive of a Human Right. (*x*)

(*x*) Tilleſly, pag. 2, 3. Id. pag. 1. to p. 31.

And here he produces 72 Teſtimonies of Fathers and *Councils*, beginning at the ſecond Century, and ending at the Year 1212. to prove the Divine Right of Tythes. I ſhall mention ſome few of theſe Authorities.

For the Purpoſe, the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* injoin'd the paying of Tythes; and to make this Authority ſignificant, he takes Notice that theſe Records of Antiquity are cenſur'd but in Part by the *Council* in *Trullo*; and then proceeds to a Defence of this particular Conſtitution. He goes on to prove Tythes paid by the Chriſtians to the Church in *Origen*'s Time. (*y*) And St. *Cyprian*, amongſt other Inſtances of the Decay of Piety, complains, *At nunc de Patrimoniis nec Decimas damus.* (*z*) The *Council* of *Gangra* held in the Year 324. mentions Firſt-Fruits or Tythes as an ancient Duty paid to the Church. St. *Auſtin*, who was born in the Year 350, tells us, *Majores noſtri Decimas dabant*; *our Anceſtors paid Tythes.* (*a*)

Id. pag. 50. & deinc.

(*y*) Orig. Homil. 16. in Geneſ. 18. Num.

(*z*) Cypr. de Unitat. Eccleſ.

(*a*) Auguſt. Hom. 48. inter Quinquagint. Homil.

And St. *Jerom* in his Comment upon the 44th Chapter of *Ezekiel*, aſſerts the ſame Thing as a cuſtomary Practice.

And to make good that Tythes were not merely voluntary Oblations, and arbitrary Bounty of Princes; he obſerves that the Conſent of the Dioceſan or Pope, concurr'd with *Charlemagne* in the ſettling of Tythes.

And to ſhew that the fixing of Incumbents upon *Cures*, was Part of the Biſhop's Juriſdiction, he cites a Canon of the Council of *Orleans*, That no Lords of Manors ſhould ſettle any Clerks within the Precinct of their Eſtates, without the Biſhops Leave. (*b*) This was a Reſembling Conſtitution to that of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in which 'tis declar'd, That if any Lay-Perſon built a Church, and endow'd it with a Maintenance for a Clerk, himſelf or his Heirs might preſent a qualify'd Incumbent, whom the Biſhop was oblig'd to ordain. But in Caſe the Clerk was under-qualify'd by the *Canons*, the Biſhop was to provide for the *Cure*: And here the Trial of the Prieſt's Ability ſeems left to the *Dioceſan.* (*c*) *Tilleſly* charges *Selden* with ſeveral Inſtances of Miſrepreſentation: For the Purpoſe, *Selden* cites the Ninth *Council* of *Toledo* unfairly to prove Lay-Patrons had a Right of diſpoſing the Church Revenues; whereas by the Words of the Canon the direct contrary is evident. (*d*)

(*b*) Concil. Aurelian. Anno Dom. 547. Can. 7.

(*c*) Novell. 123.

(*d*) Concil. 9. Tolet. Anno Dom. 660. Animad. pag. 118, 119. Idem 128.

Selden pretends, that when the Advowſon of a Church deſcended in Coparcenary, the Patrons might divide the Profits, and preſent as many Clerks as there were Coparceners. This *Tilleſly* diſproves from the *Capitulars* of *Charlemagne*, and the *Council* of *Chaalon* in the ſame Reign

Selden aſſerts Lay-Patrons gave Inveſtiture, or Seizin of the Tythes and Endowments; and that this Cuſtom was not wholly laid aſide till the End of the Twelfth Century. This Aſſertion *Tilleſly* likewiſe diſproves from his Adverſary's Authorities. This Learned Divine obſerves from *Linwood*, That Monaſteries which enjoy'd appro-

Id. pag. 135.

Appropriated Livings had no Authority to inſtitute or ſuſpend, but in Virtue of their being the Biſhops Delegates. (e)

And whereas the Pope's giving the Privilege of Exemption from Payment of Tythes had been objected by *Selden*, *Tilleſly* replies, This is no Argument againſt the Divine Right of that Maintenance: *1ſt*, Becauſe by the Doctrine of ſome in thoſe Ages, the Pope might diſpenſe with the Law of God, as in the Caſe of Vows, Marriage, and Allegiance. *2dly*, Theſe Papal Exemptions to the *Religious* were granted only *lege Charitatis*, that is, in Regard the Monks upon the Score of their Poverty, had ſome Intereſt in the Tythes. *Selden* confeſſes, That the Biſhops of *Germany*, and other more Northern Nations, had the Right of all Tythes within their Dioceſe, and therefore might appropriate what they pleas'd. This Conceſſion, *Tilleſly* obſerves, is a Contradiction to what *Selden* had formerly aſſerted.

Tilleſly's *Animad.* *Page* 151.

Id. *Pag.* 211.

Tilleſly, after having given ſome Inſtances to his Purpoſe in *England*, obſerves, That when Patrons paſt away Tythes from the Parochial Church, the Grant was confirm'd by the Pope or Dioceſan. Thus *Gundulphus*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in his Charter to the Monks of that Cathedral, concurs with the Patrons in paſſing the Tythes of ſeveral Churches to the Monks. By this Charter the Biſhops Authority is plainly declar'd neceſſary to make the Grant valid. The Conſent of the *Rectors* of the Churches, from whence the Tythes were alienated, is likewiſe mentioned. And farther, the Biſhop *Gundulphus* gives the Monks the Tythes of his own Manors, and of thoſe which belong'd to themſelves. And in ſhort, all the Grants of Tythes convey'd to the Church of *Rocheſter* are confirm'd by the reſpective Biſhops.

Id. *Page* 212. 13, & deinc.

Id. *Page* 217.

Tilleſly, upon the Courſe of the Argument, proves by ſeveral *Records* that Parochial Tythes were leſſen'd by Compoſition with the *Rector*, and not by the Arbitrary Diſpoſal of Lay-Patrons.

Selden pretends Lay-Patrons might build a Church within their own *Fees* without the Biſhop's Conſent. But his Authority from *Innocent* the Third is miſcited. For in that Epiſtle, the Pope gives them a Licence for this Purpoſe, provided they had Leave from the Biſhop And that the new Erections did not prejudice the Endowments of the ancient Churches. Farther, in Monaſteries the Monks preſented as Patrons to the Biſhop, and the Biſhop uſually reſerved himſelf a Power of aſſigning a Competency to the Vicar, or elſe made the Vicar ſuch an Allowance when the Living was firſt appropriated.

Id. *Page* 225.

Id. *Page* 230.

Selden confeſſes that by the Common Law, according both to Modern and Ancient Practice, the Juriſdiction of Tythes, that is, the direct and original Queſtion of the Right, belongs properly to the Eccleſiaſtical Court. And for this, beſides other Authorities, *Bracton* and *Fleta*, are cited by *Selden*. And to draw to an End, *Tilleſly* remarks, That before the Statutes of *Diſſolution*, if a Religious Houſe had been diſſolv'd by Death, or Ceſſion of the Religious, all Appropriations belonging to it would have been Preſentative. The Patronage would have reverted to the Heirs of the Donors, and the Tythes to the Pariſh Prieſt.

Id. *Page* 257.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, That the old Cuſtom of paying Money in Lieu of Tythes, is a great Oppreſſion upon the Clergy: Becauſe, to go no farther backwards than King *Edward* the Third it appears a Shilling in that Reign weigh'd three Shillings of the modern Coin: And by the Statute 1 *Ed.* 2. *cap.* 1. 'tis evident that thoſe who had Twenty Pounds a Year in Fee, or for Term of Life, were obliged either to be Knighted, or fine for their Refuſal. From hence we may infer, That yearly Income was at leaſt equivalent to Eight hundred Pounds *per Annum* at preſent. For beſides the Abatement of the Weight, the Value of Money is remarkably ſunk ſince the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, inſomuch as Twenty Shillings will ſcarce go ſo far now in Commerce and Expences of Living, as one Shilling would formerly. The Government ſeems therefore bound in Juſtice to null the Cuſtoms; or if this is not done, to examine the Time when they began, to calculate the Proportion between the ancient and modern State of the Coin, and bring up the Payment to the preſent Value of Money.

Nettles, *another Antagoniſt of* Selden.

To return; *Selden*, beſides *Montague* and *Tilleſly*, had another conſiderable Adverſary, one *Nettles*, a Country Clergy-Man. This Divine engaged his two firſt *Chapters* concerning the Cuſtom of Tything among the *Jews*. But the *Reader* may poſſibly have enough of this Matter: Thoſe who are inclin'd to go farther in the Argument, may pleaſe to conſult what I have reported upon this Head in the Firſt Volume.

To proceed; The *Reform'd* in the United *Belgick Provinces* had for ſome Time been broken into Two Diviſions, the *Remonſtrants* and *Contra-Remonſtrants*. To take up theſe Differences, the *States* reſolv'd on the Expedient of a *Synod*, which was held at *Dort* in *Holland*. And ſince the King of *Great Britain* thought fit to diſpatch ſome Divines to make Part of this *Aſſembly*, I ſhall give a brief Account of the Riſe of the Controverſy.

The Riſe of the Controverſy between the Remonſtrants *and the* Contra-Remonſtrants.

James Van-Harmin, or *Arminius*, Preacher at the great Church at *Amſterdam*, being ſomething ſhock'd with *Perkins*'s *Armilla aurea*, wrote Animadverſions upon it, entituled, *Examen Prædeſtinationis Perkinſianæ*. This Performance being well receiv'd, and *Junius*, Divinity-Profeſſor at *Leyden*, dying in the Year 1603. *Arminius* was choſen by the Univerſity to ſucceed him. The *Calvinians*, diſpleas'd with his Preferment, charg'd him with ſeveral Heterodoxies, and preferr'd an Information againſt him to the *States*. When the Buſineſs was heard at the *Hague*, *Arminius* was acquitted, and ſent to *Leyden* with a ſtrong Recommendation from the Church of *Amſterdam*. Thus he continued *Profeſſor* 'till his Death, which happen'd in *October* 1609.

Arminius had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Learning, Diligence, and Exemplary Behaviour. To give him his Due, he had a good reaſoning Head, and was no ordinary Genius. By the Strength of theſe Advantages he gain'd upon the *Audience*, and left a ſtrong Party behind him. The Controverſy between the *Calviniſts* and thoſe of *Arminius*'s Perſuaſion were reduc'd to Five Points. Theſe Queſtions were held by the former to the ſame Senſe with the *Lambeth* Articles already mention'd. In the Year 1610, thoſe who adher'd to *Arminius* addreſs their *Remonſtrance* to the *States* of *Holland*. In this Paper they ſet forth their Doctrine, and endeavour to prove it agreeable to ancient Belief. This Narrative and Defence was attack'd by a *Counter-Remonſtrance*, preſented by the *Calviniſts*: And from hence came the Diſtinction of *Remonſtrants* and *Contra-Remonſtrants*. To prevent the ill Conſequences of different Sentiments in Religion, a Conference was appointed at the *Hague* in the Year

The Conference at the Hague.

(e) *Lindwood's* Tit. de locat. & Conduct. Cap. licet. Bonæ, &c.

1611. This publick Diſpute was manag'd by a ſelected Committee of either Side. And here the *Remonſtrants* ſeem'd to preſs the *Calviniſts*, and come off with Advantage. But what Ground the *Contra-Remonſtrants* loſt in the Conteſt they recover'd by their Intereſt. For being much ſuperior in Numbers, and countenanc'd by *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, they convented the other Party before their Conſiſtories, and harraſs'd them with Suſpenſions, Deprivations, and other Cenſures of the Church. This rough Uſage forc'd the *Remonſtrants* to apply to the Protection of *John Olden Barnevelt*, a *Hollander*, and a Perſon of Figure in the *Council* of State. By the Intereſt of this Patron they procur'd an Edict from the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* in the Year 1613, injoining a Toleration of the Opinions of either Party. The Juſtice of this *Edict* is much commended by the moſt learned *Grotius* in his Diſcourſe, entituled, *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ, &c. Bogerman, Sibrandus*, and ſome other warm *Calviniſts*, publiſh their Diſlike of theſe Proceedings, and reflected on the Magiſtracy for their Neutrality. Not long after *Grotius* and *Barnevelt* were ſeiz'd and impriſon'd by the Prince of *Orange*. The latter was tried and executed, which Uſage was complain'd of as contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Country, and the *Union Articles*.

Barnevelt *and* Grotius *impriſoned.*

Conjectures upon the Reaſons why King James *fell in with the* Contra-Remonſtrants.

King *James* having engag'd againſt *Vorſtius*, and given *Arminius* a hard Character, was prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*. As to the prevailing Motives which govern'd the King, they can only be gueſs'd at. Some think his Judgment was led by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and *Mountague*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Others fancy his Education in *Scotland* might give him a Biaſs towards *Calvin*. And ſome will have it, the Strength of his Affection to the Prince of *Orange* over-rul'd him into theſe Meaſures. A fourth Conjecture reſolves the Matter into Reaſons of State: That the King countenanc'd the *Contra-Remonſtrants* to ſecure the publick Repoſe in the United Provinces, and prevent their flying out into Civil Diſtractions: That he look'd upon the *Remonſtrants* as a Faction: And that the Harmony of the Country was firſt diſturb'd by that Party. Now the King at this Time had a conſiderable Intereſt going in the *Netherlands*. The Cautionary Towns of the *Brill*, *Fluſhing*, and the Fort of *Ramekins*, were ſtill in his Hands. For theſe Reaſons, he is ſuppoſed to have a more than ordinary Concern for the Quiet of that Government. But after all, the moſt honourable Gueſs for the King's Memory is, That his Underſtanding might be ſurpriz'd; and that he had not look'd thoroughly through the Controverſy.

To go on: The *Contra-Remonſtrants* having cruſh'd their Adverſaries by Dint of Power, thought it prudent to ſecure their Conqueſt, and get the Face of a Church Authority to countenance their Rigours. To this Purpoſe the *States General*, ſolicited by the Prince of *Orange* and King *James*, order'd a National *Synod* at *Dort*. To this Aſſembly all the *Calvinians* in *Europe* (thoſe of *France* excepted) diſpatch'd their Commiſſioners. King *James* being requeſted by the *States* to contribute to the Solemnity of the Appearance, ſent four Divines of Character, *viz. George Carleton*, Doctor of Divinity, then Biſhop of *Landaff*, and afterwards tranſlated to *Chicheſter*, *Joſeph Hall*, Doctor of Divinity, then Dean of *Worceſter*, afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Exeter* and *Norwich*, *John Davenant*, Doctor of Divinity, *Margaret*-Profeſſor, and Maſter of *Queen's*-College in *Cambridge*, afterwards Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Samuel Ward*, Doctor of Divinity, and Maſter of *Sidney*-College in *Cambridge*, and Archdeacon of *Taunton*. Theſe Divines attending his Majeſty at *New-Market* receiv'd the following Inſtructions, which I ſhall give the Reader as they ſtand tranſcrib'd from Dr. *Davenant*'s Manuſcript.

Four Engliſh *Divines ſent by the King to the Synod of* Dort.

The King's Inſtructions to theſe Divines.

1. "Our Will and Pleaſure is, That from this Time forward, upon all Occaſions, you inure your ſelves to the Practice of the *Latin* Tongue; that, when there is Cauſe, you may deliver your Minds with more Readineſs and Facility.

2. "You ſhall in all Points to be debated and diſputed, reſolve among your ſelves beforehand what is the true State of the Queſtion, and jointly and uniformly agree thereupon.

3. "If in debating of the Cauſe by the Learned Men there, any Thing be emergent, whereof you thought not before, you ſhall meet and conſult thereupon again, and ſo reſolve among your ſelves jointly what is fit to be maintain'd. And this to be done agreeably to the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

4. "Your Advice ſhall be to thoſe Churches, that their Miniſters do not deliver in the Pulpit to the People thoſe Things for ordinary Doctrines which are the higheſt Points of Schools, and not fit for vulgar Capacity, but diſputable on both Sides.

5. "That they uſe no Innovation in Doctrine, but teach the ſame Things which were taught Twenty or Thirty Years paſt in their own Churches; and eſpecially, that which contradicteth not their own *Confeſſions*, ſo long ſince publiſh'd, and known unto the World.

6. "That they conform themſelves to the publick *Confeſſions* of the neighbour Reformed Churches, with whom to hold good Correſpondency ſhall be no Diſhonour to them.

7. "That if there be main Oppoſition between any, who are over-much addicted to their own Opinions, your Endeavour ſhall be that certain Poſitions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the Mitigation of Heat on both Sides.

8. "That as you principally look to God's Glory, and the Peace of thoſe diſtracted Churches; ſo you have an Eye to our Honour, who ſend and employ you thither: And conſequently at all Times conſult with our Ambaſſador there reſiding, who is beſt acquainted with the Form of thoſe Countries, underſtandeth well the Queſtions and Differences among them, and ſhall from Time to Time receive our Princely Directions, as Occaſion ſhall require.

9. "Finally, In all other Things which we cannot foreſee, you ſhall carry your ſelves with that Advice, Moderation, and Diſcretion, as to Perſons of your Quality and Gravity ſhall appertain. (f)

At their Arrival in *Holland*, they waited on the Prince of *Orange* at the *Hague*. The Biſhop made a ſhort Speech to his Highneſs, who entertain'd them at his Court. From hence they remov'd to *Dort*, where the Synod opening on *November* the 3d, all the Members took the Oath following:

I promiſe before God, whom I believe and adore, the Searcher of the Heart and Reins, that in the

(f) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book. 10.

The Oath taken by the Members at their Admiſſion into the Synod.

whole Courſe of theſe Synodical Proceedings, in which the known Five Articles, *and Difficulties thence ariſing ſhall be diſcuſs'd and decided, that in the Debate and Reſolution of theſe Points, and all other Doctrinals, I will not make uſe of any human Writings, but only of God's Word for ſettling the Standard and Rule of Faith; and that I ſhall be govern'd by no other Views in this whole Management, beſides the Glory of God, the Peace of the Church, and eſpecially the Preſerving the Purity of Doctrine. So may my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt be merciful to me, whom I earneſtly pray, that for the Keeping this Reſolve he would always ſupport me with the Aſſiſtance of his Spirit.* (g)

These *Engliſh* Divines, in Regard to their Character, and the King who ſent them, had an Allowance from the *States* of Ten Pounds Sterling a Day, which they frankly ſpent in furniſhing an Hoſpitable Table. They had Orders from the King to ſend him weekly Diſpatches of what was done in the Synod,

Dec. 10. An. Dom. 1618. *Mr* Balcanquell, *a* Scotchman, *ſent to the Synod by the King.*

The next Month *Walter Balcanquell*, Batchelor of Divinity, appear'd at the Synod with *Credentials* from King *James*. The Letter imported that 'twas his Majeſty's Pleaſure he ſhould act in the Synod as a Repreſentative of the Church of *Scotland*. He was accordingly admitted, and ſaluted with a Speech by the Preſident.

And now to keep cloſe to the Order of Time I ſhall go back to *England*, and give the Reader an Account of *Selden*'s Submiſſion, regiſter'd in the *High Commiſſion Court*, in which he acknowleges his Fault under his own Hand for publiſhing his Book, entituled, *The Hiſtory of Tythes*. The whole Record ſtands thus:

Selden*'s Recantation for writing his Hiſtory of Tythes.*

Viceſimo Octavo die Menſis Januarii, Anno Domini juxta Computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ 1618, *coram Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre, Domino Georgio, Providentia Divina Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primate & Metropolitano, Johannne London, Lancelot. Winton, & Johanne Roffen, eadem Providentia reſpective Epiſcopis; Johanne Bennet, Willielmo Bird, & Georgio Newman, Militibus, in Manerio Archiepiſcopali apud Lambehith in Comitatu Surrey, judicialiter Sedentibus; Preſente Thoma Motterſhed.*

Officium Dominorum contra Johannem Selden, de Interiori Templo London, Armigerum.

The Submiſſion runs in the Form following:

My Good Lords,

I moſt humbly acknowlege my Error, which I have committed in publiſhing the Hiſtory of Tythes, *and eſpecially, in that I have at all, by ſhewing any Interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what elſe ſoever occurs in it, offer'd any Occaſion of Argument againſt any Right of Maintenance* Jure Divino *of the Miniſters of the Goſpel; Beſeeching your Lordſhips to receive this ingenuous and humble Acknowlegement, together with the unfeigned Proteſtation of my Grief, for that through it I have ſo incurred both his Majeſty's and your Lordſhips Diſpleaſure, conceiv'd againſt me in the Behalf of the Church of* England. (h)

John Selden.

This Year *James Mountague*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, departed this Life. He was Son to Sir *Edward Mountague* of *Boughton* in *Northamtonſhire*, bred in *Chriſt's*, and afterwards Maſter of *Sidney*-College in *Cambridge*. This Prelate had a great Share in the King's Eſteem, publiſh'd his Majeſty's *Works*, and wrote the Preface. He was firſt preferr'd to the See of *Bath* and *Wells*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*. He lies buried in the Cathedral of *Bath*, which Church he in a Manner rebuilt at his own Charge.

Fuller.

John Overal, Biſhop of *Norwich*, died about this Time. He was Maſter of *Katherine-Hall*, and King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*. He was a ſtrong Genius, made a great Improvement in Study, and was reckon'd one of the moſt learned Controverſial Divines of his Time.

Dr. Hall*'s Return to* England *on the Score of ill Health.*

To return to the Synod of *Dort*: Dr. *Hall* finding the Air unfriendly to his Conſtitution, got his Majeſty's Leave to diſengage, and come for *England*. He excus'd his going off in a Speech, in which he laments his being unſerviceable upon the Score of his Indiſpoſition, expreſſes his Eſteem of the Synod, and his Regret in parting with them. But though his Health was ſunk, his Oration is lively and florid, as the *Reader* may ſee in the *Records*. (i) *Hall* was ſucceeded by *Thomas Goad*, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*. The Preſident receiv'd him with the Compliment of a Speech, in which among other Things he made a Panegyrick upon the King for his Care of the Synod, and not recalling one Divine till he had furniſh'd another.

In the Hundred and forty fifth Seſſion the *Belgick Confeſſion* was brought in to be ſubſcrib'd by the *Dutch*, and publickly approv'd by the foreign Divines. In this Form of Belief there was one Article which claſh'd directly with the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church. 'Tis the Thirty firſt, where 'tis expreſly affirm'd, *That the Miniſters of the Word of God, in what Place ſoever ſettled, have the ſame Advantage of Character, the ſame Juriſdiction and Authority, in Regard they are all of them equally Miniſters of Chriſt, the only univerſal Biſhop, and Head of the Church.* *

This Article being a broad Cenſure of the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, was oppos'd by the *Britiſh* Divines, and particularly by Biſhop *Carleton*, who publickly proteſted againſt it. This *Proteſtation*, though admitted, and poſſibly enter'd upon Record, was not ſo far conſider'd as to receive an Anſwer. In what Form this Exception was couched the Reader may ſee from the Biſhops *Declaration*, publiſh'd upon his Return into *England*. His Words are theſe:

Biſhop Carleton*'s Proteſtation in the Synod in Behalf of Epiſcopacy.*

> *When we were to yield our Conſent to the* Belgick *Confeſſion at* Dort, *I made open Proteſtation in the Synod, That whereas in the Confeſſion there was inſerted a ſtrange Conceit of the Parity of Miniſters to be inſtituted by Chriſt, I declar'd our Diſſent utterly in that Point. I ſhow'd, that by Chriſt a Parity was never inſtituted in the Church: That he ordain'd Twelve Apoſtles, as alſo Seventy Diſciples: That the Authority of the Twelve was above the other: That the Church preſerv'd this Order left by our Savionr. And therefore, when the Extraordinary Power of the Apoſtles ceas'd, yet this ordinary Authority continued in Biſhops, who ſucceeded them, who were by the Apoſtles left in the Government of the Church, to ordain Miniſters, and to ſee that they who were ſo ordain'd ſhould preach no other Doctrine: That in an Inferior Degree the Miniſters, who were govern'd by Biſhops, ſucceeded the Seventy Diſciples: That this Order hath been maintain'd in the Church from the Times of the Apoſtles. And herein I appeal'd to the Judgment of Antiquity, and to the Judgment of any Learned Man now living; and craved herein to be ſatisfied, if any Man of Learning could ſpeak to the contrary. My Lord of* Salisbury *is my Witneſs, and ſo are all the reſt of our Company, who ſpake alſo in the Cauſe.*

(g) Acta Synod. Dordrac. *Pag* 64.

(h) Tilleſly's *Animadverſions upon* Selden's *Hiſtory of Tythes.* Preface *printed* 1621.

(i) *See Records*, Num. CVI.

* Cæterum ubi ſint locorum verbi Dei miniſtri, eandem illi atq; æqualem omnes habent tum Poteſtatem tum Auctoritatem ut qui ſint æque omnes Chriſti unici illius Epiſcopi univerſalis & Capitis Eccleſiæ, Miniſtri. Syntagm. Confeſſ. Belgic. Confeſſ. Confeſſion. *Pag.* 179.

The Dutch Divines Excuſe for living without Epiſcopacy.

To this the Biſhop ſubjoins, That in a Conference with ſome Divines of that *Synod* he told them, *The Cauſe of all their Troubles, was becauſe they had no Biſhops amongſt them, who by their Authority might repreſs turbulent Spirits that broach'd Novelty, every Man having Liberty to ſpeak or write what they liſt: And that as long as there were no Eccleſiaſtical Men in Authority to repreſs and cenſure ſuch Contentious Spirits, their Church could never be without Trouble.* To this their Anſwer was, That they had a great Honour for the good Order and Diſcipline in the Church of *England*, and heartily wiſh'd they could eſtabliſh themſelves upon this Model: But they had no Proſpect of ſuch a Happineſs; and ſince the Civil Government had made their Deſires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them.

By the Way; The *States* upon their Revolt from the King of *Spain* deſtroy'd ſeven *Sees*, and applied the Revenues to the publick Service. The Names of them are theſe; the Biſhoprick of *Harlem* in *Holland*, of *Middleborough* in *Zealand*, of *Lewarden* in *Friezland*, of *Groningue* in *Groningen*, of *Deventer* in *Overyſſell*, of *Ruremonde* in *Guelderland*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Utrecht*, to which the Biſhops of the other *Sees* above-mentioned were *Suffragans*.

Thus, 'tis poſſible, the Gain of Sacrilege prevail'd to break the Apoſtolical Government. Thoſe at the *Helm* might be averſe to the continuing Epiſcopacy, for Fear ſome Part of the old Endowments ſhould be expected to maintain it. Thus the *Miter* was ſent to the *Mint*, to keep the *New Exchequer* in Caſh: The *Croſier* was ſeized, and a *Staff* provided inſtead of it. Some People love a cheap Religion, and a poor Clergy: A Clergy without Strength either in Character or Circumſtances. This is the Way to make *Diſcipline* low and eaſy; to check the Freedom of the Pulpits, and prevent their being troubleſome to the Shop and *Exchange*.

To proceed; Church Government was not the only Point in Difference between the *Dutch* and *Britiſh* Divines: For theſe latter aſſerted an Univerſality of Redemption by the Death of Chriſt. But this would by no Means paſs upon the Majority. In ſhort, the *Arminian* Tenents were condemn'd, and the *Remonſtrants* requir'd to ſubſcribe the Cenſure of their own Doctrine. And upon their Refuſal of this Condition, about Seven hundred Families were baniſh'd by an Order of the States General.

April 29. An. Dom. 1619. *The Breaking up of the Synod of* Dort.

At the Breaking up of the *Synod* the Government preſented the *Engliſh* Divines with 200 *l.* to bear the Expences of their Voyage: They had likewiſe each of them a Golden Medal, repreſenting the Figure of the Synod. And at their going off, the *States* gave them their Letter to the King: In which, after having own'd their Obligation to his Majeſty for his Regard to their Church: They make an honourable Mention of theſe Divines in general; and then add a diſtinguiſhing Commendation of the Biſhop of *Landaff*. (*k*)

(*k*) *See Records*, Num. CVII.

Some Queries upon the Authority of this Meetning.

As to the Authority of the *Synod* of *Dort*, a few Queries may be put to the *Reader*'s Solution. But before I do this, I ſhall ſuppoſe theſe *Dort* Divines to have been all Presbyters, or at leaſt, to have ſet up their Reformation upon Prieſts Orders, convey'd by ſome of the Epiſcopal College. I ſay, for Brevity's Sake, I ſhall ſuppoſe this, and enter upon no Diſquiſition touching Matter of Fact. This being ſuppoſed, the *Firſt* Query is,

Whether the Genuineneſs of St. *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles is not proved beyond Exception by Biſhop *Pearſon*? Granting this; Whether that celebrated Martyr, who makes the Epiſcopal Office ſo abſolutely neceſſary in the Church; whether that celebrated Martyr, if living, would have aſſiſted at this Synod?

Secondly, Whether thoſe Primitive Biſhops who drew up the Thirty ſeventh and Thirty ninth of the *Apoſtles Canons*, would have allow'd a Company of Presbyters a *Conciliary* Character, and the Claim of a Supream Eccleſiaſtical Authority?

Thirdly, Whether the famous *Synod* of *Alexandria*, already mention'd, that cenſur'd *Iſchyras* and *Colluthus* would have taken theſe *Divines* by the Hand, or held any Church-Correſpondence with them?

Fourthly, Whether by the Diſcipline, and general Practice of the ancient Church, the *Dort-Meeting* would not have been counted an Invaſion upon the Epiſcopal College?

Fifthly, Whether the ſigning the Thirty firſt Article of the *Belgick-Confeſſion*, and declaring for a *Parity* in the Miniſtry, does not imply a Revolt from the Eccleſiaſtical Authority ſettled by the Apoſtles, and univerſally received for 1500 Years together?

Sixthly, Whether the Words **Proteſtant** and **Reformed**, clap'd to any *Sect* of Chriſtians, have Force ſufficient to alter the original Seat of Church Government, to renverſe the ancient Diſcipline, and turn the Spiritual Legiſlature into a new Channel? But I ſhall paſs on, and leave theſe Queries to the *Reader*'s Determination.

As to the Management of the Synod of *Dort*, 'tis foreign to our Purpoſe; and therefore I ſhall wave relating the Partiality of their Proceedings, the hard Uſage put upon the *Remonſtrants*, and the Squabbles among themſelves: For whatever this *Synod* may ſignify in ſome Places, we have nothing to do with it.

The *Engliſh* that appear'd there were no other than four Court-Divines: Their Commiſſion and Inſtructions were only from the King: Properly ſpeaking, they were no more than his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries: They had no Delegation from the Biſhops, and by Conſequence were no Repreſentatives of the *Britiſh* Church. The next Inference is, That what was done *There* can have no binding Force upon the *Engliſh* Communion.

The Bohemians *refuſe to acknowlege the Emperor* Ferdinand *the Second.*

About this Time *Frederick*, Elector Palatine, the King's Son in Law, engag'd in a very unfortunate Enterpriſe, and by graſping at the Crown of *Bohemia*, loſt his own Dominions. To give the Reader a ſhort Account of this Matter, I muſt take my Riſe a little higher.

In the Reign of the Emperor *Rodolphus* the Second, the *Calvinian* Confeſſioniſts in *Bohemia* being apprehenſive the *Roman* Catholicks had form'd a ſtrong Party againſt them, met in a General Aſſembly at *New Prague*, in the Year 1609. This Meeting, though not conven'd by the Emperor's Authority, made a publick Proteſtation of their Duty; and that their Buſineſs was only to promote his Majeſty's Service, and prevent the Deſigns of *Evil Councellors*. Upon this they write to the King of *Hungary*, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Brunſwick*, and other Princes of the *Empire*, requeſting them to ſolicit at *Vienna* for a Toleration of their Religion: For their *Belief*, as they affirm'd, was the ſame in Subſtance with the *Augsbourg* Confeſſion. After this they addreſs the Emperor in expoſtulating Terms: They complain how much they had been diſappointed from Time to Time: And in fine, take the Freedom to acquaint him they intend to exert themſelves in the *Field*: But then this Motion, as they ſaid, ſhould be only in Defence of his Imperial Majeſty, and to protect themſelves from the Practice of their Enemies: Purſuant to this Remonſtrance, they levy a conſiderable Army well officer'd, and march boldly into *Prague*. They likewiſe procured an Embaſſy from the Elector of *Saxony*, and the *States* of *Sileſia*, who interceded for them. This Application open'd the Emperor a Paſſage to give Way with ſomething of Honour, and put a better Complexion upon his Conceſſions: For notwithſtanding their Petition would have look'd well, had it been drawn in dutiful and unmenacing Expreſſions, the Emperor 'tis likely would not have gone their whole Length in his Condeſcenſions. But now being under a Neceſſity, he gave them a Toleration in Form, which continued undiſturb'd during his Reign.

They proffer the Crown to the Elector Palatine, *who accepts it.*

This Prince was ſucceeded in the Empire by his Brother *Mathias*, who reſign'd the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to his Couſin *Ferdinand* Arch-Duke of *Gratz*. *Ferdinand* was likewiſe elected to this Kingdom, but not with that general Conſent of the *States*, which appear'd for his Predeceſſor. For this Reaſon, the *Bohemians* conteſted the Legality of the Election, diſclaim'd *Ferdinand*, applied to the Elector *Palatine*, and offer'd him the Crown. And now *Ferdinand*, upon the Death of *Mathias*, was choſen Emperor. The *Palſgrave* ſtood ill with the Court of *Vienna*, firſt for Projecting the Confederacy of the Calviniſtick *Princes of the Union*: And *Secondly*, for razing the Fortifications at *Udenhaine*, made by the late Emperor's Orders: And for which he was proſecuted in the *Chamber of Spiers*. By the *Toleration-Edict* of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, the *Bohemian Evangelicks* had the Liberty of Building Churches in Towns and Villages: And this Privilege, as they conſtrued it, extended to the Precincts of the *Roman* Catholick Lords. But this Senſe of the Article was not agreed to by the Papiſts, who ſtop'd the Building of their Churches in their own Lordſhips. Upon this the Rupture began, the *Bohemians* ran to Arms, and endeavour'd to make an Alliance with the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire. In ſhort, the Elector *Palatine* hearkens to their Propoſal, ſends to the King of *England* for his Advice upon the Juncture, but cloſes with the *Bohemians*, and accepts the Crown, before 'twas poſſible for his Father in Law to return him an Anſwer. (*l*)

This News was very ſurprizing to the King: However, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who ſeems biaſs'd towards *Calviniſm*, mov'd ſtrongly for ſupporting the Elector *Palatine*. And being in no Condition to come abroad, he wrote his Opinion in a very warm Strein to Secretary *Nanton*. His Letter is in theſe Words.

Archbiſhop Abbot's *Letter to Secretary* Nanton *in Behalf of the Elector.*

Good Mr. Secretary,

“I have never more deſired to be preſent at any Conſultation, than that which is this Day to be handled; for my Heart, and all my Heart goeth with it; but my Foot is worſe than it was on *Friday*, ſo that by Advice of my Phyſician, I have ſweat this whole Night paſt, and am directed to keep my Bed this Day.

“But for the Matter, my humble Advice is, that there is no going back, but a Countenancing of it againſt all the World; yea ſo far, as with Ringing of Bells, and making of Bonfires in *London*, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be certainly underſtood that the Coronation is paſt. I am ſatisfied in my Conſcience, that the Cauſe is juſt, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody Man; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he hath taken a Courſe to make that Kingdom not elective, but to take it from the Donation of another Man. And when God hath ſet up the Prince that is choſen to be a Mark of Honour thro' all Chriſtendom, to propagate his Goſpel, and to protect the Oppreſs'd; I dare not for my Part give Advice, but to follow where God Leads.

“It is a great Honour to the King our Maſter, That he hath ſuch a Son, whoſe Virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And methinks, I do in this, and that of *Hungary*, foreſee the Work of God, That by Piece and Piece, the Kings of the Earth, that gave their Power unto the *Beaſt* (all the Word of God muſt be fulfill'd) ſhall now tear the *Whore*, and make her deſolate, as St. *John* in his *Revelation* hath foretold. I pray you therefore with all the Spirits you have, to put Life into this Buſineſs; and let a Return be made into *Germany* with Speed, and with Comfort, and let it be really proſecuted, that it may appear to the World, that we are awake when God in this Sort calleth us.

“If I had Time to expreſs it, I could be very Angry at the Shuffling which was uſed toward my Lord *Doncaſter*, and the Slighting of his Embaſſage ſo, which cannot but touch upon our great Maſter who did ſend him; and therefore I would never have a noble Son forſaken, for Reſpect of them who truly aim at nothing but their own Purpoſes.

“Our ſtriking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palſgrave*, will ſtrengthen the Union, will bring on the *States* of the Low-Countries, will ſtir up the King of *Denmark*, and will move his Two Uncles, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Duke of *Bovillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in *France*) to caſt in their Shares; and *Hungary*, as I hope (being in that ſame Cauſe) will run the ſame Fortune. For the Means to ſupport the War, I hope *providebit Deus*: The Parliament is the Old and honourable Way, but how aſſured at this Time, I know not; yet I will hope the beſt: Certainly, if Countenance be given to the Action, many brave Spirits will voluntarily go. Our great Maſter in ſufficient Want of Money, gave ſome Aid to the Duke of *Savoy*, and furniſh'd out a pretty Army in the Cauſe of *Cleve*. We muſt try once again what can be done in this Buſineſs of a higher Nature, and all the Money that may be ſpared, is to be turned that Way. And perhaps God provided the Jewels that were laid up in the *Tower* to be gather'd by the Mother for the Preſervation of her Daughter; who like a noble Princeſs hath profeſs'd to her Huſband, not to leave her ſelf one Jewel, rather than not to maintain ſo religious and righteous a Cauſe. You ſee that lying on my Bed, I have gone too far; but if I were with you, this ſhould be my Language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to repreſent to the King my Maſter, telling him, that when I can ſtand, I hope to do his Majeſty ſome Service herein. So commending me unto you, I remain, (*m*)

Your very Loving Friend,

Georg. Cant.

Thus

(*l*) Aerius redivivus. Ruſhworth's *Collect. Vol.* I. *Annals of King* James.

(*m*) Cabbala Edit. 1691. *pag.* 102.

King James *refuſes to own his Son in Law King of* Bohemia.

Thus the Archbiſhop expreſs'd his Zeal, and I am willing to believe his Conſcience went along with it. But the King, who had better Opportunities for pronouncing upon the Merits of the Cauſe, was of a different Sentiment: He would by no Means follow his Son in Law's Meaſures: He neither ſaluted him in his new Title, nor ſuffer'd his being pray'd for in Churches in any higher Diſtinction than that of *Prince Palatine*.

Nov. 8. 1620.

The defeat of this Prince's Forces in a main Battle at *Prague*, was follow'd by the Loſs of the *Palatinates*; inſomuch, That the Elector and the Princeſs, were forced to quit their own Country, and retire into *Holland*.

On the 30th of *January* the King called a Parliament, and open'd the *Seſſion* with a Speech. Some Part of what his Majeſty deliver'd will acquaint us farther with his Judgment upon the *Bohemian* War, and may not be foreign to the Subject in Hand.

The King cenſured for treating a Match between his Son Prince Charles, *and the* Infanta *of* Spain.

As to Religion, the King remarks there were Laws enough, provided the true Meaning of them was purſued. "That the Maintenance of Religion conſiſted in Two Points, *Perſuaſion* and *Compulſion*, and that the latter Method ought never to be uſed, but where the firſt proves unſucceſsful. However, his Majeſty thinks the Iſſue ought not to be wholy caſt on the Goodneſs of the Cauſe: That Error ſhould be under Reſtraint: And neither the *Jeſuits* or *Puritans* be ſuffer'd to range at Diſcretion." And now, continues the King, "Becauſe a Rumor is ſpread, That I ſhould tolerate Religion in Reſpect of this Match, which has been long treated with *Spain* for my Son; I profeſs I will do nothing therein which ſhall not be honourable, and for the Good of Religion: The Trial which you have had of my Works and Writings, wherein I have been a Martyr, tortur'd in the Mouths of many idle Fellows, may give you ample Teſtimony of my Integrity, in ſuch a Sort, as I hope you truſt the Wiſdom of your King ſo far, as that I will never do one Thing in private, and another Thing in publick: But if after this my Declaration, any ſhall trangreſs, blame me not if I ſee them ſeverely puniſh'd.

The King declares his Diſlike of the Elector's accepting the Crown of Bohemia, *and why.*

Having gone over this Head, he tells them his chief Motive for calling them together, was for furniſhing Supplies. And now to ſpeak in his Majeſty's Perſon and Words, "The next Reaſon for Meeting you here, is for an urgent Neceſſity; the miſerable and torn Eſtate of Chriſtendom; which none that hath an honeſt Heart, can look on without a weeping Eye. I was not the Cauſe of the Beginning thereof (God knows) but I pray God I may be a happy Inſtrument of a happy Ending the Wars in *Bohemia*, I mean, *wherein the States expell'd the Emperor, and choſe my Son in Law their King*: I was requeſted at Firſt by both Sides to make an Agreement between them: Which coſt me 3000 *l.* in ſending *Doncaſter* on an Embaſſy for that Purpoſe. In the mean Time they caſt of all Allegiance, and choſe my Son, who ſent to me to know whether he ſhould take the *Crown* upon him or not; *and yet*, within Three Days after, before I could return my Anſwer, took the Crown on his Head; and then I was loath to meddle in it at all for Three Reaſons.

"*Firſt*, I would not make Religion the Cauſe of depoſing Kings. I leave that Cauſe to the Jeſuits, to make Religion a Cauſe to take away Crowns.

"Next I was not a fit Judge between them: For they might after ſay to me, as he ſaid to *Moſes*, *Who made thee a Judge over us?* And my ſelf would not be content that they ſhould judge whether I were a King or not.

"*Laſtly*, Becauſe I had been a Medler between them, and then to determine my Son might take the Crown upon him, had been improper; and yet I left not off ſo far, as Nature compell'd me, to admit his Good, I permitted a voluntary Contribution to preſerve the *Palatinate*, which came to a great Sum. For that Purpoſe I borrow'd alſo Seventy five thouſand Pounds of my Brother of *Denmark*, and have now ſent to him to make it up a Hundred thouſand Pounds, *&c.* (n)

The King thus frankly declaring himſelf, diſguſted the *Engliſh Puritans*, and thoſe of their Perſuaſion *Abroad*. But among the *Lutherans* and others, his prefering the Regards of Juſtice to Intereſt and Blood, gave a Luſtre to his Honour, and gain'd him the Reputation of a Religious Prince.

Archbiſhop Abbot's *Miſfortune at* Bramzil *Park*.

The next Summer Archbiſhop *Abbot* being invited by the Lord *Zouch* to kill a Buck at his Park at *Bramzil* in *Hampſhire*, met with a very calamitous Accident. For ſhooting at a Deer with a Croſs-bow, the *Keeper* coming up unwarily too forward, was ſtruck with the Arrow under the left Arm, and died about an Hour after. The King inform'd of this Miſfortune, and apprehenſive Scandal might be given, if the Matter was paſs'd over, reſolv'd to have the Caſe thoroughly examin'd. To this Purpoſe the following Letter was directed to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, St. *Davids*, and *Exeter*, Sir *Henry Hubbart* Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, Mr. Juſtice *Dodderidge*, Sir *Henry Martin*, and Mr. Dr. *Steward*, or any Six of them, whereof the Lord Keeper (then Biſhop of *Lincoln*) the Biſhops of *London*, *Winton*, and St. *Davids* to be four.

The King's Letter to ſeveral Biſhops, Judges, &c. *to examine the Caſe.*

"It is not Unknown unto you what happen'd this laſt Summer unfortunately to our Right Truſty, and our Right well-beloved Counſellor, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who ſhooting at a Deer with a Croſs-bow in *Bramzil* Park, did with that ſhoot caſually give the Keeper a Wound, whereof he died. Which Accident, tho' it might have happen'd to any other Man, yet becauſe his eminent Rank and Function in the Church, hath (as we are informed) miniſtred Occaſion of ſome Doubts, as making the Caſe different in his Perſon, in Reſpect of the Scandal (as is ſuppos'd) We therefore being deſirous (as it is fit we ſhould) to be ſatisfied therein, and repoſing eſpecial Truſt in your Learning and Judgment; have made Choice of you to inform us concerning the Nature of the Caſe: And do therefore require you to take it preſently into your Conſideration, and the Scandal that may have riſen thereupon: And to certify us, what in your Judgments the ſame may amount unto, either to an *Irregularity*, or otherwiſe. And laſtly, What Means may be found to redreſs the ſame (if need be) of all which Points we ſhall expect to hear your Reports, with what Diligence and Expedition you poſſibly may. Dated at *Theobalds*, 3d *Octob.* 1621. (*o*)

(*n*) *Annal.* King James, *pag.* 49.

(*o*) *Archbiſhop* Sancroft's *Papers. See Preface to* Reliq. Spelman.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

To this Letter the Biſhops and others, to whom the Conſideration of the Archbiſhop's Caſe was refer'd, return'd their Anſwer in theſe Words.

Their Anſwer to his Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

“ Whereas we receiv'd a Command from your Majeſty under your Royal Signet, to deliver our Opinions unto your Majeſty, whether an Irregularity or Scandal might ariſe by this unfortunate Act, which God permitted to come to paſs by the Hand of the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhooting in a Croſs-bow at a Deer in *Bramzil* Park; as alſo of the Cure and Remedy of the ſame Irregularity, in Caſe it ſhould be ſo adjug'd; we do in all Lowlineſs and Humility return this Account to your Majeſty.

For the Firſt,

“ Whether any Irregularity be contracted by this Act, in the Perſon of my Lord Archbiſhop, or not? No greater Part of our Number could aſſent or agree: Becauſe the Canons and Decrees themſelves are ſo general and ſo ready to entertain Diſtinctions and Limitations, the Doctors and Gloſſes ſo differing, Inferences and Diſputes ſo peculiar to every Man's Conceit and Apprehenſion, Authorities of Canoniſts and Caſuiſts, ſo oppoſite in this very Caſe in Hand; that we could not return unto your Majeſty any unanimous Reſolution or Opinion in the ſame.

For the Second,

“ Whether any Scandal may ariſe out of this Act? We are of Opinion, a Scandal may be taken by the Weak at home, and the Malitious abroad; tho' moſt of us believe, there was no Scandal given by the ſaid Right Reverend Father.

For the Third,

“ We are all agreed, not only that a Reſtitution or Diſpenſation may be granted by your Majeſty, either immediately under the great Seal, or (which moſt of us in all Humility repreſent unto your Majeſty) by the Hands of ſome Clergymen, delegated by your Majeſty for that Purpoſe, or what other Way your Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to extend that Favour. But withal, we are of Opinion, that it is moſt fitting for the ſaid Reverend Father, both in Regard of his Perſon, and the Honour of the Church, to ſue unto your moſt gracious Majeſty for the ſaid Diſpenſation *in majorem Cautelam, ſi qua fortè ſit Irregularitas.* All which, craving Pardon for our Weakneſs, we do in all Humbleneſs ſubmit to the Deciſion of your Majeſty's moſt Profound and incomparable Wiſdom.

Cir. Di. 10 Nov.
1621.

Jo. Linc. Elect. C. S.
Geo. *London.*
La. Winton.
Jo. Roffens.
Guil. Menevens, Elect.
Valen. Exon, Elect.
Henr. Hobart.
Jo. Doddridge.
H. Marten.
Ny. Stywarde.

1621.

The Archbiſhop govern'd by this Advice, and applying to the King, his Majeſty directed a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper; to the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Norwich Coventry* and *Litchfield*, to the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, and *Chicheſter*, impowering them, or any Six of them, (of which the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Norwich* were to be of the *Quorum*) to diſpenſe with any *Irregularity*, or Suſpicion of *Irregularity*, in Caſe the late Accident had drawn any ſuch Blemiſh or Imputation upon the Archbiſhop. By this *Inſtrument*, the *Canons*, in Caſe there was Need, are overrul'd and diſpens'd with. The Force of *Abbot*'s Character is reviv'd, and he is fully reſtor'd to the Exerciſes of his Function. This is a wonderful Relief from the *Crown!* And ſuppoſes a *Patriarchal* at leaſt, if not a *Papal* Authority veſted in the King! The *Record* lays the Death of the *Keeper* upon his own Raſhneſs, and Want of Care, makes the Homicide perfectly caſual, that the Archbiſhop was in no Degree to blame for the Misfortune: And that this Requeſting his Majeſty for a *Diſpenſation*, was only *ad Cautelam, & ex ſuperabundanti.*

The Archbiſhop procures a Diſpenſation from the King for preventing Exceptions to his Character.

And that the *Reader* may better remark how far the *Diſpenſation* reaches, he may pleaſe to obſerve, that Irregularity lays the ſacerdotal Powers, as it were, aſleep, forfeits all Preferments, and makes the Perſon uncapable of any for the Future.

An Apology written for Archbiſhop Abbot.

To return; Beſides the favourable Report of the Archbiſhop's Caſe in the *Commiſſion*, there was a learned *Apology* drawn up for him. The Author proves Hunting for Health allow'd Clergymen: This Point he makes good from ſeveral Authorities, and diſables ſome Objections from the *Canon* Law. From hence he advances to prove that caſual Homicide ſticks no blemiſh, nor incurs any Irregularity, where the Perſon committing it was engaged in no unlawful Buſineſs or Recreation, and took all neceſſary Precaution to guard againſt Accidents. That all this might be fairly pleaded in Behalf of the Archbiſhop, is not only taken for granted in the *Diſpenſation*, but farther made out by this *Apologiſt*. For the Purpoſe, he takes Notice, that the *Canon de clerico Venatore* cited in the *Decretum* againſt the Archbiſhop, has a Mark of Cenſure and Unauthenticneſs put upon it by *Gratian*. He brings the Gloſs for Evidence, that whereas this Canon is cited out of the 4th *Council* of *Orleans*, there is no ſuch Thing there to be found. *Thirdly*, The pretended *Canon* is levell'd only againſt *Clamoſa Venatio*, but *quieta* or *modeſta* is allow'd by the *Canoniſts*: Now this latter was the Recreation in which the Misfortune happen'd at *Bramzil*, as may be ſeen in the *Diſpenſing Inſtrument*. The *Apologiſt* reinforces his Argument by obſerving, that by 35 *H.* 8. *cap.* 16. No *Canon* is in Force in *England*, which claſhes with the Laws and *Statutes* of this Realm, or the Prerogative Royal: And that the *Canon* urg'd againſt *Abbot*, is of this Nature. For by *Charta de Foreſta*, Archbiſhops and Biſhops have expreſs Liberty to hunt. And that from 13 *R.* 2. *cap.* 13. it follows by neceſſary Implication, That a Clergyman who has Ten Pounds *per Annum* or upwards, may keep Greyhounds or Hounds to hunt: And to mention nothing farther from him, he argues, That *Lindwood*, who was very well skill'd in the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, condemns only the Exceſſes of Hunting in Clergymen, and the undue Application of that Liberty; but does no where pronounce it as abſolutely unlawful for their Profeſſion. After this, he gives ſeveral Inſtances of Biſhops, who have us'd this Diverſion without Cenſure or Imputation. (*q*)

(*p*) See Records, Num. CVIII.

(*q*) Reliq. Spelman. *pag.* 107. & deinc.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

And laſtly, The famous Sir *Edward Coke*, upon the Queſtion being put to him by Sir *Henry Saville*, *Whether a Biſhop may hunt in a Park by the Laws of the Realm*, anſwer'd affirmatively in theſe Words; *He may hunt by the Laws of the Realm, by this very Token, that there is an old Law, that a Biſhop when dying is to leave his Pack of Dogs* (call'd *muta Canum*) *to the King's free Uſe and Diſpoſal.*

Id. *Pag.* 111.

To this *Apology* there is an Anſwer return'd, as 'tis ſaid, by Sir *Henry Spelman*: But this Diſcourſe looks ſtrein'd, and diſcovers ſomething of a proſecuting Humour; and I can't help ſaying it falls ſhort of that Strength and Candour, cuſtomary to this learned Gentleman: And therefore being a *Poſthumous* Work, I would willingly believe, ſome Part of it at leaſt, was the Product of another Hand.

But notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop's Recreation, and his Precaution againſt Misfortune, was defenſible, yet his being excus'd the Forms of Law, and not brought to a Trial for this caſual Homicide, was ſomething remarkable. His being thus ſcreen'd from cuſtomary Proſecution, is I ſuppoſe, owing to the Protection of the *Diſpenſation* above-mention'd.

This Year *John King*, Biſhop of *London*, departed this Life. His Father was Page to King *Henry* the VIIIth, and deſcended from the *Saxon* Kings in *Devonſhire.* * Sir *Edward Coke* gives him the Character of the beſt Speaker in the *Star-Chamber* in his Time He had been Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and as hath been obſerv'd, was one of the Four Preachers at the *Hampton-Court Conference.* He was an exemplary Prelate, and had a good Talent for the Pulpit. His Lectures upon *Jonas*, and ſeveral Sermons are in Print. After his Death, his Memory was ill uſed by one *Gregory Fiſher*, alias *Muſquet*, who publiſh'd a Book, entitled, *The Biſhop of* London *his Legacy, or certain Motives of Dr.* King, *Biſhop of* London, *for his Change of Religion, and dying in the Catholick and* Roman *Church, with a Concluſion to his Brethren the Biſhops of* England. Printed *permiſſu Superiorum*, in the Year 1621. But that this Narrative was all Falſhood, the Biſhop's Son, *Henry King*, declar'd ſoon after in a Sermon preach'd at *Paul's* Croſs. The Forgery is likewiſe detected by *Godwin*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, in the Appendix to his *Commentarius de Præſulibus Angliæ*, printed 1622. And laſty, the Calumny is refuted by *John Gee*, in a Tract of his, called, *The Foot out of the Snare.* *

* Stow's *Survey of* London, *pag.* 575.

* Cap. 12.

Dr. Laud *made Biſhop of* St. Davids.

About this Time, Dr. *Laud* was prefer'd to the *See* of St. *Davids*, at the Recommendation, as 'tis ſaid, of Biſhop *Williams*, * there had been ſome claſhing, as has been already related, between *Laud* and *Robert Abbot*, Divinity *Profeſſor* in *Oxford*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*. And becauſe *Laud* appear'd on the *Remonſtrants* Side in the *Quinquarticular* Controverſy, *Ruſhworth* endeavours to repreſent him as Popiſhly affected. But his learned Book againſt *Fiſher*, to mention nothing more, is enough to confute this Calumny.

* *See Arch biſhop* Laud's *Diary, pag.* 4.

And now to give a ſmoother Courſe to the Treaty of the *Spaniſh* Match, and procure better Quarter for the *Proteſtants* in *Roman* Catholick Countries, the King thought fit not to inſiſt on the Rigour of the Laws, but diſcharg'd ſome Popiſh Recuſants upon their giving ſufficient Securities for Appearance and good Behaviour: To this Purpoſe the Lord Keeper was order'd to write to the Judges to this Effect.

Recuſants diſcharg'd out of Priſon upon ſufficient Securities.

James I.

The Lord Keeper William's *Letter to the Judges.*

That the King having upon deep Reaſons of State, and in Expectation of the like Correſpondence from foreign Princes to the Profeſſors of our Religion, reſolv'd to grant ſome Grace to the impriſon'd Papiſts, had commanded him to paſs ſome Writs under the broad Seal for that Purpoſe. Wherefore 'tis his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they make no Niceneſs or Difficulty to extend his Princely Favour to all ſuch as they ſhall find Priſoners in the Gaols of their Circuits, for any Church Recuſancy, or refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, or diſperſing of Popiſh Books, or any other Point of Recuſancy that ſhall concern Religion only, and not Matters of State. (q)

(q) *Annal.* King James. Ruſhworth's *Collections, Vol.* 1.

But this Lenity being not generally well receiv'd, the Lord *Keeper* in another Letter to the Judges, endeavours to prevent Miſconſtruction, and juſtifies the King's Conduct more at large. The Letter runs thus:

Another Letter of the Lord Keeper to the Judges to juſtify the Government.

“ As the Sun in the Firmament appears to us no bigger than a Platter, and the Stars are but as ſo many Nails in the Pummel of a Saddle, becauſe of the Enlargement and Diſproportion between our Eye and the Object: So is there ſuch an unmeaſurable Diſtance between the deep Reſolution of a Prince, and the ſhallow Apprehenſions of common and ordinary People; that as they will ever be judging and cenſuring, ſo they muſt needs be obnoxious to Error and Miſtaking. The King is now a moſt zealous Interceſſor for ſome Eaſe and Refreſhment to all the Proteſtants in *Europe*, which were unreaſonable, if he did now execute the Rigour of his Laws againſt the *Roman* Catholicks.

“ Our viperous Countrymen, the *Engliſh* Jeſuits in *France*, had many Months before the Favour granted, invited the *French* King, by Writing a malitious Book, to put all the *Statutes* in Execution againſt the Proteſtants in thoſe Parts, which were enacted in *England* againſt the Papiſts, and (as they falſely informed) ſeverely executed. Beſides, theſe Papiſts are no otherwiſe out of Priſon, than with their Shackles about their Heels, ſufficient Sureties, and good Recognizances, to preſent themſelves at the next Aſſizes; and their own Demeanor and the Succeſs of his Majeſty's Negotiations muſt determine, whether they ſhall continue in this Grace.

“ But to conclude, from the Favour done to the *Engliſh* Papiſts, That the King favours the Romiſh Religion, is a Compoſition of Folly and Malice, little deſerved by a gracious Prince, who by Word, Writing, Exerciſe of Religion, and Acts of Parliament, hath demonſtrated himſelf ſo reſolved a Proteſtant.

As for his own Letter to the Judges, he ſaid, “ It recited only Four Kinds of Recuſancy, capable of the King's Clemency, not ſo much to include them, as to exclude many other Crimes, bearing the Name of Recuſancy, as, uſing the Function of a Romiſh Prieſt, ſeducing the King's Liege People from the eſtabliſh'd Religion, aſperſing the King, Church, or State, or the preſent Government.

“ All which Offences, being outward Practices, and no ſecret Motions of the Conſcience, are adjudg'd by the Law of *England*, to be merely Civil and Political, and are excluded by the Letter, from the Benefit of thoſe *Writs.*

The *Quinquarticular* Controverſy growing warm, and breaking the People into Parties, the King wrote to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and ſent the following Directions for the Clergy.

The King's Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

“ Moſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty and intirely beloved Counſellor, we greet “you well. Foraſmuch as the Abuſes and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been in all Times ſuppreſs'd in this Realm by ſome Act of *Council*, or *State*, with the Advice and Reſolution of grave and learned Prelates: Inſomuch that the very Licenſing of Preachers had the Beginning by an Order of *Star-Chamber*, the 8th Day of *July*, in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, our noble Predeceſſor: And whereas at this Preſent, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers, and ungrounded Divines, do broach many Times unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to the Scandal of the Church, and Diſquiet of the State, and preſent Government. We, upon humble Repreſentation unto us of theſe Inconveniencies by your ſelf, and ſundry other grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, as alſo of our Princely Care and Zeal for the Extirpation of Schiſm and Diſſention growing from theſe Seeds, and for the ſettling a religious and peaceable Government, both in Church and Commonwealth, do by theſe our ſpecial Letters, ſtraitly charge and command you, to uſe all poſſible Care and Diligence, that theſe Limitations and Cautions herewith ſent unto you, concerning Preachers, be duly and ſtrictly from henceforth put in Practice, and obſerv'd by the ſeveral Biſhops within your Juriſdiction. And to this End our Pleaſure is, that you ſend them forthwith Copies of theſe Directions, to be by them ſpeedily ſent and communicated unto every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, and Miniſter in every Cathedral or Pariſh-Church within their ſeveral Dioceſes: And that you earneſtly require them to employ their utmoſt Endeavours in the Performance of this ſo important a Buſineſs; letting them know, that we have a ſpecial Eye unto their Proceedings, and expect a ſtrict Account thereof, both from you and every of them. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that behalf.

Given under our Signet at the Caſtle of Windſor, *&c.*

His Majeſty's Directions for the Preachers are theſe:

His Majeſty's Directions to the Pulpits.

“I. That no Preacher under the Degree and Calling of a Biſhop, or Dean of a Cathedral, or Collegiate Church (and they upon the King's Days, and ſet Feſtivals) do take Occaſion by the Expounding any Text of *Scripture* whatſoever, to fall into any Set-diſcourſe or Common Place, otherwiſe than by opening the Coherence and Diviſion of the Text, which ſhall not be comprehended and warranted in Eſſence, Subſtance, Effect, or Natural Inference, within ſome one of the *Articles* of Religion ſet forth One thouſand five hundred ſixty and two, or in ſome of the *Homilies* ſet forth by Authority of the Church of *England*; not only for a Help for the Non-preaching, but withal for a Pattern and Boundary (as it were) for the Preaching Miniſters. And for their farther Inſtructions for the Performance hereof, that they forthwith read over, and peruſe diligently the ſaid Book of *Articles*, and the Two Books of *Homilies*.

“II. That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate or Lecturer ſhall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon *Sundays* or *Holy-days* in the Afternoon in any Cathedral or Pariſh-Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon ſome Part of the *Catechiſm*, or ſome Text taken out of the *Creed*, Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer, (Funeral Sermons only excepted): And that thoſe Preachers be moſt encouraged and approv'd of, who ſpend the Afternoon's Exerciſe in the Examination of Children in their *Catechiſm*, which is the moſt ancient and laudable Cuſtom of teaching in the Church of *England*.

“III. That no Preacher of what Title ſoever, under the Degree of a Biſhop, or Dean at the leaſt, do from henceforth preſume to preach in any popular Auditory the deep Points of Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtibility, or Irreſiſtibity of God's Grace; but leave thoſe *Themes* rather to be handled by the Learned Men, and that moderately and modeſtly by Way of Uſe and Application, rather than by Way of poſitive Doctrines, being fitter for the *Schools* than for ſimple Auditories.

“IV. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination ſoever, from henceforth ſhall preſume in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by Way of poſitive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative and Juriſdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or otherwiſe meddle with Matters of *State*, and the Differences between Princes and the People, than as they are inſtructed and preſidented in the *Homilies* of *Obedience*, and the reſt of the *Homilies* and Articles of Religion ſet forth (as before is mention'd) by publick Authority, but rather confine themſelves wholly to thoſe two Heads of Faith and good Life, which are all the Subject of the ancient Sermons and *Homilies*.

“V. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination ſoever, ſhall preſume, cauſeleſly, or (without Invitation from the Text) to fall into bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches againſt the Perſons of either *Papiſts* or *Puritans*, but modeſtly and gravely, when they are occaſioned thereunto by the Text of *Scripture*, free both the Doctrine and the Diſcipline of the Church of *England* from the Aſperſions of either Adverſary, eſpecially where the Auditory is ſuſpected to be tainted with the one or the other Infection.

“VI. Laſtly, That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Kingdom (whom his Majeſty hath good Cauſe to blame for their former Remiſneſs) be more wary and choice in their Licenſing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commiſſary, to paſs Licences in this Kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of *England*, (a new Body ſevered from the ancient Clergy, as being neither Parſons, Vicars, nor Curates) be licens'd henceforward in the Court of *Faculties*, by Recommendation of the Party from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, under his Hand and Seal, with a *Fiat* from the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Confirmation under the Great Seal of *England*: And that ſuch as do tranſgreſs any one of theſe Directions be ſuſpended by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or in his Default, by the Archbiſhop of the *Province*, *ab Officio & Beneficio*, for a Year and a Day, until his Majeſty, by the Advice of the next *Convocation*, ſhall preſcribe ſome farther Puniſhment.

The King's Directions, Anno Dom. 1622.

Theſe Directions were look'd on as a Reflection on the Diſcretion, and an unuſual Reſtraint of the Clergy. To take off this Imputation of Rigour, and explain the King to a more inoffenſive Senſe, the Lord Keeper *Williams* wrote the Biſhop of *London* the following Letter.

The Lord Keeper Williams's *Letter to the Biſhop of* London *for explaining theſe Directions.*

My very good Lord,

I doubt not before this Time you have receiv'd from me the Directions of his moſt Excellent Majeſty concerning Preaching and Preachers, which are ſo graciouſly ſet down, that no godly or diſcreet Man can otherwiſe than acknowledge that they do much tend to Edification, if he take them not up upon Report, but do punctually conſider the Tenor of the Words as they lie, and doth not give an ill Conſtruction to that which may receive a fair Interpretation. Notwithſtanding becauſe ſome few Churchmen, and many of the People have ſiniſterly conceiv'd, as we here find, that thoſe Inſtructions do tend to the Reſtraint of the Exerciſe of Preaching, and do in ſome Part abate the Number of Sermons; and ſo conſequently by Degrees do make a Breach to Ignorance and Superſtition; his Majeſty in his Princely Wiſdom hath thought fit that I ſhould advertiſe your Lordſhip of the grave and weighty Reaſons which induced his Highneſs to preſcribe that which was done.

You are therefore to know, that his Majeſty being much troubled and grieved at the Heart to hear every Day of ſo many Defections from our Religion, both to Popery and Anabaptiſm; or other Points of Separation in ſome Parts of this Kingdom: And conſidering with much Admiration, what might be the Cauſe thereof, eſpecially in the Reign of ſuch a King, who doth ſo conſtantly profeſs himſelf an open Adverſary to the Superſtition of the one, and Madneſs of the other, his Princely Wiſdom could fall upon no one greater Probability than the Lightneſs, Affectedneſs, and Unprofitableneſs of that Kind of Preaching, which hath been of late Years too much taken up in Court, Univerſity, City, and Country.

The uſual Scope of very many Preachers is noted to be ſoaring up in Points of Divinity, too deep for the Capacity of the People; or muſtering up of ſo much Reaſon, or diſplaying of their own Wit, or an ignorant meddling with civil Matters, as well in the private ſeveral Pariſhes and Corporations, as in the publick of the Kingdom, or a venting of their own Diſtaſtes, or a ſmoothing up thoſe idle Fancies (which when the Text ſhall occaſion the ſame, is not only approved, but much commended by his Royal Majeſty) both againſt the Perſons of Papiſts and Puritans.

Now the People bred up with this Kind of Teaching, and never inſtructed in the Catechiſm, *and Fundamental Grounds of Religion, are for all this airy Nouriſhment, no better than a Braſs Tabret, new Table-Books to be fill'd up either with* Manuals *and* Catechiſms *of the Popiſh Prieſts, or the Papers and Pamphlets of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts and Puritans.*

His Majeſty therefore calling to Mind the Saying of Tertullian, Id verum quod primum, *and remembring with what Doctrine the Church of* England *in her firſt and moſt happy Reformation did drive the one, and keep out the other, from poiſoning and infecting the People of this Kingdom, doth find that the whole Scope of this Doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two Books of Homilies, the leſſer and greater Catechiſm, which his Majeſty doth therefore recommend again in theſe Directions as the Themes and proper Subjects of all ſound and edifying Preaching.*

And ſo far are theſe Directions from abridging, That his Majeſty doth expect at our Hands, that it ſhould increaſe the Number of Sermons, by renewing every Sunday *in the Afternoon, in all Pariſh Churches throughout the Kingdom, that Primitive and moſt Profitable Expoſition of the Catechiſm, wherewith the People, yea very Children, may be timely ſeaſon'd and inſtructed in all the Heads of Chriſtian Religion: The which Kind of Expoſition (to our Amendment be it ſpoken) is more diligently obſerved in all the Reformed Churches of* Europe *than of late it hath been in* England. *I find his Majeſty much moved with this Neglect, and reſolv'd (if we that are Biſhops do not ſee a Reformation thereof, which I truſt we ſhall) to recommend to the Care of the Civil Magiſtrate: So far is his Highneſs from giving the leaſt Diſcouragement to ſolid Preaching, or diſcreet and religious Preachers.*

To all theſe I am to add, That it is his Majeſty's Princely Pleaſure, that both the former Directions, and thoſe Reaſons of the ſame, be fairly written in every Regiſter's Office, to the End that every Preacher, of what Denomination ſoever, may if he be ſo pleas'd, take out Copies of either of them with his own Hand gratis, *paying nothing in the Name of Fee or Expedition. But if he does uſe the Pains of the Regiſter or the Clerk, then to pay ſome moderate Fee, to be pronounc'd in open Court by the Chancellor and Commiſſaries of the Place, taking the Direction and Approbation of my Lords the Biſhops.*

Laſtly, *That from henceforward a Courſe might be taken, that every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, do make and exhibit an Account for the Performance of theſe his Majeſty's Directions, and the Reaſons for the ſame, at the enſuing Viſitation of the Biſhops and Archdeacons, paying to the Regiſter* 6 d. *for the Exhibiting. And ſo wiſhing, but withal, in his Majeſty's Name, requiring your Lordſhip to have a ſpecial and extraordinary Care of the Premiſes, I leave you to the Almighty.*

Cabala, &c. 106

September 3. 1622. *Your very Loving Friend,*

J. Lincoln, *C. S.*

And now I muſt go back to the Spring, and report a remarkable Occurrence which happen'd at *Oxford*. One Mr. *William Knight* of *Broad-Gate's Hall*, preaching on *Palm-Sunday* at St. *Peters* in the *Eaſt*, preach'd upon theſe Words; *What doſt thou here Elijah?* From hence diſcourſing on the Perſecution the Prophet lay under, and the Means he had us'd to diſintangle himſelf, he came at at laſt to this Queſtion, *Whether it was lawful for* Subjects, *when harraſs'd on the Score of Religion, to take Arms againſt their Prince in their own Defence?* And being ſo hardy as to hold the Affirmative, the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Pearce*, ſent for him, order'd him to deliver his Notes, and to diſcover thoſe who put him upon preaching this extraordinary Doctrine, and who he had preacquainted with this Buſineſs before he came into the Pulpit?

1 Kings 19.9.

Paræus's *Doctrine of Reſiſtance ſolemnly condemn'd by the Univerſity of* Oxford.

To theſe Interrogatories *Knight* return'd Anſwer, That as to the Doctrine, he follow'd the Opinion of *Paræus* now Divinity-Profeſſor at *Heidleburgh*, who in his *Comment* on the 13th Chapter of the *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*, has directly aſſerted the ſame Thing: But his principal Authority, he ſaid, was King *James*, who he underſtood was going to ſend the *Rochellers* a Reinforcement againſt their own Prince As to the other Queſtion, he told the Vice-Chancellor he had made no Body privy to his Sermon, excepting Mr. *Herbert* Vicar of *Radley* near *Abingdon*, and Mr. *Code* of his own *Houſe*.

Upon this Examination *Knight* and his two Abettors were committed. And immediately after the Vice-Chancellor wrote to *Laud*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and gave him an Account of what had paſs'd. *Laud* went to the King, and laid the Letter before him. Upon this his Majeſty order'd *Knight* and his Sermon to be brought up; who being examin'd at the Council-*Board*, and

Abbot (George) Archbiſhop of Cant.

returning the ſame Anſwer he had given the Vice-Chancellor, was ſent to the Gate-Houſe.

“ And now the King wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, commends him for his Care in impriſoning *Knight*, *Herbert* and *Code*, requiring him not to diſcharge the two latter till farther Order. The Vice-Chancellor was likewiſe commanded to appoint a Meeting of the Preſidents and Heads of Colleges and Halls, and put them in Mind of the Direction ſent thither ſome few Years ſince by his Majeſty; that is, That thoſe who deſign'd to make Divinity their Profeſſion, ſhould chiefly apply themſelves to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, of the *Councils*, and Fathers, and the ancient *School-Men*: But as for the *Moderns*, whether *Jeſuits* or *Puritans*, they ſhould wholly decline reading their Works.

April 24. An. Dom. 1622.

And to prevent young Students being debauch'd with this Doctrine of *Paræus*, the King and Council order'd his *Comment* to be burnt: But before this was done, this Book and others of reſembling Principles were cenſur'd by all the Biſhops then in *London*: Theſe Prelates declar'd themſelves fully upon the Occaſion, and condemn'd the Propoſition maintain'd by *Knight*, as plainly ſeditious, contrary to the Tenor of the Holy *Scriptures*, the Sentiments of the ancient *Fathers*, and utterly repugnant to the Doctrine and Conſtitutions of the Church of *England*.

On the laſt of *May* the King ſent down an Order, ſign'd by Fourteen of the Privy *Council*, for ſearching the publick and private Libraries and Bookſellers Shops at *Oxford*: The Deſign was to ſeize all the Copies of *Paræus* his *Comment* above-mention'd. Theſe Books being brought to the Vice-Chancellor, were publickly burnt in St. *Mary*'s Church-yard; and much about the ſame Time they were burnt at St *Paul*'s Croſs, *London*, and at *Cambridge*.

June 6.

But *Oxford* went further in Defence of the Honor and Orthodoxy of that Univerſity. To this Purpoſe an Extract was made of *Paræus* his Aſſertions on the Queſtion above-mention'd, read at a publick *Convocation*, and cenſur'd by the Heads, Doctors, and Maſters, in the Manner following. And here I ſhall give the *Reader Paræus* his Propoſitions by themſelves, as they ſtand tranſcrib'd by *Wood* from the Univerſity *Records*.

Paræus his Firſt Propoſition.

'Tis lawful for Biſhops and Paſtors, with the Conſent of the Church, to deliver wicked and unjuſt Magiſtrates to Satan; and that they ought to proceed thus far in caſe the Magiſtrates prove contumacious.

The Cenſure.

This Propoſition is erroneous, impious, and ſubverſive of Civil Government.

The Second Propoſition.

Subjects, not private ones, but plac'd in ſubordinate Magiſtracy, may lawfully make uſe of Force, and defend themſelves, the Common-wealth, and the true Religion, in the Field againſt the Chief Magiſtrate, within the Caſes and Conditions following. Firſt, When the Chief Magiſtrate turns Tyrant. Secondly, When he either forces them, or any of their Fellow Subjects upon Blaſphemy, or manifeſt Idolatry, Thirdly, When any heavy Preſſure is laid upon them by the Government. Fourthly, When Reſiſtance is the only Expedient to ſecure them their Lives, their Fortunes, and Liberty of Conſcience. But then Fifthly, They are to take Care not to make Religion and Juſtice a Colour for Intereſt and private Ambition. And Sixthly, They muſt always manage within the Rules of Moderation and Temper, and do nothing unwarrantable by Law.

James I. K.

The Cenſure.

This Propoſition is falſe and ſeditious; and the Conditions annex'd are only thrown in for a Varniſh to Rebellion, and to give a Handle for an Inſurrection to be carried on with a better Grace.

The Third Propoſition.

Subjects altogether private, and who have no Share in the Magiſtracy, in caſe they may be protected by thoſe in the Adminiſtration, that is, by thoſe in Authority under the Government; ſuch private Subjects, without a lawful Call, have no Authority to make uſe of the Sword to attack a Tyrant, either by Way of Prevention, or to defend themſelves from actual Oppreſſion and Outrage, or to Revenge themſelves for what they have ſuffer'd already.

The Cenſure.

This Aſſertion goes upon a falſe Suppoſition, and is ſcandalouſly, inſidious, and treaſonable.

The Fourth Propoſition.

When a Tyrant manages like a Highway-Man, and commits an open Rape, as it were, upon Privilege and Property; in this Caſe, Subjects, though under the moſt private Capacity, when they are in no Condition of applying to the ſubordinate Magiſtracy, nor in any Poſſibility of avoiding the Danger, may lawfully make uſe of Force, defend themſelves and their Friends againſt the Inſults of the Tyrant, and treat him in the Character of one that goes upon the Road.

The Cenſure.

This Propoſition is falſe, dangerous, and wicked: *

* Wood's Hiſt & Antiq. Univer. Oxon.

And to prevent the Spreading of ſuch Peſtiſtilent Principles for the future, the following Proviſion and Decree was paſt in the Convocation:

Firſt, *That by the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, 'tis in no Caſe lawful for Subjects to make uſe of Force againſt their Prince, nor to appear offenſively or defenſively in the Field againſt the King, either upon the Score of Religion, or any other Account whatever.*

Secondly, *That all the Doctors and Maſters, the Batchelors of Law and Phyſick, in the Univerſity of* Oxon, *ſhall ſubſcribe the Cenſure and Decree above-mention'd.*

Thirdly, *That all Perſons to be promoted to any Degree ſhall ſubſcribe theſe Cenſures, and at the ſame Time take their Corporal Oath, That they don't only at preſent condemn and deteſt the Propoſitions above-mention'd, but that they ſhall always continue of the ſame Opinion.*

The Oath follows, the Reader ſhall have it in the Language 'tis pen'd.

Tu jurabis te ex Animo & bonâ fide conſentire Decreto Convocationis habitæ die Martis, viz. viceſimo quinto die Junii Anno Dom. CIƆDCXXII. *ſuper quibuſdam Propoſitionibus, falſis, ſeditioſis, impiis, & ibidem damnatis, & quod nullam prædictarum concluſionum, earumve ſententiam docebis, defendes vel tenebis publicè aut occultè neque aliquem hujuſmodi Doctorem vel Defenſorem ope, conſilio vel favore juvabis, ſed*

ſed quantum in te eſt impedies, ita te Deus adjuvet, tactis Sacro Sanctis Dei Evangeliis.

And that *Knight*'s Doctrine might not revive upon the Scholars, an Order was made at the ſame Convocation, That the King's Directions above-mention'd, for the regulating their Studies, ſhould be hung up in the College-Chappels, and other publick Places. And from this Time *Calvin*'s Authority began to decline in the Univerſity. He was not now conſulted as their Oracle, nor taken upon Content as formerly. And as *Calvin*'s Authority ſunk, the Doctrines of the Church of *England* emerg'd, and the Fathers recover'd a juſt Eſteem. (*x*)

Id. pag. 328.

The King's Care that the Engliſh *Reformation ſhould not receive any Prejudice by the* Spaniſh *Match.*

The *Spaniſh* Match already mention'd, being ſomewhat interwoven with the Hiſtory of Religion, I ſhall touch briefly upon that Affair. In *February* laſt *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, imbark'd at *Dover*, and landed at *Boulogn* in *Picardy*. He paſs'd through *France incognito*, being attended with no Perſons of Condition, excepting *George* Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Emdymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*. His Curioſity carry'd him to the *French* Court, where he had a View of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, whom he afterwards marry'd. His Quality being ſoon diſcover'd through his Diſguiſe, the *French* King ſent after him, with Orders to bring him back: But the Prince had paſs'd *Bayonne*, and enter'd the *Spaniſh* Territories before the Meſſengers could reach him; and then riding Poſt to *Madrid*, he came to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe before the *Spaniards* were appriz'd of his Coming. The Lady courted by the Prince, was the *Infanta Maria*, Daughter to King *Philip* the Third, and Siſter to *Philip* the Fourth. And that no Diſadvantage might happen to the *Engliſh Reformation* by this Alliance, was carefully provided by the King, as appears by his Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador *Digby*. "The Matter of Religion, ſays the King, is to us of moſt principal "Conſideration; for nothing can be to us dearer "than the Honour and Safety of the Religion "we profeſs. And therefore ſeeing that this "Marriage (if it ſhall take Place) is to be with "a Lady of a different Religion from us, it "becomes us to be tender as on the one Part "to give them all Satisfaction convenient, ſo "on the other to admit nothing that may "blemiſh our Conſcience, or detract from the "Religion here eſtabliſh'd.

As for the Prince, he had been under the King's Inſtructions ſo long, and was ſo well fortify'd, that his Father was under no Apprehenſions of his being ſurpriz'd into a foreign Belief: The King thought him well prepar'd to maintain his Ground, and ſtand the Shock of a *Conference*, as appears by his Majeſty's Diſcourſe to *Maw* and *Wren* the Prince's Chaplains. Theſe Divines when they went to wait upon the King for his Commands, how they were to manage at the Court of *Madrid*, he adviſ'd them, amongſt other Things, not to engage unneceſſarily in Religious Controverſie, but to act defenſively in Caſe of a Challenge. And when 'twas anſwer'd, They ſhould have no Motive to venture upon ſuch Diſputes, in Regard there would be no indifferent Judge or Moderator between them. The King reply'd, That *Charles* ſhould moderate between them and the oppoſite Party. And when one of them ſeem'd to ſmile upon the other, the King told them, "That *Charles* "ſhould manage a Point in Controverſie with "the beſt ſtudied Divine of them all; and that "he had train'd up *George* ſo far as to hold the "*Concluſion*, though he had not yet made him "able to prove the *Premiſſes*.

And that a Face of the Church of *England* might appear, and the Worſhip be kept up in the Prince's Apartment at *Madrid*, the King gave the Chaplains above-mention'd the following Inſtructions.

His Majeſty's Directions for the Engliſh *Service in the Prince's Family at* Madrid.

I. *That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer, the ſaid Room to be employ'd, during their Abode, to no other Uſe.*

II. *That it be decently adorn'd Chapel-wiſe, with an Altar, Fonts, Palls, Linen Coverings, Demy-Carpets, Four Surplices, Candleſticks, Tapers, Chalices, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the Houſhold, a Traverſe of Waters for the Communion, a Baſon and Flaggons, two Copes.*

III. *That Prayers be duly kept twice a Day: That all Reverence be uſed by every one preſent, being uncovered, kneeling at due Times, ſtanding up at the Creeds and Goſpel, bowing at the Name of* Jeſus.

IV. *That the Communion be celebrated in due Form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine, the Communion to be as often uſed as it ſhall pleaſe the Prince to ſet down: Smooth Wafers to be uſed for the Bread.*

V. *That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh againſt them, or to confute them, but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenents of the Church of* England, *by all poſitive Arguments, either in Fundamental or Moral Points; and eſpecially to apply themſelves in moral Leſſons to preach* Chriſt Jeſus crucify'd.

VI. *That they give no Occaſions (or raſhly entertain any) of* Conference *or* Diſpute *(for Fear of Diſhonour to the Prince, if upon any Offence taken, he ſhould be requir'd to ſend away one of them:) But if the Lord Ambaſſador or Mr. Secretary wiſh them to hear any that deſire ſome Information, then they may ſafely do it.*

VII. *That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books of Common Prayer in ſeveral Languages, Store of* Engliſh *Service* Books; *the King's own Works in* Engliſh *and* Latin.

By theſe Inſtructions the *Reader* may perceive how careful the King was to guard on the Side of Religion; and that he was far from any Intention of Diſſerving the *Engliſh* Communion, or laying a Train to make his Son a Proſelyte to the Church of *Rome*. And yet the Ignorance or Malice of ſome People did not ſtick to miſinterpret the Prince's Voyage to ſuch a Deſign. But to take Leave of this Subject till the Order of Time calls for it, I ſhall begin the next Year with an Account of the Diſmiſſion of the Archbiſhop of *Spalato*.

A Brief Account of Antonius de Dominis *Biſhop of* Spalato. Anno Dom. 1623.

This Prelate *Marcus Antonius de Dominis* was a perſon thoroughly acquainted with the Writings of the *Ancients*: His Skill in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity help'd him to diſcover ſeveral Innovations in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*; and being apprehenſive the Declaring his Exceptions might draw a Perſecution upon him, he quitted his *See* of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, and in the Year 1616. retir'd for Shelter to *England*. At his Arrival he had a very honourable Reception, both in the *Univerſities*, and at Court. The King recommended him as a Gueſt to Archbiſhop *Abbot*; and here in the Chappel at *Lambeth* he aſſiſted at the Conſecration of ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops. Afterwards his Majeſty preferr'd him to the Maſterſhip of the *Savoy*, and the Deanery of *Windſor*. However, 'tis very unlikely his coming to *England* could proceed from a covetous Fancy, as *Fuller* conjectures: For his Fortune was well eſtabliſh'd

Abbot (George) Archbiſhop of Cant.

at home, and there was very little Proſpect of mending it in a ſtrange Country. During his Stay here, he publiſh'd his Learned Book *de Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, which received no Anſwer. His coming off from Popery gave the Court of *Rome* no ſmall Diſturbance. But his Pen afterwards attacking them with ſuch Vigour and Succeſs, doubled their Misfortune.

Being thus provok'd, ſome of that Communion made no Difficulty to throw Calumnies upon him: To miſreport the Reaſons of his coming over, and make it the Reſult of Fear and Declenſion of Intereſt. But their *Pamphlets* of this Strein finding little Credit, they applied to ſmoother Expedients: They procur'd Agents to ſuggeſt, That he had neither any Regard or Promotions ſuitable to his Merit: That the new Pope *Gregory* had a particular Eſteem for him: That provided he would return, he might make his own Terms, and chuſe his Station. On the other Hand, *Gundamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador leſſen'd his Reputation, and brought him into Diſfavour with the King and the *Engliſh* Clergy. And thus being, as it were, abandon'd by his new Protection, he hearken'd to the Propoſals of the *Roman* Catholicks: And having brought himſelf to a Reſolution to diſengage *Here*, he ſolicited his Majeſty in ſeveral Letters for Leave to quit the Kingdom. (s) The King being diſpleaſed with his Irreſolution, directed a Commiſſion to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, to the Lord-Keeper *Lincoln*, to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*, with ſeveral Lords of the *Privy-Council*, to diſpoſe of him as they thought fit. Theſe Lords meeting at *Lambeth*, after having heard his Excuſes for going off, order'd him to depart the Realm within Twenty Days: That otherwiſe he muſt expect to be puniſh'd for holding Intelligence by Meſſage and Letters with the Popes of *Rome*. To this Sentence he ſubmitted with Regret, openly proteſting he would never maltreat the Church of *England*, nor ſpeak reproachfully of Her: That her *Articles* ſtood clear of Hereſy, and were all ſerviceable and ſound. That he declar'd thus much, appears by a Book, entituled, *Spalato's Shiftings in Religion*, publiſh'd, as 'twas ſuppos'd, by the then Biſhop of *Durham*. (t)

He is reconciled to the Church of Rome.

(s) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Lib. 13.

(t) Heylin Cyprian. Anglic.

He is diſappointed, and ventures upon uncautious Freedoms.

But he fail'd in keeping his Word; for being arriv'd at *Bruſſels*, he recants the *Engliſh* Reformation, treats that Communion with rough Language, and calls his coming hither a ſenſleſs unhappy Voyage: And that 'twas Inconſtancy, Weakneſs, and paſſionate Diſguſt, which brought him to that Fancy. (u) He ſtaid ſix Months at *Bruſſels* for the Pope's *Brief*, which was at laſt refus'd. Thus he was forc'd to venture to *Rome* without any ſafe Conduct in Writing. He miſs'd the Expectation of a Biſhoprick, and lived only on a Penſion from his Holineſs. This Maintenance, though continued during the Life of Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth, was ſtopp'd by his Succeſſor *Urban* the Eighth. This Diſappointment being reſented by *Spalato*, made him venture on ſome dangerous Freedoms, and talk pretended Hereſy: Particularly being at Supper with one Cardinal *Cleſel*, an old Acquaintance, he happen'd to drop this Expreſſion, That no Catholick had anſwer'd his Books, *De Republica Eccleſiaſtica*; adding however, that himſelf was able to deal with them. 'Tis thought this *Cleſel* was diſguſted by *Spalato*'s declining to apply to him for recovering his Intereſt at the Court of *Rome*: And that he invited this Prelate to an Entertainment on Purpoſe to lay a Train of Diſcourſe, and draw him into a Snare. But let this be as it will, he was immediately impriſon'd, his Study ſearch'd, and ſeveral Papers found amounting to Hereſy. He died ſome Months after his Confinement, and, as ſome ſaid, by Violence. But his own Relations at *Venice* gave other Intelligence to *Fuller*, (w) and affirm'd he died a natural Death; and that four of the Pope's ſworn Phyſicians, upon viewing the Corps, gave in Evidence upon Oath, that there was no Mark of foul Play found upon him. However, the dead Biſhop paſs'd through the Forms of the *Inquiſition*, and was pronounced a Relaps'd Heretick. After this Sentence, the Corps were publickly burnt by the Executioner in the Field of *Flora*.

(u) Spalato's *Book, call'd*, Concilium Reditus.

James I. K.

He is impriſon'd, dies in Confinement, and his Corps are burnt for a Heretick.

(w) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book 10.

When the Prince of *Wales* arrived firſt at *Madrid*, that Court was not without Hopes of making him a Proſelyte to their Communion: To this Purpoſe he was ſtrongly ſolicited by ſome of the firſt Quality. Some of the moſt learned Prieſts and Jeſuits likewiſe made a Trial this Way. To gain their Point they employ'd all their Rhetorick and Fineneſs, careſs'd his Highneſs with Speeches, dedicated Books to him, invited him to their ſolemn Proceſſions, gave him a View of their Churches moſt famous for Magnificence and Miracles, and treated him with all imaginable Regard. Neither was the Pope wanting to improve the favourable Juncture. To this Purpoſe, he wrote to the Prince; and after having flouriſh'd upon his Perſonal Merit, and commended his Predeceſſors for their Piety and Regard to the Apoſtolick *See*: He invites him to follow their Example, and come over to their Belief. The Letter is pen'd in a moving Strein of Affection and Reſpect, and concludes with his Holineſs's Good Wiſhes for the Prince's Proſperity. (r)

The Prince of Wales *careſ-ſ'd at the Court of* Madrid, *but continues ſteady in his Religion.*

(z) Cyprian. Anglic. Ruſhworth's *Collections*, Vol. 1 p. 78.

April 20th, An. Dom., 1623.

The Prince having put himſelf in the King of *Spain*'s Power, had a very difficult Buſineſs to manage: Beſides, without the Pope's *Diſpenſation* for the Marriage, he knew the Treaty muſt miſcarry. His Highneſs therefore, to keep the Pope (*Gregory* the Fifteenth) upon ſomething of an Expectation, ſends him a Ceremonious Anſwer, promiſes to manage with Moderation, not to proceed to Extremities againſt the *Roman* Catholick Religion, but rather to govern in ſuch a Manner as may ſhew his Inclination towards a Coalition between both Churches. But here the Letter was couch'd in ſuch general Expreſſions, and guarded with ſuch Latitude and Reſerve, that the Prince could not be charg'd with any Breach of Promiſe for advancing no farther. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the Careſſes of the Pope and the *Spaniſh* Court, the Prince, as even *Ruſhworth* confeſſes, continued firm to his Religion.

June 20.

Id. *Pag.* 83.

An expoſtulatory Letter ſent to the King.

King *James* began now to repent the Prince's Voyage to *Spain* without the Security of a ſafe Conduct. And therefore to recover this wrong Step, and diſpoſe the Pope for a *Dipenſation*, he found it neceſſary to be more than uſually kind to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks. Upon this View the Jeſuits and Prieſts of that Communion, formerly impriſon'd, are diſcharg'd, all Proſecutions againſt Recuſants are ſtopp'd, and the Penal Laws againſt them ſuſpended. This gentle Uſage was miſinterpreted, and clamour'd againſt: The Government was arraign'd of Partiality, and the King complain'd of as if he intended to go farther in theſe Meaſures, and come up to a full *Toleration*. And that theſe Jealouſies might not ſeem groundleſs, a Letter is diſperſed under Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Name, as *Heylin* reports, tho' the *Cabala* makes it written by the Archbiſhop of

(y) Heylin Cyprian. Anglic. Cabala, *Pag.* 108.

* Mathews, *then Archbiſhop of* York.

York * (y) The Letter is pen'd in a warm expoſtulatory Strein, and goes to ſome Extremities of coarſe Language. This Remonſtrance charges the King with a Deſign of ſetting up a *Toleration* by Proclamation: That this Method is arbitrary and illegal, and may be attended with terrible Conſequences. In ſhort, he that wrote the Letter takes ſo much Freedom in the *Manner*, that it may well be queſtion'd whether the Privilege of his Character can bear him out. The Learned *Heylin* is of Opinion the Letter was none of *Abbots*. That this Prelate had Penetration enough to ſee through the Neceſſity of the Juncture; that he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Principles than to ſuſpect him of making any near Approaches to the Church of *Rome*; and that a Regard to his Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy* would keep him impregnable at this Quarter.

July 26. *The Articles of Marriage ſworn by both the Kings.*

Cyprian Anglic. Ruſhworth.

An. Dom. 1623.

The Prince arrives in England.

The Marriage Treaty breaks off, and why.

The Marriage-Treaty went ſmoothly forward; and the *Articles* were ſworn by the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The *Infanta* was called the Princeſs of *England* at the Court of *Madrid*, and Preparations made for her Voyage into *England* in *March* following; but the Treaty for reſtoring the Palatinate hung backwards all this while. 'Tis ſaid the *Infanta* undertook the adjuſting that Affair, to make her ſelf more acceptable to the *Engliſh*. However, this being a Matter of too great Moment to be left merely to Courteſy, the Prince declin'd proceeding to the Nuptial Solemnity, writes to the King for a Squadron of Men of War to convey him to *England*: And to avoid giving Umbrage, he goes on with his Courtſhip with rather more Application than formerly, makes the *Infanta* a rich Preſent in Jewels, takes his Leave of the *Spaniſh* Court, and embarques on the 4th of *Auguſt*. At his going away, he conſtitutes a Proxy to eſpouſe the Lady, and puts the Inſtrument executed into the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Hands, then the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. The Ambaſſador had likewiſe Orders to deliver the Writing to the King of *Spain* within ten Days after the coming of the *Diſpenſation* from the new Pope, *Urban* the Eighth: But when the Prince was on Board, and out of the *Spaniards* Reach, he diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Briſtol*, commanding him not to part with the *Proxy* till farther Inſtructions. His Highneſs arriv'd at *Portſmouth* on the 5th of *October*. His Return was every where welcom'd with Bonefires, and other Marks of publick Satisfaction. And being come to the King at *Royſton*, he acquainted his Majeſty, that though the Match went forwards, they could get no Aſſurances for reſtoring the Palatinate. Upon this the King ſent Orders to the Earl of *Briſtol* not to deliver up the Proxy, nor to proceed to the Eſpouſals till *Chriſtmas*; and in the mean Time, to inſiſt upon the Buſineſs of the Palatinate, and preſs the King of *Spain* to a Categorical Anſwer. The Pope did his Part to expedite the Matter, wrote a careſſing Letter to the Prince of *Wales*, and ſent his *Diſpenſation* to *Madrid* in the Beginning of *December*. When this Papal *Brief* for the Marriage came to the *Spaniſh* Court, that King order'd Bonefires to be made in all Parts of his Dominions, and appear'd willing to contribute his Share towards the laſt Solemnity.

Feb. 17. An. 162$\frac{3}{4}$.

The Parliament engag'd to ſupport the King and Prince in the War for recovering the Palatinate.

(z) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Coll. Pag.* 136.

But the Treaty concerning the Palatinate not keeping Pace with the other, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* in *February*. And here the Duke of *Buckingham* reported, if not miſreported, the Proceedings of the *Spaniſh* Court to Diſadvantage: That the Prince had not been handſomely dealt with: That they had thrown in unneceſſary Delays, refuſ'd to give Satisfaction in the Affair of the Palatinate, and ſent his Highneſs back without the *Infanta*. Upon this 'twas reſolv'd by both Houſes, that his Majeſty ſhould be addreſs'd to break off the Treaty with the King of *Spain*, and to commence a War for recovering the Palatinate. And here they promiſed to ſupport the King and the Prince in the Expence of the Enterprize. (z) Upon this Encouragement the King diſengag'd with *Philip* the Fourth, and the Match broke off. But whether the *Engliſh* or *Spaniſh* Court gave the firſt Occaſion for the Rupture, is ſomewhat uncertain.

This Parliament, to ſhew their Forwardneſs to furniſh the *Exchequer*, granted the King *three Subſidies*, with *three Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid before the 10th of *May* next enſuing. This *Seſſion* they gain'd one Point upon the *Crown*: They petition'd the King for a Faſt, and ſucceeded. This Requeſt had been made in ſome former Parliaments of this Reign: But 'twas then told them there were weekly Faſts ſettled already: That if theſe were kept, there would be no Occaſion to open the Parliament with any extraordinary Humiliations: But having wreſted this Precedent from the King, they continued the Cuſtom through the next Reign, and always began the *Seſſion* with a publick Faſt.

21 Jac. 1. cap. 28. Cyprian. Anglic.

The Act of 27 *H.* 8. *cap.* 28. obliging the *Grantees* of *Religious Houſes* to maintain Tillage, and keep on *Hoſpitality*, is repeal'd by this *Parliament*. And for the handſomer Conveyance, he that drew the *Bill* took Care neither to place it in the Beginning or End of the *Statute*, but to throw it deeper in the Crowd of other *Repeals* not altogether ſo remarkable.

In the *Convocation*, met at this Time, little or nothing was done, excepting the Granting of four Subſidies, after the Rate of four Shillings in the Pound. This is obſerv'd to have been the greateſt *Aid* that was ever given by the Clergy in ſo ſhort a Time.

The Accident at Black-friars.

To go back a little: In *October* laſt a Congregation of *Roman* Catholicks meeting at *Hunſdon*-Houſe in *Black-Friars* to hear one *Drury*, a Jeſuit, preach, the Floor being over-loaden ſunk under them. The Preacher and about Ninety three others were kill'd out-right, and moſt of the reſt lamentably bruiſ'd and maim'd. To prevent this Accident's being miſconſtrued *Abroad*, they endeavour'd to turn the Misfortune upon the *Reformed*. To this End they got a *Pamphlet* diſpers'd in *France* and *Italy*, containing a Narrative of God's Judgments upon the *Hereticks*; and that ſeveral of theſe Heterodox *Proteſtants* were kill'd by the Fall of a Houſe in St. *Andrew's Holborn*, where they met to hear a *Geneva* Lecture. They were right in the Day, though wrong in the People; for as they relate the Misfortune happen'd on our 26th of *October*, which falls on the 5th of *November* New Stile. (a)

(a) Cyprian Anglic. *Pag.* 116.

Nine Queſtions put to Fiſher, *the Jeſuit.*

Before the Riſing of the Parliament Dr. *White* publiſhed a Book, entituled, *A Reply to Jeſuit* Fiſher's *Anſwer to certain Queſtions propounded by his Gracious Majeſty*, King James. The Occaſion was this: His Majeſty being preſent at a ſecond Conference between *White* and *Fiſher*, obſerved that the Jeſuit was much better at fencing againſt Oppoſition, than ſupporting his own Tenents. The King therefore put Nine Queſtions to *Fiſher* to diſcover his Force, and the Grounds upon which he went. The Points are theſe: 1. *Praying to Images.* 2. *Prayers and Offerings to the Bleſſed Virgin.* 3. *Worſhipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels.* 4. *The Liturgy and Private Prayers in an* *unknown Tongue.* 5. *Repetition of* Pater-noſters, Ave's, *and* Credo's, *eſpecially reckoning a Sort of Merit in Proportion to the Number.* 6. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 7. *Communion under one Kind, and the Doctrine of Concomitancy.* 8. *Works of Supererogation, eſpecially with Reference to the Treaſure of the Church.* 9. *Depoſing Kings, and transferring their Dominions by Papal Authority either directly or indirectly.*

Dr. White *replies to the Jeſuits Anſwer.*

To theſe Nine Queſtions the Jeſuit is ſaid to have return'd a plauſible and well manag'd Anſwer. Dr. *White* was pitch'd on by the King to diſentagle theſe ſeeming Difficulties. And to encourage the Undertaking, his Majeſty made him his Chaplain in Ordinary, and Dean of *Carliſle*. *White*'s Anſwer was publiſh'd in the Beginning of *April*, with the third *Conference* between *Laud* and *Fiſher* added to it. The ſeaſonable publiſhing theſe two Books help'd to ſilence the Clamours againſt the Government. The *Commons* ſeem'd to be apprehenſive the King had been too indulgent to the *Roman* Catholicks: Upon this Jealouſy they drew up a remonſtrating Addreſs: And here they ſet forth the Danger which ſeem'd to threaten the Church and State from that Quarter. This Petition being read in the Upper *Houſe*. The Lords cut off the complaining Preamble, and reduced it to two Heads: *Firſt*, That all Laws formerly made againſt Popiſh Recuſants might be put in Execution *Secondly*, That his Majeſty would pleaſe to give his Royal Word, that upon no Score of Soliciting, Marriage, or Treaty, he would act with Remiſſneſs or Connivance in this Particular. This Addreſs was preſented by a Committee of both *Houſes*, and the Contents granted by the King.

April. 10. 1624.

About this Time ſome *Roman* Catholick Prieſts and Jeſuits were executing their Miſſion at *Stamford Rivers* in *Eſſex*. Mr. *Richard Mountague*, Prebendary of *Windſor* was then Rector of that Pariſh. This Divine, to ſecure his Charge to our Communion, left ſome Propoſitions at a Neighbour's Houſe where the *Roman* Catholicks uſed to meet. To this Paper a ſhort Declaration was ſubjoin'd, that if any of thoſe Miſſionaries could ſatisfy him in his Queries put, he would immediately be their Proſelyte. Inſtead of returning an Anſwer to theſe Queſtions, a ſhort *Pamphlet* was at laſt left for him, entituled a *New Gag for the old Goſpel*. This Book pretended to confute the *Reformed* out of their own *Engliſh* Bibles. In examining this Performance, *Mountague* perceiv'd ſeveral Points of *Calviniſm*, never own'd by the Church of *England*, were charged upon her: Such as the indiſpenſible Morality of the Sabbath, the Rejecting Confeſſion, and Sacerdotal Abſolution, the five Predeſtinarian Articles ſettled at *Dort*; the Indiſtinction of Biſhops and Presbyters, *&c.* Theſe Tenents peculiar to *Puritaniſm Mountague* ſet aſide in his Anſwer to the *Gagger*, diſclaim'd their being the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and left them to the Defence of their private Abetters.

Mountague's *Anſwer to the* Gagger.

This Performance cenſur'd by the Puritans.

When this Anſwer appear'd, 'twas deeply cenſur'd by the *Calvinian* Party. They pretended the Author had deſerted the Church of *England*, and made dangerous Advances towards Popery and *Arminianiſm*. They were conſcious this Book, if unanſwer'd, would expoſe their Singularities, and prevent the paſſing their Private Opinions any longer upon the Church. To make their Attack more regular and formidable, 'twas reſolved, that *Yates* and *Ward*, two Preachers in *Ipſwich*, ſhould peruſe the *Anſwer*, make a Collection of ſome pretended Popiſh and *Arminian* Tenents, and lay them before the next Parliament.

Mountague *applies to the King for Protection, and ſucceeds.*

Mountague having procur'd a Copy of the *Information* againſt him, applies to the King's Protection. By the Way; His Majeſty had now diſentangled himſelf from ſome *Calvinian* Prejudices, and had a better Opinion than formerly of the *Remonſtrants* Side of the Controverſy. He had likewiſe a particular Eſteem for *Mountague*, and was well pleas'd with his Performance againſt the *Hiſtory of Tythes*: And over and above, the King approv'd *Mountague*'s Anſwer to the *Popiſh Gagger*, and thought his diſtinguiſhing the Doctrines of *Calvin* from thoſe of the Church of *England* ſufficiently defenſible. (b) His Majeſty likewiſe taking Notice of the *Informations* being publiſh'd, and the Heat and Clamour of *Mountague*'s Adverſaries, gave him Leave to appeal to himſelf, and make his Defence in Print: And that the Book might be the better recommended, the King expreſly order'd Dr. *White*, Dean of *Carliſle*, a celebrated Champion againſt the Church of *Rome*, ſhould ſee it publiſh'd. The Book was accordingly licenſed by the Dean with this Approbation, *That there was nothing contained in the ſame but what was agreeable to the publick Faith, Doctrine, and Diſcipline, eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England. The Tract was entituled, *Appello Cæſarem*; or, *A Juſt Appeal from two Unjuſt Informers*: But the King dying before 'twas printed off, 'twas addreſs'd to King *Charles*, as ſhall be afterwards related.

His Book, entituled, Apello Cæſarem *licenſed.*

In the mean Time it may not be improper to inquire a little farther, what the *Informers* meant in their Charge of *Popery* Now by *Popery* they underſtood all ſuch Points of Doctrine, which either being determined by this Church, bear ſome Reſemblance with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; or elſe being left undecided by the *Engliſh* Reformation, every Man has the Liberty to draw towards the Tenents of what Communion he pleaſes. Of the firſt Sort, theſe following Opinions were cenſur'd for Popery by the *Puritans*, *viz.* *The perpetual Viſibility of the Church*; *The local Deſcent of Chriſt into Hell*; *The Lawfulneſs of Images*; *The Signing with the Sign of the Croſs*; *The Real Preſence*; *The Reward of Good Works*; *The Terms* Sacrifice *and* Altar; with ſome others already mention'd. Now theſe were both received Doctrines, and the Language of the Church of *England*. (c.)

The Anticalvinian *Divines encouraged in this Reign.*

Amongſt the undecided Points may be reckon'd, *Evangelical Councils*, *Antichriſt*, and *Limbus Patrum*: And here *Mountague* was left to his own Judgment, and might ſettle his Aſſertions as his own Reaſon, and the Authority of the *Ancients* ſhould direct him. However, the *Calvinian* Intereſt was then ſo ſtrong, that had not this Divine been a Perſon of great Spirit and Abilities, and well ſupported, he muſt have ſunk in the Controverſie.

In *November* this Winter a Marriage was concluded between the Prince of *Wales* and *Henrietta Maria* Siſter to the *French* King. The Articles were not ſo full in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks as thoſe agreed with the *Spaniſh* Court.

The Claſhing between the *Engliſh Regulars* and *Seculars* touching Juriſdiction, has been already related. To take up this Difference, to give Orders, and to keep their Party better united, the *Seculars* and *Benedictines* deſir'd the Pope to put them under the Government of a Biſhop: *Matthew Kelliſon* and *Richard Smith* were preſented to the Court of *Rome* for this Purpoſe. Pope *Urban* conſecrated the latter, and diſpatch'd him into *England* for a Biſhop to the *Seculars* and *Laity*.

(b) Dedicat. to Appell. Cæſar.

(c) See Heylin's *Introduct.* to Cyprian. Anglic.

In the Beginning of the next Year the King fell ill of an Ague, which croſs'd the Proverb, and prov'd mortal. He died at *Theobalds* on *Sunday* the 27th of *March*.

The King, as has been obſerv'd, diſengag'd from the *Calvinian* Tenents towards the latter End of his Reign, and to ſpeak clearly, he was never intirely in that Perſuaſion. This, amongſt other Things, appears ſufficiently by his promoting the other Party to the higheſt Stations in the Church. Thus for Inſtance: Soon after the *Hampton-Court Conference*, *Bancroft* was preferr'd to the *See* of *Canterbury*, and *Barlow* to that of *Rocheſter*; and upon the Tranſlation of this latter to *Lincoln*, *Neil* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and at his Removal to *Litchfield*, was ſucceeded by *Buckridge*. In the Year 1614. when *Neil* was tranſlated to *York*, *Overall* ſucceeded him at *Lincoln*. The Famous *Anticalvinian Harſnet* already mention'd, was ſucceſſively promoted to the *Sees* of *Chicheſter* and *Norwich*. In the Year 1619. Dr. *Houſon* Canon of *Chriſt-Church* was made Biſhop of *Oxford*: Two Years after, *Cary* Dean of St. *Pauls*, is preferr'd to the *See* of *Exeter*, and *Laud* to that of St. *David*'s. And thus at laſt the *Anticalvinian* Divines were ſtrong enough to maintain their Ground, and at leaſt, a Balance to the other Party. (*d*)

The King's Death and Character.

As to this Prince's Character, the Lord *Bacon*'s *Dedication* ſhall ſpeak Part of it, which tho' intermix'd with ſome Strokes of Panegyrick, may not be unacceptable to the *Reader*. (*e*) "This great Author admires the King for the Compaſs and Extent of his *Genius*, for the Strength of his Memory, for the Quickneſs of his Apprehenſion, for his Penetration, for his ready, methodical, and perſuaſive Manner in Speaking; that theſe natural Advantages made him recollect *Plato*'s Opinion, *That Science was nothing more than Remembrance; That the Mind was naturally acquainted with all Sort of Knowledge: But that this Faculty was ſomewhat embarraſs'd by the Groſsneſs of her Vehicle*: That if this Aſſertion was ever made good in any Perſon, 'twas in this King: That his Majeſty's Apprehenſion catch'd at the leaſt Spark or Glimmering of an Object: That as the *Scripture* reports of King *Solomon*, that *his Heart was like the Sand of the Sea*; vaſt in the whole Bulk, but very ſmall in the Parts; ſo God hath given his Majeſty's Underſtanding a wonderful Quality; a Faculty to graſp the greateſt Things, and yet faſten upon the leaſt, and ſtop them from running through. This without Experiment, would look like an Impoſſibility: That the ſame Inſtrument ſhould be able to command the greateſt Diſproportions in Quantity, and manage Things of ſuch different Dimenſions. As to your Majeſty's Elocution, continues the Lord *Bacon*, it brings what *Tacitus* reports of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to my Memory. *Auguſtus*, ſays this Hiſtorian, *had a flowing Eloquence, and ſpoke like a Prince.* And if we examine the Matter cloſely, all drudging, affected, or imitating Rhetorick, tho' otherwiſe moving, has ſomething that looks mean and ſervile in it. But your Majeſty's *Manner* has an Air of Royalty, flows from your own Fountain, and yet keeps within the Channels which Nature directs. 'Tis remarkably eaſie, unborrow'd, and inimitable. And as Conduct and Fortune join in the Happineſs of your Majeſty's Adminiſtration, ſo in your intellectual Advantages there ſeems to be an Emulation between Nature and Improvement, between what you were born to, and what you have acquir'd. For ſince the Beginning of Chriſtianity 'tis hard to find a Prince ſo much ornamented, with Variety of Knowledge, or going ſo great a Length in the particular Kinds of it. Whoever runs over the Liſt of Kings and Princes, will be of my Opinion: For 'tis look'd on as no ordinary Attainment in Princes, if they can borrow ſomewhat of their Subjects Brains, compaſs ſome ſuperficial Learning, or give Incouragement to Men of Letters. But for one born a King, to go to the Bottom, and draw from the Fountain, or rather to be a Spring himſelf, is next to a Miracle. Your Majeſty, as the Noble Author goes on, is ſo richly furniſh'd with Divine and Human Learning, that you have a Right to the Character of the Celebrated *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, and unite the Sovereignty of a Prince, the Illumination of a Prieſt, and the Learning of a Philoſopher, in the ſame Perſon. He goes on to ſomething more, but I ſhall tranſlate no farther.

The Lord Keeper *Williams* in his Sermon at the King's Funeral, taking his Text out of 1 *Kings* 2. *v*. 41,2,3. drew a Parallel between *Solomon* and the Prince deceas'd: He carry'd on the Compariſon from their Reſemblance in Knowledge, from the Proſperity of their Reigns, and the Peaceableneſs of their Inclinations. The Lord *Keeper* runs the Parallel through many other Inſtances too long to recite. He concludes how earneſtly his Majeſty recommended the Care of Religion and Juſtice to the Prince. Theſe he call'd the Two Supporters of his *Throne*. As to his Marriage, he adviſ'd him to *marry like himſelf, and marry where he would*. But if he marry'd the Princeſs laſt mention'd, he ſhould take Care to diſtinguiſh in the Engagement; marry her Perſon, but not her Religion.

To proceed a little in the Deſcription of this Prince: His Regard for Epiſcopacy appears by his reſtoring that Government in *Scotland*; And by his Majeſty's Diſcourſe and Deciſion at the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, his Inclination to the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, is ſufficiently evident: His Encouragement to Learning may be collected from his viſiting the *Univerſities*, and giving them particular Marks of Eſteem. For Inſtance; he augmented the Salary of the *Regius Profeſſor* at *Oxford* with a Prebendary in *Chriſt-Church*, and the Rectory of *Ewelm* in that County. The Profeſſors of Law and Phyſick had likewiſe their Income improv'd; the firſt with the Corps of a good Prebendary in the Church of *Saliſbury*, and the other with the Government of an Hoſpital in *Ewelm* above-mention'd, annex'd to their Imployment.

Benefactions to the Univerſity of Oxford *in this Reign.*

The Preſident of Princes commonly draws Imitation, and ſets ſomething of a Faſhion; whether this might be a Motive to other Benefactions, I ſhall not conjecture: However, it may not be improper to take Notice, that in this Reign two Mathematick *Lectures* were founded by Sir *Henry Savil* Provoſt of *Eaton*, and Warden of *Merton*-College: With theſe muſt be remembred the *Hiſtory-Lecture* founded by *William Cambden*, *Clarencieux*; the Lecture in *Natural Philoſophy* by Sir *William Sidley* Baronet; that in *Moral Philoſophy* by Dr. *Thomas White* Reſidentiary of St. *Pauls*. All theſe *Lectures* had a conſiderable Settlement: To which may be reckon'd an *Anatomy Lecture* ſet up by *Richard Tomlins* of *Weſtminſter*, though his Fortune would not reach to ſo plentiful an Endowment. To what has been mention'd, we may add the Magnificent Structures

of

(*d*) Quinquartic. Hiſt. cap. 22.

(*e*) De Augment. Scient. pag. 2.

of the Publick *Schools*, the Incloſing a large Piece of Ground with a fine Wall for a Phyſick-Garden; not to repeat the founding of *Wadham*-College, and ſeveral other conſiderable Improvements in the Building of that Univerſity.

To draw towards an End of this Prince's Character; his peaceable Temper is by ſome People reckon'd to Diſadvantage of Conſtitution. His Mother's Fright at the Murther of *Rizio* affected the *Fœtus*, and gave an Over-balance of Fear. By this Accident, ſay they, the Son was born with a natural Averſion to Fighting. Thus the Image of War ſhock'd his Fancy, and his Blood wanted Heat for Military Enterprize. But all this is Roving and Miſtake: That the King could guard his Life handſomly upon Occaſion, and was not defective in neceſſary Courage, is plain from two Inſtances.

1ſt. At the *Gowry*-Conſpiracy; when the Traytors had drawn him from his Attendants, and convey'd him into a private Room, when *Alexander Ruthen* told him his Death was determin'd, and attempted to tie his Hands; when the Danger was thus menacing, the King grappled with the Aſſaſſin, drag'd him croſs the Room, and call'd out to his Court; where by the Vigour of his Reſiſtance, 'tis plain his Reſolution did not fail him. Had he been a Coward, he muſt have been loſt. Being thus ſurpriz'd in the middle of an Ambuſh, he would have deſpair'd of diſengaging himſelf; his Spirits would have been overſet, and his Limbs unſerviceable.

At another Time being adviſ'd to retire from an Inſurrection, he diſdain'd the Caution, faced the Rebels, and made a bold Stand upon them. From whence we may infer, that 'twas his Chriſtian Temper which made him ſo much inclin'd to Peace and Repoſe. He was too juſt and good natur'd a Prince to plague the World for Avarice and Pride; or delight in the Ravage and Deſolations of War.

To conclude: The *Thurſday* before his Death he deſir'd the Holy Euchariſt might be adminiſtred to him; gave an Account of his Faith, and declar'd himſelf fully ſatisfy'd with what he had written upon the Subject of Religion: After this he receiv'd Abſolution, and the bleſſed Sacrament. And now he told the Prince and thoſe who attended, how much this *Viaticum* had fortify'd and refreſh'd his Mind; and adviſ'd them to apply to this Support upon the ſame Occaſion. He behav'd himſelf with great Piety and Reſignation, during his Sickneſs, died without Agony or Reluctance; and though he quitted ſo much in this World, went pleas'd into the other.*

---

* Intrepidus emiſit animam beatam. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary*.

AN
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CHIEFLY OF
ENGLAND.

PART II. BOOK IX.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

UPON the Death of King *James*, his only Son *Charles* was according to Cuſtom proclaim'd at *Theobalds*, in *London*, and elſewhere. The firſt Thing we meet with in Reference to the Church, is the King's Regulation of the *Chaplains* in Ordinary. Their Number was retrench'd, and their Time of officiating aſcertain'd. And to make the Regulation more perfect, *Laud*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, was commanded to bring in a Liſt of the moſt eminent Divines: And to diſtinguiſh their Perſuaſions by the Two Capitals O. and *P.* the Firſt ſtanding for *Orthodox*, and the other for *Puritan*.

And now the Parliament and *Convocation* being ſhortly to meet, *Laud* was directed by his Majeſty to conſult the learned Biſhop *Andrews* upon the Juncture: And to take his Advice what was fit to be debated upon the Subject of Religion, eſpecially with Reference to the Five Points ſettled at *Dort*.

The Queen arrives at Dover, *and is convey'd by the King to* London.

The Marriage agreed in the late Reign between his preſent Majeſty and the *French* King's Siſter, was ſolemniz'd by Proxy at *Paris*, *May* the 1ſt, *Old Style*. And on the Seventh of this Month, King *James* was inter'd at *Weſtminſter* in *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel. The King receiving Advice of his Queen's being embark'd at *Boulogn*, met her at *Dover*, and convey'd her to *London*: But here *Fuller* miſtakes in relating a Chappel was prepar'd for her in *Somerſet-Houſe*, with a Convent of *Capuchin* Fryars: For 1ſt the Chappel then ready, was not prepar'd for her, but the Lady *Infanta*: 'Twas built in the King's Houſe at St. *James's*, when the Treaty with *Spain* was likely to ſucceed. 2*dly*, The Articles of Marriage make no mention of the *Capuchin* Fryars, as *Fuller* Reports. The Prieſts who came over with the Queen, were by Agreement to be all *Oratorians*, this *Order* being likely to prove more inoffenſive to the *Engliſh*, as having given them no Provocation. And to lay this Matter together, tho' happening at ſome Diſtance of Time, theſe *Oratorians* being ſent back to *France* in the Year 1626, the *Capuchins* under *Father Joſeph*, ſupplied their Place. But then this did not happen till after the Rupture with *France*, the Expedition at the *Iſle* of *Rhee*, and the Loſs of *Rochel*. But ſome Time after the Peace between *England* and *France*, the Queen prevail'd the *Capuchins* might have Leave to come over: Upon this, ſome Lodgings were fitted for them in *Somerſet-Houſe*, and a Chappel built there for her Majeſty's Devotions. (*f*)

Charles I. K.

A Miſtake in Fuller *rectified.*

(*f*) Heylin Examen Hiſt. *pag.* 199.

The Parliament meets at Weſtminſter.

On the 18th of *June* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The Commons firſt Buſineſs was addreſſing the King with a Liſt of Grievances, to the moſt of which a ſatisfactory Anſwer was return'd. The Lower *Houſe* proceeded to concern themſelves with Matters of Religion, and ſummon'd *Mountague* to appear before them. Being brought to the *Bar*, the *Speaker* told him

Mountague *ſummon'd to appear before the Commons.*

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* **Canterbury.**

'twas the Pleaſure of the *Houſe*, the Cenſure of his Books ſhould be poſtpon'd ſome Time: That in the Interim he ſhould be committed to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant; and afterwards they oblig'd him to give the Security of 2000 *l.* for his Appearance. *Mountague* being the King's Chaplain, his Majeſty was diſpleas'd with the Proceedings of the *Commons*, and look'd on it as an unpreſidented Stretch of Juriſdiction: And now *Laud* being apprehenſive the *Reformation* might ſuffer, if Controverſies in Religion were determin'd in the laſt Inſtance by the *Laity*, applied to the Duke of *Buckingham* to engage his Majeſty in Favour of *Mountague*. Neither was this Divine wanting to do his own Part in his Defence, To this Purpoſe he wrote to the Duke of *Buckingham*. He intreats this great Miniſter to report to his Majeſty the Hardſhips put upon him by the *Commons*. That they had no Authority to proſecute his Perſon, or cenſure his Book: That what he had written was publiſh'd by the late King's Order, and authoriz'd by his preſent Majeſty. After this he makes a bold Declaration, “ That in Caſe he did not give a ſolid and full Anſwer to every Article objected from his Book, he would willingly be given up to the Pleaſure of his Enemies, and not importune his Majeſty or his *Grace* for any Protection. (g)

(g) Cabala *pag.* 110.

This Application was ſeconded ſome few Days after by a Letter of Three Biſhops to the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Words are theſe:

Three Biſhops write in his Behalf to the Duke of **Buckingham.**

May it pleaſe your Grace,

“ We are bold to be Suitors to you, in the Behalf of the Church of *England*, and a poor Member of it, Mr. *Mountague*, at this Time, not a little diſtreſs'd. We are not Strangers to his Perſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be tender of.

“ The Cauſe we conceive (under Correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of *England* merely; for that Church, when it was reform'd from the ſuperſtitious Opinions broach'd, or maintain'd by the Church of *Rome*, refus'd the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too buſy with every particular School-Point. The Cauſe why ſhe held this Moderation, was, becauſe ſhe could not be able to preſerve any Unity amongſt Chriſtians, if Men were forced to ſubſcribe to curious Particulars diſputed in Schools.

“ Now, may it pleaſe your Grace, the Opinions which at this Time trouble many Men in the late Book of Mr. *Mountague*, are ſome of them ſuch as are expreſly the reſolv'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and thoſe he is bound to maintain: Some of them ſuch as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more Liberty for learned Men to abound in their own Senſe, ſo they keep themſelves peaceable, and diſtract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man ſubſcribe to School Opinions, may juſtly ſeem hard in the Church of Chriſt, and was one great Fault of the Council of *Trent*. And to affright them from thoſe Opinions in which they have (as they are bound) ſubſcrib'd to the Church, as it is worſe in it ſelf, ſo it may be the Mother of greater Danger.

“ May it pleaſe your Grace farther to conſider, that when the Clergy ſubmitted themſelves, in the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth, the Submiſſion was ſo, That if any Difference, Doctrinal, or other fell in the Church, the King and the Biſhops were to be Judges of it in a national Synod or Convocation, the King firſt giving Leave under his Broad Seal, to handle the Points in Difference.

“ But the Church never ſubmitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can ſhe, tho' ſhe would: And we humbly deſire your Grace to conſider, and then to move his moſt gracious Majeſty (if you ſhall think fit) what dangerous Conſequences may follow upon it. For firſt, if any other Judge be allow'd in Matter of Doctrine, we ſhall depart from the Ordinance of Chriſt, and the continual Courſe and Practice of the Church.

“ 2. *Secondly*, If the Church be once brought down beneath her ſelf, we cannot but fear what may be next ſtruck at.

“ 3. *Thirdly*, It will ſome Way touch the Honour of his Majeſty's dear Father, and our moſt dread Sovereign of glorious and ever bleſſed Memory, King *James*, who ſaw and approved all the Opinions in this Book: And he in his rare Wiſdom and Judgment, would never have allow'd them, if they had croſs'd with Truth and the Church of *England*.

“ 4. *Fourthly*, We muſt be bold to ſay, That we cannot conceive what Uſe there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching and external Miniſtry in the Church, if ſuch fatal Opinions as ſome which are oppoſite, and contrary to theſe deliver'd by Mr. *Mountague*, are, and ſhall be publickly taught and maintain'd.

“ 5. *Fifthly*, We are certain that all or moſt of the contrary Opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be publiſh'd; but then Queen *Elizabeth* of famous Memory, upon Notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and Obedience to all Government, cauſed them to be ſuppreſs'd, and ſo they have continued ever ſince, till of late ſome of them have receiv'd Countenance at the Synod of *Dort*. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other national Church, till it be receiv'd there by publick Authority. And our Hope is, That the Church of *England* will be well adviſed, and more than once over, before ſhe admit a foreign Synod, eſpecially of ſuch a Church as condemneth her Diſcipline and Manner of Government, to ſay no more.

“ And farther, we are bold to commend to your Grace's Wiſdom this one particular. His Majeſty (as we have been inform'd) hath already taken this Buſineſs into his own Care, and moſt worthily refer'd it in a right Courſe to Church Conſideration. And we well hoped, That without further Trouble to the State, or Breach of Unity in the Church, it might ſo have been well and orderly compos'd, as we ſtill pray it may. Theſe Things conſider'd, we have little to ſay for Mr. *Mountague*'s Perſon, only thus much we know; he is a very good Scholar, and a right honeſt Man. A Man every Way able to do God, his Majeſty, and the Church of *England* great Service. We fear he may receive great Diſcouragement, and which is far worſe, we have ſome Cauſe to doubt this may breed a great Backwardneſs in able Men to write in the Defence of the Church of *England* againſt either home or foreign Adverſaries, if they ſhall ſee him ſink in Fortunes, Reputation, or Health, upon his Book Occaſion.

And

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

"And this we moſt humbly ſubmit to your "Grace's Judgment, and Care of the Churches "Peace and Welfare. So recommending your "Grace to the Protection of Almighty God. (*b*)

(*b*) Cabala, *pag.* 105.

We ſhall ever reſt at your Grace's Service.

2 Aug. 1625.
Jo. Roffenſ.
Jo. Oxon.
Guil. Meneven.

How far this Letter engag'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, or what Regard it met with from the *Commons*, is uncertain: However, Mr. *Mountague* had no more Trouble given him this *Seſſion*, which was but ſhort: For the Plague being in *London*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Oxford*, and diſſolv'd in *Auguſt* following. The Reaſon which diſpos'd the King to part with them, was, becauſe he found the Commons began to reflect upon ſome of the *Miniſtry*, and were reſolv'd againſt granting Supplies till their Grievances were firſt redreſs'd.

Auguſt 12. 1625. *The Parliament diſſolv'd.*

The Lord *Keeper Williams*, who was now in his Declenſion at Court, endeavours to recover himſelf, but without Effect. He had diſoblig'd the Duke of *Buckingham* at the Parliament at *Oxford*. For when this Nobleman expoſtulated with him for Breach of Friendſhip, he frankly replied, he was engag'd with *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, to endeavour a Redreſs of Grievances; and that he was reſolv'd to ſtand upon his own Legs: If that's your Reſolution, ſays the Duke, take Care you ſtand firm, and ſo they parted. Soon after this Claſh, the Biſhop was diſcharg'd attending at Court; and on the 30th of *October* following the *Broad Seal* was given to Sir *Thomas Coventry*. (*i*)

The Broad Seal taken from the Lord Keeper Williams.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's *Collect. pag.* 198.

The King, to ſatisfy the late *Remonſtrance* in Parliament againſt the Growth of *Popery*, wrote to the Two Archbiſhops to perform their Part for diſcovering and apprehending of *Jeſuits*, and Seminary Prieſts, requiring them to proceed againſt Popiſh Recuſants by Excommunication, and other Cenſures of the Church: But withal, the Letter takes Notice of another Sort of People, no leſs dangerous than the *Papiſts*, to the eſtabliſh'd Religion: That to prevent Miſchief from this Quarter, the Two Archbiſhops are commanded to ſend Directions to the reſt of the Clergy. That all of them might be particularly careful in their reſpective Stations, for the Suppreſſing thoſe diſaffected to the national Church: That none of theſe religious Mal-contents might have any Countenance or Shelter from any Eccleſiaſticks in Authority: But that all proper Endeavours might be uſed to pull off the *Fucus*, and expoſe the falſe reaſoning of thoſe, who pretend to refine upon the Church Eſtabliſhment: And that his Majeſty could have no good Opinion of thoſe Prelates, who either encourag'd their Singularities, or ſo much as conniv'd at them. (*k*)

Dec. 15. 1625.

(*k*) Bib. Regia.

Upon the receiving the King's Letter, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* tranſmits Copies to his reſpective *Suffragans*. But here the King's Order was partially executed by *Abbot*, the *Roman* Catholicks were ſtruck at, and the *Puritans* overlook'd. (*l*)

(*l*) Cyprian. Anglic. *pag.* 141.

The King having ſummon'd another Parliament to meet on the 6th of *February*, reſolv'd to proceed to his Coronation before the *Seſſion*: The *Purification* of the bleſſed Virgin was fix'd on for this Solemnity. And for the better adjuſting every Part of the Ceremony to the *Service* and Orders of the Church of *England*, the King iſſues a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops, *Laud* being one of the Number, to ſettle the Form. This Committee having compared the *Ceremonial* uſed in the late Reign with the publick *Rituals*, 'twas agreed to make ſome Alterations and Additions in the *Ceremony*, and the Prayers. For Inſtance, the Unction was to be made in the Figure of a Croſs, which was accordingly done by Archbiſhop *Abbot*. The ſupplemental Part in the Form conſiſted chiefly in a Prayer for the King, and a Requeſt to him, in Behalf of the Clergy: The Firſt ſounds extremely high for the *Regale*; and might ſerve very well at the Conſecration of a *Patriarch*. It ſtands thus:

The King's Coronation.

Charles I. K.

An Alteration in ſome of the Prayers.

Let him obtain Favour for the People like Aaron *in the Tabernacle,* Eliſha *in the Waters,* Zacharias *in the Temple; give him* Peter's *Key of Diſcipline, and* Paul's *Doctrine.*

In the Requeſt made to him, theſe Prelates were by ſome thought to remember their Character too far, and *take too much upon them*: It follows the Unction in theſe Words:

Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth the Place to which you have been Heir by the Succeſſion of your Forefathers, being now deliver'd to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the Hands of Us, and all the Biſhops, and Servants of God: And as you ſee the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar, than others; ſo remember that in Place convenient you give them greater Honour; That the Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity, that you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.

And here the Oath taken by the King being Part of the Solemnity, it may not be improper to lay it before the *Reader*.

The Coronation Oath.

Sir (ſays the Archbiſhop) *will you grant, keep, and by your Oath confirm to your People, of* England, *the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of* England; *your lawful and religious Predeceſſors; and namely, the Laws, Cuſtoms and Franchiſes granted to the Clergy, by the glorious King* St. Edward *your Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Cuſtoms of this Land?*

The King anſwers, *I grant and promiſe to keep them.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, Will you keep Peace and godly Agreement entirely (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People?*

Rex. *I will keep it.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, will you, (to your Power) cauſe Juſtice, Law, and Diſcretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?*

Rex. *I will.*

Archbiſhop. *Sir, will you grant to hold, and grant to keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them to the Honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?*

Rex. *I grant and promiſe ſo to do.*

Then one of the Biſhops reads this Admonition to the King before the People with a loud Voice. *Our Lord and King, we beſeech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preſerve unto us, and the Churches committed to our Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be a Protector, and Defender of the Biſhops, and the Churches under their Government?*

The King anſwereth, *With a willing and devout Heart I promiſe and grant my Pardon, and that I will preſerve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my Power, by the Aſſiſtance of God, as every good King ought in his Kingdom, in right to protect and defend the Biſhops and Churches under their Government.*

The King ariſeth and is lead to the Communion-Table, where he makes a ſolemn Oath in Sight of all the People, to obſerve the *Premiſſes* and laying his Hand upon the Book, ſaith, *The Things which I have before promiſ'd, I ſhall perform and keep, ſo help me God, and the Contents of this Book.* (m)

(m) Huſband's *Collections.*

The Oath not alter'd by Biſhop Laud, *or the King.*

I have the rather tranſcrib'd this Oath, becauſe both the King and *Laud* were afterwards charg'd with altering it to the Diſadvantage of the Subject. But this Calumny was effectually ſilenc'd by his Majeſty's referring the Objectors to the *Records* in the *Exchequer*: Where they might ſee his Coronation Oath was the ſame with that which had been cuſtomarily taken by his Predeceſſors.

Idem.

In the other Solemnities of the Coronation, the Abbots formerly, and after them the Deans of *Weſtminſter*, had a conſiderable Share: They had the Cuſtody of the old *Regalia*, that is the Crown, the Sword, the Sceptre, the Spurs, *&c.* of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*: Theſe Royal Curioſities are never made Uſe of, excepting at a King's Coronation, or his going to Parliament. *Williams*, the late Lord *Keeper* was now Dean: But being under the King's Diſfavour, had Orders not to appear at this Solemnity: But to depute one of the Prebendaries to officiate in his Place. This Order put him ſomewhat to a Stand: He was unwilling to nominate *Laud*, then one of the Prebendaries, becauſe he look'd on him as his Rival at Court: But then to have overlook'd a Biſhop, and named another of a lower Rank, would have been too plain a Diſcovery of Diſaffection. He therefore prudently ſent the King the Names and Diſtinctions of all the Prebendaries, leaving the Choice to his Majeſty, who pitch'd upon *Laud*. *Laud* being thus nominated, did the Dean's Part, in preparing for that pompous Appearance. And finding the *old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he plac'd it upon the Altar, according to ancient Uſage.

Laud *performs the Dean of* Weſtminſter's *Part at the Coronation.*

The Duke of *Buckingham* keeping on his Miſunderſtanding with the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was a Weight upon that Prelate's Fortune, and kept him from emerging at Court. He ſeems to have lain under a particular Hardſhip at this Time: For he had not receiv'd his Writ of *Summons* to ſit in Parliament: This, tho' with Submiſſion to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, he repreſented as unpreſidented Uſage: And that this Privilege was not denied to any Priſoners, or condemn'd Peers in his Father's Reign. He therefore entreated the King for Leave to make his *Proxy*, if not permitted to attend in Perſon. He likewiſe beg'd the King to ſoften the Duke, and bring him off his Reſentment: Who, tho' he had never receiv'd any real Provocation from him, was not to be reconcil'd by any Thing the Biſhop could do, or ſuffer. And laſtly, he humbly deſires the King's Name might not be us'd to his Diſadvantage, and that his Reputation might not ſuffer by his Abſence from the Parliament. He concludes with ſtrong Proteſtations of Duty and Affection to the King; ſtands boldly upon his Innocence; and ſolicits for no Protection againſt the Charge of any Subject whatever.

A Committee of Religion firſt appointed by the Commons.

And now the 2d Parliament being met, a Commiſſion for Religion was ſettled, and *Mountague*'s *Appeal to* Cæſar was again debated. This Book being refer'd by the Commons to the Committee above-mention'd, Mr. *Pym* made his Report of ſeveral erroneous Opinions extracted from it; upon which the Houſe made this *Reſolve, That Mr.* Mountague *endeavour'd to reconcile* England *to* Rome, *and alienate the King's Affection from his well affected Subjects.* By the Way, this is the firſt Time we hear of a Committee of Religion in the Houſe of *Commons*. The *Articles* exhibited againſt *Mountague* were drawn up in the Form following.

Articles exhibited againſt Mountague.

“That he the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in or about the 21 Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord King *James* of famous Memory, hath cauſed to be printed, and in his Name to be publiſh'd, one Book, called, *An Anſwer to the late Gag of* Proteſtants; and in or about *Anno* 22. of the ſame King, he cauſ'd to be printed and publiſh'd one other Book, entituled, *A Treatiſe of the Invocation of Saints*; and likewiſe in the firſt Year of his Majeſty's Reign, that now is, he procured to be printed, and in his Name to be publiſh'd, another Book, entituled, *An Appeal to* Cæſar: In every of which Books he hath maintain'd and confirm'd ſome Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the Articles agreed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, holden in the Convocation at *London*, *Anno Domini*, 1562. according to the Computation of the Church of *England*, *for avoiding Diverſity of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion*: All which appears in the Places hereafter mention'd; and in divers other Places and Paſſages of the ſame Books; and by his ſo doing hath ſo broken the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that Caſe provided, and very much diſturb'd both the Peace of Church and Common-wealth.

“I. Whereas in the Five and thirtieth Article of the Articles aforemention'd, it is declar'd, That the 2d Book of *Homilies* doth contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine; in the Sixteenth Homily of which Book it is determin'd, That the Church of *Rome*, as it is at preſent, and hath been for the Space of Nine hundred Years and odd, is ſo far wide from the Nature of a true Church, that nothing can be more. He the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in ſeveral Places in the ſaid Books, called, *The Anſwer to the Gag*; and in his other Book, called, *The Appeal*, doth adviſedly maintain and affirm, that the Church of *Rome* is and ever was a true Church, ſince it was a Church.

“II. Whereas in the ſame *Homily*, it is likewiſe declared, That the Church of *Rome* is not built upon the *Foundation* of the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles*; and in the Eight and twentieth *Article* of the ſaid *Articles*, that Tranſubſtantiation overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament; and in the Five and twentieth of the ſaid *Articles*, that Five other reputed Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, are not to be accounted Sacraments; yet contrary and repugnant hereunto, he, the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, doth maintain and affirm in his Book aforeſaid, call'd, *The Anſwer to the Gag*, that the Church of *Rome* hath ever remain'd firm upon the ſame Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine, inſtituted by God.

“III. In the Nineteenth of the ſame *Articles* it is farther determin'd, That the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Living, and Mat-

“ ters of Ceremony, but alſo in Matters of Faith. He the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, ſpeaking of thoſe Points which belong to Faith and good Manners, Hope and Charity, doth in the ſaid *Book*, called, *The Gag*, affirm and maintain, that none of theſe are controverted in their Points, meaning the *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*; and notwithſtanding, that in the One and thirtieth Article it is reſolved, that the Sacrifice of Maſſes, in which, as it is commonly ſaid, the Prieſt did offer Chriſt for the Quick and the Dead, to have Remiſſion of Pain and Guilt too, is a blaſphemous Fable, and dangerous Deceit; this being one of the Points controverted between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*. The ſaid *Richard Mountague* in his Book, called, *The Gag*, doth affirm and maintain, that the controverted Points are of a leſſer and inferior Nature, of which a Man may be ignorant, without any Danger of his Soul at all; a Man may reſolve to oppoſe this or that without Peril of Periſhing for ever.

“ IV. Whereas in the Second *Homily*, entituled, *Againſt Peril of Idolatry*, contained in the aforeſaid Book of *Homilies*, and approved by the Five and thirtieth *Article* aforemention'd; it is declared, That Images teach no good Leſſon, neither of God nor Godlineſs, but all Error and Wickedneſs: He the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in the Book of *Gag* aforeſaid, doth affirm and maintain, That Images may be uſed for the Inſtruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion.

“ V. That in the ſame *Homily*, it is plainly expreſſed, That the attributing the Defence of certain Countries to Saints, is a ſpoiling God of his Honour, and that ſuch Saints are but *Dii Tutelares* of the Gentiles or Idolaters. The ſaid *Richard Mountague* hath, notwithſtanding in his ſaid Book, entituled, *A Treatiſe concerning the Invocation of Saints*, affirmed and maintain'd, That Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar Charge of their Friends; and that it may be admitted, that ſome Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection, and Power, as Angels alſo have, over certain Perſons and Countries by ſpecial Deputation; and that it is no Impiety ſo to believe: Whereas in the Seventeenth of the ſaid *Articles*, it is reſolved, That God hath certainly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation; wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a Benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpoſe, working in due Seaſon, they thro' the Grace obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely, walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length by God's Mercy attain to everlaſting Felicity: He, the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in the ſaid Book, called, *The Appeal*, doth maintain and affirm, that Men juſtified may fall away, and depart from the State which once they had; they may ariſe again, and become new Men poſſibly, but not certainly, nor neceſſarily. And the better to countenance this his Opinion, he hath in the ſame Book, willfully added, falſified, and chang'd divers Words in the Sixteenth of the *Articles* before-mention'd, and divers other Words both in the Book of *Homilies*, and in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and ſo miſrecited, and chang'd, the ſaid Places he doth alledge in the ſaid Book, called, *The Appeal*, endeavouring thereby to lay a moſt wicked and malicious Scandal upon the Church of *England*, as if ſhe did herein differ from the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and did conſent to thoſe pernicious Errors, which are commonly called *Arminianiſm*, and which the late famous Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of happy Memory, did ſo piouſly, and diligently labour to ſuppreſs.

“ That the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, hath endeavour'd to raiſe great Factions and Diviſions in this Common-wealth, by caſting the odious and ſcandalous Name of *Puritans* upon ſuch his Majeſty's loving Subjects as conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; under that Name laying upon them divers falſe and malicious Imputations, ſo to bring them into Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure with his moſt excellent Majeſty, and into Reproach and Ignominy with the reſt of the People, to the great Danger of Sedition, and Diſturbance in the *State*, if it be not timely prevented.

“ That the Scope and End of the ſaid *Richard Mountague* in the Books before-mention'd is to give Encouragement to Popery, and to withdraw his Majeſty's Subjects from the true Religion eſtabliſh'd, to the *Roman* Superſtition, and conſequently to be reconcil'd to the *See* of *Rome*, all which he laboureth by ſubtle and cunning Ways, whereby God's true Religion hath been much ſcandaliz'd, thoſe Miſchiefs introduced, which the Wiſdom of many Laws hath endeavoured to prevent, the Devices and Practices of his Majeſty's Enemies have been further'd and advanced, to the great Peril and Hazard of our Sovereign Lord the King, and of all his Dominions and loving Subjects.

“ That the ſaid *Richard Mountague* hath inſerted into the ſaid Book, called, *The Appeal*, divers Paſſages diſhonourable to the late King, his Majeſty's Father of famous Memory; full of Bitterneſs, Railing, and injurious Speeches to other Perſons, diſgraceful and contemptible to many worthy Divines, both of this Kingdom, and other *Reform'd* Churches beyond the Seas; impious and profane in Scoffing at Preaching, Meditating and Conferring, Pulpits, Lectures, Bible, and all ſhew of Religion; all which do aggravate his former Offences, having proceeded from malicious and envenom'd Heat againſt the Peace of the Church, and the Sincerity of the *Reformed* Religion publickly profeſs'd, and by Law eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom. All which Offences, being to the Diſhonour of God, and of moſt miſchievous Effect and Conſequence againſt the Good of this Church and Common-wealth of *England*, and of other his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions. The Commons aſſembled in Parliament, do hereby pray, that the ſaid *Richard Mountague* may be puniſh'd according to his Demerits, in ſuch exemplary Manner, as may deter others from attempting ſo preſumptuouſly, to diſturb the Peace of the Church and State, and that the *Book* aforeſaid may be ſuppreſs'd and burnt. (*n*)

It does not appear this Impeachment was laid before the Houſe of Lords, in what Manner the Commons intended to proſecute their Charge, or how far they proceeded. *Ruſhworth* having made a Search into this Matter, could not find that *Mountague* was brought to his Defence, or

(*n*) Ruſhworth's *Collections, Vol.* 1. *pag.* 209.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

that he return'd any Anſwer to the Articles: From whence we may conclude the Proceſs was drop'd by the Commons. Whether their Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham* might draw them from Buſineſs of lower Conſideration, or their Diſtruſt of making the Charge good, or the ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament was the Occaſion of this Iſſue, is ſomewhat Uncertain.

Exceptions taken at the Biſhop of Gloceſter*'s Sermon before the King.*

April 12. 1626.

Before the Ending of the Parliament, the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* Preaching before his Majeſty, aſſerted the *Real Preſence* in ſuch ſtrong Language, that he was ſuſpected of going to an Exceſs, and coming too near the Verge of *Popery.* The Diſcourſe made a great Noiſe, and gave Diſguſt both in Town and Country. The *Convocation* examin'd the exceptionable Paſſages, but came to no Deciſion. The King being willing to ſatisfy himſelf and the Parliament, order'd Archbiſhop *Abbot*; *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and *Laud*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, to make a thorough Enquiry into the Biſhop's Diſcourſe, and report their Opinion. They met accordingly, and after having perus'd the Sermon, and argued upon the Meaning of thoſe Sentences which gave Offence, they return'd the King this Anſwer. *That ſome Things in that Sermon had been ſpoken leſs warily, but nothing falſely: That nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of* England: *But however they thought very fit that* Goodman *ſhould be appointed to preach again before his Majeſty, for the better explaining of his Meaning, and ſhewing how, and in what Particulars he had been miſtaken by his Auditors,* *Goodman* Preaching accordingly before the King, had no farther Trouble. (*o*)

Mountague*'s Buſineſs not mov'd in Convocation, and why.*

As for *Mountague*'s Buſineſs, who had been charg'd with deſerting towards *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, by the *Commons* of both Parliaments, the *Reader* may poſſibly be ſomewhat at a Loſs why the *Convocation* took no Cognizance of this Matter. For the *Articles* exhibited were Points of Religion, and by Conſequence proper to the Deciſion of the Clergy. Beſides, the King was plainly inclined to give the *Convocation* their juſt Liberty, as appears by the Letter of the Three Biſhops above-mention'd, to the Duke of *Buckingham.* Here they acquaint the Duke, *That his Majeſty had taken that Buſineſs into his own Care, and moſt worthily refer'd it in a right Courſe to Church Conſideration.* But then, we are to remember that *Laud* had been lately ſent by the Duke of *Buckingham* to conſult *Andrews*, about what was thought fit to be propos'd in the *Convocation*; and whether 'twas ſeaſonable to revive the *Quinquarticular Controverſy.* Now by the Iſſue, we may collect, *Andrews* did not think it proper to refreſh thoſe Diſputes at preſent. Thoſe of *Mountague*'s *Perſuaſion*, 'tis likely, did not think it ſafe to puſh the Matter to a Criſis: They knew the Archbiſhop, and many of the Biſhops and Clergy, were rather of the *Calvinian* Side; and therefore 'twas more prudential to let the Cauſe ſleep, than run the Hazard of a Debate in *Convocation.*

Charles I. K.

Two Conferences upon the Five Points. Feb. 11. 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

But tho' the *Convocation* ſeem'd to overlook, or ſtand neuter in the Conteſt, *Mountague* was attack'd in Print by *Carleton*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; *Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*; by *Yates*, *Rouſe*, &c. And thus the Claſhing was kept on, and the Breach grew rather wider. To accommodate Matters, a *Conference* had lately been held in *York Houſe*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſome other Temporal Lords being preſent. The Managers were *Buckeridge*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *White*, Dean of *Carliſle*, on the one Side, and *Morton*, Biſhop of *Coventry*, and Dr. *Preſton*, Preacher at *Lincolns-Inn*, on the other. They touch'd upon the *Five Points*, but the Queſtion argued moſt at length was, *Whether 'twas poſſible for one elected to fall from Grace.* The Advantage of the Diſpute was given to either Side, according to the Variety of Judgment or Inclination in the Audience. There was ſoon after a ſecond *Conference* in the ſame Place, and before the ſame Temporal Lords, of which *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, and *William* Earl of *Pembroke* were Two. The Divines were likewiſe the ſame, excepting that Mr. *Mountague* appear'd in Biſhop *Buckeridge*'s Room. As to the Event, 'twas not more ſucceſsful than the former; they came to no Accommodation, nor made any Converts of each other. (*p*)

The King's Proclamation againſt diſputing the Controverſy.

His Majeſty to prevent the Controverſy's growing warmer, and breaking the People into Parties, by the Advice of the Biſhops, publiſh'd a *Proclamation* to keep both Sides quiet. "In this State-Paper the King declares his utter Diſlike of all thoſe who to ſhew their Parts, to pleaſe their Humour, or play their Revenge, ſhall be ſo hardy as to propagate any new Opinions differing from the orthodoxal Belief of the Church of *England*: That he is fully reſolv'd never to admit any Innovation in the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church. And as he ſhall always be forward to encourage his religious and well affected Subjects, ſo he is reſolv'd not to forbear the Puniſhing thoſe, who out of ſiniſter Regards, ſhall preſume to embroil either Church or State. His Majeſty therefore commands all his Subjects, (and more eſpecially the Clergy) both in *England* and *Ireland*, that from henceforth they manage themſelves with ſuch Diſcretion and Conſcience, that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwiſe, they raiſe any Doubts, or publiſh any Singularities concerning Religion: But that upon Arguments of this Nature they keep themſelves cloſe to the Doctrine and Diſcipline happily eſtabliſh'd by Authority.

From hence his Majeſty proceeds to charge, "All Archbiſhops and Biſhops, all Counſellors of State, Judges, and Miniſters of Juſtice, to correct and ſuppreſs thoſe mutinous Spirits, that ſhall venture to break thro' this Rule of Sobriety, and Obedience to his Majeſty, and forget the Submiſſion they owe to the Conſtitutions of the Church, and the Laws of the Realm." The *Proclamation* concludes, That in Caſe of Misbehaviour, his Majeſty will proceed againſt the Offenders with all the Severity their Crimes ſhould deſerve. (*q*)

The Articles of the Commons againſt *Mountague*, encourag'd the *Calvinians* to draw out their Force, and ſet upon him. Beſides thoſe already mention'd, *Gode*, *Featly*, *Ward*, *Wooton*, *Pryn* and *Burton*, furniſh'd Pamphlets upon the Argument. *Laud* and ſome Biſhops on the other Side, ſupported by his Majeſty's Proclamation endeavour'd to ſuppreſs thoſe Books, and ſtifle the Controverſy. In ſhort, ſome of the Pamphlets were ſtop'd at the Preſs, ſome call'd in, and both the Printers and the Authors queſtion'd for engaging in an Argument prohibited by the Government. Amongſt the reſt *Burton* and *Pryn* were call'd before the High *Commiſſion*: But when the Court was near their Cenſure, they were ſerv'd with a *Prohibition* from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſtop their Proceedings. This was the hardieſt Stroke of the Judges, and fell at the Rebound on his Majeſty's Proclamation.

The

(*o*) Cyprian Anglic. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary.*

(*p*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* *Book* 11. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary.*

(*q*) Bib. Regia. Cyprian Anglic.

The Commons Complaint of the Growth of Popery, and the King's Letters to the Biſhops and Judges to proſecute *Recuſants*, look'd like a Storm coming on that Quarter. The Pope receiving Advice of this unexpected Turn, ſent a Conſolatory Letter to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks. (r) This Pope, like *Paul* the 5th ſeems to miſtake the Purport of the Oath of Allegiance; he takes it for granted this Teſt means more than a Security for Loyalty and civil Obedience; that it ſtrikes at the Privileges of St. *Peter's* Chair, and implies a Claim of Spiritual Supremacy in the Crown. Notwithſtanding this Suppoſition, he recommends Submiſſion and Paſſive Obedience in moving Expreſſions; he lets them know they are not to apply to any Expedients of Violence; and that Prayers and Patience are the only Defence Chriſtian Subjects are allow'd to make uſe of.

The Pope's Conſolatory Letter to the Engliſh Roman Catholicks.

(r)See Records Num. 109.

And now to open the Way, and make the Church-Hiſtory more intelligible, I muſt touch a little on what happen'd in the *State*. “ The King of *Denmark* lately publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, ſetting forth, That at the Inſtance of the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark* the Elector Palatine had offer'd a Submiſſion to his Imperial Majeſty, and thereupon was in Hopes of being reſtor'd to the Patrimony and Privilege of his Anceſtors: That notwithſtanding this Offer of Satisfaction the Emperor continu'd his former Hoſtilities upon the Elector's Country, and had much damnify'd the Lower *Saxony* by the Forces commanded by his General Count *Tilly*.

“ The Country being thus diſtreſs'd, the Princes of the Lower *Saxony* deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of him the King of *Denmark* to ſettle the Repoſe, and preſerve the Liberties of *Germany*, that his *Daniſh* Majeſty was reſolv'd to take the *Field* for the Reſtitution of the Elector Palatine: And that the King of *Great Britain* had enter'd into an Engagement for the ſame Purpoſe.

In the Beginning of the Year the War was proſperous on the *Danes* Side, but towards the End of the Campaign the Battle near *Lutzern* prov'd deciſive for the Emperor. In this Action where Count *Tilly* commanded againſt the King of *Denmark*, the *Daniſh* Infantry was intirely broken, the Train of Artillery loſt, and a great many General Officers kill'd and made Priſoners.

The King of *England* advertis'd of this Miſfortune, found it neceſſary to ſend out a Fleet, and furniſh a Reinforcement for his Unkle the *Dane*. But the *Exchequer* was not in Caſh for ſo great an Undertaking. The Parliament, unleſs allow'd to proceed in their Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, wou'd paſs no *Subſidy-Bill*. Inſtead of granting Supplies, the Commons had prepar'd a Remonſtrance. The King thinking himſelf ill us'd in their poſtponing the *Money-Bill*, that he was ſtruck at in his *Miniſter*,and not liking to be preſcrib'd to in the *Adminiſtration*, diſſolv'd the Parliament on the Fifteenth of *June*. But the Crown-Revenues were in no Condition to aſſiſt the Confederates, and ſupport the Charge of a War: And therefore to anſwer the Neceſſities of the Government, a *Loan* was pitch'd on as the beſt Expedient. To diſpoſe the People to aſſiſt this Way, the Clergy were call'd on to recommend the King's Affairs. To this Purpoſe the King gave *Laud*, now Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſome Minutes to form into Inſtructions. This Biſhop's Draught being approv'd by the *Council*, his Majeſty ſent them to the two Archbiſhops, requiring by his Letters, to diſperſe them among the Clergy of their reſpective *Provinces*. To this end, beſides tranſmitting the Copies to the Incumbents within their own proper Dioceſes, they were to ſend them to their *Suffragans*, with Orders to publiſh them in the ſame Manner. To give the *Reader* ſomewhat of the Subſtance of the *Inſtructions*.

Septmb. 29 Anno Dom. 1626. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary*.

“ After having mention'd the King of *Denmark's* Defeat in *Germany*, the Loſs of the Palatinate, and the exceſſive Power and Ambition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Clergy were to remind the People, that the laſt Parliament in the late Reign addreſs'd his preſent Majeſty to ſolicit the King his Father to break off the Treaties with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; promiſing at the ſame Time to enable the *Crown* to proſecute the War; and that the Subject could not deſert his Majeſty in this Enterprize without Reproach, and Failure in Duty: For this War being commenc'd at the Inſtance, and upon the Engagement of the Parliament, the People are bound by the Laws of God and Man to ſupport the Government in it.(s)

(s) Cyprian. Anglic. pag. 162. *Hiſtory of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

This Year the *Roman* Catholicks in *Ireland* finding the Government ſomewhat diſtreſs'd for Want of Money, offer'd to maintain Five hundred Horſe, and Five thouſand Foot on Condition of a *Toleration*. This Propoſal being ſomewhat inviting, my Lord Deputy *Faukland* conven'd a Meeting of both Communions to the Caſtle of *Dublin*: But the Project was daſh'd by a *Proteſtation* of the Biſhops againſt this Indulgence. The *Inſtrument* ſign'd by the Lord Primate *Uſher* and Eleven other Biſhops, was publiſh'd at *Chriſt-Church* before the Lord Deputy and Council, by *Downham* Biſhop of *Derry*, who preach'd ſtrongly againſt making Religion ſubſervient to State Policy, and preferring the Intereſt of this World to that of the other. And the next *Sunday* Primate *Uſher* diſcours'd with the ſame Freedom on this Subject. This Reſolution of the Biſhops prevail'd with the Government to wave the Thoughts of a *Toleration*, and pitch upon ſome other Expedient. *

* Cyprian. Anglic. pag. 206. Parr's *Life of* Uſher, 28, 9

The Death of Biſhop Andrews.

About this Time the moſt Learned *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, departed this Life. He was buried at St. *Saviours* in *Southwark*, the Funeral Sermon being preach'd by *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. To ſay ſomething more particularly of him: He was a great *Orientaliſt*, and throughly acquainted with the *Fathers*, and other Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church. He was over and above a very exemplary Perſon, had the Mien and Behaviour of a Primitive Biſhop, and was no leſs commendable in his Life, than in his Learning. While living he only publiſh'd in *Latin* his Apology againſt Cardinal *Bellarmin*; his *Tortura Torti*, and a ſmall Tract, entituled, *Determinatio Theologica de Jurejurando exigendo*. To theſe we may add a ſmall Volume of Sermons in *Engliſh*. As for the Book of *Catechetical* Doctrine printed without his Conſent, he expreſly diſown'd it, as being no better than ſome imperfect Collections taken by an unſkilful Hand from ſome Diſcourſes of his upon the *Catechiſm* in *Pembrook-Hall*. But after his Death Ninety Six of his Sermons collected by *Laud* then Biſhop of *London*, and *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Ely*, were publiſh'd and dedicated to the King in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and twenty eight. And the next Year ſome other *Tracts* of his in *Engliſh* and *Latin* were printed by the ſame Prelates.

Cyprian. Anglic.

Archbiſhop Laud's *Diary, pag.* 37.

The Deanery of the Chappel Royal being void by the Death of Biſhop *Andrews*, *Laud* was preferr'd to that Station: And here he obſerv'd an over-ceremonious Cuſtom had prevail'd thro' the late Reign. When the King came into his Cloſet to hear the Sermon in the Chappel, it was the Cuſtom to break off *Divine Service*, and ſing the *Anthem*, that the Preacher might go into the Pulpit. This was exceſſive Reſpect, and look'd as if the King came into the Houſe of God to be worſhipp'd. The new Dean therefore intreated his Majeſty to be preſent at the *Liturgy*, no leſs than at the Sermon; and that at whatever Part of the *Prayers* the King came in, the Prieſt who officiated might proceed to the End of the *Service*. The King, without being the leaſt diſconcerted, gave his Conſent, and thank'd the Biſhop for ſo pious a Suggeſtion. As for the Deanry of the Chappel, tho' an ancient Office, it had been diſcontinu'd from the Year One thouſand five hundred ſeventy two, to the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.

To return to the *Loan*: Notwithſtanding the *Inſtructions* above-mention'd, not a few Perſons of Figure declin'd contributing this Way, and were impriſon'd for their Refuſal. However, ſeveral of the Clergy did their Part with earneſtneſs enough, and ſome went too far in their Commiſſion: For inſtance, one Dr. *Sibthorp*, at an Aſſize Sermon preach'd at *Northampton* in *February* laſt, carried the Prerogative to an unwarrantable Length, and was too much a Court Divine. His Text was *Romans* the 13th and the 7th, *Render therefore to all their Dues*.

Sibthorp *preaches up the Prerogative too high.*

In this Sermon, amongſt other exceptionable Paſſages, he affirm'd, *That the Prince, who is the Head, and makes his Court and Council, 'tis his Duty to direct and make Laws*: And in Proof of the Chief Magiſtrate's unlimited Power, he cites the 8th of *Eccleſiaſtes*, the 3d and 4th Verſes, *The King does whatſoever pleaſes him.* And *where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may ſay unto him what doſt thou?* But to argue from *Paleſtine* to *England*, and make the Jewiſh Conſtitution a Standard for all other Governments, is ſlender reaſoning, and ſhews the Preacher was very defective, either in his Honeſty or Underſtanding.

To go on a little further with his Sermon, *if Princes*, ſays he, *command any Thing which Subjects may not perform, becauſe it is againſt the Laws of God, or of Nature, or Impoſſible: Yet Subjects are bound to undergo the Puniſhment, without either reſiſting, or railing, or reviling, and ſo to yield a paſſive Obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one. I know no other Caſe* (continues *Sibthorp*) *but one of thoſe Three wherein a Subject can excuſe himſelf with paſſive Obedience: But in all other he is bound to active Obedience.* This Doctrine is Arbitrary enough in all Conſcience; and were it purſued through its Conſequences, would make *Magna Charta*, and the other Laws for ſecuring Property, ſignify little. However, *Sibthorp* was by ſome Courtiers commended for his Loyalty, and the Sermon reported to the King as a ſerviceable Diſcourſe: Upon this, his Majeſty ſent it to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, with Orders to licence it: But *Abbot* being ſhock'd with the Paſſages above-cited, not to mention other Exceptions, refus'd to give it a Paſs. 'Twas afterwards ſent to *Laud*, who having qualified and corrected ſome crude Aſſertions, approv'd of the Reſt. Upon this, 'twas licenc'd by *Mountaign*, Biſhop of *London*, and publiſh'd under the Title of *Apoſtolical Obedience*. (*t*)

As for *Abbot*, the King was much diſpleas'd with his Refuſing to Licence this Sermon. 'Twas for this Non-compliance, as the Lord *Conway* confeſs'd to him, That he was ſuſpended from his Archiepiſcopal Function. (*u*) During this *Suſpenſion*, a Commiſſion was granted to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, the *Inſtrument* runs thus:

“ *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To the Right Reverend Father in God, *George*, Biſhop of *London*; and to the Right Reverend Father in God, our truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, *Richard*, Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, and to the Right Reverend Father in God, *John*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and, *John*, Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*; to the Right Reverend Father in God, our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, *William*, Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Greeting,

Archbiſhop Abbot *ſuſpended.*

Whereas George, **now Archbiſhop of** Canterbury, **in the right of the Archbiſhoprick hath ſeveral and diſtinct Archiepiſcopal, Epiſcopal, and other Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Powers and Juriſdictions to be exercis'd in the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, within the Province of** Canterbury, **in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical within that Province, which are partly executed by himſelf in his own Perſon, and partly, and more generally, by ſeveral Perſons nominated and authorized by him, being learned in the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm, in thoſe ſeveral Places whereunto they are deputed, and appointed by the ſaid Archbiſhop: Which ſeveral Places, as we are inform'd, they ſeverally hold, by ſeveral Grants for their ſeveral Lives; as namely, Sir** Henry Martin **Knight, hath and holdeth by the Grants of the ſaid Archbiſhop, the Offices and Places of the Dean of the Arches, and Judge, or Maſter of the Prerogative Court, for the natural Life of the ſaid Sir** Henry Martin.

Sir Charles Cæſar **Knight, hath and holdeth by Grants of the ſaid Archbiſhop, the Places or Offices of the Judge of the Audience, and Maſter of the Faculties for the Term of the natural Life of the ſaid Sir** Charles Cæſar.

Sir Thomas Ridley **Knight, hath and holdeth by the Grant of the ſaid Archbiſhop, the Place or Office of Vicar-General to the ſaid Archbiſhop. And** Nathanael Brent, **Doctor of the Laws, hath and holdeth by Grant of the ſaid Archbiſhop, the Office or Place of Commiſſary to the ſaid Archbiſhop, as of his proper and peculiar Dioceſe of** Canterbury. **And likewiſe the ſeveral Regiſters of the Arches, Prerogative, Audience, Faculties, and of the Vicar-General, and Commiſſary of** Canterbury, **hold their Places by Grants from the ſaid Archbiſhop reſpectively.**

Whereas the ſaid Archbiſhop, in ſome, or all of theſe ſeveral Places and Juriſdictions, doth, or may, ſometimes aſſume unto his perſonal and proper Judicature, Order, or Direction, ſome particular Cauſes,

(*t*) Ruſhworth's *Hiſtor. Collect.* Cyprian Anglic.

(*u*) Ruſhworth, *p.* 447.

ſes, Actions, or Caſes, at his Pleaſure. And forasmuch as the ſaid Archbiſhop cannot at this preſent in his own Perſon attend the Services which are otherwiſe proper for his Cognizance and Juriſdiction, and which, as Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he might and ought in his own Perſon to have performed and executed in Cauſes and Matters Eccleſiaſtical, in the proper Function of Archbiſhop of the Province, We therefore of our Regal Power, and of our Princely Care and Providence, that nothing ſhall be defective in the Orders, Diſcipline, Government, or Right of the Church, have thought fit by the Service of ſome other Learned and Reverend Biſhops to be named by us, to ſupply thoſe Things which the ſaid Archbiſhop ought or might in the Caſes aforeſaid to have done, but for this preſent cannot perform the ſame.

Know ye therefore, that We repoſing ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdoms, Learning and Integrity, have nominated, authorized and appointed, and do by theſe Preſents, nominate, authorize and appoint you the ſaid George, Lord Biſhop of London; Richard, Lord Biſhop of Durham; John Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter; John, Lord Biſhop of Oxford; and William Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, or any Four, Three, or Two of you, to do, execute, and perform all and every thoſe Acts, Matters, and Things any Way touching, or concerning the Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in Cauſes or Matters Eccleſiaſtical, as amply, fully and effectually, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf might have done,

And We do hereby Command you and every of you to attend, perform and execute this our Royal Pleaſure, in and touching the Premiſſes, until We ſhall declare our Will and Pleaſure to the contrary.

And We further hereby Will and Command the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, quietly, and without Interruption, to permit and ſuffer you the ſaid George, Biſhop of London; Richard, Biſhop of Durham; John, Biſhop of Rocheſter; John, Biſhop of Oxford; and William Biſhop of Bath and Wells, any Four, or Three, or Two of you, to execute and perform this Our Commiſſion, according to Our Royal Pleaſure thereby ſignified.

And We do further Will and Command all and every other Perſon and Perſons whom it may any Way concern in their ſeveral Places or Offices, to be attendant, obſervant and obedient to you and every of you, in the Execution and Performance of this Our Royal Will and Command, as they and every of them will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils.

Nevertheleſs We do hereby declare Our Royal Pleaſure to be, That they the ſaid Sir Henry Martin, Sir Charles Cæſar, Sir Thomas Ridley, and Nathanael Brent, in their ſeveral Offices and Places aforeſaid, and all other Regiſters, Officers and Miniſters, in the ſeveral Courts, Offices, and Juriſdictions appertaining to the ſaid Archbiſhop, ſhall quietly, and without Interruption, hold, uſe, occupy and enjoy their ſaid Offices and Places, which they now hold by the Grant of the ſaid Archbiſhop, or of any other former Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in ſuch Manner and Form, and with thoſe Benefits, Privileges, Powers and Authorities, which they now have, hold, and enjoy therein, or thereout ſeverally and reſpectively, they and every of them in their ſeveral Places being Attendant and Obedient unto you the ſaid George, Biſhop of London; Richard, Biſhop of Durham; John, Biſhop of Rocheſter; John, Biſhop of Oxford; and William Biſhop of Bath and Wells, or to any Four, Three, or Two of you, in all Things, according to the Tenor of this Our Commiſſion, as they ſhould or ought to have been to the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf, if this Commiſſion had not been had or made.

In Witneſs whereof We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents, Witneſs Our ſelf at Weſtminſter, the Ninth Day of October, in the Third Year of our Reign.

Per ipſum Regem. Edmonds.

Remarks upon the ſequeſtring the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction.

It muſt be confeſs'd this Revocation of the Powers of the Hierarchy purely by the Force of the *Regale*, looks like a modern Way of Proceeding. The Diſcipline of the ancient Church was convey'd thro' another Channel. The *Council* of *Antioch** mentions a Synod as a proper Judicature for the Trial of a Biſhop; † neither does it ſo much as ſuppoſe there could be any other. And by the *Council* of *Carthage* * 'tis decreed, that in caſe a Biſhop is reported a Criminal, and a Synod can't conveniently be called, he ſhall be try'd by Twelve Biſhops. † By the Way; both theſe *Councils* were held under Chriſtian Princes, and yet the *Fathers* order'd the Proceſs againſt a Biſhop ſhould be manag'd by thoſe of his own *Order*. It was not then the Cuſtom for Princes to lay any Penalties upon Biſhops unleſs for Crimes againſt the *State*. But as to Failures in their Function, Eccleſiaſticks were only to take Notice of ſuch Matters.

* *Held in the Year* 341.

† Can. 4. Beveridge Pandectæ Canonum.

* *Held* An. Dom. 459.

† Can. 12.

Thus, for Inſtance, St. *Chryſoſtom* was depos'd by a Synodical Sentence. *(t) Arcadius* the Emperor, though willing to be rid of him, did not think fit to arreſt his Juriſdiction, or ſilence his Preaching, by exerting the *Regale*: Such Proceedings were altogether unprecedented in that Age. The Church at that Time of Day would have been extreamly ſurpriz'd to ſee a Prince ſuperſede a Spiritual Commiſſion, underiv'd from him. But ſuppoſing the Spiritual Authority lay never ſo much at the Pleaſure of the Crown, was it not ſomewhat of a Hardſhip the Archbiſhop ſhould be put under an Incapacity, and barr'd the Execution of his Office, without aſſigning the Reaſon for this Correction, without bringing him to a Hearing, and allowing the common Liberty of a Defence?

(t) Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 4. c. 34.

Fuller relates this *Suſpenſion* was drawn on the Archbiſhop for the caſual *Homicide* committed in the late Reign. *(u)* But this is a Miſtake: For *Firſt*, He had a Royal Diſpenſation already mention'd to ſhelter him againſt the *Canons*. This muſt of Courſe make him *Rectus in Curia*, ſo far, at leaſt, as to cover him from Proſecution. *Secondly*, This Commiſſion, granted by King *Charles*, is wholly ſilent as to *Abbot*'s former Misfortune, and only takes Notice that the *Archbiſhop can't at this preſent in his own Perſon attend the Servics which*

(u) Church Hiſt. Book XI. *Pag.* 127.

are otherwiſe proper for his Cognizance and Juriſdiction, &c. And why could he not attend them? Becauſe his Majeſty was diſpleas'd, and would not permit him.

But after all, the Good King was miſdirected into theſe Rigours, and believ'd himſelf in the Right. The Archbiſhop complains the Duke of *Buckingham* was his Enemy. This *Favourite* was diſappointed in the Homage he expected: *Abbot*, it ſeems, did not think it proper to make his Court to the Duke, *(w)* to treat him with Submiſſion, and compliment his *Standing* to the others Courteſy.

(w) Ruſhworth'*s Collect.* **Vol. I.**

Beſides, the King was embarraſs'd with the War, uneaſy at the Conduct of the Parliament, and as Meaſures were taken, had no other Way to retrieve his Affairs but by borrowing Money. Now *Sibthorp* had laid out himſelf with a great deal of Zeal to ſet the *Loan* forward; and *Abbot*'s refuſing to recommend this Diſcourſe to the Publick, touched the King in a tender Part, and made him more liable to unfavourable Impreſſions.

The Learned *Heylin* believes the King was ſway'd by another Motive. He thought *Abbot* was ſomewhat byaſs'd towards the *Nonconformiſts*, and too remiſs in his Government: That for this Reaſon he ſeiz'd his Juriſdiction, and put it in Hands more diſpos'd to act for the Advantage of the eſtabliſh'd Church. *(x)*

(x) Cyprian Anglic. *Pag.* **170.**

The French Part of the Queen's Family ſent home.

This Year a Miſunderſtanding between the Courts of *England* and *France* began upon ſome Diſputes touching the Government of the Queen's Family. By the Articles of Marriage it was agreed her Majeſty ſhould have a certain Number of Prieſts to officiate in her Chapel, together with a Biſhop, who was to be allow'd the full Exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Some of theſe Eccleſiaſticks enjoin'd her Majeſty a very odd Penance: *'Twas to go to* Tyburn *to perform her Devotions, where ſome* Roman *Catholick Prieſts had been lately executed. (y)*

(y) Ruſhworth'*s Collect. Annal. of King* **Charles** *the Firſt.*

The King reſenting this Diſcipline; and having been ill uſed by the Queen's Family in other Reſpects, complain'd of their Miſbehaviour to the *French* King. In ſhort, the *French* Part of the Queen's Court were paid their Salaries, and ſent home. And though the King order'd his Ambaſſador, the Lord *Carleton*, to repreſent the Matter at Length for the Satisfaction of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, yet the Excuſe would by no Means paſs with the *French*: They remonſtrated againſt this Diſcharge as a Breach of the Articles of Marriage. And, in a Word, the two *Crowns*, on this Occaſion came to an open Rupture, which was not clos'd, as has been obſerv'd, till the latter End of the next Year.

Cozens *his Devotions publiſh'd, and Exceptions againſt it.*

About this Time there was a Book publiſh'd, entituled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or the Hours of Prayer.* 'Twas written by *Cozens*, Prebendary of *Durham*, at the Requeſt of the Counteſs of *Denby*, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Siſter. This Lady being then ſomewhat unſettled in her Religion, and warping towards Popery, theſe *Devotions* were drawn up to recommend the Church of *England* farther to her Eſteem, and preſerve her in that Communion. This Book, though furniſh'd with a great deal of good Matter, was not altogether acceptable in the Contexture. The Title Page ſets forth 'twas form'd upon the Model of a Book of *Private Prayers* authoriz'd by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Year 1560.* To give the *Reader* ſome Part of it: After the *Calendar* it begins *with a Recital of the Apoſtles Creed in Twelve Articles, the Lord's Prayer in Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the Duties enjoin'd, and the Sins forbidden.* Then follows *the Precepts of Charity, the Seven Sacraments, the Three Theological Vertues, the Three Kinds of Good Works, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, the Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, the Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, the Eight Beatitudes, the Seven Deadly Sins, their oppoſite Vertues, and the* Quatuor Noviſſima. And after ſome explanatory Prefaces and Introductions were ſubjoin'd *the Forms of Prayer for the Firſt, Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours, and likewiſe for the* Veſpers *and* Compline, *formerly call'd the* Canonical Hours. Next to theſe was *the Litany, the Seven Penitential Pſalms, Prayers preparatory for Receiving the Holy Euchariſt, Prayers to be uſed in Time of Sickneſs, and at the Approach of Death*; beſides many others.

* **Horarium Regia Authoritate, Editum An. 1560,** *and reprinted* **An. 1573. Cum Privilegio** *by* **William Seers.**

'Twas licenſed Feb. 1626.

This *Book*, though approv'd by *Mountaign*, Biſhop of *London*, and licenſed with his own Hand, was ſomewhat ſurprizing at the firſt View; and ſome moderate Perſons were ſhock'd with it, as drawing too near the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*; at leaſt they ſuſpected it as a Preparation to further Advances. The Top of the Frontiſpiece had the Name of Jeſus in three Capital Letters, *J. H. S.* Upon theſe there was a Croſs incircled with the Sun, ſupported by two Angels, with two Devout Women praying towards it. This Repreſentation, tho' innocent enough, did not paſs without Cenſure. 'Twas not long before *Pryn* and *Burton*, two Malcontents, appear'd againſt it.

Indeed, 'tis no Wonder to find the *Arriere Ban* of the *Puritans* drawn out upon this Occaſion. *Pryn* call'd his Performance a *Brief Survey and Cenſure of* Cozens, *his Cozening Devotions.* And here, not diſtinguiſhing between Popery and Primitive Practice, he falls blindly on *Cozens* his Book, and without either Judgment or Juſtice condemns every Thing in the publick Devotions and Offices of the Church of *Rome*. But notwithſtanding all this Vehemence, and the Clamours of the Party, the Book gain'd Ground, grew up into Eſteem, and was approved by many of thoſe who ſcrupled it at firſt.

An. Dom. 162^{7}. *The Parliament meets.*

On the 17th of *March* a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. This Parliament, to ſhew their Concern for Religion, brought in a *Bill for Reformation on ſundry Abuſes committed on the Lord's-Day.* There was a *Statute* to this Purpoſe made in the firſt Year of this Reign. *(z)* And here 'twas enacted, *That no Perſons ſhould come out of their own Pariſhes on the Lord's-Day for any Sports and Paſtimes whatſoever: Nor that any Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, Common Plays, or other unlawful Exerciſes and Paſtimes, ſhould be uſed by any Perſons within their own Pariſhes.* But then the *Act* does not define what thoſe other unlawful Exerciſes and Paſtimes are. Whether this Omiſſion was intended for a Connivance at other Relaxations, is ſomewhat uncertain. To proceed, *Thoſe who offended in any of the Premiſſes were to forfeit three Shillings and Four-pence,* Toties Quoties, *for the Uſe of the Poor of the Pariſh.* This *Act* was fortified and extended to farther Prohibitions by the preſent Parliameut. *(a)* And now *Carriers, Car-men, and Drovers, who travell'd or follow'd their Buſineſs on the* Sunday, *were to forfeit Twenty Shillings; and Butchers that kill'd or ſold Meat that Day, ſix Shillings Eight-pence for every Offence.*

(z) 1 Car. cap. 1.

(a) 3 Car. 1. cap. 1.

And by another *Statute*, *Thoſe who either went beyond-Sea, or ſent any Perſon into foreign Countries, to be train'd up in Popery, were diſabled from ſuing, from being Executors or Adminiſtrators, made incapable of any Legacy, Deed of Gift, or to bear any Office within*

within the Realm; and over and above, *were to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, all their Lands, Tenements, Rents, Annuities, Offices*, &c. *during Life*. (*b*)

(*b*) 3 Car. 1. cap. 2.

This *Parliament* ſat till the 26th of *June*, and was then prorogued to the 20th of *October*. Some Time before this Prorogation the *Commons* brought in a Charge againſt Dr. *Manwaring* for preaching Arbitrary Doctrine. This Divine had lately, in two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, deliver'd himſelf very indiſcreetly to this Purpoſe:

Dr. Manwaring*'s extravagant Aſſertions.*

“That the King is not bound to preſerve the Subjects in their Legal Rights and Liberties: That his Royal Will and Abſolute Command in impoſing *Loans* and Taxes, tho' without the Conſent of the *Parliament*, ought to be obey'd by the Subject under the Penalty of Eternal Damnation: That thoſe who refus'd to comply with this Loan, tranſgreſs'd the Law of God, inſulted the King's Supream Authority, and incurr'd the Guilt of Impiety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion: That the Authority of both *Houſes* is not neceſſary for the raiſing *Aids* and *Subſidies*: That the ſlow Proceedings of ſuch great Aſſemblies were not ſuitable to the Exigencies of the State: And that by going thus far about, Princes muſt of Neceſſity be clogg'd, and diſappointed in their Buſineſs.

(*c*) Ruſhworth's *Coll. Vol.* 1.

He is proſecuted by the Commons and cenſur'd by the Houſe of Lords

This without Doubt was extravagant Divinity, ſubverſive of the Conſtitution, and preaching directly againſt a great Part of the *Statute-Book*. The *Declaration* of the Commons againſt *Manwaring* was deliver'd to the Lords by Mr. *Pym*, who manag'd the Impeachment with Vigour and Advantage enough.

April 21. An. Dom. 1628.
* Wharton's *Manuſcripts from Archbiſhop* Sancroft's *Collections. See the Caſe of Impropriations*, &c. Appen. p. 26.
Sir Benjamin Rudyer's *Speech for the Augmentation of ſmall Livings*.

This Seſſions a Bill was brought in for the Augmentation of Livings, and the Commons having turn'd themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe. A remarkable Speech was deliver'd upon this Subject by Sir *Benjamin Rudyer*. He directs his Diſcourſe to Mr. *Pym*, then in the Chair.*

Mr. *Pym*,

“I did not think to have ſpoken again to this Bill, becauſe I was willing to believe, that the Forwardneſs of this Committee would have prevented me: But now I do hold my ſelf bound to ſpeak, and to ſpeak in Earneſt.

“In the firſt Year of the King, and the ſecond *Convention*, I firſt moved for the Encreaſe and Enlarging of Poor Miniſters Livings: I ſhew'd how neceſſary it was to be done; how ſhameful it was that it had been ſo long neglected: This was alſo commended to the Houſe by his Majeſty. There were then (as now) many Accuſations on Foot againſt ſcandalous Miniſters: I was bold to tell the Houſe, that there were ſcandalous Livings too, which were much the Cauſe of the other; Livings of five Marks and five Pounds a Year: That Men of Worth and of good Parts would not be muzzled up to ſuch Pittances: That there were ſome Places in *England*, which were ſcarce in Chriſtendom, where God was little better known than among the *Indians*. I exampled it in the uttermoſt Parts of the *North*, where the Prayers of the common People are more like Spells and Charms than Devotions. The ſame Blindneſs and Ignorance is in divers Parts of *Wales*, which many of that Country do both know and lament.

“I declar'd alſo, That to plant good Miniſters in good Livings, was the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt Means to eſtabliſh true Religion: That it would prevail more againſt Papiſtry than the making of new Laws, or executing of old; that it would counter-work Court-Connivance, and luke-warm Accommodation; that though the calling of Miniſters be never ſo glorious *within*, yet outward Poverty will bring Contempt upon them, eſpecially among thoſe who meaſure Men by the *Acre*, and weigh them by the *Pound*, which indeed is the greateſt Part of Men.

“Mr. *Pym*, I cannot but teſtify how being in *Germany* I was exceedingly ſcandaliz'd to ſee the poor ſtipendiary Miniſters of the Reformed Churches there deſpiſed and neglected by Reaſon of their Poverty, being otherwiſe very Grave and Learned Men. I am afraid, that is a Part of the Burden of *Germany*, which ought to be a Warning to us. I have heard many Objections and Difficulties, even to Impoſſibilities, againſt this *Bill*. To him that is unwilling to go, there is ever a Bear or a Lion in the Way. Firſt let us make our ſelves willing, then will the Way be eaſy and ſafe enough. I have obſerv'd that we are always very eager and fierce againſt *Papiſtry*, againſt ſcandalous Miniſters, and againſt Things which are not within our Power. I ſhall be glad to ſee that we do delight as well in rewarding, as in puniſhing, and in undertaking Matters within our Reach, as this is abſolutely within our Power. Our own Duty is next, and other Mens is farther off.

“I do not ſpeak this that I do miſlike the deſtroying and pulling down of that which is ill; but then let us be as earneſt to plant and build up that which is *good* in the Room of it: For why ſhould we be deſolate? The beſt and neareſt Way to diſpel Darkneſs, and the Deeds thereof, is to let in Light. We ſay that Day breaks, but no Man ever heard the Voice of it. God comes in the *ſtill Voice*; let us quickly mend our *Candleſticks*, and we cannot want Light. I am afraid this Backwardneſs of ours will give our Adverſaries Occaſion to ſay, That we chooſe our Religion, becauſe it is the cheaper of the two; that we would willingly *ſerve* God with ſomewhat that ſhould *coſt* us *nought*.

“Believe me, Mr. *Pym*, He that thinks to ſave any Thing by his Religion but his Soul, will be a terrible Loſer in the End. We *ſow ſparingly*, that is the Reaſon we *reap* ſo *ſparingly*, and have no more Fruit. Methinks, whoſoever hates *Papiſtry*, ſhould by the ſame Rule hate *Covetouſneſs*; for that is Idolatry too. I never like hot Profeſſions, and cold Actions. Such a Heat is rather the Heat of Diſtemper and Diſeaſe, than of Life and Saving Health.

“For *ſcandalous Miniſters*, there is no Man ſhall be more ſincerely forward to have them puniſh'd than I will be. When *Salt has loſt its Savour*, let it be *caſt out* upon the unſavoury Place, the *Dung-hill*. But, Sir, let us deal with them as God hath dealt with us. God, before he made Man, he made the World, a handſome Place for him to dwell in. So let us provide them competent Livings, and then puniſh them in God's Name: But till then ſcandalous Livings cannot but have ſcandalous Miniſters. It ſhall ever be a Rule to me, that “when the Church and Commonwealth are both of one Religion, it is comely and decent that the outward Splendour of the Church ſhould hold a Proportion, and participate with the Proſperity of the Temporal Eſtate: For why ſhould we dwell in *Houſes* of *Cedar*, and *ſuffer God to dwell in Skins*?

“It was a Glorious and Religious Work of King *James*; I ſpeak it to his unſpeakable Honour, and to the Praiſe of that Nation, who, though their Country be not ſo rich as ours, yet are they richer in their Affections to Religion. Within the Space of one Year he cauſed Churches to be planted through all *Scotland* and the *Borders*, worth Thirty Pounds a Year a-piece, with a Houſe and ſome Glebe belonging to them; which Thirty Pounds a Year, conſidering the Cheapneſs of the Country, and the modeſt Faſhion of Mens Living there, is worth double as much as any where within an Hundred Miles of *London*. The printed *Act* and Commiſſion, whereby it was executed, I have here in my Hand, deliver'd unto me by a noble Gentleman of that Nation, and a worthy Member of this *Houſe*, Sir *Francis Steward*.

“To conclude: Although Chriſtian Religion be eſtabliſh'd generally through this Kingdom; yet until it be planted more particularly, I ſhall ſcarce think this a Chriſtian Commonwealth: And ſeeing it hath been mov'd and ſtir'd in Parliament, it will be heavy upon Parliaments till it be effected. Let us do ſomething for God here of our own; and no Doubt God will bleſs our Proceedings in this Place for ever after. And for my own Part, I will never give over ſolliciting this Cauſe as long as Parliaments and I ſhall live together.

June 13. An. Dom. 1628.

To proceed; The *Commons*, by their Speaker, demanded Judgment of the Lords againſt Doctor *Manwaring*: Upon which the *Upper Houſe* gave the following Sentence:

“*Firſt*, That *Roger Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, ſhall be impriſon'd during the Pleaſure of the Houſe.

“*Secondly*, He is fin'd a Thouſand Pounds to the King.

“*Thirdly*, He was to make ſuch Submiſſion and Acknowledgement of his Offences, as ſhall be ſet down by a Committee in Writing, both at the Bar, and in the Houſe of Commons.

“*Fourthly*, He ſhall be ſuſpended for the Term of three Years from the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry; and in the mean Time a ſufficient Preaching Miniſter ſhall be provided out of his Livings to ſerve the Cure: This Suſpenſion and Proviſion to be done by the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

“*Fifthly*, He ſhall be hereafter diſabled to have any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Secular Office.

“And *Sixthly*, For ever diſabled to preach at the Court.

“And *Seventhly*, His ſaid Book is worthy to be burnt; and that for the better effecting of this, his Majeſty may be mov'd to Grant a Proclamation to call in the ſaid Books, that they may all be burnt accordingly in *London*, and both the Univerſities, and for the inhibiting the Printing thereof upon a great Penalty.

Id. *Page* 605.

Dr. Manwaring's *Submiſſion at the Bar of the Houſe Commons.*

As for Dr. *Manwaring's* Submiſſion, 'twas preſcrib'd by a Committee of the Commons, and made by him in theſe *Words*:

May it pleaſe this Honourable Houſe, I do here in all Sorrow of Heart and true Repentance acknowlege the many Errors and Indiſcretions which I have committed, in preaching and publiſhing thoſe two Sermons of mine, which I called Religion and Allegiance; and my great Fault in falling upon this Theme again, and handling the ſame raſhly and unadviſedly in my own Pariſh Church of St. Giles's *in the Fields, the 4th of* May *laſt paſt. I do humbly acknowlege thoſe three Sermons to have been full of many dangerous Paſſages, Inferences, and ſcandalous Aſperſions, in moſt Part of the ſame: And I do humbly acknowlege the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe in the Judgment and Sentence paſt upon me for my great Offence: And I do from the Bottom of my Heart crave Pardon of God, the King, and this Honourable Houſe, and the Church, and this Commonwealth in general, and thoſe worthy Perſons adjudg'd to be reflected upon by me in particular, for theſe great Errors and Offences.*

Roger Manwaring.

The Commons Remonſtrance with Reference to Religion.

About this Time the Commons addreſs'd the King with a Remonſtrance: “They begin with Thanks to his Majeſty for his Satisfactory Anſwer to their **Petition of Right**. After this they ſuggeſt a general Apprehenſion of a ſecret Deſign concerted for introducing a Change in Religion: That theſe Jealouſies were grounded upon Matter of Fact: 'Twas the viſible Encreaſe of Popery, and the particular Countenance thoſe of that Perſuaſion receiv'd at Court, which occaſion'd this Jealouſy: That the Minds of his Subjects were further alarm'd by his Majeſty's Letters for ſtopping legal Proceedings againſt *Papiſts*; and by Commiſſions under the Great-Seal granted and executed for Compoſition to be made with theſe *Recuſants*, with Inhibitions both to the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Courts in their Favour. All which, in their Opinion, amounts to little leſs than a *Toleration*. They proceed to complain, that the Hearts of his good Subjects are no leſs perplex'd by the daily Growth and Spreading of the *Arminian Faction*: That this, as his Majeſty well knows, is but a more covert Practice for the bringing in Popery: That thoſe who profeſs theſe Opinions are no better than Incendiaries and common Nuſances both in Church and State, being Proteſtants *without-ſide*, but Jeſuits *within*: That notwithſtanding his Majeſty's publick Diſlike of thoſe Perſons, and their Opinions, in his Proclamation, they are remarkably cheriſh'd, and advanced to Poſts of Honour and Truſt. And to give ſome Inſtances, *Neile*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Laud*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, are juſtly ſuſpected of unſound Opinions this Way: That *Arminianiſm* being now look'd on as the moſt thriving Perſuaſion, and the Road to Preferment, many Scholars, are tempted to declare themſelves of that Party: That the Books which maintain ſuch Singularities are ſuffer'd to be printed, and thoſe written againſt them ſuppreſs'd.

“That the Fears of the Commons are further increas'd by ſome Endeavours which have been uſed for removing the moſt powerful Means to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant Religion; that is, the Inſtruction of the People has been diſcourag'd by miſrepreſenting, and “laying uncreditable Imputations upon Pious, Painful, and Orthodox Preachers.

“From hence they proceed to report the miſerable Condition of *Ireland*, where, as they ſay, the Popiſh Religion is openly profeſs'd, where Monaſteries and other Superſtitious Houſes, are newly erected, furniſh'd with *Religious* of both Sexes, and plentifully maintain'd at *Dublin*, and many other Great Towns in that Kingdom. (*d*)

(*d*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. 1. Pag. 620.

The reſt of the *Remonſtrance*, relating to the *State*, ſhall be omitted.

June 26.

This Addreſs, being preſented with the *Subſidy-Bill*, was not well received by his Majeſty, who thought it an unſuitable Return for his granting their **Petition of Right**. However, the Commons went on to draw another *Remonſtrance* againſt *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Upon which his Majeſty prorogu'd them to the 20th of *October*, and from thence to the 20th of *January*. And thus the preſenting the ſecond *Remonſtrance* was prevented.

As to the *firſt*, the King publiſh'd an Anſwer to it: 'Twas drawn up by *Laud*, and ſo much of it as relates to Religion is to this Purpoſe:

The King's Anſwer.

“*Firſt*, The King takes Notice the *Remonſtrance* begins with Religion, and the Fears of a Relapſe into *Popery*: To ſcatter theſe Jealouſies the King would have his Subjects recollect what Difficulties and Dangers he met with, not many Years ſince, on the Score of Religion: That his Faith and Reſolution was ſtill the ſame; and that he was no leſs careful to guard againſt *Innovation* than thoſe who ſeemed ſo much diſturb'd upon that Head: That the Favour and Relaxation granted to ſome *Recuſants*, was occaſion'd by the Parliament's refuſing to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Government. However, upon an exact Enquiry into Matter of Fact, 'twill be found there is no ſuch Increaſe of *Popery*, nor any Thing that looks like the pretended *Toleration*: That the *Commiſſion*, ſo much complain'd of, neither diſpenſes with any Penalty, nor reſtrains the Courſe of Juſtice againſt *Recuſants*. Their next Fear ariſes from the daily Growth of the *Arminian Faction*: This is call'd *a Cunning Way to bring in Popery*. But this Charge the King looks on as a very injurious Reflection upon his Perſon and Government: That it is not fit his Subjects ſhould be lead into a Miſtake by a Parliamentary *Remonſtrance*, or by any other Means; as if his Majeſty is either ſo ignorant in Matters of *Religious Belief*, or ſo indifferent in maintaining them, as that any ſingular Opinion ſhould grow up, or any Faction prevail in his Kingdoms, without his Knowlege: That this was a Fancy altogether without Ground, and endeavour'd to perſuade the People the King ſlept over the Government. That two eminent Prelates, attending his Perſon were much wrong'd in being accus'd without the leaſt Colour of Proof produc'd againſt them: And that ſhould either theſe Biſhops, or any others, attempt the altering of Religion, his Majeſty would quickly animadvert upon them, without ſtaying for the *Commons Remonſtrance*.

“To give a Colour to their Complaint, the People are made to believe *Orthodox Books* have a Reſtraint clap'd upon them: But the King is very well aſſur'd, that ſince the late Parliament began, ſome whom the *Remonſtrance* calls *Orthodox*, had ventur'd upon intolerable Liberty in Printing: That his Majeſty's Proclamation commanded both Sides to acquieſce, and lie by till the Paſſions of Men had Time to cool, and grow calm: Had this Order been duly obey'd, *the Nation had not been toſs'd in the preſent Tempeſt*. As for the Diſcountenancing *Good Preachers*, his Majeſty knows none who can anſwer this Character that lie under any ſuch Diſtreſs: That it ſhall be his Majeſty's conſtant Care to provide his People with ſufficient Guides for Conſcience and Spiritual Aſſiſtance. And as for the Church Preferments in the *Crown*, he has always endeavoured to beſtow them upon Induſtry and Deſert: But then as the Preferments are his Majeſty's own, he ſhall make himſelf Judge of the Merit of Perſons, and not be *taught* by a *Remonſtrance*.

“Then with Reference to *Ireland*, the King believes Religion in no worſe Condition in that Kingdom than Queen *Elizabeth* left it: That his Majeſty looks on the Report of Monaſteries and other ſuperſtitious Houſes, built and furniſh'd in *Dublin*, and other Towns of Note, as a great Diſparagement to his Government: That his Deputy and Council in that Kingdom would not ſuffer ſuch hardy *Innovations*, ſo diſhonourable to God and the Government, without acquainting him with it: And that he could not endure his good People ſhould be thus impos'd on with Miſrelations. And whereas the *Remonſtrance* lays ſome Streſs on the Circumſtance of Time, and ſets forth that the true Religion is undermin'd at *home*, and openly attack'd in foreign Parts, at the ſame unhappy Juncture. To this his Majeſty replies, The *Reformation* is ſafe enough from any Attempts at *home*, if thoſe who ſeem moſt concern'd for its Support are not in a Practice againſt it: For while the Intereſt of Religion is thus factiouſly purſued, the Heat of the Conteſt oftentimes melts off the Purity which 'tis intended to preſerve: And that his Majeſty is well aſſur'd theſe violent diſtemper'd Motions are none of God's Methods. (*e*)

(*e*) Cyprian Angl.

Biſhop Laud *tranſlated to* London.

Aug. 24.

Soon after the Receſs of the *Parliament*, *Laud* was tranſlated from *Bath* and *Wells* to *London*, and *Mountague* promoted to the *See* of *Chicheſter*. Before he was conſecrated an unexpected Rub was thrown in the Way. At the *Confirmation* of Biſhops, in the Court of *Arches* at *Bow*-Church in *Cheapſide*, there is publick Notice given, That if any Perſons can object either againſt the Party elected, or the Legality of the Election, they are to come and offer their Exceptions at the Day prefix'd. This Intimation being given, one *Jones*, a Bookſeller, attended with the Mob, appearing at the *Confirmation*, excepts againſt *Mountague* as a Perſon unqualified for the Epiſcopal Dignity. And to be ſomewhat particular, he charges him with *Popery*, *Arminianiſm*, and other *Heterodoxies*, for which his *Books* had been cenſur'd in the former Parliament. But Dr. *Thomas Rives*, who then officiated for *Brent*, the *Vicar-General*, diſappointed this Challenge. For *Jones* had made ſome material Omiſſions in the *Manner*, and not offer'd his Objections in Form of Law. For the Purpoſe, the Exceptions were neither given in Writing, nor ſign'd by an Advocate, nor preſented by any Proctor of the Court. Upon the Failure of theſe Circumſtances, the *Confirmation* went on. And to ſet *Mountague* out

Exceptions againſt* Mountague *in his Confirmation.

out of the Reach of theſe *Cavils*, he was conſecrated two Days after at *Croyden*.

After the Murder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was ſtabb'd at *Portſmouth* by one *John Felton*, a Lieutenant, *Laud* ſeem'd to fill his Room in the King's Eſteem, and had a conſiderable Direction of Affairs both in Church and *State*. To give an Inſtance; This Prelate for ſilencing the Controverſy between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, procur'd the Reprinting of the *Nine and Thirty Articles*, with the King's *Declaration* prefix'd at the Head of them. This was conceiv'd the beſt Expedient to lay the *Predeſtinarian* Diſputes aſleep. For by the *Statutes* of the Realm, all Incumbents were oblig'd to read the Book of *Articles* at Church ſoon after their Inſtitution: And by the *Canons*, all that took *Orders* were bound to ſubſcribe them. As to the King's Declaration at the Head of the *Articles*; the Deſign of it was to guard them from Miſconſtruction, and prevent their being wreſted out of the obvious and literal Senſe. The *Declaration* runs thus:

By the King.

The King's Declaration prefix'd to the Nine and thirty Articles.

“Being by God's Ordinance, according to our juſt Title, *Defender of the Faith*, and ſupreme Governour of the Church within theſe our Dominions, we hold it moſt agreeable to our Kingly Office, and our own religious Zeal, to conſerve and maintain the Church committed to our Charge in the *Unity* of true Religion, and in the *Bond of Peace*: *And* not to ſuffer unneceſſary Diſputations, Altercations, and Queſtions to be rais'd which may nouriſh Faction both in Church and Common-wealth; we have therefore upon mature Deliberation, and with the Advice of ſo many of our Biſhops, as might be conveniently call'd together, thought fit to make this *Declaration* following: That the Articles of the Church of *England* (which had been allow'd and authoriz'd heretofore, and which our Clergy generally have ſubſcrib'd unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of *England*, agreeable to God's Word: Which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform Profeſſion thereof, and Prohibiting the leaſt Difference from the ſaid Articles; which to that End we command to be re-printed, and this our Declaration to be publiſh'd therewith.

“That we are ſupreme Governour of the Church of *England*, and that if any Differences ariſe about the external Policy concerning *Injunctions*, *Canons*, or other Conſtitutions whatſoever thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation are to order and ſettle them, having firſt obtained Leave under our Broad Seal ſo to do; and we approving their ſaid Ordinances and Conſtitutions, provided that none be made contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. That out of our Princely Care, that the Churchmen may do the Work which is proper unto them; the Biſhops and Clergy, from Time to Time, in Convocation, upon their humble deſire, ſhall have Licence under our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all ſuch Things, as being made plain by them, and aſſented to by us, ſhall concern the ſettled Continuance of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd; from which we ſhall not endure any Variation or Departing in the leaſt Degree. That for the Preſent, tho' ſome Differences have been ill raiſed, we take comfort in this, that all Clergymen within our Realm, have always moſt willingly ſubſcribed to the Articles eſtabliſhed, which is an Argument to us, that they all agree in the true uſual literal Meaning of the ſaid Articles, and that even in thoſe curious Points, in which the preſent Differences lye, Men of all Sorts take the Articles of the Church of *England* to be for them; which is an Argument again, that none of them intend any Deſertion of the Articles eſtabliſh'd. That therefore in theſe, both curious and unhappy Differences, which have for many hundred Years, in different Times and Places, exercis'd the Church of Chriſt, We will that all further curious ſearch be laid a-Side, and theſe Diſputes be ſhut up in God's Promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth unto us in Holy Scriptures; and the general Meaning of the Articles of the Church of *England*, according to them. And that no Man hereafter ſhall either Print or Preach to draw the Article aſide any Way, but ſhall ſubmit to it in the Plain and full Meaning thereof: And ſhall not put his own Senſe or Comment to the Meaning of the Article, but ſhall take it in the literal and grammatical Senſe. That if any Publick Reader in either of our Univerſities, or any Head or Maſter of a College, or any other Perſon reſpectively in either of them, ſhall affix any new Senſe to any Article, or ſhall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Diſputation, or ſuffer any ſuch to be held either Way, in either the Univerſities or Colleges reſpectively; or if any Divine in the Univerſities ſhall preach or Print any Thing either Way, other than is eſtabliſh'd in Convocation with our Royal Aſſent: He or they the Offenders ſhall be liable to our Diſpleaſure, and the Churches Cenſure in our Commiſſion *Eccleſiaſtical*, as well as any other: And We will ſee there ſhall be due Execution upon them. (*f*)

The Calviniſts *complain of the Declaration, and prepare an Addreſs againſt it.*

The *Calvinian* Party complain'd loudly of this *Declaration*: They gave out the Deſign of it was chiefly for the ſuppreſſing orthodox Books, for the Diſcouraging godly Miniſters from Preaching the comfortable Doctrines of Man's Election to eternal Happineſs, and for Promoting the Growth of *Arminianiſm*. And to give theſe Jealouſies an Appearance of Probability, a Letter pretended to be written to the Rector of the *Jeſuits*-College in *Bruſſels*, is induſtriouſly diſpers'd. And here his Correſpondents acquaint him what Care they had taken to plant the *Sovereign Drug*, as they call it, of *Arminianiſm*: That this would purge off the Proteſtant *Hereſy*; that they began to find the Effects of it already: And that for preventing Diſappointment on the *Puritan-Side*, the *Arminians* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Duke: The Letter goes on in a reſembling Strain of Confidence, and was look'd on by Men of Senſe as no better than a Piece of Forgery. However, notwithſtanding its Romantick Air, the Paper gain'd Belief, and help'd to do Buſineſs. For now the *Calviniſts* in and about *London*, drew an Addreſs to the King, which they intended to preſent for recalling his *Declaration*. “The Petition ſets forth what a Reſtraint was laid upon them from Preaching the *Saving* Doctrines

---

(*f*) Bibliotheca Regia. Sect. 3. Num. 4.

“ of God's free *Grace* in *Election* and *Predeſtination*: That this had brought them under a very uncomfortable Dilemma, either of falling under the Divine Diſpleaſure, if they did not execute their Commiſſion in declaring the *whole Counſel* of God; or of being cenſur'd for Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Authority in Caſe they preach'd the receiv'd Doctrines of the Church, and attack'd the *Pelagian* and *Arminian* Hereſies, both boldly publiſh'd from Pulpit, and Preſs.” That therefore they humbly intreat his Majeſty would be pleas'd to take the fore-mention'd Evils and Grievances into his Princely Conſideration; and as a wiſe Phyſician, apply ſuch ſpeedy Remedies as may both cure the preſent Diſtempers, and preſerve the Church and *State* from thoſe Plagues with which their Neighbours had not been a little diſtreſs'd. (*g*)

(*g*) Canterbury's *Doom.*

But this Addreſs was ſtop'd in its Paſſage, and never reach'd the King: However, when the Parliament met, ſomething of this Kind was reſolv'd as the Senſe of the *Houſe*: But of this by and by.

Manwaring's *Sermons ſuppreſs'd by Proclamation, and* Mountague's Appello Cæſarem *call'd in.*

To proceed; In the Interval between the Two *Seſſions*, Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermons, entituled, *Religion* and *Allegiance*, were ſuppreſs'd by *Proclamation*; in which the King declar'd, that tho' the Grounds of the Diſcourſe were rightly laid to perſuade the Subject to obedience for Conſcience ſake, there was, notwithſtanding ſeveral exceptionable Paſſages: That ſome of the Dr.'s Inferences and Applications, claſh'd with the Laws of the Land, and the Proceedings of Parliaments: That the Dr.'s Ignorance of the Conſtitution, had miſled him to that Degree, that he had juſtly drawn upon himſelf the Cenſure of the High Court of Parliament. That his Majeſty being deſirous to remove Occaſions of Scandal, had thought fit thoſe Sermons ſhould be wholly ſuppreſs'd. (*h*) About the ſame Time Biſhop *Mountague*'s *Appello Cæſarem* was call'd in. The Order ſets forth, That this Book had been the firſt Occaſion of thoſe Diſputes and Differences, which had diſturb'd the Repoſe of the Church. His Majeſty therefore Commands all Perſons who had any of thoſe Books in their Hands to deliver them to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or to the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the *Univerſities*, provided that they were found in either of thoſe *Societies*. And that if any Perſon by Preaching, Reading, or Printing, ſhould revive thoſe unneceſſary Diſputes, his Majeſty was reſolv'd to make them repent their Preſumption. On the other Side, to ſecure Biſhop *Mountague* from further Trouble, and relieve *Manwaring* a little under the Parliamentary *Sentence*, they had both of them his Majeſty's Pardon for all Errors formerly committed in Speaking, Writing, or Printing. *Mountague*'s Preferment, ſince his being harraſs'd by the Commons, has been mention'd already: And as for *Manwaring*, notwithſtanding the Sentence of the Lords had diſabled him from Promotion, he was preſented to the Rectory of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Eſſex*, with a Diſpenſation to hold it with his Living of St. *Giles*'s in the *Fields*, and was afterwards made Biſhop of St. *Davids*. The Preferring this Gentleman, who had recanted in Form, and own'd himſelf ſo remarkable a Criminal, was no ſerviceable Conduct: This Countenance look'd ſomething like a Partiality for the *Prerogative*, made the Parliament more warm at their next Meeting, and the King loſe Ground in the Affection of his Subjects.

(*h*) Ruſhworth *Collect. Vol.* 1.

They are both preferr'd.

But to give Satisfaction another Way, a Proclamation was iſſued for Proceeding againſt Popiſh Recuſants, and Directions ſent to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for taking the Forfeitures of Two Thirds of their Eſtates. But the Rigour of the Statutes is ſaid to have been mitigated by favourable Compoſition. This Proclamation was ſeconded with another for apprehending all Prieſts and Jeſuits and committing them to Gaol without Bail, or Mainprize. And here *Richard Smith*, Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, was particularly mention'd. He was ſent hither by the Pope, with Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks. He wrote a Book entitled, the *prudential Balance*, and was a Perſon well eſteem'd by the *Laity* and *Seculars*. But his Character was by no Means acceptable to the *Regulars*, who appeared ſtrongly againſt him, and particularly one *Nicholas Smith*. This Titular Biſhop of *Chalcedon* finding the Country unfriendly, retir'd to *France*, and was kindly receiv'd by Cardinal *Richlieu*.

Proclamation againſt Smith, *Biſhop of* Chalcedon, &c.

About *Chriſtmas* this Year, Archbiſhop *Abbot* was reſtor'd to his Liberty and Juriſdiction: He was ſent for to Court, kiſs'd the King's Hand, and was order'd not to fail being at the Council Board twice a Week: After this he was no more put under any Reſtraint, but enjoy'd the Privilege of his Station as long as he liv'd. *

* Examen Hiſtor. Ruſhworth *Collect. Vol.* 1.

At the next *Meeting* the Commons concern'd themſelves with Controverſies of Religion, pronounc'd upon the Senſe of the Nine and thirty *Articles*, and ſeem'd to claſh with the King's late Declaration. This Vow of the Houſe of Commons, as *Ruſhworth* calls it, ſtands thus:

The Commons Declaration upon the Nine and thirty Articles.

> *We the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth, the Senſe of the Articles of Religion, which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament in the Thirteenth Year of our late Queen* Elizabeth, *which by the publick Act of the Church of* England, *and by the general and current Expoſitions of the Writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And We reject the Senſe of the Jeſuits, and* Arminians, *and all others wherein they differ from us.*

The Commons being thus deciſive in Points of Religion, and Myſtery, was ſomewhat ſurprizing: 'Twas thought the Reſolution of theſe Matters, in which the moſt learned Clergy were ſo much divided, had been more proper for a provincial Council, That the ſetting a Rule for Belief, was foreign to the Buſineſs of the Commons; That their Profeſſion had not qualified them for Enquiries of this Kind: And that they had neither Character or Authority for ſettling the Controverſy. To inſtance in one Clauſe of their Declaration, *They Vow for Truth the Senſe of the Articles, which were eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, in the Thirteenth Year of Queen* Elizabeth.

But by the Way, neither the Senſe of the *Articles*, nor the *Articles* themſelves, are eſtabliſh'd either in that Parliament, or in any other. We hear of no Committee of Religion appointed to examine the Orthodoxy of theſe *Credenda*, or any Reſolution of the *Houſe* upon their Report. The Deſign of the *Statute*, (*i*) as has been already obſerv'd, was only to provide againſt Non-Conformity: For which Purpoſe the Clergy are oblig'd to ſubſcribe the *Articles*, and read them in their Pariſh Churches.

(*i*) 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

The Commons were by no Means pleas'd with the Adminiſtration; they inſinuated Popery and *Arminianiſm* were in a Concert to undermine the Conſtitution, and make Way for Arbitrary Government. That the Juncture call'd for an Enquiry into the Pardons that had been granted, and the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments beſtow'd ſince the laſt *Seſſion*: That the *Work of the Lord* muſt not be *done Negligently*; and that the Buſineſs of Religion ought to have the Preference to that of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. And the Committee being ſettled, Mr. *Pym* ſpoke to the following Effect.

They complain of Innovations in Religion.

Religion he ſaid, was diſtreſs'd with *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*: “As to the Firſt, they ought to enquire into Three Things. *1ſt*. The Non-Execution of the Laws againſt Papiſts. *2dly*, How much theſe *Recuſants* had been employ'd and countenanc'd. *3dly*, They were to take Notice of the Breach made upon the Law by bringing in ſuperſtitious Ceremonies. And here he Inſtances in the Innovations pretended to be practis'd at *Durham*, by Mr. *Cozens*: Such as Angels, Crucifixes, Saints, Altars, Candles on Candlemas-Day burning in the Church.

Now if *Pym* meant Invocation of *Saints* and Angels, and Worſhipping the Croſs, or the Altar, 'twas a downright Calumny on *Cozens*: But if this is not his Meaning, his Charge is trifling, and nothing to the Purpoſe. Then ſpeaking to the Point of *Arminianiſm*, he paſſes the *Lambeth Articles* for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: Taking this for granted, he would have a Teſt for examining the late contrary Opinions: And moves that an Enquiry may be made what Men have been ſince preferr'd, who have profeſs'd theſe *Hereſies*: What Pardons they have had for falſe Doctrine: What Books have been prohibited that appear'd againſt them, and how much thoſe on their Side have been ſuffer'd to Paſs.

Purſuant to this *Speech*, the *Committee*, except to the Pardons of *Mountague* and *Manwaring*, complain of *Neile*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for procuring them, and call an *Arminian* the Spawn of a *Papiſt*. And thus the Humour running high againſt the Court in the Lower *Houſe*, the King diſſolv'd the Parliament.

Idem.

March 10. Anno Dom. 162$\frac{8}{9}$.

This Year *Toby Mathew*, Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by *Mountaign*.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

Leighton's *ſcandalous Pamphlet.*

Before the Breaking up of the Parliament, one *Leighton*, a *Scotchman*, and Doctor of Phyſick, dedicated a ſcandalous Book to the Two *Houſes*, entituled, *Sion's Plea*. In this phrantick Performance he ſolicits his Patrons to *kill all the Biſhops, and ſmite them under the Fifth Rib*: His Manners to the Queen is of the ſame extraordinary Size. For he ſalutes her Majeſty in no better Language than that of an *Idolatreſs*, a *Canaanite*, and a Daughter of *Heth*. For theſe coarſe Liberties he was taken up, brought into the *Star Chamber*; and ſentenc'd to have his Ears crop'd, his Noſe ſlit, his Fore-hand branded, and to be whip'd. Between the Sentence and the Execution, he made his Eſcape out of the *Fleet*; but was ſeiz'd in *Bedfordſhire*, and ſuffer'd the Puniſhment. (*k*)

Anno Dom. 1629.

(*k*) Cyprian. Anglic.

Laud, who had now the Aſcendant at Court, being ſenſible the Diſcipline and Revenues of the Church were miſmanag'd, and out of Order, was Intent in projecting a Remedy. To this Purpoſe he conſulted *Harſenet*, who ſucceeded *Mountaign* in the *See* of *York*: Theſe Two Prelates threw their Scheme into Ten Articles and preſented them to the King: This Draught was ſign'd by his Majeſty, and publiſh'd under the Title of his *Inſtructions to the Moſt Reverend Father in God*, George, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *containing certain Orders to be obſerv'd and put in Execution by the ſeveral Biſhops in his Province*. The Inſtructions are theſe following.

CHARLES *Rex*.

The King's Inſtructions to the Archbiſhop of Cant. &c.

“I. That the Lords the Biſhops be commanded to their ſeveral Sees, there to keep Reſidence; excepting thoſe which are at neceſſary Attendance on the Court.

“II. That none of them Reſide upon his Land or Leaſe that he hath purchaſed, nor on his *Commendam*, if he hold any; but in one of his *Epiſcopal Houſes*, if he have any ſuch: And that he Waſte not the Woods where any are left.

“III. That they give Charge in their *Triennial Viſitations*, and at other convenient Times, both by themſelves and their Archdeacons, That the Declaration for ſettling all Queſtions in Difference, be ſtrictly obſerved by all Parties.

“IV. That there be a ſpecial Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations be ſolemn, and not of unworthy Perſons.

“V. That they take great Care concerning the *Lecturers* in their ſeveral *Dioceſes*, from whom we give theſe ſpecial Directions following.

“1. That in all Pariſhes the Afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechizing by Queſtion and Anſwer, where and whenſoever there is not ſome great Cauſe apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.

“2. That every Biſhop Ordain in his *Dioceſe*, That every *Lecturer* do read *Divine Service* according to the Liturgy, printed by Authority, in his *Surplice*, and before the *Lecture*.

“3. That where a *Lecture* is ſet up in a Market-Town, it may be read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the ſame *Dioceſe*, and that they preach in Gowns and not in Cloaks, as too many do Uſe.

“4. That if any Corporation do maintain a ſingle *Lecturer*, he be not ſuffer'd to preach till he profeſs his Willingneſs to take upon him a *Living* with *Cure of Souls* within that Incorporation, and that he do actually take ſuch Benefice or *Cure*, ſo ſoon as the ſame ſhall fairly be procured for him.

“VI. That the Biſhops do incourage and Countenance the Grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they uſe all Means by ſome of their Clergy, or others, that they have Knowledge how both *Lecturers* and *Preachers* within their Dioceſes, behave themſelves in their Sermons, that ſo they may take Order for any Abuſe accordingly.

“VII. That the Biſhops ſuffer none under Noblemen and Men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his Houſe.

"VIII. That they take eſpecial Care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechiſm, as Sermons; and take particular Notice of all ſuch as abſent themſelves as Recuſants, or otherwiſe.

"IX. That every Biſhop, who by our Grace and Favour, and good Opinion of his Service, ſhall be nominated by us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall not from that Day of Nomination preſume to make any Leaſe for Three Lives, or One and twenty Years, or *concurrent* Leaſe, or any Way renew any Eſtate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but merely to receive the Rents due, and ſo quit the Place; for We think it a hateful Thing that any Man's leaving a Biſhoprick, ſhould almoſt undo his Succeſſor. And if any Man ſhall preſume to break this Order, We will refuſe him our Royal Aſſent, and keep him at the Place which he hath ſo abuſed.

"X. And laſtly, We command you to give us an Account every Year, on the Second of *January*, of the Performance of theſe Our Commands. (*l*)

The King's Letter to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, *in behalf of the Clergy.*

About this Time the King ſent an Order to the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, for improving the Revenues of the *Iriſh* Clergy: 'Tis in theſe Words, "Right Truſty and well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, We greet you well, Whereas our late dear Father of bleſſed Memory, did (by his Inſtructions for the Good and Welfare of Holy Church in our Realm of *Ireland*,) ordain and command that all ſuch impropriate Parſonages as were his own Inheritance, and held by Leaſe from the Crown, ever as the ſaid Leaſes expir'd, ſhould be thenceforth let to the ſeveral Curates and Miniſters of all ſuch Churches, that were to attend the Cure of Souls, and from Time to Time ſhould be Incumbent upon the ſeveral Parſonages, they ſecuring his Majeſty the Rents, Duties and Services reſerved upon ſuch Leaſes, which order We alſo out of our Own like Zeal to God's Glory and Advancement of true Religion, have likewiſe heretofore confirmed by our Royal Letters of the 8th of *July*, 1626, all which notwithſtanding We are now to our great Diſpleaſure informed, that ſince the giving of our ſaid Father's Letters and our Own; ſundry Leaſes of Tythes, upon Expiration, Surrender, or otherwiſe, have been again Let to Lay-men, and not to the Incumbents of the ſaid Churches, to the Wrong of our Religion, and Breach of our Commandment: Whereof We ſhall not fail to take Account in Time convenient, but for your better Aſſurance of ſuch our pious and princely Grant unto the Church, of that our Realm in Time to come, We have thought good to declare, and by theſe our Letters do declare unto you, That our princely Will and Pleaſure is, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors; to give and Grant the Reverſion of all ſuch Reſervations, only as formerly have been expreſſed, irrevocably unto Almighty God, and to the particular Churches within that our Kingdom, unto which ſuch Tythes did anciently belong, and to the ſeveral Incumbents which ſhall happen to be in the ſaid Churches, when ſuch Leaſes ſhall expire or otherwiſe be determined, and to their Succeſſors for ever, giving hereby the ſeveral Incumbents and their Succeſſors, which ſhall be when it ſhall happen the ſaid Leaſes to expire or otherwiſe to determine, full Power to enter into Poſſeſſion of the whole Tythes, paying only unto Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſuch Rents, Duties and Service as are now payable out of the ſame reſpectively; and charging our Officers of our Exchequer in that Kingdom to receive the ſame in ſuch Manner and Form as now they are receiv'd, without any further Charge or Exaction upon the ſaid Incumbents; and for the effecting this our godly Purpoſe and princely Donation, We do hereby authorize and require you, that upon the Sight hereof, you by the Advice of our learned Council there; do forthwith make out under the Great Seal of that our Kingdom, ſuch Grant and Grants as ſhall be neceſſary and requiſite for the Settling and Eſtabliſhing of all ſuch impropriate Benefices, upon the Corporation of *Dublin* or *Londonderry*, within that our Kingdom, as ſhall be moſt convenient and available for the Church, to the Uſe of the ſaid Incumbents, and their Succeſſors for ever. And our further expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That whenſoever it ſhall happen the ſaid Leaſes, or any of them now in Being to determine, you our Juſtices for the Time being, or other Deputy, chief Governor or Governors that ſhall be hereafter, ſhall hereby be enabled to preſent the then Incumbent unto the ſame Church, by the Title of the full Rectory thereof, as unto other Churches of our Patronage, reſerving as aforeſaid, the Rents, Duties, and Service formerly reſerved unto Us. And theſe our Letters, *&c.* (*m*)

Dated at Weſtminſter *the* 30*th*. 1629.

And thus the Impropriations remaining in the *Crown* were return'd to the Parochial Clergy. The Occaſion was this: *Uſher*, Lord Primate of *Armagh*, being ſenſible of the ill Condition of the Church for Want of a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, ſolicited *Laud* to move his Majeſty for a Grant of his Impropriations; for this purpoſe *Laud* acquainted the Lord *Treaſurer* and the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* with this Motion. In fine, after a long Debate, the King was pleas'd, at *Laud*'s Requeſt, to paſs the *Grant* in the Form above-mention'd. *

Jan. 21. 1629.

The *Iriſh Roman* Catholicks being ſomewhat too ſanguine in their Expectations, and hoping the Neceſſities of the Government would Force the King to cloſe with their Propoſal, and Grant them a Toleration: Upon this Proſpect they over-drove their Buſineſs, and had the Courage to ſet up ſome *Religious Houſes* in *Dublin*: Beſides this large Step, *Fryars* appear'd openly in their *Habits*, and gave a publick Affront to the Mayor and Archbiſhop. His Majeſty receiving Advice, diſpatch'd an Order to the Privy *Council* in *Ireland*, "That the *Houſe* where the *Seminary Fryars* appear'd in their Habits and affronted the Archbiſhop and Mayor, ſhould be ſpeedily demoliſh'd, and made a Mark of Terror to the Reſiſters of Authority: And that the reſt of the Houſes employ'd there, or elſewhere, to the Uſe of ſuperſtitious *Societies*, ſhould be converted to Houſes of Correction, and to ſet People on Work, or to other publick Uſes for the Advancement of Juſtice, or good Arts, or Trade. (*n*)

(*l*) Bibl. Reg. Sect. 3. Num. 7.

(*m*) Paper Office.

* *Hiſtory of Archbiſhop* Laud's *Troubles*, &c. *pag.* 297.

(*n*) Biblioth. Regia.

The Condition of ſome part of Ireland, *with reſpect to Religion.*

At this Time the Intereſt of the *Reformation* was but low in *Ireland*, as appears by the Account Dr. *Beadle*, Biſhop elect of *Kilmore*, tranſmitted to *Laud*: *Beadle*, at the Inſtance of this Biſhop of *London*, acquaints him that the Popiſh Clergy were more numerous, than thoſe of the Church of *England*: That they had their Officials and Vicars-General for Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction: And were ſo hardy as to excommunicate thoſe who appear'd at the Courts of the *Proteſtant* Biſhops: That almoſt every Pariſh had Prieſts of the *Roman* Communion, that Maſſes were ſometimes ſaid in Churches, that excepting a few *Britiſh* Planters, not amounting to the Tenth Part of the People, the reſt were all declar'd Recuſants: That in each Dioceſe, there were about Seven or Eight of the *Reform'd* Clergy, ſufficiently qualified: But theſe being *Engliſh*, and not underſtanding the Language of the Natives, they could neither perform Divine *Service*, nor converſe with their Pariſhioners to advantage; and by Conſequence were in no Condition to put a Stop to ſuperſtition. By the Way, the *Reader* is to obſerve, That this Relation of Biſhop *Beadle*, refers only to the Two Dioceſes of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*. Upon the Death of *William* Lord *Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Laud* was choſen Chancellor of *Oxford*; which, beſides other Inſtances of Service, gave him an Opportunity of Reforming the *Statutes* of that *Univerſity*. The next remarkable Occurrent is, the Birth of Prince *Charles*, afterward King *Charles* the Second.

April, Anno 1630.

May *the* 29*th*, 1630.

Biſhop Davenant *preaches upon the* Quinquarticular *Controverſy at Court, and gives Offence.*

To go back a little; In *Lent* this Spring *Davenant* Biſhop of *Sarum*, Preaching before the King, happen'd to touch upon the *Quinquarticular* Controverſy. The King diſpleas'd with his Handling this prohibited Argument, order'd him to appear before the Lords of the *Council*. Here *Harſenet*, Archbiſhop of *York*, put *Davenant* in Mind of his Obligations to the King, dilated upon the Contempt of his Majeſty's late *Declaration*, and heightned the Charge with Smartneſs enough. The Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Text was taken out of *Romans* the Sixth, Verſe the Third, *Eternal Life is the Gift of God through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*. The Third Head of his Sermon was, That the Godly are Happy in the Manner of their Reward, becauſe the eternal Life beſtow'd upon them was, *Donum gratuitum*, or free and unmerited Bounty. From this Propoſition he conſider'd eternal Life under Three Reſpects; *That is, in the eternal Deſtination thereof, which we call Election*. This being the Paſſage which gave Offence, the Biſhop's Apology was, "That the "Doctrine of Predeſtination was not forbidden "by the King's *Declaration*. This he endea"vour'd to prove Firſt, becauſe in the *Declara*"*tion*, all the Nine and thirty *Articles* are eſta"bliſh'd, amongſt which, that of Predeſtina"tion is one. *Secondly*, Becauſe all Miniſters "are urg'd to ſubſcribe the Truth of the *Article*, "and all Subjects to continue in the Profeſſion "of that, as well as of the reſt." From theſe Grounds he inferr'd Predeſtination could not be reckon'd amongſt curious and forbidden Doctrines. And here, deſiring the *Declaration* might be produc'd, he appeal'd to it for the Inoffenſiveneſs of his Conduct. The Lords of the *Council* neither produc'd the *Declaration*, nor charg'd his Diſcourſe with Heterodoxy: They thought it ſufficient to tell him 'twas his Majeſty's Pleaſure theſe myſterious Queſtions ſhould not be debated: And that ſilence in theſe Points was the beſt Expedient to ſecure the Peace of the Church. To this the Biſhop replied, he was ſorry he miſunderſtood his Majeſty's Mind: That had he been better inform'd, he would not have dip'd in the Controverſy, but treated an unexceptionable Argument: And that for the Future he ſhould govern himſelf accordingly. Upon this, he was diſmiſs'd without further Trouble, and afterwards admitted to kiſs the King's Hand; who told him this Doctrine of Predeſtination was too big for the People's Underſtanding, and therefore he was reſolv'd not to give Leave for diſcuſſing this Controverſy in the Pulpit, and that the Preachers inſiſting on Reformation and good Life, would be much more ſerviceable to the *Audience*. Biſhop *Davenant* promis'd Obedience, and took his Leave. (*o*)

His Defence at the Council-Board.

This Controverſy reviv'd at Oxford.

In the Beginning of the next Year, this controverſy was reviv'd at *Oxford*. *Hill* of *Hart-Hall* *Hodges*, of *Exeter* College; *Thorn*, of *Baliol* College, and *Ford* of *Magdalen-Hall*, preach'd warmly at St. *Mary*'s againſt the Remonſtrant Opinions, call'd thoſe of that Perſuaſion *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*, and fell foul on his Majeſty's *Declaration*. For this Miſbehaviour they were convented before Dr. *Smith*, Warden of *Wadham*, then Vice-Chancellor. They appeal'd from the Vice-Chancellor to the Proctors, *Bruch* of *Brazen-Noſe* College, and *Doughty* of *Merton*. The Appeal being receiv'd, the Vice-Chancellor complain'd to his Majeſty then at *Woodſtock*, where the Matter was heard before the King and *Council*. As for *Hill*, he had ſometime before procur'd his Pardon upon his Submiſſion in the Convocation. The other Three were by an Order of the *Council-Board* expell'd the Univerſity: The Proctors for receiving their Appeals, *contra formam Statuti*, were ſentenc'd to reſign their Office in the Convocation-Houſe: And Dr. *Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter* College, and Dr. *Wilkiſon*, principal of *Magdalen-Hall*, were reprimanded for abetting thoſe Preachers. *Hodges* afterward recanted publickly in St. *Mary*'s, But *Ford* refus'd to give that Satisfaction. (*p*)

Auguſt 23. Anno Dom. 1631.

And in Ireland.

This Year *Uſher*, Lord Primate of *Ireland* publiſh'd his Hiſtory of *Gotteſchalcus*. In this *Tract* he undertook *Voſſius* in ſome Meaſure upon the *Pelagian* Controverſy; and here his Pen run out a little in Defence of the *Predeſtinarian* Scheme. Not long before, *Downham*, Biſhop of *Derry*, publiſh'd a Diſcourſe concerning *Perſeverance*: In this Performance there were ſome Paſſages that claſh'd directly with the King's *Declaration*. *Uſher*'s Book being written in *Latin*, did leſs Diſſervice: And beſides, ſome Regard was ſhewn to the Eminence of his Station. However, to make the Primate ſenſible of the King's Diſpleaſure, he was commanded to call in *Downham*'s Book, but his Majeſty's Letters not coming to *Uſher*'s Hands till the Middle of *October*, moſt of the Copies were diſpers'd and out of reach. However, for preventing theſe prohibited Sallies, *Beadle*, Biſhop of *Kilmore*, was order'd to overlook the *Preſs*, and keep it inoffenſive.

Auguſt 24.

The Repair of St. *Paul's*.

This Year *Laud* ſet forward the Repairing St. *Paul*'s: Somewhat had been done in the Two late Reigns to recover it from the lamentable Condition 'twas reduc'd to by the Fire which happen'd in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Government; *Laud* had no Difficulty to diſpoſe the King for encouraging ſo pious a Work: In ſhort, a Commiſſion was iſſu'd under the Broad-Seal to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Lord Keeper, to the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, to Sir *Robert Ducy*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and ſeveral others. The Purport was, That all Mo-

(*o*) *Biſhop* Davenant's *Letter to Dr.* Ward. Fuller's *Church Hiſt.*

(*q*) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. Annal. *of King* Charles I. *Reign. Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary.*

nies brought in for the Repair of this Cathedral ſhould be paid to the *Chamber* of *London*. That a Regiſter ſhould be kept of all Subſcriptions for Contribution. That the Judges of the prerogative Court, and all Biſhops *Officials* in *England* and *Wales*, ſhould be put in Mind to remember this Church, and ſet aſide ſome Part of the Goods of inteſtate Perſons, proper for pious Uſes. And laſtly, Commiſſions of the like Nature were to be iſſu'd thro' the whole Kingdom.

To break a little into the Order of Time, and diſpatch this Matter at once: Before the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and forty, the Contributions brought into the *Chamber* of *London*, amounted to an Hundred, thirteen thouſand Pounds, and upwards. By theſe large Supplies of Money (of which the King ſent in more than Ten thouſand Pounds) the whole Body of the Church was finiſh'd, and the Steeple ſcaffolded to the Top: The Deſign was to take down the Tower to the Arches, and rebuild it to a more magnificent Height. There was likewiſe a ſtately *Portico* built at the *Weſt* End of the Church: 'Twas ſupported with Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order, and embelliſh'd with the Statues of King *James* and King *Charles*. But the Rebuilding the Spire, and finiſhing the projected Decorations, miſcarried by the Misfortune of Biſhop *Laud*, and the Breaking out of the Rebellion.

Upon the Death of Archbiſhop *Harſenet*, *Neile* was tranſlated from *Wincheſter* to *York*: *Curle* was tranſlated from *Bath* and *Wells* to *Wincheſter*; *Pierce* from *Peterborough* to *Bath* and *Wells*, and Dr. *Auſtin Lyndſell*, Dean of *Litchfield*, was made Biſhop of *Peterborough*.

Anno Dom. 1632.

Mr. *Francis Windebank*, now Secretary of State by *Laud*'s Intereſt, offer'd Two Propoſals to the *Privy Council* at the Inſtance of this Prelate. The one related to the State of Religion in foreign Factories and Regiments: The other ſuggeſted a Regulation of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches in *London* and elſewhere in *England*.

With Reference to the firſt Propoſal, we are to obſerve the *Engliſh* Factory at *Hamburgh*, tho' allow'd the Privilege of their own Church Conſtitution, deſerted to the *Geneva* Diſcipline and Worſhip. They omitted Reading the Common-Prayer, and manag'd their Church Affairs upon *Calvin*'s Plan of *Elders* and *Deacons*. (q)

(q) Cyprian Anglic. *pag.* 232.

But moſt of thoſe *Engliſh* who traded, or ſettled in *Holland*, fell ſhort of the Liberties at *Hamburgh*, and were oblig'd to conform to the Religion of the *State*. To ſet this Matter in a fuller Light I ſhall give the *Reader* the *Petition* of the *Engliſh* Miniſters in the *Low-Countries*: 'Twas preſented to the late King in the Year 1624. The Addreſs ſtands thus,

May it pleaſe your excellent Majeſty. (r)

(r) *Paper Office.*

The Petition of the Engliſh *Miniſters in the Low-Countries.*

“ We your Highneſs's humble Subjects the Preachers of the Holy Goſpel reſiding in the united Provinces, having to our unſpeakable Comfort and Joy taſted of your Royal Favour and Grace above Three Years ſince, in the Princely Approbation of the preſent Remedy then tendred, for Redreſs of all Enormities amongſt us; as alſo having obſerved and felt the bleſſed and admirable Fruit enſuing upon the ſame, to the Diſplacing divers ſcandalous Perſons, and ſettling Men more worthy in; and in an uniform and proſperous Proceeding in all Chriſtian Conſent with the Churches with whom we live; and due Contentment to thoſe higher Powers under whom we here adminiſter all that we undertake: And being now lately re-aſſembled to the ſame happy Ends and Purpoſes, notice being given of your Majeſty's Pleaſure by your Majeſty's Ambaſſador, either to ſet over us a Moderator of your Majeſty's chuſing, to be inſpector in the Ordering our Affairs; or preſently to ſurceaſe all further Proceedings: We fell to deliberate how to diſcharge our ſelves in this particular; ſo as we might be free from Offence to God, Diſloyalty to your Majeſty, and Undutifulneſs to our preſent Governors. And perceiving (to our utmoſt Apprehenſion) Two Things only, to offer themſelves unto us in your Majeſty's Order, *viz.* either Obedience to your Majeſty's Motion for Nomination of a Moderator, or elſe ſurceaſing all further ſynodal Proceedings: And withal, finding the Difficulty of the Firſt, we have done our beſt to ſatisfy your Majeſty's Will in the Second, till we may underſtand your Majeſty's further Pleaſure: Which good Pleaſure of your Majeſty, that it may be happy to us, and our after Proceedings in this reſpect; according to our Hopes and humble deſires; we have thought it our Duty by Information to your Majeſty of the Inconvenience of both theſe, and of the worthy Benefit and Advantage of our former Courſe, both to our Perſons and to the Cauſe, moſt humbly to intreat your Majeſty's Favour for the Continuance and Approbation of the ſame: It being (in our Judgments) the only ſafe Way to give Satisfaction both to God and to your Majeſty, and to the State wherein we live.

“ The Firſt being ſuch as neither admits Safety to attempt, nor Poſſibility to attain the ſame: Becauſe our primary and fundamental Liberty of erecting this Eccleſiaſtical Form of Government was limited expreſly unto us both in the Supplication of the Deputies of the Synod of *South Holland*, who petition'd it, and in the Act of the illuſtrious Lords, who granted it only with Condition of plenary and entire Conformity to the Churches of theſe Provinces, according to the Example of the *Walloon* Churches, Strangers as we are: Which ſaid Liberty we having alſo embraced and ſubſcribed accordingly, cannot without Diſloyalty or Breach of Fidelity, revoke, or alter during our abode and reſidence in theſe Parts: As alſo becauſe the Miniſtry of the Churches, who rejoiced in our Unanimity with them before, were greatly griev'd at the firſt Hearing of this Command; as importing ſuch Mutation as carries with it inſupportable Miſeries and Miſchief in this State; as by lamentable Experience they have too lately found, that cannot yet be forgotten. So that the ſaid Miniſters do judge it more Expedient for the Safety of their Churches, to ſuffer both our ſelves and our Churches wholly to diſſolve and annihilate, than that a Courſe ſo ſtrange to them ſhould ariſe and take Place amongſt them. Which Diſſolution, how eaſily and quickly they may Effect with the Lords of the States, is evident to all who pleaſe to know that every *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Church in theſe Parts (Two only excepted) have their whole Dependance, Maintenance and Being in all Reſpects upon the ſaid Lords, the States, their Favour and Supportation. And farther, becauſe the Suſpicion and Fear of ſome ſuch Thing as now appeareth, hath withholden from us (and that by the Conſent, Countenance and Support of ſome principal Aſſemblies) ſome of our reverend and beloved Brethren,

thren, and hath cauſed others to ſtagger, whoſe Communion, as we much deſire, ſo we nothing doubt of, if it may pleaſe your Majeſty to relieve us in this Particular: For otherwiſe, if the Fear thereof could be ſo forceable to work in them this Diſaffection towards us, what great Evil may we juſtly fear the Acceptation thereof will produce, being ſuch as is aforeſaid.

“The ſecond, to wit, our total Diſſolution, is ſuch as cannot fall either without apparent and undeniable Attaint of our ſelves in the Point of Ingratitude and Diſregard, both of your Majeſty's Favour in approving, and the *States* in yielding us our Liberties thus far enjoy'd; or of an inexcuſable Imputation of Impiety againſt God in the Neglect of his Church under our Overſight. Seeing thereupon a Ruin of former Order and the Confuſions (now in a good Meaſure remov'd) will aſſuredly re-enter. And further, it cannot be without the Neglect and Contempt of your Majeſty's Subjects, both Miniſters and People, in theſe *Provinces*, whoſe Honour and Eſtimation began to grow great and firm by this bleſſed Band of Union unto them, and Communion with them in theſe Eccleſiaſtical Orders; (the chief, both Colonels and other Officers amongſt your Majeſty's Subjects in theſe Parts concurring in our Meetings by their perſonal Preſence, and by their Deputies; and ſo receiving from, and giving Countenance to our Courſe interchangeably) which muſt now needs fade and conſume in our Diſunion from them. And therefore we have thought beſt humbly to preſent to your Majeſty that which in our Judgments) can only ſubſiſt, being ſuch as we take to be moſt free from all Offence, and moſt fit to give Content to all Sides; both becauſe 'tis well known to be moſt acceptable to this *State*, and moſt profitable for their Churches; and alſo becauſe by our ſelves it is the more comfortably embraced, in reſpect it is wholly harmleſs to the Churches in your Majeſty's Dominions, becauſe of our publick Declaration, and irrevocable Proteſtation in the accepting thereof, of our Integrity towards them, acknowledging in our Souls and Conſciences, that we have, and ſhall (by God's Grace) ever eſteem them as the true Churches of Chriſt, precious in his Sight, with our ſelves reſolving ſtill to hold Communion with them, notwithſtanding any Difference of external Order. This different Practice being undertaken by us without any Diſreſpect, Cenſure, Prejudice, Separation or Condemnation of the ſaid Churches, reſerving to them all due Reverence, and perpetually praying for, and procuring (to our uttermoſt) their Happineſs and Welfare with our own.

“And farther, we have found our poor Eſſays, and Beginnings in this Courſe to be ſeconded from Heaven with a rich and happy Succeſs in theſe few Seſſions we have holden, that the Rooting which it hath taken, cannot be torn up again without Danger of the Spoil of this Work of Reformation, which the Lord has begun here in the Churches amongſt us. Which Cauſes (moſt Gracious Sovereign) beſides a Multitude more of unavoidable Inconveniencies enſuing upon the leaſt Alteration in our ſettled Proceedings, we moſt humbly make Tender of that to your Majeſty, which Almighty God (we doubt not) hath put into our Hearts, *viz.* That it would pleaſe your Highneſs of your eſpecial Grace, not only to permit our comfortable Proceeding in our former Courſe, but alſo to encourage and countenance us therein by your Majeſty's Royal Favour. And to this our humble and dutiful Deſire, we are the more hopefully heartened by calling to Mind your Majeſty's publick Opinion touching the equal Power and Freedom of all Princes and Potentates in the external Order and Diſpoſition of Church-Diſcipline within their particular Territories: And alſo becauſe your Majeſty is the only Man whom the World may, and theſe Lords do profeſs and bleſs, as the moſt honourable Inſtrument of quenching the conſuming Fires of Schiſm which were lately kindled amongſt them by the *Vorſtian* and *Arminian* Faction; which apparently will be more dangerouſly reviv'd now again by this Change between our ſelves and the *Dutch* and *French* Churches, with whom we converſe, to the Infamy and Obloquy both of our Perſons and all our precedent Actions, and the expoſing of our ſelves and our Congregations, to the aforeſaid Perils, either of plenary Diſſolution, or ſuch grievous Vexation as we ſhould not be able to endure; being thereby left deſtitute of all comfortable Order and Government: and the laudable Means to make our lawful Proceedings known ſo far as the *French* and *Dutch* do, when they are requir'd by their Superiours, and as we have done, and are ready ſtill to do by their Example.

“Wherefore, moſt mighty King, we your Majeſty's Subjects do here proſtrate our ſelves in the Perſon of this our Brother Mr. *John Forbes*, whom in all Duty we ſend from amongſt our ſelves to your Majeſty, beſeeching your Grace to ſhine now again, and for ever upon us, to the renewing of our happy Hopes, the refreſhing of our grieved Hearts, and the rejoycing of all with whom we converſe, who jointly with us ſhall ever praiſe the God of Heaven for your Majeſty's experienced Favours paſt, and theſe at this preſent thus humbly deſir'd; and ſhall pray together with us for all Increaſe and Accumulation of all honourable Felicities upon your Majeſty's Soul and Body, Crown and Poſterity for ever and ever.

Tho. Barklei Preſes, *Tho. Scot* Scribe in Name, and at the Command of the reſt of the *Synod*.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient Subjects.

What Anſwer theſe Miniſters receiv'd to their Petition I have not met with; but by the Scheme Biſhop *Laud* offer'd this Year to the Privy-*Council* for Regulating *Divine Service* in the *Engliſh Factories* and Troops *abroad*; from this Scheme I ſay, 'tis pretty plain the *Engliſh* Clergy in *Holland* were conniv'd at both by the late King, and his preſent Majeſty, and ſuffer'd to act in *Synods* by their own Inclination, and manage to the Latitude of their *Petition*.

Laud's Draught for a Regulation of theſe Matters is digeſted into Ten Articles.

Biſhop Laud's *Suggeſtions to the Privy-Council for ſecuring Conformity to the Church amongſt the* Engliſh *beyond Sea.*

“*Firſt*, The Colonels of *Engliſh* Regiments in the *Low Countries* ſhould entertain no Clergy as Preachers to their Regiments, but ſuch as ſhould entirely conform to the Church of *England*, being firſt recommended by the Lords of the Privy-*Council*, with the Advice of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*. (2ly.) That “the Merchants reſiding *there*, or in any other foreign Dominions, ſhall admit no Miniſter as Preacher to their Company, but ſuch as ſhall be qualified and recommended as aforeſaid. (3*ly.*) That if any Clergyman has made Uſe of any indirect Means to procure ſuch a Recommendation, and proves afterwards a *Diſſenter*, he might be oblig'd either to conform within Three Months, or be diſcharg'd. (4*ly.*) The fourth Article except that it obliges the *Scotch* Clergy officiating in *Factories* and Regiments beyond Sea, to the ſame Length of Conformity, is coincident with the firſt. (5*ly.*) That if any Miniſter or Preacher, being the King's born Subject, ſhould print, preach, or diſcourſe, to the Diſparagement of the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, Notice ſhould be given to the Ambaſſador, and by him to his Majeſty, that the Perſon offending might be ſent for *home*, and anſwer for his Miſbehaviour. (6*ly.* That no Colonel or Deputy-Governor ſhould permit the Preacher (when ſick, or neceſſarily abſent) to ſubſtitute any Perſon to preach or officiate for him, but ſuch for whoſe Conformity he will be anſwerable. (7*ly.*) That no Deputy-Governor ſhould be ſent to *Delph*, or any other Place of Reſidence for the *Engliſh* Merchants, but ſuch as would engage to ſee the *Service* of the Church of *England* exactly perform'd within the *Factory*. (8*ly.*) That as often as the Merchants ſhall renew their *Patents*, a Clauſe for the obſerving theſe Inſtructions (or at leaſt ſo many of them as ſhould ſeem neceſſary to the Lords of the Privy-*Council*) may be inſerted. (9*ly.*) That all his Majeſty's *Agents* beyond Sea may have theſe Inſtructions given them in Charge, and be oblig'd once a Year to give the *Board* an Account of the Succeſs of this Affair. (10*ly*) That the *Engliſh* Miniſters in *Holland*, being his Majeſty's natural born Subjects, may not be permitted to hold any *Claſſical* Meetings, but eſpecially not to *Ordain*. For unleſs they ſhould be reſtrain'd from this laſt Branch of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, there would be a ſtanding *Nurſery* for Schiſm and Faction, which might ſenſibly affect the Repoſe of this Kingdom. (*s*)

Thus far with reſpect to *Factories* and foreign Parts, As to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *England*, *Laud*'s Suggeſtions to the Privy-*Council* went upon other Heads.

His Scheme for regulating the Dutch *and* French *Churches in* England.

“*Firſt*, He ſet forth the great Piety and Compaſſion of this Government in entertaining Foreigners when perſecuted at home, and indulging them the Liberty of their own Religion. *Secondly*, That 'twas never the Intention of the Government, that after the firſt Generation was worn out, their Poſterity born Subjects of this Realm, ſhould continue in their Anceſtors Separation from the *Engliſh* Church. That ſuch a diſtinct Communion muſt of Courſe make them diſaffected to the *State*, and apt to promote, or fall in with any Change more ſuitable to their Humour. He obſerv'd, *Thirdly*, That they kept themſelves a ſeparate *Body*, and intermarried only within themſelves; that by this particular Management, as they are now a Church within a Church, they might in a little Time grow up to a Commonwealth within a Kingdom. *Fourthly*, That theſe Foreign Bodies thus divided from Church and *State*, are for the moſt Part ſettled in Port-Towns next to *France* and the *Low Countries*, which may tempt them to ſtrike in with an Emergency, and make an unſerviceable Uſe of ſuch a Situation. *Fifthly*, That the Example of ſuch an Indulgence makes an ill Impreſſion on the *Engliſh*, and confirms them in their Stubbornneſs and *Nonconformity*. And therefore, *ſixthly*, That neither the *French*, nor *Dutch* Churches ſhould be tolerated in this Kingdom, unleſs the *Engliſh* reſiding in Foreign Parts, have the ſame Liberty in Doctrine, Diſcipline and Worſhip.

The Dangers and Inconveniencies being thus ſet forth, the Biſhop proceeds to the Remedies.

“And, *firſt*, he moves that the Numbers of theſe Foreigners planted in this Kingdom, may be exactly computed, in order to judge the better of the Practicableneſs of bringing them to *Conformity*. *Secondly*, That for this Purpoſe an Order may be iſſued by the Government to take an exact Liſt of them in their reſpective Abodes: And that a Certificate may be return'd of thoſe of moſt Intereſt and Subſtance amongſt them. *Thirdly*, Provided they reſolve to continue a ſeparate *Body* both from Church and *State*, they ſhould then lie under the common Diſadvantage of *Strangers*, have all *Duties* doubled upon them, and not be capable of the Privileges of *Natives*. *Fourthly*, That when it ſhall be thought proper to bring them to the ſame Condition with other Subjects, they ſhould be warned in an Eccleſiaſtical Way to frequent their Pariſh-Churches, and conform themſelves to the *Service* and Worſhip eſtabliſh'd: And in Caſe of Noncompliance, to proceed againſt them by Excommunication, and ſerve the Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* upon them. And to lay this Matter more together, though happening at ſome Diſtance of Time, I ſhall obſerve that about three Years forward, when *Laud* was tranſlated to *Canterbury*, he practis'd ſome Part of theſe Suggeſtions both in his Dioceſe and *Province*. For Inſtance; his *Vicar-General* made the following Regulation for thoſe Foreign Churches at *Canterbury*, *Sandwich* and *Maidſtone*; and the ſame Thing was done at *Southampton* and *Norwich*. This *Act* or Order was publiſh'd by their own Miniſters in their Congregations.

Idem.

“I am commanded to ſignifie unto you, that it is not his Majeſty's Intent, nor of the *Council* of *State*, to diſſolve our Congregations. And to that End his Majeſty is content to permit the Natives of the firſt Degree to continue Members of our Congregations, as before: But the Natives in this Church, after the firſt Deſcent, are injoin'd to obey my Lord Archbiſhop his Injunction; which is to conform themſelves to the *Engliſh* Diſcipline and *Liturgy*, every one in his Pariſh, without inhibiting them notwithſtanding from reſorting ſometimes to our *Aſſemblies*. And my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* means notwithſtanding, that the ſaid Natives ſhall continue to contribute to the Maintenance of the Miniſtry and Poor of this Church, for the better ſubſiſting thereof; and promiſeth to obtain an Order from the *Council*, if need be, and they require it, to maintain them in their Manufactures againſt thoſe that would trouble them by *Informations*. (*t*)

(*s*) Cyprian. Anglic. pag. 232.

(*t*) *Hiſtory of the Troubles of Archbiſhop* Laud, *p.* 166.

That Queen *Elizabeth* kept theſe Foreigners under a Reſtraint, and allow'd them only the *Engliſh* Liturgy in their own Language, appears by a Letter ſign'd by her Majeſty to the Lord Treaſurer *Pawlet*.

Queen Elizabeth's *Letter for regulating Foreign Churches in* England.

Elizabeth:

Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſin, we greet you well. Whereas in the Time of our Brother, and Siſter alſo, the Church of the Auguſtine Fryers *was appointed to the Uſe of all the Strangers repairing to the City of* London, *for to have therein* Divine Service; *conſidering that by an Univerſal Order all the reſt of the Churches have the* Divine Service *in the* Engliſh *Tongue for the better edifying of the People, which the Strangers born underſtand not. Our Pleaſure is, That you ſhall aſſign and deliver the ſaid Church and all Things thereto belonging, to the Reverend Father in God the Biſhop of* London, *to be appointed to ſuch Curates and Miniſters as he ſhall think Good, to ſerve from Time to Time in the ſame Churches, both for daily* Divine Service, *and for Adminſtration of the Sacraments, and Preaching of the Goſpel; ſo as no Rite nor Uſe be therein obſerv'd contrary or derogatory to our Laws. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that Behalf. Given under our Signet at our Palace at* Weſtminſter *the ... Day of* February, *the ſecond Year of our Reign.*

Ibid.

Feoffees conſtituted by the Puritans for buying in Impropriations.

In the latter End of this Year the *Feoffees* for buying Impropriations, were broken, and received Judgment in the *Exchequer-Chamber*. To begin the Narrative of this Matter: About Six Years ſince, when *Preſton* was at the Head of the *Puritans*, a Project was form'd by that Party to ſet up *Lectures* with the Encouragement of a Maintenance in Market-Towns. To this Purpoſe certain *Feoffees* were conſtituted in Truſt for purchaſing ſuch *Impropriations* as were remaining in the Hands of the *Laity*: Their Buſineſs, as they ſaid, was to ſet up a conſtant Preaching Miniſtry: And to make the Scheme practicable, they form'd themſelves into a Kind of *Corporation*; they form'd *themſelves*, I ſay, for they had neither any *Act* of Parliament, nor the King's *Letters-Patents* for their Warrant. The Names of the *Feoffees* were theſe; *William Gouge*, *Richard Sibbs*, *C. Offspring*, *T. Davenport*, Doctors in Divinity; *Ralph Eyre*, *S. Brown*, Barriſters of *Lincolns-Inn*; *C. Sherland*, Barriſter of *Grays-Inn*; *John Geering*, *Richard Davis*, *George Harwood*, *Francis Bridges*, Citizens. To theſe *Rowland Heylin* Alderman of *London*, was afterwards added, as Treaſurer, for the Convenience of a caſting Voice.

Remarks upon this Settlement.

This Deſign being well ſolicited, and having a ſtrong Appearance of Piety, anſwer'd Expectation; and thus great Sums of Money were rais'd in a ſhort Time. But notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious Colours, there lay a Snake in the Graſs: For after all, this extraordinary Zeal and Expence was only to ſtrengthen the Intereſt of the *Diſſenters*, to bring in the *Geneva Diſcipline*, and raiſe a Battery againſt the Church. That this Remark is no Exceſs of Cenſure, may appear by conſidering, firſt, That theſe *Feoffees* were Men of known Diſaffection to the eſtabliſh'd *Diſcipline*. *Secondly*, Their Way of Management is a plain Indication of their Intentions; for the *Impropriations* purchas'd by them were not annex'd to the Churches or Chappels to which they originally belong'd: Had this been done, the Buſineſs had been commendable, and clear from Suſpicion: But this they knew was the wrong Way to ſerve the *Cauſe*. Inſtead therefore of reſcuing the Parochial Clergy from the Hardſhips they ſuffer'd, they parcell'd out the purchas'd Impropriations into Penſions of Forty or Fifty Pounds *per Annum*. With theſe *Salaries* they ſubſiſted *Lecturers* in Market-Towns. In theſe Places People have commonly moſt Leiſure, and by Conſequence are further diſpos'd to receive Impreſſions from the *Pulpit*, and give into Singularities. For when Leiſure has not a Counterbalance of Knowledge and Judgment, it proves a Temptation to run after *Novelties*, and is a dangerous Circumſtance.

Thirdly, The Views theſe *Feoffees* went upon, may be further diſcover'd by the Perſons they made choice of. Now theſe were generally *Nonconformiſts*, and ſometimes ſuch as had been ſilenc'd by their *Ordinary*, or the *High Commiſſion*, of which there are ſeveral Inſtances too long to inſert. (u)

Fourthly, The ſame Collection may be made from the Precariouſneſs of the *Salaries*; for theſe Penſions were Arbitrary Favours revokeable at Pleaſure; and the *Lecturers* had no Intereſt in them during Life, or for Term of Years. They were altogether on their *Good Behaviour*, and hung intirely upon the Humour of their Patrons. And thus if they happen'd to diſappoint the *Feoffees* in their Principles, if they manag'd languidly in the Cauſe, and abated of their firſt Fervours, the Penſions were withdrawn, and the Men diſcharg'd.

From theſe Obſervations 'tis pretty plain that this Scheme had no friendly Aſpect either upon Church or *State*: For thoſe who were ſchiſmatical, with Reſpect to the firſt *Society*, were commonly diſaffected to the *other*. To what has been remark'd may be added, that to tie the *Lecturers* faſter to the Intereſt of the *leading* Men in this *new* Corporation, they allow'd private Penſions to thoſe who had been ſilenc'd, or ſuſpended in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and oftentimes furniſh'd ſomewhat of a Maintenance to their Wives and Children after their Death. Theſe were powerful Motives to engage the *Diſſenting Preachers* to their Patrons Fancy, and make them *ſpeak ſmooth Things*. And thus by drawing off their *Audience* from the Church, and reinforcing the *Faction*, the *Elections* were commonly ſway'd the wrong Way in *Corporations*, and Mal-contents return'd to Parliament. For theſe Reaſons the *Feoffees* were proſecuted by Attorney General *Noy*. The *Feoffment* was cancell'd in the Court of *Exchequer*, the Impropriations purchas'd, confiſcated to his Majeſty's Uſe, and the Penalties they had incurr'd, referr'd to further Conſideration. Upon the *Feoffees* receiving Sentence in the *Exchequer Chamber*, Archbiſhop *Laud* makes this Remark in his *Diary*: Theſe *Feoffees*, ſays he, *were the main Inſtruments for the* Puritan Faction *to undo the Church.* (w)

See Hiſt. of the Troubles, &c. of Archbiſhop Laud, *p.* 373.

'Tis broken by a Sentence in the Exchequer.

Feb. Anno Dom. 163$\frac{2}{3}$.

Some Means taken in the late Reign for ſettling the Liturgy in Scotland.

The next Year the King went a Progreſs into *Scotland*: The Deſign of his Journey, beſides the Solemnity of a *Coronation*, was to reconcile that Nation further to the *Engliſh* Church, and make Way for the Settlement of the *Liturgy*. To introduce this Conformity in both Kingdoms, ſome preparatory Meaſures had been taken in the late Reign. For in the Year 1617. King *James* gave Order the *Engliſh Service* ſhould be read daily at the Chappel Royal in *Holy-Rood Houſe*. And purſuant to the General *Aſſembly* at *Aberdeen*, Commiſſioners were appointed to draw up a Book of *Common-Prayer* for *Scotland*. This *Book* when finiſh'd, was ſent up to the King by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, carefully perus'd by his Majeſty, and afterward reviewed by ſome *Scotch* Biſhops at the *Engliſh* Court. And having paſt this

(u) Heylin, Examen Hiſtoricum, pag. 210.

(w) *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary, pag.* 47.

this Teſt, and receiv'd the laſt Improvement, the King return'd it to the *Scotch* Biſhops, who were to recommend it to the Uſe of their own Church. But this Prince being embroil'd in a War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and dying not long after, the Buſineſs had no Succeſs. His Son King *Charles* equally embaraſs'd at his Acceſſion to the Throne, was for the firſt Four Years in no Condition to revive the Undertaking. But after the Peace with *France* being ſomewhat more at Liberty, he reminded the *Scotch* Biſhops of their Duty, and order'd them to ſolicit this Affair with the utmoſt Application. Upon this they diſpatch'd *Maxwell* a Preacher at *Edinburgh* to the *Engliſh* Court. This Gentleman applying to *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, receiv'd the following Anſwer, *That if his Majeſty would have a* Liturgy *ſettled there different from what they had already, 'twas beſt to take the* Engliſh Liturgy *without any Variation from it; ſo that the ſame* Service Book *might paſs through all his Majeſty's Dominions.* To this *Maxwell* reply'd, *That the* Scotch *would be beter pleas'd to have a* Liturgy *of their own, but ſuch an one as ſhould come near the* Engliſh, *both in Form and Matter.* In ſhort, the Cauſe was brought before the King, who having conſider'd the Arguments of each Party, declar'd for the *Engliſh Book*. The main Reaſon urg'd by the *Scotch* Biſhops was, *That a* Liturgy *made by themſelves, and in ſome Things different from the* Engliſh Service, *would be moſt acceptable to their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the leaſt Dependance on the Church of* England. And thus the Matter reſted till this preſent Year. (x)

This Deſign reviv'd.

Anno Dom. 1633.

The Kirk Party appoint private Faſts.

By the way, the *Scots* of the Kirk-Party, who either out of Opinion or Intereſt, were unfriendly to the *Hierarchy*, had lately ſome Opportunities to work their Purpoſe. It had been the Manner of the Presbyterian Miniſters, for ſome Time paſt, to keep a Faſt on the firſt *Sunday* of every Quarter; and here to lie under Shelter, and guard againſt the Laws, they took the Precaution not to give any publick Notice of theſe *Humiliations*: Their Method was only to give ſome private Intimation to thoſe of their Flock they could confide in. Upon the Faſting Days they us'd to declaim againſt *Epiſcopacy*, and give broad *Innuendo*'s of the Danger the *Reformation* lay under from this Eſtabliſhment. And to drive this Doctrine deeper into the *Audience*, Part of their Prayer was for Relief againſt this Grievance, and for a Bleſſing upon all good Means which Providence ſhould ſuggeſt for that End. Theſe were popular Topicks, and improv'd their Intereſt with the Burghers and Peaſantry. But that which was more ſerviceable to the Cauſe, was the coming over of Seven or Eight of the Nobility, who openly declar'd for them. (y)

A commendable Cuſtom touching the Nomination of Biſhops chang'd in this Reign.

Another Advantage was the Want of good Underſtanding amongſt the Biſhops; the new Biſhops not paying a due Regard to thoſe who had liv'd longer in that *Order*. 'Twas King *James* his Method, when a Biſhoprick fell void, to order the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* to conſult the reſt of the Prelates for naming Three or Four for the *Vacancy*. And when the Biſhops had pitch'd upon the Perſons, they laid the Liſt before the King, who made Choice of one of them. And thus the Elections paſſing under ſo ſerviceable a Direction, the Men beſt recommended for Life and Merit, were generally preferr'd.

But King *Charles* had the Miſfortune, as Biſhop *Guthry* reports, to change this commendable Cuſtom. In this Reign Churchmen were preferr'd to the *Sees* in *Scotland* by the Intereſt they had at Court: Now Favourites and *Stateſmen* are not always the beſt Directors in theſe Affairs. Beſides, the young Biſhops, as *Guthry* calls them, not being oblig'd to the old ones for their Promotion, abated of the cuſtomary Obſervance, and kept a kind of ſeparate Correſpondence among themſelves. And happening to fall into a cloſe Acquaintance with *Laud*, they put him upon preſcribing Meaſures to the *old* Biſhops, which were not well taken.

Id. p. 14.

The new Biſhops manage to Diſadvantage, and why.

To proceed: The growing Diſcontent among the Miniſters was another Advantage to the *Presbyterians*. The young Biſhops, it ſeems, treated the inferior Clergy with too much Loftineſs and Diſregard. The old Biſhops were inoffenſive, and manag'd this Point with Diſcretion. But thoſe of this Reign, as this Author relates, laid too much Streſs upon their Character, and ſteer'd with more Sail than Ballaſt. But that which had the moſt weight in precipitating the *Scotch* Biſhops, was the Inſincerity of the Miniſters of *State*. And here the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord Treaſurer, did them moſt Diſſervice. It ſeems he was under ſome Apprehenſion the Prelates intended to work him out of the King's Favour, and that they were in a Concert to bring *Maxwell* Biſhop of *Roſs* into his Poſt.

The Juncture preſenting thus fair for the *Presbyterians*, they reſolv'd to petition the King for a Redreſs of Grievances: One main Branch of the Remonſtrance, was a Complaint againſt Epiſcopacy. This *Inſtrument* ſubſcrib'd by the Party, was put into the Hands of the Earl of *Rothes*, who was privately to preſent it to the King. According to cuſtomary Method, and Form of Law, the *Paper* ought to have been given to the Clerk-Regiſter: But they thought it moſt adviſeable to ſound the King's Inclination in the firſt Place, and not run the Riſque of a publick Diſappointment. By the Event it appears their Caution was not ill-grounded; for his Majeſty, upon reading the *Petition*, commanded the Earl of *Rothes* not to ſolicit any further. The Party receiving this Check, thought it proper to acquieſce; and thus the *Remonſtrance* was drop'd for this Year.

June 28 An. Dom. 1633.

Several Acts relating to the Church, paſs'd in the Parliament at Edinburgh.

About Ten Days after a ſolemn Coronation, the Parliament ſate. At this *Seſſion* there were ſeveral *Acts* paſs'd relating to the Church, which I ſhall (z) briefly mention. To begin with the *Act* which declares his Majeſty's Sovereign Authority over all Eſtates, Perſons, and Cauſes whatſoever, purſuant to a reſembling Recognition made in Parliament in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and ſix. In the latter Part of this Statute 'tis enacted, That the Power of preſcribing an *Habit* to Churchmen ſhall remain in his Majeſty and Succeſſors. This Proviſion was a Continuing the Branch of an *Act* made in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and nine, which determin'd with the Life of the late King. The paſſing this Statute was regretted by the Presbyterians, who were afraid the *Engliſh Surplice* might be forc'd upon them.

The next *Act ratifies and approves all and whatſoever Acts and Statutes made before, anent the Liberty and Freedom of the true Kirk of God, and Religion preſently profeſs'd within this Realm; and ordains the ſame to ſtand in their full Force and Effect, as if they were ſpecially mention'd, and ſet down herein.*

Id. cap. 4.

This *Act*, upon the Score of its confirming the Privileges of *Epiſcopacy*, being the *preſent* Eſtabliſhment, was a Grievance to the Kirk Party. The next *Act* makes a Proviſion for ſecuring

---

(x) Cyprian. Anglic.

(y) Guthrys *Memoirs, p.* 8, & 12.

(z) Car. 1. Parl. 1. cap. 3.

Legacies given to pious Uſes. The *Statute* ſets forth, That Lands and Sums of Money lately bequeath'd to Colleges, Schools, Hoſpitals, *&c.* had been miſmanag'd by the Executors and Adminiſtrators, and applied to Uſes foreign to the *Will* of the Teſtator.

Id. cap. 6.

To proceed; In the *Act* of General *Revocation* or *Reſumption, there's a Clauſe which revokes and reſcinds all Grants and Infeoffments of Erection of Abbeycies, or other Prelacies, granted by his Majeſty at any Time. And likewiſe all Grants of Abbeycies, Priories, and Nunneries, granted by his Majeſty's Father, or any of his Predeceſſors, provided theſe Abbeycies,* &c. *were not erected into a Temporal Barony or Lordſhip, are declar'd void, and of no Effect.*

Id. cap. 8.

By another *Act, a Branch of the Statute, made in the Year One thouſand Five hundred Eighty ſeven, concerning the Annexation of the Temporalty of Benefices to the Crown, is confirm'd.* And here 'tis further enacted, *That all Grants made by his Majeſty, his Father, or his Grandmother, Queen* Mary, *of the Right and Privilege of Regality pertaining to whatſoever Abbot, Prior, or Prioreſs, Preceptor, or other beneficed Perſon whatſoever, are caſſed, annull'd, and reſcinded.* Then follows two *Proviſo's*:

Id. cap. 13.

By the *Firſt, All heritable Infeoffments of Baileries and Stewartries of the ſaid Regalities, granted by the ſaid beneficed Perſons, at any Time Prior, to the Date of Erections of the ſaid Abbeycies and Priories into Temporal Lordſhips, are ſecur'd to the Heirs of the firſt Grantees. Secondly,* 'Tis further declar'd, *That theſe Preſents ſhall no Ways be extended to the Right of Regality of whatſoever Lands and Superiorities pertaining to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this Kingdom, by Vertue of their Gifts and Proviſions, granted to them or their Predeceſſors thereupon, which ſhall remain with them unhurt or prejudg'd by this preſent Act.*

The next *Statute* mentions a general Commiſſion, dated at *White-hall, January* the 17th, 1627, which Inſtrument contains a general Surrender of the *Superiorities of all Lands, Baronies, Fortalices, Manor Places,* &c. *belonging to all Abbacies, Priories, Prioreſſes, Preceptories, and all other Benefices, erected into Temporal Lordſhips, Baronies, or Livings.* The *Inſtrument,* I ſay, contains a Surrender of all theſe Superiorities, and other Incidents, Emoluments, and Profits, *to the Crown,* upon ſome Conditions, and with ſome Limitations too long to mention. The *Statute* concludes with this ſaving *Proviſo, That no Clauſe therein contain'd ſhall be extended to the Superiorities of whatſoever Lands, Baronies, and others, pertaining to whatſoever Archbiſhop, Biſhop, and their Chapters: But that the ſame ſhall remain with them and their Succeſſors unhurt or prejudg'd by this preſent Act.*

Id cap. 14.

Laſtly, To mention but one *Statute* more: The *Act* of Commiſſion of *Surrenders* and *Teinds,* * dated at *Holy-Rood-Houſe* the 26th Day of *June,* in the Year 1627, is ratified and confirm'd.

** Teinds or Tythes.*

Id. cap. 8.

By this *Commiſſion* of *Surrenders, &c.* the Maintenance of the Parochial Clergy was ſomewhat improv'd, and the *Heritors* or *Freeholders* had the Liberty of buying their own *Tythes*: And thus the Bulk of the People were made more eaſy and independent, and reſcued from being oppreſs'd by the great Men. However, ſome of the Nobility were unpleas'd with loſing their new Homage, and parting with their Juriſdiction, tho' exceptionally acquir'd; and from this Time they grew Malcontent, and waited an Opportunity of Revenge upon the *Crown*: Tho', after all, the King had only conſulted the general Good of the Subject, done nothing but what was equitable in the Matter, and legal in the Manner: For the *Surrenders,* as has been obſerv'd, were confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament.

Some of the Nobility diſguſted at the Commiſſion of Surrenders, &c.

Before this was done, the King takes Notice that many of his Subjects of *Scotland,* particularly the Gentry and their Tenants, who paid their Tythes to the Nobility, and other Lords of the *Erection* or Impropriators, complain'd loudly that theſe Lords and Lay Patrons ſtrain'd the utmoſt Rigour of the Law upon them: That they refus'd to ſet out their Tythes when the Owners of the Corn deſir'd them: And by their acting perfectly at Pleaſure in this Matter, the Owners of the Corn not being ſuffer'd to take the Opportunities of fair Weather, oftentimes loſt the greateſt Part of their Harveſt. Neither was there any Remedy in the Caſe; for by the Laws of *Scotland,* the Landlord can carry off none of the Nine Parts till the Proprietary of the Tythes has ſet out his Tenth. This Privilege, together with the *Superiorities* of the Abbey-Lands, was a terrible Tie upon a great Part of the Subjects; and by laying their Fortunes thus at the Mercy of their Patrons, their Perſons were ſo too in a great Meaſure.

** King's large Declaration.*

Beſides, as his Majeſty obſerves, the Condition of the Miniſters was lamentably ſlender and ſervile; for inſtead of receiving the Tythes of the Pariſh, originally ſettled upon the Cure, they had only ſome poor Stipend paid by the Lords of the *Erections*; and this was ſometimes left at Diſcretion, and more than they could command: And that the Clergy by being thus meanly ſubſiſted, fell under the utmoſt Contempt, and liv'd tied to a ſcandalous Dependance. To diſengage the Subject from this Servitude, the King paſs'd the Commiſſion of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tythes, and got them confirm'd in Parliament. With this Proviſion the Nobility, and other Lay-Patrons concern'd, ſeem'd fully ſatisfied; in Regard the Compenſation they receiv'd came up to the utmoſt Value of what they relinquiſh'd. And as for the Heritors and Miniſters, they were ſo ſenſibly oblig'd with theſe *Surrenders,* that the firſt made a publick Acknowledgement to the King that he had deliver'd them from an intolerable Bondage which themſelves and their Anceſtors had lain under ever ſince the *Reformation.* The latter were no leſs tranſported with Joy, and magnify'd the King as the Founder and Protector of their Churches. But notwithſtanding the Clergy, many of the Gentry and Heritors had been thus ſignally relieved; yet no ſmall Number of theſe Men rebell'd afterwards upon their Sovereign that reſcued them, abetted their arbitrary Patrons, and ſeem'd to court an ignoble Vaſſalage. And thus, beſides making themſelves remarkable for their Ingratitude, they prov'd falſe to their Intereſt, and diſcover'd their Treaſon and their Folly at the ſame Time. To proceed;

The King not unacquainted with the Temper of the Faction, and perceiving Things not diſpos'd for bringing in the *Liturgy,* dropp'd that Buſineſs. However, as far as his Prerogative would reach, he went on in making Proviſion for the Benefit of the Church: For this Purpoſe, he erected an Epiſcopal *See* at *Edinburgh.* This Town lying in the Dioceſe of St. *Andrews, Spotſwood,* Archbiſhop of that *See,* was willing to reſign Part of his Profit and Juriſdiction to the publick Intereſt. And thus the whole County of *Lothian*, reaching from *Edinburgh-Firth* to *Berwick,* was ſever'd from St. *Andrews,* and laid to the Dioceſe of *Edinburgh.* And to ſubſiſt the Biſhop with ſomething towards a Competency, Part of the Lands belonging to the Priory of St. *Andrews* was purchaſed of the Duke of *Lenox* by the King, and ſettled upon this See. *Forbes,* an

Edinburgh *made a Biſhops See.*

exemplary and learned Divine, was the firſt Biſhop; and the Church of St. *Giles* aſſign'd for his Cathedral. And to compleat the Eſtabliſhment, and bring it up to the common Regulation, a Dean and Prebendaries were ſettled. *(a) Laud*, Biſhop of *London*, attending his Majeſty to *Scotland*, and ſworn Privy-Councellor for that Kingdom, us'd his Intereſt, as may eaſily be imagined, for the Founding this Biſhóprick. The Parliament being diſſolv'd, the King, after having taken a View of ſome of the principal Towns, return'd to *England*, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich* on the 20th of *July*.

(a) Cyprian Anglic.

The King returns to London.

The Death and Character of Archbiſhop Abbot.

On the 4th of *Auguſt* following *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, departed this Life. To ſay ſomething of him: He was born at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, bred in *Baliol*-College *Oxon*, where having liv'd Fellow for ſome Time, he was preferr'd to the Maſterſhip of *Univerſity*-College, and afterwards to the Deanery of *Wincheſter*. His next Promotion was the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield*: From hence, after a few Months, he was tranſlated to *London*, and from thence within a Year to *Canterbury*. He had paſs'd through Proſperity and Adverſity in ſome very ſenſible Inſtances. He has the Character of an unblemiſh'd Converſation, and a good Preacher. As to the governing Part, he was not altogether ſo happy. He was apparently ſomewhat leaning towards the *Puritan Perſuaſion*. Under this Diſpoſition he is reported over-remiſs in his Diſcipline. By holding the Reins thus looſe, the People were practis'd upon by the *Diſſenters*, and gain'd over to *Calviniſm*. The Ceremonies of the Church were neglected: And thus in many Places the Worſhip of God being left too much at Diſcretion, the preſſing *Conformity* afterwards was clamour'd againſt, and interpreted to Rigour and Innovation. *(b)* Further, Archbiſhop *Abbot* is taxed with unfriendlineſs to thoſe of his own Function; that he Brow-beat the inferior Clergy, and diſcover'd a Partiality to the rich *Laity* in Cauſes brought before him. To defend himſelf againſt this Imputation, his Anſwer was, *That he was ſo ſevere to the Clergy on Purpoſe to reſcue them from the Severity of others, and to prevent the Puniſhment of them by Lay Judges to their greater Shame. (c)*

(b) Hamond L'eſtrange's *Hiſt. of King* Charles.

(c) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book XI. Pag. 128.

But this Excuſe is a harſh Reflection upon the Conduct of the Clergy, and ſuppoſes them remarkably defective either in common Honeſty or common Diſcretion. However, theſe Singularities, together with his Relaxation of Diſcipline, are no Diſproofs of Integrity: His Meaning might be good, though his Meaſures fell ſhort of Exactneſs. As for his Benefactions, he built a fair Hoſpital at *Guilford*, and ſettled a plentiful Endowment.

Laud *ſucceeds him in the See of* Canterbury.

After *Abbot*'s Death the King was at no Loſs about a Nomination: He had already reſolv'd upon his Succeſſor. And when *Laud* (who travelled ſlower than the Court) came off his *Scotland* Journey, and waited on the King, his Majeſty ſaluted him with this Expreſſion, *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome.* In Six Weeks the Cuſtomary Forms for the *Tranſlation* were gone through, and the Archbiſhop ſettled at *Lambeth*; where at his coming he made a ſplendid Entertainment.

Septemb. 19. Anno Dom. 1633.

The firſt Directions he received from Court referred to the Buſineſs of *Ordinations*. To ſecure the Clergy from Indigence and Dependence, 'twas provided by the *Canons*, *(c)* that none ſhould be ordain'd without a *Title*. Now a Title for Maintenance is thus ſettled by the Church. The Perſon to be ordained muſt either exhibit his Preſentation to ſome Benefice within the Dioceſe of the Biſhop ordaining, or bring an unqueſtionable Certificate of his being provided of a Curacy in the ſaid Dioceſe, or that he is aſſur'd of officiating as Deacon or Prieſt in ſome Cathedral or Collegiate Church, or that he can make Proof of his being a Fellow or Chaplain in ſome College in *Cambridge* or *Oxford*, or that he is five Years ſtanding Maſter of Arts, and lives in one of the Univerſities upon his own Charge; or laſtly, the Biſhop who ordains him muſt engage to prefer him ſhortly to ſome Cure then void. Notwithſtanding the Precaution of this *Canon*, *Ordinations* were ſometimes paſs'd to ſlender Qualifications either of Title or Merit: And thus theſe Clergy being unfurniſhed with a Maintenance, turn'd *Lecturers*, or Chaplains, and were frequently entertain'd upon Terms of Diſadvantage: By being ſupported in a Precarious Manner, they lay more obnoxious to unhandſome Compliance; and when their Patrons were factious or ſchiſmatical they were in Danger of deſerting from their Duty. By his Majeſty's *Inſtructions*, in the Year 1629, 'twas order'd that no Lay Gentleman, not qualified by Law, ſhould entertain a Chaplain. But 'twas not long before this Order was diſregarded in ſeveral Families: And therefore to retrench the Number of *Lecturers* and Houſhold Prieſts, 'twas thought fit to ſtop the Source of this Inconvenience, and refreſh the obſerving the *Canon* above-mention'd upon the Biſhops. To this Purpoſe the King, at the Inſtance of the Archbiſhop, ſent him the following Letter.

(d) Can. 33.

Ibid.

The King's Letters to the Biſhops touching Ordinations.

CHARLES Rex.

Moſt Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Right entirely Beloved Counſellor, We Greet you well. There is nothing more Dear to Us than the Preſervation of true Religion, as it is now ſettled and eſtabliſhed in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our ſelf and Our Loyal People: And there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof than the ſtrict Obſervation of ſuch Canons *of the Church as concern thoſe who are to take Orders in their ſeveral Times; more eſpecially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoins, That no Man be made a Prieſt without a Title: For We find that many not ſo qualified do by Favour, or other Means, procure themſelves to be ordain'd, and afterwards, for want of Means, wander up and down to the Scandal of their Calling, or to get Maintenance, fall upon ſuch Courſes as were moſt unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other Ways altogether unſufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and We do hereby ſtreightly Command, Require, and Charge you to Call ſuch Biſhops to you as are now preſent in or near Our City of* London, *and to acquaint them with this Our Reſolution. And further, That you fail not in the Beginning of the next Term, to give Notice of this Our Will and Pleaſure openly in Our* High-Commiſſion-Court; *and that you call in to the ſaid Court every Biſhop reſpectively that ſhall preſume to give Orders to any Man that hath not a Title, and there to cenſure him as the Canon aforeſaid doth enjoin, (which is to maintain the Party ſo ordered till he give him a* Title) *and with what other Cenſure you in Juſtice ſhall think fit. And Our further Will is, That nothing ſhall be reputed a* Title *to enable a Man for Orders but that which is ſo by the ancient Courſe of the Church and the* Canon-Law, *ſo far forth as that Law is received in this Our Church of* England. *And as you muſt not fail in theſe Our Directions, nor in any Part of them; So We expect that you give us from Time to*

Time a ſtrict Account of your Proceedings in the ſame.

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, *September* 19. in the Ninth Year of Our Reign, 1633.

The Archbiſhop purſuant to his Majeſty's Order convenes his Suffragans in or near the *Town*, acquaints them with the Scandal and Danger of uncautious *Ordinations*, preſſes their managing this Affair by the Strictneſs of the *Canon*, and delivers them a Copy of his Majeſty's *Letters*. Theſe Letters were likewiſe tranſmitted to the Biſhops in the Country; and others of the ſame Tenor ſent by the King to the Archbiſhop of *York*.

The Judges at the Aſſizes at Exeter *and in* Somerſetſhire *ſuppreſs* Wakes, *&c.*

About this Time the King publiſh'd his *Declaration* concerning *lawful Sports*. The Occaſion of it was this: Some of the Judges had lately made Orders at the *Aſſizes* for ſuppreſſing all Revels, *Church-Ales*, *Clerk-Ales*, and *Bid-Ales*, on the *Sunday*. The Publiſhing this Order was enjoined the Parochial Clergy on the firſt *Sunday* in *February* every Year. Theſe Regulations were thought to exceed the Reſtraints of the *Statutes* made in the firſt and third Years of this Reign, for the *better Keeping* the *Lord's-Day*. And in this Buſineſs Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, was particularly active at the *Lent-Aſſizes* in *Somerſetſhire*. The Enjoining the Clergy to publiſh the Judges Orders in their Churches, was look'd upon as an Impoſition, and an Encroachment over and above on the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*, complain'd of this Uſage to the King, who commanded the Chief Juſtice to diſcharge the *Order* at the next Aſſizes. *Richardſon* was ſo far from obeying his Majeſty, that he confirm'd his former Proceedings, and made them more menacing than before. This hardy Step was reſented by the principal Gentry of the Country. The King likewiſe much diſpleas'd with *Richardſon*'s Reſolution, commanded the Biſhop of *London* to write to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* for an Account of Matter of Fact; and in what Manner the *Wakes* and other *Feſtivals* were manag'd. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, *Bath* and *Wells* ſends for above Seventy Clergy-Men of Character, living in the Country. Theſe Divines certified under their Hands, "That on the *Feſtivals* (which commonly fell on the *Sunday)* " Divine Service was moſt ſolemnly perform'd, " and the Congregation fuller both in the Forenoon and in the Afternoon than upon any " other *Sunday*: That the People deſir'd they " might be continued, and that the Clergy in " moſt Places were of the ſame Sentiment: " They believ'd theſe annual Solemnities ſerviceable for preſerving the Memory of the " Dedication of Churches, for taking up Differences by the Meeting of Friends, for cultivating a good Correſpondence among " Neighbours, and for refreſhing the Poor with " the Entertainments made upon thoſe Anniverſaries." Whether theſe Reaſons for keeping up the *Wakes*, *&c.* were ſtronger than the Objections againſt them, is what I ſhall leave undetermin'd. However, upon the Return of this Certificate, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* was ſummon'd again before the Council, where notwithſtanding he had endeavour'd to juſtify his Proceedings, by alledging his *Order* was made at the Requeſt of the Juſtices of Peace, and with the general Conſent of the *Bench*. Notwithſtanding this Defence he was poſitively commanded to reverſe it. By the Way, from the Account which *Heylin* and *Ruſhworth* give of this Matter, 'tis plain the Juſtices of Peace in *Somerſetſhire* were divided upon the Point. (*e*)

The Sabbatarian Controverſy reviv'd.

About this Time the *Sabbatarian* Controverſy was reviv'd. One *Theophilus Bradburn*, a Clergy-Man in *Suffolk*, refreſh'd this Diſpute. About four Years ſince he publiſh'd a Book, entituled, *A Defence of the moſt Ancient and Sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath-Day.* In this Tract he maintains the Fourth Commandment was abſolutely moral: That Chriſtians as well as Jews were oblig'd to the perpetual obſerving that Day: And laſtly, That the *Lord's-Day* or *Sunday* is a working Day; that it deſerves no Preference; and that it is no better than Will-worſhip and Superſtition to raiſe it to the Solemnity of a Sabbath in Vertue of the Fourth Commandment. This Judaiſing Performance was dedicated to the King. His Majeſty much diſpleas'd with this *Reſolution*, order'd the Proſecution of the Author in the *High-Commiſſion*. Before the Cauſe came to a Hearing, *Bradburn* was prevail'd with by the Biſhops to ſubmit to a Conference; where his Scruples being happily diſentangled, he was recover'd to an Orthodox Belief. However, theſe *Sabbatarian* Miſtakes had ſpread in ſome Meaſure upon the People. The Juſtices of Peace in *Somerſetſhire* ſign'd an Addreſs to the King for ſuppreſſing *Church-Ales*, *Clerk-Ales*, *&c.* But before the Petition was deliver'd, his Majeſty, by Way of Prevention, publiſh'd the late King's *Declaration* upon this Subject, with a Supplement of his own. His preſent Majeſty's Addition is in theſe Words:

The King's Declaration concerning Sports.

Now out of a like Pious Care for the Service of God, and for ſuppreſſing of any Humours that oppoſe the Truth, and for the Eaſe, and Comfort, and Recreation of Our well-deſerving People, We do Ratify and Publiſh this Our Bleſſed Father's Declaration; the rather becauſe of late, in ſome Counties of Our Kingdom, We find that under Pretence of taking away Abuſes, there hath been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly call'd Wakes. *Now Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That theſe Feaſts with others ſhall be obſerv'd, and that Our Juſtices of the Peace, in their ſeveral Diviſions, ſhall look to it, both that all Diſorders there may be prevented or puniſh'd, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with Man-like and Lawful Exerciſes, be us'd. And We further command Our Juſtices of Aſſize, in their ſeveral Circuits, to ſee that no Man do trouble or moleſt any of Our Loyal and Dutiful People in or for their Lawful Recreations, having firſt done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this We command all Our Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other Officers, to take Notice, and to ſee obſerv'd, as they tender Our Diſpleaſure. And We further will, That Publication of this Our Command be made, by Order from the Biſhops, thorow all the Pariſh Churches of their ſeveral Dioceſſes reſpectively.*

Given at Our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, *October* 18. in the Ninth Year of Our Reign, 1633.

This Declaration, whether upon the Score of indulging too much Liberty, or diſpenſing with a late Act of Parliament, (*f*) was not well received, and gave the People a further Diſguſt at the Adminiſtration: And ſome of the Clergy, who ſcrupled the reading of it in their Churches, were

---

(*e*) Cyprian. Anglic. *Pag.* 257. Ruſhworth's *Collect.* Vol. 2. Pag. 193.

(*f*) 1 Car. cap. 1.

were ſuſpended by their *Ordinaries*, and proſecuted in the *High-Commiſſion*. Theſe Rigours, tho' not very frequent, heighten'd the Complaint, and diſſerv'd the Government both in Church and *State*.

To go back a little, and Report the Condition of the Church of *Ireland*, at the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*'s coming thither. For this Purpoſe, I ſhall inſert Dr. *Bramhall*'s (afterwards Lord Primate) Letter to *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*. It runs thus:

Dr. Bramhall's Letter to Laud concerning the Condition of the Church of Ireland.

Right Reverend Father,

“My moſt Honour'd Lord, preſuming partly upon your Licence, but eſpecially directed by my Lord Deputy's Commands, *(g)* I am to give your Fatherhood a brief Account of the preſent State of the Poor Church of *Ireland*, ſuch as our ſhort Intelligence here, and your Lordſhip's weightier Imployments there, will permit. Firſt, For the Fabricks, it is hard to ſay whether the Churches be more ruinous and ſordid, or the People irreverent, even in *Dublin* the Metropolis of this Kingdom, and Seat of Juſtice: (To begin the Inquiſition where the Reformation will begin) we find our Parochial Church converted to the Lord Deputy's Stable, a ſecond to a Nobleman's Dwelling-Houſe, the Quire of a third to a *Tennis-Court*, and the Vicar acts the *Keeper*. In *Chriſt's-Church*, the principal Church in *Ireland*, whither the Lord Deputy and *Council* repair every *Sunday*, the Vaults, from one End of the Minſter to the other, are made into Tippling-Rooms, for Beer, Wine, and Tobacco, demiſed all to Popiſh Recuſants, and by them and others ſo much frequented in Time of Divine Service, that though there is no Danger of blowing up the Aſſembly above their Heads, yet there is of poiſoning them with the Fumes. The Table uſed for the Adminiſtration of the Bleſſed Sacrament in the midſt of the Choir, made an ordinary Seat for Maids and Apprentices. I cannot omit the glorious Tomb in the other Cathedral Church of St. *Patrick* in the proper Place of the Altar, juſt oppoſite to his Majeſty's Seat, having his Father's Name ſuperſcribed upon it, as if it were contriv'd on Purpoſe to gain the Worſhip and Reverence, which the *Chapter* and whole Church are bound by ſpecial Statute to give towards the Eaſt. And either the Soil it ſelf, or a Licence to build and bury, and make a Vault in the Place of the Altar under Seal, which is a Tantamount paſſed to the Earl and his Heirs, *Credimus eſſe Deos*? This being the Caſe in *Dublin*, your Lordſhip will judge what we may expect in the Country.

“Next for the Clergy; I find few Footſteps yet of foreign Differences, ſo I hope it will be an eaſier Task not to admit them than to have them ejected. But I doubt much whether the Clergy be very orthodox, and could wiſh both the Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* were eſtabliſh'd here by Act of Parliament, or State; that as we live all under one King, ſo we might both in Doctrine and Diſcipline obſerve an Uniformity. The inferior Sort of Miniſters are below all Degrees of Contempt, in reſpect of their Poverty and Ignorance. The boundleſs heaping together of Benefices by *Commendams* and *Diſpenſations* in the *Superiors* is but too apparent; yea, even often by plain Uſurpation, and indirect Compoſitions, made between the Patrons, (as well Eccleſiaſtick as Lay) and the Incumbents; by which the leaſt Part, many Times not above 40 *s.* rarely 10 *l.* in the Year, is reſerv'd for him that ſhould ſerve at the *Altar*; inſomuch that it is affirm'd that by all or ſome of theſe Means one Biſhop in the remoter Parts of the Kingdom doth hold Three and twenty Benefices with Cure. Generally their Reſidence is as little as their Livings. Seldom any Suitor petitions for leſs than three Vicarages at a Time. And it is a main Prejudice to his Majeſty's Service, and an Hindrance to the right Eſtabliſhment of this Church, that the Clergy have in a manner no Dependance upon the Lord Deputy, nor he any Means left to prefer thoſe that are deſerving amongſt them: For beſides all thoſe Advowſons which were given by that great Patron of the Church, King *James*, of happy Memory, to Biſhops, and the College here, many alſo were conferr'd upon the *Plantations*, (never was ſo good a Gift ſo infinitely abuſed); and I know not how, or by what Order, even in theſe Bleſſed Days of his Sacred Majeſty, all the reſt of any Note, have been given or paſſed away in the Time of the late Lord Deputy.*

“Laſtly, For the Revenues, how ſmall Care hath been taken for the Service of his Majeſty, or the Good of the Church, is hereby apparent, that no Officer, or other Perſon, can inform my Lord what Deanery or Benefices are in his Majeſty's Gift, and about Three hundred Livings are omitted out of the Book of Tax for *Firſt-Fruits*, and Twentieth Parts; ſundry of them of good Value, two or three Biſhopricks, and the whole Dioceſe of *Killfannore*. The Alienations of Church Poſſeſſions by long Leaſes and Deeds are infinite; yea, even ſince the Act of *State* to reſtrain them, it is believ'd that divers are bold, ſtill to practice in Hopes of Secrecy and Impunity, and will adventure until their Hands be tied, by Act of Parliament, or ſome of the Delinquents cenſur'd in the *Star-Chamber*. The Earl of *Cork* holds the whole Biſhoprick of *Liſmore* at the Rent of 40 *s.* or Five Marks, by the Year; many Benefices that ought to be Preſentative, are by Negligence enjoy'd as though they were Appropriate.

“For the remedying of theſe Evils, next to God and his Sacred Majeſty, I know my Lord depends on your Fatherhood's Wiſdom, and Zeal for the Church. My Duty binds me to pray for a Bleſſing upon both your good Endeavours. For the preſent, my Lord hath pull'd down the Deputy's Seat in his own Chapel, and reſtor'd the Altar to it's ancient Place, which was thruſt out of Doors. The like is done in *Chriſt's-Church*. The Purgation and Reſtitution of the Stable to the right Owners and Uſes will follow next, and ſtrict Mandates to my Lords the Biſhops, to ſee the Churches repar'd, adorn'd, and preſerved, from Prophanation through the whole Kingdom.

“For the Clergy and their Revenues, my Lord is careful that no Petitions be admitted without good Certificate and diligent Enquiry, (thought a ſtrange Courſe here) and to enable himſelf, and the ſucceeding Deputies, to encourage ſuch as ſhall deſerve well in the Church, his Lordſhip intends, as well in the Commiſſion for defective Titles, as for the *Plantations*, to reſerve the Right of Advowſons to his Majeſty, and as well by diligent

“ Search

(g) *Paper-Office.*

* *Lord* Falkland.

Laud (William) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

“ Search in the *Records*, as by a ſelected Commiſſion of many Branches, to regain ſuch Advowſons, as have been uſurped through the Negligence of Officers, Change of Deputies, or Power of Great Men; and by the ſame to inform himſelf of the true State of the Church and Clergy, to provide for the Cures and Reſidence, to perfect his Majeſty's Tax, to prevent and remedy Alienations, to reſtore illegal Impropriations, to diſpoſe, by Way of Lapſe, of all thoſe ſupernumerary Benefices, which are held unjuſtly, and not without infinite Scandal, under the Pretence of *Commendams*, and Diſpenſations; and to ſettle as much as in preſent is poſſible the whole State of the Church. This Teſtimony I muſt give of his Care, that it is not poſſible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more ſerious and ſincere than his in thoſe Things that concern the Good of the Poor Church.

“ It is ſome Comfort to ſee the *Romiſh* Eccleſiaſticks cannot laugh at us, who come behind none in Point of Diſunion and Scandal.

“ I know my Tediousneſs will be offenſive, unleſs your Lordſhip's Licence, and my Lord Deputy's Command procure my Pardon. I will not add a Word more, but the Profeſſion of my humble Thanks, and bounden Service; and ſo being ready to receive your Lordſhip's Commands, I deſire to remain, as your Noble Favours have for ever bound me,

Dublin-Caſtle, *Your Lordſhip's*
Auguſt the *Daily and Devoted Servant,*
10th, 1633. John Bramhall.

The Archbiſhop endeavours to reform ſome Negligences in Churches.

(h) *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſt.* Vol. 1.

On the 14th of *October* the King's ſecond Son, *James*, Duke of *York*, was born, and Chriſten'd by Archbiſhop *Laud* the 24th of *November*. It has been obſerv'd the Remiſſneſs of *Abbot* introduc'd a negligent Latitude, not to ſay Prophaneſs, in Divine Service. The Churches had neither Ornament or Decency, or ſo much as Reparation beſtow'd on them; and the Sacraments were adminiſter'd where the People had moſt Mind to receive them. (*h*) This prophane Indifference the Archbiſhop was reſolv'd to reform, and call'd upon his *Suffragans* for their Concurrence. The recovering the Churches from a Condition of Offenſiveneſs and Scandal, and bringing the Circumſtances of Devotion to an Uniformity, was without Queſtion a commendable Undertaking: But whether through the Obſtinacy of the People, the Expence of the Execution, or want of Temper in the Management, the Deſign miſcarried in ſome Places, and made the Diſcontents againſt the Hierarchy run higher.

And now to look over the Affairs of the Church in *Scotland*: The King had obſerved the Orders in the late Reign for officiating in the *Engliſh* Liturgy at *Holy-Rood-Houſe* had been diſcontinu'd; and being reſolv'd to attempt the bringing the whole Iſland to an Uniformity of Worſhip, he conceiv'd the Uſe of the *Engliſh* Common-Prayer in the Chapel Royal might prove a ſerviceable Introduction. For the Trial of this Expedient, he order'd *Ballantine*, Biſhop of *Dunblaine*, and Dean of the Chapel there, the following Inſtructions for *Holy-Rood-Houſe*.

The King's Inſtructions for officiating in the Engliſh *Liturgy at the Chapel in* Holy-Rood-Houſe.

CHARLES Rex.

I. *Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That the Dean of Our Chapel that now is, and his Succeſſors, ſhall be aſſiſtant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrew's *at the Coronation, ſo often as it ſhall happen.*

Charles I. K.

II. *That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately uſed, be put in a little Box, and laid into a Standard, and committed to the Care of the Dean of the Chapel ſucceſſively.*

III. *That there be Prayers twice a Day with the Choirs, as well in Our Abſence as otherwiſe, according to the* Engliſh *Liturgy, till ſome other Courſe be taken for making one that may fit the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of that Church.*

IV. *That the Dean of the Chapel look carefully that all that receive the bleſſed* Sacrament *there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that Our Chapel the firſt* Sunday *of every Month.*

V. *That the Dean of Our Chapel that now is, and ſo ſucceſſively, come duly thither to Prayers upon* Sundays, *and ſuch* Holidays *as the Church obſerves, in his Whites, and preach ſo whenſoever he preach there; and that he be not abſent thence but upon neceſſary Occaſion of his Dioceſſe, or otherwiſe, according to the Courſe of his Preferment.*

VI. *That theſe Orders ſhall be Our Warrant to the Dean of Our Chapel, that the Lords of Our* Privy Council, *the Lords of the Seſſion, the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the* Signet, *and Members of Our College of Juſtice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion once every Year, at the leaſt, in that Our Chapel Royal, and kneeling for Example ſake to the Kingdom. And we likewiſe command the Dean aforeſaid to make Report yearly to us how we are obeyed therein, and by whom; as alſo if any Man ſhall refuſe, in what Manner he doth ſo, and why.*

Oct. 8. 1633.

VII. *That the Copes which are conſecrated for the Uſe of Our Chapel be deliver'd to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that Purpoſe, and to be uſed at the Celebration of the* Sacrament *in Our* Chapel Royal.

To theſe Orders we ſhall hereafter add others, if we find others more neceſſary for the Service of God there. (*i*)

(*i*) Biblio. Regia. Sect. 2. Num. 2.

And the King poſſibly being apprehenſive *Ballatine* might be warping toward the Presbyterian Perſuaſion, gave the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* a Warrant in Writing to correſpond with this Biſhop of *Dunblaine*, and tranſmit his Majeſty's Directions to him for the Management of the Chapel.

Id. Sect. XI. Num. 4.

Notwithſtanding Archbiſhop *Laud* exerted himſelf for retrieving the Uſages of the Church, he found the *Puritan-Novelties* very difficult to deal with. *Calvin*, and ſome others of that Complexion, were in many Places the Idols of the People: Inſomuch, that to practice up to the Primitive Church, to worſhip God *in the Beauty of Holineſs*, and guard the Solemnities from Contempt, was interpreted to Superſtition. To give an Inſtance of the undiſtinguiſhing Obſtinacy of theſe Men. The Pariſhioners of St. *Gregory*'s in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*, had been at a conſiderable Expence in ornamenting their Church: Amongſt other Furniture they had prepar'd a Table for the Holy *Euchariſt*. Now the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s being *Ordinaries* of the Place, directed them to ſet it at the Eaſt End of the Chancel, that by this Situation it might recover its ancient Standing, and be conformable to the Mother-Church. About five of the Pariſhioners conteſting this Order, appeal'd to the Dean and the *Arches*; and the Dean and Chapter to countermine them, referr'd the Deciſion to the King. On the 3d of *November* the Matter was brought before the Council-Board, the King being preſent. After the Cauſe had been pleaded at Length on both Sides, his Majeſty having firſt declar'd his Diſlike of all Innovation, gave Sentence for the Dean and *Chapter*: The Pariſhioners had urg'd the Eighty ſecond *Canon* to prove

A Conteſt between ſome of the Pariſhioners of St. Gregory *and the Dean and Chapter of St.* Paul's, *about placing the Communion-Table.*

Laud (William) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

prove the Liberty of placing the Communion-Table in a Situation of moſt Conveniency. But here the King's Deciſion takes Notice, " That " this Liberty is not to be ſo underſtood, as if " it was left to the Direction of the Pariſh, and " much leſs to the ſingular Fancy of every humourſome Perſon, to over-rule this Matter. " To make this Inference, was a wide Miſconſtruction of the *Canon*: For theſe Circumſtances, both of Place and Time, were to be " govern'd by the Direction of the *Ordinary*." *(k)* This *Judgment* in Behalf of the Dean and *Chapter* was a ſerviceable Precedent, and encourag'd the *Ordinaries* in other Dioceſes to go through with the ſame Regulation. Towards the latter End of this Year the King wrote to the Archbiſhop for encouraging the printing *Greek* Manuſcripts: And becauſe the Letter may not be unacceptable to the Reader, I ſhall inſert it in the *Records*.* Farther, to promote the Intereſt of Oriental Learning the following Letter was ſent to the *Turkey* Merchants:

(k) Bibl. Reg. Sect. 3. nu. 17.

* Num. CX.

The King's Letter to the Turkey *Merchants for promoting Oriental Learning.*

Truſty and Well-beloved We Greet you well. *(l)*

(l) Regiſt. Laud, Par. 1. fol. 196.

We have of late taken into Our Princely Care, how to furniſh the Greek *Preſs within Our Kingdom, That ſuch of Our Subjects as are Learned in that Language might be able to ſet forth ſome of thoſe divers Manuſcripts in* Greek, *with which Our own Library, and the Libraries in Our Univerſities, are well furniſhed. Which Courſe, if it be well followed, (as we doubt not but it will) muſt needs bring a great deal of Profit and Honour both to Church and State. With the Conſideration of this concerning the* Greek, *we took into Our Care alſo a great Difficulty, which yet we conceive may be well maſter'd, if it be providently look'd into. There is a great deal of Learning, and that very fit and neceſſary to be known that is written in Arabick; and there is a great Defect in both Our Univerſities, very few ſpending their Time to attain that, or any other of the Eaſtern Languages; which We impute not ſo much to the Fault of the Students there, as partly to the great Scarcity and Want of* Arabick *and* Perſian *Books, on which they might ſpend their Pains, and partly to their lack both of Opportunity and Means to provide and furniſh themſeves with ſuch Books: While We took thus into Our Royal Conſideration, and withal how uſeful and neceſſary the Knowledge of thoſe Languages would be for Our Subjects, We could not but think and adviſe which Way ſome better Store of* Arabick *and* Perſian *Books might be gotten, and brought unto us. After along Deliberation, We could not find any Way ſo good, and likely to be ſucceſsful, as the employing your Service which trade thereabouts. And becauſe We would do it with little or no Burden at all unto you, We have thought of this Courſe, which We pray and command you to follow carefully, and with Effect; namely, That every Ship of yours, at every Voyage that it makes, ſhould bring home one* Arabick *or* Perſian *Manuſcript Book, to be deliver'd preſently to the Maſter of the Company, and by him ſent or carried to the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *for the Time being, who ſhall diſpoſe of them as We in Our Wiſdom ſhall think fit. And we doubt not but you will be careful at all Times readily to perform this Service, which ſo much tends to Our own Honour, the Advancement of Learning, and the Good of Our People; the Value of one Book being not a conſiderable Thing. And always provided that they bring any other Books beſides the* Alchorans, *becauſe we have Choice of them already.*

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of *Weſtminſter* the —— Day of *February*, in the Ninth Year of Our Reign.

Charles I. K.

The Death of Godwin, *Biſhop of* Hereford.

This Year *Francis Godwin*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, departed this Life. He was Son to *Thomas Godwin*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. *Francis* was tranſlated from the *See* of *Landaff* to that of *Hereford* by King *James*. He was a conſiderable Mathematician, a good Preacher, and an eminent Antiquary, and wrote well in *Latin*. His principal Works are his Book *De Præſulibus Angliæ*, and his *Annals* of the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. *Juxon*, Dean of *Worceſter*, and Clerk of the Cloſet, was nominated for his Succeſſor. But upon *Laud*'s Advancement to *Canterbury*, he was recommended to the King by that Archbiſhop for the *See* of *London*; and hither his Majeſty promoted him. And thus the Church of *Hereford* continuing vacant, *Auguſtin Lyndſell* was tranſlated thither, and *Francis Dee*, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of *Chicheſter*, was made Biſhop of *Peterborough*.

Pryn *proſecuted and cenſured in the* Star-Chamber.

This Year *William Pryn*, Outer-Barriſter of *Lincolns-Inn*, was called to an Account for his *Hiſtriomaſtix*. In this Performance the Heat of his Temper, and his *Puritanical Principles*, carried him too far. He writes with no Guard of Diſcretion or Charity, rambles extravagantly beyond his Bounds; and not only falls upon *Masks* and *Dancing* without Reſerve, but flies his Satyr againſt *Hunting, Publick Feſtivals, Keeping Chriſtmas, Bonefires*, and *May-Poles*. *(m)*

(m) Ruſhworth's *Collect.* Vol. 2. Pag 235, 220.

He is charged with inſulting the Court reproaching the Queen, and dropping ſome dangerous Expreſſions againſt the King and Government.*

* Ruſhworth's *Collect.* Vol. 2. Page 221.

Beſides theſe Miſdeameanors, for which he was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, Attorney-General *Noy* cites ſeveral ſcandalous Paſſages in his Book, of which the *Information* took no Notice. The Reaſon why theſe Things were overlook'd in the Matter alledg'd againſt him, was their being of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance, and proper for the *High-Commiſſion*.

To mention ſomewhat of this Part of *Pryn*'s Invective. He throws a general Cenſure upon the Biſhops and Clergy, falls upon them for making an over expenſive and foreign Figure, and Taxes them with *Scorning* to *feed* the *Poor*. He complains of *Cringing* and *Ducking* to new erected Altars, and of dedicating St. *Paul*'s to *Diana*. He goes on in this coarſe Way of Rallying, calls the Church-Muſick, *a Bleating of brute Beaſts*; *Choriſters*, ſays he, *Bellow the Tenor as if they were Oxen, Bark a Counterpoint* like a *Kennel* of Dogs, *Rore a Treble* as if they were Bulls, and Grunt out a *Baſe* like a Parcel of Hogs. The Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, that deliver'd their Opinion at large, and harangu'd upon *Pryn*'s Misbehaviour, were the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and Secretary *Cook*. After Three Days hearing, this *Sentence* paſs'd upon him; *That he ſhould be expell'd the* Society *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *be degraded at* Oxford, *ſtand in the Pillory at* Weſtminſter, *and* Cheapſide, *loſe an Ear in each Place, with a Paper on his Head declaring his Offence; That he was puniſh'd for Publiſhing* an infamous Libel againſt both their Majeſty's State and Government. *And laſtly, he was fined Five thouſand Pounds to the King, and condemn'd to a perpetual Impriſonment.* By *Ruſhworth*'s Narrative one might conclude the reſt of the Court concurr'd with the Lords above-mention'd without making any Speeches. Had the Archbiſhop heightned the Charge, and deliver'd himſelf with the Acrimony and Vehemence of Lord *Cottington* and the other Three, we may reaſonably imagine it would not have been omitted by

Ruſhworth, ibid. *p.* 232. *wrong pag'd, for pag.* 223.

this *Collector*. But notwithſtanding this comparative Gentleneſs, *Prynn* is particularly picqu'd at *Laud*, ſends him a provoking Letter, and miſreports what the Archbiſhop had ſpoken when the *Cenſure* paſs'd in the *Star-Chamber*. Upon this, the Attorney General, by the King's Order, ſends for *Prynn*, ſhews him the Letter, and asks him whether 'twas his Hand: *Prynn* deſir'd to read it, for that otherwiſe he could not anſwer the Queſtion. The Letter being put into his Hands, he tore it in ſmall Pieces, and threw it out at the Window. Notwithſtanding this ſtroke of Art, he was proſecuted for a *Libel*, and at laſt pardon'd by *Laud*, in the *Star-Chamber*. This happen'd the next Year: But to give the Story more unbroken, I have mention'd it now.

I ſhall conclude this Year with the Archbiſhop's Account of the Condition of his Province, which he gave in to the King. It begins thus,

May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty.

Anno Dom. 163¾. *Archbiſhop* Laud'*s annual Account of his Province to the King.*

According to your Royal Commands, I do here upon the Second of January, *preſent my Account of both the Dioceſe and Province of* Canterbury, *concerning all thoſe Church Affairs, which are contain'd within your Majeſty's moſt gracious* Declaration *and* Inſtructions; *publiſh'd out of your moſt princely and religious Care to preſerve Unity in Orthodox Doctrine, and Conformity to the Government, in this Church of* England.

And firſt for his own Dioceſe of Canterbury, *he acquaints the King, his Time has been ſo ſhort, that he can only certify, ſome of his* Peculiars *in* London, *are extremely out of* Order.

For the Biſhoprick of London, *'tis certified, that the Biſhop had not receiv'd a Complaint againſt any of his Clergy ſince his coming to that* See, *which was at laſt* Michaelmas.

The Biſhop of Bath *and* Wells *had taken a great Deal of Pains in his late Viſitation, to make all the King's* Inſtructions *obſerv'd. And particularly, he put down ſeveral* Lecturers *in Market-Towns, who were benefic'd in other Dioceſes. Becauſe he found that when they preach'd factious Sermons, they retir'd into other Counties, beyond the Reach of his Juriſdiction.*

In the Dioceſe of Rocheſter, *the Town of* Mawling, *and that whole* Deanry, *were very much out of Order: But the Archbiſhop, by the Lord Biſhops Command had ſettled them.*

And whereas his Majeſty's Inſtructions *require, that* Lecturers *ſhould turn their Afternoon Sermons into Catechiſing, ſome Parſons and Vicars within the Dioceſe of* Peterborough, *object againſt their being included within the* Order; *becauſe* Lecturers, *as they pretend, are only mention'd: But this being no better than Miſconſtruction, the Biſhop will quickly take Care to clear the Doubt, and ſettle the Practice accordingly.*

The Biſhop of Coventry *and* Litchfield *complains, the* Peculiars *of his Dioceſe (in which he has no Power) are much out of Order. His Lordſhip further certifies his having ſuppreſs'd a ſeditious* Lecture *at* Repon: *He had likewiſe put down ſeveral Monthly* Lectures, *kept with a Faſt, and manag'd by a Moderator. He had alſo ſuppreſs'd a Meeting, call'd, the* Running-Lecture: *'Twas ſo call'd, becauſe the Lecturer went from Village to Village; and at the End of the Week gave publick Notice where they might find him for the next* Exerciſe.

The Biſhop of St. Aſaph *acquainted the Archbiſhop, that the Condition of his Dioceſe was without Exception, abating the Increaſe of* Romiſh *Recuſants in ſome Places, which ſeems to be encourag'd, by their ſuperſtitious Concourſe to St.* Winifred'*s* Well.

The Biſhop of Landaff *certifies, that he has not ſo much as one ſtubborn Non-Conformiſt, or ſchiſmatical Miniſter within his Dioceſe. And that there are but Two Lecturers, and thoſe both licens'd Preachers.*

The Lord Biſhop of Lincoln *reports, That the Company of* Mercers *in* London, *intruſted with the Legacy of one Mr.* Fiſhburn, *has ſet up a* Lecture *in* Huntington, *with an Allowance of Forty* P[illegible]ds *per* Annum: *But then the Eſtabliſhment is lodg'd with this Proviſo, that upon the Company's Diſlike of any Lecturer, he was to be diſcharg'd at a Month or a Fortnight's Warning; neither was his Dioceſan or Metropolitan to interpoſe in this Affair. And here the Archbiſhop intreats the King that no Layman whatſoever, and leaſt of all* Companies *or* Corporations, *may under any Pretence of a Benefaction to the Church, or otherwiſe, have Power to put in, or turn out, any* Lecturer, *or other Miniſter.* To this Requeſt, the King Anſwers in theſe Words: "Certainly I "can't hold fit, that any Lay Perſon or Corpo"ration whatſoever, ſhould have the Power "theſe Men would take to themſelves. For I "will have no Prieſt have a Neceſſity of a Lay"Dependancy.

To proceed, The Biſhop of Lincoln *complains, 'tis the Cuſtom of ſome in* Bedfordſhire, *to ſtrole from their Pariſh Churches, and follow Preachers of their own Fancy: And that he had order'd his Officers to take ſtrict Notice, of their Miſbehaviour; and as for the Placing of the Communion-Table in Pariſh Churches, this Prelate declares, he takes Care of it purſuant to the* Canon. Theſe Two laſt particulars, tho' not within the Regal *Inſtructions*, the Archbiſhop takes Care to report, to do Juſtice to Biſhop *Williams*, and recommend him to his Majeſty's good Opinion. *The Biſhopricks of* Hereford *and* Bangor *were void, and no Certificates tranſmitted before the* Vacancy.

The Biſhop of Ely *certifies, that by the beſt Information he can get, none of his Majeſty's* Inſtructions *are diſobey'd in his Dioceſe.*

All theſe Biſhops, continues the Archbiſhop, agree, That all other Things (abating the Singularities above-mention'd) in his Majeſty's *Inſtructions*, are carefully obſerv'd: And particularly that Branch of them, which relates to diſcourſes upon the *prohibited Queſtions*. And laſtly, the Archbiſhop acquaints the King, that from the Dioceſes of *Saliſbury*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Glouceſter* and *Exeter*, he had as yet receiv'd no Certificate. (*n*)

And thus, I have given the *Reader* the moſt material Paſſages in this *Report*. By the Way, the Archbiſhops giving the King an annual Account of his Adminiſtration, and the Condition of his *Province*, was altogether new, (excepting *Abbot*'s laſt Year,) neither does it appear that *Neile* Archbiſhop of *York* followed the Precedent. But from hence it muſt not be inferr'd, that *Laud* was ſo far an *Eraſtian*, as to believe his Epiſcopal Authority deriv'd from the *Crown*. No; he diſclaims this Opinion at *his Tryal*. The Report therefore of theſe Matters, was only to inform his Majeſty of the State of the Church: To ingage his Countenance, and diſpoſe him to abet the Spiritual Cenſures.

I ſhall now break off the Hiſtory at *Home*, and attend the Affairs of the Church in *Ireland*. On the Fourteenth of *July* the Parliament met at *Dublin* Caſtle. Before I proceed to the *Statutes* which concern Religion, I ſhall give the *Reader* part of the *Convocations* Addreſs, for the better Maintenance of the Rural Clergy: It ſtands thus,

To

(*n*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud, *p.* 525.

To our dread Sovereign Charles, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland.

The humble Petition of his Highneſs's moſt loyal and devoted Subjects, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *Ireland* aſſembled in Convocation by his Majeſty's Special Command, *(o)*

(o) *Paper Office.*

Anno Dom. 1634. *The* Iriſh *Convocations Addreſs to the King.*

Sheweth unto your Sacred Majeſty,

That in the whole Chriſtian World, the Rural Clergy have not been reduc'd to ſuch extreme Contempt and Beggery, as in this your Highneſs's Kingdom, by the Means of the frequent Appropriations, Commendams, and violent Intruſions into their undoubted Rights in Times of Confuſion: Having their Churches ruin'd, their Habitations left deſolate, their Tythes detain'd, their Glebes conceal'd, and by inevitable Conſequence an invincible Neceſſity of a general Non-Reſidence impos'd upon them, whereby the ordinary Subject has been left wholly deſtitute of all poſſible Means to learn true Piety to God, Loyalty to their Prince, Civility towards one another, and whereby former Wars and Inſurrections have been occaſionally, both procreated and maintain'd: Whereas by ſettling a Rural Clergy, endow'd with Competency to ſerve God at his Altar, beſides the general Protection of the Almighty, which it will moſt ſurely bring upon your Majeſty and this Kingdom, Barbariſm and Superſtition will be expell'd, the Subject ſhall learn his Duty to God and his Sovereign, and true Religion be propagated.

Our moſt humble Suit is, That your Highneſs would be graciouſly pleas'd for God's Cauſe, and for his Churches Cauſe, and for the Encouragement of others by your Royal Example to ſo good a Work, to perfect the pious Intentions of your bleſſed Father, and your ſacred Majeſty, by Eſtabliſhing upon a Rural and Reſident Clergy, thoſe Appropriations which are yet in the Crown undiſpos'd. So as the ſame may bring no Diminution to your Revenue, nor conſiderable Prejudice to the Rights of the imperial Crown of this Realm, as by a Repreſentation of the true State of theſe Benefices made to the Lord Deputy, and hereunto annexed, may appear, &c.

By this Addreſs 'tis evident the King's *Letters Patent* for reſtoring Impropriations, were not fully executed.

To proceed, our Nine and thirty Articles were receiv'd by this Convocation. In the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, the *Iriſh* Church had ſettled upon a different *Belief* from the *Engliſh Reformation,* as has been already obſerv'd. The Lord Primate *Uſher* being now *Calviniſtically* inclin'd, and having a conſiderable Aſcendant over the Biſhops and Clergy, the Ratifying the *Iriſh Articles* was mov'd in both Houſes. This Point would moſt probably have been carried, had not the Buſineſs been dextrouſly manag'd by ſome Members of a different Perſuaſion. The Suggeſtion was, That theſe Articles paſs'd in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen; were already fortified, with all the Authority that Church could give them: And that a further Confirmation would imply a Defect in their Conſtitution: The Blow being thus put by, they advanc'd to a further Step, and mov'd the Primate, that for ſilencing the Papiſts Objections of Diſagreement amongſt the Proteſtants, and bringing the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Churches to a cloſer Correſpondence; to this Purpoſe they mov'd the Primate, a *Canon* might be paſs'd for approving the Articles of the Church of *England.* The Archbiſhop being gain'd to this Propoſal, the *Canon* was drawn up, and paſs'd *Nemine Contradicente,* a ſingle Vote only excepted. It ſeems one *Calviniſt* had look'd deeper than the reſt into the Matter. The *Canon* which approv'd and receiv'd the *Articles* of the Church of *England,* was couch'd in the following Words, *viz.*

Of the Agreement of the Church of *England* and *Ireland,* in the Profeſſion of the ſame Faith.

They receive the 39 *Articles of the Church of* England.

For the Manifeſtation of our Agreement with the Church of England, *in the Confeſſion of the ſame* Chriſtian Faith; *and Doctrine of the* Sacraments, We do **Receive** and *Approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole Clergy in whole Convocation holden at* London, Anno Dom. 1562. *for the Avoiding of Diverſities of Opinions, and for the Eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion. And therefore, if any hereafter ſhall affirm, that any of thoſe Articles are in any part Superſtitious and erroneous, or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience ſubſcribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not abſolved before he makes a publick Revocation of his Error.* (p)

(p) Bibl. Reg. Sect. 3. Num. 13.

It has been affirm'd that the *Iriſh Articles* abovemention'd, were formally null'd by this *Convocation.* But in Diſproof of this Aſſertion, Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Teſtimony is cited by a conſiderable Hiſtorian. *(q)* However, this entire Receiving the *Nine* and *thirty Articles,* without the leaſt Reſerve, implies a vertual Abrogating their *Own:* This, I ſay, is the neceſſary Conſequence, as far as there is any Inconſiſtency between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Articles.* For this *Canon* being the laſt Act of the *Iriſh* Church, it muſt like a laſt *Will,* ſtand in force againſt all Prior Declarations of a contrary Import.

(q) L'Eſtrange's *Hiſtory of the Reign of King* Charles.

Biſhop Uſher's *Life, by* Parr. *pag.* 42.

To go on to the Parliament at *Dublin.* I ſhall begin with the *Act* for confirming Eight entire *Subſidies,* granted by the Prelates and Clergy. The Preamble of this Grant addreſs'd to the King, ſets forth the miſerable Condition of the Church of *Ireland,* at King *James* his Acceſſion to the Throne. And here, after having repreſented the Calamity of the Clergy, much in the ſame Manner already mention'd in their *Petition,* they proceed to this Acknowledgment, That **now** (to uſe their own Words) **by the Piety and Bounty of your bleſſed Father, and by the gracious Influence of your ſacred Majeſty, being new enlivened, and Beginning to lift up our Heads out of Darkneſs and Obſcurity, do freely Acknowledge to your immoꝛtal Gloꝛy, befoꝛe God and the whole Chꝛiſtian Woꝛld, that as no Church under Heaven did ever ſtand moꝛe in need, ſo none did ever find moꝛe Royal and Munificent Patrons and Pꝛotectoꝛs, than the pooꝛ Church of** Ireland. **You have not only made Reſtitution of that which the Iniquity of foꝛmer Ages had bereft us of. But alſo as though you intended to expiate their Faults, enriched us with New and Pꝛincely Endowments: All which great Favours do yet become moꝛe ſweet unto us, whilſt we entertain them as Pledges of your future unexhauſted Goodneſs: And if we do not ſeriouſly endeavour thꝛoughout our whole Lives, to make unfained Expꝛeſſions of true Loyalty and Thankfulneſs to your ſacred Majeſty, we deſerve to be condemned by Men, and puniſhed by God, as Monſters of Ingratitude. To which infinite Obligations, and many others, we may add your Majeſty's ineſtimable Goodneſs, in pꝛoviding foꝛ us your pꝛeſent Deputy,** Thomas **Viſcount** Wentworth, **a Governour ſo Juſt, Careful, Pꝛovident and Pꝛopitious to the Church.** (r)

Their Acknowlegement to the King.

(r) Iriſh *Acts* 10 Car. 1. cap. 23.

This *Parliament* at their next *Seſſion,* begun, after Prorogation, on the 24th of *March,* paſs'd an *Act* againſt Curſing and Swearing. 'Tis much the

Iriſh *Acts relating to the Church.*

Laud (William) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

Id. cap. 1.

Id. cap. 2.

the ſame with that made in *England* in the 21ſt Year of King *James*, *cap.* 20. Another Proviſion with Reference to Religion in the *Iriſh* Parliament, is *an Act to enable the Reſtitution of Impropriations and Tythes, and other Rights Eccleſiaſtical to the Clergy, with a Reſtraint of alienating the ſame.* The next *Act*, which is the laſt, I ſhall mention. Provides *for the Preſervation of the Inheritance, Rights, and Profits belonging to the Church and Perſons Eccleſiaſtical.* By this *Statute*, "All Feoffments, Gifts, Grants, Leaſes, Alienations, *&c.* made or done after the Firſt Day of *June* next enſuing, by any Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Maſters and Governors and Fellows of Colleges, and Maſters of Hoſpitals, of any Manors, Lands, Tenements, *&c.* being Parcel of the Poſſeſſion of any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, *&c.* ſhall be utterly void and of none Effect. This *Statute* has ſome Proviſo's, which are too long to mention.

Id. cap 3.

To return to *England*; This Year the City Clergy petition'd the King for the Benefit of the Law, and the due Payment of their Tythes,

Humbly Shewing,

The London *Clergy's Petition for the due Payment of their Tythes.*

(s) *See* 37 H.8. cap. 12.

That the Benefices in London, *were a Hundred Years ſince very great, That the Decree now in Force provides Two Shillings and Nine-pence to be paid upon every Pound Rent, without Fraud*; (s) *That notwithſtanding the ſaid Decree (the Variation of Times conſider'd) they are now very poor and mean, many of them not worth* 40 l. per Annum, *the moſt not* 100 l. *only one*; Chriſt-Church, *a City Impropriation, worth* 350 l. *That the Petitioners have not independent Maintenance, and for want thereof, are daily thruſt upon dangerous and great Inconveniencies: That this is becauſe the Petitioners have no Means aſſigned in the ſaid Decree, for the Diſcovering of the true Value of their ſaid Rents by the Oath of the Parties, and for that many* London *Landlords (to the Defeating the Petitioners, and indangering their own Souls) have, and daily do, contrive double Leaſes, or make Proviſo's, wherein they call ſome ſmall Part of the true Rent, by the Name of* Rent, *and all the reſt (which yet is quarterly paid) by the Name of Fine, Income, or the like; which Practice in the Year 1620, was ſignified to be unjuſt and ſacrilegious, under the Hands of the Reverend Biſhops, and Heads of Houſes of both* Univerſities. *And laſtly, for that the Lord* Mayor *for the Time being is our ordinary Judge; and the Petitioners generally Want both Ability and Leiſure to proſecute an appeal from him to the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper, or otherwiſe to wage Law with rich and powerful Citizens.*

"May it therefore pleaſe the great Patron of the Church, your Royal Majeſty, to take into your Princely Conſideration theſe Preſſures and Grievances of your poor Clergy of *London*, with the Cauſes of the ſame: And to take ſuch Courſe for Redreſs thereof, as to your Majeſty's great Wiſdom and Clemency ſhall ſeem meet.

And your Petitioners ſhall, &c. (t)

(t) Ruſhworth's *Collect. Vol.* 2. *pag.* 269.

The Matter referr'd to the Privy Council and ſinks there.

Idem.

This *Petition* was graciouſly receiv'd, and ſeveral of the Privy *Council* were appointed to conſider it. About Five Months after they came to a Hearing, and the Matter was referr'd by the Parties to the King and *Council*. But, in ſhort, the Buſineſs ſunk with the *Referees*: Prudential Conſiderations, (as they are call'd,) ſtruck the Cauſe dead: And the *Board*, 'tis probable, was not willing to venture diſobliging the City with a Deciſion.

Charles I. K.

This Year the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* began his metropolitical *Viſitation* in the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*; and in the Firſt Place, the Biſhop and the Six Archdeacons were ſuſpended the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction; during the Time of this *Viſitation*. Biſhop *Williams* at firſt refus'd to acknowledge this Archiepiſcopal Privilege, and pretended a *Papal* Exemption. But the Buſineſs being brought before the *Council Board*, and the Records of either Side examin'd, this Plea was found inſufficient. This Obſtruction being got over, *Brent* the Vicar-General goes on with the Viſitation, and purſuant to his *Articles*, enjoins the Church-Wardens to remove the Communion-Table to the Eaſt End of the Chancel, and incloſe it with a decent Rail. He gave them further in Charge, that they were to return the Names of the *Lecturers* in their reſpective Pariſhes: And whether thoſe *Lecturers*, and the reſt of the Preaching Clergy, obſerv'd his Majeſty's *Inſtructions*, publiſh'd in the Year, 1629.

Conteſts about placing the Communion-Table.

The bringing the Communion-Table into the Chancel, which ſituation had been long diſcontinued in ſeveral Places, occaſion'd a warm Conteſt, both in this Dioceſe and elſewhere. As to Biſhop *Williams*, he ſeems formerly to have been entirely in *Laud*'s Sentiment. For in his own Chapel at *Bugden*, the Communion-Table was plac'd at the Eaſt End, where the Altar ſtood before: The Table ſtood in the ſame Poſture in his Cathedral of *Lincoln*, and in the collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter*, where he was *Dean*. But now he chang'd his Opinion in ſome Meaſure, and gave Orders for railing in the Communion-Table in the Middle of the Chancel, and not at the Eaſt End. And to ſupport his Practice, he writes Two *Tracts* upon the Controverſy; one entituled, *A Letter to the Vicar of* Grantham, and the other call'd, *Holy Table, Name and Thing.* Both theſe Performances were anſwer'd by Doctor *Heylin*.

The Factories, &c. *conform to the* Engliſh *Liturgy.*

June 1634.

And now Archbiſhop *Laud* had procured an Order of *Council* for bringing the *Engliſh Factories* and Forces in *Holland* to a Conformity with the *Liturgy*. 'Twas the ſame in Subſtance with the *Conſiderations* laid before the *Board*, already mention'd. This *Order* gain'd the laſt Winter, was executed this Year.

And the Number of the Engliſh *Merchants being conſiderable in* Holland, and particularly at *Delph*. The Archbiſhop wrote the following Letter to the Factory there.

Archbiſhop Laud's *Letter to the Factory at* Delph.

After our hearty Commendations, &c. *We are commanded by his Majeſty to ſignify unto you, That this Bearer, Mr.* Beaumont, *choſen by joint Conſent of your Company, to be your Preacher at* Delph, *or where elſe you ſhall at any Time reſide, is a Man learned, ſober and conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *and that you are to receive him with all decent and courteous Uſage, fitting his Perſon and Calling, and to allow him the uſual ancient Stipend, which Mr.* Forbes *lately, or any other before him, hath received. And further we are to let you know, that it is his Majeſty's expreſs Command, that both you, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant that is, or ſhall be reſiding in thoſe Parts beyond the Seas, do conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Diſcipline ſetled in the Church of* England: *And that they frequent the* Common-Prayers *with all Religious Duty and Reverence at all Times required, as well as they do Sermons. And that out of your Company, you do yearly about* Eaſter, *as the Canons preſcribe, name Two* Church-Wardens, *and Two* Sides-Men, *which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an Account according to their Office. And*

And Mr. Beaumont *himſelf is hereby to take Notice, that his Majeſty's expreſs Pleaſure and Command to him is, that he do punctually keep and obſerve all the Orders of the Church of* England, *as they are preſcribed in the* Canons *and the* Rubricks *of the* Liturgy. *And that if any of your Company ſhall ſhew themſelves refractory to this Ordinance of his Majeſty (which we hope will not be) he is to certify the Name, of any ſuch Offender, and his Offence to the Lord Biſhop of* London *for the Time being, who is to take Order, and give Remedy accordingly. And theſe Letters you are to regiſter and keep by you, that they which come after may underſtand what Care his Majeſty hath taken for the well ordering of your* Company *in Church Affairs. And you are likewiſe to deliver a Copy of theſe Letters to Mr.* Beaumont, *and to every Succeſſor of his reſpectively, that he and they may know what his Majeſty expects from them, and be the more inexcuſable if they diſobey. Thus, not doubting but that you will ſhew your ſelves very reſpectful to theſe his Majeſty's Commands, we leave you to the Grace of God, and reſt*

Your very Loving Friend,

June 17. 1634.

W. Canterbury.

The ſame Directions, as to the Main, were ſent to the Factory at *Hamburgh*, and all other Places of Trade, and Plantations, where the *Engliſh* were ſettled: Ambaſſadors Families were likewiſe put under the ſame Regulation for *Divine Service.* (*t*)

The Nonconformiſts in New-England *erect* a Calviniſtick *Church.*

But notwithſtanding this *Order* was generally receiv'd in the four great Diviſions of the World, *New-England* was ſomewhat of an Exception. The *Diſſenters*, who tranſported themſelves thither, eſtabliſhed their own Fancy, and form'd a Church this Year upon *Calvin*'s Model. (*u*)

As for the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *England*, they ſtruggled for a Spiritual Independency; but at laſt finding the Diſcipline and Worſhip of the Church preſs'd ſtrongly upon them, they ſeem'd to acquieſce; and complied ſo far as to publiſh the Archbiſhop's *Injunction* (already mentioned) in their Aſſemblies, through this whole Province. *Neile*, Archbiſhop of *York*, held 'em to ſtricter Terms, allow'd no Indulgence to thoſe of the firſt Deſcent, and denied them the Uſe of any Juriſdiction of their own Eſtabliſhment. (*w*)

This Year *Thomas Cooke*, Batchelor of Divinity, Fellow of *Brazen-Noſe* in *Oxford*, had, in a *Latin* Sermon, exceeded the Bounds preſcribed in the King's *Injunctions*, and run out upon the *Quinquarticular* Controverſy: For this Misbehaviour he made a publick Recantation: And notwithſtanding his Diſcourſe was bending toward the Puritan Side of the Queſtion, he afterwards ſtood clear of that Byaſs, and died a very Orthodox Member of the Church of *England.* (*x*)

From the Archbiſhop's Report of the Affairs of his *Province* this Year, I ſhall only obſerve his acquainting the King, that in all the Dioceſſes he had viſited, the lamentable Snbſiſtence of the poor Vicars was a general Grievance: And which was a harder Circumſtance in this Calamity, the Vicars in great Market Towns, where the Congregations were very numerous, had commonly the ſlendereſt Proviſion. By the reſt of this Annual *Account*, it appears, the *Province* ſtood much in the ſame Condition 'twas in the laſt Year, and therefore I ſhall omit the Recital: Only thus much may be obſerved, that Conformity came forward, and the Church gain'd Ground upon the *Puritan* Party. (*y*)

Jan. 2*d*. Ann. Dom. $163\frac{4}{5}$.

To proceed, the Metropolitical *Viſitation* was continued from Year to Year, till the whole *Province* was gone through. The *Vicar General Brent* having given the Charge, and allow'd the Church-wardens Time for returning their Certificates, left the further Management to their reſpective Biſhops. And here the placing the Communion-Table at the Eaſt End of the Chancel was not every where underſtood; particularly, this *Viſitation-Article* was not carried without Conteſt in the Dioceſſes of *Litchfield* and *London*: *Pierce*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, had better Succeſs. To make this Alteration paſs ſmoothly, he endeavoured to convince his People of the Reaſonableneſs of it. “ He ſuggeſted, 'twas ordered by Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Injunctions*, that the Communion-Table ſhould ſtand in the Place of the Altar; that there ought to be ſome Difference between placing the Lord's Table in the Church, and that of a Common Table for eating in our own Houſes: That 'twas not decent the People ſhould ſit above God's Table, or above his Miniſter the Prieſt, when he conſecrates: That by this Situation of the Communion-Table at the Eaſt End, the Chancel would be enlarged, and more Room left for the Communicants. That the Prieſt officiating upon an Aſcent would be ſeen and heard to more Advantage, than if the Table ſtood upon a Level in the Middle: That 'twas highly proper the Parochial Churches ſhould conform to the Cuſtom of their reſpective Cathedrals. And laſtly, that being fenced with a Rail in this Situation, would be the only way to ſecure it from Prophanation and Common Buſineſs.

Ann. Dom. 1635.

Ancient Uſages retrieved in the Cathedrals, and elſewhere.

And thus by convincing their Underſtandings, before he commanded their Practice, he reconciled a great Part of his Dioceſs to this commendable Uſage.

The Archbiſhop went on to the Regulation of Cathedrals, for a Precedent to the reſt. And here in one half of the *Sees*, want of Force and full Direction in the *Statutes*, occaſion'd Confuſion. Of the Twenty-ſix *Sees* in *England* and *Wales*, Thirteen are founded in *Secular Canons*; and of theſe I have given a Recital in the former Part of this *Work*. Theſe Churches of the old Foundation, as they are call'd, were well furniſh'd with *Statutes*, and excepting *Hereford*, wanted no Aſſiſtance this way: The other Moiety ſtanding originally on Monaſtick *Orders*, being diſſolv'd by King *Henry* the Eighth, were new founded with a Dean and *Chapter* of *Secular* Prieſts. Under this laſt Diviſion, the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Norwich*, and the four new Biſhopricks of *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Glouceſter*, and *Briſtol*, together with thoſe of *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*, in the other *Province*, are to be reckoned. For each of theſe Cathedrals of the new Foundation, a Body of Statutes were drawn, but neither carried to a full length, nor confirm'd in the Forms of Law. The Meaſures of Conduct lying thus uncertain, occaſioned frequent Claſhes between the Dean and Prebendaries; the Deans pretending to a more Arbitrary Government than the *Chapters* were willing to acknowledge. The perfecting theſe Regulations, and bringing the Cathedrals to a better Harmony, was projected by the Archbiſhop: And in all likelihood he had gone thorough with this worthy Undertaking, had he not been diſabled by the publick Diſturbances.

Different Regulations in the Cathedrals of the old and new Foundations.

A new Body of Statutes provided for the Church at Canterbury.

However, he made ſomething of an Eſſay, and loſt no Time while the Seaſon laſted: And to

---

(*t*) Cyprian Anglic.

(*u*) *See Records, numb.* CXI.

(*w*) Cyprian Anglic. *pag.* 280.

(*x*) Wood's *Hiſt.* & Antiq. Univer. Oxon.

(*y*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

recommend his Method, he began his Reformation with his own Cathedral at *Canterbury*; and here he found Things in a tolerable Order: The Table was plac'd at the Eaſt End of the Choir, and bowing us'd towards it, by the Appointment of the *Dean* and *Chapter*. This Decency and Devotion being thus far ſettled, he advanc'd another Step, and ordered new Ornaments of Plate and Hangings for the Furniture of the Altar, and to keep Things from relapſing into Negligence and Diſuſe, he drew a new Body of Statutes for the Cathedral, and got them confirmed under the *Broad Seal*. By one Article in theſe Statutes, the Deans, Prebendaries and Officers, were oblig'd by Oath to worſhip God, by bowing towards the Altar at their coming in, and going out of the Choir. Reſembling Regulations were made this Year by the *Vicar General*, at *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter*; where Directions were given to provide four Copes, to rail in the Communion-Table, to place it in the Altar-Situation, to bow towards it, and conſtantly read the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* at it. The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he threw them into a new Form, and ſent them down fortify'd with the *Broad Seal*. "By this "Regulation the Prebendaries were bound to "officiate on Sundays and Holy-days in their "Copes: To ſtand up at the Creeds, Goſpel and "*Doxologies*: To bow at the Name of Jeſus, and "towards the Altar, and not ſuffer any Perſon to be cover'd in the Church; and that the "Prayer before their Sermons ſhould be made "purſuant to the Fifty-fifth *Canon*. By theſe Appointments we may collect how far this Cathedral had warp'd towards *Puritaniſm*, and gone off from the Rules of the Church. This Reformation was carried through other Dioceſſes: And thus, by degrees, Religion appear'd more venerable, and the Cathedrals were recover'd to their Ancient Splendor and Solemnity.

The Biſhops Davenant *and* Morton *of the Archbiſhop's Opinion in two Inſtances.*

After all, the Archbiſhop was not ſingular in placing the Communion-Table, and worſhipping towards the Altar: For *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, and *Morton* of *Durham*, two Biſhops altogether unſuſpected of any Byaſs towards Popery, were of the ſame Sentiment. For the Purpoſe, there happening a Diſpute between the Parſon and Church-wardens, in *Wiltſhire*, about placing the Communion-Table, the Buſineſs was referr'd to Biſhop *Davenant*, who determin'd in Favour of the Incumbent: And by a Decree under his Epiſcopal Seal, order'd the Table ſhould ſtand in the Place of the Altar: In this Decree there are two remarkable Paſſages: Firſt, *That by the Injunctions of Queen* Elizabeth, *and by the Thirty ſecond Canon under King* James, *the Communion-Tables ſhould ordinarily be ſet, and ſtand with the Side to the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel.* And Secondly, *That it is Ignorance to think that the ſtanding of the Table in that Place does reliſh of Popery.* (z)

Further, for Adoration towards the Table, Biſhop *Morton*'s Teſtimony is a ſufficient Purgation. This Prelate, in a *Tract* againſt the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, founded upon the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, has theſe Words: "The like Difference, ſays he, may be diſcern'd between their "Manner of Reverence in bowing towards the "Altar for Adoration of the *Euchariſt* only, and "ours in bowing, as well when there is no "*Euchariſt* on the Table, as when there is, "which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to "the Lord of the Table, to teſtify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the People of God did in adoring him before the Ark his *Footſtool*, Pſalm 99.

To take off ſome hard Imputations upon the King's *Declaration*, concerning *lawful Sports*, two Books were publiſhed againſt the *Calvinian* Party; one of them was written by *White*, Biſhop of *Ely*, a Learned Prelate, who had ſignalized himſelf againſt the *Papiſts* in Defence of the *Reformation*: His Book going on the argumentative and ſcholaſtick Part, was entituled, *A Treatiſe of the Sabbath-day, containing a Defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of* England *againſt Sabbatarian Novelty.* The other *Tract* call'd, *The Hiſtory of the Sabbath*, was written by Dr. *Heylin*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*: The Deſign is to ſhew the Practice of the Church through all Ages: In his firſt Part he takes his Riſe from the Creation of the World, and reports Matter of Fact, to the Deſtruction of the *Temple*. His ſecond Part begins with the Hiſtory of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and comes down to the Year One thouſand ſix hundred thirty-three, when the reading the King's *Declaration* was enjoin'd the Clergy. This Book muſt be confeſs'd a Learned Performance, but that the Author has not puſh'd the Controverſy towards an Extream, and encouraged too great a Liberty, is more than I dare determine.

A Book of Canons for the Scotch Church *publiſhed.*

About this Time the *Scotch* Biſhops were employed in drawing a Book of *Canons*, and forming a *Liturgy* for the Uſe of that Church. The *Canons* being finiſhed in the firſt Place, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give theſe Reaſons in his *large Declaration*, for ſetting them forth.

"*Firſt*, he thought it neceſſary ſome Book, comprizing the Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Government, "ſhould be publiſhed: That by this Means there "might be a fixed Meaſure for ſtating the Power "of the Clergy, and the Practice of the *Laity*. "*Secondly*, That the *Acts* of their *Aſſemblies* being "only in Manuſcript, would not reach the Generalty: Beſides, theſe Records were ſo bulky "and voluminous, that the tranſcribing them was "almoſt impracticable: And thus few, even of "the Presbyters could pronounce upon the Authority of the Copies, and diſtinguiſh between genuine, and interpolated Paſſages: Beſides, the "Removing of them from one Cuſtody to another, and lodging them ſo uncertainly, they "ſcarcely knew where to apply for Information. "*Thirdly*, That by reducing theſe Regulations "to a leſſer Compaſs, and laying them open to "publick View, no Body could miſcarry through "Ignorance, or complain of being over-charged. "And, *Laſtly*, That not one in that Kingdom governed his Practice by the Acts of thoſe *General Aſſemblies*.

Bibl. Reg. Sect. 2. Num. IX.

The *Canons* being drawn upon this View, and preſented to his Majeſty, he ſigned a Warrant to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him and *Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, to examine this Draught; to alter and reform at Diſcretion, and bring it as near as might be to a Conformity with the *Engliſh Canons*. Theſe two Biſhops having executed the King's Orders, and prepared a Book for the Preſs, the King confirmed it under the Great Seal. The *Inſtrument* ſets forth, that *his Majeſty by his Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, ratifies and confirms the ſaid* Canons, Orders and Conſtitutions, *and all and every thing in them contained, And ſtrictly commands all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to ſee them punctually obſerved* *.

(z) *Archbiſhop's Speech*, June 16th, 1637.

* *Theſe Letters Patents are dated at* Greenwich, May 23d, 1635. Bibl. Reg. Sect. 2. Num. II.

When

The Scotch *Miniſters Exceptions againſt the Matter.*

When theſe *Canons* were publiſhed, the *Scotch* Preſbyters declared againſt them: Their Objections were of two Sorts; they diſliked the *Matter* enjoyned, and the *Manner* of impoſing them. The *Canons* rejected upon the Score of the *Matter*, were chiefly theſe following. They neither underſtood the Aſſertions of ſome, nor the Injunctions of the reſt. The *Canons* conteſted were,

“(1.) That whoever ſhould affirm the King's Majeſty, had not the ſame Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that the godly Kings had among the *Jews*, (*tho' without Queſtion the ungodly ones had the ſame*) or the Chriſtian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any Part his Royal Supremacy in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, was to incur the Cenſure of Excommunication.

“(2.) The like Cenſure was to paſs upon thoſe who ſhould affirm the Worſhip contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; or that the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* contained any Thing repugnant to the Scriptures; or was corrupt, ſuperſtitious, or unlawful in the Service and Worſhip of God.

“(3.) That Ordinations were reſtrained to four Times of the Year, that is, the firſt Weeks of *March*, *June*, *September* and *December*.

“(4.) That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon at his Admiſſion, ſhould take the Oath of Supremacy, according to the Form required by Parliament; and the like Oath for avoiding Simony, required in the Book of Conſecration.

“(5.) That every *Preſbyter* ſhall either by himſelf, or by another Perſon lawfully called, read or cauſe Divine Service to be done, according to the Form of the Book of the *Scottiſh* Common-Prayer, before all Sermons; and that he ſhould officiate by the ſaid Book of Common-Prayer, in all the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it.

“(6.) That no Preacher ſhould impugn the Doctrine delivered by another in the ſame Church, or any adjacent one, without Leave from the Biſhop.

“(7.) That no *Preſbyter* ſhould hereafter be Cautioner or Surety for any Perſon whatſoever, in Civil Bonds or Contracts, under the Penalty of Suſpenſion.

“(8.) That the Remainder of the Bread and Wine, prepared for the Communion, ſhould be given to the poorer Sort of thoſe, who received that Day, and which was to be eat and drank by them before they went out of the Church.

“(9.) Preſbyters are enjoyned to adminiſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm, without Diſtinction of Days in Caſe of Sickneſs and Danger: And the People are required to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a kneeling Poſture.

“(10.) That in all Sentences of Separation, *à Thoro & Menſâ*, there ſhall be a Condition inſerted, and Security given: That the Perſons divorced ſhall live regularly and unlicentiouſly, and not marry again during each others Life.

“(11.) That no private Meeting be held by Preſbyters, or any other Perſons, whatſoever, for expounding Scripture, or debating Matters Eccleſiaſtical: Things of this Nature being only to be diſcuſſed in Synods of Biſhops.

“(12.) That, under the Penalty of Excommunication, no Preſbyter or Layman, jointly or ſeverally, ſhall be allowed to make Rules, Orders or Conſtitutions, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: Or to add, or take away, from any Rubricks, Articles, or other Things now eſtabliſhed, without the Authority of the King, or his Succeſſors.

“(13.) That National or General Aſſemblies are to be called only by the King's Authority; And that the Decrees of ſuch Aſſemblies in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, ſhould bind the Abſent: And that it ſhould not be lawful for the Biſhops themſelves in ſuch Aſſemblies, or elſewhere, to alter any Article, Rubrick, Canon Doctrinal, or Diſciplinary, without his Majeſty's Leave firſt had and obtained.

“(14.) That no Man ſhould be covered in Time of Divine Service, unleſs with a Cap or Night-Coif, in Caſe of ill Health: And that all Perſons ſhall reverently kneel, at the Reading the Confeſſion, and other Prayers, and ſtand up at the Creed.

“(15.) That no *Preſbyter*, or Reader, ſhall be permitted to pray *Extempore*, or uſe any other Form in the Publick Service, than that preſcribed, under the Penalty of Deprivation.

“(16.) That all *Preſbyters*, and Preachers, ſhall exhort the People to join with them in Prayer, uſing ſome few and ſuitable Expreſſions, and always concluding with the Lord's-Prayer.

“(17.) That no Perſon ſhould teach either in publick Schools, or private Houſes, unleſs licenced by the Archbiſhop of the Province, or by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, under their Hand and Seal: And that none are thus to be licenced, unleſs Men of Orthodox Belief, and Conformity, to the Orders of the Church.

“(18.) That none ſhould be admitted to read in any College, without qualifying themſelves by taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

“(19.) That nothing ſhall be printed, unleſs firſt peruſed and allowed by the *Viſitors*, appointed for that Purpoſe; the Penalty of Contravention being left (as in all other Caſes where no Penalty is expreſſed) to the Diſcretion of the Biſhops.

“(20.) That no publick Faſts ſhall be appointed upon *Sundays* (as has beeen Cuſtomary) and that the Appointment of ſuch Humiliations be made by none but his Majeſty.

“(21.) That for adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm, a Font ſhall be prepared and fixed near the Church Porch, according to ancient Uſage: That a fine Linen Cloth ſhould likewiſe be provided for this Purpoſe, and all decently kept.

“ *(22.)* That a decent Table for celebrating the Holy Communion ſhould be provided, and ſet at the upper End of the Chancel or Church: That at the Time of Divine Service the Table ſhall be covered with a handſome Stuff Carpet; and when the Holy Euchariſt is adminiſtered with a white Linnen Cloth: And that Baſons, Cups or Chalices, of ſome fine Metal, ſhall be provided to furniſh the Communion Table, and uſed only for that Purpoſe,

“ (23.) That ſuch Biſhops and Presbyters, as ſhall happen to die without Iſſue, ſhall leave their Effects, or a great Part of them to pious Uſes: And in Caſe they had Iſſue, they ſhould beſtow ſome Legacies as a Mark of their Affection upon the Church, and for promoting the Intereſt of Religion.

“ *(24.)* That no Sentence of Excommunication ſhould be pronounced, or Abſolution given by any Presbyter, without the Leave and Approbation of the Biſhop: And that no *Presbyter* ſhould diſcover any Thing told him in Confeſſion, to any Perſon whatſoever, excepting the Crime is ſuch, that by the Laws of the Realm, his own Life may be in Danger by concealing it.

“ *(25.)* And, *laſtly*, That no Perſon ſhall be admitted to Holy Orders, nor ſuffered to preach, catechize, adminiſter the Sacraments, or perform any other Eccleſiaſtical Function, without firſt ſubſcribing the Canons.

And now to Inſtance in ſome of the particular Objections, with Reference to the twenty-five Canons already recited. They complained that the firſt, the twelfth, and the thirteenth, mounted the *Regale*, to an Exceſſive Pitch; And left the Kirk, and by Conſequence the Chriſtian Religion, at the Mercy of the *Civil* Government: That the ſecond, fourth, fifth and fifteenth *Canons*, referred to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, which was not yet finiſhed, or at leaſt not publiſhed. Now the urging Subſcription to a Book not extant, and which they had never ſeen, was tying them up too implicitly, and a Hardſhip upon Conſcience and Underſtanding. By what was enjoined in the ſixth *Canon*, they thought themſelves obliged to reſign too far, to the Judgment and Authority of the Biſhops. The tenth *Canon*, touching Divorce, they conceived not well-founded, becauſe it gave no Preference to the Innocent Party; but put both the Injuring and Injured, under the ſame Reſtraints. They diſliked the ſixteenth, pretending themſelves bound to the Form of *Bidding Prayer*, preſcribed in *Our* fifty fifth *Canon*: Which was in Effect, they ſaid to ſubject them to the Diſcipline of a Foreign Church. Againſt the Reſt they remonſtrated in General, that the Biſhops were eſtabliſhed in too abſolute a Juriſdiction, and that Papal Idolatry was revived upon them. In ſhort, their Exceptions were ſome of them with, and ſome of them without Reaſon. Thus far for the *Matter*: But then as for the *Manner*, they had ſtronger Colours for Complaint.

And the Manner of impoſing theſe Canons.

For they never were publickly debated in their *Aſſemblies*, the paſſing them was never put to the Queſtion, but impoſed without their Conſent. This Method of Proceeding, it muſt be ſaid, was ſomewhat unprecedented, and contrary to the Uſage of the Church. Theſe Meaſures were extremely ſhocking in *Scotland*: In this Kingdom, the Presbyters had formerly diſowned the King's Supremacy in the Extent maintained by the *Canons*: The Miniſters were ſo far from complying to this Length, that they aſſerted an Independent Power in the Church, for convening their *Aſſemblies*: And that the Decrees made there were binding without any Confirmation from the *Crown*. And therefore, to have Points of Belief preſcribed, and Rules of Religious Practice ſet them by the Prerogative, was looked on as intolerable Vaſſalage. But not to inſiſt any further upon theſe Exceptions, 'twas thought by moderate People, that the Publiſhing the *Canons* before the *Common-Prayer*, was beginning at the wrong End: That the requiring Submiſſion to Things unſeen, alarmed the People to a Jealouſy of wild Innovation, gave them Time to improve their Prejujudice, and form Parties againſt the *Liturgy*, when it appeared. Whereas had the *Common-Prayer* come out firſt, it might have met with a ſmoother Paſſage, and the *Canons* been leſs critically examined.

Archbiſhop Laud *promotes a Collection for the* Palatine *Miniſters.*

To go back to *England*: The laſt Year the Archbiſhop receiving Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* (as they called her) about promoting a Collection for the baniſhed Miniſters of the *Palatinate*; ſollicited ſo ſtrongly with the King, that he granted *Letters Patent*, to paſs through the Kingdom for this Purpoſe. This *Brief* being brought to the Archbiſhop for Direction and Conveyance, he excepted againſt the wording of the following *Clauſe*, which ſtands thus: *Whoſe Caſes are the more to be deplored, for that this Extremity is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Conſtancy in the true Religion, which we, together with them, profeſſed, and which we are all bound in Conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of our Powers: Whereas theſe religious and godly Perſons being involved among other their Countrymen, might have enjoyed their Eſtates and Fortunes, if with other Back-ſliders in the Times of Tryal, they would have ſubmitted themſelves to the* Anti-Chriſtian *Yoke, and have renounced or diſſembled the Profeſſion of the true Religion.*

He excepts againſt two Clauſes in the Letters Patent, and why?

Upon the Reading this Paſſage, there were two Things which embaraſs'd the Archbiſhop. *Firſt*, The Religion of the *Palatine* Churches was affirmed to be the ſame with *Ours*: This Aſſertion is what *Laud* could not digeſt. He knew the *Five Points* were held by theſe Reformers in the *Sublapſarian* Senſe: That theſe *Palatines* maintained a Parity in the Clergy in direct Contradiction to the Doctrine and Government of the *Engliſh* Church. And that their Profeſſor of Divinity, *Paræus*, formerly mentioned, aſſerts a Power in the inferior Magiſtracy, to controul and reſiſt the Prince: And that this Divine paſſing uncenſured in his own Country, was ſuppoſed to have delivered more than his private Opinion. Now, not to repeat the reſt, the Archbiſhop was well aſſured this laſt Doctrine was Point-blank againſt the *Homilies*: In which, Reſiſtance of the Supreme Magiſtrate is condemned in the moſt deciſive Terms imaginable: And that without any Exception or Reſervation whatſoever. For theſe Reaſons the Archbiſhop did not believe this Part of the Clauſe defenſible, “That the Religion of the *Palatines* was the ſame with ours, and that we ought to maintain it to the utmoſt of our Power.” To which may be added, that the *Palatine* Miniſters were in the ſame Condition with the *Genevians*: They had no Epiſcopal Ordination, by Conſequence are ſelf-originated, and without any authoritative *Miſſion*: And being thus eſſentially defective in their Character, what Right can they pretend to repreſent our Saviour, and ſeal Covenants in his Name?

The other exceptionable Paſſage in the *Letters Patent*, was calling Communion with the Church of *Rome*, *An Anti-Chriſtian Yoke*. Now this has the Appearance of an intemperate Cenſure, and is more than is determined in the Church of *England*. Thoſe who drew theſe *Letters Patent* ſeemed not to have been aware, that the Orders in the Church of *England* are derived from the Church of *Rome*: If therefore the Church of *Rome* is an *Anti-Chriſtian Society*, her Authority is gone, and her Privileges forfeited; by Conſequence ſhe is in no Capacity to convey Sacerdotal Power in *Ordinations*: From whence the next Inference is, that the Benefit of the Prieſthood, and the Force of Holy Miniſtrations, muſt be loſt in the *Engliſh* Church. Upon theſe Conſiderations, as may be reaſonably conjectured, the Archbiſhop was ſhocked with the *Brief*. And therefore, to prevent the Miſchief which might enſue, he acquainted the King with theſe crude Paſſages. His Majeſty being ſatisfied with *Laud*'s Objections, gave Orders for expunging *the Clauſe* in a new Draught: And now the *Letters Patent* being couched in defenſible Expreſſions, the Archbiſhop promoted the Collection (*a*).

July 26. 1635.

Penalties of the Act againſt Swearing given to the Poor.

In *July* this Summer, a *Proclamation* was publiſhed againſt prophane Swearing and Curſing, purſuaut to an *Act* in the late Reign (*b*). An Office was likewiſe erected for receiving the Penalty of the *Statute*. The Monies ariſing from thence was to be paid to the reſpective Biſhops, and diſtributed among the Poor where the Offender dwelt (*c*).

The King continued his Care for recovering the Clergy of *Scotland* to a competent Maintenance, and retrieving the Patrimony of the Church: But to prevent haſty Steps, and uncautious Management in that Country, *Laud* wrote to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, to proceed warily, to wait for Opportunities, and not precipitate Matters: For that at preſent, Things were ſomewhat unripe, and not prepared for any free Motion (*d*).

Juxon *Biſhop of* London, *made Lord Treaſurer.*

In the latter End of this Year, *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, was made Lord Treaſurer; 'twas by *Laud*'s Intereſt the *Staff* was put in his Hand. This Office being a Place of the greateſt Benefit in the Kingdom, and not executed by a Churchman ſince the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was grudged *Juxon*, and heightned the great Mens Diſguſt againſt *Laud*. However, the Archbiſhop being well aſſured of *Juxon*'s Integrity, and believing his being put in this Poſt would be a Service to the *Exchequer*, and ſtrengthen the Church's Intereſt, he reſolved to ſtand the Event of recommending to ſo invidious a Preferment. As for Capacity to manage the Buſineſs, *Juxon* was not ill furniſhed. For *Laud*, who had lately been joined in Commiſſion for the *Treaſury*, had given him Inſtructions. And as for the Conduct of this Biſhop, he was every Way equal to the Employment, and managed to great Commendation. But whether the Archbiſhop found his Account in bringing him to this Place of Truſt and Profit, will bear a Queſtion. For ſome great Courtiers being diſappointed in ſo conſiderable an Expectation, diſreliſhed the Biſhops, and fell off to the *Puritan* Party.

The Archbiſhop's Annual Account of his Province.

To conclude this Year with the Archbiſhop's Account of the State of his *Province* to the King. As to his own Dioceſs, he complained “the *French* and *Dutch* Churches at *Canterbury*, *Maidſtone*, and *Sandwich*, notwithſtanding they made ſome Shew of Conformity to his *Injunctions*, had not complied ſo thoroughly as might reaſonably be expected. In the Dioceſs of *London*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Rector of *Aldermanbury*, *Simpſon*, Curate and Lecturer of St. *Margaret's New-Fiſh-Street*; *John Goodwin* Vicar of *St. Stephen's Coleman-ſtreet*, and *Viner* Lecturer of *St. Laurence* in the *Old Jewry*, were convented for Breach of *Canons*. But upon their Promiſe of Amendment and Submiſſion, the Biſhop proceeded no further againſt them. Moſt, if not all, of theſe Men, went into the Rebellion afterwards, and were remarkable for their Miſbehaviour.

“The Biſhop of *Lincoln* certified, that he knew but one Non-conforming Clergyman in that large Dioceſs. By the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* his Certificate to the Archbiſhop, it appeared the Dioceſs was brought forward to very good Order. For the Purpoſe. There was no ſingle Lecture in any Corporation, but a Combination of Divines preached by Turns. And over and above, the Afternoon Sermons were turned into *Catechiſing* in all Pariſhes. *Corbet* Biſhop of *Norwich*, being dead about half a Year ſince, there was no Certificate returned from thence. But the Archbiſhop by his *Viſitation*, perceived the whole Dioceſs was much out of Order; and more eſpecially at *Yarmouth* and *Ipſwich*: And that *Ward*, Preacher at this laſt Town, had been cenſured in the High-Commiſſion-Court for preachiug againſt the Common-Prayer Book, and other reſembling Miſdemeanours. The Biſhops of *Oxford*, *Sarum*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *St. Aſaph* and *Briſtol*, certifie an entire Conformity of all the Clergy, without ſo much as a ſingle Inſtance to the contrary. The Biſhop of *Landaff* found only two noted Schiſmaticks, *Wroth* and *Erbury*, who miſled a great many ignorant People. But to check them in their Courſe, *Articles* were preferred againſt them in the *High-Commiſſion*. The Clergy in the Dioceſſes of *Hereford*, *Wincheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Rocheſter* and *Exeter*, were regular and well managed, and paid a due Submiſſion to his Majeſty's *Inſtructions*. The late Biſhop of St. *David*'s (now tranſlated to *Hereford*) complains, that few Clergymen in that poor remote Dioceſs, were tolerably qualified to inſtruct the People. The Biſhop of *Glouceſter* informs his Metropolitan, that upon the Score of the great Number of *Impropriations* in his Dioceſs, the Clergy are very ſlenderly ſupported:

(*a*) Cyprian. Anglic.

(*b*) 21 Jac. 1. *cap.* 20.

(*c*) Ruſhworth, Part II. *pag.* 299.

(*d*) Id. p. 314.

ported: And that their Poverty draws them to Popularity and Faction. From the remaining Biſhops of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Worceſter* and *Bangor*, the Archbiſhop had received no Certificate (*e*).

The Beginning of the next Year a Conteſt happened between the Archbiſhop and the two *Univerſities*, concerning the Right of *Viſitation*: The Archbiſhop claimed a Right of *Viſiting*, upon the Privilege of his *See*: The *Univerſities* on the other Side alledged, this Juriſdiction was veſted in the King upon the Score of his being their Founder. The Cauſe was brought before the *Council-Board*, and ſtands thus reported in *Laud's Regiſter* (*f*).

June 21 1636, at Hampton-Court.

“His Majeſty ſitting in *Council*, was graciouſly pleaſed to hear and determine a Difference and Debate, lately riſen between the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and the two *Univerſities* of *England*, concerning the Right of Viſiting the ſaid *Univerſities Jure Metropolitico*, in the Preſence of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being alſo Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxon*; and of the Earl of *Holland*, Chancellor of the *Univerſity of Cambridge*, and of Perſons ſent and authorized by each of the ſaid *Univerſities*, and of the Council of all the ſaid Parties.

The Archbiſhop claims a Right to viſit both Univerſities Jure Metropolitico.

“In the firſt Place it was of all Sides acknowledged to be the undoubted Right of the *Crown*, to viſit the ſaid *Univerſities*, whenſoever his Majeſty pleaſeth: And it was on all Parts confeſſed, That the Archbiſhop in Right of his Metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*, hath Power to viſit his whole *Province*, in which the ſaid *Univerſities* are ſituate, and are under the ſame Power, unleſs they could ſhew Privilege and Exemption; which they then offered to ſhew, but were not ſuch as did, or could give Satisfaction. And his Majeſty upon full Hearing of the Proofs on both Sides, and great Conſideration had of them, declared that by no *Papal Bull* they could be exempted, and likewiſe that by none of their *Charters*, they were exempted. And, laſtly, the Omiſſion of the Archbiſhops to viſit, ſince the *Viſitations* ſhewed unto his Majeſty, could no Way in this Caſe, be a Preſcription to barr the Right of the Metropolitical *See*. But it appeared unto his Majeſty for, and in Affirmance of the Right of the Archbiſhop, that actually both the *Univerſities* had been viſited by three of his Predeceſſors, *Jure Metropolitico*, and not by any *Legantine* Power: And that the Metropolitical Right coming in Queſtion, upon the Reſiſtance of the *Univerſity* of *Oxon*, to be viſited by the Archbiſhop: It was upon great Advice, and full Hearing of both Parties, adjudged for the Archbiſhop by his Majeſty's Predeceſſor, King *Richard* the Second. And afterwards upon a like Re-hearing, and Re-examination, adjudged, and affirmed by King *Henry* the Fourth; and both of their Judgments, upon a third and full Re-examination, eſtabliſhed by *Act* of Parliament, 13 *Hen.* 4. now ſhewed by the Archbiſhop under the Great Seal of King *Henry* the Fourth. And the Archbiſhop produced before his Majeſty the Original Renunciation of all Privileges from any Pope, by the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, under the Hands of *Heads* of Houſes there. Upon which Right ſo clearly appearing both by Practice and Reſolution of the Kings and Parliament; his Majeſty, with the Advice of his *Council*, declared and adjudged the Right of viſiting both the *Univerſities*, as *Univerſities*, and the Chancellors Scholars, their Servants, and others, enjoying the Privilege of the ſaid Univerſities, to belong to the Archbiſhop, and Metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*, by themſelves or Commiſſaries; and that they ſhall be from Time to Time obedient thereunto: Whereupon the Archbiſhop made an humble Motion to his Majeſty, firſt, for himſelf, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, That he might have this Sentence drawn up by Advice of his Majeſty's Learned Council; and put under the *Broad Seal*, to ſettle all Differences that might hereafter ariſe. Then on the Behalf of both the *Univerſities*, that though they were to be *viſited* by the Archbiſhop, and his Succeſſors, yet that they ſhould not be viſited by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or the Arch-Deacon; but ſhould perpetually remain free and exempt from the *Viſitation* and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop and Arch-Deacon of the Places where they are. But then, ſince it was declared his Right to viſit *Metropolitice*: And that it was not limited by Law how often he might viſit: Therefore (notwithſtanding the late Cuſtom of Viſitation, *Semel in vitâ tantum*) he might viſit the *Univerſities* by himſelf, or his Commiſſaries, as often as any great Emergent Cauſe ſhould move him thereunto: Provided, that neither the ſaid Archbiſhop, nor any of his Succeſſors (after his firſt Viſitation) ſhall viſit on ſuch Emergent Cauſe, unleſs the ſaid Cauſe be firſt made known to his Majeſty, and his Succeſſors, and approved by him or them. All which was graciouſly granted by his Majeſty, and ſo ſettled.

Judgment given for him by the King and Council.

“And, *laſtly*, Whereas it was alledged, that the Chancellor of either Univerſity, were, and are like to be Perſons of great Honour and Eminency; and therefore it might be inconvenient that they ſhould be called to ſuch *Viſitations*; it was declared by his Majeſty, that ſuch Inconvenience would eaſily be helped, for that in Courſe of Law, the Chancellor would be allowed to appear by his Proxy.

Exr. Ed. Nicholas.

This Deciſion fortify'd the Archbiſhop's Character, and made him more regarded in both *Univerſities*; even in *Cambridge*, where his Authority was leſs, his Meaſures for Conformity were better purſued: The Communion-Tables in the Univerſity Church, and ſeveral College Chappels, were railed in: The Ornaments were richer, and the Worſhip more ſolemn than formerly. In *Oxford*, where *Laud* was Chancellor, he met with no Difficulty; here his Motions

(*e*) *Hiſt of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

(*f*) *Fol.* 246.

tions were ſmooth and ſtrong, and every Thing anſwer'd to Inclination. I have already juſt mention'd the Archbiſhop's drawing a Body of Statutes for this Univerſity: He found the old Regulation grown unſerviceable, partly by the Alterations in Religion, and partly upon the Score of long Diſuſe: Beſides, they wanted Conſiſtency in the Senſe, and Order in the Digeſtion: To remedy this Obſcurity and Confuſion, the Biſhop directed their being review'd, clear'd of Contradiction, and thrown into a new Form: When this was done, and the Draught receiv'd in *Convocation*, he got them confirm'd under the *Broad Seal*. For this Favour the Univerſity return'd him Thanks in a *Latin* Letter very handſomely penn'd. (g)

June 23*d*.

Statutes of the Univerſity of Oxon *reform'd, and confirm'd under the Broad Seal.*

To proceed, the reading the King's *Declaration* about lawful Sports ſtuck with many of the Clergy: Their Meaning, 'tis likely, might be fair, but they were not ſufficiently enlightned to maſter their Scruples. Their being proſecuted in the *Conſiſtories* and *High Commiſſion*, for their Refuſal, brought the Government and Biſhops under no kind Repreſentation. Now, to clear the Church and *State* from Imputations of Rigour, the Biſhops made a ſort of Defence for the *Crown* and themſelves, and alledg'd the Reaſons for enjoining the Clergy the reading this *Declaration*. *Firſt*, In Juſtification of the King, they argued that the Orders of a Prince, when not evidently repugnant to the *Holy Scriptures*, or the Law of Nature, (I think it might be added, or the Laws of the Realm) are preciſely to be obey'd. (2*dly*), That a poſſible and remote Inconvenience, reſulting from Compliance, is not a ſufficient Diſcharge. For every good Subject ought to ſuppoſe, that his Prince, with the Aſſiſtance of his *Council*, is in a better Condition to foreſee Diſadvantage, and guard againſt ill Conſequences, than himſelf. (3*dly*), By diſobeying our Prince, where the Command is lawful, we run our ſelves upon a certain Sin; but this is ruinous Obſtinacy, and ought not to be ventured on for preventing Inconveniences: Thus far their Apology for the *Crown*, if we may call it ſo.

The Biſhop's Defence for enjoining the reading the King's Declaration for Sports.

In Defence of themſelves the Biſhops alledg'd, That they receiv'd an Order from the King for publiſhing the *Declaration* in their Pariſh Churches. Now who could the Biſhop lay their Commands upon, for this Purpoſe, excepting the Clergy? And whereas 'twas objected, no Penalty was laid upon the Refuſers: To this 'twas anſwer'd, Some Penalty, tho' not expreſs'd, was evidently imply'd; for that otherwiſe the Order would be precarious, and given to no Purpoſe. And laſtly, 'twas urged, that there was nothing in the *Declaration*, that was plainly contrary either to the Word of God, the *Canons* of the Church, the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of the *Reform'd* in other Countries. That if ſome Mens Scruples ſuggeſted otherwiſe, publick Regards, and the Intereſt of *Society*, would oblige them to acquieſce. That if it was lawful for private Perſons to indulge their Doubts, and ſuſpend their Obedience, the Functions of Government would be lamentably embaraſs'd. And they urg'd further, That a *Sheriff*, by his Office, is bound to publiſh his Majeſty's *Proclamations*, tho' it were for the apprehending his own Father, or tho' it contain'd Matter unſerviceable to the *Publick*. That a Prieſt may, without Wrong to his Conſcience, pronounce an Excommunication legally put into his Hands, notwithſtanding he is convinced, the Party is unjuſtly excommunicated. That when the Emperor *Mauritius* made an Order that no Soldier ſhould be admitted into any Monaſtery; and enjoin'd the Publication of this *Edict* upon *Gregory* the Great: The Pope, upon the Score of his being the Emperor's Subject, diſpers'd the *Order* through his Juriſdiction, notwithſtanding he believ'd it an unlawful Command. But then it muſt be obſerved, that at the ſame Time, when this Pope publiſhed the Order in Duty to his Prince, he remonſtrated to the *Matter*, and openly declar'd the Unlawfulneſs of it. (h) Laſtly, St *Auſtin*, in his *Book* againſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, (i) gives a Reſolution which ſeems to fit the Caſe, that a Chriſtian Soldier, under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully purſue his Profeſſion, and obey his ſuperior Officers, tho' he has no clear Proofs of the Juſtice of the War, or the Serviceableneſs of the *Orders* receiv'd. Theſe Reaſons, tho' not without their Effect, fell ſhort of giving General Satisfaction.

The King, as has been obſerved, deſign'd to introduce the *Engliſh Liturgy* in *Scotland*: To recommend it to that Nation, the daily reading of it was ordered in the Chappel at *Holy-Rood Houſe*. But *Ballentine*, Biſhop of *Dunblaine*, proceeding negligently in this Affair, *Laud* thought it neceſſary to provide another better diſpos'd. And thus, when the *See* of *Aberdeen* fell void, he got him tranſlated thither, and procured his Preferments for Dr. *Weederburn*, a *Scotch* Man by Birth, but bred and benefic'd in *England*: This new Dean purſued the King's Inſtructions, and might probably have ſucceeded, if the reſt of the *Scotch* Biſhops had fallen in with him. But theſe Prelates moving for a diſtinct *Liturgy*, upon the Reaſons abovementioned, his Majeſty commanded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to aſſiſt them; *Laud* deferr'd concerning himſelf in this Affair, in hopes of prevailing with them to drop their Motion, and acquieſce in the *Engliſh Book*. But perceiving them fixt in their Reſolution, he contributed his Aſſiſtance: To bring him forward, he was ſtrongly ſollicited by Letters brought him by *Maxwell*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, and ſign'd by the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*, by the Biſhops of *Murray*, *Dunblain*, and *Brechein*. The Scheme of this Performance being firſt ſtruck out, and fill'd up in *Scotland*, and from thence tranſmitted to the Court, his Majeſty referr'd the Review to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Wrenn*, Biſhop of *Norwich*: But *Juxon* having his Hands full of his own Buſineſs, the Matter reſted with the other two. Upon the Peruſal of the *Book*, they perceiv'd *Weederburn* had work'd by ſome Directions given him at *London*, and gone moſtly upon the Model and Form of the *Engliſh Service*. There was likewiſe a Paper ſent up, containing ſome Alterations to be inſerted, provided they were approv'd by his Majeſty. To mention ſome of them; 'twas propos'd, *That the* Magnificat, *and the reſt of the* Hymns, *together with the* Epiſtles *and* Goſpels, *ſhould be printed according to the laſt Tranſlation in the Reign of King* James: *And that this might* be

The Scotch *Liturgy drawn up in* Scotland.

Reviewed by the Archbiſhop of Cant. *and the Biſhop of* Norwich.

How far 'tis different from the Engliſh *Common-Prayer.*

(g) *Second Volume of the Hiſt. of Archbiſhop* Laud, &c. *pag.* 96.

(h) Greg. Mag. lib. 2. Epiſt. 61.

(i) Cap. 75.

be done purſuant to ſuch Directions as they had receiv'd for printing the Pſalms of David *in the laſt Tranſlation. That for the better ſinging of thoſe Pſalms to the Organ, a* Colon *ſhould be made in the Middle of every Verſe as it ſtands in the* Engliſh. *That every Prayer. or Office through the whole Communion, ſhould be nam'd in the Rubrick before it, that the Parts of the* Service *might be better diſtinguiſh'd to the Congregation. That the* Invitation, Confeſſion, Abſolution, Sentences, Prefaces *and* Doxology, *ſhould be ſet in the ſame Order they ſtand in the* Engliſh Liturgy: *And that the Prayer of humble Acceſs to the* Holy Table *might ſtand immediately before* Receiving. Theſe Suggeſtions for Alteration were paſt by the Archbiſhop and Biſhop *Wrenn*, and afterwards ſign'd by his Majeſty.

Further, *Weederburn* acquainted the Archbiſhop with ſome Defects in the *Scotch Ordinal*: *As firſt, That the Order of* Deacons *was made no more than a Lay Office. And ſecondly, In the Admiſſion to the* Prieſthood, *the Eſſential Words for conferring Orders were omitted.* When the King underſtood their *Book* for conſecrating and ordaining Biſhops and Prieſts, *&c.* was thus remarkably ſhort, he commanded *Laud* to give them the Choice of this Alternative; either to admit the *Engliſh* Book, or elſe rectify their own, in thoſe two Important Inſtances: And when the *Book* was ready to be publiſhed, his Majeſty ſent the Archbiſhops and Biſhops fuller Inſtructions upon this Affair: "First, He requires them to take Care that the Proclamation for authoriſing the *Service-Book* ſhould "not be drawn to the Prejudice of his Prerogative Royal. Secondly, That in their *Calendar* they ſhould retain ſuch Catholick "Saints as were in the *Engliſh Book.* That "ſome of the *Scottiſh* Nation, Eminent for "their Sanctity, eſpecially thoſe of the Blood "Royal; and ſome Biſhops of the beſt diſtinguiſh'd, and moſt Primitive Character, "ſhould be inſerted. The Saints added through the Months in the *Scotch Calendar*, are theſe, *January* 11th, *David*, King; *January* 13th, *Mungo*, or *Kentigernius*, Biſhop; *February* 18th, *Colman*; *March* 11th, *Conſtantine* the Third, King; 17th, *Patrick*; 20th, *Cutbert*; *April* 1ſt, *Gilbert*, Biſhop; 20th, *Serfe*, Biſhop; *May* none; *June* 9th, *Columba*; *July* 6th, *Palladius*; *Auguſt* none; *September* 18th, *Ninian*, Biſhop; 25th, *Adaman*, Biſhop; *October* none; *November* 16th, *Margaret*, Queen; 27th, *Ode*, Virgin; *December* 4th, *Droſtane*.

Rushworth.

October 18*th*. 1636.

"To go on with the King's *Inſtructions*, the "Archbiſhops. *&c.* are requir'd, that in their "Book of *Ordination*, in giving *Orders* to *Presbyters*, they ſhould keep the Words of the "*Engliſh* Book without Change, *receive the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. Fourthly, That amongſt the "*Leſſons*, ordinarily to be read in the *Service*, "the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Chapters of "*Wiſdom*; and the 1ſt, 2d, 5th, 8th, 35th, and "49th Chapters of *Eccleſiaſticus*, ſhould be put "in the *Calendar*. Fifthly, That every Biſhop "ſhall have the Service read twice a Day in "his Family; and that all Archbiſhops and "Biſhops ſhall oblige all Univerſities and Colleges within their Dioceſſes to the ſame "Frequency and Form of Devotion. Sixthly, "That the Preface to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, ſign'd by his Majeſty, and the Proclamation for authoriſing the ſame, ſhall be "printed in the Book of *Common Prayer*.

To go on with the remaining Alterations: The Word *Prieſt* in the *Engliſh* Common-*Prayer Book*, being offenſive to the *Scotch Novelliſts*, *Presbyter*, which is the ſame in Senſe, was us'd inſtead of it. In the Office for publick *Baptiſm*, this Sentence inclos'd in Crotchets is added; *Sanctify this Fountain of Baptiſm, thou which art the Sanctifier of all Things.* By the *Rubrick* the Water in the Font was to be chang'd twice a Month at leaſt; and then thoſe Words were to be pronounc'd by the Presbyter.

The main Alterations ſtand in the *Communion Service*, where there are ſeveral Additions, Tranſpoſitions, and one remarkable Omiſſion; I ſhall give them the Reader in their Order: After the reading the *Epiſtle*, the *Rubrick* directs the People to ſtand up and ſay, **Glory be to thee O Lord.** And after the reading of the Goſpel, the People in a ſtanding Poſture are ordered to ſay, **Thanks be to thee O Lord.** In the Prayer for *the whole Eſtate of Chriſt's Church Militant here on Earth.* When the Holy Euchariſt is celebrated, this Sentence is added: **And we commend, eſpecially unto thy merciful Goodneſs, the Congregation which is here aſſembled in thy Name, to celebrate the Commemoration of the moſt precious Death and Sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.** * Towards the End of this *Prayer* the *Engliſh* Form is chang'd thus: **And we alſo bleſs thy Holy Name for all thoſe thy Servants, who having finiſh'd their Courſe in Faith, do now reſt from their Labours: And we yield unto thee moſt High Praiſe and Hearty Thanks for the wonderful Grace and Vertue declared in all thy Saints, who have been the choice Veſſels of thy Grace, and the Lights of the World in their ſeveral Generations; moſt humbly beſeeching thee, that we may have Grace to follow the Example of their Stedfaſtneſs in thy Faith, and Obedience to thy Holy Commandments, that at the Day of the General Reſurrection, we, and all they which are of the Myſtical Body of thy Son, may be ſet on his Right Hand, and hear that his moſt Joyful Voice, Come ye Bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World. Grant this, &c.**

Immediately after the Doxology, **Therefore with Angels and Archangels,** *&c.* the Conſecration Prayer followeth: Where the *Rubrick directeth the Presbyter to ſtand at ſuch a Part of the Holy Table, where he may with the more Eaſe and Decency uſe both his Hands.* In *the Prayer*, this Ancient Clauſe for invocating the Holy Ghoſt is inſerted: **Hear us, O moſt Merciful, &c. And of thy Almighty Goodneſs vouchſafe ſo to bleſs and ſanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son.** (*k*)

---

* *When there is no Communion this Sentence is omitted.*

(*k*) Scotch *Book of Common-Prayer; and ſee my Remarks above on the firſt Liturgy in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth.*

The next which follows is that which *the Rubrick* calls the *Memorial* or *Prayer of Oblation.* It begins thus, **Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the Inſtitution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we thy humble Servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majeſty, with theſe thy Holy Gifts, the Memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in Remembrance his bleſſed Paſſion, mighty Reſurrection, and glorious Aſcenſion, rendring unto thee moſt hearty Thanks for the innumerable Benefits procured unto us by the ſame.** The reſt of this Prayer is the ſame with that of the *Engliſh Book* in the Poſt-Communion, which begins thus. O *Lord, we thy humble Servants entirely deſire thy Fatherly Goodneſs mercifully to accept*, &c.

After this *Memorial*, or Prayer of Oblation, the Lord's Prayer followeth. The next is the *Collect* of *Humble Acceſs*, which, tho' chang'd in the Order, is the ſame in Words with that in the *Engliſh Liturgy*, which begins thus. *We do not preſume to come to this thy Table*, O *Lord*, &c.

The *Benediction*, as the *Scotch Rubrick* calls it, or the Words pronounc'd by the Presbyter at receiving or giving the conſecrated Elements, ſtand as they did in the firſt *Liturgy* made in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, *viz.* **The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto Everlaſting Life. The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul to Everlaſting Life.** At the end of each of the *Benedictions* the *Rubrick* requires the Perſon receiving, to ſay **Amen.**

When all the Communicants have received, this Collect of Thankſgiving is ſaid by the Preſbyter: It begins, **Almighty and Everliving God**, *&c.* and is the ſame with that in the *Engliſh Liturgy:* After this the *Gloria in Excelſis* is ſaid or ſung, **Glory be to God on High, on Earth Peace**, *&c.* as we have it. The Office concludes with the Biſhop or Presbyter's Bleſſing: **The Peace of God which paſſes all Underſtanding**, *&c.* And thus I have gone through the Alterations. The reſt of the *Book* is the ſame with the *Engliſh Common Prayer*, only there is ſome Difference in diſpoſing what was offer'd at the Holy Euchariſt: The *Scotch Rubrick* aſſigning one half of this to the Preſbyter for providing him Books of Divinity; the other Moiety was to be ſpent in furniſhing the Church, or relieving the Poor, at the Diſcretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens.

The King's Proclamation for Authoriſing the Book.

The Proclamation for Authoriſing the Book ſtands thus:

Charles, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith.*

To our Lovits,

Meſſengers.

Our Sheriffs in that Part conjunctly, and ſeverally ſpecially conſtitute, greeting. Foraſmuch as we, ever ſince our Entry to the Imperial Crown of this our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland *eſpecially ſince our late being here in the ſame, have divers Times recommended to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops here, the publiſhing of a Publick Form of Service, in the Worſhip of God, which we would have uniformly obſerved therein. And the ſame being now condeſcended upon, although we doubt not but all our Subjects, both Clergy and others, will receive the ſaid Publick Form of Service with ſuch Reverence as appertaineth: Yet thinking it neceſſary to make our Pleaſure known, touching the Authorizing of the Book thereof.*

Our Will is, and we charge you ſtraitly and command, that incontinent theſe our Letters ſeen, you paſs, and in our Name and Authority command and charge all our Subjects, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, by open Proclamation at the Market Croſſes of the Head-Burroughs of this our Kingdom, and other Places needful, to conform themſelves to the ſaid Publick Form of Worſhip, which is the only Form which we (having taken the Councel of our Clergy) think fit to be uſed in God's Publick Worſhip in this our Kingdom, commanding alſo all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Presbyters and Church-men, to take a ſpecial Care that the ſame be duly obeyed and obſerved, and the Contraveeners condignly cenſured and puniſhed, and to have ſpecial Care that every Pariſh, betwixt this and Paſch next, procure unto themſelves two at leaſt of the ſaid Books of Common Prayer for the Uſe of the Pariſh. The which to do, we commit to you conjunctly and ſeverally our full Power, by theſe our Letters, delivering the ſame by you duly execute and indorſed again to the Bearer.

Given under our Signet at *Edinburgh* the
Twentieth Day of *December*, and of
our Reign the Twelfth Year, 1636.

Per Actum Secreti Concilii.

'Tis generally clamour'd againſt by the Scots.

Before this *Proclamation* was publiſh'd the *Scotch* took the Alarm, clamour'd every where againſt the *Book*, and diſcover'd the ſtrongeſt Averſion; Prejudice of Education, and Ignorance of Primitive Practice, made them eaſily impos'd on. Beſides thoſe who were miſled by Principle, there were not a few who ſeem'd govern'd by intereſted Views: The late *Commiſſion of Surrenders* was hard of Digeſtion; for let the Title be never ſo myſterious, People oftentimes are unwilling to let go their Hold, and part with unjuſt Acquiſitions. Theſe Men had no Proſpect of recovering their Prey in Times of Publick Repoſe: This made them watch all Opportunities to embaraſs the Adminiſtration, and diſtreſs the Church and the Crown: Their Buſineſs was to inflame Diſcontents, to make the Ferment boil over, and blow up the People to Sedition. In ſhort, theſe Men of Deſign joining the Presbyterian Party, made the Generality beleive Religion lay at Stake, that *Laud*, and ſome of their own Biſhops, had concerted a Project to revive Popery, and bring the *Maſs-Book* upon them. This Report catch'd upon the Populace, heated them almoſt to Madneſs, and brought them entirely into the Meaſures of the Mal-Contents. Their Underſtandings being thus ſeiz'd, and their Paſſions at the Direction of their Managers; the ſuppreſſing the *Book* was thought the only Expedient to prevent a Commotion, and bring them to Temper. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and ſome of the moſt Prudent of his Brethren, were of this Opinion. They wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to ſollicit the King, that the publiſhing the *Book* might be poſtpon'd to a more ſeaſonable Juncture. This Advice might probably have been follow'd in caſe the *Scotch* Biſhops had been better agreed, and acted unanimouſly: But ſome of thoſe of this *Order* lately prefer'd, having an Overbalance of Heat and Spirits, refus'd to concur with their Brethren of better Experience. Inſtead of managing with this Precaution, they went in with the Earl of *Traquair*'s Sentiment, and preſs'd for

The Reaſons of this Diſlike.

Execution and Diſpatch. By the way, this Noble Man, who was Lord Treaſurer, had a bottom Deſign which they were by no means aware of. His Buſineſs was to promote unacceptable Meaſures, to puſh Things to Extremity, and ruin the Biſhops. He was apprehenſive, it ſeems, theſe Men might grow too big for his Intereſt: And particularly, that *Maxwell*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, endeavoured to ſupplant him in his Poſt, and graſp'd at the Treaſurer's Staff: *(l)* And believing the reſt of the Biſhops inclin'd to ſecond *Maxwell* in his Ambition, he prov'd a mortal, though a ſecret Enemy, to the whole *Order*. And now the Opportunity preſenting fair, he prevail'd with ſome of the moſt Sanguine, to give him their Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Thus furniſh'd his Lordſhip poſted to Court, told *Laud* there was no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of Danger; that the old Biſhops were Men of Phlegm, and overgrown with Spleen and Timorouſneſs. That if *Laud* could prevail with the King to truſt this Earl with the Execution, he wou'd venture his Life to go through with the Buſineſs, without any conſiderable Ruffle. *Laud* not ſuſpecting the Treaſurer's Integrity, eſpecially being recommended by Letters from thoſe Biſhops he confided in; *Laud*, I ſay, for theſe Reaſons, not ſuſpecting any Deſign, was much affected with *Traquair*'s Report: And tho' he did not think it proper this Affair ſhould be manag'd by a Lay-man, yet he procured himſelf a Warrant from the King, to command the *Scotch* Biſhops to go forward with the Undertaking at the utmoſt Hazard; threatning them withal, that in caſe they mov'd Languidly, and threw in unneceſſary Delays, the King would remove them, and fill their *Sees* with Men of more Zeal and Reſolution. This Order was executed; but the Report of the Event muſt be reſpited to the next Year.

The Manner of bringing in the Scotch *Common-Prayer unacceptable.*

In the mean time, it may be obſerved, that the Manner of introducing this *Common-Prayer* was ſomewhat extraordinary, and gave a plauſible Colour for Diſguſt: For 'twas never laid before the Repreſenting Part of the Church, nor paſs'd in a *General Aſſembly*. The *Scotch* Presbyters could never be reconcil'd to this Method, and thought the Authority of the Church would be entirely loſt by thus reſigning to the *Regale*. Further, they were not a little prepoſſeſs'd againſt the Uſe of any Liturgy: And more than that, they neither lik'd a Form ſo reſembling the *Engliſh Book*, and much leſs the *Alterations*.

Archbiſhop Laud*'s Defence of ſome Paſſages in the* Scotch *Liturgy.*

Theſe *Alterations* being afterwards charg'd upon *Laud* by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners; I ſhall mention his Defence of ſome Paſſages. Firſt, he takes Notice theſe *Commiſſioners* fall ſhort in their Proof that this Affair was govern'd by his Direction: Having premis'd this, he proceeds to anſwer what was objected from the *Matter*. The *Commiſſioners* urg'd that the *Changes* and *Supplements in the* Scotch *Common-Prayer Book, are taken from the Maſs-Book, and other Romiſh Rituals; and that by theſe the Book is made to vary from the Book of* England. In Anſwer to theſe Objections, the Archbiſhop replies, "That the Church is only burniſh'd "and refin'd by the *Reformation*, and not "melted down, and made a *new* one. That "all regular and defenſible *Reformation* retrenches nothing but Error and wrong Practice, "and leaves unaltered whatever will bear the "Teſt. That if theſe *Variations* from the *Engliſh Service* are good, 'tis no Matter whence "they are taken. That every Part of the *Miſſal*, or other Popiſh *Rituals*, are not Corruptions. That there are many good Prayers "in them, neither is any thing ill, meerly becauſe 'tis there. That provided there is nothing ſuperſtitious, or unlawful retain'd, the "leſs Alteration in the *Ancient Service* of the "Church, the better. To this he adds, that "theſe *Variations* were either taken from the "firſt Book in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, which "is no Popery; or elſe from ſome Ancient *Liturgies*, which ſtand clear from all ſuch Imputation. *(m)*

The next Thing which I ſhall mention, objected by theſe *Commiſſioners*, is the *Scotch* Books *inverting the Order of the Communion in the* Engliſh *Liturgy*. To this the Archbiſhop replies, "That changing the Order, either in the *Communion-Office*, or any other Part of the *Service*, is no Diſimprovement of the Prayers, "or any Corruption of the Worſhip. For, "provided the Prayers are all good, the Method of their ſtanding can't make them otherwiſe, unleſs where the Order is Eſſential to "a right Performance. For Inſtance, if the "*Abſolution* was read before the *Confeſſion*, in "ſuch Caſes, changing the Order, would affect the Quality of the *Service*. And to come cloſer, tho' he does not find fault with the Order of the Prayers as they ſtand in the *Communion Book* of *England*, (for God be thanked, ſays he, 'tis well) yet if they will preſs him to a Compariſon, he believes the *Scottiſh Liturgy* ought to have the Preference: That this *latter* comes nearer the Worſhip in the *Primitive Church*: And for this he appeals to the Judgment of the Learned. From hence he infers a great deal of *Will and Weakneſs* in calling this a *New-Communion*, only becauſe ſome of the *Prayers* are removed from their former Situation.

Thirdly, which is the laſt Objection; I ſhall report, the *Commiſſioners* urg'd the *Oblation of an unbloody Sacrifice*, and this they pretend is *Bellarmine*'s Doctrine. To this the Archbiſhop's Anſwer is, That if *Bellarmine* means no more by the Oblation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, than a *Commemorative* Repreſentation of that great Sacrifice upon the Croſs, the Cardinal is in the Right, as Biſhop *Jewell* freely acknowledges. As for the *Oblation of the Elements*, that is fit and proper as the Archbiſhop continues, and that he is ſorry it is not in the *Book of England*.

Id. *pag.* 124.

As to the unacceptable Method of bringing in the *Scotch Common-Prayer*, 'tis rather to be charged upon the Biſhops of that Nation. For when the Direction of this Affair was debated, Archbiſhop *Laud* adviſ'd the *Scotch* Prelates to move with great Precaution, to govern themſelves by the Advice of the Lords of the *Secret* Council, and do nothing that might claſh with the Laws and Conſtitution of that Kingdom. But theſe Biſhops, it ſeems, thought themſelves oblig'd to run a new Courſe, and croſs upon the Cuſtom of the Church. They durſt not truſt their Clergy with this Affair, nor venture *the Book* with a *General Aſſembly*.

Baſtwick, Burton *and* Pryn, *write Libels againſt the* Hierarchy.

The *Engliſh Puritans* finding the *Scotch* diſconcerted, ſtruck in with the Humour, and play'd their Libels upon the *Hierarchy*. *Baſtwick*, a Doctor of Phyſick, led the Way in a Pamphlet, entituled, *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*; in which he aſperſes the Biſhop's Conduct, and taxes them with an Inclination for Popery. But this Book being written in

Latin,

(l) Guthry's *Memoirs.*

(m) Hiſt. of the Troubles, &c of Archbiſhop Laud, *pag.* 113.

Latin, and therefore not likely to ſpread the Infection ſo ſucceſsfully, he recollected himſelf, and, like *Rabſhekah*, rail'd in the *Vulgar* Tongue. However, this ſecond Pamphlet, called his *Litany*, had nothing extraordinary in it, but Coarſeneſs and Malice. And, that *Baſtwick* might not ſtand ſingle in the *Field*, *Prynn* takes Care to reinforce him in two *Tracts*, publiſh'd this Year: One is entituled the *Quench Coal*, in Anſwer to the *Coal from the Altar*: The other was called, *The Unbiſhoping of* Timothy *and* Titus. The Deſign of it was to diſprove the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of *Dioceſan* Biſhops. *Burton*, Parſon of St. *Matthew Friday-ſtreet*, *London*, came into the Cauſe with ſomewhat more Force and equal Aſſurance. This Divine, preaching in his Pariſh on the fifth of *November*, took theſe Words for his Text; *My Son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change**. In this Sermon he inſulted the Biſhops in the moſt ſcurrilous Language, and accus'd them of the deepeſt Prevarication. He lays *Innovation* both in Doctrine and Worſhip to their Charge. That they encroach'd upon the *Civil* Conſtitution, carried their Juriſdiction over the Laws, and broke through an *Act* of Parliament. (*n*) That they had falſify'd the *Records* of the Church, and ſtuff'd in the firſt Clauſe of the Twentieth *Article*. In ſhort, he arraigns them for notorious Oppreſſion; flouriſhes upon the Fortitude of thoſe who have withſtood their Impoſitions; animates the People to remonſtrate againſt them, and ſeems contented to run the utmoſt Riſque to undo them.

* Prov. chap. 24. v. 22.

(n) 1 Edw. 6. cap. 2.

Being impriſon'd by the *High-Commiſſion* for this ſcandalous *Invective*, he appeals to the King, juſtifies his Sermon in an Apology, and afterwards addreſſes the Nobility. In this laſt Application, he exhorts all Degrees of People to appear reſolutely in Defence of the *Goſpel* againſt the Biſhops. And, laſtly, he prints theſe Diſcourſes together, with a Dedication to the King. Here he endeavours to prepoſſeſs the King with an ill Opinion of the Biſhops Conduct. He tells his Majeſty their Management tends only to create a Miſunderſtanding between him and his People; to alienate the Affection of his good Subjects, and draw an Odium upon the Government. That 'twas the Buſineſs of theſe *Factors* of *Anti-Chriſt* to break the Publick Union, and ſubvert the *Conſtitution*, that they might erect the Throne of Anti-Chriſt upon the Ruins. That the Subverſion of the *Goſpel*, the Rebuilding *Babel*, and the Bringing in of Popery, was the chief Deſign of the Prelates and their Party: And that all their Innovations, Encroachment, and dangerous Practice, were only Introductive to this Buſineſs. In his Sermon, which from the Text he miſ-entitules, *for God and the King*, he makes a Tragical Complaint of Perſecution in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. "That in thoſe Counties (where *Wrenn* was now Biſhop) they had made the greateſt Havock of good Miniſters, that had been known within the Memory of Man: That Threeſcore were already ſuſpended in that ſingle Dioceſs. And that by *Chriſtmas* next, betwixt Three or Fourſcore more muſt either take Leave of a good Conſcience, or elſe be thrown out of their Function and Subſiſtence. And, laſtly, that in all Queen *Mary's* Reign, the Faithful Miniſter's of God, were not haraſs'd to this Degree (in ſo ſhort a Time) in any Dioceſs, or in the whole Kingdom." *Wrenn*, to wipe of this Calumny, and reſcue himſelf from ſo ugly an Imputation, order'd his *Regiſters* to be examin'd: And upon inſpecting the Records of his Court, 'twas found there was not above thirty Clergymen, *Lecturers* included, that lay under any Sort of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. That of theſe but Sixteen were ſuſpended; and of theſe Sixteen, Eight had their Reſtraints diſcharged, and were referr'd to a further Time of Tryal. *Burton*'s Clamour of Perſecution might be diſprov'd through ſeveral other Particulars: But this may be ſufficient to diſcover, what Credit is to be given to this *Reporter* (*o*).

(o) Cyprian Angl.

Archbiſhop Laud's *Annual Account of his Province.*

"Archbiſhop *Laud* in his Annual *Account* of his *Province* informs the King, that the *Walloons*, and other Foreigners in his Dioceſs, eſpecially at *Canterbury*, came orderly to their Pariſh Churches, and conform'd to his Injunctions, within the Limitation allow'd by his Majeſty. That in the Dioceſs of *London* the Lord Biſhop acquainted him with three groſs Miſdemeanours: That Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs* was one Inſtance of this Miſbehaviour: That this Divine, in a *Latin* Sermon before the *London* Clergy, had thrown out ſeveral inſolent Paſſages againſt the Biſhops and Government of the Church, and refus'd to give his Dioceſan a Copy of the Diſcourſe." That one Mr. *Wharton*, a Miniſter in *Eſſex*, had made an indiſcreet and ſcurrilous Diſcourſe in the Pulpit at *Chelmsford*: But that, upon receiving a Canonical Admonition, he had been brought to a Submiſſion.

The third Miſdemeanour, which the Biſhop of *London* complain'd of, was the late diſperſing of ſome factious and malicious Pamphlets againſt the Government of the Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. And that his Lordſhip further certifies, he has good Ground to believe theſe virulent Libels are written, or at leaſt countenanc'd and diſpers'd by ſome of the Clergy of his own Dioceſs.

The Biſhop of *Norwich* certifies he found a general Defect of Catechiſing quite through the Dioceſs; but has now ſettled that Matter. That in *Norwich*, where there are Thirty four Churches, there was no preaching on *Sunday* Morning, excepting in four; the Sermons being put off 'till the Afternoon, and Catechiſing omitted; but that he had broke this ill Cuſtom.

Jan. Anno Dom. 1635.

That *Lectures* were very frequent in *Suffolk*, and many of them ſet up by private Gentlemen, without either conſulting the *Ordinary*, or obſerving the *Canons* and *Diſcipline* of the Church. That the Biſhop had brought ſeveral of theſe to a due Regulation, and particularly in St. *Edmond's-bury*. That Mr. *Ward* *Lecturer* at *Ipſwich*, ſtanding cenſur'd in the *High-Commiſſion*, and refuſing to ſubmit, the Biſhop was willing to allow them another, upon Application: But they reſolv'd to have Mr. *Ward* or none, in Contempt, as 'twas thought, of the Cenſure.

The *Lecture* at *Yarmouth* occaſion'd a great Deal of Miſunderſtanding in that Town: But now that Exerciſe being ſilenc'd, the Place was quieted, and the Orders of the Church obſerved. As for the *Lectures* in the Country, they generally run Riot, and live wide of *Diſcipline*. However, the Biſhop treats them with Temper, upon Promiſe of Conformity. His Lordſhip (*Wrenn*) craves Direction, what is to be done with ſuch Scholars, ſome in Orders, ſome not, which Gentlemen of Figure entertain in their Houſes, under Pretence of teaching their Children. He likewiſe complains that ſome Benefic'd Divines live in the Houſes of the rich *Laity*, and not upon their *Cures*. As to this, the Archbiſhop is of Opinion the Benefic'd Men ſhould be enjoin'd Reſidence: And for the reſt, his Majeſty's *Inſtructions* ought to be purſued, and none allowed to keep Chaplains, but ſuch as are qualified by Law. However, he humbly refers the Whole to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. To this the King anſwers in theſe Words; *I approve your Judgment in this. I only add that Care muſt be taken, that even thoſe qualified by Law, keep none but conformable Men.*

This *Annual* Account reports the reſt of the Dioceſſes in good Order; with this Exception, that in the *Welch* Dioceſſes, the Diſcipline of the Church was over-born by the *Court of Marches*. And that from the *Sees* of *Rocheſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Briſtol*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, no Certificates were returned (*p*).

This Year Biſhop *Williams* publiſhed his *Tract* entituled, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, in Anſwer to *the Coal from the Altar*. In this Book the Author has ſome glancing Strokes againſt *Bowing* at the Name of Jeſus, *Worſhipping* towards the *Eaſt*, and *Praying* conformably to the *Canon*; and makes removing the Communion-Table to the Place where the Altar ſtood, a Step introductive to Popery: And that theſe *New Reformers* (as he calls thoſe of *Laud's* Sentiment), when they had carried the Outworks of Religion, intended to attack the the main Fort. The Learned *Heylin*, by the King's Order, anſwered this Book in a *Tract* entitled, *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. And ſome few Months after publiſh'd a Reply to *Burton's* Libel: 'Tis called, *A brief and moderate Anſwer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous Challenges of H. B.* &c. About the ſame Time two others Books appeared in Defence of the Biſhops Proceedings. One was a further Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Lincoln's Holy Table, &c.* 'Twas entitled, *Altare Chriſtianum*, and written by one *Pocklington*, Benefic'd in *Bedfordſhire*. The other, publiſh'd againſt *Burton*, by *Dow* of *Baſel* in *Suſſex*, had the Title, *Of Innovations unjuſtly charg'd*, &c.

Anno Dom. 1637.

Adam's *Sermon at* Cambridge *touching Confeſſion.*

This Year one *Adams*, preaching in St. *Mary's* Church, before the Univerſity of *Cambridge* on theſe Words, *Whoſeſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted*, &c. * aſſerted the Neceſſity of Confeſſion to a Prieſt, in Expreſſions ſomewhat unuſual ſince the *Reformation*. For the Purpoſe: “ That particular Confeſſion to a Prieſt, of all Sins committed after Baptiſm, ſo far as our Memory reaches, is neceſſary to Salvation. That this is the Doctrine not only of the Schoolmen, but of the Fathers, and almoſt all Antiquity. That ſuch Confeſſion is neceſſary, not only *Neceſſitate Precepti*, but alſo *Neceſſitate Medii*: So that by the ordinary reveal'd Means appointed by Chriſt, there can be no Salvation without it. And that where the Juncture makes it impracticable, we are obliged to a Reſolution of doing it at the next Opportunity. That God, having an Averſion to all Sin, will not pardon any Breach of Duty, in Caſe we willingly conceal it from the Prieſt's Knowledge. That Confeſſion is no leſs neceſſary to Salvation than the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*. That ſince our Saviour erected a Court, where Sins ſhould be diſcharged, or cenſur'd at the Diſcretion of his *Miniſters*, (as 'tis evident by the Text he has done): The Inference is, that 'twas plainly our Saviour's Intention the *Faithful* ſhould be obliged to confeſs all their Sins to the Prieſt, as far as their Recollectien could ſerve them; and that their Pardon was ſuſpended upon this Condition.” This he conceiv'd was the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, contain'd in her *Liturgy*. He maintain'd farther, “ That Confeſſion was a Duty of far more Antiquity and Extent than Popery. That 'twas inſtituted by our Saviour, practis'd by the Apoſtles, by the Holy Fathers, and all the ſucceeding Ages of the Church: And therefore, though the Papiſts uſe it, it can't be call'd a Point of Popery, as ſome wou'd have it. *What!* (ſays he) *ſhall the Errors in ſome Tenets prejudice the Truth in this? What! ſhall we refuſe the Grape, becauſe the Stalk is withered? This were a Puritanical Novation-Nicety. I never heard of any Thing but a fooliſh Cock that ever refuſ'd a Gem, though in a Dunghill.*

There being more Paſſages to this Effect, Dr. *Ward*. Dr. *Love*, Dr. *Brownrig*, and Dr. *Holdſworth*, were diſguſted with the Diſcourſe, and convented *Adams* before the *Heads*, who perus'd a Copy of the Sermon. After this, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Brownrig*, drew up a Recantation enjoyning the Preacher to ſpeak it publickly, to take off the Scandal he had given: The Form is as follows.

“ Whereas, *&c.* on *Sunday* the 25th of *June* laſt in my Publick Sermon on theſe Words, (St. *John* 20. 23. *Whoſe Sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſe Sins ye retain, they are retained*), I delivered this Doctrine, That a ſpecial Confeſſion unto a Prieſt (actually, where Time or Opportunity preſents it ſelf, or otherwiſe in explicit Intention, and Reſolution) of all our Sins committed after Baptiſm, ſo far forth as we do remember, is neceſſary unto Salvation; not only *Neceſſitate Præcepti*, but *Neceſſitate Medii*: So that according to the Ordinance, or reveal'd Means appointed by Chriſt, there can be no Salvation without the aforeſaid Confeſſion, upon more mature Thoughts, and better Information, I do find that this Doctrine then delivered, was both erroneous and dangerous, having not warrant from the Word of God, and croſſing the Doctrine of our Church; as may appear by her *Liturgy* in the ſecond Exhortation of the Communion; and in the *Viſitation of the Sick*; and in the ſecond Part in the *Homily* of *Repentance*. As therefore in general, I do acknowledge in the Words of the aforeſaid *Homily*, that it is moſt evident and plain, that this Auricular Confeſſion hath not its Warrant in God's Word; and that therefore, being not led with Conſcience thereof, if we with Fear and Trembling, and with a contrite Heart, uſe that kind of Confeſſion, which God doth command in his Word (namely an unfeigned Confeſſion unto Almighty God himſelf) then, doubtleſs, as he is faithful and true, he will forgive us our Sins, and make us clean from all our Wickedneſs: So in the Caſe of a troubled or doubtful Conſcience, I do conform my Opinion unto the Direction of our Church, which in her Liturgy doth exhort, and require thoſe whoſe Conſciences are troubled with any weighty Matter, to a ſpecial Confeſſion; ſo that they who cannot quiet their own Conſciences, are to repair to their own,

(*p*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

* John 23.

“or ſome other diſcreet and learned Miniſter of God's Word, to open to them their Grief, that ſo they may receive ſuch ghoſtly Counſel, Advice and Comfort, as their Conſciences may be reliev'd, and by the Miniſtry of God's Word, the Benefit of Abſolution to the quieting their Conſcience, and the avoiding of all Scruple and Doubtfulneſs; ſince it is againſt true Chriſtian Liberty, that any Man ſhould be bound to the numbering of his Sins, as it hath been heretofore in Times of Ignorance and Blindneſs. This I do acknowledge to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, concerning Confeſſion; and to it, I do, *ex Animo*, ſubſcribe, and am heartily ſorry for whatever I have delivered to the contrary.

Adams refuſing to retract, and ſaying he was not conſcious of advancing any Thing contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, 'twas put to the Vote by the Heads of the Univerſity, whether this *Recantation* ſhould be put upon him or not: Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Bainbridge*, Dr. *Love*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, and the Vice-Chancellor voted on the Affirmative Side of the Queſtion: But Dr. *Collins*, Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *Cumber*, Dr. *Coſin*, Dr. *Lany*, Dr. *Martin*, Dr. *Stern*, and Dr. *Eden*, voting for the Negative, *Adams* was diſmiſs'd, without farther Trouble. The whole Proceedings of this Affair were ſent up to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and found in his Cloſet at the *Tower*, indors'd with his own Hand, ſignifying the Date and Subject Matter; and that the Account was tranſmitted to him by Dr. *Coſins* *.

The Archbiſhop's *Diary* takes no Notice of this remarkable *Narrative*: This ſilence makes the Story, or at leaſt the Expreſſion of Part of it, ſomewhat ſuſpicious. However, I thought fit to mention it, and leave it with the Reader upon *Ruſhworth*'s Authority.

An Information againſt Baſtwick, Burton, Pryn *in the* Star-Chamber.

Ruſhworth, Vol. II. *pag.* 380.

In *Trinity Term* this Year, Attorney-General *Banks* preferr'd an Information in the *Star-Chamber* againſt *John Baſtwick*, Doctor in Phyſick, *Henry Burton*, Batchellor in Divinity, and *William Pryn*, Barriſter at Law. Theſe three Defendants were proſecuted for publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous Books, againſt the Hierarchy and Government (q). The *Defendants* drew an Anſwer, which it ſeems was ſo ruggedly worded, that their Council refus'd ſigning it. Upon this they petition'd the Court their Anſwers might be receiv'd, ſign'd by themſelves, pretending ancient Precedents to juſtifie their Requeſt. But this Motion being over-rul'd as unreaſonable, they exhibited a *Croſs-Bill* againſt *Canterbury*, and his *Confederates*, as they call them; charging them with the greateſt Part of thoſe Calumnies, with which their *Printed Libels* were ſtuff'd. But this *Bill* being likewiſe ſign'd by none but themſelves, was rejected by the Court.

But here it muſt not be forgotten, that *Burton*'s Anſwer was ſign'd by *Holt* a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*: 'Twas referred to the Conſideration of the two Chief Juſtices, who were to expunge what they thought ſcandalous and improper for the hearing of the Court. Theſe Judges finding the Anſwer a rough and intemperate Invective, ſtruck it all out, excepting ſix Lines in the Beginning, and three or four in the latter End. *Burton* demanded Juſtice againſt this large *Deletion*, alledging, that neither himſelf, or his Council were heard before the two Chief Juſtices, in Defence of their Anſwer. However, 'twas ordered by the Court that in Caſe he refus'd to ſwear the expung'd Anſwer, and anſwer to Interrogatories, he muſt be in the ſame Condition with *Baſtwick* and *Pryn*, and be proceeded againſt *pro Confeſſo*.

Burton's Anſwer ſet forth the Subſtance of his Sermon: He charges the Biſhops with the following *Innovations*. 1ſt. That in the *Epiſtle* for the *Sunday* before *Eaſter*, inſtead of *In*, they have made it *At* the Name of Jeſus *every Knee ſhall bow*. This Alteration he pretends is directly againſt an *Act* of Parliament. 2dly. That two Places are chang'd in the Prayers appointed for the fifth of *November*. That the laſt Years Faſt was enjoin'd to be without *Sermons* in *London*, the Suburbs, and other infected Places, contrary to the Order for Publick Humiliations in former Times. That *Wedneſday* was appointed for the Faſt-Day: And that this was done to make this Faſt without preaching, a Preſident to ſuppreſs all *Wedneſday Lectures* in *London*. That the Prayer for ſeaſonable Weather was expung'd in this laſt Book for the Faſt. And that the deleting this Prayer was one Cauſe of Wrecks and Tempeſts. That a Paſſage was left out in this Book, touching a dangerous Reliance on Faſting, with Relation to Merit. That theſe Words, *Who art the Father of thine Elect, and their Seed*, are chang'd in the Collect for the Prince, and the King's Children. And that this Alteration was made by the Prelates to exclude the King's Children from the Number of God's Elect.

Baſtwick's Anſwer was ſcandalouſly coarſe and downright Railing without Reaſon. He charges the Prelates with invading the Prerogative Royal. That they deſpis'd the *Holy Scriptures*, countenanc'd Prophaneſs, and made it their Buſineſs to promote the Growth of Popery, and bring Superſtition and Idolatry upon the Nation. That they abus'd the King's Authority to Injuſtice and Tyranny. That they manag'd without either Wit, Honeſty or Temper. That they ſerv'd under the Devil, were Enemies to God, and the King; and that every Body of Probity was their Averſion. And all this he had the Confidence to ſay, he was ready to maintain.

Idem.

Pryn's Anſwer had more Manners and Moderation, and whatever his Diſaffection might be, Regard to himſelf kept him at preſent from ſuch Flights of Diſtraction. However, he moved his Anſwer might be read, and offer'd to abide the Cenſure of the *Court*, provided he fail'd in the Proof. But the Anſwers not paſſing through the Forms of Law, nor coming legally before the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, the Court proceeded to *Sentence*, and fined each of the Defendants, *Baſtwick*, *Burton* and *Pryn*, Five thouſand Pound each to the King, and adjudg'd the two firſt to ſtand in the Pillory at *Weſtminſter*, and loſe their Ears: As for *Pryn*, he had loſt his Ears four Years ſince by a *Star-Chamber Judgment*: However, he had no Abatement in his Puniſhment for that Miſfortune, but was ſentenc'd to loſe the Remainder, and be mark'd on both Cheeks with great *S.* and *L.* ſignifying a *Seditious Libeller*. By the Way, the Libel for which he was proſecuted, was entitled, *The News from* Ipſwich. In this Pamphlet he calls the Archbiſhop *Arch-agent for the Devil*: *That* Beelzebub *himſelf had been Archbiſhop*. And that the Biſhops in General were *Luciferian Lord Biſhops*, *Execrable Traitors*, and *Devouring Wolves*. But enough of this.

Their Sentence.

---

* Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect. Part* II. *pag.* 1378, *&c.*

On the Thirtieth of *June* the *Sentence* was executed, *Burton* being firſt degraded. The puniſhing Men of the Three moſt eminent Profeſſions in this ignominious Manner, was ſomewhat ſhocking to many People of no ill Meaning. When they had ſuffered the Sentence they were committed, one to the Caſtle of *Lanceſtone* in *Cornwall*; another to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*; and the third to the Caſtle of *Carmarthen*. But theſe Places being crowded with Viſitants, who came to condole with them, the Government to prevent the Miſchief of ſuch a Correſpondence, removed them to a more retir'd Confinement. *Pryn* was ſent to the Caſtle of *Mont-Orgueil* in the Iſle of *Jerſey*; *Burton* to *Caſtle Cornet* in the Road to *Guernſey*, and *Baſtwick* to St. *Mary's* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Silly*.

Somewhat farther of Baſtwick, *and* Burton's *Character*.

The Character of theſe Three Perſons, eſpecially of *Pryn*, may be collected from the foregoing Hiſtory. However, to throw in a Word concerning the other two. “*Baſtwick*, as the Lord *Clarendon* deſcribes him, was a half-witted, crack-brain'd Fellow; unknown to either Univerſity, or the College of Phyſicians.” He had ſpent his Time abroad between the Schools and the Camp *, and had gotten a Doctorſhip, and *Latin*. And being thus furniſh'd with Language and Malice, he publiſhed a ſcandalous Invective againſt the Biſhops, as has been already obſerved.

* *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*.

Burton, before he took *Orders*, waited as *Cloſet-Keeper* upon the King, when Prince of *Wales*. He was ordain'd Prieſt in the latter End of the laſt Reign, and thought himſelf neglected in not being ſent Chaplain to the Prince, then at *Madrid*. Upon the Death of King *James* he expected to have been Clerk of the *Cloſet*: But this Preferment being beſtowed upon, or rather continued in *Neile*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Burton* had not Temper enough to conceal this Diſguſt, but committed two or three ſuch weak and rude Indiſcretions, that he was forbidden the Preſumption of appearing any longer at Court. His Ambition being thus baulk'd, he turn'd *Lecturer* and Mal-Content: And to revenge himſelf on the Biſhop of *Durham*, plaid his Spleen upon the whole *Order*.

I ſhall now give the Reader an Abſtract of Archbiſhop *Laud's* Defence of himſelf, and the reſt of the Biſhops againſt the Charge of *Innovation*, contain'd in the *Libels* and *Anſwers* of *Baſtwick*, *Burton* and *Pryn*. This Vindication the Archbiſhop delivered in a Speech, when the Court was ready to give Sentence.

The Archbiſhop's Vindication of himſelf, and the Biſhops againſt the Charge of Innovation.

“He opens his Diſcourſe with remarking how odious a Method it was to make uſe of *Libells*, even for the Support of Truth; and bring Religion under the Protection of Railing. And that the Primitive Chriſtians forbore this Expedient, when Perſecution was moſt rigorous and raging. As for the *Order* of Biſhops, he maintain'd it to be *Jure Divino*, though not in all the Adjuncts or Circumſtances of that Function. And that from the Time of the Apoſtles, the Church of Chriſt, through all Ages and Countries, had been governed by Biſhops. And that *Lay-Elders* were never heard of, 'till Calvin's *new fangled Device at* Geneva.

“And whereas 'twas objected by the *Defendants*, that the Biſhop's claiming by Divine Right, implied a Commiſſion independent upon the *State*; and was by Conſequence an Encroachment upon the Prerogative. The Archbiſhop anſwers, this was a mere ignorant Evaſion: *For*, to uſe his own Words, *Our being Biſhops*, ſays he, *by Divine Right takes nothing from the King's Right or Power over us. For though our Office be from God and Chriſt immediately, yet may we not exerciſe that Power, either of Order or Juriſdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majeſties, or any Chriſtian King's Kingdoms, but by, and under the Power of the King, given us ſo to do* (r).

(r) *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Speech in the* Star-Chamber, *June* 16.1637.

Whether this Reaſoning of the Archbiſhop will hold or not, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to what has been obſerved in both the Parts of my *Hiſtory* upon this Subject.

As to the *Innovations* charg'd in the *Libels*, he anſwers them as they lie. “Firſt, touching the ſuppreſſing Sermons in Places viſited with the Plague, during the Faſt; and that this was contrary to the Order of former Times:” To this he returns, that the preſent Age is not unalterably bound up to the Precedents of the former: That it is no Fault to avoid an Inconvenience, and grow wiſer upon Experience: That the ſuppreſſing thoſe Sermons was no Act of the Biſhops, but an Order of the *Privy Council*, to prevent the ſpreading of the Infection: And, laſtly, that as *Faſt-Sermons* had been managed of late, the People were much the worſe for them: That the Government was arraign'd, and the People heated towards Sedition at ſuch Opportunities. And for this he mentioned *Burton's* Sermon as a clear Inſtance. As to the *Wedneſday-Faſt* without Sermons; he anſwer'd, that *Wedneſday* was the uſual Day for ſuch Publick Faſts: That 'twas fixed by the *Lord-Keeper Coventry*, who was apparently no Friend to Popery. And notwithſtanding 'twas pretended the Day was changed for putting down the *Wedneſday Lectures*, the preſent Continuance of theſe *Exerciſes* on that Day was a ſufficient Diſproof of that Surmiſe. Their Objection of leaving out the Prayer for ſeaſonable Weather being a trifling Allegation, the Archbiſhop's Anſwer ſhall be omitted.

To the Omiſſion of a Clauſe in a Thankſgiving *Collect*, for God's delivering us from *Popiſh Superſtition*, his Anſwer is, “That though our Fore-fathers had been delivered from ſuch *Superſtitions*, yet, bleſſed be God, we were never in them; and therefore could not properly be ſaid to have been deliver'd. And whereas a Paſſage, relating to a Reliance on the Merit of Faſting, was left out in the late Orders. To this he replies, That in this Age and Kingdom there was no Danger of over-rating the Significancy of Faſting. That on the contrary, the Diſcipline of *Lent*, and other ſtated Times for Auſterity and Mortification, were diſuſed, and treated with Contempt; excepting ſuch voluntary Humiliations as ſome humourſome and deſigning People called for, to carry on their own Buſineſs. The next pretended *Innovation* I ſhall mention is, the expunging *Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed*, in the *Collect* for the Royal Family. To this 'twas anſwered, That this Collect was not in the Common-Prayer Book confirmed by Law, in the Reigns of King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*; neither of thoſe Princes having any Iſſue: And that 'twas left out for ſome Years after his preſent Majeſty came to the Crown.

And laſtly, that the Clauſe of *Father of thine Elect*, &c. was left out by *Abbot* his Predeceſſor: Altering the Words in the *Epiſtle* on the *Sunday* next before *Eaſter*, and putting **At** the Name of Jeſus for **In** the Name of Jeſus; and bowing when the Name of Jeſus was pronounc'd, was another Head of Complaint againſt the Biſhops. To this 'twas anſwered, that *bowing* at the *Name* of *Jeſus* was no Innovation introduced by the Prelates now living, but enjoined by Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Injunctions* at the beginning of the *Reformation*. And (2d) though it is **In** *the Name* of *Jeſus* in the old Editions of the *Liturgies*, 'tis **At** the *Name* of *Jeſus* in the Tranſlation of *Geneva*, printed in the Year 1567, and in the new *Tranſlation* made in the late Reign. The Biſhops are further charged with the Alteration of two Paſſages in the Form of Prayer ſet forth by Act of Parliament for the 5th of *November*. The Form ſtands thus, *Root out the* Babyloniſh *Sect*, *which ſay of* Jeruſalem, *down with it*, &c. The other Paſſage is this, *Cut of thoſe Workers of Iniquity whoſe* **Religion is Rebellion**, &c. Both which are thus altered in the Books laſt printed. *Root out the* Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian *Sect (of them) which ſay*, &c. And *cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity who turn* **Religion** *into* **Rebellion**, &c. To this the Defence was, that the Prayers for the 5th of *November*, were neither made, publiſhed, or enjoined by *Act* of Parliament, but only by the King's Authority: (2d) That being drawn up and ordered to be read by the King's ſole Authority, his Majeſty might alter the Form as far as he thought proper: And that the Archbiſhop had the King's Hand for thoſe Alterations.

The pretended *Innovation* in placing the *Communion Table*, where the Altar ſtood reading the ſecond Service at it, and bowing towards, or before it, was thus diſproved: Firſt, the Archbiſhop had Practice and Cuſtom on his Side; for the *Table* had been placed in this Situation in his Majeſty's Chappel, and ſeveral Cathedrals, ſince the *Reformation*. That if this way of ſtanding was lawful in thoſe Places of *Devotion*, how could the ſame Uſage be exceptionable in other Churches? His Defence from Authority and Law has been mentioned upon another Occaſion, and therefore I ſhall paſs it over. Then as for reading the *Communion Service* at the Altar, 'twas the cuſtomary Practice as far as his Memory could reach: That this Uſage was firſt changed in the Churches where the *Puritans* preach'd, and therefore the Charge of Innovation muſt lie at their Door. (*2dly*) That the reading Divine Service at the Communion Table is required by the *Rubrick*. For Inſtance: In the firſt *Rubrical* Paragraph after the *Communion*, 'tis appointed, that on Holy-Days (if there is no *Communion*) all ſhall be ſaid that is appointed at the Communion: And in the laſt *Rubrick* before the Communion, the Prieſt is ordered to ſtand at the North Side of the Holy Table, and officiate: And laſtly, bowing towards the Table at their approaching towards it, or entring into the Church, was defenſible by the Practice of *Moſes*, *David*, and *Hezekiah*; and implyed in the Pſalm, *O come let us worſhip and fall down*, &c. That this Sentence ſtood conſtantly in the Front of the Ancient *Liturgies*, and thus it ſtands in *ours*: And that therefore the People might as well refuſe coming to Church, as worſhipping when they came thither. To this the Archbiſhop ſubjoined, that by the Statutes of the Noble Order of the *Garter*, the Knights were obliged to make their Reverence towards the Altar. That this Religious Ceremony had continued ever ſince the Time of King *Henry* the Fifth: That if there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen *Elizabeth* who expelled, nor King *James*, who kept out *Popery*, would have ſuffered this Practice. After this he argues in a *Dilemma*, that if it was a Part of Divine Worſhip, and no Idolatry, he ought to perform it no leſs than the *Garter*-Knights. But if 'twas a prohibited Inſtance of Adoration, and claſhed with the *Decalogue*, they ought to forbear it, as well as himſelf: Their heavieſt Charge, that the Biſhops had interpolated the Church *Records*, forged a *Popiſh* Clauſe, and tacked it to the beginning of the twentieth *Article*, has been ſufficiently diſproved already, under the Year 1562; and thither I refer the *Reader*.

The Archbiſhop having gone through theſe Heads of Innovation, acquainted the *Court* there were ſome other remaining Exceptions in Points of Doctrine: But that theſe ſhould quickly be ſatisfied in a *Tract* for that Purpoſe, meaning the *Anſwer* to *Burton*'s Book already mentiond. In the cloſe, he declines giving Sentence againſt the Perſons proſecuted, in Regard he was ſomewhat of a Party in the *Information*: And thus he leaves them to God's Mercy, and the King's Juſtice.

There was one conſiderable Article, of which the Archbiſhop took no Notice in his *Speech*: 'Tis this, That the Prelates had never applied for *the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of* England. *to authorize the keeping their Courts*, *Viſitations*, &c. *but that they acted in their own Names*, *and under their own Seals*, *contrary to Law*. (*s*) The Force of this Objection having been diſabled by a ſolemn Reſolution already related, I ſhall wave Repetition; only to what has been ſaid, it may not be improper to add upon this Occaſion, that upon the 14th of *May*, this Year, the Judges unanimouſly declared, that the Act of Repeal of 1 *Ed. 6. cap.* 2. made in the firſt of Queen *Mary*, was ſtill in Force.

(*s*) Burton's *Sermon*, *pag.* 69.

But to ſtrengthen this Security for the *Church*, and make it ſerviceable to After-ages, He humbly deſired the King the Caſe might be put more at length, and that the Reſolution of all the Reverend Judges might be taken fuller in Form, and publiſhed by his Majeſty. That by this Means the Governours of the Church may proceed more chearfully in their Functions; and the *Laity* be delivered from the Prejudices they had received of the Biſhops Encroachment. His Majeſty condeſcending to this Motion, publiſhed the following *Declaration*.

By the King.

A Vindication of the Biſhop's exerciſing Juriſdiction in their own Names.

Whereas in ſome of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately publiſhed the moſt Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of the Realm, are ſaid to have uſurped upon his Majeſties Prerogative Royal, *and to have proceeded in the* High Commiſſion, *and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts*, contrary to the Laws and Statutes *of the Realm: It was ordered by his Majeſties High Court of* Star-Chamber, *the twelfth of* June *laſt*, *That the Opinion of the two Lords* Chief Juſtices, *the Lord Chief* Baron, *and the reſt of the Judges and Barons*, *ſhould be had and certified in theſe Particulars*, viz. *Whether Proceſſes may not iſſue out of the* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts in the Names of the Biſhops? Whether a Patent under the Great Seal be neceſſary for the keeping of the* Eccleſiaſtical

Courts, *and enabling Citations, Suſpenſions, Ex communications, and other Cenſures of the Church? And whether the Citations ought to be in the King's Name, and under his Seal of Arms; and the like for* Inſtitutions *and* Inductions *to Benefices, and Correction of Eccleſiaſtical Offences? And whether Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Perſons, may or ought to keep any* Viſitation *at any Time, unleſs they have expreſs Commiſſion, or* Patent *under the Great Seal of* England, to do it; *and that as his Majeſties* Viſitors *only, and in his* Name, *and Right alone?*

A Reſolution of all the Judges touching this Matter entred upon Record.

" Whereupon the ſaid Judges having taken " the ſame into their ſerious Conſideration, did " unanimouſly agree and concur in Opinion; and " on the firſt Day of *July* laſt certified under " their Hands as followeth: *That Proceſſes may iſſue out of* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts in the Name of the Biſhops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not neceſſary for the keeping the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suſpenſions, Excommunications, and other Cenſures of the Church. And that it is not neceſſary that Summons, Citations, or other* Proceſſes Eccleſiaſtical *in the ſaid Courts, or* Inſtitutions, *and* Inductions *to Benefices, or Correction of* Eccleſiaſtical *Offences by Cenſure in thoſe Courts, be in the King's Name, or with the Style of the King, or with the King's Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the King's Arms; and that the Statute* 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. *which enacted the contrary, is not now in Force; and that the Archbiſhops,* Biſhops, *Archdeacons, and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Perſons, may keep their Viſitations, as uſually they have done, without Commiſſion under the Great Seal ſo to do.* " Which Opinions and Reſolutions being de- " clared under the Hands of all his Majeſties " ſaid Judges, and ſo certified into his Court of " *Star-Chamber*, were there recorded: And it " was by that Court further ordered, the fourth " of the ſaid *July, That the ſaid Certificate ſhould be inrolled in all other his Majeſties Courts at* Weſtminſter, *and in the High* Commiſſion, and other Eccleſiaſtical *Courts for the Satisfaction of all Men: That the Proceedings in the* High Commiſſion, *and other* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts, are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this* Realm.

And his Royal Majeſty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration, of theſe the Opinions of his Reverend and *Learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Reſolution of former Times, ſhould be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts and Miniſters, from the unjuſt and ſcandalous Imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal* Prerogative, *as to ſettle the Minds, and ſtop the Mouths, of all unquiet Spirits, that for the Future they preſume not to cenſure his* Eccleſiaſtical *Courts,* or *Miniſters in theſe their juſt and warranted Proceedings. And hereof his Majeſty admoniſheth all his Subjects to take Warning, as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril.*

Given at the Court at *Lindhurſt* the
13th Day of *Auguſt*, in the 13th
Year of his Reign, 1637.

Biſhop Williams *proſecuted in the* Star-Chamber *for Subornation, and fined,* &c.

In *Trinity-Term*, this Summer, *Williams*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was proſecuted a freſh in the *Star-Chamber:* A *Bill* had ſome time been preferred againſt him in this Court for revealing the King's *Secrets*, Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* being the Informers. But here the Biſhop defended himſelf ſo well, that Attorney General *Noy* grew weary of the Cauſe, and ſlackned the Proſecution. But after his Death the Buſineſs was revived by one *Kilvart*, Proctor in the *Arches*. This *Kilvart* perceiving the Biſhop's Defence, reſted moſt upon the Teſtimony of *Prigeon*, Regiſtrary of the Court at *Lincoln*, endeavoured to diſable the Credit of this Evidence: To this Purpoſe he lays a Baſtard to his Charge, and proved the Accuſation ſo plauſibly, if not with Truth, that the Juſtices of the Peace, at the Quarter-Seſſions at *Lincoln*, made an Order for obliging *Prigeon* to keep the Child. The Biſhop, to clear *Prigeon's* Reputation, procured two of his Country-men, *Owen* and *Powell*, to give in Counter-Evidence, and ſwear the Baſtard upon one *Boone*; upon this *Kilvart* taking his Advantage, drops the Proſecution againſt *Prigeon*, and exhibits a new Bill againſt the Biſhop for *Subornation* of Witneſſes. *Williams* being either conſcious of ſome wrong Step, or ſuſpecting his Judges unfriendly, endeavoured to compound with his Majeſty, and offered to purchaſe his Quiet with a conſiderable Sum. This Overture was afterwards urged againſt him as an Argument of Guilt. In ſhort, he was *fined* Eight thouſand Pounds to the King, ſuſpended *a Beneficiis & Officiis*, and impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure. The Sentence was accordingly executed in every Part; the Money was all exacted, he was ſent to the *Tower*, and his Juriſdiction fell to the Archbiſhop; *Laud* concurred in the *Cenſure* with the reſt of the *Star-Chamber*, and harangued with great Vehemence and Length upon *Williams's* Offence. Amongſt other Things, he ſet forth, that the World was above Three thouſand Years old before it was depraved to the Commiſſion of ſo great a Wickedneſs: That *Jeſabel* was the firſt in *Scripture* who ſtands marked for *Subornation*; and that her Witneſſes are deſcribed in the ſtrongeſt Terms of Infamy, and called the Sons of *Belial:* That notwithſtanding he had been five Times on his Knees to the King on the Biſhop's Behalf, yet now, upon further Recollection, he could ſollicit no longer for a gentle Sentence. (*t*)

The Biſhop's Secretary, *Walker*, and *Powell* his Steward, were fined Three hundred Pounds each; and *Lund*, another of his Servants, a Thouſand Marks, all Defendants in the ſame Cauſe; yet none of them were impriſoned except *Lund* for a few Weeks, neither was their Fine ever demanded. This Favour was interpreted by the Biſhop to bribe them to *Kilvart's* Pleaſure, and liſt them in his Service.

Biſhop Williams *complains of illegal Proſecution.*

To make the Hiſtory of this Matter more entire, the *Reader* may obſerve, that in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and forty, when *Williams* was diſcharged out of the *Tower*, and reſtored to his Place in Parliament, he complained of the Illegality of the Proſecution. To make his Complaint good, he alledged,

(1.) That his Adverſaries deſpairing of Succeſs, drop'd their firſt *Information* about *revealing the King's Secrets*, changed their Battery, and proſecuted him for *Subornation*; whereas he conceived all Acceſſaries and Incidentals ought to ſink with the principal Charge.

(2.) That he was barr'd the Advantage of excepting againſt the Teſtimonies of Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sibthorp*, and proving a Conſpiracy upon them; and that they lay covered upon the Score of their being King's Evidence. And thus thoſe Witneſſes which were moſt ſerviceable for the Defendant, were ſet aſide by the *Court*.

(3.) That

(*t*) Leſtrange's *Hiſt. King* Charles I. MS. penes me. Ruſhworth.

(3.) That *Kilvart* menac'd thoſe who were to appear in Behalf of the Biſhop; committed ſome of them, and over-aw'd the reſt into Silence (*n*). The Biſhop urging ſeveral other Inſtances of hard Uſage, the Lords were ſo far ſatisfied with his Plea, that they ordered the Records in the *Star-Chamber*, relating to that Proceſs, to be all raz'd.

(*u*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book II.

To return to the Time before us; Biſhop *Williams* fell under a ſecond Cenſure in the *Star Chamber* upon the following Occaſion. Mr. *Osbaldſton*, School-Maſter, and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, ſent a Letter to *Williams* two Years ſince, in which there was this Paſſage: *The little Vermin, the Urchin, and the Hocus Pocus, this ſtormy* Chriſtmas., *is at true and real Variance with the Leviathan.* The Biſhop communicating the Contents of this Letter, was proſecuted for divulging Libels upon *Privy Councellors*; the Bill ſetting forth that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was meant by the *Urchin*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* by the *Leviathan*: And that the Biſhop ought to have put this ſcandalous Letter into the Hands of ſome Juſtice of Peace, and not diſperſed it.

The Biſhop's Defence was, that he did not remember the receiving of any ſuch Letter: And farther, that he was not ſenſible the Law obliged any Perſon to trouble a Juſtice of Peace, with Riddles, and unintelligible Deſcription. And to ſecond the Biſhop's Plea, *Osbaldſton* declared his Letter was clear miſconſtrued; and that *Hocus Pocus* ſtood for one Dr. *Spicer* a *Civilian*, and *Leviathan* for the Chief Juſtice *Richardſon.* It ſeems there was ſome Reſemblance in the Stature of theſe Gentlemen, which might make this Conſtruction paſs. But theſe Allegations were found evaſive; for *Kilvart* produced a Letter written by *Williams* to his Secretary *Walker*, at the Time when the Miſunderſtandings happened between *Laud* and *Weſton*: The Letter is this.

> " Here is a ſtrange Thing, Mr. *Oſdbaldſton*
> " importunes me to contribute to my Lord Trea-
> " ſurer's Uſe, ſome Charges upon the Little
> " Great Man, and aſſures me they are mortally
> " out. I have utterly refuſed to meddle in this
> " Buſineſs; and I pray you learn from Mr. *S.*
> " and Mr. *H.* if any ſuch falling out be, or
> " whether ſome Body hath not gulled the School-
> " Maſter in theſe three laſt Letters; and keep
> " it unto your ſelf, what I write unto you. If
> " my Lord Treaſurer would be ſerved by me,
> " he muſt uſe a more near, ſolid, and truſty
> " Meſſenger, and free me from the Bonds of the
> " Star-Chamber, elſe let them fight it out for
> " me.

He falls under a ſecond Cenſure in the Star-Chamber.

The Myſtery thus diſcovered, they both fell under the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*, which drew another Fine of Eight thouſand Pounds upon the Biſhop: *Osbaldſton*'s Sentence was a Fine of Five thouſand Pounds, the Loſs of all his Church Preferments, to have his Ears faſtned to the Pillory in the *Palace-Yard*; and both of them were adjudged to pay Coſts to Archbiſhop *Laud.* Theſe were look'd on as harſh Proceedings; but the Archbiſhop, as 'tis affirmed, had a Favour in Reſerve for *Osbaldſton*, and reſolved to throw himſelf at the King's Feet, that the Corporal Puniſhment might not be executed: That this was his Intention, ſeems probable by *Osbaldſton's* not being immediately confined, but ſuffered to make his Eſcape.

Ruſhworth. Cyprian Anglic.

The Scotch *Common-Prayer read at* Edinburgh, *and inſulted.*

Theſe Rigours, as they were conſtrued, of the *Star-Chamber*, proſecuting the Clergy for not reading the *Declaration* for *Sports*, and falling ſhort of Complyance in Ceremonies, gave an Umbrage to the *Scots*, filled them with Jealouſies, made them more implicit to Presbyterian Suggeſtions, and an eaſier Property to the *Politicians* of that Kingdom: This gave the *Mal-Contents* a Handle for Practice, and a ſtronger Averſion againſt the *Common-Prayer.* Their Diſaffection to the Hierarchy was puſhed farther by the Faction in *England*, who were not without a Correſpondence with the *Scots.* Theſe Men being highly diſguſted with the publiſhing the Book for *Sports*, removing the Communion-Table to an Altar-Situation, ſuppreſſing *Lectures*, and Afternoon Sermons, and forbidding preaching, or printing, in Defence of Calviniſm, carried their Complaints to the remoteſt Parts of the Iſland, and alarm'd the *Scots* with Apprehenſions of being reduced to the ſame Condition. They believed their own Prelates acted by concert with *Laud* and his Party, were raiſing their Juriſdiction upon the Ruins of Presbytery, and bringing the Church to the *Engliſh* Model. This, beſide their particular Exceptions to the *New Service*, made them ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd againſt this Affair.

The Biſhops, purſuant to his Majeſties Command, ordered Intimation to be given in the *Pulpits* at *Edinburgh*, that the next *Sunday*, *July* the 23d, the *Service Book* would be read in all the Churches: The Miniſters dilated upon the Benefits of the *Common-Prayer*, and exhorted the People to Compliance.

1637.

Accordingly, on the 23d of *July*, the Dean of *Edinburgh* began to read the *Book* at the Cathedral of St. *Giles's*; but the Devotion was quickly diſturb'd by a *Mob* of Women, who outraged the Dean with Clamour, and other Inſtances of Rudeneſs: Upon this the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* ſtepping into the Pulpit, put them in Mind of the Place, and the Buſineſs, and endeavoured to recover them to Decency and Temper: But Admonition ſerving only to enrage the more, they threw Stools at the Dean and Biſhop, and attempted to pull them out of the Pulpit and Desk: The Miniſters who read the *Common-Prayer* in the other Churches, met with the ſame Treatment, and made their Eſcape with great Difficulty. The Lord Chancellour, and the *Secret* Council, to prevent the Repetition of this Inſolence, appearing well attended in the Afternoon, the *Book* was read without Diſturbance. (*w*) However, the Biſhop going to his Houſe was in Danger of being murder'd in the Streets: But by good Providence the Earl of *Roxborough* coming by, took him into his Coach, and out-drove the Rabble. This bold Salley, tho' it carried the Face of a raſh unpremediated Riot, was in Reality, the Reſult of a Conſultation held at *Edinburgh* in *April* laſt. Here the Lord *Balmaranoch.* Sir *Thomas Hope*, Advocate, and Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, with ſome others of Conduct and Figure, being in the Concert, engaged the Women to begin the Attack upon the *Book*, giving them an Aſſurance the Men would ſupport 'em, and go on with the Quarrel.

(*w*) Leſtrange'*s Hiſt. of King* Charles I. *pag.* 153. Guthry'*s Memoirs.*

August *the* 23*d.*

Notwithſtanding this Inauſpicious Beginning, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* charged this *Henderſon*, and Mr. *James Bruce*, benefic'd in *Fiſe*, to read the Book under the Penalty of *Horning.* * Theſe two Miniſters addreſſing the Lords of the *Council* for a Suſpenſion of this Order, were ſo far conſider'd, as to have a

* *Horning is Outlawry for Treaſon.*

Month's Reſpite; during which Time theſe Lords wrote to the King for further Inſtructions.

The Biſhops expected the *Council* would have diſcountenanc'd theſe Miniſters in their Petition, and puniſhed the Rioters at *Edinburgh* in an Exemplary Manner: But when they ſound themſelves diſappointed in both, they began to diſtruſt the Lord Treaſurer, when 'twas too late.

The Countenance *Henderſon* and *Bruce* met with at the *Council* encouraged the reſt, and made ſeveral of the Nobility, with no ſmall Number of the Miniſters and Burgeſſes, declare openly for the *Cauſe*, and addreſs the Board in Form againſt the *Common Prayer*.

Guthry.

Some Reaſons of the Miſcarriage of this Affair.

If we enquire into the Reaſons of this unhappy Miſcarriage, the Earl of *Traquair's* being too much confided in by the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Prelates, and their reſting the whole Affair upon the Conduct of this Noble Man, had no ſmall Weight upon the Diſappointment. I have already obſerved, that this Earl being apprehenſive of a Rivalſhip in Intereſt from the Biſhop of *Roſs*, grew diſaffected to the reſt of that *Order*: That he was no Friend to the Biſhops, appears further by his Letter to the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, upon the Subject before us. "He "deſires the Marquiſs to ſuggeſt to his Majeſty, "that if he is pleaſed to ſend for any of the "*Scotch* Clergy to report the Condition of Affairs, or employ them in the preſent Juncture; "he would chuſe ſome of the beſt qualified "with Temper and Diſcretion: For, as for "ſome Leading Men amongſt them, they were "defective in Judgment, and extravagantly Violent and Forward: That their want of Underſtanding to manage Things of this Niceneſs and "Weight, embarraſs'd the *Council* with a great "many Difficulties: And that their Raſhneſs "and Folly, both in Diſcourſe and Buſineſs, "were the Occaſion of Fears and Jealouſies "among the People, and made the Government miſconſtrued. That the Biſhops complained their Revenues and Juriſdiction was "ſeiz'd by the *Reformation*; and that the Worſhip of God was not in all Circumſtances exactly ſettled. From hence it appears, the Earl was not pleaſed the Biſhop ſhould remember Encroachments upon Religion, move for Redreſs, and endeavour reſtoring the Church to a Primitive Condition.*

The Earl of Traquair *repreſents the* Scottiſh *Biſhops to Diſadvantage.*

To return the poſtponing the reading the *Liturgy* from *Eaſter* to *July* was another wrong Step: By this Delay the Presbyterians had Time to form Counter-Schemes, and make Parties againſt it: They had Leiſure to alarm the People with Jealouſies, that the Purity of Religion muſt ſuffer, and that Superſtition and Popery would be forced upon them. And thus when they had ſurpriz'd their Underſtandings, miſreported the Church and State, and work'd themſelves to a Confidence with their Party, 'twas then in their Power to govern almoſt at Pleaſure; 'twas thought the *Scotch* Biſhops made ſome other Miſtakes: For not to repeat their declining getting the *Book* paſs'd in a *General Aſſembly*, they fell into another Error, by making their firſt Tryal in a *Town* where they might reaſonably expect moſt Oppoſition: Inſtead therefore of executing the *Liturgy* at *Edinburgh*, they ſhould have made their firſt Eſſay in remoter Dioceſſes, where the People were leſs indiſpoſed.

Some of the *Scotch* Biſhops are likewiſe blam'd for not preacquainting the Lords of the *Council*, and others of the Nobility, with the Deſign: Had theſe Great Men been at firſt applied to for their Concurrence, and courted into the Intereſt, 'tis believed no ſmall Numbers of them might have been gained: This was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* Advice, when the *Common-Prayer* Book was under the firſt Digeſtion. Some of the *Scotch* Biſhops likewiſe complained of their not being taken into the Conſult, this was cenſured as an Exceſs of Secrecy: For which Way could theſe Prelates, who knew little or nothing, exert themſelves, and work their Clergy to Compliance? Beſides, there was no Care taken to make the Miniſters; nothing promiſed to take off the Leading Men, and bribe them to their Duty: And laſtly, the publick Intimation of reading the Book a Week before might probably diſſerve the Undertaking: For what was this Notice, but a kind of Summons to the *Mal-Contents*, to rendezvous the *Mob*, and prepare them for Mutiny and Inſult; and thus much for the Miſtakes Prior to the Experiment. To proceed to ſome other following Inſtances. (1.) When the *Scotch* Biſhops found the *Book* ill received, and the Rabble riſe upon it, they conſulted apart, ſent the King Word of what had paſs'd without preacquainting the Temporal Lords, or reinforcing the Cauſe with that Intereſt. Next, their leaving *Edinburgh*, and retiring all to their Dioceſſes, excepting the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Dunblaine*, was remark'd as another Error: For, as *Canterbury*, in one of his Letters to *Traquair*, expoſtulates, they muſt needs imagine the Adverſe Party would make an Advantage of their Abſence, and clog the Undertaking with new Difficulties.

But to this it may be anſwered, the Biſhops might reaſonably conclude themſelves unſafe in this *Town*: For neither the Lords of the *Council*, or the Magiſtracy, had given any Orders to ſeize the Chief Incendiaries, and bring them to Juſtice: This Impunity look'd either like Fear or Favour, and encouraged to further Inſolence: Had the Sword of Juſtice been ſeaſonably drawn on ſome few, 'tis probable it might have prevented a great Effuſion of Blood, and ſecured the Repoſe of that Kingdom: But thoſe who manag'd the Adminiſtration ſeem'd to have other Views, or at leaſt different Thoughts, of the Iſſue; for inſtead of puniſhing the *Rioters*, they ſuſpended the *Liturgy*.

August the 19th.

'Tis true, the *Edinburghers* being apprehenſive the *Engliſh* Fleet might diſtreſs them, by blocking up their Haven, endeavoured to bring his Majeſty to a better Opinion of their Conduct. To this Purpoſe, in their Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, they declared their Abhorrence of the late Tumult, proteſted their Innocency, and appealed to the Lords of the *Council* for their Vindication: To this they ſubjoin'd their Readineſs to aſſiſt the Biſhops and Miniſters for ſettling the *Service-Book*; and that they would do their utmoſt to promote this Affair, and protect thoſe that engaged in it. And to give their Application a ſtronger Appearance of Reality, they ſeiz'd ſome of the Mutineers, and made Enquiry after others: And whereas the City Miniſters deſired to be excus'd reading the *Book*, till Security was given them againſt the Rabble; the Magiſtrates and Common-Council of *Edinburgh* ſigned them a Safeguard in Form, and over and above ſettled a Maintenance.

And now Harveſt coming on, the Phrenzy of the Populace ſeem'd to cool, and Buſineſs was ſome Intermiſſion to Sedition: But after this Seaſon was over, the Presbyterian Faction

drew

* *Memoirs of Duke* Hamilton, *pag.* 41.

drew together again, and appeared at *Edinburgh* in formidable Numbers, And now the Burghers began to lay aſide the Maſk, and diſcover their Inclination. Inſtead of exerting their former Zeal for the *Common-Prayer*, they preſented an *Addreſs* to the Lords of the *Council*, that the *Book* might not be preſs'd upon them, 'till the King's Pleaſure was further known. The *Secret Council* perceiving the City diſaffected, and apprehenſive of ſome dangerous Conſequence, iſſued out three Proclamations. The firſt to diſcharge their *Meeting* with Reference to Church Affairs, commanding them all to repair to their reſpective Homes, excepting thoſe who could ſhow the *Board* ſufficient Reaſons for their ſtaying. The ſecond, was for removing the *Seſſion* or *Term* from *Edinburgh* to *Lithgoe*. The third, publiſhed about three Days after, ordered the calling in, and burning a ſeditious Pamphlet, entitled, *A Diſpute againſt the* English *Popiſh Ceremonies obtruded upon the Kirk of* Scotland. Theſe *Proclamations* enraged the People, and brought great Bodies of Women upon the former Enterprize. And the next Day the Biſhop of *Galloway* going to the *Council Houſe*, was purſued all along with Reproaches; and had in all Likelihood been torn in Pieces, had he not been reſcued with great Difficulty. The Earl of *Traquair* receiving Advice of this Outrage, forced his Paſſage through the Rabble, and gained the *Council Houſe*. But being got in he found his Condition no better than the Biſhop's: For the Place was immediately beſet, and the Lords within terribly menaced. Upon this the Aſſiſtance of the Provoſt, and *Common Council* was deſired to diſengage the Lord Treaſurer, and the Biſhop: But anſwer was returned, they were under the ſame Circumſtances, and no leſs formidably inveſted than themſelves. That under this Extremity of Dureſs, they had been forced to ſign a Paper *to adhere to the* Mutineers, *in Oppoſition to the Service Book*: *And to reſtore* Ramſey *and* Rollock, *two ſilenc'd Miniſters, and one* Henderſon *a ſilenced Reader.*

Octob. 17.

L'Eſtrange Guthry.

The Noiſe of the *Edinburghers* having join'd the *Addreſſors* againſt the *Common-Prayer*, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the *Burroughs*, that notwithſtanding the former Neutrality of moſt of them, they came now all into the *Cauſe*, *Aberdeen* excepted. And, to ſhew their Heartineſs puſhed forwards with the greateſt Fury imaginable; ſo that neither the Clergy, or any others of a different Sentiment, could live amongſt them.

December 19.

When the Council ſat at *Dalkeith*, the Noblemen and Commiſſioners of the *Faction* preſented a *Declinatur* againſt the Biſhops: For the Miniſters had lately ſigned a Remonſtrance againſt their Prelates; complained of them as Betrayers of Religion, and deſired they might be brought to Juſtice. The Biſhops being thus, as it were impeached, and lying under a Criminal Character, theſe *Petitioners* did not think it reaſonable they ſhould be allowed the Privilege of Judges, and vote at the *Council Table*. And here the Lord Treaſurer *Traquair*, Sir *James Carmichael*, Treaſurer Depute, or Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Thomas Hope* Advocate, and Sir *John Hamilton Juſtice*-Clerk, opened themſelves more than formerly, and diſcovered their Inclination to the *Petitioners*. And, in ſhort, none of the *Board* ſpoke heartily for the Biſhops, excepting Sir *John Hay* Clerk-Regiſter, or Maſter of the Rolls*.

To proceed: The Lords of the Council having procur'd a Protection for themſelves from ſome of the Mal-content Nobility, publiſhed a *Proclamation* for preventing ſuch Diſorders as had lately happened: But the Government had loſt the Aſcendant. For the *Burghers* ſent ſome of their Body to the *Council Table*, to demand the reſtoring the Miniſters to their Places, and the Performance of other extorted Articles. Not long after the *Council* was ſollicited with another *Petition* againſt the *Liturgy* and *Canons*. This *Addreſs* came ſtrongly ſupported, countenanced by all Degrees, and ſign'd by *Noble-Men*, *Barons*, *Miniſters*, *Burgeſſes*, and *Commons*.

"This *Petition* being ſent up to the King, he replied to the Subſtance in a *Proclamation*, in which his Majeſty acquaints them with the Piety of his Intentions in ſending them the *Liturgy*: That he meant nothing leſs than the Maintenance of the true Religion profeſs'd amongſt them: That there was nothing in the *Service-Book*, but what had been peruſ'd and approv'd by himſelf before it was printed: That the *Book* would be a Guard to their Religion; and for this he did not queſtion to give them Satisfaction in due Time: That he ſhould overlook what was paſt, upon Condition of better Behaviour. His Majeſty proceeded to forbid the like tumultuous *Meetings*, upon Pain of Treaſon. And the *Term* being now removed to *Sterling*, he commanded that no Strangers ſhould repair thither: And that all Perſons, unleſs particularly licenc'd, of what Degree ſoever, being neither Lords of the *Council* or *Seſſion*, nor Inhabitants of the Town, ſhould within ſix Hours after this Publication, quit the Place, under the Forfeitures of Treaſon. The *Proclamation* concludes with this gentle Sentence, That his Majeſty would not reject their Petition upon this, or any other Subject, provided neither the Matter, or Form, was Derogatory to his Regal Authority (x).

February *the* 19*th* Anno Dom. 163⅞.

Immediately after the Reading this *Proclamation*, the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindſey*, and others, purſuant to what had been preconcerted, *proteſted* againſt it in Form. And now the Party broke out into open Defiance: And being reſolved to go through with the Enterprize, in Deſpight of the Government, they poſted to *Edinburgh*; where, after having conſulted *Hope*, the *Advocate*, and ſome others of that Profeſſion, they ſet up a Counter-Authority, conſiſting of four *Tables*. The Nobility made one; the Barons another; the Burgeſſes a third, and the Miniſters a fourth. Theſe four were to prepare and digeſt Matter for the *General Table*, form'd of ſeveral Members delegated from the Reſt. And here the laſt and binding Reſolutions were taken.

L'Eſtrange Guthry.

The firſt Buſineſs of theſe *Tables* was renewing the Ancient Confeſſion of the Kirk already related. To this there was a *Band* annexed, ſuited to the Deſign in Hand. By this *Band* they ſolemnly engaged for the Maintenance of their Religion then profeſs'd, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon. But both by the Tenour of the *Inſtrument*, and their own Explanation, 'tis evident their Meaning was otherwiſe. For by the *Band* they obliged themſelves to defend each other, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, the King himſelf not being excepted. Whereas the Engagements of this Kind in the late Reign, had an expreſs Clauſe for the Defence of the King's Perſon and Authority. Beſides, there was another great Diſparity between this *Confeſſion* or Covenant, and thoſe ſubſcrib'd in the late Reign: The former being either ſigned by the King, or by the Lords of the *Council*, at the Requeſt of the *General Aſſembly*. Whereas this *Covenant* was ſubſcribed, and the Subject enjoined to ſwear it without any Face of Authority either in Church, or *State* (y). And further, under the general Names of *Popery*, *Hereſie* and *Superſtition*, then ſolemnly renounced, not only the *Common-Prayer Book* and *Canons*, but Epiſcopal Government; and the five Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament, were comprehended. While the Covenanters were thus enterprizing at *Edinburgh*, the Lords of the *Council* continued at *Sterling*, and were little regarded.

---

* Guthry's *Memoirs*.

(x) Biblioth. Reg. p. 147.

(y) Hammond L'Eſtrange. Guthry. *King's large Declaration.*

Spotſwood, Lord Chancellor, and Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, finding the Country too troubleſome, withdrew to *London*, where he died the next Year. The reſt of the Biſhops, who knew themſelves moſt malign'd, made for the ſame Shelter; only four of them continued in their Country. Three of theſe, *Alexander Ramſey* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *George Graham* Biſhop of *Orkney*, and *James Fairly* Biſhop of *Argyle*, reſcued themſelves from Perſecution, by deſerting their Station, and publickly renouncing their *Order*: But the fourth, *John Guthry* Biſhop of *Murray*, endured the Storm with great Reſolution; and notwithſtanding he fell under the Diſcipline of the Presbyterians, loſt his Liberty, and ſuffered in his Fortune, he maintained the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy to his dying Day.

Guthry's *Memoirs*.

Panzani *and* Con *Agents for the Pope in* England.

To return to *England*: The *Roman Catholicks* were not negligent in ſolliciting the Queen, and improving their Intereſt at Court. About three Years ſince, *Panzani*, the Popes's *Agent*, came to *London*, and made his Application to the Lord *Cottington*, and Secretary *Windebank*. Part of his Buſineſs was to diſcover, whether the King would permit thoſe of his Communion a Catholick Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation: And to make the Motion paſs the better, they were contented this Biſhop ſhould be nominated by his Majeſty, and not exerciſe his Function, but under ſuch Limitations as ſhould be ſet him by the Prince. Upon this Requeſt a Query was put to *Panzani*, *Whether the Pope would allow the nominating ſuch a Biſhop, as held the* Oath *of Allegiance, a lawful Engagement: And whether his Holineſs would give the* Engliſh *of his Communion leave to take the Oath?* *Panzani*, finding himſelf ſomewhat embaraſs'd with the Queſtion, declared he had no Commiſſion to ſpeak to that Matter. Upon this Diſappointment, he went lower in his Requeſt; and, by ſome Correſpondence at Court, moved the King, that the Queen might be permitted an *Agent* from the Pope, for directing her Affairs in Religion. The King, by the Advice of his *Council*, condeſcended to the Motion, upon Condition that the Perſon ſent ſhould be no Prieſt (z).

(z) Hammond L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt. K.* Charles I.

This *Panzani*, after having purſued his Inſtructions in *England* about two Years, tempted ſome of the Court-Clergy to no Purpoſe, and brought the *Seculars* and Regulars to a tolerable Accommodation, returned to *Rome*, and left Seignior *Con*, a *Scotchman*, in his Poſt.

This *Agent* of the Pope's arriving in *England* laſt Summer, brought a great many Reliques, Medals, with the Popes Effigies, and other recommending Curioſities, to be diſtributed among the Ladies of that Perſuaſion. And being a Perſon of Dexterity and Addreſs, he worked himſelf into a Converſation with ſome of the *Miniſtry*. The King was not diſpleaſed with this Correſpondence: His Majeſty being not without Hopes, this *Con* might prove a ſerviceable Inſtrument at the Court of *Rome*, and make the Reſtoring the Elector *Palatine* more practicable. *Con*, perceiving the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had no ſmall Direction of the Publick Affairs, endeavoured to make an Acquaintance with him: But *Laud* having no good Opinion of the Man, or his Buſineſs, kept himſelf aloof, and would not ſo much as admit of a Viſit of Ceremony. However, by the King's Connivance, and the Queen's Favour, the *Papiſts* came ſomewhat forward; appeared in greater Numbers at Court, and frequented their Devotions at *Somerſet-Houſe*, with more Freedom than formerly. This being obſerved, and probably magnified beyond Matter of Fact, the Blame was chiefly laid upon *Laud*. Several Libels were ſcattered in *London*, in which the Archbiſhop was aſperſed as an Encourager of *Maſs*, and little better than the Pope's Penſioner. It muſt be confeſs'd, *Walter Mountague*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sir *Toby Matthews*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, had been very active in their *Miſſion*; and amongſt other Succeſſes, had lately proſelyted the Counteſs of *Newport*, related to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Now the Archbiſhop finding himſelf attack'd with Calumny, took this Opportunity to diſprove the Imputations. And being at the Council Table, he addreſs'd himſelf to the King; and in a full Diſcourſe acquainted his Majeſty, with the Growth of the *Roman* Catholick Intereſt; That the Papiſts met frequently at *Somerſet-Houſe*; that *Mountague* and *Matthews* had taken unſufferable Liberties, practiſed upon his Majeſty's Subjects, and particularly upon thoſe within the Verge of the Court; humbly beſeeching him they might be put under ſome Reſtraint; and either quite barred coming to Court, or elſe obliged to be inoffenſive in their Behaviour. This Speech being well received by the King, *Mountague* and *Matthews* were ordered to retire. The Queen at firſt was much diſpleaſed with this Remonſtrance, and diſcovered it in her Face, whenever the Archbiſhop happened to ſee her. But within a few Months, after ſome Expoſtulation, ſhe ſeemed to drop her Reſentment.

The Archbiſhop remonſtrates at the Council Table againſt the Liberties taken by the Roman Ca*tholicks*.

Part of the Archbiſhop's Annual Account.

And now, to touch a little upon the Archbiſhop's Annual Account of his Province to the King: He acquaints his Majeſty, “That at *Biddenden* in *Kent* he ſuſpended one *Warren*, a Schoolmaſter, for refuſing to ſubſcribe the Articles, and take the Oaths of Allegiance, and Canonical Obedience. This Preciſian had a ſtrange Humerſome Conſcience: He would read nothing but Divinity to his Scholars: He could not ſo much as reconcile himſelf to *Lillie's* Grammar, except *Mars*, *Bachus*, *Apollo*, *Pol* and *Ædepol* were expung'd.

“In the *Dioceſs* of *Lincoln*, now under the Archbiſhop's Care, he complains of a great many *Non-Conformiſts*, in *Buckinghamſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*. And that there were a great Number of very poor and miſerable

"Vicaridges, and Curatſhips in this large Dioceſs.

"The Biſhop of *Norwich* certifieth, that in his *Dioceſs* ſeveral Towns are depopulated, no Houſes left ſtanding but the Manor-Houſe, and the Church, and that turned to the Lord's Barn, or a worſe uſe. In other Towns the Churches lie in Rubbiſh, the Inhabitants are thruſt upon neighbouring Pariſhes, where they pay few or no Duties.

"From the *Dioceſs* of *Exeter*, 'twas certified, that ſeveral Captives in *Morocco* being ranſomed and returned Home, the Biſhop was ſomewhat at a Loſs, with what Penance and Form, theſe People who had renounced Chriſtianity, might be re-admitted into the Church: And having acquainted the Archbiſhop with this deplorable Caſe, they agreed upon a Form, which was approved by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely* and *Norwich*, and afterwards confirmed by his Majeſty *.

"The reſt of the Dioceſſes, from whence Certificates where returned, came forward in Conformity, and were in tolerable good Order †.

The Tranſlation of Sales *his* Introduction, *&c. called in.*

Laud, to ſilence the Clamour of his being popiſhly affected, procured a Proclamation for calling in a Popiſh Book, written in *French* by *Francis Sales* Biſhop of *Geneva*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and entituled, *An Introduction to a devout Life*. This Book brought for a Licence to *Haywood* the Archbiſhop's Chaplain, was returned expung'd in ſeveral Unorthodox Paſſages. Notwithſtanding this Precaution, the Deletions were printed. For this foul Practice the Printer was apprehended, the Tranſlator ſearched for, the Book was called in, and the Copies ſeized, and publickly burnt. But that which did the Archbiſhop moſt Service in his Reputation, was his reprinting the *Conference* between him and *Fiſher*, with Enlargements. This was ſo conſiderable a Performance, that Sir *Edward Deering*, one of his greateſt Enemies, had the Juſtice to confeſs, that in this Book *Laud had muzled the Jeſuit, and would ſtrike the Papiſts under the fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. And being dead, that whereſoever his Grave ſhould be,* Paul's *would be his* perpetual Monument, *and his own Book his* Epitaph (*a*).

Anno Dom. 1638.

Deering's *Commendation of* Laud.

A Decree of the Star-Chamber *for regulating the Preſs.*

The Archbiſhop was no leſs ſollicitous to ſuppreſs the Growth of Heterodoxy of a different Complexion; and to prevent the *Socinians* and *Puritans* from gaining upon the Church, and diſturbing her Repoſe. To this purpoſe he procured a *Star-Chamber* Decree, for regulating the Preſs. By this Order, "none but Maſter Printers were allowed to print, under the Penalty of being ſet in the Pillory, and ſuffering ſuch other Puniſhment as the Court ſhall appoint: That none of the Maſter Printers ſhould print any Book in Divinity, Law, Phyſick, Philoſophy, or Poetry without a Licence: And that no Perſon ſhould reprint any Book without a new Licence. That no Merchant, Bookſeller, or other Perſon, ſhould import any printed Books, without giving in a Catalogue of them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or Biſhop of *London* for the Time being: And that they ſhould not deliver or expoſe to Sale, any imported Books, 'till the Chaplains of the ſaid Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or ſome other Learned Perſon appointed by them, together with the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of *Stationers*, or one of them, ſhall take a View of the ſame, with Power to ſeize all ſchiſmatical and offenſive Books. And, laſtly, that no Merchant, Bookſeller, *&c.* ſhould print any *Engliſh* Books beyond Sea, nor import any ſuch into this Kingdom.

By the Advantage of this Order, he prevented the ſpreading of *Socinian* and Puritanical Books. It had been the Cuſtom of People diſaffected to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, to print their Heterodoxies beyond Sea in our Language, and import them into *England*. To ſtop this Miſchief there was a particular Proviſion in the *Star-Chamber* Decree. A Book entitled *Diſquiſitio Brevis*, was publiſhed about this Time. Some *Socinian* Tenets were covertly couched in this Tract. They were pretended Expedients for drawing the Controverſy between the Churches of *Rome*, and *England*, into a leſs Compaſs. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a Man of conſiderable Learning and Parts, was ſuppoſed the Author: There was likewiſe a Diſcourſe in Manuſcript concerning Schiſm, handed about at the ſame Time: The Deſign of it was to indulge private Reaſon, to the Prejudice of the Churches Authority. *Hales* being reputed the Author of both theſe unſerviceable Books, the Archbiſhop ſent for him to *Lambeth*, and after ſome Hours Conference, brought him off his Singularities, and gained him to the Church.

Lectures retrenched and brought under due Regulation.

By the Archbiſhop's Care, ſeconded by his *Suffragans*, the *Lecturers* were either retrenched or recovered, and brought under a due Regulation. Thoſe who refuſed reading *Common-Prayer* in their Hoods and Surplices, were diſabled from preaching by the King's *Inſtructions*. And thus many of the Single-*Lecturers* drop'd off: As for thoſe Lectures which were furniſhed from a *Combination* of the Clergy, theſe Men were generally nominated by the Biſhops, tied to the Canonical Prayer in the Pulpit, and reading the *Second-Service* at the Communion-Table, in Hood and Surplice. And thus the rigid Calviniſts were forced to quit the Pulpits in Market Towns.

Some Non-Conformiſt Miniſters and Families tranſport themſelves into Holland.

However, the People having been connived at, and gone looſe as to Ceremony ſome Time, took Check at the preſſing of Conformity. When they found their *Lectures* ſtruck off, and the Parochial Clergy of their Perſuaſion not well able to ſtand the Teſt of a *Viſitation*, they began to grow weary of the Country. Under this Diſcontent ſeveral Families, in Maritime Towns eſpecially, tranſported themſelves. The *Dutchmen* led them the Way, who choſe rather to quit the Kingdom, and return Home, than comply with the Archbiſhop's *Injunctions*. *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Burroughs*, *Bridges*, and *Sympſon*, were ſome of the firſt Non-Conformiſt Miniſters that left the Kingdom. Theſe Men, with ſome of their Party, ſettled in *Holland*. Soon after their Arrival, their Congregations ſwelled to ſo conſiderable a Number, that it was thought proper for them to part, and ſettle at wider Diſtance. Thus *Goodwin* and *Nye* went off to *Arnheim* in *Guelderland*, leaving *Rotterdam* in *Holland* to *Sympſon* and *Bridges*. Theſe Men, neither liking the ſtrict Diſcipline of the *Presbyterians*, nor the Latitude and Licence of the *Browniſts*, projected a Temper, and ſettled upon *Robinſon's* Model. They ſtruck out a co-ordinate Scheme of Church Government. And thus they formed a Sort of Spiritual

---

* *See Records,* Num. CXII.

† *Hiſt. of the Troubles,* &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

(*a*) Deering's *Collection of Speeches, p.* 5.

Aſſociation, for Countenance and Correſpondence, without any Thing of Superiority and Command. This ſeems to have been the Riſe of the *Independants*: But this looſe, precarious Polity made them break into farther Subdiviſions. *Bridges* was forced to quit *Rotterdam*, and *Ward*, who ſucceeded him, found no good Quarter. At *Arnheim* they had a better Underſtanding amongſt themſelves: Here they ſeemed to ſtrain for Apoſtolick Uſage, and higher Perfection than the reſt. To this purpoſe they had *Hymns* and *Propheſyings*, not received in their Sitter Churches. They likewiſe revived the Office of *Widows*, the *Holy Kiſs*, and *Extreme Unction* (*b*).

(*b*) Cyprian. Anglic. Gangrena.

The Biſhops complain againſt the Covenanters.

To go back to the Beginning of the Year, and take a ſhort Survey of the Condition of the Church of *Scotland*. The Hierarchy being outraged, the Common-Prayer Book ſuppreſſed, and the Faction engaged in a Covenant in the Manner above-mentioned, the Prelates who ſtayed in *Scotland*, ſent up a Liſt of their Grievances to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the reſt of the *Scotch* Prelates in *London*. They complain "the Covenanters had changed the Moderator of the *Presbytery* at *Edinburgh*, and were carrying on that pretended Reformation through the whole Kingdom.

"That the *Council* of *Edinburgh* had made Choice of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, to be an Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Andrew Ramſey*, and intended to admit him without the Biſhop's Conſent. That the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who refuſed ſubſcribing the *Covenant*, were *curſed* and reviled to their Faces, and their Stipends detained: That all Non-ſubſcribing Miniſters were treated with the ſame ill Uſage: And that the Rakiſh Part of the Mob, are raiſed for this Service, and let looſe upon honeſt Men (*c*).

(*c*) *Memoirs of Duke* Hamilton, *p*. 41.

May 1638.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton *ſent down High Commiſſioner for* Scotland.

The King being willing to compoſe Matters, and prevent the Uſe of extream Remedies, ſent the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* down *High-Commiſſioner*, to ſettle that Kingdom. At his Coming to *Dalkeith*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*, his Commiſſion was opened: But the Covenanters paid him no Attendance, or took any Notice of his Character. But not long after, upon his Coming to *Edinburgh*, ſome of the Heads of the Faction waited on him. And being demanded firſt, what they deſired of the King for Redreſs of Grievances: And in the next Place, what Security they would give for returning to their Duty, and renouncing the *Covenant*. To the firſt, they replied, that nothing ſhort of a *General Aſſembly*, and a Parliament, could give them Satisfaction. To the ſecond, their Anſwer was, that hitherto they had not failed in any Part of Loyalty; therefore there was no Occaſion to inſiſt upon a Return to it. And as for the *Covenant* they were ſo hardy as to declare, *That they would ſooner renounce their Baptiſm than this Engagement: That this Propoſal was ſo harſh, that they would never endure to hear the mention of it repeated* (*d*).

(*d*) L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt.* K. Charles I.

By the Way, there was a Proclamation penned in ſtrong Terms for recanting the *Covenant*; in which *all thoſe are declared Traitors that ſhall refuſe diſclaiming the ſaid Bond or Bonds, within ſo many Days mentioned in the Proclamation.* This Inſtrument was drawn by the Earl of *Traquair*: But the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, finding the Faction reſolved againſt going this Length of Submiſſion, ſtopped the publiſhing this Paper, and drew up another in a ſofter Form, in which the *renouncing* Clauſe was omitted (*e*).

(*e*) *Memoirs of D.* Hamilton, Id. pag. 52.

Bold Notions of the Covenanters.

Id. pag. 55.

In the mean Time the *Covenanters* went boldly on in their Revolt, and blocked up the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*. Of theſe Diſorders the Marqueſs ſent the King an Account, acquainting him with the deſperate Obſtinacy of the *Faction*; and that in all Likelihood nothing but Force could bring them to a Senſe of their Duty. But here the Marqueſs ſuggeſted ſome Motives to Clemency, and put the King in Mind, that theſe Diſorders were *the Madneſs of his own poor People*. To this the King anſwers in his Letter to *Hamilton*, that he was of the *Commiſſioner's* Opinion, that the Obſtinacy of the *Scots*, was paſt curing by gentle Applications. However, he thought the gaining of Time, a prudential Expedient. And that 'twas moſt adviſable to forbear the publiſhing the latter, and more diſguſting Part of the *Declaration*, 'till his Fleet had ſet Sail for *Scotland*. He gives his Commiſſioner Leave to ſtroak the *Faction*, and keep them from flying out into further Exceſſes. But all this Careſſing was to be within a Rule: For he was not to humour the Revolters ſo far, as to conſent to the calling a Parliament, or a General *Aſſembly*, 'till the *Covenant* was openly diſclaimed. His Majeſty owns his Regret, for being forced to come to theſe Extremities *with his own People*: But adds, the laſt Neceſſity compels him to theſe Meaſures: That his Crown lies at Stake; that his Honour muſt be loſt, and his Character diſabled for ever, if this inſulting his Authority ſhould go unpuniſhed: And that, to uſe his Majeſty's Words, *He will rather die, than yield to thoſe Impertinent, and damnable Demands; for it is all one, as to yield to be no King in a ſhort Time.*

The King's Reſentment of the Covenant.

June *the* 11th, 1638.

Id. pag. 55.

June 25.

In another Letter to the Marqueſs, he calls the Confederacy *a damnable Covenant*: That as long as this *Covenant* was in Force (either with or without an Explanation) *he ſhould have no more Power in* Scotland, *than as a Duke of* Venice, *which he would rather dye than ſuffer.* This Reſentment of his Majeſty was neceſſary and juſt: There was Courage and Policy in it. Had the King held firm to this Reſolution, and not complied with the rebellious *Covenanters*, Himſelf, and his Kingdoms had been happy. Whether the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* did not afterwards prevail with the King, to go too far in his Condeſcenſions, is ſomewhat of a Queſtion. Some conſiderable Hiſtorians do not ſtick to affirm, this Noble Man forgot his *Repreſentation*, and gave the *Covenanters* private Encouragement to puſh the Enterprize (*f*).

Id. pag. 60.

(*f*) Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

Lord Clarendon's *Hiſt. of the* Rebellion.

The *Covenanters* inſiſting peremptorily upon a Parliament and General *Aſſembly*, the Commiſſioner deſired Time to go to Court, for enlarging his *Inſtructions*. Upon his Return he acquainted the Faction, he was empowered to convene a Parliament, and a General *Aſſembly*, provided they would acquieſce in theſe ten Preliminary Articles.

The Commiſſioner's Propoſals to the Faction.

1. *That all Miniſters depoſed or ſuſpended by Presbyteries, ſince the firſt of* February *laſt, without Warrant of the Ordinary, ſhould be reſtored 'till they were legally convicted.*

2. *That all Moderators of Presbyteries depoſed ſince that Time without ſuch Warrant, be reſtored,*

red, and all others choſen in their ſtead, to deſiſt from acting as Moderators.

3. That no Miniſter admitted ſince that Time without ſuch Warrant, ſhall exerciſe the Function of the Miniſtry.

4. That all Pariſhioners repair to their own Church, and that Elders aſſiſt the Miniſters in the Diſcipline of the Church.

5. That all Biſhops and Miniſters have their Rents and Stipends duly paid them.

6. That all Miniſters attend their own Churches, and none come to the Aſſembly but ſuch as ſhall be choſen Commiſſioners from the Presbyteries.

7. That every Moderator be appointed to be a Commiſſioner from that Presbytery whereof he is a Moderator, according to the Act of the Aſſembly, 1606.

8. That Biſhops, and others who ſhall attend the Aſſembly, be ſecured in their Perſons from all Trouble.

9. That no Lay-Perſon meddle in the Choice of Commiſſioners from Presbyteries.

10. That all Convocations and Meetings be diſſolved, and that the Country be reduced to a Peaceable Poſture.

Theſe Articles being accepted no otherwiſe by the Covenanters, than that they ſhould be referred to a General Aſſembly. The Commiſſioner contracted his Ten Propoſitions into theſe Two.

I. *If the Lords and others will undertake for themſelves and the reſt, that no Laicks ſhall have Votes in chuſing the Miniſters to be ſent from the ſeveral Presbyteries to the General Aſſembly, nor none elſe but the Miniſters of the ſame Presbytery.*

II. *If they will undertake that the* Aſſembly *ſhall not go about to determine of Things eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, otherwiſe than by a Remonſtrance to the* Parliament, *leaving the determining of Things* Eccleſiaſtical *to the* General Aſſembly; *and Things ſettled by Acts of* Parliament *to the* Parliament.

Upon theſe two Conditions, he promiſed to convene a General *Aſſembly* forthwith, and ſoon after a *Parliament*.

The *Covenanters* growing angry at theſe Propoſals, gave immediate Order for a General *Aſſembly*: But upon Recollection they cool'd in their Raſhneſs, and were contented to wait till the Commiſſioner could return from the King with further Anſwer: They gave him to the Twenty-firſt of *September*, and promiſed not to proceed to the *Election* till after that Time.

September *the 17th.*

The Commiſſioner finding the King at *Oatland's*, returned within the limited Term with new Powers: And having ſummoned the *Council*, he delivered them a Letter from the King, in which his Majeſty had ſet down the Meaſures he intended to purſue for compoſing the Differences in Church and State. After this the King's *Declaration* was read at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, for nulling the *Service-Book*, the *Book of Canons*, and the *High Commiſſion*; the *five Articles* of Perth were declar'd void. 'Twas farther granted, that all Perſons, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ſhould be liable to the Juriſdiction and Cenſure of *Parliament* and *General Aſſembly*; that no Oath ſhould be put to Miniſters at their Admiſſion but what was required by Act of Parliament. That the Ancient *Confeſſion* of Faith, with the *Band* annexed, ſhould be renewed and ſigned, purſuant to the Practice in the late Reign. That a General *Aſſembly* ſhould be held at *Glaſcow* in *November* following, and a Parliament at *Edinbourgh* on the Fifteenth of *May* next Year. And laſtly, all Inſtances of Diſloyalty and Misbehaviour were pardoned.

The King's Conceſſions to the Faction.

Immediately after the publiſhing of this *Declaration*, the *Confeſſion* of Faith was read, and ſigned by the Marquiſs and the Lords of the *Council*. An Act of the *Council* was likewiſe proclaimed, requiring a General Subſcription of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, and appointing Commiſſioners for receiving that Security.

September 22d, Ann. Dom. 1638.

This *Declaration* was received with great Satisfaction by the Moderate Party; and now it was thought the *Covenanters* would acquieſce: But the Leading Men, who governed the reſt, having a further Deſign, went boldly to the *Market Croſs*, and *proteſted* againſt the King's Conceſſions, as not coming up to reaſonable Expectation. They conceived the ſubſcribing the *Confeſſion* with the old *Band*, tyed them too cloſe to the Government, and therefore would not endure the coming under ſuch a Reſtraint. And here *James*, Earl of *Montroſs*, who prov'd ſo brave a Royaliſt afterwards, *proteſted* in Form in Behalf of the Nobility, and was at preſent miſled, or diſobliged out of his Duty.

Guthry.

The Commiſſioner having given Orders for the Meeting of a General *Aſſembly*, the *Covenanters* were buſy in getting ſuch Members return'd as they could confide in. And here the *Tables* at *Edinburgh* took Care to over-rule the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, and form the *Aſſembly* in an unprecedented Manner: To this Purpoſe the Brethren of each Presbytery took an Oath of Secrecy, not to diſcover the Directions of the *Tables*. Notwithſtanding this Precaution, theſe private Inſtructions were produced by the Commiſſioner, and publickly read: I ſhall give the *Reader* ſome of them.

The **Tables** *Inſtructions for managing the Elections.*

“ *Firſt*, Order muſt be taken that none be choſen Ruling Elders, but Covenanters, and thoſe well affected to the Buſineſs.

2. “ That where the Miniſter is not well affected, the Ruling Elder be choſen by the Commiſſioners of the Shire, and ſpoken to particularly for that Effect.

3. “ That they be careful no Chapel-Men, Chapter-Men, or Miniſter, Juſtice of Peace, be choſen, unleſs they have publickly renounc'd or declar'd the Unlawfulneſs of their Places.

4. “ That the Ruling Elders come from every Church in equal Number with the Miniſters; and if the Miniſters oppoſe to put themſelves in Poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding any Oppoſition.

5. “ That the Commiſſioner of every Shire cauſe convene before him the Ruling Elders of every Kirk, choſen before the Day of the Election, and enjoin them upon their Oath, that they give Voice to none but thoſe who are nam'd already at the Meeting at *Edinburgh*.

6. “ That where there is a Nobleman in the Bounds of the Presbytery, he be choſen; and where there is none, there be choſen a Baron, or one of the beſt Quality, and he only a Covenanter.

7. “ That the ableſt Man in every Presbytery be provided to diſpute, *De poteſtate ſupremi Magiſtratus in Eccleſiaſticis, præſertim in convocandis conciliis.* (g)

Notwithſtanding this Article for Learning and Ability, ſome Members of the *Aſſembly* could neither write nor read: And yet theſe Men were

---

(g) *Proclamation.* Ruſhworth, *Vol.* II. *pag.* 877.

Judges of Hereſy, and had an Authority to condemn *Arminianiſm.* (*b*) This pack'd *Conventicle*, fearing ſome Diſturbance from the Character and Learning of the Biſhops, endeavoured to exclude them from voting. To this Purpoſe they addreſs'd the Commiſſioner, to award a Citation of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to appear at the *Aſſembly* as Criminals. This Motion being refuſed as unprecedented, the *Covenanters* apply'd to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*: Theſe Miniſters anſwer'd their Requeſt, and gave them a Warrant for the moſt ſcandalous Summons that was ever heard of in *Chriſtendom.* In this libelling Citation all the Biſhops are charg'd with Hereſy, Simony, Perjury, Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, and Breach of the Sabbath. To this they added the Term Reſpective, done, as was ſuppoſed, to amuſe the Vulgar, and make them believe the Prelates were guilty through the whole Imputation.

(*b*) *Memoirs of Duke* Hamilton, *pag.* 98.

A ſcandalous Summons iſſued by the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

Id. *pag.* 88.

The Biſhops made what Effort the Juncture would allow, to aſſert their Authority, and keep their Standing: Thus, when the Aſſembly met, they put a *Declinatur* into the Commiſſioners Hands; that is, they proteſted againſt the Legality of this pretended *Aſſembly*, and pleaded in Bar to their Juriſdiction. The Title of the Remonſtrance is call'd, *The Declinatur and Proteſtation of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Church of* Scotland, *and others their Adherents, within that Kingdom, againſt the pretended General Aſſembly holden at* Glaſcow, November *the 21ſt*, 1638. (*i*)

A General Aſſembly at Glaſcow.

(*i*) *The King's large Declaration, pag.* 248.

Their Reaſons for *Proteſting* are as follows.

The Biſhop's Proteſtation againſt it.

(1.) Becauſe the uſurp'd Authority of the *Tables* ſent Inſtructions to all the Presbyters to elect Members for the *Aſſembly*, about a Week before his Majeſty had iſſued out his Warrant for ſummoning that *Meeting*.

(2.) Their ſecond Exception is, becauſe the *Aſſembly* conſiſts of great Numbers of the *Laity*, who are allowed a deciſive Vote no leſs than the Clergy; whereas ſuch Perſons are legally diſabled from acting under ſuch a Character.

(3.) Even thoſe who pretend themſelves Miniſters of God's Word and Sacraments, are unqualify'd for being Members of the *Aſſembly*, in regard they have neither ſubſcrib'd the *Articles* of Religion, nor taken the Oaths of Allegiance and *Supremacy*, before the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, *&c.* as the Law requires. And further, they have lately *proteſted* againſt his Majeſties Gracious *Declaration*, kept up their *Tables* diſcharg'd by Authority, refuſed to ſubſcribe the *Band* enjoyned by his Majeſty, and the Lords of the *Council*, and adhere to their own *Engagement* of **Mutual Defence againſt all Perſons whatſoever.** That by behaving themſelves thus diſorderly, they have relaps'd into the Condition they were before the King's Pardon, and forfeited their Claim to his Majeſties Promiſe of an *Aſſembly*, which was only given on Condition of dutiful Behaviour.

4. Suppoſing, but not granting the Members of the *Aſſembly* were capable of the Authority they pretend to; and that the *Presbyteries* were impowered to elect Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe, yet now, by depoſing the *Moderators* appointed by the Biſhops to preſide in their Synods, and ſubſtituting others in their Place, they have forfeited that Privilege. In Proof of this Exception, the Biſhops cite an *Act* of the *Aſſembly* at *Glaſcow*, 1610, and an *Act* of Parliament 1612. By theſe *Acts* the Biſhops are conſtituted *Moderators* at theſe Meetings; and in their Abſence the Miniſter nominated by the Biſhop.

5. To prove the Nullity of the *Elections*, 'tis alledg'd in the *Proteſtation*, that the *Covenanting-Presbyteries* have taken in a *Lay-Ruling Elder*, as they call him, out of every Seſſion and Pariſh: Now theſe Lay-Elders being commonly Lords of the Mannor, or Perſons of the biggeſt Intereſt within the Precinct, the Elections are over-ruled both by the Bulk and Number of theſe Men; by their Number, which frequently amounts to a Majority: For the Miniſters being ſome of them abſent, and others put in a Black Liſt, and diſclaim'd; the remaining Part fall ſhort of the Proportion of the Ruling-Elders: And thus the Repreſentatives of the Clergy are in Effect choſen by the *Laity*, contrary to all Order, Decency, and Cuſtomary Practice: And for this, beſides the Uſage of the Univerſal Church, they cite the Acts of *Aſſemblies* in *Scotland*; in one of which the famous Presbyterian *Andrew Melvil* was Moderator. (*k*)

6. 'Tis urg'd in the *Declinator*, that the Members of this *Meeting* have thrown themſelves out of all Pretentions to an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly, by their Notorious Misbehaviour, of which they give ſeveral Inſtances.

(*k*) *Act of Aſſembly at* St. Andrews, April 24*th*, 1582. *Act of Aſſembly at* Dundee, Ann. Dom. 1597.

Firſt, theſe Miniſters by Seditious Sermons and Pamphlets have reproached the King, arraigned the Government, and harangued the People towards Rebellion; and to debauch the Subject from their Allegiance, have affirmed, that all Sovereign Authority is originally in the *Collective* Body, and from thence derived upon the Prince: And that in caſe of Mal-Adminiſtration, the King forfeits his Authority, and the Power eſcheats to the People. The Biſhops alledge farther, that the Members of this pretended *Aſſembly*, are Schiſmatical and Perjur'd Perſons: That they have ſworn Obedience to their *Ordinary*, and yet made no Conſcience of ſo ſolemn an Engagement. That they are either actually under the *Cenſures* of the Church of *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, or at leaſt deſerve to be convented before their *Ordinaries*, for the ſcandalous Liberties they have taken. For the Purpoſe, for declaiming in their Pulpits againſt the Adminiſtration and Laws of the Kingdom. For reproaching People by Name in their Sermons, without any Notoriety of Fault. For holding *Meetings* without his Majeſties Knowledge or Conſent: For invading other Mens Pulpits without Call or Authority. For preſuming to convent their Brethren, and proceed againſt them to the Cenſures of Suſpenſion and Deprivation. For preſſing the People to ſubſcribe a *Covenant*, not allow'd by Authority, and oppoſing the ſigning another *Covenant* enjoin'd by his Majeſty, and the Lords of the *Council.* That moſt of theſe Irregularities ſtood condemn'd by General *Aſſemblies* of their own Nation. (*l*) Beſides this Misbehaviour of the Aſſembly-Miniſters againſt the Church and State, it was in the Biſhops Power to charge them with a great many Perſonal Blemiſhes, which in Charity they forbore to mention.

(*l*) *Acts of Aſſembly at* Edinburgh, *May 22d,* 1590. *Acts of Aſſembly at* Perth, *May 1ſt,* 1596.

7. The *Declinator* reſumes the Biſhop's Exception againſt Lay-Mens having a deciſive Vote in a General *Aſſembly*: But then they throw in a Reſerve of Privilege for the King, or his Commiſſioner. But in other Caſes they declare it an Invaſion upon the Paſtoral Office, and contrary to the Practice of Antiquity: And here they cite ſeveral Authorities in Proof of their Aſſertion: But theſe Teſtimonies, and ſeveral others, having been already mentioned in the Courſe of this *Hiſtory*, need not be repeated.

8. The Commiſſioners of this pretended *Aſſembly*, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of them, have already declared themſelves againſt Epiſcopacy, and by Conſequence, by being profeſs'd Enemies, are by no Means qualify'd for Judges. That it was upon this Score of being precondemn'd, that the *Reformers* proteſted againſt the *Council* of *Trent*. That Prejudice and Diſaffection was reckoned a ſufficient Excuſe for *Athanaſius* his not appearing at the *Councils* of *Tyre* and *Sardica*.

9. The Biſhops complain loudly, as they had Reaſon of the ſcandalous *Summons* abovementioned, iſſued by the *Presbytery* of *Edinburgh*. By the way, this Infamous Libel was read in the College Church of *Edinburgh* after the Communion, and ordered to be read in all the Churches of *Scotland*, which was done accordingly. (*m*) Beſides the Calumnies in this Charge, they ſet forth the Rudeneſs and Illegality of proceeding in this Manner, (eſpecially againſt their Superiors) from ſeveral Topicks.

(*m*) *Memoirs of Duke* Hamilton, *pag.* 88. *Large Declaration, p.* 255.

10. The *Declinator* dilates upon the Injury done to the Epiſcopal Character, by excluding the Prelates from voting in the *Aſſembly*: And that their not allowing an Archbiſhop or Biſhop this Privilege, unleſs elected by their *Presbyteries*, is contrary to general Practice, and without Precedent in the earlieſt and beſt Ages of the Church. And further, barring the Biſhops a Preſidency in Eccleſiaſtical *Aſſemblies*, is a Breach of the *Acts* of Parliament of their own Kingdom: And here they cite two *Statutes* enacted in the Years 1606 and 1609.

Laſtly, The *Declinator* ſets forth what a Contradiction it is to Reaſon and Primitive Practice, that Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be judg'd by *Presbyteries*; and which carries the Abſurdity further, by a mixt Company of Presbyters and *Laicks*: That by the *Canons* of the Ancient Church, Biſhops are to be try'd by none beneath their own *Order*. (*n*) After this the Biſhops wave this Primitive Privilege, and ſink themſelves to Modern *Conſtitution*; declaring, that for any Charge relating to Life or Doctrine, they are willing to abide the Tryal of a General *Aſſembly* lawfully conſtituted, or of his Majeſties High Commiſſioner. They conclude with a ſolemn Proteſtation, that this *Declinator* is not made uſe of out of any Conſciouſneſs of Immorality, or Miſconduct in their Function: And therefore they humbly intreat his Grace the Commiſſioner for a free and lawful General *Aſſembly*. This Inſtrument is ſign'd by the following Prelates, tho' at different Places, and diſpers'd by the Perſecution. (*o*)

(*n*) Concil. Carthag. 1. Can. XI. Concil. Carthag. Anno Dom. 419. Can. XII.

(*o*) *Large Declaration.* *p.* 264.

Jo. Sancti Andreæ Arch.
Pa. Glaſgow.
Da. Edinburgen.
Tho. Gallovidien.
Jo. Roſſen.
Walterus Brechinen.

Notwithſtanding this *Proteſtation*, the Covenanting Synod went on; *Alexander Henderſon* was their Moderator, and *Archibald Johnſton* their Clerk or Regiſter. * The Lord Commiſſioner ſat about a Week with theſe Men, in Hopes to bring them off their Extravagant Demands: But finding the reducing them to Order and Cuſtomary Form, wholly impracticable; and that they were unalterably reſolved to exclude the Biſhops, he diſſolv'd the *Aſſembly* by Proclamation, and commanded the *Members* to retire under Pain of Treaſon: This Diſſolution was publickly *proteſted* againſt by ſeveral Hundreds, and Inſtruments taken in their Names by the Earl of *Rothes*. (*p*)

* *This* Johnſton *was Clerk of their* Tables *at* Edinburgh. Ruſhworth, *Part 2d, p.* 847.

The Commiſſioner diſſolves the Aſſembly.

November 28. 1638.

(*p*) Guthry's *Memoirs. Which ſits notwithſtanding.*

Notwithſtanding this Diſcharge, the *Aſſembly* ſat every Day for ſeveral Weeks, neither did they break up till they had gone through their Affairs, and were pleas'd to diſſolve themſelves: The main Things tranſacted were theſe, "All "General Aſſemblies, ſince the Year One thou-"ſand ſix hundred and five, were declared void. "The *Common Prayer Book*, the Book of *Canons* "and *Ordination*, the *High Commiſſion*, and the "*Articles* of *Perth*, were all null'd and con-"demn'd: And the *Covenant* allow'd by King *James* in the Year 1580, was declar'd the ſame in Subſtance with that they had *now* taken; and that Epiſcopacy was abjur'd in the former. After this they proceeded to depoſe the Biſhops, * and excommunicated all of that Order who refus'd to ſubmit to their Authority; a great many of the Presbyters were likewiſe depriv'd; they appointed Commiſſioners alſo to ſit in ſeveral Places after the *Receſs*, for ejecting and depoſing all thoſe they found untractable. Their laſt Buſineſs was a *Reſolve*, that a Letter ſhould be ſent to the King to intreat his Royal Aſſent to every Thing that had been done in this Pretended *Aſſembly*. And thus theſe *Covenanters* having ſucceeded in their Mutiny, and outrag'd the Conſtitution in Church and State, broke up their Meeting on the Twentieth of *December*. When their Commiſſioners or Tryers came to *Edinburgh*, they found little Buſineſs with the Miniſters; for all the Clergy had retir'd from that Town for Fear of Perſecution: All of them, I ſay, excepting *Ramſey* and *Rollock*, who being both zealous *Covenanters*, had no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of Hardſhip.

* *See Records, Num.* CXIII. *The Buſineſs done by this pretended Aſſembly.*

Theſe Covenanters, to ſtrengthen their Party, and draw the *Engliſh* Mal-Contents into the Confederacy, kept an Agent at *London* to tranſact with the *Non-conformiſts*. * To proceed;

Guthry. *The Covenanters keep an Agent at* London.

* *This Agent was* Eleazar Borhwick, *a Miniſter.*

Upon this Defiance of the Government the Commiſſioner left *Scotland*, and came to Court: The King being apprehenſive of theſe Conſequences from the Nature of the *Engagement*, we need not wonder his Majeſty expreſs'd his Averſion in ſuch ſtrong Language. Indeed he could expect nothing but Diſobedience of the moſt provoking Kind; for there was ſcarce any Inſtance of Rebellion which might not be juſtified by their Principles. To mention ſome of their Treaſonable Tenents, as they lie in the King's *large Declaration*, penn'd by Dr. *Balcanquel*. *

* *Pag.* 408. & deinc.

The Covenanters Diſloyal Tenents.

"To begin: The *Covenanters* hold, that if a "Law is interpreted by the Government, in a "Senſe diſlik'd by the Majority of the People, "the Body of the Kingdom, for whoſe Benefit "the Law was made, may fairly over-rule ſuch "a Conſtruction, and redreſs the Grievances "ſuffer'd by it.

(2.) They maintain, 'tis lawful for Subjects to form an *Aſſociation* without the King, and to enter into a Covenant for mutual Defence *againſt all Perſons whatſoever*: The Univerſality of which Propoſition implies Hoſtility and Treaſon againſt the King; and therefore, to prevent the Effect of this dangerous Implication, all thoſe who enter into ſuch Criminal Engagements, are capitally puniſhable by the Laws. (*q*)

(*q*) Jac. VI. Parl. 10. Act. 12. *Queen* Mary. Parl. 9. Act. 75.

(3.) If any Subjects are ſummon'd before the King and *Council* for any Miſdemeanor, if thoſe who are thus to make their Appearance conceive the Buſineſs for which they are queſtion'd, *concerns the Glory of God, or the Good of the Church, 'tis then lawful for them to appeal from his Majeſty and the Board, to the next General Aſſembly and Parliament*: And that hanging the Appeal they may diſobey the Government: Tho', as his Majeſty obſerves, thoſe Miniſters who appealed from his Royal Father and his *Council*, were indicted, and found guilty of Treaſon.

4. That applying to the King for calling a General *Aſſembly*, is rather Matter of Ceremony and Intereſt, than Duty; and that in caſe they are refus'd by the *Crown*, they may convene themſelves.

5. If either the King, or his Commiſſioner, preſent at an *Aſſembly*, ſhall refuſe to give his Aſſent, upon a Perſwaſion that the Thing is unjuſt, and claſhes with the Laws of the Realm: In this Caſe, if the Matter happens to be carried by a Majority of the *Members*, the King is then oblig'd by the Law of God to execute ſuch an Act of the *Aſſembly*: And provided the Miniſters of *State*, or the Magiſtracy, ſhall refuſe to do their Part, they muſt then be liable to the higheſt *Cenſures* of the Church, and by Conſequence incur the Forfeiture of their Places and Eſtates.

6. The Covenanters aſſert, *That an Aſſembly may repeal Acts of Parliament, and ſuperſede the Obligation of the Laws, provided they any ways intrench upon the Buſineſs of the Church.*

7. The Subjects proteſting againſt the Laws, whether the *Proteſtation* is made *coram Judice*, or *non Judice*, diſcharges the *Proteſters* from their Obedience to ſuch Laws: And by the Covenanters Doctrine, the People are thus diſengag'd, before the Legality of their Proteſtations are try'd by competent Judges; nay, tho' they are diſclaim'd by the Council, and the Miniſters of Juſtice, when they are made.

The large Declaration.

Their laſt Poſition which I ſhall mention, by which they ſupport their Practice, and juſtify their Revolt, is very extraordinary: "The Majority of the Kingdom, ſay they, being upon the Score of their Numbers, the moſt conſiderable Diviſion, have the Liberty of making uſe of any Expedient, *which they conceive ſerviceable to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Church*, any Laws or Statutes to the contrary notwithſtanding: And that this Majority, eſpecially when repreſented by an *Aſſembly*, may without the Authority Royal, and which is more, againſt the expreſs Command of the King and Council, againſt the deelar'd Opinion of the Judges, elect ſome few Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burgeſſes; who, under the Diſtinction of a *Committee* from the General *Aſſembly*, may lawfully ſit, tranſact, and ſettle Buſineſs touching Church and *State*, as if there was neither Prince, *Council*, nor Judge in the Realm.

Some ſcandalous Paſſages in the Covenanters Sermons.

The Biſhop's *Declinator* having charg'd the Covenanting-Miniſters with their ſcandalous Licence in their Sermons and Prayers; I ſhall give ſome Inſtances of this Miſbehaviour: One of theſe Men refuſed to pray in the Church for Sir *William Nesbet*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, when lying upon his Death-bed, only *becauſe he had not ſubſcrib'd the Covenant*. Another *pray'd God to ſcatter them all in* Iſrael, *and divide them in* Jacob, *who had counſell'd us to require the Confeſſion of Faith to be ſubſcrib'd by the King's Authority*. Many of theſe Miniſters refus'd to admit thoſe to the Lord's Supper who had not ſigned the *Covenant*: And which is more remarkable, in their Exhortation before the Holy Sacrament, they expreſly range theſe Non-compliers in the ſame Claſs with *Adulterers, Slanderers, Blaſphemers, &c.* One of them preach'd, *That all Non ſubſcribers of the Covenant were Atheiſts*: And thus all the Lords of the *Council*, and all the Lords of the *Seſſion*, were brought under this vile Denomination. Another preach'd, *That as the Wrath of God was never diverted from his People, until the Seven Sons of* Saul *were hanged up before the Lord in* Gibeon; *ſo the Wrath of God would never depart from that Kingdom, till the twice ſeven Prelates* (the Number of the *Scotch Sees*) *were hang'd up before the Lord there.* Another deliver'd in the Pulpit, *That though there were never ſo many Acts of Parliament againſt the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintain'd againſt them all*. Another held forth with this Sentence, *Let us never give over till we have the King in our Power, and then he ſhall ſee how good Subjects we are.* Another Declaration of one of theſe zealous Covenanters was, *That the bloodieſt and ſharpeſt War was rather to be endur'd, than the leaſt Error in Doctrine and Diſcipline.* And to conclude: Another in his Sermon wiſh'd, *That he, and all the Biſhops in that Kingdom, were in a Bottomleſs Boat at Sea together; for he could be well content to loſe his Life ſo they might loſe theirs.* (r)

The King's Declaration, and his Expedition againſt the Scots.

The *Covenanters* being furniſh'd with ſuch Principles, and ſuch Preachers, we need not be ſurpriz'd at their breaking out into the laſt Diſorder: And now the King finding it neceſſary to apply to Force, publiſh'd a *Declaration* to juſtify his Expedition againſt them. To this Purpoſe his Majeſty ſets forth, "That he had endeavoured to recover the *Scots* to their Duty by gentle Methods; but that his Clemency had been thrown away upon them; that notwithſtanding the Pretences of Religion, Rebellion was at the bottom. That 'tis plain, their Deſign was to inſult the Prerogative, and diſſolve the Monarchy into a Commonwealth: That ſome of the *Scotch* had made it their Buſineſs to pervert his Loyal Subjects of this Realm: That to carry on this Treaſonable Deſign, they had diſpers'd mutinous Pamphlets, talk'd ſeditiouſly at publick Meetings, reproach'd the King and his Government: That now they had broke out into Overt Acts of Rebellion, drawn his Subjects together, run to Arms, beſieg'd his Caſtles, levied Taxes upon the People, and menac'd his Loyal Subjects with Violence and Military Execution. That now the Queſtion is not, whether a *Service-Book* is to be received? Whether the Government of the Church ſhall be *Epiſcopal* or *Preſbyterian*? But whether his Majeſty is their King, or not? That notwithſtanding his Patience has held out thus long, he would not have them, or any of his Subjects, think he can, or will, admit the Abolition of Epiſcopal Government: A Government of the Church, beſt recommended in it ſelf, and eſtabliſhed by many *Acts* of Parliament in that Kingdom.

"His Majeſty further declares, that by ſending the *Service-Book* amongſt them, he never deſign'd to make any Change in their Religion, but only to bring both Kingdoms to an Uniformity in Divine Worſhip. And whereas they have ſpread a Report, that ſome

"Perſons

(r) *King's large Declaration, pag.* 403. 4.

“ Perſons of Power in the *Hierarchy* of *England*, had ſollicited his Majeſty to levy an Army againſt the *Scots*, and diſturb them in their Religion: He clears all the *Engliſh* Biſhops of this Imputation: That not one of them had taken the leaſt Step in theſe Affairs but by his Royal Direction and Command. And as for ſuggeſting the Expedient of War, 'twas notoriouſly known to all his Majeſty's *Council* then preſent; that the *Engliſh* Biſhops ſollicited for Peace and Accommodation: And uſed all their Intereſt to prevail with his Majeſty, for that undeſerved Lenity, with which the *Scots* had been hitherto treated.

February *the 20th* 163$\frac{8}{9}$.

(*s*) Biblioth. Reg. Sect. 24. *pag.* 173.

And to prevent his Subjects being poiſoned with theſe rebellious Libells, he commands thoſe who have any of them to deliver them to the next Juſtice of Peace; to be tranſmitted from the Juſtices to the *Secretaries Office*. And, laſtly, 'tis ordered, that this *Proclamation* ſhould be read in Time of Divine Service, in every Church of the Kingdom; that all the People may be convinced of the notorious Miſbehaviour of theſe Men, and ſee the Juſtice and Clemency of his Majeſty's Proceedings (*s*).

By the Archbiſhop's Report of the State of his Province this Year, it appears Things continued much in the ſame Condition as formerly; the Church rather gaining Ground upon the *Diſſenters* than otherwiſe.

April 29. Anno Dom. 1639. *The King marches againſt the* Scots.

In the Beginning of the Spring, the King marched his Army againſt the *Scots*. His Forces had a very promiſing Appearance, and were much Superiour to thoſe of the *Covenanters*. The Earl of *Arundel* was General, the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe, and the Earl of *Eſſex* Lieutenant-General of the Foot. Theſe Troops were furniſhed with experienced Commanders, and well provided with Ammunition and Artillery. There was likewiſe ſeveral Regiments aboard the Fleet, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. This Admiral's Buſineſs was to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, to block up their Havens, to diſtreſs them in their Trade, and debarque his Land-Forces for further Service, as Occaſion required. But it ſeems he had made an ill Choice of his Ships for this Expedition; the Bulk of them being too great to give Chace, to come cloſe to the Shore, and do Execution upon the Enemy (*t*). However, this Misfortune would not have broken the King's Meaſures. He was well prepared to have given the *Scots* Battel, and in all Probability might have reduced them to an entire Obedience. But the *Covenanters*, as they had Reaſon, fearing the Event of a Conteſt, petitioned for a Treaty. And thus, after the two Armies had encamped within View of each other, and done little, a Pacification was ſign'd at *Berwick*: By the Way, before the Treaty came on, *Eſſex* ſecured the Town of *Berwick*, and did his Part with Advantage enough; but *Holland* and *Hamilton* performed beneath Expectation.

(*t*) Warwick's *Memoirs.*

Idem.

And makes an unſerviceable Pacification at Berwick.

The Articles of the Pacification, relating to the Church were, “That his Majeſty ſhould confirm what his Commiſſioner had already promiſed in his Name: That a General *Aſſembly* ſhould be held at *Edinburgh* on the ſixth of *Auguſt* next enſuing, and a Parliament on the twentieth of *Auguſt* at the ſame Place. And the *Covenanters* on their Part were to diſband their Forces, break up the *Tables*, and hold no Meetings or Conſultations, but ſuch as are warranted by *Act* of Parliament. And not to mention the reſt of the Articles, the King's good Nature ſeems to have made an Omiſſion in one Point: “For the *Scots* were not obliged to diſclaim the Proceedings of the pretended *Aſſembly* at *Glaſcow*.” And yet by the Boldneſs and Diſorder of that Meeting, the Government of the Church had been renvers'd, the People heated to Sedition, and the King's Honour ſuffered extreamly. And over and above, by capitulating with a Rebellion in Form, he brought the Revolters too much upon a Level with himſelf, fleſhed them in their Inſolence, and encouraged to a new Inſurrection. And beſides the over Indulgence of theſe Conceſſions, his Majeſty is thought to have relied too much upon the good Faith of the *Covenanters*. Had the King done no more than withdrawn his Army to a farther Diſtance from the *Borders*: Had he held his Hand 'till he had ſeen the Iſſue of the next *Aſſembly* and Parliament, he might probably have ſecured the Repoſe of both Kingdoms. But by diſbanding his Forces before the *Scotch* had done their Part in executing the Treaty, he diſheartned his Loyal Subjects in that Kingdom; and left them in a Manner, at the Mercy of the *Covenant*. To which we may add, the *Engliſh* Gentry, who made no ſmall Part of his Army, were baulk'd in their Expectation; ſhock'd with a Treaty ſo diſhonourable to the *Crown*, and ſenſibly diſobliged by being thus ſuddenly diſcharged: And that without any Thanks returned for their Forwardneſs in his Majeſty's Service.

The Scots *make a publick Declaration of their Adherence to their late Aſſembly and Covenant.*

The *Scots* finding the King had parted with his Forces, and diſabled himſelf for revenging an Infraction upon the Treaty: Perceiving the King, I ſay, in this unguarded Condition, they reſume the “Old Spirit of Mutiny, and declare their Reſolution of adhering to their late Proceedings; and particularly they declare themſelves reſolved to ſtand to the *Covenant*, and General *Aſſembly* at *Glaſcow*: That they are obliged by their former Oath and Proteſtations to maintain it a moſt Lawful, Free, and General *Aſſembly* of that Kingdom: And that all Acts and Cenſures, and eſpecially the Cenſures of Deprivation and Excommunication of the pretended Archbiſhops and Biſhops, are agreeable to the Diſcipline and Conſtitution of the Kirk of *Scotland*. Further, they proteſt themſelves unalterably reſolved to adhere to their *Solemn Covenant* with God, as declared in the *Aſſembly*, in which the Office of Archbiſhops and Biſhops is abjured: That the pretended Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, who uſurp the Office and Title abjured, and contemn the Cenſures of the Church, have been malicious Incendiaries, and miſ-reported this Kingdom to his Majeſty. And in Caſe they return hither they ſhall be looked on as excommunicate Perſons, delivered up to the Devil, and treated as *Heathens* and *Publicans*. And, laſtly, that all thoſe who entertain and ſupport the excommunicated Prelates, ſhall be proſecuted to Excommunication, purſuant to the Acts and Conſtitution of the Kirk (*u*).

July 1. An. Dom. 1639. (*u*) Biblioth. Reg. Sect. XI. *pag.* 377.

After this *Proteſtation*, they publiſhed a *Paper* containing the Heads of the late *Pacification*: But this Account was ſo partially pen'd

They miſrepreſent the Treaty in Print.

in Favour of Themſelves; and ſo much to the King's Diſadvantage, that 'twas ordered to be called in, and burnt by the Hangman. And now being conſcious how deeply his Majeſty muſt reſent theſe Indignities, they continued their *Meetings* as formerly, maintained their Garriſon at *Leith*, the Port to *Edinburgh*, kept their Officers in full Pay, for the next Occaſion, and haraſs'd all thoſe of a different Sentiment. This Miſbehaviour being ſeconded with a riotous Aſſault upon ſome of the Lords of the *Council* and *Seſſion*, the King altered his Reſolution of going into *Scotland*, to their Parliament and *Aſſembly*. And thus, having conſtituted the Earl of *Traquaire* High-Commiſſioner, he returned to *London*: What the Purport of the Earl's Commiſſion was, the Reader may ſee in the *Records* *.

Guthry's *Memoirs.*

The General Aſſembly at Edinburgh *confirms the Proceedings at* Glaſcow.

On the twelfth of *Auguſt* the General *Aſſembly* met at *Edinburgh*: The Commiſſioner, and the Lords of the *Council* being every Day preſent. And here the late Proceedings at *Glaſcow*, were all confirmed: Epiſcopacy was declared unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God; and the *Covenant* was approved, and ordered to be ſworn and ſubſcribed by the whole Kingdom: And, which is ſomewhat extraordinary, the Commiſſioner *Traquaire* lent them the Force of his Character, and gave his Aſſent to all this.

The Motives for Diſaffection to the Scottiſh *Biſhops.*

If we enquire into the Reaſon why the Biſhops had ſo many Enemies, of all Degrees in *Scotland*; it may be obſerved, that one Prejudice againſt them, was their abbetting the *Arminian* Side in the late Controverſy in *Holland*. But this cannot reaſonably be interpreted to any Approach towards *Popery*: For the Proteſtants of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* hold the Queſtions the ſame Way. Further, the *Scotch* Miniſters and People, had a very ſcrupulous Regard for the Obſervation of the *Lord's-Day*; inſomuch, that the Morality of this Feſtival was generally reckoned an Article of Faith. Now the Biſhops, not going along with them to all the Lengths of this Opinion, loſt their Eſteem: Beſides, their declaring themſelves ſo forward for the *Liturgy* and *Ceremonies* of *England*, drew Miſ-conſtructions upon them. For the Ignorance of many of the *Scotch* Zealots was ſuch, as to account this Form of Worſhip no better than *Popery*. The Miniſters thought themſelves ill uſed by their Biſhops, for putting a new Oath upon them at their Admiſſion to a *Cure*: By Vertue of which they were obliged to own the *Articles* of *Perth*, and conform to the *Liturgy* and *Canons*. They pretended likewiſe the Prelates carried their Authority too far, and encroached upon the Preſbyters Juriſdiction. As for the Nobility, they ſeemed to grudge them their Intereſt with the King: That Favours were beſtowed on their Recommendation: That they were preferred to Places of the greateſt Dignity and Truſt in the *Civil* Government. For *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* was Lord Chancellor †, and nine of the Biſhops were *Privy Counſellors*. But that which galled moſt, was an Apprehenſion the Biſhops might recover ſomething of the Patrimony of the Church, which was ſeized in the Diſorders of the *Reformation*. They had lately gotten one *Learnmonth* a Miniſter, preſented Abbot of *Lindoris*; and ſeemed not without Hope, that the reſt of the Abbacies, with the Eſtates and Juriſdiction annexed, might be recovered into the Hands of Churchmen. They are likewiſe ſaid to have projected an Attempt, that the *College* of *Juſtice*, purſuant to its firſt Inſtitution, ſhould be half Eccleſiaſticks. The Nobility and Barons, who had enriched themſelves with the Spoils of the Church, were probably very uneaſy at the Thoughts of Reſtitution; and that the Government ſhould return in ſome Meaſure to its ancient Conſtitution †*. Thus People that are wronged are commonly hated by thoſe who gain by the Injury: And 'tis oftentimes an unpardonable Provocation, to move for Equity and Juſtice. To proceed:

The next Buſineſs of the *Aſſembly* was to furniſh the Univerſities with Profeſſors of their own Complexion. The *Anti-Covenanters*, it ſeems, finding theſe Places too hot for them, had retired, and left the *Chairs* empty. Now, ſince the Generality of the *Scots* are not a little governed by the *Pulpits*, the *Aſſembly* found it neceſſary to provide a Set of proper Directors: That by this Precaution the young Divines might be ſerviceably ſeaſoned, and bred true to the *Cauſe*. Neither was this Re-inforcement more than neceſſary, for many of the old Miniſters began to ſee through their Deſigns, and deſert the *Covenant*. But theſe young Divines were very ſeaſonable Recruits: Nothing could be more blind and bold, more furious and enterprizing, than theſe Men!

Guthry.

However, the diſloyal Part of the Covenant was ſomewhat diſabled by an Explication of the *Band of Defence*, paſs'd in theſe Words by the Aſſembly.

> *We do ſwear, not only our mutual Concurrence and Aſſiſtance for the Cauſe of Religion; and to the utmoſt of our Power, with our Means and Lives, to ſtand to the Defence of our dread Sovereign and his Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the ſaid true Religion, Liberties and Laws of this Kirk and Kingdom; but alſo in every Cauſe which may concern his Majeſty's Honour, We ſhall (according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and Duty of good Subjects) concur with our Friends and Followers in quiet Manner, or in Arms, as we ſhall be required by his Majeſty's Council, or any having his Authority* *.

But then they refuſed to ſubſcribe the Declaration propoſed by the High-Commiſſioner, which barr'd Reſiſtance, and tied them cloſe to their Duty. The remarkable Clauſe is this: *All the Subjects of this Kingdom for vindicating themſelves from all Suſpicions of Diſloyalty, or derogating from the Greatneſs and Authority of our dread Sovereign, have declared this Covenant to be one in Subſtance, with that which was ſubſcribed by his Father (of bleſſed Memory) in the Years* 1580, 1581, 1590, *and often ſince renewed* †.

And the Parliament confirms the Acts of the Edinburgh *Aſſembly.*

Upon the thirty firſt of *Auguſt* the Parliament met, and confirmed all the *Acts* of the *Aſſembly*; changed the old Form of chuſing the Lords of the *Articles*, erected a Third *Eſtate* of Lairds or Barons, in the Room of the Biſhops: And to all theſe *Bills*, and ſeveral others derogatory to the *Crown*, the Commiſſioner aſſented.

To come back to *England*. Much about this Time, by the Encouragement of Archbiſhop *Laud*, the *Engliſh Liturgy* was tranſlated into *Greek* by one *Petly*, as it had been into *French* by King *James* his Order, for the Uſe of the Iſle of *Jerſey*. And to ſecure the *Hierarchy*

---

* *See Records,* Num. CXIV. Num. CXV. Num. CXVI.

† *For this there are ſeveral Precedents.*

†* *Memoirs of Duke* Hamilton, *pag.* 29, 30.

* Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* Part II. *pag.* 955.

† Id. pag. 962.

rarchy from being over-run by the *Covenanting Scotch*, and *Engliſh Puritans*, who acted in Concert with them, he thought it neceſſary to raiſe ſome further Defences.

Biſhop Hall's *firſt Draught of his Book, entitled,* The Divine Right of Epiſcopacy.

To this Purpoſe he prevailed with *Hall* Biſhop of *Exeter*, to compoſe a Treatiſe of *the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy*: This was to ſerve as a Counter-Battery upon the late Presbyterian *Aſſemblies* at *Glaſcow* and *Edinburgh*. *Exeter*, having ſtruck out the Lines of this Scheme, ſent them up to the Archbiſhop, to be altered, as he thought fit. The two main Propoſitions he deſigned to make good, was, Firſt, "That *Epiſcopacy* is a lawful, moſt ancient, and Divine Inſtitution, (as 'tis joined with Imparity and Superiority of Juriſdiction;) and therefore, where Providence has ſettled it, it cannot be thrown off by any Humane Power, without manifeſt Violation of God's Ordinance. *2dly*. That the *Presbyterian* Government, though challenging the Glorious Diſtinctions of Chriſt's Kingdom and Ordinance, has no Foundation either in *Scripture*, or the Practice of the Church, for the firſt Fifteen hundred Years. And though (to ſpeak in Biſhop *Hall*'s own Words) it may be of Uſe in ſome Cities and Territories, wherein Epiſcopal Government, through Iniquity of Times, cannot be had, yet to obtrude it upon a Church, otherwiſe ſettled under an acknowledged Monarchy, is altogether incongruous and unjuſtifiable. To make good theſe two Propoſitions, he laid down ſome *Poſtulata*, as he calls them, to ſuperſtruct his Reaſoning upon. Theſe Principles, which he concludes cannot be conteſted, are as follows.

"(1). That Government, which was of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, cannot be denied, to ſtand upon Divine Right.

"(2). Not only a Government, which was expreſly commanded, but that which was practiſed and recommended by the Apoſtles to the Church, ought in Reaſon to paſs for an Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

"(3.) A Government ſet up by the Apoſtles, by Divine Inſpiration, was deſigned for Perpetuity, and not only for the Benefit of the Age in which they lived.

"(4.) The Univerſal Practice of the Church immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, is the beſt Comment both upon the Practice, and Writings of the Apoſtles.

"(5.) We ought not to entertain ſo ill an Opinion of the Holy *Fathers*, and Primitive Martyrs of the Church, as to ſuppoſe that they who immediately ſucceeded the Apoſtles, had either Inclination, or Hardineſs enough, to ſet up an exceptionable Government, or ſo much as to change the Kind that they had received.

"(6.) Suppoſing their Preſumption had been of this Size, yet it would not have been in their Power to have carried their Novelty ſo univerſally through all Parts of Chriſtendom, in ſo ſhort a Time.

"(7.) That ancient Records of the Hiſtory of the Church, and the Writings of the firſt *Fathers*, are of better Authority for the Primitive Form of Church-Government, than that of this laſt Age.

"(8). That thoſe condemned for Hereticks by the *Ancients*, are no good Vouchers for Church-Government.

"(9.) That the Acceſſion of Privilege and Honourable Titles, does not affect the Subſtance of the Epiſcopal Function.

"(10.) Thoſe Places of *Scripture*, upon which a new Form of Government is founded, had need be very clear and unqueſtionable, and carry a more demonſtrative and indiſputable Evidence, than thoſe *Texts* from which the old rejected *Hierarchy* is inferr'd.

"(11.) If that Order, which they (the Presbyterians) ſay Chriſt eſtabliſhed for the Government of the Church, and which they call the Kingdom of Chriſt: If this Order is ſingle and clearly diſtinguiſhed, then they would have been agreed long before this Time, about the Form and Conditions of this Inſtitution.

"(12.) If this, which they (the *Puritans* and *Diſſenters*) pretend, is the Kingdom and Ordinance of God; then in Caſe it happens to be defective in any Eſſentials, 'twill follow, that Chriſt's Kingdom is not ſet up in the Church.

"(13.) Chriſtian Polity requires nothing impoſſible or abſurd.

"(14.) Thoſe Tenents, which in many Eſſential Points are new and unheard of, ought to be ſuſpected.

"(15.) To revolt from the Practice of the Univerſal Church from the Apoſtles to *Calvin*, and run into a modern Scheme, can be no leſs than a ſcandalous Singularity.

The Archbiſhop's Animadverſions upon this Tract.

This Sketch ſent up to *Lambeth*, was in the main approved by the Archbiſhop: Some Part of the Draught notwithſtanding, he thought capable of being mended. And ſince Biſhop *Hall* had ſubmitted the Cenſure entirely to his Metropolitan, *Laud* made ſome Alterations in his main Propoſitions, and aſſigned the Reaſons for taking this Freedom. The Archbiſhop in his Letter to *Hall*, takes Notice, that this Prelate, in his firſt *Head* had affirmed Epiſcopacy *an Ancient*, *Holy* and *Divine Inſtitution*. Now *Laud* conceived theſe Words, *Ancient* and *Holy*, were Expreſſions of Abatement, and diluted the Strength of the Aſſertion: And therefore, "thought it more adviſable to give the Paſſage fewer Epithets, and affirm it more Categorically of Divine Inſtitution. In the next Place, *Hall* defined Epiſcopacy by joining it with Imparity and Superiority of Juriſdiction: But this, ſays *Laud*, ſeems ſhort; for every Archdeacon's Poſt has this Advantage: And that *Henderſon*'s *Chair* at *Glaſcow* was higher than the reſt. And therefore, to do Right to Epiſcopacy, we muſt define it by a Diſtinction of Order. I draw the Superiority, continues the Archbiſhop, not from any Juriſdiction veſted in Biſhops, *Jure Poſitivo*; not from any Right granted them by Princes, or *Canon* Law; but from the intrinſick Powers reſulting from their Character, and conſequent upon their Conſecration. The Archbiſhop ſhall ſpeak the reſt of his Remarks in his own Perſon. "You ſay where Epiſcopacy has been ſettled it cannot be diſcharged without a Violation of God's Ordinance. This Propoſition, I conceive, is *inter minus habentes*, and wants Compaſs: For there was never yet any Church, where this Form was not originally ſettled. And therefore, whereever Epiſcopacy is not ſettled at preſent, 'tis certain it has been thrown off. *For in the Beginning* 'twas evidently *there*,

“ In a ſecond *Head* you grant *Presbyterian* Government may be of uſe where Epiſcopacy cannot be had. Firſt, I deſire you would conſider, whether this is not an unneceſſary and dangerous Conceſſion? Next, I am of Opinion there is no Place where Epiſcopacy is impracticable: Thirdly, ſince, as you obſerve, they are ſo bold in their Claim, and carry their Pretenſions ſo high; ſince they obtrude their *Presbyterian* Fiction for Chriſt's Kingdom and *Ordinance*, and throw off Epiſcopacy as an oppoſite and unwarrantable Government, we muſt not uſe any *mincing* Terms, but unmask them plainly, and expoſe the Deluſion; we muſt not embaraſs our ſelves, and compliment away Truth, for fear of diſpleaſing *Amſterdam* or *Geneva* with this plain Dealing.

“ As to your *Poſtulata*, continues the Archbiſhop, I deſire you would allow me the ſame Freedom: Your firſt two are true, but too narrowly expreſs'd. For Epiſcopacy is not to be ſo confined to Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as to bar it from a further Aſcent, and from deriving it originally from our Saviour himſelf; tho' perhaps the Apoſtles might ſuperſtruct ſomething with Reſpect to Form and Circumſtances. And here give me Leave to enlarge a little: The Adverſaries of Epiſcopacy are not only the furious *Aerian* Hereticks, amongſt which we may reckon the *Scottiſh* Novelliſts: Beſides theſe, there are others of a more ſpecious Alloy, both in the *Genevian* and *Roman* Faction. The latter Diviſion will be contented Epiſcopacy, ſhould be *Juris Divini mediati, by, from*, and *under* the Pope, leaving him the Privilege of a Spiritual Monarch over the whole Church. But theſe Controverſy-Writers of the Court of *Rome*, won't allow Epiſcopacy to be *Juris Divini immediati*, which makes the Church (as *Laud* goes on) *Ariſtocratical in the Biſhops*: Tho', with due Submiſſion to his Authority, I humbly conceive, the *immediate Divine* Right of Epiſcopacy ſuppoſes an Original Independency amongſt thoſe of that *Order*; and that all Privilege and Preference of one *See* above another, was the Reſult of ſubſequent Compacts, and Conceſſions of the Epiſcopal College, To return: “ This Diſtinction of *Juris Divini Mediati*, continues the Archbiſhop, is the *Italian Rock*; of which the *Genevians*, to give them their Due, ſtand clear. Some of theſe Men will not deny Epiſcopacy to be *Juris Divini*, without the above-mentioned Diſtinction: But then they throw in qualifying Terms of another Kind, 'tis *ut Suadentis vel Approbantis, ſed non Imperantis*: They will needs have this Kind of Government ſtand upon Courteſie, and leave it to the Diſcretion of the People. And thus, by the Help of this Reſerve, they may either admit, or renounce it, as Intereſt or Fancy happens to ſuggeſt: Nay, unleſs my Memory very much fails me, (I ſpeak in the Archbiſhop's Name) *Beza* himſelf is ſaid to have owned Epiſcopacy to be *Juris Divini Imperantis*: But then he comes in with this *Salvo* of *Non univerſaliter Imperantis*; and that 'twas inſtituted *citrà Conſiderationem Durationis*. And thus by fencing with theſe Diſtinctions, and going a little at large, *Geneva* and *Scotland* may eſcape Cenſure, give themſelves a Diſpenſation from Catholick Practice, live under Biſhops in one Age, and without them in another. This is the great *Rock* in the Lake of *Geneva*, which hitherto you ſeem not to have ſufficiently marked. In your 9th *Poſtulatum* you affirm, the annexing Honourable Titles, or Privileges, makes no Difference in the Subſtance of the *Calling*: I ſuppoſe you mean Titles of Archbiſhops, Primates, Patriarchs, *&c.* But then I intreat you would take Care to guard your Meaning from Miſconſtruction: For otherwiſe 'tis probable the Faction may make an Advantage of the Aſſertion: They may pretend 'tis poſſible, that a Biſhop implies no more than an honourable Diſtinction, and that their Order and Powers are the ſame with that of a Prieſt. As to the eleventh *Poſtulatum*, it muſt be managed with great Caution, for fear of a *ſaucy* Anſwer, *which is a great deal more ready with them, than a Learned one.*

Ruſhworth, Part II.

After this the Archbiſhop deſires *Hall* would ſend him up each *Head*, or *Poſtulatum*, as they were finiſhed, for further Conſideration; and concludes with a Ceremonious Excuſe for the Frankneſs of his Remarks. By theſe Reflections the *Reader* may perceive the Archbiſhop was a Perſon of a Primitive Spirit, and of great Judgment and Penetration: That the Learned Biſhop *Hall* had this Honourable Opinion of him, appears by his governing his Performance upon *Laud*'s Animadverſions. When this Book entitled *Epiſcopacy by Divine Right, &c.* was finiſhed, the Author laid the Manuſcript before *Laud* for his laſt Review. And here amongſt other Things, the Archbiſhop took Notice, that the *Sabbatarian* Rigours were too gently touched. He remarked further, that *Hall* had wav'd the Diſcuſſion of this Queſtion, *Whether Epiſcopacy be an Order or Degree*, as not much material: Whereas thoſe Learned Men the Archbiſhop conſulted thought the main Controverſy turned upon this Point. He therefore deſired the Biſhop to recollect himſelf for ſome Alterations in this Part of the Argument. But the moſt ſhocking Paſſages were, *Hall*'s calling the Pope *Anti-Chriſt* in ſuch undiſguiſed deciſive Expreſſions. This rugged Uſage of a Chriſtian Biſhop, was not defenſible in *Laud*'s Opinion: And in this a great many Learned Proteſtants concurred with him. However, before he came to any Reſolution he acquainted his Majeſty with the Buſineſs. How the Matter was ſettled by the King and the Archbiſhop, will appear by his Letter to the Biſhop of *Exeter*; which I ſhall tranſcribe as it lies before me.

Hall *alters his Book upon the Archbiſhop's Corrections.*

The laſt (with which I durſt not but acquaint his Majeſty) is about Anti-Chriſt, *which Title, in three or four Places, you beſtow upon the Pope poſitively and determinately; whereas King* James *(of Bleſſed Memory) having brought ſtrong Proof in a Work of his, as you well know, to prove the* Pope *to be* Anti-Chriſt; *yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this Anſwer, when the King that now is, went into* Spain, *and acquainted him with it*; That he writ that not *concludingly*, but by Way of *Argument* only: *That the* Pope, *and his* **Adherents,** *might ſee there, was as good and better Arguments to prove him* Anti-Chriſt, *than for the* Pope *to challenge Temporal Juriſdiction over Kings. The whole Paſſage being known to me, I could not but ſpeak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualify your Expreſſions in theſe Particulars, and ſo not differ from the known Judgment of his pious and learned Father. This is eaſily done with your own Pen; and the rather, becauſe all* Proteſtants *join not in this Opinion of* Anti-Chriſt *(w).*

January An. Dom. 163$\frac{9}{40}$.

(w) Cyprian. Anglic. pag. 460.

The Biſhop of *Exeter*, ſway'd by the Reaſoning and Authority of this Letter, ſoftned ſome of his Expreſſions, and expung'd others, to the King's, and Archbiſhop's Satiſfaction.

The Archbiſhop's Account of his Province.

"In the Archbiſhop's Account of his *Province* this Year, he acquaints the King, that in his *Dioceſs* near *Aſhford*, ſeveral *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Separatiſts*, ſtood out ſo obſtinately againſt the Cenſures of the Church, that there was no other way of dealing with them, but by having Recourſe to the *Statute* for *Abjuration*, or applying ſome other way to the Aſſiſtance of the Temporal Courts. But whether this Remedy was proper, or not, at this diſturb'd Juncture, is refer'd to his Majeſty.

From the *Dioceſs* of *London* 'tis certify'd, That the laſt Year there was a warm Conteſt in the *Pulpit* between Mr. *Goodwyn*, Vicar of St. *Stephen's Coleman ſtreet*, and ſome other City Miniſters: The Subject of their Diſpute was touching the *Act* of Believing, and the Imputation of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs in the Juſtification of a Sinner: The People it ſeems were very much entangled, and uneaſy with this Controverſy. The Matter had been taken up by the Biſhop and Chancellor, and the Parties had promiſed to be quiet: But this Year *Goodwyn* broke his Engagement, reviv'd the Conteſt, and preach'd the People into their former Scruples and Ferment: However, the Lord Biſhop did not deſpair of a good Iſſue. (*x*)

(*x*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop of* Laud.

The Dioceſs of *Norwich* was quiet, and conformable, as any Part of the Kingdom. This, by the way, was a great Reformation, brought on by *Wrenn* and *Mountague*, in a few Years.

The Biſhop of *Ely* certify'd, That Sir *John Cutts*, of *Childerly* near *Cambridge*, kept a Chaplain, tho' unqualified by Law. The Caſe, as the Archbiſhop acquaints the King, was this: There were anciently two Pariſhes in *Childerly*; the one had been long ſince loſt, the other remains Preſentative. But now, excepting the Knight's Houſe, the whole Town is depopulated; the Church is tumbled into Rubbiſh, and upon the remaining Part of the Walls a Stable, a Brew-Houſe, and other Offices are built. Upon this *Rectory* the Knight always provides a Titular Incumbent, who receives none of the Tythes. But then he has a Chappel, which, as he ſays, was conſecrated by Biſhop *Heton*. He entertained a Stipendiary Chaplain under the Colour of being the Parſon's Curate: But that in Fact he was neither appointed, nor paid by the Incumbent. In ſhort, by this Means a good *Rectory* was ſwallow'd, and that almoſt within View of the Univerſity.

The Biſhop of *Ely* certifyeth further, That in *Emanuel*, *Sidney*, and *Corpus Chriſti*, Colleges in *Cambridge*, the Rooms they us'd for Chappels were never conſecrated.

'Twas likewiſe preſented to this Biſhop, (*Wrenn*) that about Forty Years ſince, one Sir *Francis Hind* pull'd down the Church of St. *Ethelred* in *Hiſton*, being a Vicaridge Preſentative, and forc'd the Pariſhioners to go to another ſmall Church in that Town, to their great Inconvenience: And that the Lead, Timber, Stones, Bells, and all other Materials, were ſold by the ſaid Sir *Francis*; or made uſe of for the building his Houſe in *Madingley*.

The Biſhop of *Peterborough* certifies, that ſome Knights, and other Secular Gentlemen, entertain'd Scholars in their Houſes for Converſation; or gave the Vicar his Board, where the Endowment was ſmall: And this they alledg'd was not keeping a Chaplain, forbidden by the King's *Inſtructions*. However, moſt of theſe Scholars perform'd the Office of a Chaplain, that is, they ſaid Prayers, but not the Common-Prayer appointed by the *Rubrick*. This Biſhop acquaints his *Metropolitan*, that few of the Laity are Factious, but where the Clergy miſled them. And this Obſervation *Laud* is afraid will hold in moſt Parts of the Kingdom.

In the Dioceſs of *Exeter*, one *Coxe* preach'd a Sermon upon *Hoſea* 4. and 4. to prove the Church of *England* did not maintain the calling of Biſhops to be *Jure Divino*: This Sermon made an ill Impreſſion upon a great many People in thoſe Parts. But the Biſhop of *Exeter* having diſcours'd this *Coxe*, ſent him up to the Archbiſhop; where, receiving full Satiſfaction upon the Queſtion, he went Home, and of his own voluntary Motion, made a handſome Recantation, and recover'd the People he had formerly miſled.

January the 2d, 1639-40.

The Biſhops of *Bath and Wells*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Rocheſter*, St. *David's*, *Landaff* and *Bangor*, certify, That his Majeſties *Inſtructions* were punctually obſerv'd in their Dioceſſes; and that in other Reſpects they were likewiſe in a regular Condition: The Biſhop of *Chicheſter's* Certificate is much to the ſame Purpoſe: Only he adds, that that Dioceſs is not ſo much troubled with *Puritan* Miniſters, as with *Puritan* Juſtices of Peace; of which it ſeems there was a great many: The reſt of the Dioceſſes returning nothing remarkably amiſs, I ſhall paſs them over.

Id.

This was the laſt annual Information the Archbiſhop ſent the King. Now, if we conſider the Condition of the Church at *Laud's* coming to *Canterbury*, we ſhall find him very ſucceſsful in his Adminiſtration: And had not the Rebellion come on, and thrown him out of his *Seat*, he would, in all likelyhood, either have converted, or cruſh'd, the *Puritan Sect*, and recover'd his *Province* to an entire Conformity.

But now the *Engliſh Faction* being animated by the King's late Indulgence to the *Scots*, the Times grew diſturb'd, and the Government was much embarraſs'd. To relieve his Majeſty under theſe Difficulties, the Earl of *Strafford* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, adviſ'd the calling a Parliament; 'twas likewiſe reſolved at the *Board* to give the King an extraordinary Aſſiſtance, in caſe the *Houſes* ſhould prove incomplyant, and refuſe the paſſing of *Subſidies*. (*y*)

(*y*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Diary*, *pag.* 59.

The Parliament meets at Weſtminſter, *and not giving Satiſfaction is quickly diſſolv'd.* An. Dom. 1640.

Upon the Thirteenth of *April* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: Soon after the opening of the *Seſſion* the King ſent a Meſſage to the Lower Houſe, to put them in Mind of Supplies; reporting the intolerable Uſage he had received from the *Scots*; and declaring, that provided they granted him an *Aid* ſuitable to the Occaſion, he would give up his Claim of *Ship Money*, and ſatiſfy all other reaſonable Demands: But the *Commons*, as Things were manag'd, were in no Diſpoſition for Complyance; they inſiſted upon farther Securities for Property, for better Settlement of Religion, and for Privilege of Parliament. Now the Queſtion was, Whether the King's Meſſage, or the Commons Requeſt, was firſt to be conſider'd? After ſeveral Conferences between the Two Houſes, the Lords voted a Preference for the King's Buſineſs, and the Commons for that of the Subject: But this Diſpute was quickly ended, no leſs unfortunately than it began: For *Secretary Vane* being order'd to acquaint the Commons in what Proportion the King deſir'd to be aſſiſted, propos'd Twelve *Subſidies*;

May 5. Ann. Dom 1640.

Subſidies; whereas, 'twas ſaid, he had expreſs Orders to mention no more than Six: This being look'd on as an exceſſive Demand, ſhock'd the Commons, and threw them off their Temper: And thus proceeding to ſome unacceptable Debates, the King deſpairing of any good Iſſue, by the Advice of his Council, diſſolv'd the Parliament.

A Convocation at St. Paul'*s*. Hamond. L'Eſtrange'*s Hiſt. of King* Charles. *Lord* Clarendon'*s Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, &c. Ruſhworth'*s Hiſt. Collect. Part 2d. pag.* 1163. Synodus Anglicana *Append.*

To give ſome Account of the *Convocation*: This Provincial Synod met *April* the Fourteenth at the Chapter-Houſe of St. *Paul's*. The Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Turner*, Reſidentiary of that Church: His *Text* was *Matthew* 16. 16. *Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheep in the midſt of Wolves.* In the Cloſe of the Sermon he took Notice, that all the Biſhops did not hold the Reins of Diſcipline equally ſtrait; that ſome of them were too remiſs and indulging: That tho' by this popular Byaſs they might gain the Reputation of gentle Governours, they diſſerv'd the reſt of their Order, and made them paſs for Men of Rigour: He therefore exhorted them to act up to the *Rubrick* and *Canons*, and inſiſt upon a ſtrict Conformity. After Sermon Dr. *Richard Stuart*, Clerk of the *Cloſet*, and Dean of *Chicheſter*, was preſented *Prolocutor*. When this Matter was ſettled, and the Cuſtomary Ceremonies over, the Archbiſhop produced a Commiſſion under the *Broad Seal*, enabling the Two *Houſes* to conſult and agree upon the Explanation, or altering any *Canons* then in Force, or for the making ſuch new ones as ſhould be thought convenient for the Government of the Church: The *Commiſſion* was to remain in Force during the preſent *Seſſion* of Parliament, and no longer: By a remarkable Clauſe in this *Inſtrument*, nothing could be done without the Archbiſhop's being a Party at the Conſultation. (z)

They receive a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal for altering the Canons, or making new ones.

(z) Cyprian Anglic. *pag.* 423. Synod. Anglican.

The Latitude of this Commiſſion was very acceptable to the Majority; and by way of Acknowledgment for the Truſt his Majeſty had lodg'd with them, they granted him Six *Subſidies*, at the Rate of Four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid within ſix Years. After this the Archbiſhop brought in a Canon *for ſuppreſſing the farther Growth of Popery*: This was put into the Hands of the *Prolocutor* with Directions that the Lower Houſe might enlarge and alter it as they thought proper. But afterwards *Laud*, conſidering this *Canon* proceeding wholly from himſelf, might wipe off ſome Aſperſions, and prove ſerviceable to his Reputation, recall'd the Paper into his own Hands: And after a Review, return'd it to the Lower Houſe in the ſame Form it ſtands at preſent: While this Matter was ſettling, a *Canon* was drawn *for the better keeping the Day of his Majeſties Inauguration.* Another *Canon* was levelled againſt the ſpreading the *Socinian* Hereſy. The next Proviſion was a Reſtraint of *Sectaries.* By this *Canon* 'twas decreed, that all thoſe Proceedings and Penalties mentioned in the *Canon* againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, ſhould, as far as they are applicable, ſtand in full Force and Vigour againſt all *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Separatiſts*, *Familiſts*, or other *Sects* whatſoever, who refuſe repairing to their Pariſh Churches for hearing Divine *Service*, and receiving the Holy Communion.

Some new ones made.

Thus far the *Convocation* had gone when the Parliament was unfortunately diſſolv'd: And poſſibly this Eccleſiaſtical *Meeting* had broken up the next Day, according to Cuſtomary Practice, if one of the Lower Houſe had not acquainted the Archbiſhop with a Precedent of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to encourage them to continue their *Seſſion.* This Precedent, enter'd upon the *Convocation-Records*, was an Authority that the Clergy might grant a Subſidy, and levy it by the Force of Synodical Acts, without a Parliamentary Confirmation. From this Inſtance, the Majority inferring an Independency of the *Convocation* upon the Parliament, adjourn'd themſelves ſeveral Times with a Deſign to enter upon Buſineſs, and enlarge the Number of their *Canons.* However, not a few of the *Members* were ſurpriz'd at this Reſolve, becauſe their continuing the Meeting was plainly croſſing upon common Uſage: And beſides, the Powers granted in the *Commiſſion* abovementioned were to expire at the Receſs of the Parliament. To remove theſe Scruples, 'twas alledg'd on the other Side, that the *Writs* for calling a Parliament and *Convocation* were couch'd in different Forms, and no way depending upon each other: And, which reinforc'd the Argument, the preſent *Convocation-Writ*, and the *Commiſſion* enabling them to make *Canons*, were diſtinct Inſtruments: From whence the Inference is, that tho' the *Commiſſion* determined with the Diſſolution of the Parliament, yet, by Vertue of the *Writ*, they were to remain a *Convocation*, till diſſolv'd by another *Writ.* This Reaſoning had its Effect upon ſeveral of the Members: * However, to give farther Satisfaction, the King put the Queſtion to the moſt Eminent Lawyers then at Court, who deliver'd their Reſolution in theſe Words: That *the Convocation, call'd by the King's Writ, is to continue till it be diſſolv'd by the King's Writ, notwithſtanding the Diſſolution of the Parliament.* This Opinion was ſign'd by *Finch*, Lord Keeper, *Mancheſter*, Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, *Banks*, Attorney-General, and *Whitfeild* and *Heath*, two of his Majeſties Council learned in the Law. To fortify this Reſolution, a new *Commiſſion* was ſent the two Houſes, to remain in Force during the King's Pleaſure: Notwithſtanding this Encouragement, Dr. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Holdiſworth*, Mr. *Warmiſtry*, with others, to the Number of Thirty-ſix, *proteſted* againſt the Continuance of the *Convocation.* (a) But in Regard the *Seſſion* was warranted by ſo many conſiderable Perſons of the *Long Robe*, theſe Diſſenting *Members* neither withdrew from the Houſe, nor enter'd their *Proteſt* in *Scriptis*, or Form of Law.

Charles I. K. Id. *pag.* 429.

* Synodus Anglicana. Append. *pag.* 33

May *the* 14.

The Lord Keeper, ſeveral of the Judges, &c. *declare the Convocation may lawfully ſit after the Diſſolution of the Parliament.*

(a) Fuller'*s Church Hiſt. Book* II. *pag.* 158.

And now the *Convocation* ſomewhat reaſſur'd, went on with their Buſineſs: Tho' it muſt be ſaid the Proſpect was dark, and the Juncture very diſcouraging; for Five hundred of the *Mob* had lately made a Midnight March to *Lambeth*, and attack'd the Archbiſhop's Palace two Hours: But being diſappointed in their Malice, and forc'd to retire, they reſolv'd to aſſault the *Convocation*: The King being inform'd of the Danger order'd them a Guard, conſiſting of ſome Companies of the Train'd-Bands of *Middleſex*, commanded by *Endymion Porter*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, a Loyal and well-affected Gentleman.

May 11*th*.

Archbiſhop Laud'*s Diary*.

The *Canons* paſs'd in this *Convocation*, being in *Sparrow's Collection*, and eaſily met with; I ſhall neither tranſcribe, nor abſtract them. It may be ſufficient to add the *Titles* of thoſe already unmention'd; the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, have been already related: The firſt is entituled, *Concerning the Regal Power.* This *Canon* carries the *Regale* to a remarkable Heighth, and declares ſtrongly for Paſſive Obedience. The *Title* of the 6th ſtands thus: *An Oath enjoyn'd for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.* And becauſe this Oath was ſo loudly declaim'd againſt, and ſo much battered in the next Parliament, * I ſhall inſert it at length: It ſtands thus.

*Ruſhworth'*s Hiſt. Collect. Part* 2d. *p.* 1337.

Laud, (William) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

The Oath ſo much excepted againſt.

I A. B. do ſwear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline, or Government eſtabiſhed in the Church of England, *as containing all Things neceſſary to Salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my ſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed: Nor will I ever give my Conſent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons,* &c. *as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by Right it ought to ſtand; nor yet ever to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of the See of* Rome. *And all theſe Things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common Senſe and Underſtanding of the ſame Words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian.* So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt.

To go on with the Titles of the Canons. The 7th is entituled, *A Declaration concerning ſome Rights and Ceremonies.* 8. *Of preaching for Conformity.* 9. *One Book of Articles of Enquiry, to be us'd at all Parochial Viſitations.* 10. *Concerning the Converſation of the Clergy.* 11. *Chancellors Patents.* 12. *Chancellors alone not to cenſure the Clergy in ſundry Caſes.* 13. *Excommunication and Abſolution not to be pronounc'd but by a Prieſt.* 14. *Concerning Commutations, and the diſpoſing of them.* 15. *Touching concurrent Juriſdiction.* 16. *Concerning Licenſes to Marry.* 17. *Againſt vexatious Citations.*

Beſides theſe *Canons*, which were all unanimouſly ſubſcrib'd by the *Convocation*, (the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* excepted) there were ſome other Things propos'd, which either fell in the Debate, or miſcarry'd by the Diſtraction of the Times. For Inſtance, one *Griffith*, a Member for one of the *Welch* Dioceſſes, mov'd for a new Edition of the *Welch* Church Bible; the Bible had been about Sixty Years ſince tranſlated into that Language by the Aſſiſtance of Biſhop *Morgan*; but this Performance ſuffer'd conſiderably in the Preſs. For the Purpoſe, Verſe 23d, of the 12th of *Exodus*, where the Angel is ſaid to *paſs over the Door ſprinkled with Blood*, is omitted, which maims the Senſe of the Chapter. And *Habbakuk* the 2d and the 5th, the Words he is a *Proud Man* are left out. Further, there was a Deſign to draw an *Engliſh Pontifical*, * and get it paſs'd by the *Convocation*: This *Pontifical* was to take in the Form of King *Charles's* Coronation, and ſerve as a Precedent for future Solemnities of this Kind. A Form for conſecrating Churches, Church-yards and Chappels, was likewiſe to be inſerted: To theſe an Office was to be added, for *reconciling* ſuch as had either done *open* Penance, or apoſtatiz'd to *Mahometaniſm*. Theſe three Forms, together with the Office of *Confirmation*, and the *Ordinal* now in Force, were to make the whole Book: But the publick Diſcontents growing higher, 'twas thought adviſable to poſtpone this Matter till the Times were better ſettled: Many of the *Members* excepted againſt tying up Preachers to uſe the Prayer before the Sermon preſcrib'd by the 55th *Canon*. To relieve them under this Grievance, as ſome counted it, a ſhort Prayer, comprehending the Matter of the *Canon*, was drawn up: This Form, 'twas ſaid, would have been well receiv'd by thoſe who ſcrupl'd the Direction of the *Canon*. But the Archbiſhop thought it better to keep cloſe to the old Rule, than run the Riſque of a new Experiment: And thus the Motion was dropt without going further.

* Synod. Anglican.

Charles I. K.

Before the *Canons* were offer'd to the *Houſes* for their Subſcription, they were read before the King and *Privy-Council*; the Judges, and other Eminent Perſons of the *Long Robe*, being preſent: And here they were approv'd by the whole Audience, the King giving the Archbiſhop Thanks for bringing Things to ſo good an Iſſue. After this ſolemn Approbation, they were ſubſcrib'd in the Upper Houſe by the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy; none refuſing to put their Hand but the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*: This Prelate's Firmneſs to the *Reformation* had been formerly queſtion'd, which Suſpicion was increas'd by this Refuſal; for 'twas thought the Strictneſs of the Third *Canon*, for ſuppreſſing the *Growth* of *Popery*, was the only Reaſon which made him ſtand off: He was firſt argued with, and then required to acquieſce, by his Metropolitan. And theſe Methods proving ineffectual, he was ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio* by both *Houſes*. This Sentence being put into Form, ſign'd by the Archbiſhop, and publickly pronounced; the King ordered his Commitment: But this Durance was but ſhort; for on the Tenth of *July* he acknowledged his Misbehaviour before the Lords of the *Council*, and took the Oath enjoyn'd by the Sixth *Canon*: Upon this Compliance he recover'd his Liberty; but whether this Submiſſion was not made with ſome reſerv'd Latitude, is not altogether ſo clear: For in his laſt Sickneſs, he declared himſelf in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and ordered his *Will* to be drawn accordingly.

May 29th.

The Canons approv'd by the Privy-Council and Judges.

The *Canons* of this Convocation were tranſmitted to *York*, and ſigned unanimouſly by that *Synod*, without debating upon Matter or Form. And after the National Church had thus given them their Authority, they were confirm'd by the King's Letters Patents under the *Broad Seal*.

But all this Countenance, and regular Proceeding, was not ſufficient to ſkreen them from Cenſure. Some were unpleas'd with the Seventh *Canon*, entituled, *A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies*: This *Canon* recommends bowing towards the Communion-Table, or Altar: However, 'tis couch'd in very inoffenſive Terms, and lays no Penalty upon the Omiſſion of this Ceremony; and, which is more, all Perſons are deſired to manage by the *Rule of Charity*, and neither blame the *Practice* or *Omiſſion*: However, notwithſtanding the Indifferency the Matter ſeem'd to reſt in, ſome thought thoſe who forbore the Ceremony would be look'd on as ſhort in their Conformity, and ſtand with Diſadvantage in the Opinion of the Prelates.

Exceptions againſt them anſwer'd.

But nothing occaſion'd more Clamour than the *Oath* enjoyn'd by the Sixth *Canon*, which was pelted both from Pulpit and Preſs: The *&c.* in this Engagement was reckon'd a dark Abbreviation, and that the meaning of it was not to be reach'd. But to this 'twas anſwer'd, That in the Five preceding *Canons*, made ſome Time before, there was a particular Recital of all the Perſons veſted with Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; that is to ſay, *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *Deans and Chapters*, and other Perſons having peculiar and exempt Juriſdiction: All theſe Diſtinctions having been particularly ſet forth, in the firſt Five *Canons*, were in the firſt Draught of this *Oath* cut off with this *&c.* to avoid Repetition: However, 'twas intended to engroſs the *Canons* in the whole Length of the Enumeration, and then the exceptionable *&c.* would have been thrown out of Courſe: But the King being tir'd with the Charge of keeping a Guard for the *Convocation*, and the Clamour occaſion'd by this extraordinary Security, ſent ſeveral Meſſages to the Clergy to preſs them upon Diſpatch. The *Houſes* being thus ſomewhat hurry'd, ſent the *Canons* to the Preſs, and forgot to expunge this *&c.* 'Twas anſwer'd, *2dly*, That the *&c.* in the *Oath* is ſo limited and explained by the following Words, *viz. As it ſtands now eſtabliſhed*, that there can be no reaſonable Fear of a dangerous Meaning. 'Twas farther objected, That the requiring an Oath, not to conſent to the Alteration of the preſent Church Government, by *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, Deans and Chapters*, &c. was a Confinement of the *Civil* and Eccleſiaſtical Legiſlature; and tying the Church and *State* down to the Decrees of a Convocation: To be ſworn out of Liberty in this Manner was reckon'd the more unreaſonable, becauſe ſome of the *Orders* ſpecify'd in the *Oath*, particularly *Deans* and *Archdeacons*, have no Pretence to a *Divine Right*. and conſequently cannot preſcribe againſt Alteration. To this 'twas reply'd, That the Convocation never intended this *Oath* for a Reſtraint of their own Authority, or to bar the Clergy complying with ſuch Alterations, as might be afterwards lawfully made: Therefore, theſe Words, *I will never give my Conſent to alter the Government of the Church*, &c. imply no more, than that the Clergy bind themſelves not to be in a Practice againſt the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, nor attempt an Alteration in the Church, without the Conſent of thoſe who govern. Laſtly, 'tis objected, the Perſon is to declare *he takes the Oath willingly*; tho', after all, there is no refuſing it, without incuring the Penalties of Suſpenſion and Deprivation: But this pretended Rigour is defended by a Parallel Inſtance in the *Oath of Allegiance*: For here the Party is oblig'd to ſwear he makes this *Recognition Heartily, Truly*, and **Willingly**; and yet, notwithſtanding the Compaſs of this Acknowledgment, the taking the Oath is requir'd under very ſevere Forfeitures.

Thirdly, The *Canons* were charged with *encroaching upon the Property of the Subject*; but this Objection ſhall be poſtpon'd to the next Parliament.

But after all, 'twas thought the main Exception againſt the Convocation was their drawing the Firſt *Canon* ſo much to the Service of the *Crown*, and flatly condemning Reſiſtance of the Government *upon any Pretence whatſoever*. 'Tis true in this, they advanc'd no other Doctrine but what was warranted by the *Laws*, and aſſerted at Length in the *Homilies*. But notwithſtanding they went plainly upon the Authority of Church and *State*; ſome People were much unpleas'd to have their Memory refreſh'd with this Doctrine: This Reſentment, tho' ſmother'd at firſt by the *Engliſh* Mal-Contents, was ſpoken out by the *Scotch Commiſſioners*. Theſe *Covenanters*, amongſt the reſt of their Articles of Impeachment, "*charg'd* the Archbiſhop with making Canons "againſt their *juſt* and *neceſſary Defence*; *and* "*that he had obliged the Clergy to preach ſuch Do*"*ctrine four Times a Year, as was not only con*"*trary to their Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and* "*Proceedings of other Reform'd Kirks, to the* "*Judgment of all ſound Divines and Lawyers,* "*as tending to the utter Ruin and enſlaving of all* "*Eſtates and Kingdoms.* (b) From hence it appears, that the guarding the Government, the pinning the Subjects ſo cloſe to their Duty, and declaring ſo ſtrongly againſt Rebellion, was the great Grievance in theſe *Canons*. To go back a little, and touch upon the Affairs in *Ireland*. In this Kingdom a Parliament met on the Twentieth of *March*, and ſat till the Seventeenth of *June*. At this *Seſſion* two *Acts* paſs'd for the Benefit of the Clergy: The firſt *Statute*, entituled, *An Act for endowing Churches with Glebe Lands*, is as follows.

Irish *Acts in Favour of the Church.*

Whereas all Beneficiaries with Cure, eſpecially Vicars, are bound to perpetual Reſidence; and yet, through the War and Confuſion of former Times in this Kingdom, the Ancient Gleabes in many Places are ſo obſcur'd that they cannot be found out, by which Means the Incumbents are neceſſitated to perpetual Non-reſidence; Be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that it ſhall be lawful for any devout Perſon, without Licence of Mortmain, to endow Churches having no Gleabes, or not above Ten Acres of Gleabe, with new Gleabe, provided the Gleabe of any one Church ſo endowed do not exceed forty Acres at the moſt, and that the ſaid Lands be not holden in Capite, **or by Knight's Service.** (c)

By the next *Statute*, the Penalty of Deprivation incurr'd by the Incumbent, for not paying the twentieth Part of his Living to the Crown, is leſſen'd to a Forfeiture of only the treble Value of the ſaid twentieth Part: (d) This was the laſt Parliament of that Kingdom during the Earl of *Strafford*'s Lieutenancy.

The Scots *invade* England.

This Summer the Covenanting *Scots* levied another Army againſt the King, invaded *England*, overrun the Country to the *Tine*, forc'd the Lord *Conway* to retreat, and ſeiz'd *Durham* and *Newcaſtle*. The King march'd againſt them as far as *York*, and was not unprovided to give them Battle: But having Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome of the Officers and Centinels were tainted in their Loyalty, and diſinclin'd to fight the *Scots*, he conſented to a Treaty at *Rippon*: Where, after ſome Debate, the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Commiſſioners agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms. *2dly*, That the *Scotch* Army ſhould be allow'd Eight hundred and fifty Pounds a Day during their quartering in *England*: Which Contribution was to be rais'd in the Counties of *Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Durham*, and the Town of *Newcaſtle*. *3dly*, The River *Tees* was to be the Barrier to both Armies: And as to the main Articles, they were to be refer'd to a farther Treaty at *London*. (e)

The Treaty at Rippon.

When the King was upon his Expedition againſt the *Scots*, Archbiſhop *Laud* receiv'd Information out of *Holland* of a Plot againſt his Majeſty: That this Treaſon was carry'd on in *England* by Seignior *Con* and his Confidents: That theſe Conſpirators finding the Archbiſhop reſty as to any Alterations in Religion, reſolv'd to diſpatch him firſt: And that when this Obſtacle was remov'd, they did not deſpair of working the King's Humour. (f) The firſt Diſcoverer of this Plot was one *Andreas Ab-Habernsfeild*, a *Bohemian* Gentleman, Phyſician to the Lady *Eliſabeth*, who married the *Paltzgrave*: This Gentleman ſent a Friend of his with a Narrative to Sir *William Boſwell* (g) his Majeſty's *Agent* in *Holland*: *Habernsfeild*'s Friend having ſworn Sir *William* to Secrecy, 'twas agreed between them, that the *Papers* ſhould be ſeal'd, and ſent by an *Expreſs* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Laud* took Care to have them put in the King's Hands;

Habernsfeild *ſuppoſed Plot.*

An Dom. 1640.

(b) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud. Cant's. *Doom.*

(c) Iriſh *Acts* 15 Car 1. Cap. 11.

(d) Id. 15 *of* Car. 1. Cap. 12.

(e) Whitlock's *Memoirs.*

(f) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud.

(g) Hammond. L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt. of King* Charles I.

Hands. His Majeſty at the Beginning of the next *Parliament*, nominated a Committee of Lords to examine this Matter. In ſhort, all the *Papers* were read before the King and the *Committe*. But it ſeems the Narrative was ſomewhat perplexed, and the Proofs defective. That *Laud* did not give much Credit to this Relation, appears by the Manner of his reporting this Plot at his *Tryal* (*g*). And by his omitting the Mention of it in his *Diary*; in which Things of much leſs Importance are taken Notice of. The Learned *Wharton* likewiſe queſtions the Matter of Fact in his *Preface* to the *Hiſtory of the Archbiſhop's Troubles*, &c. And ſince there was no Proſecution upon the Narrative, and the Marks of Truth were not ſufficiently legible, I ſhall enter no farther into the *Story*.

(*g*) *The Pope's Agent (as 'tis ſaid) plots my Death*, &c. *Hiſt. of the Troubles of Archbp.* Laud, *pag.* 163. Cyprian. Anglic. *pag.* 452.

August 22.

To proceed: The King being lately marched againſt the *Scots*, a Paper was drop'd in *Covent-Garden* to encourage the Apprentices and Soldiers to attack the Archbiſhop: But one of the Mob having been executed for a late Attempt at *Lambeth*, they had not Courage enough to renew the Enterprize. But not long after, when the *High-Commiſſion* ſate at St. *Paul's*, about Two thouſand *Browniſts* inſulted the Court, pulled down all the Benches in the Conſiſtory, and cried out they would have no Biſhops, nor *High-Commiſſion*. Thus the King, by this Tumult was put to the Expence of ordering a Guard for St. *Paul's*, as he had done before at *Weſtminſter* for the Protection of the Convocation.

Octob. 21.

The long Parliament meets.

On the Third of *November* the Long Parliament, which proved ſo fatal to the King, met at *Weſtminſter*. At the Opening this Seſſion the Commons made Speeches againſt the Crown and the Church in a very remarkable Manner, and gave early Indications of what followed. What they delivered againſt the Biſhops diſcovers a great Deal of Heat and Diſaffection, gives a ſtrong Countenance to Schiſm, and charges Popery at Random: In ſhort, there is much more Satyr and Declamation, than ſolid Proof in theſe Remonſtrances. Theſe Gentlemen that harangued with ſo much Vigour, ſeemed to be angry with the Biſhops for their Revenues and Authority, and grudged them the Benefit of the Conſtitution. I ſhall paſs over the Exceptions ſome of the Members made againſt inſiſting upon Conformity, againſt the *High-Commiſſion*, againſt a Power in the Biſhops to licence Books, and the Clergy being put into Poſts of Civil Juriſdiction. I ſhall wave the Recital, I ſay, of what was delivered upon theſe Heads, becauſe they are moſtly made up of Invective without Argument (*h*). But from *Bagſhaw*, one of the *Long Robe*, ſomething more of Law and Logick might have been expected.

(*h*) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* Part II. *pag.* 1342. & deinceps.

Some of the Members declaim againſt the Hierarchy.

To give the *Reader* the Subſtance of this learned *Members* Speech upon Epiſcopacy. In the Beginning of his Diſcourſe he ſuppoſes an Epiſcopacy of two Sorts: The firſt, *in ſtatu Puro*, as it ſtood in the Primitive Times: The ſecond, *in ſtatu Corrupto*, or in its modern Declenſion. This latter Condition he applies to the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, and endeavours to prove, that Epiſcopacy in this State of Degeneracy encroaches upon the *Crown* in the four following Particulars.

His *firſt* Inſtance is in Biſhop *Hall's* late Book, wherein 'tis aſſerted, that Epiſcopacy both in the *Office* and Juriſdiction, is *Jure Divino*: And that in Matters purely Spiritual, this is no more than Truth, I have fully proved in the firſt Volume of this *Work*. But to go on with Mr. *Bagſhaw*, who pretends, this Aſſertion is directly contrary to the Laws of *England*. His firſt Proof is brought from the *Statute* of *Carliſle*, 35 *Ed.* 1. (*i*). Where 'tis ſaid, as Sir *Edw. Cook* reports, that the Church of *England* is founded in the State of Prelacy, by the King of *England* and his Progenitors. But that theſe Words relate to Revenues and Endowment, may partly be collected from what follows; where 'tis ſaid the Deſign of this Foundation was to enable the Biſhops to keep hoſpitable Houſes, and relieve the Poor. Further, that the firſt *Saxon* Kings, to mention no other, did not pretend to convey the Powers in the Epiſcopal Character, nor ſo much as to fill the vacant *Sees*, is ſufficiently ſhewn in the firſt Part of this *Hiſtory*. His next Proof is taken from *Magna Charta*, cap. 1. where the King declares *Conceſſimus Deo & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Omnes Libertates, &c.* To this it may be anſwered in the firſt Place, that *Magna Charta* was commonly ſuppoſed to be nothing more than a Confirmation of the Subjects Right: 2*dly*. 'Ts ſaid, *Conceſſimus Deo*. **We have granted to God:** Now, could *Bagſhaw* ſuppoſe the King would pretend to grant God any new Power or Juriſdiction? 'Tis plain therefore the *Charter* muſt be underſtood of Secular Privilege and Juriſdiction. And when theſe Things are ſettled upon the Church, they are ſaid to be given to God; becauſe they are deſigned for the Support of his Worſhip, and the Encouragement of thoſe who repreſent him. His third Argument from 37 *H.* 8. *cap.* 17. has been conſidered already in the Reign of that Prince, and thither I refer the *Reader*.

(*i*) Cook's *Reports*. Part V. Caudry's *Caſe*.

Bagſhaw's *Speech examined.*

For his ſecond Encroachment of the Hierarchy upon the *Crown*, he only produces a Common Saying, *No Biſhop, no King; no Mitre, no Scepter*. But this is only fighting a Phantome, and purſuing his own Shadow, and requires no further Conſideration.

His third Inſtance of the Hierarchy *trenching upon the Crown*, as he calls it, was the maintaining the Biſhops a third Eſtate in Parliament, *and therefore the King and Parliament could not be without them*: This he utterly denies, and makes the King one of three *Eſtates*. But notwithſtanding this Categorical Language, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, are expreſly declared to be one of the **Greateſt States of this Realm** (*k*). And that the Biſhops are eſſential to the Legiſlature no leſs than the Temporal Lords and Commons, is granted by Sir *Edward Coke* *.

(*k*) 8 Eliz. *cap.* 1.

* Cook Inſt. Part IV. *fol.*

The fourth pretended Encroachment is the Biſhops holding Eccleſiaſtical Courts in their own Names, and not in the Name of the King, nor by Commiſſion from him, contrary to the *Statute* 1 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 2. But this Objection having been already anſwered, ſhall be paſs'd over. *Bagſhaw*, in the Concluſion of his Speech, makes a further Diſcovery of his Affection to Epiſcopacy, and declares, that had he lived in *Scotland*, *France*, *Geneva*, or the *Low-Countries*, he ſhould have been for Presbyterian Church Government. (*l*.)

(*l*) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* Part II. *pag.* 1343.

Lord Digby's *Speech.*

The Lord *Digby* thought the late *Convocation* misbehaved themſelves, and harangued ſtrongly againſt their Proceedings. He conceives their taxing the Clergy an Invaſion of the Subjects Right, and calls their *Benevolence*, a *Malevolence*. And the levying this *Benevolence* by *Synodical Acts*, and under the Penalties of Excommunication and Deprivation, is complained of as intolerable Oppreſſion, and an Encroachment upon the *Civil* Legiſlature. But, notwithſtanding theſe Tragical Expreſſions, the Clergy had always the Privilege of taxing their own Body. Neither from *Magna Charta*, 'till the 37th of *Hen.* 8. is there any Parliamentary Confirmation of *Subſidies* given by the Clergy*. For what Reaſon this Cuſtom was afterwards altered, is not eaſy to account for. 'Tis poſſible

* *Statute-Book.*

it might be for the Benefit of the *Crown*, and for the better ſecuring the Payment of the Money granted: For, ſince the *Reformation*, the Juriſdiction of the Church was much ſunk, and her *Cenſures* leſs regarded. Now the *Convocation* could proceed no further than Spiritual Penalties. They had no Authority over the Secular Magiſtrate, neither could they command the Juſtices of Peace to levy their *Subſidies* by *Diſtreſs*: And therefore, that the Crown might not be diſappointed of the Money granted by the *Convocation*, their Subſidies from the 37th of *Henry* VIII. downwards, were generally confirmed by *Act* of Parliament. But that the Clergy's granting the King a *Benevolence* without ſuch Confirmation, exceeded their Power, is more than is proved. Had the *Convocation* pretended to tax the Laity, the Objection had been good. But to conteſt their Authority for raiſing Money upon their own *Body*, is to croſs upon Cuſtom, and known Privilege: Neither could the Clergy *without Doors* reckon this a Grievance: For they had already given their Conſent for this Purpoſe in their Procuratorial Letters: For in this Inſtrument, ſigned and ſealed by the Electors for Convocation, they engage themſelves to allow and abide by the Proceedings of their Clerks and Proctors *. Beſides, there was a Precedent in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign in Defence of this Practice. For in the Year 1585, the Convocation granted a *Subſidy* or *Benevolence*, and levied the Money by Synodical Authority, without any Confirmation from the Parliament; neither was this at all complained of. This Inſtance was ſuggeſted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *May* laſt, and the Convocation-Record appealed to for the Truth of the Fact.

* Se Ratum gratum & acceptum habere quicquid dicti procuratores ſui dixerint fecerint vel conſtituerint. *See the* Appendix *to Dr.* Atterbury's *Rights, Powers*, &c. *of a Convocation.*

The Convocation ſits, but does nothing.

On the fourth of *November* the Convocation met at St. *Paul's*, the Sermon was preached by *Bargrave*, Dean of *Canterbury*. The Lower Houſe choſe their old *Prolocutor*, and adjourning to King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, the Archbiſhop made a Speech: He lamented the Unhappineſs of the Times; put them in Mind of the Storm riſing upon the Churrh; exhorted them to perform the Duty of their reſpective Places, and ſtand their Ground with Reſolution. There was nothing of Moment tranſacted in this *Convocation*. But *Warmiſtre*, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, made a Motion which muſt not be forgotten; 'twas, that according to the Direction of the *Levitical* Law, they ſhould endeavour to *cover the Pit which they had opened*; that is, they ſhould prevent their Enemies, and null the offenſive *Canons*, which had paſs'd in the laſt Convocation. But the Houſe ſeemed to have a better Opinion of the *Canons*, and rejected the Motion. However, *Warmiſtre* being diſappointed, publiſhed a long Speech upon this Subject, and run a Satyr upon ſome of the *Canons*. But all this Remonſtrance was not reckoned Merit enough to protect him afterwards from Sequeſtration.

Biſhop Williams *enlarg'd.*

About a Week forward, *Williams* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was diſcharged from his Impriſonment in the *Tower*; the Houſe of Lords having applied to the King for this Purpoſe. The next Day, being a Publick Faſt, this Prelate was brought into the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter* by ſix Biſhops, and officiated as Dean there. The Commons, according to Cuſtom, went to St. *Margaret*'s Church: And here, while the *Second Service* was reading at the Communion Table, the Audience began to ſing ſome of *Hopkin*'s Metre, and diſturbed the Office. This breaking in upon the Prayers was ſomewhat ſurprizing: But the Commons, it ſeems, had a Mind to acquaint the People with Part of their Deſign †.

The Service diſturbed at St. Margaret'*s.*

† L'Eſtrange *his Hiſt. of* K. Charles I. *pag.* 206.

The Earl of Strafford *impeached.*

The Earl of *Strafford*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Army, came up to *London* at the King's Inſtance, and ventured himſelf with the Parliament. This, both by himſelf, and his Friends, was thought a Step ſomewhat too hardy. But the Caution was over-ruled by his Majeſty, who promiſed his Protection, and refuſed to diſpenſe with his Abſence at the *Council Board* (m). However, this Nobleman's Apprehenſions of Danger were too well founded: For upon his appearing in the *Houſe*, he was impeached for High-Treaſon by the Commons, committed to the Black Rod, and ſent to the *Tower* ſoon after.

(m) Whitlock's *Memoirs.*

The Government being now in a viſible Declenſion, *Burton* and *Pryn* got looſe from their Confinement, and made a pompous Entry into *London*, being attended from *Brentford* with ſeveral Thouſands of Horſe and Foot, with *Roſemary* in their Hats. Thus the King's Courts of Juſtice, which had cenſured theſe Men, were openly inſulted: And the Criminals were admitted to the Houſe of Commons, to prefer Petitions aginſt the Proſecutors.*

* L'Eſtrange *his Hiſt. of* K. Charles I.

By this Countenance the *Puritan* Faction was further animated to attack the Church. And Alderman *Pennington*, with a Retinue of ſome Hundreds came to the Houſe of Commons, and preſented a Petition, ſubſcribed by Fifteen thouſand *Londoners*, tho' not in the Name of the Corporation. This Paper exhibited a ſtrong Complaint againſt the Ceremonies and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*: But containing too much Matter for ſudden Diſpatch, 'twas poſtponed to a Time of more Leiſure.

December 11.

Upon the 15th of *December* the Commons attacked the late *Convocation* in Form; and reſolved *Nullo Contradicente.*

The Reſolves of the Commons againſt the Canons.

" (1.) That the Clergy of *England* convened in
" any Convocation or Synod, or otherwiſe, have
" no Power to make any Conſtitutions, Ca-
" nons, or Acts whatſoever in Matter of Doctrine,
" Diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind the Clergy or
" Laity of the Land, without common Conſent
" of Parliament.

" (2). That the ſeveral Conſtitutions and Ca-
" nons Eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Arch-
" biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Preſidents of
" the Convocation for the reſpective Provinces of
" *Canterbury* and *York*, and the reſt of the Bi-
" ſhops and Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed
" upon with the King's Majeſty's Licence in their
" ſeveral Synods begun at *London* and *York* 1640,
" do not bind the Clergy or Laity of this Land,
" or either of them.

The next Day the ſame Subject being reſumed 'twas reſolved *Nullo Contradicente.*

" (1.) That theſe Canons and Conſtitutions Ec-
" cleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Archbiſhops of
" *Canterbury* and *York*, Preſidents of the Convoca-
" tions for the reſpective Provinces of *Canterbury*
" and *York*, and by the reſt of the Biſhops and
" Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed upon with
" the King's Majeſty's Licence in their ſeveral Sy-
" nods begun at *London* and *York* in the Year 1640,
" do contain in them many Matters contrary to
" the King's Prerogative, to the Fundamental Laws
" and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Par-
" liament, to the Property and Liberty of the Sub-
" ject, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of
" dangerous Conſequence.

" (2.) That the ſeveral Grants of the Benevo-
" lences, or Contributions granted to his moſt
" excellent Majeſty by the Clergy of the *Provinces*
" of *Canterbury* and *York*, in the ſeveral Convoca-
" tions or Synods holden at *Canterbury* and *York*,

Anno

Laud (William) *Archbiſhop of* Cant.

“ *Anno Dom.* 1640. are contrary to the Laws, and ought not to bind the Clergy *(n)*.

(*n*) Ruſhworth, Part II. *pag.* 1365.
(*o*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Abp.* Laud, *pag.* 154, 283.

The making theſe *Canons* was afterwards urged againſt the Archbiſhop at his Tryal with all the Aggravations already mentioned. But I find no Proof produced to ſupport the Charge *(o)*.

The Archbp. of Cant. *and the E. of* Strafford *impeached.*

The next Day Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, was ſent up from the Lower Houſe to the Lords with an Impeachment of High-Treaſon againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*. And to give a ſtronger Colour upon the Proſecution, the *Scotch* join him in the Charge with the Earl of *Strafford*, as a publick Incendiary. Upon this Impeachment he was committed to the *Black Rod*, and continued under that Reſtraint 'till the firſt of *March*, when he was ſent to the *Tower*.

Anabaptiſtical Heterodoxies.

January 18. 164$^{0}_{1}$.

And now the Diſcipline of the Church ſinking with the Archbiſhop, about Fourſcore Anabaptiſts meeting at a Houſe in *St. Saviour's Southwark*, preached, that the 35th of *Eliz.* enjoining the Uſe of the *Common-Prayer* was no legal *Statute*, becauſe the Biſhops concurred to the making it. From hence they advanced upon the *Crown*, aſſerting, that the King cannot make a good Law, becauſe not *Perfectly Regenerate*: And that he is only to be obeyed in Matters relating to the *State*. Upon their being brought before the Lords, they confeſſed the Articles, but were diſmiſs'd without Puniſhment *(p)*.

(*p*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Cyprian. Anglic.

The Speeches of ſeveral Members in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Biſhops, was followed with Petitions from ſeveral Counties; one of which was ſigned by Seven hundred Presbyters. This Remonſtrance againſt the Hierarchy being well entertained by the Parliament, the King made a Speech to both Houſes to this Effect.

The King's Speech in Defence of the Biſhops.

He told them “ he could not but take Notice of ſome very ſurprizing Petitions, ſent up in the Name of ſeveral Counties againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Church: That the Biſhops were menaced with being reduced to an utter Inſignificancy, if not wholly ſet aſide. Now (continues the King) I muſt acquaint you, I make a Difference between *Reformation* and *Alteration* of Goverment: And tho' I am for the firſt, I cannot give Way to the latter. I won't ſay but that the Biſhops may have over-ſtrained their Authority, and encroached upon the Temporal Juriſdiction. If you are diſpoſed to check ſuch irregular Motions, and reform the Abuſe, I am ready to concur with you. Nay further, if you can demonſtrate the Biſhops have an over-weight of Temporal Authority; if you can ſhew me they have ſome Branches of Juriſdiction inconvenient to the *State*, and not neceſſary for the Support of their *Order*, I ſhall not be unwilling to perſuade them to reſign. But by this Conceſſion you muſt not underſtand, I can conſent to the taking away their Votes in Parliament. Of this Privilege they have been poſſeſſed under many of my Anceſtors, before the Conqueſt to the preſent Time: And a Right they have enjoyed without Interruption for ſo many Hundred Years, I conceive my ſelf bound to maintain, and look upon it as Fundamental to the Conſtitution *(a)*.” The reſt of his Majeſty's Speech, being foreign to the Church, ſhall be omitted.

Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* Part III.

(*a*) L'Eſtrange *his Hiſt.* p. 210.

And now the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords by *Glyn*, to deſire they would join with them in an Addreſs, to be informed who ſollicited the King to reprieve *Goodman*, a Seminary Prieſt, in the Face of the Parliament. The King ſent 'em Word by the *Lord Privy Seal*, that *Goodman* being found guilty of no Crime, but his Character, the Reprieving him was no more Favour, than had formerly been ſhewn to *Roman* Catholick Prieſts by his Father and Queen *Elizabeth*: The Commons not being ſatisfied with this Anſwer, had another Conference with the Lords: And here they agreed upon the following Remonſtrance.

Charles I. K.

The Commons Remonſtrance. January 27.

“ That conſidering the preſent Juncture, they conceived the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt *Recuſancy* more neceſſary than formerly.

“ (1.) Becauſe by divers Petitions from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, Complaints are made of the great Increaſe of Popery and Superſtition.

“ (2.) They complain of the great Number of Prieſts and Jeſuits; and that they appear publickly with ſuch Aſſurance, as if there were no Laws enacted againſt them.

“ (3.) It appears to the *Houſe* that of late Years, about the City of *London*, Prieſts and Jeſuits have been diſcharged out of Priſon, many of them being condemned for High-Treaſon.

“ (4.) The Parliament is credibly informed, that at this preſent the Pope has a *Nuncio*, or Agent, Reſident in the City, and they have good Reaſon to believe the Information.

“ (5.) The Papiſts go as publickly to *Maſs* at *Denmark-Houſe*, at St. *James's*, and the Ambaſdors Chapels, as other People go to their Pariſh Churches.

“ (6.) 'Tis found this *Goodman* has been twice before committed and diſcharged, and was formerly a Miniſter of the Church of *England*: Therefore they humbly deſire the ſaid *John Goodman* may be left to the Juſtice of the Law.

Idem.

To this Remonſtrance the King replied.

The King's Anſwer.

“ That the Increaſe of Popery and Superſtition (if any ſuch Thing had happened) was contrary to his Inclination. And that, to take off all Occaſion of Complaint, he ſhall order the Laws may be put in Execution.

“ That he is reſolved to ſet forth a Proclamation, to command Jeſuits and Prieſts to depart the Kingdom within a Month: And, in Caſe they either fail, or return, they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to Law.

“ As touching the Pope's *Nuncio* (*Roſetti*), his Commiſſion reaches only to keep up a Correſpondence between the Queen and the Pope, in Things relating to the Exerciſe of Religion: That this Correſpondence comes within the Compaſs of full Liberty of Conſcience, ſecured her by the Articles of Marriage. However, ſince *Roſetti's* Character happens to be miſunderſtood, and gives Offence, he has perſuaded the Queen to conſent to his being recalled.

“ Further, his Majeſty will take ſpecial Care to reſtrain his Subjects from going to *Maſs* at *Denmark Houſe*, *St. James's*, and the Chapels of the Ambaſſadors.

“ Laſtly, touching *Goodman*, he is contented to remit him to the Pleaſure of both *Houſes*. But then in Caſe they reſolve to preſs the Law cloſe upon this Prieſt, he deſires they would conſider the Inconveniences which may be drawn upon his Subjects, and other Proteſtants in foreign Countries: For that which looks like neceſſary Juſtice at *Home*, may probably be interpreted Severity *Abroad*.

Idem

This *Goodman* is ſaid to be ſo generous and reſign'd, that he petitioned the King he might be treated, like *Jonah* the Prophet, thrown over-board to lay the Tempeſt, and ſacrificed to the publick Repoſe *(r)*.

Ruſhworth, Part III.
(*r*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book XI. pag. 174.

I have already mentioned the Treaty at *Rippon* was to be drawn out to further Articles, and perfected at *London*. To this Purpoſe the King iſſued a Commiſſion to the Sixteen Lords, formerly employed in this Affair, or any Ten of them, to treat with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, to receive their Demands, and ſettle the Differences on Foot.

Amongſt the Articles granted, I ſhall mention only ſome few relating to the Church.

Articles granted to the Scots.

To begin therefore with the third Demand of the *Scots*, which was, "That *Scotchmen* within "his Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*, "may be free from Cenſure for ſubſcribing the "*Covenant*, and no more preſs'd with Oaths and "Subſcriptions, unwarranted by their Laws, and "contrary to their National Oath and Covenant, "approved by his Majeſty.

The Subſtance of this Demand was granted 'em.

In their ſixth Demand "they deſire the Reparation for the Loſſes which the Kingdom of "*Scotland* hath ſuſtained, and the vaſt Charges "they have been put to, by Occaſion of the late "Troubles." That is, they deſired to be well paid for their Rebellion: And ſo they were; for the *Houſes* granted them Three hundred thouſand Pounds for their *Brotherly Aſſiſtance*; beſides the Eight hundred and fifty Pounds a Day, which they had been allowed for ſubſiſting their Troops.

Their ſeventh Article was, that all Proclamations and Books, which cenſured their Invaſion, and called them Rebels, might be revoked and ſuppreſs'd. This Demand was likewiſe granted. And thus they were not only pardoned for inſulting the Government, and drawing the King's Sword againſt him, but applauded and careſſed. For Part of this Article was, That the *Loyalty, Integrity and Faithfulneſs of his Majeſty's Subjects of* Scotland, *towards his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, was to be publiſhed in all Pariſh Churches, thro' his Majeſty's Dominions* (*s*).

Pocklington *and* Bray *cenſured by the Houſe of Lords.*

About this Time, *Pocklington* and *Bray*, Doctors in Divinity, were brought under Cenſure by the Parliament: The firſt was Chaplain in Ordinary to the King; the other to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Pocklington*'s Crime was preaching a *Viſitation Sermon* before the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and publiſhing it under the Title of *Sunday no Sabbath*: His other obnoxious Book was called, *The Chriſtian Altar*; in which he had maintained ſeveral Things contrary to his Dioceſan's Opinion upon that Subject. Theſe Books were both licenced by *Bray*. *Williams*, upon the Death of *Neile*, made Archbiſhop of *York*, and ſtanding fair with the Parliament, moved, that theſe two Divines might be brought to a Recantation. The Houſe of Lords believing the Biſhop a proper Judge in the Controverſy, (though by the Way he had been a Party) remitted the collecting the Exceptionable Propoſiions to him. This Prelate having examined the *Tracts*, moved that *Bray* might recant ſeven erroneous Propoſitions in the firſt, and Twenty four in the ſecond. As for *Pocklington*, a Recantation would not ſerve his Turn; he was to be deprived of his Preferments. *Fuller* will have it that both theſe Doctors died ſoon after the Execution of the Sentence; and that either Shame for being miſtaken in Print, or want of Fortitude to maintain their Opinion, proved mortal to them (*t*). But *Heylin* reports from his own Knowledge, that *Pocklington* lived more than two, and *Bray* above four Years after this Cenſure; and that the Misfortune had not the leaſt viſible Effect upon their Health, or Temper (*u*).

Smart*'s Complaint againſt* Dr. Coſins.

Soon after one *Smart*, a Prebendary of *Durham*, complained to the Parliament againſt Dr. *Coſins*, Prebendary of the ſame Church, and Dean of *Peterborough*. *Coſins* was charged with Superſtition, and illegal Proceedings againſt the Complainant. The Articles of Superſtition ſuggeſted, that *Coſins* ſet up a Marble Altar, with *Cherubins*, in the Cathedral of *Durham*: That this, with the Appurtenances, coſt Two thouſand Pounds: That this Ornamental Furniture, which he calls Appurtenances, was a Cope, the Repreſentation of the Trinity, and God the Father in the Figure of an Old Man. There was likewiſe ſaid to be a *Crucifix*, with a Red Beard, and Blue Cap. The Dean was further accuſed for lighting Two hundred Wax-Candles about the Altar on *Candlemas-Day*: For forbidding the Singing any Pſalms before or after Sermons: For making an Anthem to be ſung of the *Three Kings of Cologn*, *Gaſpar*, *Balthazar* and *Melchior*; and for procuring a Conſecrated Knife, only to cut the Bread at the Communion. That *Smart* above-mentioned declaimed with ſome Vehemence in the Pulpit, againſt theſe Innovations: His *Text* was, *I hate all thoſe that hold of Superſtitious Vanities, but thy Law do I love.* That for this Freedom he was impriſoned by the *High Commiſſion* at *York*, and kept under Durance four Months before any Articles were exhibited againſt him: That from hence he was removed to the *High Commiſſion* at *Lambeth*: And that after having been haraſs'd a long Time, he was remanded to *York*, fined Five hundred Pounds, committed, and ordered to recant: And that, refuſing to make this Submiſſion, he was further fined, excommunicated, degraded and deprived. This Complaint formed into a *Bill*, was laid before the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards carried up to the Houſe of Lords: That *Smart* was called the *Proto-Martyr of* England *in theſe later Days of Perſecution*, by *Rouſe*, who carried up the *Bill* to the Lords, and that a large Reparation was made to the Complainant. Thus far *Fuller* (*w*). But that this *Hiſtorian* was miſ-informed, appears by his own Letter to Dr. *Coſins*, in which he owns his Miſtake, and promiſed to make the Dean Satisfaction in his next *Print*.

A Vindication of Coſins *from* Fuller's *Miſrepreſentation.*

I ſhall give the *Reader* Matter of Fact from Dr. *Coſins* his Letter upon this Subject (*x*). To be brief. When *Smart*'s *Bill* of Complaint was carried up by *Rouſe*, a Member of the Commons, to the Houſe of Lords, *Coſins* put in a full Anſwer upon Oath: That his Anſwer was entered upon the Rolls of Parliament, made good before the Lords both by himſelf, and by the very Witneſs that *Smart*, and his Son-in-Law produced againſt him: That upon this, *Glover*, *Smart*'s Lawyer, told him at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, he was aſhamed of his Complaint, and could in Conſcience plead no longer for him: That after this, the Cauſe came on no more: That many of the Lords declared publickly, that *Smart* had abuſed the Houſe of Commons with a groundleſs Complaint againſt *Coſins*: And that, by an Order from the Lords delivered to him by the Earl of *Warwick*, he had the Liberty to go where he pleaſed, and never heard any more from them. The Anſwer *Coſins* gave in upon Oath, and made good before the Lords, was to this Effect.

(1*ſt.*) That the Communion-Table in the Church of *Durham*, which the *Bill* of Complaint calls the Marble Altar, with Cherubins, was not ſet up by *Coſins*, but by the Dean and Chapter many Years before he was Prebendary of that Church: And that *Smart* was then one of that *Chapter*. (2*dly.*) That by the publick Accounts, ſtanding upon the Regiſter, the Charge did not amount to above the Tenth Part of what was pretended. (3*dly.*) That the *Copes* uſed in that Church, were furniſhed long before *Coſins* his Time: And that *Smart*, the Complainant, was Prebendary when they were bought, and allowed his Share of the Charge. (4*thly.*) That *Coſins* never approved the Picture of the Trinity, or the Image of God the Father,

---

(*s*) L'Eſtrange *Hiſt.* p. 209.

(*t*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book II. *pag.* 172.

(*u*) Examen. Hiſtor. *pag.* 243.

(*w*) *Church Hiſt.* Book XI. *pag.* 173.

(*x*) Paris April 6. 1658. Examen. Hiſtor. *p.* 284. & deinceps.

in any Figure: And that, to his Knowledge, there was no ſuch Repreſentation in the Church of *Durham*. (5*thly*.) That the *Crucifix*, with a Blue Cap, and a Golden Beard, mentioned in the *Bill* of Complaint, was nothing but the Top of Biſhop *Hatfield*'s Tomb, which had ſtood in the Church above Two hundred and fifty Years: And that there was no ſuch Figure upon any of the Copes, as is reported in *Fuller*'s Hiſtory. (6*thly*.) That by the Statutes of that Church, to which *Smart* was ſworn no leſs than *Coſins*: by theſe Local Statutes, the Treaſurer was to provide a ſufficient Number of Wax-Lights for the Service of the *Quire*, during the Winter-Seaſon: That there was never above two fair Candles ſet upon the Communion-Table: That there was no more Candles uſed upon a *Candlemas-Night*, than in the *Chriſtmas* Holydays: And that the Number of them was leſſen'd or increas'd in Proportion to the Congregation. 7*thly*, That *Coſins* never forbad ſinging the *Metre*-Pſalms in the Church, but us'd to ſing them himſelf with the People at Morning Prayer. 8*thly*, That he was ſo far from directing the ſinging an *Athem* to the Three Kings of *Cologn*, that at his firſt coming to *Durham* Cathedral he ordered this ſuperſtitious Hymn to be cut out of the old Song Books belonging to the *Choriſters* School: That no ſuch Anthem had been ſung in the Choir during his being there, nor as far as his Enquiry could reach, for Threeſcore Years before, and upwards. 9*thly*, That the Knife us'd for cutting the Bread at the Communion was never Conſecrated. 10*thly*, That in *Smart*'s Sermon there were ſeveral Propoſitions, not to be reconcil'd either to the Laws of God, or his Church, or the *Statutes* of the Realm: That *Coſins* reported ſome of theſe Paſſages, and appeal'd to the Lords for the Juſtice of the Cenſure paſs'd upon him. And laſtly, that the Complainant had ſwell'd the Account of what he ſuffer'd; that he never paid his Fine, that the Value of his Church Preferments, loſt by his Obſtinacy, was over and above made good to him, by the Contributions he receiv'd upon the Score of his lying under Cenſure: But that the Parliament gave him no Damages, nor ordered *Coſins*, or any other Perſon *Smart* complain'd of, to pay him a Farthing by way of Reparation.

A Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, &c.

On the Tenth of *March* a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and paſs'd, "That "no Biſhop ſhould have any Vote in Parliament, "any Judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, or "any Authority in Temporal Affairs; and that "no Clergy-man ſhould be in Commiſſion of the "Peace. This Bill had many Abettors in the "Houſe of Lords, where it was afterwards "thrown out. The Earl of *Eſſex*, and other "Mal-Contents, obſerv'd, that they ſeldom could "carry any Thing which croſs'd directly upon "the King's Intereſt, by Reaſon of the Over-"balance of the Biſhops, who generally voted "unanimouſly for the *Crown*: Notwithſtanding the bringing in of this *Bill* the Biſhops were not without Friends in the Lower Houſe. "To take "off theſe, the other Party ſuggeſted the Impoſſi-"bility of ſupporting the *Hierarchy* in its preſent "Condition: That there was a great Combina-"tion throughout the Kingdom againſt the Go-"vernment of the Church. That the *Scotch* were "in a Concert with the *Engliſh* for this Purpoſe, "That they publickly declared a firm Peace be-"tween the two Nations was impracticable, un-"leſs the Biſhops were taken away: And that "their Army would never march out of *England* "till this was effected. That notwithſtanding "theſe Menaces of the *Scots*, if this *Bill* were "once paſt, the Majority of both Houſes would "be ſo well ſatisfied, that the Violent Par-"ty would never be able to carry their Point: Theſe Reaſons, it ſeems, made an Impreſſion upon a great many Members well-affected to the Church, and brought their Vote for the *Bill*: But of this more afterwards. *

* *Lord* Clarendon'*s Hiſtory of the Rebellion.*

A Committee for Religion.

Five Days forward, a *Committee* for Religion was ſetled in the Upper Houſe: 'Twas form'd of Ten Earls, Ten Biſhops, and Ten Barons. And thus, as Archbiſhop *Laud* remarks in his *Diary*, the Lay Votes ſhall be double to the Clergy. "This Committee, continues the Archbiſhop, will "meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremonies, "and call ſome Divines to them to conſider and "countenance the Buſineſs: That this was their "Intention might be collected from a Letter ſent by the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to ſome Clergy-men, to attend this Service. Upon the whole, the Archbiſhop was of Opinion this *Committee* would put on a more ſolemn Face, and paſs for a National Synod, to the great Diſhonour of the Church. *

* *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud, *pag.* 61.

At the ſame Time the Lords appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare Matters. They had likewiſe an Authority to call ſeveral Biſhops and Divines to their Aſſiſtance to conſult upon a Reformation of what was amiſs, and bring Things to a better Settlement, *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was Chair-man in both theſe Committees. Thoſe who aſſiſted were *Uſher*, Biſhop of *Armagh*, *Morton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Hall*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Samuel Ward*, Dr. *John Prideaux*, Dr. *William Twiſſe*, Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, Dr. *Daniel Featlye*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrig*, Dr. *Richard Holdiſworth*, Dr. *John Hacket*, Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, *John White*, *Stephen Marſhal*, *Edmund Calamy*, and *Thomas Hill*. Theſe Prelates and Divines met in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* at the Dean of *Weſtminſter's*, and ſpent ſix Days in Debate. The greateſt Part of the Company being *Calviniſts*, either in Doctrine or Diſcipline, 'tis no wonder to find them remonſtrate againſt the Management of Church Matters.

Fuller'*s Church Hiſt. Book* II.

Some complain'd that all the Tenets of the *Council* of *Trent* had been preach'd and printed, excepting ſome Points of State-Popery, where the King's Supremacy was touch'd, and the Statutes made the Doctrine Treaſon. Amongſt theſe pretended Heterodoxies, (for certainly all of them were not ſo) they inſtanc'd in the affirming *the Significancy of good Works towards Juſtification*; *private Confeſſion, by a particular Recital of the Penitent's Sins*; and that this was a neceſſary Condition: That the *Oblation of the Conſecrated Elements is a true Sacrifice*. That *Prayers for the Dead* and *Monaſtick Vows are defenſible*: And to ſwell the Charge, they added the holding the *five Points*, the *Arminian* Way, with ſome Advances towards *Socinianiſm*.

(2*dly*), They enquir'd into ſome Exceſſes, as they call them, and Innovations in Diſcipline. Amongſt theſe Grievances, they reckon'd ſetting Candleſticks in Pariſh Churches upon the Altar in the Day-time; making Canopies over the Communion-Table, with Traverſes of Curtains before it. This ſome of theſe ſcrupulous Divines blam'd as an Imitation of the Veil of the Temple: They likewiſe objected againſt the *Credenda*, or Side-Table, where the Bread was plac'd before it was brought for Conſecration to the Communion-Table. The enjoining the Canonical Prayer was another Exception; to which they added the carrying newly baptiz'd Children to the Altar, and preſenting them there to God Almighty.

(3.) They conſulted about reforming the *Common-Prayer Book*: And here the Debate was, whether ſome Legendary, and ſome queſtionable

Saints, with ſome ſuperſtitious Remains, were not to be thrown out of the Calendar? Whether it was not proper the Leſſons ſhould not all be taken from Canonical Scripture? Whether the Epiſtles, Goſpels, Pſalms and Hymns, were not to be read in the *New Tranſlation*? Whether Times prohibited for Marriage were to be continued? Whether it was not adviſeable to make an Order that none for the future ſhould have a Licence, or their Banns publiſhed, unleſs they brought a Certificate from the Miniſter that they underſtood their Catechiſm? And whether the *Rubrick* was not to be alter'd and explain'd in ſeveral Particulars? And laſtly, they began to enter upon a Regulation of Eccleſiaſtical Government: But this was dropt, becauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had made ſome Progreſs upon this Head, and promiſed to bring in a Scheme when more at Leiſure. This Conſultation held on to the middle of *May*, when the *Bill* againſt *Deans* and *Chapters* occaſion'd a Miſunderſtanding amongſt the Divines, and broke the Meeting.

The Earl of Strafford's *Tryal.*

January 30*th.* Ann. Dom. 1640-41.

The Earl of *Strafford*'s Tryal is the next remarkable Occurent: And notwithſtanding the Main of this Narrative may be the Buſineſs of a *State-Hiſtorian*; yet ſome Part of it concerns the Church, and therefore muſt not be unmentioned. An Impeachment of High Treaſon branch'd into Twenty-eight Articles, was drawn up by the Houſe of Commons, and carried by *Pym* to the Upper *Houſe*: To go on with the Charge more effectually, 'twas voted by the Temporal Lords that no Biſhops ſhould be of the Committee for inſpecting Materials, taking Depoſitions, and forming the Preparation for the Tryal: This being a Cauſe of Blood, 'twas ſuggeſted, the Biſhops were barr'd by the *Canons* from having any Share in it.

The Entireneſs of the Biſhop's Peerage.

That the Biſhop's Peerage is entire no leſs than that of the Temporal Nobility, I have already prov'd in my former *Volume*, from the Hiſtory of *Becket*, *Stratford*, and *Arundel*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. *(x)* And in *Arundel*'s Caſe the Biſhops were allow'd their Lay-Proxy to ſit with the Temporal Lords, and give Sentence upon the Archbiſhop. There are ſeveral other Inſtances of this kind upon the Parliament *Rolls*, in the Reigns of *Edward* the Third, *Henry* the Fifth, *Henry* the Sixth, and the preſent Reign; where the Biſhops are join'd with the Temporal Barons, either in Preparatory Committees, or giving Judgment in Caſes of Treaſon. *(y)*

To proceed to the Earl's Tryal at *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where I ſhall only mention that Part of the Charge which relates to the Church.

The 9th Article ſets forth, "That aſſuming to "himſelf a Power above and againſt Law, he "gave a General Warrant, impowering the Lord "Biſhop of *Down*, and *Connor*'s Chancellor, and "under Officers, to attach and arreſt the meaner "Sort, who after Citation ſhould refuſe either "to appear before them, or ſubmit to the Order "and Decrees of their Courts. To this the Earl reply'd, That ſuch Authorities had been uſually granted to the Biſhops in *Ireland* by former *Deputies*: That however, being not fully ſatisfied with the Convenience of this Way of proceeding, he ſeldom granted any ſuch Warrants; but receiving Information that ſeveral in the Dioceſs of *Down* were ſomewhat refractory, he aſſiſted that Biſhop in this Manner: But hearing of ſome Diſorders in the Execution he recall'd his Warrants.

The Earl makes a ſignificant Defence.

In the Nineteenth Article the Earl is charg'd with framing a new and unuſual Oath in Favour of Arbitrary Government: That this Oath was preſs'd upon the *Scotch* Planters in *Ireland*; that thoſe who took it were bound not only to acknowledge his Majeſties *Supremacy*, but to own the Lawfulneſs of the Ceremonies and Government of the *Iriſh* Church.

To this the Earl reply'd, That the Oath was not compulſively put upon the *Iriſh Scots*, but drawn up in Complyance with their own expreſs Petition; that this Petition is mentioned in the Proclamation as the leading Motive; that the ſame Oath was enjoin'd not long after by the *Engliſh Privy Council*; and that he had a Letter under his Majeſties Hand for making it a Teſt of Loyalty. Laſtly, 'twas urg'd againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, that he had prefer'd Popiſh and Infamous Perſons as the Biſhop of *Waterford*, and others, to the higheſt Places in the Church of *Ireland*. To this the Earl's Anſwer was, That he never prefer'd any but thoſe he believ'd Honeſt and Conſcientious Perſons; that he could not inſure Peoples Manners, nor propheſy upon their future Behaviour: And as for the Biſhop of *Waterford*, he had already ſatisfied the Law. *

The Article which lay hardeſt upon the Earl was his adviſing the King, as 'twas pretended, to *bring over the* Iriſh *Army to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience*: Theſe Words were ſaid to be ſpoken at the *Council-Board* when the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament was reſolv'd: Sir *Henry Vane* was the Evidence, who being *Secretary* of State, had taken ſome imperfect Notes of what paſs'd upon that Occaſion: For diſabling this Teſtimony, I ſhall wave the Earl's Defence, and only report part of the Lord *Digby*'s Speech in the Houſe of Commons. This Lord, when the *Bill* of Attainder was debating, declared that Secretary *Vane* was thrice examined upon Oath by the preparatory *Committee*. That at his firſt and ſecond Examinations, made at ſome diſtance of Time, when the Article concerning the *Iriſh* Army was put to him, he gave this poſitive Anſwer, *I can't charge him with that, I can ſay nothing to that.*

The Lord *Digby* goes on, and obſerves, That the *Juncto*, that is, the *Cabinett*, denying they heard the Lord *Strafford* ſay any ſuch Thing, 'twas thought fit, after ſeveral Weeks Interval, to examine the *Secretary* once more. And now he recollected himſelf to Purpoſe, and depos'd that *Strafford* ſuggeſted the King might *employ the* Iriſh *Army to reduce this Kingdom*, or Words to that Effect.

But this is but a ſingle Evidence, contradicted by the reſt of the *Cabinet*; and which is more, by this *Secretary* himſelf, who had twice depos'd upon Oath he knew nothing of the Matter.

The Lord *Digby*, tho' one of the Committee for preparing Matter, and managing the Tryal againſt the Earl, was ſo affected with the Diſproof of this grand Article, that he ſolemnly *waſh'd his Hands* of Strafford's *Blood*, and refus'd to concur with the *Bill*. *

As to the whole Charge, the Earl made a very handſome Defence, and behav'd himſelf to all imaginable Advantage. To give this Part of his Character in *Whitlock*'s Words, who was one of the Managers againſt him. *Certainly* (ſays this Gentleman) *never any Man acted ſuch a Part on ſuch a Theatre with more Wiſdom, Conſtancy, and Eloquence, with greater Reaſon, Judgment and Temper, and with a better Grace in all his Words and Geſtures, than this Great and Excellent Perſon did.* (y)

In ſhort, The Commons diſtruſting the Force of their Evidence, and being apprehenſive the Earl would be acquitted by his Peers, chang'd their Battery, and proceeded by way of *Attainder*; 'twas thought none of the Crimes mark'd for Treaſon by the Law could be prov'd upon him. (z) However, the Famous *Statute*, upon which the Pro-

---

(x) *Pag.* 544, 601, & alib.

(y) 4 Ed. 3. Roger de Mortimer, &c. *Caſe.* 16 Ed. 3. Tho. de Berkly's *Caſe.* 3 H. 5. *Concerning the Earl of* Cambridge. 28 H. 6. *Duke of* Suffolk. 2 Car. 1. *Earl of* Briſtol's *Caſe.*

* L'Eſtrange's *Hiſtory of King* Charles I. *pag.* 221, 245.

* Ruſhworth, *Part* 3. *p.* 226. Nalſon, *Vol.* II. *p.* 158. 9.

(y) Whitlock's *Memorials, pag.* 43.

(z) 25 Ed. 3. cap. 2.

He is proceeded againſt by Bill of Attainder.

The Biſhops move to be excuſed voting at his Tryal.

ſecutions for Treaſon are grounded, has this *Clauſe*, "That becauſe ſome Species of Treaſon might then be forgotten, the Juſtices, before they proceeded to give Judgment, ſhould bring doubtful and ſuppos'd Treaſons before the King and his Parliament, where the Matter was to be decided, whether the Crime was Treaſon, or not? This *Clauſe* was thought ſerviceable to the preſent Purpoſe, and might give a Colour to the *Bill of Attainder*: And now, amongſt other Things, 'twas debated, whether the Biſhops were to vote upon the *Bill*. This gave Occaſion to a great many bitter Invectives, and perſonal Reflections upon that *Order*; not without the Intermixture of Threatning, in caſe the Spiritual Lords ſhould inſiſt on their Right of being an Eſſential Part of the *Legiſlature*. However, the Temporal Peers were ſav'd the Trouble of declaring themſelves further upon the Point; for Biſhop *Williams* ſtood up, and mov'd in Behalf of himſelf and his Brethren, "That they might be excus'd being preſent at the Tryal; and that ſince they were Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they might not be concern'd in Matters of Blood. Theſe, and ſuch other reſembling Reaſons, were ſuggeſted by *Williams*: Which, as the Lord *Clarendon* judiciouſly obſerves, are of no great Weight. This Prelate finding the Commons very deſirous of being diſincumber'd from the Biſhop's Votes, apply'd ſtrongly to their Fears, endeavoured to terrify them with what they might ſuffer for making the *late Canons*, and never left ſolliciting till he had prevail'd with them to remove the Diſfavour of the Parliament, by requeſting to be excus'd, before an Order was paſt for their Abſence at the Tryal: The Biſhops waving their Right thus unſeaſonably, and abandoning the Earl, who had deſerv'd ſo well of the Church, was look'd on as an Exceſs of Caution; and probably made ſome of the Temporal Lords leſs ſollicitous in appearing for them, when their own Privileges were further queſtioned, and themſelves ſtood in need of a Defence. (*a*)

(*a*) *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſt. of* Rebellion, *pag.* 216 *and* 17.

The Parliament and Court inſulted by the Rabble.

L'Eſtrange.

In ſhort, the *Bill* paſs'd with the Commons, but found more Oppoſition in the Upper Houſe: However, the *Mob* being countenanc'd by the Earl of *Strafford's* Enemies, came down to the Parliament Houſe in formidable Numbers, inſulted the Lords, by crying *Juſtice, Juſtice*; and thus either frighted them from the Houſe, or over-aw'd the Majority into a Complyance: The King continuing firm againſt paſſing the *Bill*; the *Rabble* came down to *White-Hall*, repeated their Inſolent Clamour, and menac'd higher than before. The *Privy Council* and Judges being call'd to ſuggeſt an Expedient for ſuppreſſing this Treaſonable Riot, ſeem'd low in their Spirits, and gave very myſterious Advice; they told the King there was no other Way for preſerving himſelf and his Family, but by paſſing the *Attainder*: That the Neceſſity of the Caſe ought to over-rule all other Conſiderations: That his Majeſty was oblig'd to be more tender of the Publick Safety, than of any one Perſon, how innocent ſoever. *

* *See* 13, 14 Car. 2. cap. 29. *where this Attainder is repeal'd.*

The King reply'd, That the Complyance propos'd was directly contrary to his Conſcience, and therefore, to make his Majeſty eaſy, they deſired him to conſult the Biſhops: The Biſhops of *London, Durham*, and *Carliſle*; *Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Uſher*, Primate of *Ireland*, were ſent for upon this Occaſion: In order to reſolve the Caſe, they ſtate the Queſtion to the King in theſe Words; *Whether, as his Majeſty refers his own Judgment to his Judges (in whoſe Perſon they act) in Courts of* Oyer and Terminer, King's-Bench, Aſſize, *and in Cauſes of Life and Death, and it lies on them, if an innocent Man ſuffer; ſo why may not his Majeſty ſatisfy his Conſcience in the preſent Matter, that ſince Competent Judges in Law had awarded, that they found Guilt of Treaſon in the Earl, that he may ſuffer that Judgment to ſtand, tho' in his private Mind he was not ſatisfied the Earl of* Strafford *was ſo deeply Criminal, and let the Blame lie upon them who were the Earl's Judges.*

The King not ſatisfied with the Bill, puts the Caſe to the Biſhops.

Four of theſe Biſhops, *Uſher, Williams, Morton* and *Potter*, declared for the Affirmative Side of the Queſtion; as Biſhop *Hacket* reports from the Mouth of Three of them. (*b*)

(*b*) *Biſhop* Hacket's *Life of Archbiſhop* Williams, *Part 2d. pag.* 161.

Another conſiderable *Hiſtorian* relates, That the Queſtion being put to the Biſhops, whether the King might lawfully paſs the *Bill*? They anſwer'd, That his Majeſty was to diſtinguiſh between *Matter* of *Fact* and *Law*: As to the firſt, his Majeſty's being preſent at the whole Tryal might qualify him to pronounce, whether the Articles of Impeachment were prov'd home, or not? And in caſe he believ'd the Evidence came ſhort, he would be oblig'd in Conſcience not to ſign the *Bill*. As to Matter of *Law*, whether any of the Articles amounted to Treaſon, or not? The Judges, they ſaid, were oblig'd by their Oaths to inform his Majeſty. (*c*)

(*c*) L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt. King* Charles, *pag.* 265.

There was a Writing indeed, as this Hiſtorian continues, put into the King's Hand by Archbiſhop *Williams*, but with the Contents of this Paper the other Biſhops were not acquainted: But that this Paper related to a foreign Subject, and was charg'd with no unfriendly Advice againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, is affirm'd by an *Hiſtorian*, who had it from Archbiſhop *Williams* himſelf. (*d*) To mention the Contents, the Paper *Williams* put into the King's Hand was a Diſſuaſive againſt paſſing the *Bill* for continuing the *Seſſion* during the Pleaſure of both *Houſes*: This was admirable Advice, and had it been taken, might probably have prevented the Rebellion.

(*d*) *Biſhop* Hacket's *Life of Archbiſhop* Williams, *Part 2d. pag.* 162.

Lord Clarendon's *Hiſt. of the Rebellion.*

The Lord *Clarendon*, who, one would think, could not be better inform'd than the *Hiſtorian* laſt mentioned, makes a lamentable Caſuiſt of Archbiſhop *Williams*: He reports this Prelate told the King, "There was a Private and a Publick Conſcience; that his publick Conſcience, as a King, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his Private Conſcience as a Man; and that the Queſtion was not, whether he ſhould ſave the Earl of *Strafford*, but whether he ſhould periſh with him? That the Conſcience of a King to preſerve his Kingdom, the Conſcience of a Huſband to preſerve his Wife, the Conſcience of a Father to preſerve his Children, (all which were now in Danger) weigh'd down abundantly all the Conſiderations the Conſcience of a Maſter or a Friend could ſuggeſt to him, for the Preſervation of a Friend or a Servant.

But to leave this Matter with the *Reader*, the Biſhop's Opinion, as far as it appears, was founded upon the Reſolution of the Judges; who being conſulted by the King, had declared the Earl of *Strafford* guilty of High Treaſon *upon the whole Matter*: But being preſs'd to juſtify their Opinion by Statutes, and Authorities of Law, they declin'd producing their Proof. (*e*)

(*e*) Whitlock. L'Eſtrange. Parr's *Life of Archbiſhop* Uſher, *pag.* 45.

The Earl of Strafford's *Letter to the King.*

Notwithſtanding theſe Motives, the King could not prevail with himſelf to paſs this *Bill*: To ſet his Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty, the Earl very generouſly wrote him a Letter to perſwade his Complyance; and amongſt other Things, declares himſelf willing to reſign his Life rather than keep up a Miſunderſtanding between the King and his Subjects: Upon this the King gives a Commiſſion to the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, and ſeveral others, to paſs the *Attainder*; and at the ſame Time the King ſign'd another deſtructive *Act* for continuing the *Seſſion* as long as the Two *Houſes* ſhould think fit: And thus the Parliament had ſome Colour, tho' not any Law, to puſh Things to an Extremity, and levy Men and Money againſt the Government. Had not this *Act* been paſs'd, the King might have ſcatter'd ter'd them at Diſcretion; and in caſe they had been ſo hardy as to have ſat after a Diſſolution, they would have wanted a Varniſh to cover their coarſe Complexion, and the Revolt would have been more legible and unconteſted.

The Earl of *Strafford* being to ſuffer the next Day, deſir'd to ſpeak with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: The Lieutenant of the *Tower* told him that Matter was impracticable without an Order from the Parliament. Upon this the Earl told Primate *Uſher*, then with him, what he intended to have ſaid in caſe the Liberty had been granted: “My Lord, ſays he, pray deſire the Archbiſhop to aſſiſt me with his Prayers to Night, and give me his Bleſſing when I go abroad to Morrow; and deſire him to be in his Window, that I may thank him for this, and all his former Favours. The Primate immediately delivering the Meſſage, the Archbiſhop reply'd, That he ſhould not fail ſerving the Earl in the firſt Part of his Requeſt, but was afraid his Infirmity and Concern would put him out of Condition to take his laſt Leave of his Lordſhip: However, the next Morning, when the Earl came by, the Archbiſhop appear'd at the Window; the Earl making a low Reverence, ſaid my Lord, *Your Prayers and your Bleſſing*: The Archbiſhop lifting up his Hands gave him both; but being immediately overſet with Grief and Tenderneſs, ſwoon'd, and fell down: The Earl bowing again, took his Leave; and ſaid, my Lord, God *protect your Innocency*. The Archbiſhop quickly recovering himſelf, and imagining this Behaviour might be interpreted to want of Fortitude, told the Company, that when his own Execution came on, he hop'd God would enable him to manage himſelf with more Firmneſs and Unconcern.

L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt. of King* Charles I.

His Execution.

The Earl of *Strafford* went on to the Scaffold, and behav'd himſelf with all imaginable Marks of Reſignation and Courage: The Lieutenant of the *Tower* deſiring him to take Coach, for fear the *Mob* ſhould ruſh in, if he walk'd, and pull him in Pieces: He told him no, he was not afraid to look Death in the Face, and the People too. Have you a Care, ſaith the Earl, I don't eſcape; and whether I die by the Hand of the Executioner, or the Fury of the People, is to me perfectly indifferent.

In his Speech upon the Scaffold he declar'd, that through the whole Courſe of his Employments his Intention was always to promote the Joint-Intereſt of the King and his Subjects: That he was ſo far from being an Enemy to Parliaments, as has been charg'd upon him, that he thought the *Engliſh* Government the happieſt Conſtitution upon this Score; and that Parliaments were the beſt Humane Means for the Proſperity of King and People. That *in the Intentions and Purpoſes of his Heart*, he was not guilty of what he dy'd for, and pray'd God would forgive thoſe who contriv'd his Death. That he dy'd a True Son of the Church of *England*, and pray'd for the Peace and Proſperity of it. Then turning to his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, he deſired him to charge his Son to continue in the ſame Communion, and never ſeize any Part of the Churches Patrimony, for that would prove a Cancre to his Eſtate. (f)

(f) L'Eſtrange's *Hiſt.*

And Character.

This Nobleman was a Perſon of extraordinary Natural Parts, improv'd by Buſineſs and Education: He had a lively and penetrating Genius; his Thought reach'd a great way, and his Manner of delivering himſelf was clear and moving: He was without Queſtion an accompliſh'd *Stateſman*; and as he was happy at the deſigning Part, ſo he wanted no Courage to go through, and execute: And as for Loyalty and Affection to the King, no Man poſſeſs'd that Quality in a higher Degree: Neither was he only thus well furniſh'd for the Publick Service; but his private Life was likewiſe regular and unblemiſh'd; but in ſhort he was undone by his Zeal for his Maſter, and the Weight of his Merit ſunk him: Had his Advice been taken, the *Scottiſh* Invaſion muſt in all likelyhood have miſcarried: This made the *Covenanters* implacable, and never give over till they had proſecuted to the *Scaffold*: Had he been falſe or indifferent to the *Crown*, thoſe few Inequalities of his Government would probably have been over-look'd, and he might have lived to the end of his Conſtitution; but he was too great a Terror to Rebellion to be endured at this Juncture.

About a Week before this Nobleman ſuffer'd, the Houſe of Commons took an Oath, call'd the *Proteſtation*, part of it runs thus.

> “I *A. B.* do in the Preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt to maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power and Eſtate, the True Reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovation within this Realm, contrary to the ſaid Doctrine; and according to the Duty of mine Allegiance, I will maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate.

This Proteſtation had a Meaning in Reſerve, not friendly to the Church of *Eugland*, as will appear by and by.

Ruſhworth, *Part* 3*d. pag.* 241.

To proceed; A Deſign was now forming in the Parliament for lopping the Revenues of the Church, and ſuppreſſing the *Deanries* and *Chapters*. The Churchmen endeavouring to break this Project, ordered one in each Cathedral to come up, and ſollicit their Friends in either *Houſe*: They drew a *Petition* to the Lords and Commons, but 'twas never preſented: They likewiſe retain'd Council, and inſtructed them with Heads to plead on. But being inform'd the *Houſe* would not allow them the Benefit of the *Long Robe*; and that if they had any Thing to ſuggeſt, they muſt appear, and plead their own Cauſe; the Matter ſtanding thus, they made Choice of Dr. *John Hacket*, Prebendary of *Paul's*, and Archdeacon of *Bedford*, for their Council: This Gentleman being admitted to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, made an Argument to the following Effect.

“He began with craving a favourable Conſtruction in regard of the double Diſadvantage he lay under. *Firſt*, Upon the Score of his being ſtreightned in Time, the Buſineſs being put upon him but the Afternoon before. And *Secondly*, Becauſe he had no certain Information of what was objected againſt *Deans* and *Chapters*: That he had only heard a flying Report of their Inſignificancy; that he ſhould endeavour to diſprove this Charge under Two Heads, that is, with reſpect to *Things* and *Perſons*.

To make good the firſt Point, he obſerv'd, that to ſupply the Defects of private Prayer, 'twas fit Devotion ſhould be publickly perform'd in ſome Place of Diſtinction: and that this, in Imitation of Primitive Practice, was conſtantly done in Cathedrals. And whereas ſome complain'd the Exquiſiteneſs of the Muſick made the *Service* offenſive, and that the Sprightlineſs and Bending of the Notes took too much hold of the Imagination; to this he anſwer'd, That himſelf, and the reſt of his Brethren, wiſh'd the Entertainment might be reform'd, and made leſs affecting. And here he dilated in Commendation of Church Muſick, when well ſuited to the Solemnity of the Occaſion.

Dr. Hacket's *Speech before the Houſe of Commons in Behalf of Deans and Chapters.*

From hence he went on to ſhew the Benefit of preaching in *Cathedrals*: That the Statutes of moſt of theſe Mother Churches requir'd Sermons on the Week-days; and that this Practice had been the Cuſtom ever ſince the *Reformation*.

He urg'd how ſerviceable the *Cathedrals* appear'd for the Advancement of Learning; that of each of them were a ſort of *Univerſity* in Little; that here People were train'd up to Controverſy, and furniſh'd with Abilities to defend the Church: And he offered to produce a Liſt of thoſe *Dignitaries* who had ſignaliz'd themſelves this way. That the taking away theſe Encouragements would diſſerve the Commonwealth of Learning, and diſhearten young Students: That the bare Proſpect of this Misfortune had occaſioned ſlender Admiſſions in the *Univerſities* already, and ſtruck a Damp into the Bookſellers Buſineſs. And laſtly, he took Notice there was ſomething Remarkable in the Buildings themſelves, and that Cathedrals were the moſt Ancient Monuments of Chriſtianity.

From *Things* he paſs'd on to *Perſons*, and obſerv'd, that the Maintenance of many Thouſand Perſons depended upon this Eſtabliſhment; that all theſe, by the Diſſolution of *Deanries* and *Chapters*, muſt be reduc'd to ſtarving. His next Inſtance was how much the Tenants to *Deans* and *Chapters* would ſuffer by ſuch Alienations: And that theſe Men being ſenſible of the Advantage of their Tenures, had petitioned the *Houſe* that their old Landlords might be continued. Laſtly, he ſuggeſted, that the Towns where theſe Cathedrals ſtood being many of them but ſlenderly furniſh'd with Trade, were enrich'd by the Hoſpitality of the Clergy, and the frequent Reſort of Strangers.

From hence he proceeded to urge, that the Endowments of *Deanries* and *Chapters* were a handſome Proviſion for many younger Brothers, and encouraged to Induſtry and Learning.

And ſince 'twas remark'd by Travellers, that all Degrees of the *Engliſh Laity* liv'd more to Plenty and Faſhion than in other Countries, he hop'd the Clergy might be allow'd a Share in the common Advantage; and not be diſtinguiſh'd in Poverty and Diſregard, and be made like *Jeroboham's* Prieſts, *the loweſt of the People.*

That the bigotted Papiſts would be much pleas'd to ſee the Church of *England* thus disfurniſh'd; and that *Saunders* himſelf ſeems to complain, that Queen *Elizabeth* had left theſe *Cathedral*-Promotions ſtanding in the *Reformation*.

De Schiſmat. Anglic.

From hence he advanced to ſhew, that the Lands belonging to theſe Foundations were particularly ſerviceable to the *Publick*: And that their *Firſt Fruits, Tenths* and *Subſidies*, exceeded the Proportion of other Eſtates. And that in Caſe they were called upon, they were ready to contribute to the Neceſſities of the *State*, and aſſiſt their Country in an extraordinary Manner.

And to conclude; he put them in Mind that the Intereſt of Religion, and the Honour of God, was deeply concerned in the Subject before them: That thoſe Structures, and Eſtates, were a Sort of Homage paid to Heaven, and conſecrated to Divine Worſhip. And that for this Reaſon they were guarded againſt Alienation, with moſt dreadful Imprecations. He obſerved, that the *Cenſers* of *Korah* and his Faction, were declared *Hallowed*, and made Plates for the *Altar*, becauſe they had been employed in God's Service: Neither was the Wickedneſs of the Men a ſufficient Reaſon for bringing what they had conſecrated, to common Uſe. And that this was no *Levitical* Particularity might be collected from the Text in the *Proverbs*; *That 'tis a Snare to the Man who devours that which is Holy* *. To this he added that remarkable Queſtion put by St. *Paul* †; *Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacrilege?* He concluded, that nothing but Ignorance could be expected from withdrawing the Encouragements of Learning, and that Ignorance would carry us to Profaneneſs and Confuſion.

* Prov. 20. v. 25.

† Rom. 2.

May 12. An. Dom 1641.

This Speech being thus Significant in the Senſe, and handſomely delivered, made an Impreſſion upon the *Houſe*; inſomuch, that had the Alienation of thoſe Lands been then put to the Queſtion, 'tis thought it would have gone in the Negative by a Majority of an Hundred and twenty (g).

(g) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book XI.

Burges *ſpeaks on the other Side.*

In the Afternoon, Dr. *Cornelius Burges* appeared at the Bar of the *Houſe of Commons* for the *Puritan-Party*, and made a violent Invective againſt *Deans* and *Chapters*, endeavoured to ſet forth the Unprofitableneſs of their Corporations, and dilated upon the Immorality of thoſe who ſung in the *Choirs*. But notwithſtanding all this Satyr, he declared himſelf ſtrongly againſt alienating theſe Endowments to Secular Uſe, and private Advantage.

Ruſhworth, Part III.

A *Petition* to the ſame Senſe in Favour of *Deans* and *Chapters* was preſented to the Parliament by both *Univerſities*.

Dr. *Hacket*'s Argument being ſupported by Addreſſes from the Univerſities, there was a warm Debate in the Houſe; The Epiſcopal Party, alledging, that by the late *Proteſtation*, they had engaged themſelves to defend the Church, as by Law eſtabliſhed. This Motion brought the Houſe to a further Explanation of the *Proteſtation*: And the Point being put to the Queſtion, 'twas carried by a conſiderable Majority, that by theſe Words, *the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England *againſt Popery, and Popiſh Innovations in this Realm*; by theſe Words the Houſe declared, "that they only intended to comprehend "the publick Doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid Church: "And that the ſaid Words are not to be extended "to any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline or Government, nor of Rites or Ceremonies *.

The Proteſtation explained.

Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* Vol. III. *pag.* 273.

To proceed: A *Bill* brought up from the Commons to the Lords againſt Biſhops and Clergymen, which conſiſting of ſeveral Branches, was voted by Parts. The Branches were, (1.) That they ſhould have no Votes in Parliament, (2.) That they ſhou'd not be in Commiſſion of the Peace, nor Judges in Temporal Courts. (3.) That they ſhould neither ſit in the *Star-Chamber*, or be Privy-Counſellors. *Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York*, made a long and learned Speech againſt all the Parts of this *Bill*; particularly, as to the latter Heads, he endeavoured to prove the Clergy's being concerned in Temporal Affairs, was both lawful and ſerviceable to the Publick, and ſupported his Argument with good Reaſoning and Authority. But having had Occaſion to treat this Subject in both the Volumes of this *Hiſtory*, I ſhall omit the Archbiſhop's Diſcourſe: The Reader, if he pleaſes, may ſee the Abſtract of it in another *Performance* (h).

(h) *Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary, Article* Williams.

However the Viſcount *Newark's* † two Speeches in the *Houſe* upon this Occaſion muſt not be altogether unmentioned.

* *This Viſcount was afterwards Earl of* Kingſton.

May 21. May 24.

In his firſt Speech this Noble Lord argues againſt the Biſhops being deprived of their Votes in Parliament.

The Viſcount Newark's *Speech in Defence of the Biſhops and Clergy.*

"In the firſt Place he takes Notice of their be-"ing poſſeſſed of this Privilege for many Hundred "Years. He does not think their aſſiſting in Parlia-"ment any Inconſiſtency with their Office; but "that they have Time enough to ſerve their Coun-"try in the Legiſlature, and diſcharge their Spiri-"tual Employments: And for this he appeals to "Experience.

"From hence he proceeds to the ill Conſequences "of the *Bill*: He conceives Dangers and Inconve-"niences are beſt prevented at a Diſtance: That "this Precedent, though it ſtrikes directly upon the "Biſhops, may reach the Temporal Lords at the "Rebound. For what Right and Dignity is ſecure, "if bare Affirmation paſſes for Proof? And what "Lord can be aſſured of continuing a Member of

“ the Houſe, when ſix and twenty are thus unexpectedly ſtruck off together.

“ He deſires their Lordſhips to recollect in what Condition of Diſadvantage the Biſhops muſt be left, if the *Bill* paſſes? The meaneſt Commoner is repreſented in the Lower *Houſe*, but the Biſhops will be thrown out of this common Benefit. Now what Juſtice can tie them to the keeping thoſe Laws, to the making of which they never gave any Conſent?

“ He deſires their Lordſhips to conſider, that by proceeding in this Manner the Church muſt ſuffer in her principal Members, and loſe the Honour ſhe has enjoy'd for ſo many Ages through all Chriſtendom: And that even the Heathen, whether poliſh'd or barbarous, have always paid a great Regard to Religion; ſo that this Univerſal Practice ſeems founded upon the Principles of common Reaſon, and Nature it ſelf.

His ſecond *Speech* refers to that Part of the *Bill* which ſtrikes out the Clergy from intermeddling with Temporal Affairs. And here his Lordſhip obſerves, “ That the Lawfulneſs of the Clergy's concerning themſelves this way, is plainly aſſerted in the *Bill*: For the *Univerſities*, and ſuch Perſons as ſhall have Honour deſcend upon them, are excepted in this Reſtraint. Now Circumſtances and Chance can't alter the Nature of Things, nor weaken the Force of an Univerſal Propoſition. He takes it for granted, that by the *Engliſh* Conſtitution the Biſhops and Clergy have a Right to engage in *Secular* Buſineſs. And, ſecondly, that the Law of God at the loweſt, leaves this Matter at Liberty. From hence he goes on to argue briefly from Four Topicks. (1.) He conſiders the Clergy only as Men: (2.) As Parts of the Commonwealth. (3.) He reaſons from the beſt Manner of the Legiſlature: And laſtly, From the Practice of all Times and Religions.

“ Under the firſt Head his Lordſhip conceives, that thoſe who were fartheſt improv'd, are beſt qualify'd for publick Service. For Knowledge and Conſcience often go together; whereas Ignorance has ſeldom any Force of Principle, or any Thing for Precept to take hold of. Now why ſhould we throw People out of that Capacity they are bred and born to, and bar them an Employment they are ſo well prepar'd for?

“ The Body Politick, as he continues, has ſome Reſemblance to the Body Natural; every Part contributes ſomething to the Benefit of the whole. Now to be Part of a Body, and perform no Function, is to ſerve to no Purpoſe. To make this Reaſoning bear, he argues, that the Commonwealth ſubſiſts by the Legiſlative and the executing Part: Thoſe therefore who have neither *Head* in the Making, nor *Hand* in the Executing the Laws, can be look'd upon as no better than Perſons inſignificant to the Conſtitution.

This Lord having repeated ſomewhat in his former *Speech*, proceeds to anſwer Objections.

“ 1ſt. As to the Text, *That no man that wars entangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life.* This makes nothing againſt the *Clergy*, except it can be prov'd, that *Medling* and *Entangling* are Words of the ſame Force and Meaning. Beſides, though the Apoſtle writes to an *Eccleſiaſtick*, the Advice reaches the *Laity* no leſs than the *Clergy*, as is unanimouſly agreed by the beſt Expoſitors.

2 Tim. 2.

2. 'Twas by ſome objected, That Engaging in Temporal Affairs, was inconſiſtent with the *Spirtual Office.* To this his Lordſhip replies, “ That *Grace* in many Caſes agrees with *Nature*, carries it to an higher Improvement, and fits it for thoſe great Functions of Providence, making Laws, and doing Juſtice: 'Tis plain therefore, there is nothing reſulting from a ſolemn Character which can any way diſable a Man from theſe Things.

But notwithſtanding there is no ſtrict Inconſiſtency, 'tis poſſible ſuch Engagements may be a Clog upon a holy Calling. To be better prepar'd for this Objection, “ He declares ſtrongly for Preaching; But thinks there is not the ſame Neceſſity for ſuch Inſtruction as there was in the Primitive Times: For God forbid that Sixteen hundred Years of Chriſtianity ſhould make us no better acquainted with the *Goſpel*. He obſerves further, that the Buſineſs of a Churchman does not conſiſt wholly in Preaching; that they are not altogether without Leiſure for ſerving the Publick; that the Biſhops are ſeldom call'd to Parliament above once in three Years; and which Way can they be better employ'd than in appearing at ſuch ſolemn *Aſſemblies*, and promoting the joint Intereſt of *Church* and *State*? And here his Lordſhip cites a Teſtimony from *Euſebius*, That *Conſtantine* the Great had Biſhops in his Camp, and conſulted them in Military Affairs. (*i*)

(*i*) Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. Cap. 56.

“ And whereas 'tis ſaid, Rewards have a great Streſs in Buſineſs, and that Biſhops may be tempted by ſuch Motives to give their Conſcience a Looſe. Granting all this, does not this Exception come with equal Force againſt the *Laity*? Are Eccleſiaſticks the only Perſons of flexible Tempers and unguarded Honeſty? Or has the *Crown* no Honour or Offices for any but the Clergy? To affirm this is wrong in the Fact, and uncharitable in the Suppoſition: If we reaſon this Way, he conceives the Biſhops have the Advantage of the Compariſon: The Knowledge of their Duty, the Solemnity of their Calling, the Gravity of their Age, and their Neighbourhood to the other World, are all Motives to regularity and ſtrict Conduct.

But ſome of them have miſbehav'd themſelves. “ That is no Argument to puniſh the *Order*. Some of the Judges, ſome of the other Magiſtracy and Officers have fail'd in their Duty, muſt we therefore have no Judges, no inferiour Miniſters of Juſtice, nor any Officers in Camp or Court? The Puniſhment ought not to be ſtretch'd beyond the Crime, nor one Man ſuffer for the Fault of another.

This *Speech* was not without its Effect in the *Houſe*, confirm'd the Biſhops Party, and help'd to keep them on their *Bench* for ſome Time.

The *Univerſity* perceiving the Cathedrals in Danger, and the Encouragements of Learning ſtruck at, addreſs'd the Parliament upon this Subject. *

* *See Records, Num.* 117.

The Storm beginning to gather, and the Tide running high againſt the Church, *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, reſign'd his Treaſurer's Staff, and the Place was manag'd by Commiſſion.

June 24. 1641. *The Courts of the* High-Commiſſion *and* Star-Chamber *put down.*

A *Bill* for taking away the High Commiſſion, of which the *Puritans* had ſo loudly complain'd, was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, paſs'd there, and was ſoon after ſign'd by the King. By this *Statute* 'tis enacted, That after the Firſt Day of *Auguſt* no **Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Judge, or any other Perſon exerciſing Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power by any Commiſſion from the King, or by any Power or Authority deriv'd from his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or otherwiſe ſhall award, impoſe, or inflict any Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amerciament, Impriſonment, or other corporal Puniſhment upon any of the King's Subjects, for any Contempt, Miſdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter, or Thing whatſoever, belonging to Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance, or Juriſdiction; or ſhall** Ex Officio, **or at the Inſtance or Promotion of any other Perſon whatſoever urge, inforce, tender, give, or miniſter unto any Churchwarden, Sideman, or other Perſon whatſoever any Corporal Oath, whereby he or ſhe ſhall or may be charged, or obliged to make any Preſentment of any Crime or Offence, or to confeſs or accuſe himſelf or herſelf of any Crime, Offence or Miſdemeanour, or any Neglect, Matter, or Thing whereby, or by Reaſon whereof he or ſhe ſhall or may be liable or expoſed to any Cenſure, Pain, Penalty or Puniſhment whatſoever, upon Pain and Penalty, that whoſoever ſhall offend contrary to this Statute, ſhall forfeit and pay treble Damages to every Perſon thereby grieved, and the Sum of an Hundred Pounds to him or them who ſhall firſt demand or ſue for the ſame.**

'Tis likewiſe further enacted, That no new Court ſhall be erected by his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, with the like Juriſdiction or Authority as the ſaid High-Commiſſion Court now hath, or pretends to have. (*k*)

The Court of *Star-Chamber* was likewiſe put down this Seſſion. (*l*)

(*k*) 16 Car. 1. cap. 11.
(*l*) Ib. Car. 1. cap. 10.

Williams, Archbiſhop of *York*, brought a *Bill* into the Upper Houſe for the Regulation of Biſhops and their Juriſdiction. His Scheme takes in Ten Articles.

Archbiſh:p Williams *his Bill for a further Regulation of the Biſhops Juriſdiction, &c.*

1. That every Biſhop being in his *Dioceſe*, and not diſabled by ill Health, ſhould preach once every *Sunday*, or pay Five Pounds to the Poor, to be levied by the next Juſtice of Peace, and Diſtreſs made by the Conſtable. This

had it gone forward, would have been a very humourſom Piece of Reformation, and made the *Juſtice*, in ſome Meaſure, the *Biſhops* Metropolitan.

2. That no Biſhop ſhall be Juſtice of Peace, excepting the Dean of *Weſtminſter* in *Weſtminſter* and St. *Martins*. Here the Archbiſhop hedg'd in a little Privilege for himſelf, for he was then Dean of *Weſtminſter*.

3. That every Biſhop ſhould have twelve Aſſiſtants (beſides the Dean and Chapter) for Juriſdiction and Ordination. Four of theſe twelve were to be choſen by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons. But here the *Bill* neither tells us whether they ſhould be Clergy or Lay, nor aſſigns them their Buſineſs.

4. That in all Vacancies theſe Aſſiſtants, with the Dean and Chapter, ſhould preſent to the King three of the beſt qualify'd Divines in the Dioceſe, out of which Number his Majeſty was to chuſe one for a Biſhop.

5. That Deans and Prebendaries ſhould be Non-reſident at the Cathedrals but Sixty Days in the Year.

6. That Sermons ſhould be preach'd in theſe Mother-Churches twice every Lord's Day, once every Holy-day, and a Lecture on *Wedneſday*, with a Salary of an Hundred Marks *per Annum*.

7. That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Collegiate-Churches, *&c.* ſhall be oblig'd to give a Fourth Part of their Fines and improved Rents, to buy in Impropriations.

8. All double-beneficed Men ſhould pay the Value of half the Living to the Curate.

9. No Appeal ſhould be made to the Court of *Arches*, or Court of *Audience*.

Laſtly, 'Twas ſuggeſted in the *Bill*, That *Canons* and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions might be drawn up and ſuited to the Laws of the Realm, by Sixteen Learned Perſons; ſix of them to be nominated by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons. By this Article the Clergy in all likelikood wou'd have had none of their own Body to repreſent them in the Spiritual Legiſlature. *(m)*

(m) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* XI.

This *Bill* was drop'd after once Reading. For notwithſtanding the Odneſs of the Scheme, it fell ſhort of Satiſfaction: There was now a deeper Project on Foot; the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution was to be diſſolv'd, and the Presbyterian Government ſet in its Place. However, this Deſign was not ſpoken out at preſent, tho' the Commons came pretty near it in their Debates about a new Form of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, where they agreed, *That every Shire ſhould be a ſeveral Dioceſe, a Presbytery of Twelve Divines in each Shire, and a Preſident, as a Biſhop, over them; and he, with Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Presbytery, to ordain, ſuſpend, deprive, degrade and Excommunicate.*

July 17th.

The Commons Vote touching Church-Government.

To have a Dioceſan Synod once a Year, and every third Year a National Synod, and they to make Canons, but none to be binding till confirm'd by Parliament. (n)

(*n*) Whitlock's *Memorials pag.* 45. Idem.

Uſher, Primate of *Armagh*, is ſaid to have offer'd an Expedient for bringing Presbytery and Epiſcopacy towards an Accommodation, and for abating the diſtinguiſhing Character, and Juriſdiction of the latter. The Commons purſuing their Project of Church-Reformation, drew up an Impeachment of *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, digeſted into Five and twenty Articles: 'Twas carry'd to the Lords by Sir *Thomas Widdrinton*, who deliver'd it with a Satyrical Speech. The Subſtance of the Articles amounted to no more than that the Biſhop preſs'd Conformity, and exerted the Diſcipline of the Church. But this, at that Time, was enough for the Commons to vote him *unworthy and unfit to hold or exerciſe any Office or Dignity in Church or Commonwealth.* After this they deſir'd the Lords to concur with them in an Addreſs to the King, that this Prelate *might be remov'd from his Place and Service.* In ſhort, they carry'd their Point, and *Wren* was committed to the *Tower*. The King was now reſolv'd to make a Progreſs into *Scotland* for quieting the Diſcontents in that Kingdom. Not long after his Majeſty's ſetting forward, the two *Houſes* adjourn'd to the 20th of *October*, and ſettled Committees for tranſacting Buſineſs during the Receſs. And here it may not be improper to mention, that notwithſtanding the late Clamours againſt prophaning the *Sunday*, by the King's *Declaration concerning Sports*, the two *Houſes* took the Liberty to ſit, and do Buſineſs upon this Day. (*o*) About a Week before the King took his Journey, an Impeachment of thirteen Biſhops by Order of the Houſe of Commons was ſent up by Serjeant *Wild*, and deliver'd at the Bar in the Lords Houſe, with this Introductive Speech.

Wren, *Biſhop of* Ely *impeach'd by the Commons.*

Auguſt 10*th*. Idem.

Aug. 4.
(*o*) Ruſhworth *part* 3. *pag*. 362.

My Lords,

" The Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament being ſenſible of the great Inſelicities and Troubles which the Commonwealth hath ſuſtain'd by the exorbitant Courſes of the Biſhops; and knowing well what the Wiſe Man ſaith, *That if Sentence be not ſpeedily executed againſt an evil Work, the Hearts of the Sons of Men are ſet upon further Miſchief*; (the timely Redreſs whereof doth better become the Wiſdom of a Parliament, than a too late woful Repentance) have commanded me to repreſent unto your Lordſhips, That *Walter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Godfrey* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *Joſeph* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *John* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *William* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *George* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Matthew* Biſhop of *Ely*, *William* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *John* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, *Morgan* Biſhop of *Landaff*, together with *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others of the Clergy of that *Province*, at a *Convocation* or Synod for the ſame *Province*, begun at *London* in the Year 1640. did conceive, make, and promulge ſeveral Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, containing in them divers Matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the Fundamental Laws and *Statutes* of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence.

An Impeachment of thirteen Biſhops of the late Convocation.

" And to add more Weight and Efficacy to this their monſtrous Deſign, they did at the ſame *Synod*, under a ſpecious and fair Title, grant a *Benevolence* or Contribution to his Majeſty, to be paid by the *Clergy* of that *Province*, contrary to Law. It reſted not there, for tho' this had been enough to have affrighted and terrify'd the King's People with ſtrange Apprehenſions and Fears, yet that theſe might not ſeem to be Contrivances of the Brain, or Fancies only, they were put in Execution, and were executed upon divers with Animoſity and Rigour, to the great Oppreſſion of the Clergy of this Realm, and other his Majeſty's Subjects, and in Contempt of the King, and of the Law.

" Whether thoſe Perſons, my Lords, that are culpable of theſe Offences, ſhall be thought fit to have an Intereſt in the Legiſlative Power, your Lordſhips Wiſdom and Juſtice is able to judge.

" But for theſe Matters and Things, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe in Parliament in the Name of themſelves, and of all the Commons of *England*, do impeach the ſaid Biſhops before-named, of the Crimes and Miſdemeanours before-expreſſed; and do therefore pray that they may be forthwith put to their Anſwers in the Preſence of the Commons, and that ſuch farther Proceedings may be had againſt them, as to Law and Juſtice ſhall appertain. (*p*)

(*p*) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect. part* 3. *pag*. 359.

The Biſhops impeach'd, deſir'd Time till *Michaelmas-Term* to put in their Anſwer. This Motion being ſtrongly oppos'd by ſome Temporal Lords, two Queſtions were put: (1.) Whether the Biſhops ſhould ſit in the Houſe, tho' without Voting (to which laſt Reſtraint they conſented themſelves) while the Time for making their Anſwer was debating? (2.) What Time they ſhould be allow'd for making their Defence? The firſt Queſtion was carry'd for them in the Affirmative. And as to the ſecond, they had Time given them to the 10th of *November* for putting in their Anſwer. The Biſhops made choice of *Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to ſolicit in the Cauſe. This Prelate retain'd Sergeant *Jermin* and Mr. *Chuite* for Council, *Jermin* refus'd to plead without a Warrant from the Houſe of Commons. The Biſhops thinking the Demand unreaſonable, this Lawyer was laid by; but *Chuite* was more juſt and generous: For being ask'd by the Temporal Lords, Whether he would plead for the Biſhops? He reply'd, *Yes, as long as he had a Tongue to plead with.* This Gentleman ſoon after drew up a *Demurrer* in behalf of the Biſhops, to prove what they had done in the late *Convocation*, could not amount to a *Præmunire*. This Defence was ſhew'd to Archbiſhop *Williams*, and commended for an impregnable Performance. In ſhort, the Strength of the Plea was probably the Reaſon the Proſecution ſlept, and that the Biſhops heard no more of the Impeachment. (*a*)

The Proſecution of them dropt.

(*a*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* XI.

The King was now at *Edinborough*, and made a very unfortunate Hand of his Journy. At the Parliament now ſitting there, he ſign'd ſeveral *Acts* extreamly prejudicial to the Prerogative; but theſe being ſomewhat foreign to this

The King goes to Scotland, *and proves unfortunate in his Conduct.*

this *Hiſtory*, ſhall be moſtly unmention'd. However it may not be improper to obſerve, that what was expected would have been pardon'd in an Act of *Oblivion*, was couch'd in a Form of Juſtification of the *Covenanters* Misbehaviour: For Inſtance: Their firſt Tumults and erecting their *Tables* in Oppoſition to the Government; their ſuppreſſing the *Juſtice-Court*, and the *Seſſion*, and the Acts and Orders of their *Tables*, are *declar'd to be the Effects of their Duty to his Majeſty, and according to the Law of the Land.* And thus all thoſe Loyal Perſons, who had oppos'd theſe Mutineers in Defence of the Government, and ſtood authoriz'd by his Majeſty's Commiſſions, were made Criminals. Theſe Royaliſts were the only Perſons excepted from Pardon, and barr'd the Benefit of the *Indemnity*.

And as to the *Church*, the Seditious Acts of that *Aſſembly* which had expell'd the Biſhops, and the Canonical Clergy, diſown'd their Spiritual Governours being Members of their Body, and affirmed a Power in themſelves to ſtretch the Cenſures of the Church upon the *Crown*, were declared "to be lawful, and according to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom: That the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops was repugnant to the Word of God: That the Prelates were Enemies to the Propagation of the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion: And that for this Reaſon their Order was to be ſuppreſs'd, and their Lands given to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors. (r)

The ſlender Remains of the Churche's Patrimony being veſted in the *Crown*, the King gave it all away to the *Covenanting* Party. In ſhort, his Majeſty by abandoning his Friends, and careſſing his Enemies, not only ſunk his Intereſt in that Kingdom, but gave great Encouragement to the *Faction* in *England*. The Enemies of the Church now concluded their Buſineſs in a good Condition. And ſince the King had ſign'd an *Act* in *Scotland*, that the Church Government by Archbiſhops and Biſhops *was againſt the Word of God*, they did not queſtion bringing him to the ſame Compliance in his *Weſtminſter* Parliament.

An Order of the Lords againſt Innovating in Religion.

To mention ſomewhat of their Courage and Expedition in this Affair; And here I am to acquaint the *Reader*, That about half a Year ſince, the Lords to ſtop the irregular Zeal of ſome over-forward People, publiſh'd "an Order, "That Divine *Service* ſhould be perform'd as 'tis appointed by the *Statutes* of this Realm: And that all ſuch as ſhall diſturb that commendable Order, ſhall be ſeverely puniſh'd according to Law: And that the Parſons, Vicars and Curates in their reſpective Pariſhes ſhall forbear introducing any Rites or Ceremonies that may give Offence, otherwiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of the Land. This Order was made upon the 16th of *January* laſt; and upon the 9th of *September*, the Day upon which they adjourn'd, 'twas reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, that the aboveſaid Order ſhould be printed and publiſhed. The Lords deſired the Concurrence of the Commons; but the Lower *Houſe* thinking the ſtrict Execution of the Laws unſeaſonable, voted their Diſſent to both the Orders; (s) and publiſh'd a ſhort Declaration, in which they gave the Kingdom an Expectation of making a conſiderable Reformation in Matters of Religion.

To be ſomewhat more full upon this Matter: The Commons had lately revived the Debate touching Innovations in the Church, and paſſed ſeveral Votes againſt them. The Lords at the ſame Time repeated their *Declaration* for the Obſervation of the *Common Prayer*, without Omiſſion or Alteration. Theſe *Votes* which look'd like Claſhing, occaſion'd a Conference between both *Houſes*; at which the Commons deſired their Lordſhips to conſent to the following *Declaration.* To this the Lords returned no Anſwer; and which further diſguſted the Commons, they reſolved upon the Queſtion, that their *Order* above-mentioned, on the Sixteenth of *January*, ſhould be printed and publiſh'd. (t)

1641. *The Commons Declaration concerning Innovations in the Ceremonies.*

The Commons Declaration to which they deſired the Concurrence of the *Upper Houſe*, was as follows:

"Whereas divers Innovations in or about the Worſhip of God have been lately practiſed in this Kingdom, by injoyning ſome Things, and prohibiting others without Warrant of Law, to the great Grievance and Diſcontent of his Majeſty's Subjects. For the Suppreſſion of ſuch Innovations, and for Preſervation of publick Peace, it is this Day Order'd by the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the Church-Wardens in every Pariſh-Church and Chappel reſpectively do forthwith remove the Communion-Table from the *Eaſt* End of the Church, Chappel or Chancel into ſome other convenient Place; and that they take away the Rails, and level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations.

"That all Crucifixes, Scandalous Pictures of any one or more Perſons, of the *Trinity*, and all Images of the Virgin *Mary*, ſhall be taken away and aboliſh'd; and that all Tapers, Candleſticks and Baſons be removed from the Communion-Table.

"That all corporal Bowing at the Name (*Jeſus*) or towards the *Eaſt* End of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion-Table, be henceforth forborn.

"That the Orders aforeſaid be obſerv'd in all the ſeveral Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Collegiate Churches or Chappels in the two Univerſities, or any other Part of the Kingdom; and in the *Temple Church*, and the *Chappels* of the other *Inns of Court*, by the Deans of the ſaid Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſities, and by the Heads and Governors of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls aforeſaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the ſaid Inns of Court reſpectively.

"That the Lord's Day ſhall be duly obſerv'd and ſanctify'd: All Dancing, or other Sports, either before or after Divine Service, be forborn and reſtrained; and that the Preaching of God's Word be permitted in the Afternoon in the ſeveral Churches and Chappels of this Kingdom, and that Miniſters and Preachers be encouraged thereunto.

"That the Vice-Chancellors of the Univerſities, Heads and Governours of Colleges, all Parſons, Vicars, Churchwardens, do make Certificates of the Performance of theſe *Orders*: And if the ſame ſhall not be obſerved in any of the Places afore-mentioned, upon Complaint thereof made to the two next Juſtices of Peace, Mayor or Head-Officers of Cities or Towns-Corporate; it is ordered, that the ſaid Juſtices, Mayor, or other Head-Officer reſpectively, ſhall examine the Truth of all ſuch Complaints, and certifie by whoſe Default the ſame are committed: All which Certificates are to be delivered in Parliament, before the thirtieth of *October* next, 1641.

Thus the Uſages of Antiquity, the Orders of the Biſhops, the *Canons* of the Church are ſuperſeded, and the Clergy enjoin'd Obedience to this Extraordinary *Declaration*: One would almoſt have thought ſo peremptory a Deciſion muſt have come from the Apoſtolick *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*, or at leaſt, from one of the Four General *Councils*! But this, after all was no more than an Order of the Lay-Commons, and that without conſulting the *Convocation*, without the Concurrence of either Lords or Sovereign. In ſhort, theſe *Secular* Gentlemens interpoſing thus in the Government of the Church, ſerves only to ſapp the Foundation, and ſink the Credit of Religion, gives Libertines a Handle to disbelieve Chriſtianity, and look upon the *Creed* as a Trick of State-Policy. However, *Pym* the *Chairman* of the Committee, ſent down the *Declaration* into the Country after the *Receſs*, enjoin'd the Reading it on the Parochial Clergy, and executed the *Order* with more than Patriarchal Authority.

The Biſhops Extraction miſreported by the Lord Brook.

The Deſign of throwing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, going on, notwithſtanding the late Diſappointment, 'twas thought fit to batter their Reputation, and try to make them look little in common Eſteem. To this Purpoſe the Lord *Brook* publiſh'd a Pamphlet againſt the Biſhops, repreſented them as Perſons meanly born, and by their Way of Study altogether unqualified for Barons in Parliament This pretended Diſadvantage of Birth being no better than down-right Calumny, *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Morton* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Curle* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Cook* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Owen* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, proved themſelves Men of *Deſcent* and wealthy Families. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* had a creditable Education at *Oxford* and *Greys-Inn*. And as for the reſt of the

---

(r) *Lord* Clarendon'*s Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol.* 1. *part* 1. *Biſhop* Guthry'*s Memoirs.*

(s) Ruſhworth'*s Hiſt. Collect part* 3. *vol.* 1. *p.* 387.

Order, they were moſt of them either extracted from Clergymen, or Lay-Gentry: 'Tis plain, therefore Lord *Brook*'s Charge proceeded from unbenevolent Humour; the Diſaffection was remarkable, but altogether wide of Matter of Fact.

Another Argument, the Temporal Lords were contriving to part with the Biſhops, was the treating them with unuſual Neglect in the Parliament Houſe: For Inſtance, they were join'd in Committees with the Temporal Lords in under-proportion'd Numbers: The Clerk of the Parliament, in reading the *Bills*, turn'd his Back to the Biſhops with uncuſtomary Diſregard; and at their going to Church on a ſolemn Faſt Day, the Temporal Barons gave themſelves Precedency of the Biſhops: This being altogether new, the Lord *Spencer*, afterwards Earl of *Sunderland*, made a Remark upon it, *Is this*, ſays he, *a Day of Humiliation wherein we ſhew ſo much Pride in taking Place of thoſe to whom our Anceſtors ever allow'd it?* (u)

The Biſhop's Intereſt giving Way in the *Upper Houſe*, the Commons reſolv'd to puſh the Opportunity: To this Purpoſe Mr. *Pym*, at a Conference with the Lords, made the following Speech.

October 23d.

Pym's *Speech againſt the Biſhops.*

My Lords,

" The Parliament, the Fountain of Juſtice, ought to be preſerved pure from Corruption, and be free from Partiality, which will add not only Luſtre, Reputation and Honour, but Authority to what is done in Parliament; all Mens Eſtates and Liberties are preſerv'd under the ſafe Cuſtody of Parliament; this moveth us to be careful of any Thing that may prejudice the Parliament, in Point of Freedom and Integrity.

" Therefore the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, have commanded me with my Collegue, to repreſent unto your Lordſhips two Propoſitions, which they hold of very great Importance, and neceſſary to be put in Execution at this Time.

" *Firſt*, That thoſe thirteen Biſhops which ſtand accuſed before your Lordſhips for making the late Book of *Canons*, and putting them in Execution, may be excluded from their Votes in Parliament.

" *Secondly*, That all the Biſhops may be excluded from having any Vote in that *Act*, come from the Houſe of Commons to your Lordſhips, entituled, *An Act to take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament*, &c.

After this *Member* had gone on ſome Length in declaiming againſt the Biſhops, he was ſeconded by Mr. Sollicitor St. *John*, who urg'd ſeveral Reaſons and Precedents for excluding the Biſhops voting in the Bill laſt mentioned.

Sollicitor St. John's *Argument againſt the Biſhops Peerage*, &c.

" *Firſt*, In regard they have no ſuch inherent Right of aſſiſting in Parliament as the Lords Temporal have, becauſe they don't aſſiſt there as a Repreſentative Body. But this Argument diſables the Temporal Lords no leſs than the *Spiritual* from ſitting in Parliament; for theſe repreſent no further than their own Perſons.

" *Secondly*, Mr. *Sollicitor* argues the Biſhops have not an equal inherent Right of Peerage with the Temporal Lords, becauſe their Power is not of the ſame Extent: For Inſtance, they have no Liberty of voting at the Tryal of a Peer; which Privilege could not be taken away by any *Canon*, if the Right of it was (as he calls it) inherent.

That the Biſhops Peerage is entire, has been already prov'd, and needs not be repeated. *

" *Thirdly*, If the Biſhops repreſented the Clergy, and amounted to a *Third Eſtate*, no *Act* of Parliament could be good without their Aſſent: To diſprove this he obſerves, the Biſhops, in the Firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, diſagreed to the *Bill* for eſtabliſhing the *Common-Prayer*; and yet the *Statute* has always been reckon'd binding.

To this it may be anſwered; Firſt, That by the Cuſtom and Conſtitution of Parliament, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal are reckon'd as one Body in giving their *Votes*; and therefore the *Houſe* is always concluded by a Majority, without Regard to any Diſtinction of Character in the *Members*: As to the reſt of his Argument, I ſhall refer the *Reader* to what I have already written. (w)

The Biſhops One of the Three Eſtates in Parliament.

Further, That the Biſhops are a *Third Eſtate*, is evident from the Records of Parliament: To mention ſome of them.

By the Parliament Roll, 1 *H.* 4. it appears, That King *Richard* the Second appointed two Proxies to declare his Reſignation of the *Crown Coram omnibus Statubus Regni*, who theſe Eſtates were appears afterward, when they are call'd, *Pares & Proceres Regni Angliæ Spirituales, Et Temporales, Et ejuſdem Regni Communitates omnes Status ejuſdem Regni repreſentantes.*

By this Authority, 'tis evident the Biſhops are not only a Third *Eſtate*, but Peers of the Realm.

Rot. Par. 1. R. 3.

In the Parliament Roll, 1 *R.* 3. 'tis recorded, that before his Coronation certain Articles were deliver'd to him in the Name of the Three *Eſtates* of the Realm; that is to ſay, in the Name of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. To proceed, 3 *H.* 6. the Record mentions the Three Eſtates aſſembled in this preſent Parliament: And in explaining the Extent of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Protectoral Power, 'tis ſaid, 'twas adviſ'd and appointed by the Authority of the King, aſſenting the Three Eſtates of this Realm: From whence 'tis plain, the King was not reckon'd one of them. (x)

The 11th *H.* 6. the Duke of *Bedford* appear'd in Parliament, and aſſign'd the Reaſon of his coming, *Coram Domino Rege. Et tribus Statubus Regni*, before the King and the Three *Eſtates* of the Realm: And in the 23d Year of the ſame Reign, the Parliament Record runs *Preſente Domino Rege & tribus Statubus in Preſenti Parliamento Exiſtentibus*: And in another Year, *Domino Rege & Tribus Regni Statubus in Pleno Parliamento Comparentibus.* (y) To go backward to one Inſtance in the firſt Year of this Reign, the Queen *Dowager* in her Petition mentioning an Order of Parliament, made 9 *H.* 5. declares it was not only ſworn by the King, but by the Three Eſtates of the Kingdom of *England*, *Ceſt aſſavoir, Les Prelatz, Nobles, & Grands, & par les Communs de meſm le Royalm Dangleterre.*

1 H. 6.]

From all theſe *Records* it appears, that the Three *Eſtates* are Fundamental to the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and that the Biſhops are one of them. (z)

The *Sollicitor* St. *John* argues, That the King may hold his Parliament without calling the Biſhops to it: For this he cites the Opinion of the Judges in 7 *Hen.* 8. but this Caſe I have conſider'd already under that Year, and therefore ſhall add nothing further.

'Tis inſiſted on, Fifthly, That in the 25th *Ed.* 1ſt, a Parliament was held at St. *Edmund's-Bury*, *Excluſo Clero*: That notwithſtanding this, many good Laws were made there. (a)

To this 'tis anſwered, firſt, that to argue from a ſingle Inſtance againſt Cuſtomary and General Practice, is no good Logick; and over and above, if One of the Three *Eſtates* may be ſet aſide at Diſcretion, why not another?

Secondly, The Biſhops in this Parliament were not excluded the *Seſſion* by the King, and the other Two *Eſtates*, but by their own Choice: The Occaſion of it was a *Bull* of *Boniface* the Eight; by which the Clergy were forbidden giving any

(u) Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* Book II.

* *See firſt and ſecond Vol. of this Hiſt.*

(w) *See above in the firſt Year of Queen* Elizabeth.

(x) Cotton's *Abridgment of Records, pag.* 710, 714. Rot. Parl. 3 H. 6. N. 19. 6 H. 6. Num. 24.

(y) 23 H. 6. N. 11, 28. H. 6. N. 9.

(z) *See grand Queſtion*, &c.

(a) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect. Part* 3d, *pag.* 395, 396.

more *Subſidies*. And whereas, 'tis affirm'd, many good unqueſtion'd Laws were made in that *Seſſion*, 'tis plain, by the *Rolls*, that nothing of this Kind was done in that Parliament, except the *Temporalties* granting a *Twelfth* to the King.

Archbiſhop *Uſher's Diſcourſe in Defence of Epiſcopacy.*

To proceed, the Biſhops were not only ſtruck at in their Parliamentary Privilege, but in their Spiritual Character: To do them Juſtice in this Point, and ſupport the Government of the Church, Archbiſhop *Uſher* publiſhed a ſeaſonable *Tract* to combat the *Root* and *Branch Bill*, * and prove Epiſcopacy of Apoſtolical Inſtitution: A brief Abſtract of the Main of this Performance may not be unacceptable to the *Reader*.

* *The Meaning of the Root and Branch Bill was the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, and introducing the Presbyterian Government.*

"To begin, to make good that thoſe whom our Tranſlation calls Elders were ſubordinate to the Biſhop; he proves, that thoſe whom St. *John*, in the *Revelations*, calls the *Angels* of the Churches, were Biſhops both in Name and Authority: Particularly, that St. *Timothy* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*; and that one of thoſe *Angels* St. *John* writes to was his Succeſſor: This he proves, firſt, by the Liſt of the Biſhops of the Church of *Epheſus*; and ſecondly, by the Teſtimony of St. *Ignatius*, and others.

(*b*) Concil. Chalced. *Act.* 1.

For the firſt Point, 'twas publickly declar'd by *Leontius*, Biſhop of *Magneſia*, at the fourth General Council. (*b*) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν. *That from* Timothy, *and therefore by inevitable Conſequence from the Time of the Apoſtles, there had been a continued Succeſſion of Twenty ſeven Biſhops, all ordain'd in* Epheſus.

That *Beza*, in his *Commentaries*, confeſſes that *Timothy* had been ſome Time the προεστὼς, or Preſident of the *Epheſian Presbytery*: That *Juſtin Martyr* calls him that preſides in the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembles προεστὼς, who by the other Fathers is call'd a Biſhop. That St. *Timothy* was ordain'd Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus*, is further confirm'd by the Teſtimony of *Euſebius*, (*c*) and likewiſe by two *Tracts*, of *conſiderable* Antiquity, concerning the Martyrdom of St. *Timothy*: One of theſe is *Anonymus*, and mentioned in *Photius* his *Bibliotheca*: The other is ſaid to be written by *Polycrates*, who was himſelf Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and born within 37 Years after St. *John* writ the *Revelations*.

(*c*) *Hiſt.* Eccleſ. lib. 3. Cap. 4.

That *Oneſimus* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and conſequently the *Angel* of that Church, to whom St. *John* wrote the Epiſtle in the *Revelations*; Primate *Uſher* proves from *Ignatius*: "Now *Ignatius*, whom *Theodorit*, *Felix* the Third, and *Johannes Antiochenus* reported (*d*) to have been ordain'd at *Antioch* by St. *Peter*, was, without all Queſtion, Biſhop of that *See* when St. *John* wrote that Letter to the *Angel* of the Church of *Epheſus*: For St. *John* wrote his *Revelation* towards the End of *Domitian's* Reign, as *Irenæus* affirms; or in the 14th Year of *Domitian's* Government, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* relate: From this Period there are but 12 Years to the 10th of *Trajan*, when St. *Ignatius* was carried to *Rome* to ſuffer Martyrdom; and wrote another Letter to the Church at *Epheſus*, in which he makes mention of *Oneſimus* as their Biſhop, and puts them in Mind of their Duty to him.

(*d*) Theod. Dial. 1. Felix 3. in Epiſt. ad Zenon. Imperat. Recitat. in V. Synod. C. P. Act. 1. Tom. 2. Concil. *pag.* 222. Edit. Binii Johan. Antiochen. Chronic. lib. 10. M. S.

The Primate advances further, and affirms, That St. *Polycarp* was Biſhop of *Smyrna* when St. *John* wrote to the *Angel* of the Church of that City: "Now *Irenæus*, who reports this, was not only acquainted with St. *Polycarp's* Succeſſors in that *See*; but was preſent when that Saint himſelf diſcours'd of his Converſation with St. *John*, and related ſeveral remarkable Things he had heard from thoſe who had ſeen our Bleſſed Saviour, καὶ Πολύκαρπος, ſays *Irenæus*, ὃς οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, &c. i. e. *St.* Polycarp *was not only a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, and convers'd with many Perſons who had ſeen Jeſus Chriſt, but was alſo ordain'd Biſhop of* Smyrna *by the Apoſtles themſelves.* *This St.* Polycarp *I ſaw my ſelf when I was young, for he liv'd to a great Age before his Martyrdom.* (*e*)

(*e*) Iren. lib. 3. Cap. 3. adverſ. Hæreſ.

The Lord Primate cites another Teſtimony of St. *Irenæus*, to prove the Apoſtolical Succeſſion of the Biſhops of his Time; and that they taught no other Doctrine than what they receiv'd from thoſe inſpir'd *Miſſionaries*. His Words are theſe, *Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apoſtolis Instituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis; Et ſucceſſores eorum uſque ad nos; qui nihil tale docuerunt neque Cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur.* "We can reckon thoſe who were ordain'd Biſhops by the Apoſtles, and carry down their Succeſſors to our own Time.

Id. ibid.

Tertullian's Authority comes next: This learned *Father*, in his *Preſcription againſt Hereticks*, writes thus, (*f*) *Sicut Smyrnæorum Eccleſia Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert; ſicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit; Perinde utique & cætera exhibent quos ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos, Apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent.* "As the Records of the Church of *Smyrna* prove St. *Polycarp* their firſt Biſhop; as the Regiſter and Tradition of the Church of *Rome* make it appear that St. *Clement* was ordain'd Biſhop there by St. *Peter*: So the reſt of the Churches have Authentick Records, to ſhew what Biſhops were plac'd there by the Apoſtles, to continue the Succeſſion, and propagate the Faith firſt delivered to the Saints.

(*f*) De Preſcrip. cap. 32.

And this may be ſufficient to give the *Reader* ſomewhat of an Idea of the Learned Primate's Performance.

To proceed, notwithſtanding the King's paſſing the *Bills* for putting down the Courts of *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion*; ſigning a Reſtraint upon the *Council Board*, and other large Conceſſions; notwithſtanding, I ſay, he had thus remarkably leſſen'd his Prerogative; the Commons were preparing to entertain him at his Return from *Scotland* with a large Recital of Grievances and Mal-Adminiſtration: This Remonſtrance was ſtrongly conteſted in the Houſe of Commons: The Debate laſted from three in the Afternoon till three in the Morning: And after all this Struggle, 'twas carried but by a few. In ſhort, the *Members* ſeem'd tir'd, and overwatch'd into a Complyance, which made them ſay the Remonſtrance look'd like the *Verdict of a Starv'd Jury*. I ſhall mention ſome Part of this Complaint which relates to the Church.

The Commons in their Remonſtrance charge the Biſhops with Innovations.

The Remonſtrance ſets forth, that the Promoters of all the Miſchiefs recited are, (1.) The Jeſuited Papiſts who hate the Laws, and aim at the Subverſion of Religion.

The Biſhops and corrupt Part of the Clergy, as they call them, are rang'd in the ſecond Place: Theſe Eccleſiaſticks, they pretend, cheriſh Formality and Superſtition as the Natural Effects, and moſt probable Supports of their Tyranny and Uſurpation.

(3.) Some Councellors and Courtiers had, upon Mercenary Views, engag'd themſelves with theſe encroaching Churchmen: That the Buſineſs of this Combination was to ſuppreſs the *Purity* and *Power* of Religion, and thoſe beſt affected to it; that they might remove the greateſt Obſtacles to the *Change* projected by them.

That this Faction of Courtiers and Churchmen, as theſe *Remonſtrants* will have it, countenanc'd the *Arminian* Party in thoſe Points wherein they agree with the *Papiſts*: That they widen the Difference between the common Proteſtants, and thoſe they call *Puritans*: And introduce ſuch Opinions and Ceremonies, as tend fartheſt to an Accommodation with Popery. And that their Deſign was to increaſe Ignorance, and encourage Liberty and Prophaneneſs in the People *(g)*.

(g) Ruſhworth Hiſt. Collect. Part 3. *p.* 438.

They proceed to deſire the King the Conſciences of Men may be unburthen'd of needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; That *Innovations* may be ſuppreſs'd, and the Monuments of Idolatry remov'd. And for the more effectual carrying on their intended *Reformation*, they addreſs for a General *Synod* of the moſt grave, pious and judicious Divines of this Iſland: That theſe Churchmen may be aſſiſted with ſome Foreigners profeſſing the ſame Religion: That they may conſider all things neceſſary for the Peace and good Government of the Church, and report the Reſult of their Debates to the Parliament. That their Reſolutions being confirm'd by the *Legiſlature*, may be the better acquieſc'd in, and obey'd.

Id. *p.* 450.

This expoſtulating Addreſs being preſented to the King at *Hampton Court*, his Majeſty's Anſwer as to the Church Part, is as follows. He obſerves their Petition concerning Religion, conſiſts of ſeveral Branches; to all which he applies an Anſwer. To give the Reader his Majeſty's Words.

The King's Anſwer.

We ſay, That for preſerving the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom, from the Deſign of the Popiſh Party, We have, and will ſtill concur with all the juſt Deſigns of Our People, in a Parliamentary Way. That for the depriving of the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you conſider, that their Right is grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution of Parliament. This We would have you conſider; but ſince you deſire our Concurrence herein, in a Parliamentary Way, We will give no farther anſwer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate Power of the Clergy, We conceive the taking away of the High Commiſſion Court hath well moderated That: But if there continue any Vſurpations or Exceſſes in their Juriſdictions, We therein neither have, nor will protect them.

Vnto that Clauſe which concerneth Corruptions (as you ſtile them) in Religion, in Church Government, and in Diſcipline, and the removing of ſuch unneceſſary Ceremonies as weak Conſciences might check at: That for any Illegal Innovations, which may have crept in, We ſhall willingly concur in the Removal of them. That if Our Parliament ſhall adviſe us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt Cauſe of Offence to any, We ſhall take it into Conſideration, and apply Our Self to give due Satisfaction therein; but We are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general Terms, Corruption in Religion objected, ſince We are perſuaded in Our Conſcience, that no Church can be found upon the Earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine, than the Church of England *doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are jointly more beautified, and free from Superſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſh'd by Law; which, by the Grace of God, We will with Conſtancy maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all Invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the Irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great Diſhonour and Hazard both of Church and State; for the Suppreſſion of whom, We require your timely Aid, and active Aſſiſtance. (h).*

(*h*) Ruſhworth Hiſt. Collect. Part 3. *p.* 442. Biblioth. Reg. Sect. 4. cap. 4.

The latter Part of this Anſwer diſguſted the Commons, who notwithſtanding this Diſappointment reſolv'd to follow their Blow, till they had made themſelves Maſter of the Enterprize. The *Bill* for taking away the Biſhops Votes, was brought in for another Tryal. And here the Earl of *Briſtol* appear'd nobly in Defence of the Church: He obſerv'd to the Lords, that according to the Rules and Cuſtom of Parliament, a Bill once thrown out, could not be brought in again the ſame Seſſion. That this was the Caſe of the preſent Bill: And therefore that the going upon it this *Seſſion*, would be plainly breaking in upon the ſettled Orders of Parliament. This Plea, ſince it could not be diſprov'd, was over-ruled, and the Houſe carry'd it for excluding the Biſhops. This rough Expedient was the laſt Remedy, and wou'd have been wav'd, had the Biſhops been more reſign'd and flexible. To decline the Odium of innovating thus remarkably upon the Conſtitution, and diſcharging the firſt of the *Three Eſtates* from any Share in the Legiſlature, ſome Endeavours had lately been us'd by the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord *Kimbolton*, to perſuade the Biſhops to gratifie the Importunity of the Commons, and give up their Right of voting in Parliament. To prevail with them for this Ceſſion, they gave them an Aſſurance that the Temporal Lords would be bound in Honour to ſupport them in all the Eſſentials of their Character. But the Biſhops had too much Diſcretion and Courage to betray their Intereſt, and throw up their Peerage. But this Buſineſs, tho' now in Agitation, was not finiſh'd till two Months forward: In the mean time, to ſucceed againſt this Repulſe, and batter the Reſolution of the Lords *Spiritual*, the Apprentices were drawn down to *Weſtminſter*, to aſſiſt the Faction, and over-awe the honeſt Party. Theſe Auxiliaries came to the Parliament Doors in great Bodies, and cry'd, *No Biſhops*. And for a farther Reinforcement, Petitions to the *Houſes* came up from ſeveral Counties, ſetting forth, that the Biſhops were a common *Nuſance*; that the Decay of Trade, the clogging and diſappointing of all Buſineſs in Parliament, was occaſion'd by the Biſhops. From hence they advanc'd to downright railing and inſulting their Perſons, and throwing Stones at them; ſo that they could not come to the Lords Houſe, either by Land or Water, without apparent Hazard of their Lives. The Rabble thus fleſh'd and encourag'd, made their next Aſſault on *Weſtminſter Abbey*; and ſome of them ſpake out, their Deſign was to pull down the Organs, and deface the Monuments. Archbiſhop *Williams*, to prevent this horrible Ravage, and ſecure the *Regalia* from being ſeiz'd, made faſt the Doors, and maintain'd the Abbey againſt them. However, the *Reforming* Mob preſs'd on, and endeavour'd to force their Entrance; but were beaten off with Stones from the Leads by the Scholars, the Choir, and the Officers: And in this Skirmiſh one Sir---- *Wiſeman* a *Kentiſh* Knight, who headed the Rabble, was kill'd by a Tile from the Battlements. But the Aſſailants being not yet broken, ſome of the Archbiſhop's Retinue ſally'd out, and with Sword in Hand, forc'd them to retire and diſperſe.

The Biſhops inſulted by the Rabble, in going to the Parliament Houſe.

The Houſes taking no notice of this Outrage, the Tumult continuing in the ſame Phrenzy and Numbers, and the Biſhops going to the Parliament being altogether impracticable, they met at the Dean of *Weſtminſter*'s Lodgings, and ſubſcrib'd a *Proteſtation* for preſerving their Right of ſitting in Parliament. It was drawn up by Archbiſhop *Williams* in the Form of a *Petition*, and was to be preſented to his Majeſty in the Houſe of Peers. Five of the Sees being vacant, and ſome of the Biſhops gone into the Country, it was ſign'd only by Twelve, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Litchfield*, *Norwich*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Glouceſter*, *Peterborough* and *Landaff*. The *Proteſting* Petition ſtands thus:

Their Petition and Proteſtation.

Whereas the Petitioners are call'd up by ſeveral and reſpective Writs, and under great Penalties to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable Right to vote in Bills and other Matters whatſoever debatable in Parliament by the ancient Cuſtoms, Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by your Majeſty quietly to attend and proſecute that great Service. They humbly remonſtrate and proteſt before God, your Majeſty, and the noble Lords and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament; that as they have an indubitable Right to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Lords: So are they, if they may be protected from Force and Violence, moſt willing and ready to perform their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery or the Maintenance thereof, as alſo all Propenſion and Inclination to any malignant Party, or any other Side or Party whatſoever; to the which their own Reaſon and Conſcience ſhall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at ſeveral times violently menaced, affronted, and aſſaulted by Multitudes of People in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away and put in Danger of their Lives, and can find no Redreſs or Protection upon ſundry Complaints, made to both Houſes in theſe Particulars; They humbly proteſt before your Majeſty, and the Noble Houſe of Peers, That ſaving unto themſelves all their Rights, and Intereſts of ſitting and voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, until your Majeſty ſhall farther ſecure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premiſſes. Laſtly, Whereas their Fears are not built upon Conceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie Men of good Reſolutions and much Conſtancy, they do in all Humility and Duty proteſt before your Majeſty, and the Peers of the moſt Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions and Determinations, as in themſelves null and of none Effect, which in their Abſence, ſince the 27th of this Inſtant Month of December, 1641. *have already paſs'd: As likewiſe, againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that moſt Honourable Houſe, during the time of their forc'd and violent Abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe. Not denying but if their abſenting of themſelves were wilful and voluntary, that moſt Honourable Houſe might proceed in all their Premiſes, their Abſence or this Proteſtation notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching your moſt Excellent Majeſty to command the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers, to enter this their Petition and Proteſtation among his Records (i).*

Decemb 29.

They will ever pray God to bleſs, &c.

(i) Hacket's *Life of Archbiſhop* Williams Ruſhworth.

The Biſhops Proteſtation defended.

This *Proteſtation* was put into the Lord Keeper *Littleton*'s Hand; but not to be read till the King, at the Biſhop's Inſtance, came into the Houſe of Peers. But the Lord Keeper, contrary to Direction, communicated the Petition to ſome unfriendly Members of both Houſes, before the time. This Lord *Keeper*, 'tis ſaid, had made himſelf obnoxious to the Cenſure of Parliament, by ſome ſtretches in his Management. And therefore, as 'tis thought, he ſtruck in againſt this *Proteſtation* to purchaſe an Indemnity, and cover himſelf: For immediately upon the reading the *Paper* in the Upper *Houſe*, the Anti-Epiſcopal Lords deſir'd a Conference with the Commons. In ſhort, the Biſhops *Petition* being put into their Hands, the Lord Keeper declar'd the *Proteſtation* contain'd *Matters of high and dangerous Conſequence, and intrench'd upon the Fundamental Privileges and Being of the Parliament*. But which way can this Charge be made out? The Biſhops, as has already been prov'd, are one of the Three *Eſtates*, and by Conſequence, eſſential to the *Legiſlature*. Since therefore they had been ſo outrageouſly inſulted, ſince the Violence was not remov'd, nor any Protection afforded upon their Complaint to both Houſes; what could they do leſs, than appear with their *Proteſt* for ſecuring their Right? If the Temporal Lords or Commons had been under the ſame Menacing and Danger, and had mov'd for Redreſs to no purpoſe; they would, we may reaſonably believe, have made the ſame Remonſtrance. And ſince the Lords Spiritual are equally a Third *Eſtate* with the other Two, why ſhould they not have the ſame Liberty to guard their Privilege? Beſides, the Biſhops declar'd the Nullity of what paſs'd during their abſence, no longer than the Force was upon them, no longer than their coming to Parliament continu'd impracticable: And therefore their remonſtrating againſt the Legality of what paſs'd in their abſence, was by no means claiming a *Negative* Vote like the King *(k)*. 'Tis farther objected, that the Biſhops deſiring the King to command the Clerk of the Houſe to enter their *Proteſtation* upon Record, was derogatory to the Rights of Parliament. But to warrant their proceeding in this manner, the Biſhops have a clear Precedent in the Reign of King *Richard* II.

Ruſhworth.

(k) Ld. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebel. Vol. 1. p. 354.

The Caſe was this: *Courtney* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* foreſaw ſome Peers were likely to be try'd for their Lives in Parliament; and knew the Biſhops were barr'd by the *Canons* from concerning themſelves in Caſes of Blood; upon this Proſpect he preſented a Proteſtation in his own Name, and the reſt of the Lords Spiritual, for aſſerting their Peerage, and ſaving their Rights and Intereſt in Parliament: And at the delivering this *Inſtrument*, he deſir'd the King it might be entred upon the Parliament Rolls, which was done accordingly *.

Secondly, 'Twas objected farther, that the nulling of all Laws made at that time, when *Ireland* was in Danger, was a ſort of conſpiring with the Rebels to deſtroy that Kingdom. To this it may be anſwer'd, that if the Biſhops had a Right to proteſt in this manner, the Inconveniences conſequent upon their uſing it, can amount to no Crime: For what Fault can it be for a Man to make uſe of the Privilege the Law allows him? Beſides, when the Paſſage was open and undiſturb'd to the Parliament Houſe, as it was when the *Petition* was read; for then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and ſome other Prelates appear'd there: When things were thus ſomewhat quieted, the Biſhops recall'd their *Proteſtation*, and deſir'd both Houſes to accept their Revocation †.

But the Commons reſolv'd to ſeize the Opportunity, and make uſe of the pretended Advantage:

* *See the 1ſt Vol. of this Hiſtory.*

† Hackett.

vantage: Thus within half an Hour after, the *Inſtrument* was put into their Hands, they ſent up to the Lords, and without farther debate Impeach'd the Twelve Biſhops who Sign'd the Proteſtation, of High Treaſon (*l*). This Charge being carry'd to the *Upper-Houſe* by Mr. *Glyn*; the *Black-Rod* was immediately order'd to go in ſearch of the Biſhops, and bring them forthwith before the Lords in Parliament. They were brought to the Bar that Evening accordingly: Upon which an Order paſs'd in theſe words. "*That the* "*Lord Archbiſhop of* York *his Grace, the Lord Biſhop* "*of* Durham, *the Lord Biſhop of* Norwich, *the* "*Lord Biſhop of* St. Aſaph, *&c.* being charg'd of "High-Treaſon by the Houſe of *Commons*; "ſhall forthwith ſtand committed to the Priſon "of the *Tower*, until the Pleaſure of this Houſe "be farther known. But by an Order of the ſame Day, the Biſhops of *Durham*, and *Conventry* and *Litchfield*, in regard of their Age and ill Health, had the favour of being remitted to the Cuſtody of the *Gentleman Uſher*. The Biſhops committed had ſome time given to put in their Anſwer: And at their Requeſt the Lords order'd Mr. *Lane* the Prince's Attorney, Sir *Thomas Gardiner* Knight, Recorder of *London*, *John Hearne*, *Chaloner Chute*, *John Fountain*, *Matthew Hales*, and *Arthur Trevor*, to be of Council for them. The Lord *Clarendon*, notwithſtanding his ſurprize at the Rigour of this Uſage; notwithſtanding he objects nothing againſt the Legality of this *Proteſtation*: "Notwithſtanding he believes a Violence offer'd to the freedom of "any one *Member*, is a Violation to all the reſt; "and makes all their *Acts* as *void* and *null*, as "if they were lock'd in, and kept without Meat, "till they alter'd their Judgments; notwithſtanding this fair length of Conceſſion, he cenſures the Proteſtation as proceeding from "a Tranſport of Paſſion in Archbiſhop *Williams*, "and that the other Eleven were ill adviſ'd "in going into theſe Meaſures, and ſuffering "themſelves to be *Precipitated to ſo haſty a Reſolution*. But with due Regard to this Noble Hiſtorian; the Biſhops Conduct ſeems fairly defenſible. Had they done leſs, they had fallen ſhort of that Fortitude which might juſtly be expected from them: For ſince their going to the *Houſe* was utterly impracticable; ſince their Complaint to the Lords and Commons had been diſregarded: Which way could they maintain their Station, and ſecure their Peerage, but by entering their *Proteſtation*? To hope for either Favour or Juſtice at this Juncture, was too ſanguine an Expectation. They had Reaſon to conclude the *Root* and *Branch work* wou'd certainly go forward. And therefore to have been ſilent under ſuch Outrage, wou'd have been unſeaſonable Caution, and look'd like Cowardice. When the Proſpect is thus menacing, and a Man is almoſt certain to be undone, the moſt creditable Expedient is to ſpend himſelf in a *Blaze*, and Flaſh to the laſt grain of Powder. To go out in Smoak and Smoulder, is but a mean way of coming to nothing: To creep and crawl to a Misfortune, is to ſuffer like an *Inſect*: A Man ought to fall with Dignity and Honour, and keep his Mind erect, tho' his Fortune happens to be cruſh't. This was the Biſhops Caſe and Meaning; they were willing to ſave their Privilege, and ſupport their Character: And for making ſo handſome a Retreat, they ſeem to have oblig'd their Memory, and ought to ſtand commended upon Record. About a fortnight after their Commitment, they were ſeverally brought to the Bar of the Lords Houſe, and put in their Anſwers to the Impeachment in the following Form.

(*l*) *Ld.* Clarendon. Ruſhworth, *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 3. *p.* 467.

Jovis 30. December, 1641.

The Biſhops Impeach'd and ſent to the Tower.

Id.

I——Biſhop of ſuch a Place, ſaving to my ſelf all advantages of exception to the inſufficiency of the ſaid Impeachment; for my ſelf, ſay, that I am not guilty of the Treaſon charged by the ſaid Impeachment in manner and form as the ſame is therein charged.

Id. *p.* 497.

After this Anſwer, the Biſhops petition'd the Houſe of Lords for Tryal or Bail: Upon which the Lords aſſign'd them the 25th of *January* for their Tryal, but remanding them in the mean time to their former Confinement; where they continu'd till the beginning of *May* the next Year; at which time without making any Application to the *Commons*, the Lords admitted them to Bail. In ſhort, they liv'd where they pleas'd, without ever being call'd upon for their Tryal; which is another clear evidence they had done nothing unwarrantable by Law. For had they been any ways obnoxious, their Enemies wou'd not have fail'd in the Proſecution. And here *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely* had harder fortune than the reſt; for ſome few Months after his Enlargement, he was ſeiz'd by a Party of Souldiers, at his Houſe at *Downham* near *Ely*; and carried back to the *Tower*, where he continued till the end of the Year 1659. without any Charge brought againſt him *.

The Biſhops Bail'd, but never brought to any Tryal.

* Cyprian Anglic. Nalſon, *Collect.* Id.

And now the Ferment began to boil over, the Mask was laid aſide, and the Faction appear'd more in their Colours. For Inſtance, Petitions from the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*, of *Oxford*, *Lincoln* and *Northampton*, were deliver'd to the Houſe of *Commons*; praying that the Popiſh Lords, and Biſhops Votes might be taken away. This *Bill*, already mention'd, againſt the Biſhops, paſs'd the Houſes in the beginning of *February*. And here 'tis thought the King wou'd have made a ſtand, and refus'd his Aſſent: His Majeſty's firſt Anſwer was; That the paſſing this *Bill* was a Matter of great Concernment; and therefore he would take time for Conſideration. His delay, tho' a farther Anſwer was promis'd, was look'd on as a denyal: And the prevailing *Members* being conſcious their *Reformation* in Church and State would be clogg'd, unleſs the Biſhops were excluded; ſent the ſame Day to the King then at *Windſor*, to preſs for his Conſent: Their Reaſons were, "That "the Subjects ſuffer'd by the Biſhops exerciſing "Temporal Juriſdiction, and making a Party in "the Lords Houſe. That general Satisfaction, "and a happy Conjunction of both Houſes, wou'd "be conſequent upon the Biſhops being excluded. "And laſtly, That the ſigning this *Bill* wou'd "be a comfortable Pledge of his Majeſty's "gracious Aſſent to the future Remedies of "thoſe Evils which were to be preſented to "him (*m*).

(*m*) *Ld.* Clarendon.

This Meſſage from the Parliament was ſeconded by thoſe of greateſt Truſt about the King; who notwithſtanding they wiſh'd well to his Majeſty's Affairs, ſeem to have been unacquainted with the Conſtitution, and not to have look'd through the Deſigns on Foot. Theſe Courtiers ſuggeſted that the paſſing this *Bill* was the only way to preſerve the Church: That the Combination againſt the Biſhops in this particular was irreſiſtible; that provided the Houſes were ſatisfy'd in this Point, they would acquieſce. But the croſſing this Humour would drive them to Extremities, make them attempt the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and demoliſh the whole Fabrick of the Church. They repreſented farther, that the paſſing this *Bill*, might prevail with the Parliament to lay down their Importunity

The King at laſt prevail'd with to paſs the Bill.

tunity for another of much worſe Conſequence to the *Crown*; and that was a *Bill* for modelling and diſpoſing the *Militia* at the direction of the Two *Houſes*. Theſe Arguments, tho' urg'd by thoſe the King thought friends to the Church of *England*, wou'd never, 'tis probable have prevail'd with his Majeſty; had not the Queen ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe. This Princeſs was made to believe her Preſervation depended upon the King's Conſent to the *Bill*; that in Caſe his Majeſty refus'd it, her Journey into *Holland* would be ſtopp'd; and her Perſon poſſibly endanger'd either by the Mutineers at *London*, or the Inſurrection of the Country in her Paſſage to *Dover*: Whereas the uſing her Intereſt with the King, would lay a popular Obligation upon the Kingdom; and make her acceptable to the Parliament. Theſe Diſcourſes proving perſuaſive with the Queen, ſhe made uſe of her Aſcendant, and wreſted the King's Reſolution from him. So that in ſhort, he ſign'd the *Bill* at *Canterbury*, whither he accompany'd the Queen in her Voyage to *Holland*. To give the *Reader* the *Act*: The Preamble begins thus.

February 14.

Whereas Biſhops and other Perſons in Holy Orders, ought not to be intangled with Secular juriſdictioon, (the Office of the Miniſtry being of ſuch great Importance, that it will take up the whole Man). And for that it is found by long Experience, that their intermedling with Secular juriſdictions, hath occaſioned great Miſchiefs and Scandal, both to Church and State: His Majeſty, out of his Religious Care of the Church, and Souls of his People, is graciouſly pleaſed that it be enacted, and by Authority of this preſent Parliament, be it enacted, That no Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or other Perſon that now is, or hereafter ſhall be in holy Orders, ſhall at any time after the Fifteenth Day of February, **in the Year of our Lord, One Thouſand Six Hundred Forty One; have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Voice, or uſe or execute any Power or Authority in the Parliaments of this Realm; nor ſhall be of the Privy-Council of his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or Juſtice of the Peace of Oyer and Terminer, or Goal-delivery, or execute any Temporal Authority by virtue of any Commiſſion, but ſhall be wholly diſabled; and be uncapable to have, receive, uſe, or execute any of the ſaid Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and things aforeſaid.**

And be it farther enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Acts from and after the ſaid Fifteenth of February, **which ſhall be done or executed by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or other Perſon whatſoever in holy Orders, and all and every Suffrage or Voice, given or deliver'd by them, or any of them; or other thing done by them, or any of them, contrary to the Purport and true meaning of this preſent Act, ſhall be utterly void to all Intents, Conſtructions and Purpoſes** (*n*).

That there is nothing of Cogency in this *Preamble*, either as to Reaſoning or Fact, is ſufficiently evident from what has been obſerv'd upon this Head in the foregoing Part of this *Hiſtory*. But the King giving way to unreaſonable Demands, encourag'd the Party to farther Importunities; diſſerv'd his Character, and weakned his Intereſt. His Majeſty was afterwards ſenſible 'twas a wrong Step, and repented his Compliance; as appears by a Paſſage in one of his Prayers. *Was it*, ſays he, *through Ignorance that I ſuffer'd Innocent Blood to be ſpilt, through a falſe pretended Juſtice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland? *Or Injur'd the Biſhops in* England (*o*)? From hence the Inference is, that the Injury done to the Biſhops in *England*, lay little leſs heavy upon the King's Conſcience, than the other two remarkable Inſtances of human Frailty.

Random Reports of the Biſhops Miſmanagement.

At this time when Libels and Calumny had free Courſe, there was great Clamouring againſt the Biſhops Conduct. They were charg'd with laying aſide the uſe of *Confirmation*: That they had wholly neglected the Duty of preaching under Pretence of being more at leiſure for the governing Part of their Function: And that even in this they manag'd to Inſignificancy, and transfer'd their Juriſdiction upon their Chancellors, and under-Officers. That none of them us'd to ſit in their *Conſiſtories* for hearing Complaints, or doing Juſtice either to Clergy or Laity: But turn'd over the People to Regiſters, Proctors, and Apparitors, who drew their Money from them againſt Equity and Law, and us'd them almoſt at Diſcretion. That few or none of them made their *Viſitations* in Perſon: Thus the greateſt Part of the Clergy and the Biſhops were Strangers to each other: That this was a Diſcouragement to godly and painful Miniſters, and countenanced thoſe who were irregular. That few of them living in their Epiſcopal Cities, the Poor were diſappointed of the Relief, and the better ſort of the Hoſpitality, they had Reaſon to expect: And that by this abſence *Divine-Service* was hurry'd, and ill perform'd in the Cathedrals, for want of the Biſhops Preſence and Inſpection. That inſtead of giving *Orders* at the Mother-Church, they made uſe of the Chapels of their Private Houſes, or ſome obſcure Country Churches; not requiring the Aſſiſtance of their *Deans* and *Chapters* upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions, as they ought to do: That they exerted the Cenſures of Deprivation and Degradation, in too Monarchical and Arbitrary a Manner; not calling in the *Deans* and *Chapters* for any ſhare in the Adminiſtration: And that by this abſolute method of Governing, they had made thoſe *Capitular Bodies* in a manner uſeleſs. And laſtly, ſince they did nothing upon the matter but receive their Rents, indulge their Eaſe, conſult their Grandeur, and Lord it over the reſt of their Brethren; the beſt way was to diſcharge the Function, and turn their Eſtates to more ſerviceable Uſes. This was the ſubſtance of what was objected by ſome *Secular* Men of Condition, and induſtriouſly ſpread among the Common People: That a great Part of this Charge was ſwell'd beyond Truth, needs not be queſtion'd: But ſuppoſing the whole had been Matter of Fact, the Inference was quite wrong; for there is no Reaſon an Office ſhou'd ſuffer for perſonal Miſcarriage: That *Corporations* ſhould be diſſolv'd, and Apoſtolical Inſtitutions ſet aſide for the Faults of particular Men. To turn People out of their Eſtates without proving them guilty of any legal forfeiture, and meerly becauſe they do not ſpend them as Religion directs, would make wild Work: This reaſoning if urg'd home, I ſay, wou'd carry to unintelligible Juſtice, and make a ſtrange Revolution in the fortune of the *Laity*.

As

(*n*) Scobel's *Collect. of Acts*, 17 Car. 1, c. 28.

(*o*) Εἰκὼν Βασιλ. p. 263.

Several Tracts publiſh'd for and againſt Epiſcopacy.

As the *Hierarchy* had a great many Enemies, ſo there were ſome Friends who ſtood in the Breach, and endeavour'd to repel the Attack. Beſides Archbiſhop *Uſher* already mention'd, the Biſhop of *Exeter* appear'd in print for the Cauſe. This Prelate preſented an humble Remonſtrance to the Parliament, in behalf of the *Liturgy* and *Epiſcopacy*. His Tract was quickly undertaken by a Book entituled, *The Original of Liturgy and Epiſcopacy diſcuſs'd.* This Anſwer furniſh'd by a Club of five Presbyterian Miniſters, had *Smectymnus* ſtanding for the Author: This word taking in the initial Letters of the Chriſtian and Sirnames of the five Miniſters. Their Anſwer receiv'd a *Vindication* from the Biſhop, to which *Smectymnus* publiſh'd a Rejoinder. During this Combat, while the Biſhops and the Faction were drawing their Pens upon each other, Sir *Thomas Aſhton* Knight and Baronet, Printed a Diſcourſe in Two Parts: The firſt was entituled *A Survey of the Inconveniences of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, and the inconſiſtencies thereof with the Conſtitution of this State.* His ſecond Part is called, *The Original Inſtitution, Succeſſion and Juriſdiction of the Ancient and venerable Order of Biſhops.* This Performance was quickly ſupported by the *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*; under the Name of *Theophilus Churchman*: And to mention ſome other *Tracts* upon the ſame Argument, tho' a little diſtant in time. The next Year Dr. *Taylor's Epiſcopacy aſſerted*, and the Aerinomaſtix of *John Theyer* appear'd in Print. To which may be added ſeveral *Petitions* to the King and Parliament: But of this more afterwards.

The vacant Sees fill'd.

Before we take leave of this Year, it may not be improper to mention the Vacancies which happen'd in ſeveral *Sees*. For the purpoſe; *Neile* Archbiſhop of *York*, died ſome few Days before the meeting of this Parliament: *Mountague* of *Norwich*, *Bancroft* of *Oxford*, *Davenant* of *Saliſbury*, *Potter* of *Carliſle*, and *Thornborough* of *Worceſter*, surviv'd *Neile* but a few Months. Theſe *Sees* were fill'd by preferring *Williams*, as has been obſerv'd, to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*; *Winnif* Dean of St. *Paul's*, was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *Duppa* was tranſlated from *Chicheſter* to *Saliſbury*; and *King* Dean of *Rocheſter*, was promoted to the *See* of *Chicheſter*; *Hall* Biſhop of *Exeter* to *Norwich*, and *Brounrigg* Maſter of *Catherine Hall* in *Cambridge*, to *Exeter*; *Skinner* of *Briſtol* was remov'd to *Oxon*; and *Weſtfield* Archdeacon of St. *Albans*, promoted to *Briſtol*; the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* was given in Commendam to the Primate of *Ireland*, during the Commotions in that Kingdom; and the *See* of *Worceſter* was fill'd with *Prideaux*. Theſe Divines were all of them Perſons of Learning and Diſtinction; and ſtood well in the Opinion of the generality. After this, there were no more Changes 'till the Abolition of Epiſcopacy by an *Ordinance* of the Two Houſes, in the Year 1646. There were no more Changes, I ſay, excepting that *Frewen* Dean of *Glouceſter*, and Preſident of St. *Mary Magdalen* College in *Oxon*, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, upon the Death of *Wright*, in the beginning of the Year 1644. and *Howel* Prebendary of *Windſor*, was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Briſtol*, upon the Death of *Weſtfield*, before the end of the ſame Year.

The King retires into Yorkſhire, *where he receives the Nineteen Propoſitions.*

A. D. 1642.

The King forc'd by Tumults from *White-hall*, goes into *Yorkſhire*, and prepares for Defence. During his ſtay in this Country, the remarkable *Nineteen Propoſitions*, were ſent him by the Two Houſes: The Eight of theſe Propoſitions relating to the Church, deſir'd, *That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to conſent to ſuch a* Reformation *of the* Church Government *and* Liturgy, *as both Houſes of Parliament ſhou'd* adviſe: *And that for this purpoſe they intended to conſult with* Divines, *as was expreſs'd in their Declaration.* 'Twas likewiſe deſir'd, *That his Majeſty wou'd contribute his beſt Aſſiſtance for raiſing a ſufficient* Maintenance *for Preaching* Miniſters *throughout the Kingdom*: And *that he wou'd be pleas'd to give his Conſent to Laws for taking away* Innovations, *and* Superſtitions, *and* Pluralities, *and againſt ſcandalous* Miniſters (*p*).

For Satiſfaction to this Demand, the King repeats his Anſwer to their *Remonſtrance* already mention'd; and after this, puts them in Mind of part of his Meſſage ſent them on the Fourteenth of *February*, when he paſs'd the *Bill* for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament. The Paſſage was this, *That his Majeſty had obſerv'd, great and different Troubles to ariſe in the Hearts of his People concerning the* Liturgy *and* Government *of the Church: And that therefore he was willing to refer the whole Conſideration to the Wiſdom of his Parliament, which he deſir'd them to enter into ſpeedily; that the preſent Diſtractions about the ſame might be compos'd; that he deſir'd not to be preſs'd to any ſingle Act on his Part, till the whole was ſo digeſted and ſetled by both Houſes, that he might clearly ſee what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.* Id. *p.* 329.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Eight Propoſitions.

“To this his Majeſty adds, that he had the better Hopes of a good Iſſue, to the general Satiſfaction of his People; becauſe they ſeem'd in their Propoſition to deſire only a *Reformation*, and not a *Deſtruction* of the preſent Diſcipline and Liturgy: Tho' for a Year and a half laſt paſt, nothing leſs than a total Suppreſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, had been preach'd in the *Conventicles* throughout the Kingdom. His Majeſty continues, he ſhould moſt cheerfully give his Aſſiſtance for ſetling a ſufficient Maintenance on preaching Miniſters, in ſuch a manner as might be moſt for the Encouragement of Piety and Learning: As to the *Bills*, and *Conſultation* they mention'd, he knew nothing of the *Matter* of the one, nor the *Manner* of the other, excepting by common Fame, to which he gave little Credit; and wiſh'd his Subjects believ'd Reports no faſter than himſelf. Having therefore receiv'd nothing certain on theſe Heads; he could return no Anſwer (*q*).

Petitions in behalf of Epiſcopacy and the Common-Prayer.

It has been already hinted, that not a few *Petitions* were preſented from ſeveral Counties, to the King and both *Houſes*; in behalf of the Church Eſtabliſhment: Some belong to the laſt, and ſome to the preſent Year. To begin with the County of *Rutland*; where in their *Petition* to the *High* and *Honourable Court* of Parliament; they argue in defence of Epiſcopacy. To mention ſome of their *Conſiderations* as they call them.

The Petition of the County of Rutland *in behalf of the Church.*

We conſider, ſay they, *whether there can be a Church or not, without Biſhops: This very important Queſtion is maintain'd in the negative, by Apoſtolical Men, by primitive Martyrs, and by the greateſt part of Chriſtendom: And that thoſe few of a different Opinion, are moſt certainly not infallible. Since therefore ſo great a Majority of Chriſtendom, both with reſpect to Time and Place, declare for the Neceſſity of Epiſcopacy, 'tis much ſafeſt to retain that Government, for fear we ſeparate from the Church,* the Pillar and Ground of Truth.

The Petition obſerves, 2dly, *That no Ordination was ever performed without a Biſhop*; *and if any Presbyter gave Impoſition of Hands for this Pur-*

poſe,

(*p*) Husbands his exact Collect, *p.* 309.

(*q*) Cyprian. Anglic. *p.* 505.

poſe, unleſs in Conjunction with the Biſhop, he was reckon'd an *Uſurper by publick and unqueſtionable Authority.* From hence their Inference is, *that without Biſhops there can be no Presbyters, and by conſequence no Abſolution, no Conſecration of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, and that 'tis impoſſible to give an Equivalent for theſe Defects, by any Compenſation whatſoever.*

3dly, *Impoſition of Hands has never been the Cuſtom for Presbyters or Prieſts, upon Biſhops. From hence the Diſparity of their Function is evident, and that a Biſhop has a Character which cannot be communicated but by one of the ſame Diſtinction.*

4thly, *Without Biſhops, Confirmation called in Scripture Impoſition of Hands, muſt be impracticable :* And, *which ought to be obſerv'd, St.* Paul *reckons Confirmation a fundamental Point* *. *The Church has always us'd it, and made it a peculiar Branch of the Epiſcopal Function. And to juſtifie this Practice, we have the Example of the Apoſtles in the Caſe of the Chriſtians of* Samaria, *converted by the Evangeliſt St.* Philip.

* Heb. 6.

Acts 8. 17.

This *Petition* urges ſeveral other Arguments from the Laws of the Realm, from the Intereſt of Learning, and from the late *Proteſtation* recommended to the Kingdom by the Houſe of Commons: That by this *Engagement*, they had ty'd themſelves to maintain the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. And here they very pertinently urge, that the 36th Article of our Church approves and confirms the *Ordinal* for Conſecration of Biſhops: And therefore, unleſs they appear'd in behalf of Epiſcopacy, they ſhould fail in adhering to their late ſolemn *Proteſtation* (*q*). This *Petition* was ſign'd by Eight Hundred of the Gentry and Freeholders, not reckoning the Clergy within the Number.

(*q*) Nelſon's *impartial collect.* &c.

Novemb. 18. 1641.
Id. *pag.* 720.
More Petitions of this kind.

About a Month after, the County of *Huntingdon* petition'd the Lords and Commons to the ſame purpoſe. Farther, the Addreſs to the Parliament, from *Somerſetſhire* in behalf of Epiſcopacy and the *Liturgy*, was ſign'd by Knights, Eſquires, Divines, Gentlemen, Freeholders, all Proteſtants, to the Number of fourteen thouſand three hundred and fifty. The *Cheſhire* Addreſs deliver'd to the Houſe of Lords, in behalf of the preſent Form of Church Government, was ſubſcrib'd by four Noblemen; Baronets, Knights, and Eſquires, four Score and upwards; Divines three Score and Ten; Gentlemen above three Hundred; Freeholders and other Inhabitants, above ſix Thouſand.

Id. *pag.* 726.
Decemb. 10. 1647.

Id. *pag.* 759.

To this I ſhall ſubjoin the *Petition* of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; 'tis particularly remarkable, and ſets forth:

That notwithſtanding this Kingdom hath, by the ſingular Providence of Almighty God, for many Years laſt paſt, happily flouriſhed above all other Nations in the Chriſtian World, under the Religion and Government by Law eſtabliſhed; yet hath it been of late moſt miſerably diſtracted, through the ſiniſter Practices of ſome private Perſons ill-affected to them both; by whoſe Means the preſent Government is diſgraced and traduced, the Houſes of God are prophaned, and in part defaced, the Miniſters of Chriſt are contemned and deſpiſed, the Ornaments and many Utenſils of the Church are abuſed, the Liturgy and Book of Common-Prayer depraved and neglected, that abſolute Model of Prayer, the Lord's-Prayer, vilified, the Sacraments of the Goſpel in ſome Places rudely adminiſtered, in other Places omitted, ſolemn Days of Faſting obſerv'd, and appointed by private Perſons, Marriages illegally ſolemniz'd; Burials uncharitably perform'd, and the very Fundamentals of Religion ſubverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the moral Law. For which purpoſe, many offenſive Sermons are preached, and many impious Pamphlets printed: And in contemning of Authority, many do what ſeemeth good in their own Eyes only, as if there was no King nor Government in this our Iſrael; *whereby God is highly provoked, his ſacred Majeſty diſhonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered, the Conſciences of the People diſquieted, the Miniſters of God's Word diſheartned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldned in their Enterprize.*

This *Petition* was ſign'd by twenty four Knights and Baronets; Eſquires and Gentlemen, not reckoning Divines, above three Hundred: To which may be added, eight Hundred Freeholders and Subſidy Men (*r*). Beſides theſe, the Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, of *Nottingham*, *Stafford*, *Lancaſter*, *Oxford* and *Hereford*, and one County in *North-Wales*, addreſs'd for the Continuance of the *Church-Eſtabliſhment*. All theſe *Petitioners*, who were Perſons of Condition and Subſtance, amounting to near fifty Thouſand. And upon this Occaſion, the Lord *Faukland* obſerv'd to the *Houſe*, that the Strength of the Church-Party was not barely to be compared by the Liſt of the *Subſcribers*; there being vaſt Numbers of the ſame Sentiment who choſe to lie by, *as being ſecure in the Goodneſs of the Laws, and the Wiſdom of the Law-Makers; and that it was not uſual to petition for what Men have, but for what they have not* (*s*).

(*r*) Collect. of Petitions, pag. 45.

(*s*) Cyprian Anglic.

The Rebellion breaks out.

And now the *Two Houſes* having ſeiz'd the Magazines and Places of Strength, the War opened, and the Rebellion flam'd out. And after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, the Parliament Forces fought the King with ſome Diſadvantage at *Edgehill*. Immediately after this Battle, the King took *Banbury-Caſtle*, march'd towards *London* as far as *Brentford*, and after ſome Succeſſes, countermarch'd to *Oxford* for Winter Quarters. Before the King took the Field again, ſome Propoſitions for Accommodation were ſent him from the Members at *Weſtminſter*. One of the Articles was:

That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent for taking away ſuperſtitious Innovations, *and ſign the* Bill *for the utter aboliſhing and taking away all* Archbiſhops *and* Biſhops, *their* Chancellors *and* Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans *and* Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, *and* Prebendaries, *and all* Chantors, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors *and* Sacriſts, *and all* Vicars Choral *and* Choriſters, *old* Vicars *or new* Vicars *of any Cathedral or College-Church; and all other their under Officers out of the Church of* England. They likewiſe deſired *his Majeſty's Aſſent to the Bill* againſt ſcandalous Miniſters, *to the Bill againſt* Pluralities, *and to the Bill for* Conſultation *with godly, religious, and learned Divines; that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of Church Government, as upon* Conſultation *with the* Aſſembly *of the ſaid Divines, ſhall be reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them to be preſented to his Majeſty.*

Propoſition the 4th.

Feb. 2. A. D. $164\frac{2}{3}$.

The ſettling this Article, was referr'd to the following Treaty at *Oxford*. But here the King found the Parliament-Commiſſioners ſo bound up to their Inſtructions, and ſtreightned in Time, that the coming to any good Underſtanding was utterly impracticable.

An Ordinance for ſequeſtering the Biſhops and other Delinquents Eſtates.

But notwithſtanding, the Two Houſes had no Conceſſion from the King to warrant their Proceedings, they paſs'd an Ordinance to ſequeſter the Biſhops and other *Delinquents* Eſtates. By *Delinquents* they meant thoſe who declar'd for the

King, and refuſ'd to join the Rebellion (t). Thus the Rents and Profits of the Sees and Capitular Bodies, which lay within the Reach of the Parliament Army, were ſeiz'd, and the reſt of the Loyal Clergy were ſequeſter'd under the Character of *ſcandalous* Miniſters. And now moſt of the ſilenc'd Lecturers, and other Preachers, who within the laſt ten Years had left the Kingdom either for Non-Conformity, Debt, or intemperate Behaviour, returned at the Invitation of the Juncture. Theſe Men were preferr'd to the ſequeſter'd Benefices; but then, to keep them ſervile and true to the *Cauſe*, they were but as it were, *Tenants* at *Will*, and held their Livings only *durante bene placito*.

The King acquainted with this Oppreſſion and illegal Proceedings, publiſh'd his Proclamation againſt them.

May 15. 1643. *The King's Proclamation againſt it.*

“His Majeſty takes notice in the firſt place, that ſeveral of the Clergy eminent for their Piety and Learning, were forced from their Cures and Habitations, or otherwiſe ſilenc'd and prohibited the Exerciſe of their Function, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they would not break the Laws, and act counter to their Conſciences, becauſe they would not pray againſt him and his Aſſiſtants, becauſe they refuſed the publiſhing illegal Commands and Orders, for fomenting the unnatural War rais'd againſt him. That theſe unexceptionable Clergy, being thus turned out of their Livings, many Factious and ſchiſmatical Perſons intruded upon them: That theſe Men made it their Buſineſs to ſow Sedition, and draw his Majeſty's good Subjects from their Obedience, contrary to the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land: That the Intruders had an Aſſignment of Part of the Profits of the ſaid Benefices, and that the reſt was converted to the ſupporting the War againſt him: That therefore his Majeſty ſtraightly commands all his good Subjects to deſiſt from ſuch illegal Courſes againſt any of the Clergy aforeſaid, and to pay their Tythes to their reſpective Incumbents, or their Aſſigns, without Fraud, notwithſtanding any Sequeſtration, pretended Ordinances, or Orders whatſoever, from one or both Houſes of Parliament. And this they were to do under the Penalty of being apprehended and proceeded againſt according to Law, and of having their Lands and Goods in the mean time, ſeiz'd and ſequeſtered (u).

May 15. 1643.

This Proclamation, tho' it ſhew'd his Majeſty's Care to protect the loyal Clergy, had no effect to ſtop the Perſecution. And that they might ſeem to deſerve what they ſuffer'd, a lewd Pamphlet, licens'd by *White* Chairman of the Committee for Religion, was publiſh'd under the Title of, *The firſt Century of ſcandalous and malignant Prieſts*, &c. The Royaliſts offer'd to return the Reproach with much more Force upon the *Puritan* Party, but the King, who thought common Chriſtianity might ſuffer in the Conteſt, refus'd to give leave for ſuch an Undertaking.

Beſides their attacking the *Hierarchy* in their Reputation, the two Houſes play'd a more effectual Battery againſt the Church, and executed their Deſign, already mention'd, of *conſulting godly, religious*, and *learned* Divines. For this purpoſe they did not think fit to wait his Majeſty's Pleaſure, but upon the return of their Commiſſioners, from *Oxford*, conven'd an *Aſſembly* by their own Authority. The *Convocation* tho' ſummon'd by the King's Writ, was not ſitting: The Times were too much diſturb'd, and the Place too much in the Enemies Power for that Buſineſs. Neither were the two *Houſes* willing to venture their Cauſe with ſuch a regular *Body*. They were ſo far from reſting the Matter upon that foot, that they refuſ'd to refer the Choice of their *Aſſembly-Men* to the benefic'd Clergy, according to the cuſtomary Methods of provincial *Synods*. This Power of *Electing*, they reſerv'd to themſelves, and gave the Nomination to the Knights of Shires: For we are to obſerve, theſe *Aſſembly-Men* were not choſen as formerly, with regard to the Dioceſan Diviſions, but Two or more out of each County, the whole Number amounting to a hundred and twenty. To give this extraordinary *Meeting* the Face of Authority, an *Ordinance* was paſs'd in Form by the Lords and Commons: The Preamble ſetting forth the Occaſion, runs thus:

An Ordinance for convening the Aſſembly of Divines.

Whereas among the infinite Bleſsings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is or can be more dear unto us, than the Purity of our Religion; and for that as yet many Things remain in the Liturgy, Diſcipline, and Government of the Church, which do neceſſarily require a further and more perfect Reformation than as yet hath been attained: And whereas it hath been declared and reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the preſent Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Deans, and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending upon the Hierarchy, is evil, and juſtly offenſive and burthenſome to the Kingdom, a great Impediment to Reformation and Growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom, and that therefore they are reſolved that the ſame ſhall be taken away, and that ſuch a Government ſhall be ſettled in the Church as may be moſt agreeable to God's holy Word, and moſt apt to procure and preſerve the Peace of the Church at home, and nearer Agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad: And for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the Church of England from all falſe Calumnies and Aſperſions, It is thought fit and neceſſary to call an Aſſembly of Learned, Godly, and Judicious Divines, to conſult and adviſe of ſuch Matters and Things touching the Premiſes as ſhall be propoſed unto them by both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, and to give their Advice and Council therein to both or either of the ſaid Houſes, when, and as often as they ſhall be thereunto required.

The Members of this Meeting.

Thoſe who ſtand foremoſt in the Liſt of theſe *learned* and *godly* Divines, are *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Bedford*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *William* Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*, *Edward* Lord Viſcount *Conway*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*; the next are *Selden*, *Rows*, *Prideaux*, both the Sir *Henry Vanes*, *Pym*, Sir *John Clottworthy*, *Maynard*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, and ſeveral other Members of the Lower-Houſe.

June 12. 1643.

(t) Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, &c. *fol.* 37.

(u) Biblioth. Reg. pt. 1. p. 325. *ſect.* 4.

Thoſe of the *Aſſembly* who were in Orders, or pretended to be ſo, may be rang'd under three Diviſions. The Epiſcopal Men were *James Uſher* Primate of *Ireland*, *Brownrig* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Weſtfield* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, &c.

The Chief of the Presbyterian Party, were theſe following: Dr. *Hoyle* Divinity Profeſſor in *Ireland* (w).

CAMBRIDGE.

Dr. *Gouge* of *Black-Friers.*
Dr. *Smith* of *Barkeway.*
Oliver Bowles.
Thomas Gataker.
Henry Scudder.
Anthony Tuckenirs.
Stephen Marſhall.
John Arrowſmith.
Herbert Palmer.
Thomas Throughgood.
Thomas Hill.
Nathaniel Hodges.
Mr. Gibbons.
Timothy Young.
Richard Vines.
Thomas Coleman.
Mathew Newcomen.
Jeremiah Whitaker, &c.

OXFORD.

Dr. *William Twiſſe.*
Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs.*
Dr. ——*Stanton.*
Mr. *White* of *Dorcheſter.*
Mr. *Harris* of *Hanwell.*
Edward Reynolds.
Charles Herl.
Mr. *Corbett* of *Merton-College.*
Mr. *Conant.*
Francis Cheinell.
Obadiah Sedgewick.
Mr. *Carter*, Senior.
Mr. *Carter*, Junior.
Joſeph Caryll.
Mr. *Strickland*, &c.

The third Diviſion conſiſted of thoſe who had lately tranſported themſelves to *Holland*, to avoid the Penalties of Nonconformity: Theſe diſſented from the *Aſſembly* in ſeveral Things, and at laſt ſettled in *Independency*. Amongſt this Number we may reckon, *Thomas Goodwin*, *Sidrach Sympſon*, *Philip Nye*, &c.

The Powers and Reſtraints of the Aſſembly.

By Vertue of the *Ordinance*, theſe *Aſſembly-Men* were to meet at *Weſtminſter*, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel. Any Forty of them, Clergy or Lay, are declared a ſufficient Number, and impower'd to act. They were to conſult and debate Matters relating to the Liturgy, Diſcipline, and Government of the Church of *England*; and to vindicate the doctrinal Part from all ſuch Miſconſtructions as ſhall be propoſed to them by either, or both Houſes of Parliament: They were to deliver their Opinions concerning theſe Matters, in ſuch manner as ſhall be required by either or both of the ſaid *Houſes*, and not to divulge their Reſolutions, by Printing, Writing, or otherwiſe, without the Conſent of either, or both Houſes. Dr. *Twiſſe* is conſtituted their Prolocutor; and in caſe he happen'd to die, or was otherwiſe diſabled, his Succeſſor was to be choſen by both Houſes of Parliament. And provided any Diſagreement fell out amongſt the Members of the *Aſſembly*, the Parties were to repreſent the Reaſons of their different Opinions to either, or both Houſes of Parliament, that ſuch farther Direction might be given them as the Occaſion requir'd.

And to encourage their Buſineſs, the *Ordinance* allows them four Shillings a Day, and ſecures them againſt the Forfeitures of Non-reſidence. Farther, the *Aſſembly* was to be diſſolved at the Direction of both Houſes of Parliament. And in caſe any of the Members died before ſuch Diſſolution, the two Houſes were to nominate the Perſons for ſupplying the Places of thoſe deceas'd. And laſtly, 'tis provided, that this *Aſſembly* ſhall not exerciſe any Juriſdiction, or Eccleſiaſtical Authority, excepting what is particularly expreſs'd in this *Ordinance*.

General Rules for the Aſſembly.

Jovis 6. Julii 1643.

There were ſome farther general Rules given theſe *Divines*, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

1. *That two Aſſeſſors be joined to the Prolocutor to ſupply his Place in caſe of Abſence or Infirmity.*
2. *Two Scribes to be appointed to ſet down all Proceedings, and theſe to be Divines, who are not Members of the Aſſembly*; viz. *Mr.* Henry Rowberry, *and Mr.* Adoniram Byfield.
3. *Every Member at his firſt Entrance into the Aſſembly, ſhall make a ſerious and ſolemn Proteſtation not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be Truth, and to embrace Truth in Sincerity, when diſcovered to him.*
4. *No Reſolution to be given upon any Queſtion, on the ſame Day wherein it is firſt propounded.*
5. *What any Man undertakes to prove as neceſſary, he ſhall make good out of the Scriptures.*
6. *No Man to proceed in any Diſpute after the Prolocutor hath enjcyned him Silence, unleſs the Aſſembly deſire he may go on.*
7. *No Man to be deny'd to enter his Diſſent from the Aſſembly, and his Reaſons for it in any Point after it hath been firſt debated in the Aſſembly; and thence (if the diſſenting Party deſire it) to be ſent to the Houſes of Parliament by the Aſſembly (not by any particular Man or Men in a private Way) when either Houſe ſhall require it.*
8. *All Things agreed on, and prepared for the Parliament, to be openly read and allowed in the Aſſembly, and then offered as the Judgment of the Aſſembly, if the major Part aſſent; provided that the Opinion of any Perſons diſſenting, and the Reaſons urged for it, be annexed thereunto, (if the Diſſenters require it) together with Solutions (if any were) given in the Aſſembly to thoſe Reaſons.* Now follows the Oath.

I A. B. *do ſeriouſly and ſolemnly in the Preſence of Almighty God, declare that (in this Aſſembly whereof I am a Member) I will not maintain any Thing, in Matters of Doctrine, but what I think in my Conſcience to be Truth, or in Point of Diſcipline, but what I ſhall conceive to conduce moſt to the Glory of God, and the Good and Peace of his Church.*

Dugdale's ſhort View, p. 908.

The King forbids their Meeting.

The ſummoning this *Aſſembly* by the Two *Houſes*, was a new Provocation to his Majeſty, and an unprecedented Encroachment upon the Prerogative Royal. And over and above, the Illegality of the *Meeting*, 'twas moſtly made up of Perſons diſaffected to the Church: And which was a farther Reaſon for juſt Exception, the Divines were intermix'd with *Secular* Men; and in caſe of any Difference, the two Houſes were the laſt Judges of the Controverſie. Upon theſe Conſiderations the King publiſh'd his Proclamation before the Sitting of this extraordinary *Synod*, "Prohibiting all Perſons mentioned in that "pretended *Ordinance*, the aſſembling for that "purpoſe; declares the Aſſembly illegal, that "no Acts done by them, ought to be received "by the Subject: And that the allowing the "*Aſſembly-Men* Wages, by a Tax upon the Publick, was an unheard of Preſumption (x).

June 22.

Notwithſtanding this Proclamation, Sixty Nine of the Perſons nominated, were ſo hardy as to meet at the Time and Place appointed. But of the Epiſcopal Men, very few appeared, and ſcarcely any of them continued with the *Aſſembly*, excepting Dr. *Featly*.

Upon the firſt of *July*, purſuant to the *Ordinance*, theſe Divines met in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel. The *Aſſembly* was open'd with a Sermon preach'd by their Prolocutor, Dr. *Twiſſe*, both Houſes of Parliament being preſent. The *Clerks* or *Actuaries*, were *Henry Roborough*,

---

(w) Scobell's *Collect. of Acts*, &c. Ruſhworth, *pt.* 3.

(x) Biblioth. Reg. *p.* 328.

borough, and *Adoniram Byfield*. And now the City Preachers pray'd for a Bleſſing upon their Debates, and Books were dedicated to them, in the Style of the *Moſt Sacred Aſſembly*.

One of their firſt Publick Acts, was a *Petition* to both *Houſes*, for a ſolemn Faſt. The Matter and Expreſſion in this *Addreſs* being ſomewhat extraordinary, I ſhall lay it before the *Reader*.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of divers Miniſters of Chriſt, in the Name of themſelves, and of ſundry others

Humbly ſheweth,

The Aſſembly petition the Two Houſes for a Faſt.

July 19. * *Waller beaten in the Weſt by the King; and Ld. Fairfax in the North by the Earl of Newcaſtle.*

THAT *your Petitioners upon ſerious Conſideration, and deep Senſe of God's heavy Wrath lying on us, and hanging over our Heads and the whole Nation, and manifeſted particularly by the two late, ſad, and unexpected Defeats of our Forces in the North, and in the Weſt* *; *do apprehend it our Duty, as Watchmen for the Good of the Church, to preſent to your Religious and Prudent Conſideration, theſe enſuing Requeſts, in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, *your Lord and ours.*

“ Firſt, That you would be pleaſed to command a publick and extraordinay Day of Humiliation, this Week, throughout the Cities of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs of both, and Places adjacent within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, that every one may bitterly bewail his own Sins, and cry mightily unto God, for Chriſt his ſake, to remove his Wrath, and to heal the Land, with profeſs'd and new Reſolutions of more full Performance of the late Covenant for the Amendment of our Ways.

“ Secondly, That you would vouchſafe inſtantly to take it into your more ſerious Conſideration, how you may moſt ſpeedily ſet up Chriſt more gloriouſly in all his Ordinances within this Kingdom, and reform all things amiſs throughout the Land, wherein God is more ſpecially and more immediately diſhonoured: Among which we humbly lay before you theſe Particulars:

“ 1. That the brutiſh Ignorance, and palpable Darkneſs poſſeſſing the greateſt part of the People in all Places of the Kingdom, whereby they are utterly unfit to wait upon God, in any holy Duty (to the great Diſhonour of the Goſpel, and the everlaſting endangering of their poor Souls) may be remedied by a ſpeedy and ſtrict Charge to all Miniſters, conſtantly to catechize all the Youth and ignorant People (they being commanded to be ſubject to it) and all ſorts to be preſent at it; and Information to be given of all Perſons who ſhall withſtand or neglect it.

“ 2. That the grievous and heinous Pollution of the Lord's Supper, by thoſe that are groſly ignorant, and notoriouſly prophane, may be henceforth, with all Chriſtian Care, and due Circumſpection prevented.

“ 3. That the bold venting of corrupt Doctrines, directly contrary to the ſacred Law of God and Religious Humiliation for Sin, which open a wide Door to all Libertiniſm and Diſobedience to God and Man, may be ſpeedily ſuppreſs'd every where; and that in ſuch manner as may give Hope that the Church may be no more infected with them.

“ 4. That the Prophanation of any part of the Lord's Day, and the Days of ſolemn Faſting, by buying, ſelling, working, ſporting, travelling or neglecting of God's Ordinances, may be remedied by appointing ſpecial Officers in every Place, for the due Execution of all good Laws and Ordinances againſt the ſame.

“ 5. That there may be a through and ſpeedy proceeding againſt blind Guides, and ſcandalous Miniſters, by whoſe Wickedneſs People either lack or loath the Ordinances of the Lord, and Thouſands of Souls periſh, and the Removal of the Ark from among us, is (to the trembling of our Hearts) evidently threatned. And that your Wiſdoms would find out ſome way to admit into the Miniſtry ſuch godly and hopeful Men as have prepar'd themſelves, and are willing thereunto, without which there will ſuddenly be ſuch a Scarcity of able and faithful Miniſters, that it will be to little purpoſe to caſt out ſuch as are unable, idle, or ſcandalous.

“ 6. That the Laws may be quickned againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs, with which the Land is filled and defiled, and under which it mourneth.

“ 7. That ſome ſevere Courſe be taken againſt Fornication, Adultery, and Inceſt, which do greatly abound; eſpecially of late, by reaſon of Impunity.

“ 8. That all Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition, but more eſpecially the whole Body and Practice of Popery, may be totally aboliſhed.

“ 9. That Juſtice may be executed on all *Delinquents*, according to your Religious Vow and Proteſtation to that Purpoſe.

“ 10. That all poſſible means may be uſed for the ſpeedy Relief and Releaſe of our miſerable and extremely diſtreſſed Brethren, who are Priſoners in *Oxford*, *York*, and elſewhere, whoſe heavy Sufferings cry aloud in the Ears of our God; and it would lie very heavy upon the Kingdom, ſhould they miſcarry, ſuffering as they do for the Cauſe of God.

That ſo God, who is now by the Sword avenging the Quarrel of his Covenant, beholding your Integrity and Zeal, may turn from the Fierceneſs of his Wrath, hear our Prayers, go forth with our Armies, perfect the Work of Reformation, forgive our Sins, and ſettle Truth and Peace throughout the Kingdom (y).

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

This *Petition* was well approv'd, a publick Faſt was order'd upon *Friday* following, and both Houſes agreed to take the other Particulars into *ſpeedy Conſideration*.

To proceed: Amongſt other Calumnies upon the King, the Rebels miſrepreſented his Religion, and reported him inclin'd to Popery: This, they knew, wou'd prove a ſignificant Aſperſion, and diſincline the People to his Service. His Majeſty therefore, to undeceive his Subjects in this Particular, made a ſolemn Declaration of his Belief: For being ready to receive the Holy Euchariſt from the Hands of the Lord Primate *Uſher*, he roſe from his Knees, and giving the Archbiſhop a Sign for a ſhort Pauſe, ſpoke theſe Words.

(y) Ruſhworth Hiſt. Collect. Part 3. p. 344.

The King's Proteſtation at Chriſt's Church *in* Oxford.

My Lord,

I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the World the Reſolution I do now make. I have, to the utmoſt of my Power, prepar'd my Soul to become a worthy Receiver: And may I ſo receive Comfort by the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the True, Reformed, Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty, in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth, *without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to communicate: And may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Proteſtation.*

Id. *p.* 346.

Saltmarſh *his Advice.*

That this Purgation was no more than ſeaſonable may, to mention nothing farther, be collected from a *Pamphlet* lately publiſh'd by one *Saltmarſh* a *Puritan* Miniſter; where, amongſt other Directions, he adviſes to *cheriſh the War under the Notion of combating Popery: For that this was the ſureſt Means to engage the People.* His other two Suggeſtions mention'd by *Whitlock*, were, 1. *That all Means ſhould be us'd to keep the King and his People from a ſudden Union.* 2dly, *If the King would not grant their Demands, then to root him out and the Royal Line, and transfer the Crown upon ſomebody elſe* (z). This deſperate Advice was read in the Houſe of Commons.

The Succeſſes of the King's Arms ſtruck ſuch a Terror in the Revolters, that the leading *Members* were preparing to retire beyond Sea. Had the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, inſtead of ſitting down before *Hull*, march'd into the *Aſſociated* Counties; and had the King at the ſame time omitted the Siege of *Glouceſter*, and made for *London*, the War in all likelihood had been at an End. But the Two *Houſes* gaining time by the Miſconduct of the *Royaliſts*, apply to the *Scots*. The Presbyterian Part of that Nation promiſe the *Engliſh* their Aſſiſtance, upon Condition of their taking the *Covenant*. They had already been trying to paſs this *Solemn* Iniquity upon the *Engliſh*: For the laſt Summer, when they found the Revolt broke out with Strength, and likely to do Buſineſs, they ſent a Form of their *Kirk*-Government to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. This was to be the Plan the *Engliſh* were to work by *. 'Twas recommended to Eſtabliſhment by the *Scotch Aſſembly*: And ſoon after follow'd with a *Declaration* "of their Affections to the Reformation in Church and State; letting them know they expected that *England* would now exert themſelves, and extirpate the *Prelatical* Hierarchy; offering their Aſſiſtance at the ſame time, to make the Undertaking more practicable and eaſie (a).

* Auguſt 4. 1642.

The Solemn League and Covenant offer'd by the Scots, *and taken by the* Engliſh *Revolters.*

The Articles of *Confederacy* being agreed between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch Revolters*, both Houſes with the *Aſſembly* of Divines and *Scotch* Commiſſioners, met in St. *Margaret*'s *Weſtminſter*. At this Solemnity, one *White* a Miniſter of the Aſſembly, pray'd an Hour for preparing them to take the Covenant. After this, *Nye* another famous Preacher mounts the Pulpit, and makes ſome Remarks upon this *Engagement*; endeavours to juſtify it from *Scripture*-Precedents, and ſhews the Benefits the Church has receiv'd from ſuch Combinations.

Septemb. 25. A. D. 1643.

This Diſcourſe was ſeconded by *Henderſon*, one of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who dilated upon the Advantages their Nation had receiv'd from *Covenants* of this kind; and then proceeded to ſet forth how much the King was govern'd by ill Council, and that the States of *Scotland* had reſolv'd to aſſiſt the Parliament of *England*. When *Henderſon* had done, *Nye* read the *Covenant* in the Pulpit, and all the *Audience* held up their Hands as a Mark of their Aſſent. And the *Covenant* being ingroſſed in Parchment, the Lords and Commons ſubſcrib'd it in their reſpective Houſes: 'Twas likewiſe ſign'd by the *Aſſembly* of Divines, and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners (b). The Tenour of this Covenant ſhall be poſtpon'd to the Year 1647: At which time the Reaſons of the *Univerſity* of *Oxford* againſt it, ſhall be annex'd. In the mean time, I ſhall only obſerve, that the King looking on it as a dangerous Confederacy againſt the Church and *State*, publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, forbidding all his Subjects, either to tender, or take this *Seditious* and *Treaſonable Covenant*, as they will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils (c). But this Proclamation, dated the 9th of *October*, came out ſomewhat too late. For not only the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, but the City of *London* and the Army quarter'd there, had already gone through this Rebellious *Teſt*.

The *Scotch* over and above paſſing their *Covenant* upon the *Engliſh*, had ſeveral other encouraging Conditions: For inſtance, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were taken into a Share of the Adminiſtration: *Gilleſpy*, *Henderſon*, &c. with an equal Number of their *Ruling Elders*, ſat at *Weſtminſter* with the *Aſſembly*-Divines. Beſides this, an Hundred Thouſand Pound was advanc'd to them to forward their Expedition. Upon this Encouragement, the covenanting *Scots* enter *England* with a great Army, and reinforce the Rebellion: But this was not done till the latter End of the Year.

In the mean time the Commons at *Weſtminſter* paſs'd an Order, that the *Aſſembly*-Divines ſhou'd be mov'd to write to the *Reform'd* Churches of *Zealand* and *Holland*, and to the Proteſtants in *France*, *Switzerland*, &c. to inform them *of the great Artifices and Diſguiſes of his Majeſty's Agents in theſe Parts*, and of the true State of their Affairs. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners and the Committee of the Lords, are likewiſe deſir'd to joyn the Commons and the *Aſſembly* for ſettling this Buſineſs (d).

Purſuant to this *Order*, they drew up a Letter, the greateſt part of which ſhall be tranſlated.

A Letter of the Aſſembly of Divines ſent to the Proteſtant Churches in Holland, France, &c.

Right Reverend and dearly Beloved in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

"We, the Aſſembly of Divines and others, conven'd by the Authority of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, with the Commiſſioners ſent from the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, ſalute you heartily in the Lord.

"We doubt not but the lamentable Reports of the Miſeries, under which the Church and Kingdom of *England* lies bleeding, and ready to be ſwallow'd up, (the Cup which the Righteous Lord has given us to drink) have reach'd you long ſince. And 'tis probable the ſame Inſtruments of Satan and Antichriſt, have endeavour'd to repreſent us as black as 'tis poſſible, to you: 'Tis their Method to carry on their Intereſt by Calumny and Lying, to diſguiſe their bloody Deſigns with ſpecious Pretences; to reproach our Conteſt for a more thorough *Reformation*, and beſtow hard Language on the juſt Defence of our Lives and Liberties againſt Violence and Cruelty. And we ſometimes doubt whether we have not been wanting to our own Innocency and your Satiſfaction,

---

(z) Whitlock's *Memorials*, *p.* 68.

(a) Auguſt 26, 1642. Husband's *exact Collect. p.* 598.

(b) Whitlock's *Memorials*, *p.* 70.

(c) Biblioth. Reg. Part. 1. *p.* 332.

(d) Novemb. A. D. 1643. Ruſhworth Collect. Part 3. *p.* 391.

tisfaction, in being thus long ſilent. But pardon us, *Dear Brethren*, if this *Cup of Trembling* wherewith our Spirits have been fill'd to *Amazement*, and our ſtruggling with extreme Difficulties, have prevented us from doing this Part of our Duty. And now be pleas'd to give us leave to diſcharge a little of our Grief, by communicating our Condition. For now we ſhall give you a Narrative of the Ravage and Deſolation carry'd on by an Antichriſtian Faction, who have all along made it their Buſineſs to check the *Reformation*, and cheriſh Popery: And have now prevail'd againſt us to that degree, that if the Lord, whoſe Judgments are unſearchable, and whoſe Mercies are infinite, does not ſpeedily interpoſe for our Reſcue, we muſt be utterly undone.

“How inſtrumental this Treacherous and Bloody Generation has been in haraſſing other *Reform'd* Churches, in ruining the *Palatinate*, and in the Loſs of *Rochel*; and how by counterfeit Embaſſies and Treaties, for their Relief, they have underhand ſupported a contrary Intereſt, and made things worſe than they found them are ſo fully known, and ſo ſenſibly felt, by ſome of your ſelves, that we need not ſay any thing of them. And to make their Averſion to you ſtill more demonſtrable, abundance of theſe Men have refuſ'd to own any of you for a Chriſtian Church: For being not *Prelatically* conſtituted, they conceive your Miniſters want a lawful *Miſſion*, which is eſſential to Church Governors. And as for our ſelves, we are ſadly ſenſible, that in all theſe three Kingdoms they have prevail'd ſo far in promoting Popery and diſcouraging Religion, that it would require a Volume, rather than a Letter, to relate all the Particulars. And here they go on to a conſiderable Length of Libelling upon the Church, and *State*. After this, they proceed to give a Narrative of what was done in *Scotland*. They acquaint the *Reform'd Abroad*, that this Antichriſtian Faction, as they call them, impoſ'd “a new Popiſh Book of Service, of Rites and Ceremonies, upon the whole *Scottiſh* Nation: That when the Piety and Zeal of that Kingdom refuſ'd Submiſſion to this Uſage, they prevail'd with his Majeſty to proclaim them Rebels and Traytors: And had not the Lord by his Bleſſing upon the *Scotch* Army, by the calling of this Parliament, by their Godly Care to vindicate the Innocence of their Brethren, and by the Treaty of Peace ſoon after concluded, prevented it, the two Nations had long ſince been imbrewing their Hands in each others Blood.

“But tho' through the Goodneſs of God and his Bleſſing upon the publick Councils, the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* were brought to a better Underſtanding and more cloſely united: And that God had rais'd up ſuch a Spirit throughout this whole Kingdom, *to mourn after the Lord, to lament our Backſlidings, and to deſire a perfect Reformation*; and had ſo inclin'd the Hearts of the Honourable Members of Parliament, *to repair the Houſe of the Lord among us*, that we verily believ'd, as they go on, our Winter was paſt, and the time of our refreſhing at Hand: Yet alas! we find it quite otherwiſe. Our God, who before, was a *Moth* and *Rottenneſs*, is now turn'd unto a *Lion* to us. We know our Sins have deſerv'd all this; and if we all periſh we acknowldge the Lord is righteous, to his Hands we ſubmit, and from him alone we expect Deliverance. However, we muſt ſay, 'tis the ſame Antichriſtian Faction that brings theſe new Miſeries upon us: And the Rage and Diligence of theſe Men riſes, and runs higher, ſince the Beginning of this Parliament. And which is more, their Succeſs has in ſome meaſure anſwer'd up to their Malice. They have rais'd a Bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*: They have alienated his Majeſty's Affection from his good Subjects; adviſ'd his ſurprizing ſome Members of both Houſes, in a Hoſtile manner; prevail'd with him to withdraw himſelf from the Parliament, and levy an Army: That at firſt it was pretended his Majeſty would muſter none but *Proteſtants*. But the Papiſts, both here and beyond Sea, knowing the Deſign of theſe Forces, pray'd for their Succeſs. And over and above gave out, they were not to appear till the Proteſtants were engag'd beyond Retreat: And that then they were to own the *Cauſe*, which has happen'd accordingly. For as ſoon as a great many *ſeeming Proteſtants*, the moſt part of which were obnoxious for publick Misbehaviour, and had been proſecuted for Treaſon and high Miſdemeanours; as ſoon as theſe Men had declar'd for the King, and drawn out into the *Field*, upon Pretence of abetting the Prerogative, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Proteſtant Religion; preſently the *Papiſts*, who had all along been uſed with diſtinguiſhing Favour by the King's Forces, had Arms put into their Hands, and were furniſh'd with Military Commiſſions. And being thus reinforc'd with the whole Body of the *Papiſts*, and provided with Ammunition and Money from other Parts, they range up and down the Kingdom, plundering and killing all thoſe, who ſtand firm for Religion, and the *Parliament*.

“And notwithſtanding, when the Parliament perceiving theſe wicked Inſtruments had prevail'd with the King, to levy Forces to protect them from Juſtice, and enable them to carry on their Deſigns; the Parliament appriz'd of this, endeavour'd to ſecure the Navy, and Places of Strength, and provide for the Defence of themſelves, of their Laws, their Liberties, and Religion; notwithſtanding this Precaution, the Arbitrary Faction have diſguiſ'd their Intentions to that degree, and laid ſuch a Varniſh upon their Practice, that now they have encreaſ'd their Party, and carry'd the Sword almoſt through every Part of the Kingdom. And to compleat our Miſery, they have at laſt prevail'd with his Majeſty to own the bloody Rebels in *Ireland*, ſo far as not only to call them his *Roman Catholick* Subjects *now in Arms*; but to grant them a Truce for a Year, with Liberty to ſend Meſſages, or come over to his Majeſty; and under this Encouragement, many of them have tranſported themſelves, and joyn'd our Enemies.

“In this deplorable Condition we remain at preſent, and under this dark Proſpect the Honourable Houſes of Parliament have conven'd this *Aſſembly* to aſſiſt them with our beſt Advice for the Reformation of the Church, for the purging off Error and Superſtition, and retrieving the Purity of Religion: And here they require us to make God's Word the *Standard*; to work by the *Pattern* in the *Mount*; to endeavour the neareſt Conformity to the beſt *Reform'd* Churches, and to bring the Three Kingdoms to an Uniformity in *Belief* and Worſhip. And this is the Buſineſs

“ we are now upon; tho' the Enemy has ſtir'd up the Heart of our Dear and Dread Sovereign againſt us. However, through the good Hand of God upon us, we have made ſome comfortable Beginnings: The Work is his, who commands us not to *Deſpiſe the Day of ſmall Things*.

“ Thus (Reverend and dear Brethren) we have given you the ſubſtance, or rather a faint ſhadow (for the true Image is beyond Deſcription) of our miſerable Circumſtances in *England*: Our *Civil* Liberties are in danger of being loſt; our Eſtates are harraſs'd, our Houſes plunder'd, and our *Blood pour'd out in every Corner*. If our God will make us as the duſt under their Feet, and *lay our Bodies as the Ground*, the Will of the Lord be done. Might our Blood be accepted as a Sacrifice, avert the Divine Diſpleaſure, and preſerve the reſt of the *Saints* from Antichriſtian Fury; we would gladly offer it *upon this Service*. But the moſt afflicting Conſideration is, the apparent danger which ſurrounds all the *Proteſtant* Churches. We are very ſenſible the Rage of theſe Men is implacable, and that 'tis not our Blood that will ſatisfy them. 'Tis not our being Sinners which raiſes their Averſion: 'Tis our being engag'd in the defence of the true Religion; 'tis our *panting* after a thorough *Reformation*, which makes them ſo unalterably our Enemies. And if the Lord ſhould once deliver us as a *Prey unto their Teeth*, what Confuſion and Darkneſs muſt overſpread theſe Three Kingdoms? What Bondage and Perſecution muſt all thoſe endure, who refuſe receiving the *Mark of the Beaſt?* Neither will this Calamity reſt only upon the Kingdoms of *Britain* and *Ireland*; but theſe Men will endeavour to tranſport their Barbarity, and carry the Deſolation through all the *Reform'd* Churches in *Europe*. Your own Thoughts may eaſily ſuggeſt, with what *Rage the Beaſt that came out of the bottomleſs Pit, and the Woman who has thus long drank the Blood of the Saints*; you may eaſily imagine with what Rage theſe are ſwell'd, *againſt the Virgins that follow the Lamb*.

And having repreſented the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*'s entring into a mutual League and *Covenant* with the *Engliſh*; and their Reſolution of aſſiſting their *Brethren* with an Army, and flouriſhed a little upon the Wiſdom, Piety, and Learning, of their *Aſſembly*; they proceed to acquaint them with their Requeſt.

And here in the firſt Place, they deſire they would pronounce favourably on their Condition; not arraign their Innocency, nor miſconſtrue their neceſſary Defence. Thus the *Reader* may ſee they were terribly afraid the *Mask* ſhould be pull'd off; and that they ſhould be accounted Rebels as they were. They rail plentifully upon the *Royaliſts*; and pretend they are mightily injur'd, in being charg'd with Revolting from their Allegiance; and endeavouring to wreſt the Government from the *Crown*, and bring Anarchy and Confuſion upon Church and *State*. From theſe foul Aſperſions, they make no Queſtion, their *Solemn League and Covenant* will clear them; a Copy of which they incloſ'd in each of their *Letters*.

Secondly, They deſire theſe *Foreign* Proteſtants would ſympathize with their Sufferings: That ſuch returns of Compaſſion would be ſomething of Support, and revive their drooping Spirits.

Laſtly, They ſuggeſt, that as all the *Antichriſtian Faction* abets their Adverſaries, (meaning the King) and maintains the Quarrel as their own; ſo theſe *Aſſembly-Divines* deſire the foreign Proteſtants wou'd concern themſelves in their Intereſt, and look upon their Condition as the common Cauſe. For that if theſe *Covenanters* miſcarry'd in *England*, the Calamity wou'd ſhortly overtake thoſe in other Countries, of the ſame *Perſuaſion*. As to the way and manner of their being *own'd*, they leave it wholly to the Conduct of theſe *Foreigners*; excepting only in the Aſſiſtance of their Prayers. From hence we may collect, they wou'd have been very glad, the Proteſtants *Abroad* wou'd have furniſh'd them with Forces or Money to fight the King, and deſtroy the Church.

Theſe *Divines* acquainted the *Foreigners*; they wrote to them by the Direction of the Houſe of *Commons*, and take their leave thus.

Your moſt Affectionately

Devoted Brethren in Chriſt,

Jo. Maitland.
A. Johnſton.
Alex. Henderſon. } Commiſſioners of the
Sam. Rutherford. } Church of *Scotland*.
Rob. Bailye.
Geo. Gilleſpie.

William Twiſſe, Prolocutor.
Cornel. Burges, } Aſſeſſors.
Jo. White,
Henry Roborough, } Scribes.
Adoniram Byfield,

Their Superſcription ſtood thus: To the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of *Zealand*, our much honoured Brethren. Their Letters to the Paſtors and Elders of *Holland*, *Eaſt-Holland*, *Guelderland*, *Overyſſel*, *Utrecht*, *Friezland*, and *Groningen*; to thoſe of *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Zurich*, *Baſil* and *Schafhauſen*; to thoſe of *Heſſe*, *Anhalt*, *Hanaw* and *Paris*, are ſuperſcrib'd in the ſame Form (*e*).

The Covenant preſs'd thro' the Parliament Quarters, and the conſequent Perſecution of the Loyal Clergy.

The taking the *Covenant* was now preſs'd cloſe through all the Parliament Quarters, which brought a terrible Perſecution upon the Loyal Clergy. Thoſe who refus'd to comply, were turn'd out of their Houſes, and not ſuffer'd to compound either for perſonal or real Eſtate: This Rigour forc'd great Numbers of the Clergy to quit their Benefices, and retire to Places under the King's Protection: Theſe *Vacancies* were partly ſupply'd by thoſe *Presbyterians* who had formerly been *Lecturers*, or Chaplains: Partly by young unqualify'd Students from the *Univerſities*. To which we may add, ſome Refugees from *Scotland* and *New-England*; who came in for their ſhare of Preferment. And ſome of thoſe *Puritans*, who had formerly declaim'd ſo much againſt *Pluralities*, were now reconcil'd to the holding two or three Livings. As for the honeſt Clergy, who refus'd to joyn the Rebellion, or revolt from the *Church*, they were ſequeſter'd and impriſon'd; and almoſt every way harraſs'd and undone. From the Year 1641. to ſix Years forward, there were an Hundred and Fifteen Clergy Men turn'd out of their Livings, within the *Bills* of *Mortality*; moſt of theſe were plunder'd, and their Wifes and Children

(*e*) Ruſhworth. *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 3. p. 37. & deinc.

Children ſet in the Streets (*f*). By theſe Barbarities at *London*, the *Reader* may conjecture the Greatneſs of the Calamity in the reſt of the Kingdom. They had another way of reaching the Orthodox Clergy beſide the *Covenant:* Some of them were ſequeſter'd and ejected upon Pretence of Scandal, and Immorality. But to ſhew the Iniquity of their Proceedings upon this Head, it may be obſerv'd firſt, that ſome of the Crimes charg'd upon them were capital: And therefore ſince the forfeiture of their Lives was not taken, we may reaſonably believe the proof was defective. *Secondly*, The Depoſitions againſt them were ſeldom taken upon Oath, but bare Affirmation went for Evidence. *Thirdly*, Many of the Complainants were apparently Factious; Men who had deſerted the Church, and profeſs'd an Averſion to the *Hierarchy*. *Fourthly*, Many of theſe pretended Criminals, were ignorantly if not maliciouſly charg'd with delivering falſe Doctrine: For Inſtance, Some were proſecuted for Preaching that *Baptiſm waſhes away Original Sin*. And *Laſtly*, Many were outed for *Malignancy*; that is, for being true to their Allegiance (*g*). In ſhort, 'tis obſerv'd, there were more turn'd out of their Livings by the *Presbyterians* in three Years, than were depriv'd by the *Papiſts* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; or had been *Silenc'd*, *Suſpended* or *Depriv'd* by all the Biſhops, from the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the time we are upon. And that this might be done with ſome Colour of Juſtice, they ſet up a *Committee for Plunder'd Miniſters*, under pretence of providing for ſuch *godly Miniſters*, as had either ſuffer'd in their Effects by his Majeſty's Forces, or loſt their Benefices for adhering to the *two Houſes* (*h*).

His Majeſty's Manifeſto to the Proteſtants beyond-Sea.

To proceed; His Majeſty being ſcandalouſly miſreported in the *Aſſemblies* Letters, as if he deſign'd the introducing of Popery; thought 'twas neceſſary to wipe off the Aſperſion by a *Declaration* addreſs'd to the *Reform'd* beyond Sea. "In this *Manifeſto* the King avows his ſteady "adherence to the Religion ſettled by Engliſh "*Synods*, and confirm'd by Acts of Parliament: "That he had educated his Children in this "*Belief*, and for farther ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt, marry'd his Daughter to the "Prince of *Orange:* That the moſt eminent "Proteſtants in *Germany*, *France*, *Denmark*, "*Switzerland*, *Bohemia* and *Holland*, not excepting the *Synod*, at *Dort*, have publickly approv'd "the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church of "*England*. And laſtly, that he was reſolv'd to "live and die in the Communion of this Church, "and protect it in all Parts of the Conſtitution "to the utmoſt of his Power (*i*).

To return to the *Aſſembly:* Theſe Divines, tho' moſtly agreed, fell ſhort of univerſal Harmony. Five of their *Members*, *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Bridge*, *Sympſon* and *Burroughs*, were of the *Congregational* Perſuaſion, afterwards call'd *Independents*. Theſe Men as has been obſerv'd, tranſported themſelves into *Holland* for liberty of Conſcience. They had Proſelyted ſeveral wealthy Families of Merchants and others, who went along with them: The *States* of *Holland* gave them a friendly Reception, aſſign'd them Churches to meet in, and ſubſiſted the Miniſters with a competent Maintenance. Some of theſe Engliſh Refugees, as has been related, ſetled at *Rotterdam*, and ſome at *Arnheim* in *Guelderland*. Being thus encourag'd by the *Dutch* Government, they advanc'd to the forming their *Church-Diſcipline:* And here to ſpeak in their own Language, they conſulted the Scriptures without any Prepoſſeſſions: They look'd *upon the word of Chriſt as unpartially and unprejudicedly as Men of Fleſh and Blood are like to do, in any juncture of time that may fall out: The Place they went to, the condition they were in, and the Company they went with, affording no Temptation to any Byaſs* (*k*).

The riſe and Principles of the Independents.

The Principles upon which they founded their Church-Government, was Firſt, To confine themſelves to *Scripture* Precept and Precedent, without any ſupplemental intermixtures of ancient Practice, or novel Invention. Secondly, Not to be confin'd to their preſent Reſolutions, without room for alteration, upon farther Views and Enquiry. They thought it was not impoſſible, time might inform them better in ſeveral Particulars; and that it was by no means prudential, to tye themſelves up from improvement; purſuant to theſe Grounds they held a middle courſe between *Presbytery* and *Browniſm:* The firſt they counted too arbitrary and deciſive; and the other too looſe, floating and undetermin'd. Their main diſtinction declar'd againſt the *Dependency* of Churches: For Inſtance, They diſallow'd *Parochial* and *Provincial* Subordinations; and form'd all their Congregations upon a Scheme of Co-ordinacy: Some ſort of Ceremonious Preference was allow'd to the elder Church, but without any addition of Authority.

As to the manner of their *Service*, they pray'd publickly for King's and all in Authority: They read the *Scriptures* of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, and expounded the Leſſons upon proper occaſions. They adminiſter'd the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lord's-Supper. They us'd Singing of Pſalms, and made Collections for the Poor every Lord's Day. Their publick Officers were *Paſtors*, *Teachers*, and *Ruling Elders*, (which were Eccleſiaſticks) and *Deacons*.

Id. *p.* 8.

As for Church *Cenſures*, they lay all within the compaſs of *Admonition* and *Excommunication:* And notwithſtanding theſe few branches of *Diſcipline*, the later was never exerted, during their ſtay in *Holland*. Farther, they reckon'd *Synods* an uſeful expedient, and neceſſary in ſome Caſes: But would not allow them any binding force. They were to declare the Truth, they ſaid, but had no Authority to enjoyn Obedience, and govern Practice. The *Presbyterians* charg'd theſe *Independents* with an Ambulatory, uncertain Religion: To which they anſwer'd, They only kept themſelves upon the reſerve, for farther diſcoveries of Truth. The Miſunderſtandings among themſelves at *Rotterdam*, have been touch'd already: The Congregation at *Arnheim*, where *Goodwin* and *Nye* were Paſtors, was better united. Here beſides the Church-Ordinances abovemention'd, they propos'd the receiving the *Holy Kiſs* *, *Propheſyings* in the Congregation, when any of the Audience thought themſelves qualify'd to ſpeak; *Widows and Extreme Unction*. All this they thought ſufficiently recommended by Scripture Authority: But before they came to a Reſolution upon theſe Points, they had a Proſpect of better Buſineſs in *England*. For now the *Hierarchy* was broken, the incloſures of Diſcipline pull'd up, and the *Puritan*-Party encourag'd by the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. The Juncture being thus inviting, the *Congregationaliſts* quit *Holland*, and come for *England*. At their arrival, they immediately Practice upon their Scheme, and gather Churches: The *Presbyterians* look upon this Proſelyting as no better than Encroachment. They complain their Flocks were perverted,

Id. *p.* 9. Actus regiminis a Synodis debent porrigi, non peragi. Reſponſio. Jo. Norton, *p.* 114.

* 1 Cor. 16. 20.
1 Cor. 14. 2.
Eph. 5. 19.
1 Tim. 5. 3.
John 5. 14.

and

(*f*) Aerius Redivivus, *p.* 455.

(*g*) Fuller *Church Hiſt. Book* 2. *p.* 207.

(*h*) Aerius Redivivus.

(*i*) *See Records*, *N.* 118.

(*k*) Apologetical Narrative, *p.* 3.

and their Settlement diſturb'd: They expect the *Independants* ſhould reſign their Singularities, and come under the *Scotch* Regulation, now countenanc'd by the Parliament. On the other Hand, theſe Men except to the *Genevian* Plan, refuſe to be concluded by a Majority, and move for a *Toleration*. This Motion being rejected by the *Aſſembly*, *Goodwin* and the other four *Members* already mention'd, addreſs'd the Parliament with an *Apologetical Narrative*. And here they only Petition for indiſturbance in their own Country; not knowing, as they ſay, to retreat elſewhere to any tolerable Convenience. How the Controverſy was banded between the *Preſbyterians* and *Independents* on this Head, ſhall be related afterwards.

What Succeſs the *Aſſembly*'s Letter had among the foreign Proteſtants, is more than I can account for, excepting in the *Netherlands*. Here the *Dutch* Divines made no difficulty to cloſe with the *Engliſh* Rebellion. They ſent an Anſwer to the Addreſs they had received; in which they expreſs their Satiſfaction with the Proceedings of the Parliament touching the *Covenant*, and deſire their Admiſſion into that Engagement (m).

(m) Whitlock's *Memorials, p.* 79.

The *Committees* for Sequeſtration of *Delinquents* Eſtates, had an Oath ſent down to them by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons. They were to tender it to all Perſons of One and Twenty Years of Age: And in caſe they refuſ'd it, two Thirds of their Eſtates Real and Perſonal, was to be forfeited. The Oath was in the Form following.

August 19. 1643.

I A. B. *do abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy aud Authority over the Catholick Church in general, and over my ſelf in particular: And I do believe that there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, after Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever: And I do alſo believe, that there is not any Purgatory, or that the conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes, or Images, ought to be worſhipped, or that any Worſhip is due unto any of them: And I alſo believe that Salvation cannot be merited by Works, and all Doctrines in Affirmation of the ſaid Points; I do abjure, renounce, without any Equivocation, mental Reſervation, or ſecret Evaſion whatſoever, taking the Words by me ſpoken, according to the common and uſual Meaning of them* (n).

So help me God.

(n) Scobel's *Collect.* &c. *fol.* 50.

August 28. *An Ordinance againſt Monuments and Superſtition.*

The ſame Month another *Ordinance* paſs'd, that *all Monuments of Superſtition or Idolatry, ſhould be remov'd and demoliſhed.* But this being much the ſame with the *Order* ſent down by *Pym*, and the Parliament Committee about three Years ſince, needs not be repeated. This *Ordinance* in the Beginning of the next Summer, was reinforc'd with another of a reſembling Purport: By Vertue of this latter Proviſion, *all Repreſentations of any Angel or Saint, in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or Pariſh Church, or Chapel, or in any open Place, was to be taken away, defac'd, and utterly demoliſhed. The Chancel-Ground of every Church or Chapel, rais'd for any Altar or Communion Table, was to be levell'd: No Copes, Surplices, ſuperſtitious Veſtments, Roods, or Holy-Water-Fonts,* as they call'd them, *were to be us'd: No Croſs, Crucifix, or Repreſentation of any Angel, or Saint was to remain upon any Place or other Furniture belonging to the Worſhip of God: And all Organs were taken away, and with the other ſuperſtitious Veſtments abovementioned, utterly defac'd.*

Id. *fol.* 69.

The next *Ordinance* of the two Houſes, commands a ſtricter Obſervation of the Lord's-Day. In this pretended Act, the *King's Declaration concerning lawful Sports to be us'd,* **And all other Books and Pamphlets that have been, or ſhall be written, printed, or publiſhed, againſt the Morality of the fourth Commandment, or of the Lord's-Day, ſhall be call'd in, ſeiz'd and publickly burnt by the Juſtices of Peace.** 'Tis likewiſe ordain'd by the Lords and Commons, **that all and ſingular May-Poles ſhall be taken down by the Conſtables, Churchwardens,** &c. *and none ſuffer'd for the future.*

April 6. 1644. *An Ordinance againſt May-Pole.*

Id. *fol.* 68.

This Summer, after the Fight at *Marſton-Moor*, in which the King's Forces were worſted, the *Aſſembly* of *Divines* communicated a Letter to the Parliament, which they received from the Kirk of *Scotland*. 'Twas a ſort of Remonſtrance againſt the dilatory Proceedings in ſettling the Church Government in *England*. This Expoſtulation was not without effect: For ſoon after, the *Aſſembly* had leave to draw up a Form for *Ordination* of Miniſters, and debating the Settlement of the Church: And the Queſtion being put by the *Aſſembly*, whether Preſbytery is *Jure Divino*, hoping to carry it in the Affirmative, one of the *Lay-Members* ſtood up, and objected, that tho' Government in general, was *Jure Divino*, yet whether *Preſbytery*, *Epiſcopacy*, *Independency*, or any other Form of Church Government, was *Jure Divino*, was a diſputable Point; therefore he thought it adviſable for the *Aſſembly*, to forbear declaring their Judgment. For if this Government was not *Jure Divino*, no Deciſion of any *Council*, cou'd make it ſo: And if it had the Privilege of being *Jure Divino*, it would continue ſo ſtill, tho' the *Aſſembly* declar'd nothing upon the Point. He therefore thought it prudential for them to go lower in their Reſolution, and make their Report to the Parliament, that in their Opinion, *Preſbytery was moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and moſt fit to be ſettled in this Kingdom:* And that if they put it no higher, he believ'd they might have a Settlement upon this Foot (o).

(o) Whitlock's *Memorials p.* 94.

Another touching Ordination of Miniſters.

In *October* following, an *Ordinance* was paſs'd touching *Ordination*. By this Proviſion, ſome *Aſſembly-Men* of Diſtinction, and certain *London* Miniſters, or any Seven or more of them, were impower'd to *lay their Hands* on ſuch Perſons as they found qualify'd for the holy Miniſtry. To this a Clauſe of Privilege was added, that all Perſons ſo ordained, ſhould be reputed Miniſters of the Church of *England*, ſufficiently authoriz'd for any Office or Employment in it, and capable of all Advantages appertaining to the ſame. To ſhew the Invalidity of theſe *Ordinations*, a learned Tract was publiſhed by Dr. *Bohea* Chaplain to *Houſon* Biſhop of *Oxford*.

Archbiſhop Laud *impeached of High-Treaſon.*

Archbiſhop *Laud* having been three Years impriſon'd, his Juriſdiction and Patronage ſeiz'd, and his Eſtate ſequeſter'd, was now impeached of High-Treaſon before the Lords. The Commons who drew the Impeachment, exhibited their Charge in One and Twenty Articles. The Archbiſhop put in his Anſwer; where, to cover himſelf from the thirteenth Article, ſetting forth, *That he had maliciouſly and traiterouſly plotted and endeavoured, to ſtir up War and Enmity between his Majeſty's two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *and to that purpoſe has labour'd to introduce into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *divers Innovations both in Religion and Government*, &c. to cover himſelf from this Article, he pleaded the Act of Oblivion paſs'd this Parliament: Not that he was conſcious of any Guilt, but conſidering the Diſadvantage of the Times, and the Strength of the Faction, he did not think it fit to part with any legal Advantage.

His Trial.

When his Trial came on, the Commons order'd Serjeant *Wild*, *Brown*, *Maynard*, *Nicholas* and *Hill*, for the Managers, and *Pryn* was employ'd to provide and prompt the Evidence. The Trial was carry'd on by Intervals, through twenty Days hearing, from the 12th of *March* to the 29th of *July*. Some Part of the Charge preſs'd by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, has been already mentioned. As for his whole Defence, 'tis partly foreign to my Purpoſe, and much too long to inſert. However, ſomething farther upon this Subject, may not be amiſs. To begin.

The Archbiſhop, after his twenty Days hearing, having mov'd for the Liberty of repeating an Abſtract of the *Articles*, with his Anſwer to each of them: The Lords ſent him Word to be ready with his Recapitulation againſt the Second of *September*. And about this Time, 'twas reſolv'd in the Houſe of Commons, that he ſhould enjoy the Benefit of the *Act* of *Oblivion*, and not be charg'd with any Thing relating to the *Troubles* of *Scotland* (p).

The Archbiſhop brought to the Houſe of Lords, at the Day appointed, deſires their Lordſhips to remember in the firſt place, the Generality, and by conſequence the Uncertainty of almoſt every Article of the Impeachment. That the Charge being thus unbounded, and lying at random, put him to great Difficulties in making his Defence.

2. He deſires their Lordſhips would be pleas'd to conſider, how far he was ſtraightned in Time, inſomuch that the Intervals between each *Hearing* were ſometimes ſo ſhort, that he had not leiſure to peruſe the Evidence, and much leſs to review his Anſwers, and fortify them if Occaſion requir'd. For theſe Reaſons, amongſt others, he deſires his *Councel* may be heard as to Matter of Law, before their Lordſhips proceed to Sentence.

Part of his Defence.

3. He deſires the Lords would be pleas'd to remember the Hardſhips put upon him ſince his Confinement. And here he reminds them, that the Key, and Uſe of his Study at *Lambeth*, both Books and Papers were taken from him. Secondly, That his Appartments in the *Tower*, were ſearch'd by *Pryn*, and One and Twenty Bundles of Papers prepar'd for his Defence, ſeiz'd and carry'd off, and not three Bundles reſtored. That this Search was made before the Impeachment was form'd into any particular Articles: That his Pockets were examin'd, his *Diary* and *Prayer-Book* taken away, and afterward us'd againſt him. That in ſome Inſtances all this was done, not to prove a Charge, but to make one. Thirdly, That all Books of *Council-Table*, *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, *Signet-Office*, his own *Regiſters*; and the *Regiſters* of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, have not only been thoroughly inſpected for Matter againſt him, but he has likewiſe been deny'd the Peruſal of theſe *Records*, and that this Reſtraint was a Diſadvantage to his Defence.

In the fourth Place, he intreats their Lordſhips would recollect, that his Benefactions and Services to the Publick, have been objected as Crimes againſt him. And here he inſtances in the repairing St. *Pauls*, and ſettling the *Statutes* of the Univerſity of *Oxon*.

Towards the latter End of this ſummary Defence, the Archbiſhop takes notice, That the Managers confeſs'd, the *Particulars urg'd againſt him, were not Treaſon, ſingly conſider'd, but that the Reſult of them all together, amounted to this Crime.*

To this the Archbiſhop anſwers, That if no Particular charg'd upon him, is Treaſon, the Reſult from them cannot be Treaſon. This Argument he makes good from the following Reaſons.

" Firſt, The *Reſult* muſt be of the ſame Na-
" ture and Species with the Particulars out of
" which 'tis form'd. That this Reaſoning holds
" in *Nature*, in *Morality*, and in *Law*. In *Na-*
" *ture*, and that both for integral and eſſential
" Parts. For neither can the Body of a Bear,
" and the Soul of a Lion, reſult into a Fox; nor
" the Legs of a Bull, the Body of a Horſe,
" and the Head of a Aſs, reſult into a Man.

" In *Morality*, and this may be prov'd both
" in Virtues and Vices: For neither can many
" Actions of Liberality, Meekneſs, and Sobriety,
" riſe up into a Reſult of Fortitude; neither
" can many Actions of Malice, Drunkenneſs,
" and Covetouſneſs reſult into Treaſon. This
" Reaſoning holds in *Law* too: For let the
" Crimes be never ſo many, there is no Law in
" this Kingdom, nor any where elſe, that I know
" of, continues the Archbiſhop, that makes the
" Reſult of different Crimes Treaſon, where
" none of the Particulars are Treaſon by Law.
" In ſhort, this imaginary Reſult is a Monſter in
" *Nature*, in *Morality*, and in *Law*; and if once
" allow'd, will deſtroy all the Civil Securities
" of the Subject. And ſince Life, Liberty, and
" Intereſt, are ſo deeply concern'd, he hopes
" their Lordſhips will be proportionably cau-
" tious not to give Precedents againſt them:
And after having anſwer'd ſome Objections upon this Head, he refers himſelf to the Laws of the Realm: " That this pretended Reſult muſt
" be ſomething within 25 *Ed.* 3. or ſome other
" known Statute; otherwiſe it cannot be Trea-
" ſon. And yet no Proof at all has ſo much
" as been offer'd, that this Reſult is Treaſon
" by any Law.

In Diſproof of his endeavouring to introduce Popery, he mentions a Liſt of above twenty *Roman* Catholicks he had recover'd to the Church of *England*; and ſeveral of theſe were Perſons of Condition and Quality *. And as for his whole Defence, *Pryn*, notwithſtanding his Diſaffection and the Sowreneſs of his Temper, is ſo frank as to confeſs, that *he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a Defence, and ſpake as much for himſelf as was poſſible for the Wit of Man to invent: And that with ſo much Art, Vivacity, and Oratory, without the leaſt Acknowledgement of Guilt in any thing* *.

Upon the 11th of *October* following, the Archbiſhop's Council, *Hern* and *Hales*, Barriſters of *Lincoln's*-*Inn*, and *Gerrard* of *Gray's*-*Inn*, attended with the Archbiſhop, at the Houſe of Lords. The Argument agreed amongſt them, was deliver'd by *Hern* †. To give the Reader ſome part of it. In the introductive Part of their Plea, they declare, the Archbiſhop had receiv'd no Aſſiſtance from them in the Courſe of his Tryal, and that his Defence was wholly his own.

They reduce the whole Charge to Three general Branches. 1. " A traiterous Endeavour
" to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Realm,
" and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical Go
" vernment. 2. A traiterous Endeavour to ſub
" vert God's true Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd,
" and inſtead thereof, to ſet up Popiſh Superſti-
" tion and Idolatry. 3. That he labour'd to
ſubvert

(p) *Hiſtory of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud, p. 169, 216, 411.

* Ruſhworth. *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 3. p. 832.

* Canterbury's *Doom.* pag. 462.

† *Archbiſhop* Sancroft *in his marginal Note remarks, that tho'* Hern *pronounc'd the Argument, 'twas made by* Hales *afterwards Chief Juſtice, and that this was told him by the Lord Chancellor* Finch. *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Archbiſhop* Laud, p. 422.

Laud Will. *Abp. of* Cant.

“ ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and the ancient Courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings, *&c.*

With reference to theſe Three general Heads, they crave leave to propoſe the debating two Queſtions.

Firſt, Whether the Conſtitution makes any thing Treaſon, excepting what is declar'd ſuch by the Statute 25 *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 2. or enacted by ſome ſubſequent *Statutes?* This Queſtion they hold in the Negative.

Secondly, Whether any Things charg'd in the *Articles* of Impeachment, contain any of the Treaſons declar'd by that Law, or enacted by any ſubſequent *Statute?* This they humbly conceive may be reaſonably deny'd. And for the clearing both theſe Points, they affirm, that an Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws, Religion, and the Rights of Parliament, are not Treaſons within the 25 *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 2. or any other ſubſequent *Statute.*

2. That not any of the Particulars inſtanc'd in the reſt of the *Articles*, are Treaſon within 25 *Ed.* 3. or any other *Statute.*

To make good their Opinion upon the firſt Queſtion, they argue, That before the making this *Statute* of 25 *Ed.* 3. Treaſon was dangerouſly undefin'd and uncertain: That almoſt any Crime was by way of Inference extended to Treaſon: That killing the King's Meſſenger was Treaſon (*q*): Accroaching the Royal Power, was likewiſe made Treaſon in the Houſe of Lords (*r*). The Commons being ſenſible how deſtructive 'twas to the Subject, for the higheſt Crime to lie thus at large, and undetermin'd, petition'd it might be better diſtinguiſh'd and brought to a clearer State. This Requeſt of the Commons, with the Inconveniences abovemention'd, occaſion'd the *Statute* of 25 *Ed* 3. And here the Archbiſhop's *Council* obſerve, That in all ſucceſſive Reigns, this *Statute* has been the fix'd Rule for Judgments in Caſes of Treaſon (*s*).

From hence they proceed to make a Recital of the Treaſons declared by the *Statute* of 25 *Ed.* 3. which are theſe following.

1*ſt*, Compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King, Queen, Prince, and declaring the ſame by ſome Overt-Act.

2*dly*, Murthering the Chancellor, Treaſurer, *&c.*

3*dly*, Violating the Queen, the King's eldeſt Daughter, or the Prince's Wife.

4*thly*, Levying War againſt the King.

5*thly*, Adhering to the King's Enemies within the Realm, or without, and declaring the ſame by ſome Overt Act.

6*thly*, Counterfeiting the Seals and Coin.

7*thly*, Bringing in counterfeit Coin.

This Recital was to furniſh the Lords with a Teſt for trying the *Articles* exhibited againſt the Archbiſhop, whether any of them were mark'd for Treaſon by this *Statute.*

In the next place, theſe learned Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, laid down for a Ground, that this *Act* ought not to be conſtrued by Equity or Inference. 1. Becauſe it is a declarative Law, and no Declaration ought to be ſurcharged with another Declaration. 2. This Law was provided for a Security in Life, Liberty, and Eſtate: But to admit Conſtructions and Inferences upon it, muſt by conſequence deſtroy the Intent and Force of the Proviſion. 3. It has been held both in Parliament and judicial Debates, that this Act muſt be literally conſtrued, and not ſtretched to Inferences.

Charles I. K.

From hence the *Council* go on to their ſecond Queſtion, whether any Part of the Charge againſt the Archbiſhop contains any of the Treaſons declar'd by 25 *Ed.* 3. or enacted by any ſubſequent Law? To make good the negative ſide of this Queſtion, they argue, that an Endeavour to ſubvert fundamental Laws, is not Treaſon by any Law in this Kingdom. Their Reaſons are, 1. Becauſe 'tis not compriz'd within any Words of 25 *Ed.* 3. neither, as has been already obſerv'd, may it be brought within it by any Conſtruction or Inference. 2. Becauſe an Endeavour to ſubvert Laws, is of ſo great a Latitude and Uncertainty, that every Action, not warranted by Law, might by this Means be ſtrain'd to Treaſon. To fortify this Reaſoning, they cite an Authority from Sir *Edward Coke* (*t*). The Caſe is this: “A Conveyance was made in tail, with a Proviſo, that if the Tenant did *go about*, or *attempt* to diſcontinue the Intail, the ſame ſhould be void: Now 'twas reſolv'd by the Judges, that the Proviſo was void: The principal Reaſon was, that theſe Words, *attempt*, or *go about*, are uncertain Terms, and void in Law. What follows in the Report, is very obſervable, *viz. God defend that Inheritances and Eſtates of Men, ſhould depend upon ſuch Uncertainties:* That *miſera eſt ſervitus ubi jus eſt vagum, & quod non definitur in Jure quid ſit Conatus:* And therefore the Rule of the Law decides this Point, *non efficit Conatus niſi ſequitur Effectus*; and the Law does reject *Conations* and *Goings about, as Things uncertain, which cannot be put in Iſſue.* Thus far the *Book.* And if Eſtates are thus well guarded, 'tis hop'd the Inſtance will hold ſtronger in Caſes of Life.

Having diſpatch'd theſe Generals, the *Council* apply themſelves to the other *Articles*, which they conceiv'd were inſiſted on as Inſtances of the general Charge. And here they ſuggeſt, that if the *Generals* fall ſhort of Treaſon, the particular Inſtances muſt do ſo too: And on the other ſide, if the *Inſtances* come lower than Treaſon, the Application to thoſe Generals, cannot mount to any ſuch Malignity. And here they ſingle out two particular Articles of greateſt Force againſt the Archbiſhop.

The firſt ſtands in the tenth Article, viz. *That he has traiterouſly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of* England *with the Church of* Rome. To diſable this Article, they reply, That if this is any Treaſon, it muſt be a Treaſon within 5 *Jac. cap.* 4. where 'tis enacted, **That if any Man ſhall put in Practice to reconcile any of his Majeſty's Subjects to the Pope or See of** Rome, **he ſhall incur the Forfeitures of Treaſon.** But the Charge in the *Article*, is clearly without the Compaſs of this *Statute*. For,

1. The *Article* only charges an Endeavour, whereas the *Statute* mentions a putting in Practice.

2. The *Article* ſets forth an Endeavour of Reconciling the Church of *England* with the Church of *Rome*; but the Statute mentions reconciling ſome of his Majeſty's Subjects with the *See* of *Rome*. Now there ſeems a wide Difference between theſe two Expreſſions: For reconciling *with*, may as well import bringing the Church of *Rome* to the Church of *England*, as the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*.

Their ſecond Inſtance is in the ſeventh additional *Article*, in which the Archbiſhop is charg'd *with wittingly and willingly receiving and harbouring divers Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits*, namely, Sancta Clara, and *Mounſieur* St. Giles. To this the *Council* reply'd,

(*q*) 22 *Book of Aſſize.*

(*r*) Rot. Parl. 21 Ed. 3. *Numb.* 15.

(*s*) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. 4. *Numb.* 144. Rot. Parl. 5 H. 4. *Numb.* 12.

(*t*) Coke's *Reports, pt.* 6. *fol.* 42. Mildmay's *Caſe.* *See* Corbett's *Caſe.* Moor's *Reports, fol.* 602.

reply'd, that the harbouring Prieſts and Jeſuits, is made Felony, and not Treaſon (*u*); and that the *Statute* extends only to Prieſts born within the *Engliſh* Dominions, which *Sancta Clara* and the other, are not charg'd to be.

(*u*) 27 Eliz. cap. 2.

And now having gone through the heavieſt Articles, and prov'd them clear of any treaſonable Matter, they argue, ſuch Articles cannot be heightned to Treaſon by Inference or Parity of Reaſoning. They grant the Crimes, as they ſtand in the Charge, are great and many. However, ſince they fall ſhort of Treaſon by the Laws of the Realm, their Number cannot make them exceed their Nature. And if they are but Miſdemeanours taken apart, they can't be ſwell'd to Treaſon, by putting them together.

Unleſs this Reaſoning is allow'd, the 25 *Ed.* 3. ſo much inſiſted on already, muſt be a vain and inſignificant Proviſion. For if after all the Exactneſs and Particularity of that *Statute*, any number of Miſdemeanours ſhould produce a Treaſon, purely by Mixture and Complication: If this were the Caſe, the *Statute* could give no Relief to the Subject; becauſe the Law makes no mention of Treaſon by Emergency or Complication of leſſer Crimes: It neither informs us what Number, or what Nature of Crimes below Treaſon, ſhould make a Treaſon, nor that any Number of Offences ſhould operate thus far.

They obſerve farther, there is a Clauſe in the *Statute* 25 *Ed.* 3. that when the Judges found the Caſe perplex'd, they were not to give Judgment till the Cauſe was brought before the Parliament. From hence it may ſeem to be inferr'd, there are Treaſons unmention'd in the *Statute*, which may be declar'd in Parliament, To this Objection they anſwer, that 'tis expreſly provided by the Clauſe, that it was to be declar'd in Parliament, *whether the Crime ought to be adjudged Treaſon or Felony*. From whence it appears, the Offence ſhould at leaſt be Felony at the Common Law. And that no Crimes, beneath Felony, were ever intended to be ſtretch'd to Treaſon by this *Statute*. And in the late Caſe of the Earl of *Straſford*, there is a Treaſon within this *Law* charg'd and declar'd in the *Bill* of his Attainder, to have been prov'd upon him.

And to fortify their Argument, it may be obſerv'd, that as to the Clauſe laſt mention'd, a Petition was preferr'd by the Lords in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, to have all Treaſons limited by *Statute* (*w*). And in the Parliament an *Act* was made, whereby the *Salvo* in 25 *Ed.* 3. was repealed, and nothing to be Treaſon but what was literally comprehended in the *Statute* 25 *Ed.* 3. (*x*). They urge other Things upon this Head, which may be omitted: And through the whole Argument, they confine themſelves to the Nature and Degree of the Crimes exhibited in the *Articles*, without medling with Matter of Fact, or whether the Particulars of the Charge were prov'd or not (*y*).

(*w*) 6 H. 8. c. 4.

(*x*) 6 H. 8. c. 20.

(*y*) *Hiſt. of the Troubles, of Archbiſhop* Laud, *p.* 423. & deinc.

October 28. *A Petition handed about in the City for bringing the Archbiſhop to Juſtice.*

About a fortnight forward, a Petition was handed through the City and Suburbs, for bringing *Delinquents* to Juſtice: And ſome of the Preachers animated the People to exert their Zeal upon this Occaſion, letting them know, the Glory of God, and the Good of the Church would be promoted this way. This *Petition*, in which no Perſons were nam'd, except the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, was ſign'd by great Numbers, and deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons. And here the Archbiſhop obſerves, that neither the Lord-Mayor, or the Sheriffs, gave any Check to this illegal and ſanguinary Method; tho' the Buſineſs was publickly known, and the People exhorted to ſubſcribe in their Pariſh-Churches. The Archbiſhop afterwards deliver'd the Subſtance of his Defence at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Id. *pag.* 431, 432.

After the Trial was over, the *Houſes* thought fit to proceed by way of *Attainder:* The *Bill* paſs'd with the Commons, *November* 16, but it was much longer before the Lords were ſatisfied. In the mean time great Care was taken to puſh them to a Concurrence. For inſtance, *Stroud* was ſent with a Meſſage from the *Commons* to quicken them in this Buſineſs: He took the Freedom to tell them, *That they ſhould do well to agree in the Ordinance, or elſe the Multitude would come down and force them to it.* Notwithſtanding this Menacing, when the Articles of Impeachment were put to the Judges, they unanimouſly declar'd, that nothing charg'd upon the Archbiſhop, was Treaſon by the Laws of the Realm, And the Lords at a Conference with the Commons, own'd themſelves of the ſame Opinion. And now to *ſmite* more ſolemnly *with the Fiſt of Wickedneſs*, a Faſt was order'd for *Chriſtmas-Day*. If the two *Houſes* had been *Jews*, they could hardly have put a more open Affront upon Chriſtianity. To proceed, the Lords at laſt, with a very thin Appearance, went through the *Bill*; there being not above Twelve, or as one Hiſtorian reports, only Seven in the *Houſe* (*z*). Six of this Number, were the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Saliſbury* and *Bullingbrooke*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*. To ſtop the Conſequence of this *Attainder*, the Archbiſhop pleaded the King's Pardon under the *Great Seal*, ſign'd about two Years ſince. But this Protection was over-rul'd by both Houſes. 1. Becauſe it was granted before Conviction. And 2. If it had been ſubſequent, yet in this Caſe of *Treaſon againſt the Kingdom*, (as they call'd it) it could ſignify nothing (*a*).

Id. pag. 441. *The Lords menac'd into a Concurrence with the Commons, touching the Attainder.*

(*z*) *Ld.* Clarendon. *Hiſt. of Rebellion, Vol.* 2. *p.* 572. Cyprian Anglic. Ja. 4. 1644-5.

(*a*) *Ld.* Clarendon. Whitlock's *Memorials.*

Jan. 10.

And now the Archbiſhop having Notice of his Execution, breaks off his *Hiſtory*, and prepares for Death *: And the Day being come, mounts the Scaffold with an Air of Reſolution and Chearfulneſs. His Speech begins with a Text: *Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus*, &c. †. And here I ſhall only give the Reader the Subſtance of ſome Part of what he deliver'd.

* *The Abp. continued the Hiſt. of his Troubles*, &c. *till the* 4*th of* Jan.

† Heb. 12. 2.

The Abp's Speech and Behaviour at his Execution.

“After having made an Alluſion between his Sufferings and the *Iſraelites* paſſing through the *Red-Sea*, he put the Company in Mind, that when God's Servants were forc'd, as it were, into this Refuge of the *Sea*, their Enemies were drown'd in the Purſuit. He was well aſſur'd God was able to deliver him from this Violence, as he did the *three Children* from the *Furnace*; and that by our Saviour's Aſſiſtance, his Reſolution was the ſame with theirs: They refuſ'd to *worſhip the Image the King had ſet up*, neither would he idolize the Imaginations of the People, nor forſake the *Temple* and *Truth of God*, to follow the *Bleating* of *Jeroboam*'s *Calves* in *Dan* and *Bethel*. As for the People, they were miſerably miſled, (God in his Mercy open their Eyes) for now the *Blind lead the Blind:* And if they go on, they will *both* certainly *fall into the Ditch*. He was not only (as he continues) the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt Man, that ever dy'd by an *Ordinance* in *Parliament* *. Yet ſome of his Predeceſſors had been forc'd into the other World, tho' in a different Manner. For *Elphegus* loſt his Life by the *Danes* at the Sacking of *Canterbury*; and

* *By an Ordinance, that is, the Votes of the Lords and Commonsonly, without the Bills being ſign'd by the King.*

“*Simon Sudbury* was diſpatch'd in the Inſurrection headed by *Jack Straw* and *Wat Tyler*. Before theſe, St. *John Baptiſt*, had his *Head danc'd off* by a ſcandalous Woman. And St. *Cyprian* Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, was brought to the Block by *Decius* the Emperor. That the Uſage theſe great Men met with, was matter of Support to him: And that he hop'd his Cauſe wou'd appear in Heaven with a different Complexion from what was put upon it here. That his Charge, as foul as 'tis pretended, looks like that of the *Jews* againſt St. *Paul*. For this Apoſtle was accus'd as a great Criminal againſt the *Law* and the *Temple*. St. *Stephen* was likewiſe arraign'd for *breaking the Ordinances which* Moſes *had deliver'd*: That is, for endeavouring the Subverſion of the *Laws* and *Religion* of the Country. And here, to prevent Miſconſtruction, the Archbiſhop declar'd he did not pretend to draw a Parallel between theſe Saints and himſelf, nor affirm an Equality in the Caſes: But that theſe holy Men being miſreported, and ſtruck at, there was ſome Reſemblance in the Compariſon.

Acts 25. 3.

Acts 6. 14.

The next Thing I ſhall mention, is his clearing the King of being Popiſhly affected. “A Calumny, ſaith the Archbiſhop, hath paſs'd upon his Majeſty, as if he deſign'd to bring in Popery: *But on my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any Man living: And I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd) as any Man in this Kingdom. And that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or ſhould know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in* England.

From hence he proceeds to complain, “Of the riotous Behaviour of the Populace in the City, and of their clamouring for *Juſtice* at the Parliament Houſe. That this was the way to draw the Guilt of Blood upon their Heads, and it may be a Judgment upon the City. That this mutinous Diſorder was uncheck'd by the Magiſtracy. That engaging the People was the Method taken in the Martyrdoms of St. *Stephen* and St. *James*, *and the apprehending St. *Peter*. And here he endeavours to affect them with the Danger of ſuch ſanguinary Courſes; and cites very awakening Texts to this purpoſe †.

“He laments the calamitous Condition of the Church of *England*: That ſhe is become like an Oak cleft in pieces with Wedges made out of her own *Body*. That Iniquity and Prophaneneſs ſtalks under the Pretence of Godlineſs: That the Subſtance of Religion is loſt. And that Church which ſtood firm againſt the Jeſuits Attacks, is terribly batter'd by her own Party.

For his own Belief, “He declares himſelf of the Communion of the Church of *England*, eſtabliſh'd by Law. And notwithſtanding the unreaſonable Clamours rais'd againſt him, has all along liv'd in that Perſuaſion *.

As to the Charge of High Treaſon, “He proteſts his Innocency, and declares his Abhorrence of the Crime. That tho' this Proteſtation was rejected at the Lords *Bar*, he hopes it may be admitted upon the Scaffold: And that People will have the Charity not to think him a Diſſembler at the Point of Death. And whereas he had been accus'd as an Enemy to *Parliaments*, he profeſſes his Regard for this part of the Conſtitution: And that he conceived them a happy Circumſtance in the Government. He does not deny his diſliking the Management of ſome Parliaments, and thinks his Exception well founded: For *corruptio Optimi eſt Peſſima*: The Beſt things, by Miſapplication and Abuſe, become the worſt. Thus the Parliament being the higheſt Court, from which there is no Appeal, when this laſt *Reſort* is miſinform'd, or miſgovern'd, 'tis turn'd to the moſt fatal Grievance: For in ſuch Caſes the Subject is left without Remedy.

After this *Speech* the Archbiſhop made a very pious and affecting Prayer; and then mov'd towards the *Block*: And finding the Paſſage crowded with People, he deſir'd them to make way, and give him *Room to die*. While he was preparing himſelf for the Executioner, one Sir *John Clotworthy* (remarkable for his Share in the Rebellion) gave him a very ill-natur'd Interruption. He ask'd him what Text of *Scripture* was moſt comfortable to a dying Man? The Archbiſhop anſwer'd, “*Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.* Sir *John* going on in his Barbarity, told him, there muſt be an Aſſurance to found that Deſire upon. The Archbiſhop return'd, that Aſſurance was to be found *within*, and that Expreſſion could not reach it. *Clotworthy* preſſing farther, ſaid, *'tis founded upon a Word though, and that Word wou'd be known. Laud* reply'd to this effect, That 'twas the Word of God concerning Chriſt, and his dying for us. And finding this Gentleman might prove farther troubleſome, he turn'd to the Executioner, and kneeling down, had his Head, after a ſhort Prayer, ſever'd at a Blow (*b*).

His Character continued.

Beſides what has already occurr'd touching his Character, it may be obſerv'd, he was of a lively and penetrating Genius, of a ſociable Temper, and inoffenſively pleaſant upon Occaſion. If we conſider his Function, he had paſs'd through almoſt all the Employments of a Churchman. And how much he was a Maſter in his Profeſſion, is ſufficiently evident from his *Book* againſt *Fiſher*. He was a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Integrity: Money was no part of his Inclination. For notwithſtanding the Largeneſs of his Revenues, his Fortune was almoſt exhauſted by his Benefactions to *Oxon* and *Reading*. His Piety was no leſs exemplary and diſtinguiſh'd; he was conſtant at his Chapel, and private Devotions. His warm Loyalty, and Zeal for *Uniformity*, brought him to his End. And tho' he was far from warping towards *Popery* rightly underſtood; 'tis poſſible he might believe a good *Settlement* capable of Improvement: That ſome part of the *Reformation* might be burniſh'd, and brought to a more beautiful and primitive State: That this was his Opinion, may be collected from the Preference he ſeems to give the *Scottiſh Liturgy*: And from his wiſhing the Foreign Reform'd Churches might be like the Church of *England*, *and as much better as God ſhould pleaſe to make them* *. To proceed: The Earl of *Clarendon* deſcribes his Temper ſomewhat ſudden, and that his Paſſion was too ſoon kindled: That he fail'd in a plauſible Application, neglected Addreſs, and believ'd bare Honeſty and vigorous Purſuit was ſufficient to carry him thorough. Notwithſtanding this Abatement, the noble Hiſtorian treats his Memory with great Regard at taking leave. He reports him a Perſon of eminent Learning and Piety: That he behav'd himſelf with great Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity on the Scaffold: And that his good Qualities

* Acts 6th, & Acts 12th.

† Iſa 1. 10. Pſal. 9. 12. Jer. 26. 15.

* *For farther Proof of this Point, if it was needful, the Archbiſhop in his* Will, *deſires his Executor, that his Book againſt* Fiſher *the Jeſuit may be tranſlated into* Latin; *that Foreigners may the better judge of his Religion. Hiſt. of his Troubles*, &c. *p.* 457.

(*b*) Ruſhworth Hiſt. Collect. Part 3. *p.* 888. Cyprian Anglic. *p.* 536.

**Hiſt. of Abp.* Laud's *Troubles*, &c. *p.* 134.

ties were obtain'd *by a very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities common even to the beſt of Men* (c). The Archbiſhop dy'd in the 72d Year of his Age. Amongſt his publick Benefactions, beſides thoſe already mention'd, may be reckon'd his annexing *Commendams* to the ſmall Biſhopricks of *Briſtol*, *Peterborough*, St. *Aſaph*, *Cheſter*, and *Oxford*. He procur'd a *Charter* for *Oxford* to confirm their ancient Privileges, and enlarge them to an equal Extent with thoſe granted to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. He ſettled two hundred Pounds *per Annum* upon an Hoſpital at *Reading* in *Berkſhire*. By the way, the Archbiſhop was born in this Town, where his Father was a Clothier of good Subſtance and Eſteem: His Mother was *Lucy Web*, Siſter to Sir *William Web*, Lord Mayor of *London*. To go on with his Benefactions. He founded an *Arabick Lecture* in *Oxford*, and ſettled the Impropriation of *Cuddeſden* on that Biſhoprick. He procur'd a new Charter, and a Body of Statutes for the College of *Dublin*: The reſt of his Benefactions ſhall be omitted. And beſides what was finiſh'd this way, he had ſeveral other things in Project: Amongſt the reſt, he reſolv'd to find out a way, and provide a Fund for the Augmentation of poor Vicaridges, and for ſettling the Tythes of *London* between the Clergy and City (d). He was bury'd in *Barkin* Church near the *Tower*, with the Office appointed by the *Liturgy*. This was ſomewhat extraordinary, conſidering the ſame Day the Lords agreed to the Archbiſhop's *Attainder*, they paſs'd an *Ordinance*, that the Book of *Common Prayer* ſhould be laid aſide, and the *Directory* (e) us'd inſtead of it. This *Directory* drawn by the *Aſſembly of Divines*, was tranſmitted in Parts to the Parliament: Where after a Debate in both *Houſes*, 'twas confirm'd with ſome ſmall Alterations. The *Ordinance* ſets forth,

An Ordinance for ſetting aſide the Common Prayer, and eſtabliſhing the Directory.

That the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, taking into ſerious Conſideration the manifold Inconveniences that have ariſen by the Book of Common Prayer in this Kingdom, and reſolving, according to their Covenant, to reform Religion according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt reform'd Churches; have conſulted with the Reverend, Pious, and Learned Divines, call'd together for that Purpoſe; and do judge it neceſſary that the ſaid Book of Common Prayer be aboliſh'd, and the Directory for the Publick Worſhip of God, herein after mention'd, be obſerv'd in all the Churches within this Kingdom.

After this they pretend to repeal the *Statutes* by which the *Common Prayer* ſtood eſtabliſh'd. In the Preface to their *Directory* they take notice, "'Tis evident from long and ſad Experience that the *Liturgy*, notwithſtanding all the *Pains and Religious Intentions of the Compilers*, has prov'd offenſive both to many of the godly at *Home*, and the *reform'd Abroad*: That injoyning the reading all the Prayers, heighten'd the Grievance. That the Number and Quality of the Ceremonies, made them unprofitable and burthenſome: That they have occaſion'd much Miſchief; diſquieted the Conſciences of many godly Miniſters and People; depriv'd them of the Ordinances of God, which they could not enjoy without Conformity; thrown them out of their Function and Subſiſtance, and ruin'd their Families. That the Prelates and their Faction, have put too great a Value upon it, as if God was to be worſhipp'd no other way but in the *Service-Book*: That in Conſequence of this Opinion, the preaching of the *Word* was much hinder'd and depretiated.

"That the *Papiſts* made their Advantage this way, boaſted that the *Common Prayer* came up to a Compliance with a great part of their *Service*; and by this means were not a little confirm'd in their Superſtitions.

"That the *Liturgy* has given great Encouragement to an idle and unedifying Miniſtry; who chuſe rather to acquieſce in Forms made to their hands, than to exert themſelves in exerciſing the Gift of Prayer; a Gift, with which our Saviour Chriſt furniſhes all thoſe call'd by him to that Office.

"For theſe, and many other reſembling Conſiderations, they have agreed to ſet aſide the *Common Prayer*, not out of any Affectation of Novelty, not with any Intention to diſparage our *firſt Reformers*, of whom they make honourable Mention, but that they may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the gracious Providence of God, which now calls upon them for farther *Reformation*: That they may ſatisfie their own Conſciences, and come up to the Expectation of other *Reform'd* Churches: That they may make many of the Godly among themſelves eaſy, and give ſome publick Teſtimony of their Endeavours for Uniformity in Divine Worſhip, purſuant to what they had promis'd in their ſolemn *League* and *Covenant* (f).

A brief Abſtract of the Directory.

And here the *Reader* may obſerve, that this *Directory* of theirs gives only general Rules, preſcribes in *Minutes*, and points out the Heads for Worſhip and Paſtoral Function: So that, in ſhort, the Miniſters were left to a great deal of diſcretionary Latitude in filling up the Lines, and beating out the *Form*. To mention ſomewhat briefly of the Particulars. The *Directory* forbids all Salutations and Civil Ceremony in Churches: This is a commendable Regulation: For the Church is the *Preſence*: And therefore, according to the Cuſtom in Princes Courts, no Signs of Submiſſion or Regard ſhou'd be paid to any, but the Sovereign. The reading the *Scriptures* in the Congregation is declar'd part of the Paſtoral Office: However, thoſe who deſign themſelves for this *Calling*, may read the *Word*, and exerciſe their Talent in preaching, provided they are allow'd by the *Presbytery*. All the *Canonical* Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* (but none of the *Apocrypha*) are to be publickly read in the vulgar Tongue: And for this purpoſe the beſt-allow'd Tranſlation is to be us'd: But which that is, they do not tell us. How large a Portion is to be read at once, is left to the Miniſter. When the Miniſter judges *expounding* neceſſary, he has the Liberty of that Exerciſe: But then it muſt not be done till the Chapter or Pſalm is ended. And over and above, Care muſt be taken, that neither Preaching or any Ordinance may be ſtreightned, or grow tedious.

For the Prayer before Sermon, the Heads are ſtruck out to a conſiderable Length; Part of the Prayer for the King was, to *ſave him from evil Council*: Likewiſe to pray for the Converſion of the Queen, and for a Bleſſing upon the High-Court of *Parliament* then in open Rebellion.

For managing the Sermon, theſe Rules are deliver'd. The Introduction to the Text, muſt be ſhort and clear, drawn from the Words, or Context, or ſome parallel Place of *Scripture*. In dividing the Text, the Miniſter is to regard the

---

(c) Ld Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion. Vol. 2. p. 574.

(d) *Hiſt. of the Troubles*, &c. *of Abp.* Laud. *p.* 68.

(e) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect. Part* 3. *p* 839.

(f) Scobel's *Collect. of Acts*, &c. fol. 75. & deinc.

Order of the Matter, more than that of the Words. Not to burthen the Memory of the Audience with too many Parts, nor perplex their Underſtandings with logical Language and Terms of Art. If any Difficulty ariſes from *Scripture*, from the Nature of the Diſcourſe, or the Prejudice of the Hearers, 'twill be requiſite to diſentangle the Knot, to reconcile the ſeeming Contradiction, and remove the Grounds of Miſtake; otherwiſe the ſtarting and anſwering unneceſſary Objections, is rather an Hindrance to Edification. 'Tis ſometimes requiſite to give ſome Notes of Trial for the Congregation to examine themſelves upon, whether they have attain'd thoſe Graces, or perform'd thoſe Duties to which they are exhorted: Whether they are guilty of the Sin reproved, in Danger of the Judgments threatned, or qualify'd for the Privilege and Comfort held forth. The Miniſter is to decline an unprofitable Uſe of learned Languages, uncommon Phraſes, Affectation of Cadences and Words: And ſeldom to make any Citations from any Eccleſiaſtical or other Humane Writers, either ancient or modern.

In the Prayer after Sermon, ſome of the moſt uſeful Heads are to be turn'd into Petitions; that what has been deliver'd, may prove ſerviceable to the Hearer.

The Uſe of the Lord's-Prayer, is likewiſe recommended as a Pattern and moſt comprehenſive Form of Devotion.

As Baptiſm is not unneceſſarily to be delayed, ſo neither is it to adminiſter'd in any Caſe by any private and unordain'd Perſon: Neither is this Sacrament to be adminiſter'd any where but at Church, in the Face of the Congregation: The Child is to be offer'd to Baptiſm by the Father, or ſome Friend, in Caſe of his neceſſary Abſence. And here the Miniſter is to declare, that outward Baptiſm is not ſo neceſſary as to bring the Infant in Danger of Damnation, thro' the Want of it. At the receiving the Lord's-Supper, the Table being decently cover'd, is to be ſo plac'd that the Communicants may ſit about it: But the Poſture of the Miniſter, or the Order when he is to communicate himſelf, is not preſcrib'd. Upon the Lord's-Day, the Intervals between Publick Worſhip, and the Time after Evening Worſhip, are to be ſpent in Reading, Meditation, Repetition of Sermons, Catechiſing their Families, holy Conferences, Prayer for a Bleſſing upon the publick Ordinances, ſinging Pſalms, viſiting the Sick, and relieving the Poor.

The Dead are to be bury'd without any Prayers, or Religious Ceremony. However, They had the Moderation to allow the uſe of Eſcutcheons, and ſuch other diſtinctions ſuitable to the Condition of the deceas'd. *Matrimony*, *Viſitation* of the Sick, *Faſting* and *Thankſgivings*, have little particular and extraordinary in the Appointment; excepting that the Forms in moſt of them, are left to the Miniſter's Diſcretion.

Jan. 30. 1644-5

The latter end of this Month, *Commiſſioners* were ſent from *Oxford* and the two *Houſes* at *Weſtminſter*, to endeavour an Accommodation. The *Treaty* opened at *Uxbridge* in *Middleſex*: I ſhall only mention that Part of it, which relates to Religion. The King's Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners upon this Head are theſe “And here (to ſpeak in his Majeſty's Perſon and Words) the Government of the Church will be the chief Queſtion; wherein two things are to be conſider'd, *Conſcience* and *Policy*. For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you, ſays the King, that I can't yield to the change of the Government by Biſhops, not only becauſe I fully concur with the moſt general Opinion of Chriſtians in all Ages, in Epiſcopacy's being the beſt Government; but likewiſe I hold my ſelf particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the Government of this Church from what I found it: And as for the Churches Patrimony, I can't ſuffer any Diminution or Alienation of it; it being without Peradventure, Sacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my Coronation Oath. But whatſoever ſhall be offer'd for rectifying Abuſes, if any have crept in, or for the eaſe of tender Conſciences, (provided the Foundation is not indamag'd). I am contented to hear, and willing to return a gracious Anſwer. Touching the Second, that is, the Point of *Policy*; as it is the King's duty to protect the Church, ſo the Church is reciprocally bound to aſſiſt the King in the Maintenance of his juſt Authority. Upon this View, my Predeceſſors have been always careful (eſpecially ſince the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy entirely upon the *Crown*, without which 'twill ſcarcely ſit faſt on the King's Head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this natural dependency (*g*).

The King's Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners at Uxbridge.

Love's ſeditious Sermon.

The Day before the *Treaty* began, one *Love*, a Parliamentarian Divine, preach'd a ſcandalous and ſeditious Sermon, reflecting upon his Majeſty's Honour, and the Integrity of his Intentions; telling the Audience that thoſe Lords and others, ſent thither by his Majeſty, *came with Hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great diſtance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell*; with ſeveral other mutinous Expreſſions for raiſing Diſtruſt and Diſaffection to his Majeſty. The King's Commiſſioners complain'd of this Uſage, but receiv'd no other Satisfaction than that *Love*'s Behaviour ſhould be reported to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter* (*h*).

The Propoſitions given in by the Commiſſioners, ſent by the Parliament.

The Demands of the Commiſſioners ſent from *Weſtminſter* were theſe: “That a *Bill* might be paſs'd for aboliſhing and taking away all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* purſuant to the Propoſition ſent to the King at *Oxford*, already mention'd.

“That the *Ordinances* concerning the calling and ſitting of the *Aſſembly Divines*, be confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament. That the *Directory* for publick Worſhip, and the Propoſitions concerning Church-Government hereunto annex'd, and paſs'd both *Houſes*, be enacted as a Part of Reformation of Religion, and Uniformity.

“That his Majeſty take the ſolemn *League* and *Covenant*, and that an Act of Parliament be paſs'd in both Kingdoms, for injoyning the taking it by all the Subjects of the Three Kingdoms.

Id. *p.* 865. Dugdale's *ſhort View*, &c. *p.* 737, 8.

Their *Paper* annex'd, explains the Nature of of their Church-Government, and moves for his Majeſty's Aſſent, that it may be ſettled upon the Plan propos'd. The Contents are as follows.

“That the ordinary way of dividing Chriſtians into diſtinct Congregations, and moſt expedient for Edification, is by the reſpective Bounds of their Dwellings.

“That the Miniſter and other Church Officers in each particular Congregation, ſhall joyn in the Government of the Church, in ſuch manner as ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by Parliament.

“That

(*g*) Biblioth. *Reg. Sect.* 4. *p.* 338.

(*h*) Ruſhworth, *Hiſt. Collect. pt.* 3. *p.* 864.

“ That many particular Congregations ſhall be under one Presbyterial Government.

“ That the Church be govern'd by Congregational, Claſſical, and Synodical Aſſemblies, in ſuch manner as ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by Parliament.

“ That Synodical Aſſemblies, ſhall conſiſt both of Provincial and National Aſſemblies.

To ſhew how much inclin'd his Majeſty was for quieting the publick Diſtractions, he impower'd his Commiſſioners to make the following Conceſſions.

Conceſſions made by the King's Commiſſioners.

“ We are willing, ſay they, that Freedom be left to all Perſons of what Opinion ſoever in Matters of Ceremony; and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Cuſtoms which enjoyn theſe Ceremonies, be ſuſpended.

“ *Secondly*, That the Biſhops ſhall exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction or Ordination, without the Conſent and Council of the *Presbyters*; who ſhall be choſen by the Clergy of each Dioceſs, out of the learnedeſt and graveſt Miniſters of that Dioceſs.

“ *Thirdly*, That the Biſhop keep his conſtant Reſidence in his Dioceſs, except when he ſhall be required by his Majeſty, to attend him on any occaſion. And that if he be not hindred by the Infirmities of old Age, or Sickneſs, he ſhall Preach every Sunday in ſome Church within his Dioceſs.

“ *Fourthly*, That the Ordination of Miniſters ſhall be always in a publick and ſolemn Manner, and very ſtrict Rules obſerv'd concerning the ſufficiency and other Qualifications of thoſe Men who ſhall be receiv'd into Holy Orders; and the Biſhop ſhall not receive any into Holy Orders, without the Approbation and Conſent of the Presbyters, or the Major Part of them.

“ *Fifthly*, That competent Maintenance and Proviſion be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament, to ſuch Vicaridges as belong to Biſhops, *Deans* and *Chapters*, out of the Impropriations, and according to the value of thoſe Impropriations of the ſeveral Pariſhes.

“ *Sixthly*, That for the time to come, no Man ſhall be capable of two Parſonages or Vicaridges with Cure of Souls.

“ *Seventhly*, That towards the ſettling of publick Peace, an Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhall be rais'd by Act of Parliament, out of the Eſtates of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters; in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fit by the King, and Two Houſes of Parliament; without the Alienation of any of the ſaid Lands.

“ *Eightly*, That the Juriſdiction in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Decimals and Matrimonial, be ſettled in ſuch Manner as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient, by the King and two Houſes of Parliament; and likewiſe that one or more Acts of Parliament be paſs'd for regulating *Viſitations*, and againſt immoderate Fees in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and the abuſes by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuſes in the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in ſuch Manner as ſhall be agreed upon by his Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament.

And if your Lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon any other thing, which your Lordſhips ſhall think neceſſary for Reformation; we ſhall very willingly apply our ſelves to the Conſideration thereof (*i*).

The Divines who aſſiſted at the Treaty.

The King's Commiſſioners deſir'd they might receive an anſwer in Writing, and that for the better underſtanding each other, this Method might be held through the whole Treaty. This Motion being conteſted for ſome time; 'twas reſolv'd on both ſides to hear the Divines of either Party. Dr. *Steward*, Clerk of the Cloſet, was one of the King's Commiſſioners in things relating to the Church. Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, appear'd with the ſame Character for the Parliament. Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Dr. *Lany*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*. Dr. *Fern*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*. Dr. *Potter*, Dean of *Worceſter*; and Dr. *Hammond*; all of them the King's Chaplains, were ſent by his Majeſty to aſſiſt in the Diſpute, and ſupport Dr. *Stuart*, as occaſion requir'd. On the Parliament ſide, beſides the Commiſſioner Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Mr. *Marſhall*, and Mr. *Vines*, the firſt benefic'd in *Eſſex*, and the other in *Warwickſhire*, and Mr. Cheynel, formerly Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxon*, appear'd as Auxiliaries.

Henderſon's Arguments againſt Epiſcopacy.

“ *Henderſon*, inſtead of cloſe reaſoning, argued in a Declamatory Manner. He endeavour'd to ſhew the Neceſſity of changing the Government of the Church, for the Preſervation of the *State*. That the publick Repoſe could not be recover'd any other way, and that therefore this expedient ought in Conſcience not to be declin'd. That the ſupporting the *Civil* and Eccleſiaſtical Government upon the preſent Foot, was impracticable. And therefore that Epiſcopacy ought to be reſign'd to the Intereſt of the *State*. That now the Queſtion was not whether the Government of the Church by Biſhops was lawful, but whether it was ſo neceſſary that Chriſtianity could not ſubſiſt without it: That this later Queſtion could not be affirmatively maintain'd without condemning all the *Reform'd* Churches in *Europe*, in which there were no Biſhops, *England* only excepted. That the *Parliament* which beſt underſtood what was ſerviceable for the Nation, had found Epiſcopacy a very inconvenient and corrupt Government: That the *Hierarchy* had been a publick Greivance from the *Reformation* downwards: That the Biſhops had always abetted Popery, kept on many ſuperſtitious Rites and Cuſtoms in their Worſhip and Government: And over and above, had lately brought in a great many Novelties into the Church, and made a nearer Approach to the Roman Communion: And all this to the great Scandal of the *Proteſtant* Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*: That the Prelates had embroyl'd the Britiſh Iſland, and made the two Nations of *Scotland* and *England* fall foul upon each other: That the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the preſent Civil War in *England*, may be charg'd upon them: That for theſe Reaſons the Parliament had reſolv'd to change this inconvenient miſchievous Government, and ſet another in the room of it, more naturally form'd for the Advancement of Piety: That this alteration was the beſt expedient to unite all *Proteſtant* Churches, and extinguiſh the remains of Popery: And that he hop'd the King would concur in ſo commendable and godly an undertaking: That he conceiv'd his Majeſty's Perſuaſion could not be urg'd againſt ſuch a complyance; for by his conſenting to the Suppreſſion of the Prelacy in *Scotland*; 'tis evident the King's Conſcience was not bound up to Epiſcopacy, neither could he believe that form of Eccleſi-

“ aſtical

(*i*) Biblioth. Reg. Sect. 4. p. 339. Ruſhworth Hiſt. Collect. Part 3. p. 872.

Williams Joh. *Apb. of* York.

aſtical Government abſolutely neceſſary. *(k)*.

(k) *Ld.* Clarendon's *Hiſt. Rebellion, Book* 8.

*Dr.*Steward's *Reply.*

"Dr. *Steward* addreſſing the *Commiſſioners*, reply'd; He knew their Lordſhips were too well acquainted with the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the Baſis upon which it ſtood; to imagine it could be ſhaken by the force of Mr. *Henderſon*'s Rhetorick: That tho' he was firmly of Opinion, that a Government which from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity in *England*, had continued here without Interruption: That a Government under which Chriſtianity had ſpread and flouriſh'd to a remarkable Degree, could have any thing vitious or Antichriſtian in its Frame: Notwithſtanding this Opinion of his, he could expect no leſs than that thoſe who had ſworn themſelves to an Abolition of this Primitive Conſtitution, and came hither to perſuade their Lordſhips and his Majeſty to a Concurrence, would not have gone lower in their Argument than the Unlawfulneſs of the Government they preſs'd ſo ſtrongly to remove. That tho' in their Sermons and Prints they gave Epiſcopacy an *Antichriſtian* Addition, Mr. *Henderſon* had prudently declin'd charging ſo deep, and only argued from the Inconveniences of this Government, and the *Advantages* which would be conſequent upon Alteration. But of this no Judgment could be made, till they had given in a Scheme of the Government, they intended ſhould ſucceed it. And in regard the Union with the Proteſtant Churches *Abroad*, ſeem'd to be the main Reaſon for ſo remarkable a Change; he deſir'd it might be declar'd what foreign Church they deſign'd for a Pattern. That he was well aſſur'd the Model in their *Directory* had no ſtrong Reſemblance to any *Foreign Reform'd* Churches. And tho' he would not enter upon a Cenſure of thoſe *Proteſtant* Communions, yet 'twas well known, that the moſt learned Men of thoſe Churches had lamented a defect in their *Reformation:* And that the want of Epiſcopacy which the *State* would not ſuffer, was an unhappy Circumſtance. That they had always paid a particular Reverence to the Church of *England*, look'd on it as the moſt perfect Conſtitution upon the ſcore of its having retain'd all that was venerable in Antiquity. From hence he proceeded to enlarge upon the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, and endeavour'd to prove that without Biſhops the Sacerdotal Character could not be convey'd, nor the *Sacraments* adminiſter'd to any Significancy.

"As to his Majeſty's having conſented to the putting down Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, he would preſume to ſay nothing; tho' he knew his Majeſty's preſent Thoughts upon that Subject: Only this might be obſerv'd, that the King was farther oblig'd in this Kingdom, than in the *other*; that in *England* he was ty'd by his *Coronation* Oath to maintain the Rights of the Church: And that this ſingle Engagement was a reſtraint upon his Majeſty's Conſcience, not to conſent either to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, or the Alienation of Church Lands.

This Argument was debated by the reſt of the Divines on each ſide for almoſt two Days together. At the cloſe of the Diſpute, the King's Commiſſioners deſir'd thoſe for the Parliament to acquaint them in Writing. whether they believ'd Epiſcopacy plainly unlawful: But to this Queſtion they could never get a clear Anſwer.

Charles I. K.

The Creed and the Ten Commandments not put in the Directory, and why.

Feb. 22. 1644-5.

While the Buſineſs of Religion was under Debate, one of the King's Commiſſioners ask'd an Acquaintance of his deputed by the Parliament, why their *Directory* makes no mention at all of the *Creed*, or the *Ten Commandments?* By the way, this Queſtion was put when the Commiſſioners were not ſitting in their publick Character, but converſing in a Room as Friends. The Earl of *Pembroke* over-hearing what was ſoftly pronounc'd, anſwer'd aloud with his cuſtomary Paſſion: "That himſelf, and many others were ſorry the *Creed* and *Decalogue* were left out in the *Directory:* That this Point had been debated ſeveral Hours in the Houſe of *Commons*; that the leaving them out was carry'd by Eight or Nine Votes: And that upon this account the Houſe of Peers did not think fit to inſiſt upon inſerting them. This was an odd diſcovery in Lord *Pembroke*; and look'd like extraordinary Zeal in the *Members* at *Weſtminſter*, that the *Creed* and the *Ten Commandments* ſhould be put to the Queſtion, and have it carry'd againſt them. After ſeveral Days Debate, the Commiſſioners coming to no Agreement either in Church or *State* Matters; the Treaty broke up.

Id.

Auguſt 23. A. D. 1645.

*A ſecond Ordinance for eſtabliſhing the*Directory, *and putting down the* Common-Prayer.

The *Weſtminſter* Lords and Commons fleſh'd with their late Victory or *Naſeby*, repeat their *Ordinance* for putting the *Directory* in Execution, with Penalties upon thoſe who refus'd to comply, or made uſe of the *Common-Prayer*. If any Perſon preach'd or printed againſt the *Directory*, he was to forfeit ſuch a Sum of Money as thoſe who try'd him thought fit to impoſe; provided the Sum was not leſs than Five Pounds, nor more than Fifty. And thoſe who read the *Common-Prayer* either in Churches, or their Families, were to forfeit Five Pounds for the firſt Offence, as they call'd it; Ten Pounds for the ſecond, and ſuffer a Years Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize, for the third *(l)*.

(l) Scobel's Collect of Acts, &c. *fol.* 97.

The King's Proclamation againſt it.

The King in *November* following, Publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, counter to this pretended *Ordinance*; in which the uſe of the *Common-Prayer* is ſtrictly enjoyn'd, and the *Directory* charg'd with opening a liberty to Ignorance and Faction. That 'tis likely to miſlead People into Wickedneſs and Rebellion: And that, ſuppoſing the Miniſters never ſo well intention'd, it muſt of neceſſity break the Uniformity in God's Service, and occaſion Diviſions in the Church *(m)*.

(m) Biblioth. *Reg. Sect.* 4. *p.* 334.

The *Independents* moving for a Toleration, and publiſhing their *Apology*, has been already mentioned. The Claſhing between the *Presbyterians* and this Party being now grown higher, a *Committee* was appointed for Accommodation *.

* *Papers and Anſwers of the diſſenting Brethren, and the Committee of the Aſſembly of Divines, &c. for Accommodation, Printed at* London, 1648.

Decemb. 4.

The Independents *Plea for* Toleration.

At this *Committee* the *Independents* requeſt, "They may not be forc'd to communicate as Members in thoſe Pariſhes where they dwell: That they may have the Liberty to form Congregations of ſuch Perſons who give good Teſtimonie of their Godlineſs, and voluntarily offer themſelves for ſuch religious *Societies*, the Tenderneſs of their Conſciences not giving them leave to communicate in their Pariſhes.

The *Aſſembly-Divines*, before they come up to a direct Anſwer, inſiſt upon the following Preliminaries.

Firſt, That whatever *Indulgence* they ſhall agree to, they take it for granted upon what has been already offer'd by their *independent Brethren*, that the ſame *Directory* for Worſhip, and the ſame *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, ſhall be equally impos'd upon both Parties: And therefore

Secondly, Whoever falls ſhort of coming thus far towards an Uniformity; whoever refuſes to aſſent to the Subſtance of Divine Worſhip held forth in the *Directory*; whoever diſallows the *Confeſſion of Faith*, or diſſents from the Doctrines of the Reform'd Churches, contained in their *Confeſſions* and Writings, muſt not expect the Beneſit of this *Toleration*. And

Thirdly, If any one ſhall claſh with the *Directory*, in his Practice, and write or argue againſt the *Confeſſion of Faith*, he muſt expect to ſuffer the ſame Penalties, the *Presbyterians* would incur upon ſuch Miſbehaviour. Having premiſ'd this, the *Aſſembly-Divines* anſwer'd, that the *Independents* Requeſt was not to be granted for the following Reaſons.

The Presbyterians Reaſons againſt it.

1. “Becauſe it imports a *plain* and *total Separation from the Rule*; as if it was not to be comply'd with in any Point, nor the *Presbyterian* Churches to be communicated with in any thing which infers Church Communion. More than this, ſay they, could not be objected againſt *falſe Churches*.

2. “This Requeſt ſuppoſes the *Lawfulneſs of gathering Churches out of true Churches*; and over and above out of ſuch true Churches, which are endeavouring a farther Reformation: And that in countenance of this Liberty, there is not the leaſt Example in all the holy *Scriptures*.

3. “This would encourage perpetual *Schiſm* and *Diviſion* in the Church, always drawing ſome off from the Churches under the *Rule*: That the Reſult would end in Miſunderſtandings and Animoſities between thoſe who went off, and the reſt that kept their Ground: And the ſame Conſequence would happen between the Church deſerted and the Congregations new form'd.

Dec. 23.

To theſe Reaſons the *Diſſenting Brethren* returned a Reply. For ſatisfying the firſt Reaſon, they argue,

“That forming Congregations of ſuch Members who can't out of Tenderneſs of Conſcience go through all the Conditions required in theſe Churches; to form ſuch Congregations for the purer Enjoyment (as theſe *Independents* believe) of all Ordinances, yet ſtill maintaining Communion with the *Presbyterians*, as Churches; this, they ſay, is far from *Separation*. 'Tis not ſetting up Churches againſt Churches, but only retiring to a neighbourly Situation, and conſtituting Siſter Churches of a different Judgment.

2*dly*, They can't be charg'd with an open and total Separation from the *Rule*, unleſs they diſagree in every Thing, and conſtitute their *Society* upon Regulations wholly different with reſpect to Worſhip and Government. But ſuch a Diſtance is far from their Intention: They deſign to practice towards an Uniformity, and retain the moſt ſubſtantial Things preſcrib'd by the *Rule* it ſelf.

3*dly*, “They declare themſelves willing to maintain *Occaſional* Communion with the *Presbyterian* Churches; not only in Hearing and Preaching, but occaſionally in Baptizing their Children in their Churches, and receiving the Lord's-Supper there.

Theſe were large Advances: They profeſs'd their Agreement with the *Presbyterians* in the main Things: They own them for true Churches, and offer'd to maintain *Occaſional Communion* with them. However, all this Conceſſion was not ſufficient to acquit them of the Imputation of Schiſm in the Opinion of the *Aſſembly* Divines, who make their Rejoinder to this Effect.

1. “They argue, that tho' Tenderneſs of Conſcience may oblige to *forbear* or *ſuſpend the Act of Communion* in a Caſe ſcrupled, and ſuppos'd unlawful; yet it does not bind People to a Practice repugnant to the Will of God; of which kind they conceive *the gathering ſeparate Churches out of true Churches*, to be an Inſtance.

2. “'Tis one thing to remove to a Congregation under the ſame *Rule*, and another to a *Congregation* of a different *Conſtitution* from the *Rule*: In the firſt Caſe, a Man retains his Memberſhip, but renounces it in the latter. That this is done, appears from the different Judgments he makes touching the very Conſtitution of the reſpective Churches: For 'tis the different Qualities and Regulations which makes him quit one *Society* and retire to the other.

3. “They reply, that if a Church requires that which is Evil of any Member, he muſt forbear Complyance, *but yet without Separation*. Thus thoſe both in *England* and *Scotland*, who thought Kneeling at the Communion unlawful, did not ſeparate or renounce Memberſhip on this Score. On the contrary, ſome of them defended the Conſtitution of the eſtabliſhed Church, againſt thoſe of the *Separation*. And whereas the *Independents* had argued upon a Suppoſition of an Indulgence from the *State*, for *gathering Churches*: To this the *Presbyterians* anſwer.

4. “That the Notion of *Separation* is not to be determin'd by the *Civil* Legiſlature; not by *Acts of State*, but by the *Word of God*. Now by this Rule, the ſtanding off with Diſlike from any Church, and refuſing all *ordinary* Communion, is to ſeparate from ſuch a Church.

5. “They inſiſt, that a total Diſagreement from Churches, is not neceſſary to make a total *Separation*. For the moſt rigid *Separatiſts* hold the ſame Rule of Worſhip and Government with the *Presbyterians*. And therefore were this Latitude allow'd, *Novatians*, *Donatiſts*, and all thoſe that ſtood off from Catholick Communion, might ſhelter themſelves from the Imputation of Schiſm.

6. “The *Presbyterians* argue, that if the *Independents* can *occaſionally* exerciſe theſe Acts of Communion with them, once or twice, or thrice, without ſinning, they can't ſee any Reaſon why they cannot always communicate with them, without Sin: And if ſo, *Separation and Church gathering* would be unneceſſary. To ſeparate from theſe Churches ordinarily and openly, with whom we may occaſionally join without Sin, ſeems a moſt unjuſt *Separation*.

To their ſecond Reaſon, the *diſſenting Brethren* reply'd, firſt, “*That 'twas founded on this Suppoſition, that nothing is to be tolerated which was unlawful in the Judgment of thoſe who are to grant the Toleration.* This the *Aſſembly-Divines* deny'd, and ſaid, they argued upon the Suppoſition of the *Unlawfulneſs to tolerate gathering of Churches out of true Churches*, which the *Independents* have not endeavoured ſo much as to prove lawful.

“2. Theſe *diſſenting Brethren* urge farther, that if after all Endeavours, Mens Conſciences are unſatisfy'd as to *Communion* with a Church, they are then under no Obligation to continue in that Communion: Neither are ſuch ſcrupled Churches bound to reſtrain them from going off to more unexceptionable Churches, or if there happens to be none

“ ſuch, to form a new ſpiritual *Society* of their own.

To this the *Divines* of the *Aſſembly* reply'd, firſt, “ That this Reaſoning opened a Gap for all *Sects* to challenge the ſame Liberty. And Second, that this Latitude of Practice was deny'd by the Churches of *New England*.

The *Independents* rally the Cauſe, and argue (1ſt,) “ That the Abuſe of the Word *Schiſm* has done the Church a great deal of Harm: That the Signification of it was not yet ſettled by the *State*, nor debated by the *Aſſembly*.

To this the *Presbyterians* return, “ That if the Word *Schiſm* had been left out, the reaſoning upon the Caſe would have continued in the ſame Force. That the Principle of the *Independents* gives Countenance to perpetual Diviſions in the Church; ſtill drawing away *Churches* from under the *Rule*: And what is countenancing an unneceſſary and unjuſt Separation, but countenancing a *Schiſm*? Eſpecially when the Grounds of this *Separation* may be pleaded by any erroneous Conſcience whatever: And thus by the ſame Equity, and Parity of Reaſoning, the Church may be broken into as many Subdiviſions, as there are different Scruples in the Minds of Men.

The *Independents* come on once more, and inſiſt, “ That this *Indulgence* will give Countenance only to *Godly Peoples* joining in other *Congregations* for their greater Edification; who cannot otherwiſe without Sin, enjoy all the *Ordinances* of Chriſt: That by ſuch going off, they do not cenſure the Churches they retire from as *falſe*, but eſteem them as Members of the Body of Chriſt, and join with them in all Dutys of Worſhip as far as they are able: And this Conſcientious Practice they conceive, can neither be call'd *Schiſm*, or countenancing it: And that ſo deep a cenſure can't be juſtify'd by *Scripture*, or any good Eccleſiaſtical Authority.

“ To this the *Aſſembly-Divines* anſwer'd, That this Indulgence deſir'd, is no better than a Licence for perpetual Diviſion in the Church: And a conſtant *Revolt* from the *Rule* muſt be the conſequence of it. For upon the ſame pretence, thoſe who ſcruple *Infant-Baptiſm*, may withdraw from the *Independent* Churches, and go off into another *Congregation*: And in this new Shelter ſome danger may be apprehended, and carry the ſcrupuling Perſons to a farther diſtance: And are theſe Subdiviſions and Fractions in Church Government, as lawful, as they may be infinite? Or muſt we give that regard to Erroneous Conſciences as to ſatisfy Mens Scruples by ſo unbounded a Liberty? Does not this plainly import that Error in Conſcience is a Protection againſt Schiſm?

“ 2. The not condemning our Churches as *Falſe*, continue the *Presbyterians*, extenuates the charge of *Separation* but a very little: For ſeveral of the *Browniſts* who have totally ſeparated in former Times, have not condemn'd the Churches they quitted as *Falſe*. However, tho' they do not pronounce an open and deciſive Sentence, their Practice amounts to little leſs: For the very *ſeparating* ſuppoſes Error and Impurity in the Churches from which they depart.

“ 3. Tho' the *Presbyterians* don't pronounce all Difference in Judgment, or Inconformity in Practice, *Schiſm*, provided Communion is preſerv'd: Yet they affirm that joining in *Congregations* of another Communion is a plain Rupture, ſplits a *Society*; and amounts to Formal *Schiſm*. And if the Apoſtle calls thoſe *Diviſions* of the Church *Schiſms*, where the Chriſtians did not diſagree ſo far as to ſeparate into diſtinct and oppoſite Communions; the *Separation* deſir'd by the *Independents* will lie fuller under that Imputation.

“ 4. They affirm in deciſive Language, that Scruple of Conſcience is no good Plea againſt the Charge of *Schiſm*: To make the Defence unexceptionable, the Motives muſt have more Weight in them; and the Grounds of *Separation* muſt be juſtify'd from the Nature of the thing.

An Ordinance for Suſpending ſcandalous Perſons from the Sacrament.

Octob. 20. A. D. 1645.

To go ſomewhat backwards: The Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter* gave Directions in an *Ordinance* for ſuſpending ſcandalous Perſons from the Lord's Supper. The Crimes are too long to mention; only it may be obſerv'd Rebellion is none of them. Perſons of ill Fame in any of the particulars were to be examin'd by the *Elderſhip* of every Congregation: This *Ordinance* concludes with a Proviſo, that the Members of both Houſes who are now Members of the *Aſſembly* of *Divines*, or any Seven of them, ſhall be a ſtanding *Committee* to pronounce upon the Cauſes of Suſpenſion from the Lords-Supper, not mention'd in this *Ordinance* (n).

Some few Weeks forward we meet with another *Ordinance* touching the Ordination of Miniſters.

The Perſon to be Ordain'd was to addreſs himſelf to the *Presbytery* of his *Claſs*. By the way, *London* was divided into Twelve *Claſſes* of Miniſters. And theſe Diviſions in the Country were proportion'd to the extent of the *Shires*.

An Ordinance touching Ordination of Miniſters.

To go on, the Candidate for *Orders* was to bring the *Presbytery* a Teſtimonial of his having taken the *Covenant* of the three Kingdoms, of his Diligence and Proficiency in his Studies, what Degrees he has taken in the *Univerſity*, and how long he has continu'd there. His Age was likewiſe to be enquir'd into, which muſt reach to four and twenty Years at leaſt; and to conclude his Morals and Regularity of Behaviour muſt be particularly regarded: The Rules for examining him are theſe.

Novem. 8. 1645.

1. *The Party examin'd muſt be dealt with in a Brotherly way, with Mildneſs of Spirit, and with ſpecial Reſpect to the Gravity, Modeſty, and Quality of every one.*

2. *He ſhall be examin'd touching his skill in the Original Tongues, and that tryal to be made by reading the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Teſtament, and rendring ſome Portions of them into* Latin; *and enquiry alſo ſhall be made after his other Learning, and whether he hath skill in Logick and Philoſophy.*

3. *What Authors in Divinity he hath read, and is beſt acquainted with; and tryal ſhall be made of his Knowledge in the chief grounds of Religion, and of his Ability to defend the Orthodox Doctrine contained in them, againſt all unſound and erroneous Opinions, eſpecially thoſe of the preſent Age; of his skill in the ſenſe and meaning of ſuch Places of Scripture as ſhall be propos'd unto him in Caſes of Conſcience, and in the Chronology of Scripture, and of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

4. *If he hath not before preach'd in Publick, with Approbation of ſuch as are able to judge, he ſhall at a competent time aſſign'd him, and before the Presbytery, expound ſuch a Place as ſhall be given him.*

5. *He ſhall in a competent time alſo frame a Diſcourſe in* Latin, *upon ſuch a Common Place or Controverſy in Divinity, as ſhall be aſſigned him; and*

(n) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 4. p. 210.

exhibit to the Presbytery ſuch Theſes as expreſs the Sum thereof, and maintain a Diſpute upon them.

6. *He ſhall preach before the People; the Presbytery, or ſome of the Miniſters of the Word, appointed by them, being preſent.*

7. *The Proportion of his Gifts in relation to the Place unto which he is call'd, ſhall be conſider'd.*

8. *Beſides the Tryal of his Gifts in Preaching, he ſhall undergo an Examination in the Premiſſes two ſeveral Days or more, if the Presbytery ſhall judge it neceſſary.*

After the *Ordination*-Sermon, the Miniſter that preach'd was to require the Perſon *Ordain'd* to make a Profeſſion of his *Belief*, and the Integrity of his Intention in entring upon the holy Function. After this, the *Presbytery* or the Miniſters deputed by them, were to lay their Hands upon the *Candidate* with a ſhort Prayer or Benediction.

Id. *p.* 212.

An Ordinance for Electing Elders.

'Twas reſolv'd by the *Lords* and *Commons* in *February* following, a Choice ſhould be made of *Elders* throughout the Kingdom of *England* and *Wales*. On the 14*th* of *March* this reſolution was form'd into an *Ordinance*. Theſe Elections were to be made by the *Congregation*, or the major part of ſuch as had taken the *National Covenant*: Theſe Electors were neither to be Minors, nor Servants. There was likewiſe a ſet of Perſons authoriz'd by this *Ordinance* call'd *Triers*, who were impower'd to hear and determine all exceptions againſt the legality of theſe Elections: And here 'twas farther ordain'd,

That all Sentences pronounc'd by the majority of the *Triers* preſent (provided the number is not under Seven) in each *Claſſis*, ſhall paſs as the Act of all the *Triers* of that *Claſſis*.

That the Committee of the *Lords* and *Commons* appointed for the judging of Scandal, ſhall have Power to conſtitute *Triers* within the Province of *London* where need ſhall require.

Id. Scobel's *Collect.* &c. *fol.* 165.

The majority of theſe Triers are Lay-Men throughout the twelve *London Claſſes*. If any Perſon under cenſure thought himſelf injur'd, he had the liberty of appealing from the *Congregational* to the *Claſſical*, from the *Claſſical* to the *Provincial*, and from thence to the *National Aſſembly*.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that this Scheme of Religion is drawn upon *Eraſtian* Principles: For the *Ordinance* ſets forth that the *Congregational*, *Claſſical*, *Provincial* and *National Aſſemblies*, were all of them to be ſubordinate to the Parliament.

The two *Houſes* having ſpent ſeveral Months in drawing Propoſals to be ſent to his Majeſty, touching a Peace: The *Scotch* Commiſſioners, excepted againſt part of the Draught. I ſhall mention only their Objections relating to Religion.

The Scotch *diſagree with the two Houſes at* Weſtminſter, *in ſeveral Points of Church Government.*

As to the *Ordinances* of the two *Houſes*, concerning Church Government, they agree with them in the Main. Only they deſire that no godly Miniſters may be excluded from being a Member of *Claſſical*, *Provincial*, and *National Aſſemblies*. They likewiſe deſire the time for the ordinary meeting of the *National Aſſembly* may be fix'd: With a reſerve of Power to the Parliament, to convene them when they pleaſe; and with a liberty to the *Church* to meet oftner upon neceſſary occaſions.

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners agree with the *Lords* and *Commons* upon the Rules concerning Suſpenſion from the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper; only they deſire the *Congregational* Elderſhip may have Power to judge in Caſes of Scandal, not *expreſs'd*. This they conceived can't be conſtru'd lodging an Arbitrary Power in the Church. On the other ſide the appointing ſuch *Provincial* Commiſſioners as are ſettled in the *Ordinance*, will occaſion Diſputes, create a Diſconformity between this and other Churches; and is a mixture in Church *Government* altogether without Precedent. This Buſineſs therefore they conceive may be better manag'd by *Aſſemblies* of *Miniſters* and ruling *Elders*. They likewiſe agree to the *Ordinance* for Ordination of Miniſters; excepting that whereas this *Proviſion* is only temporary for a Twelve Month; they deſire it may be made perpetual.

April 1646.

Farther, the manner of ſubjecting Church-*Aſſemblies* to the Controulment and Deciſion of the Parliament; they conceive very liable to Miſtakes: The ſeeming Exemption likewiſe of ſome Diſtinctions of Perſons from Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſures*: The adminiſtring the Sacrament to ſome Perſons againſt the Conſcience of the Miniſtry and *Elderſhip*: Theſe and ſome other particulars, are more than they underſtand, and may be eaſily alter'd to a general Satisfaction. As for the remainder relating to the perpetual Officers of the Church, together with their reſpective Functions; the Order and Power of Church-*Aſſemblies*, the Directions for publick Repentance; the Rules for Excommunication and Abſolution: All theſe they deſire may be ſettled purſuant to the *Covenant*, and with the joynt Advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms (*o*).

Notwithſtanding this Remonſtrance, the two *Houſes* were unwilling to come under any Reſtraints, or part with their ſpiritual Empire. This Averſion appear'd ſufficiently by a Declaration of the *Commons*, in which they acquaint the two Kingdoms; they could by no means conſent to the granting an unlimited Juriſdiction, *to near ten Thouſand Judicatories*: That ſuch arbitrary ſway was inconſiſtent with the fundamental Laws of this Nation: And by neceſſary conſequence excluded the Parliament from having any ſhare in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

June 5.

An Ordinance for ſettling Presbyterial Government.

Thus the two *Houſes* ſeem to have been afraid of the *Scotch Diſcipline*, and of being fetter'd too much in their Intereſt; their Pride or their Pleaſures. However, the King now broken in the *Field*, retiring to the *Scotch* Army, and caſting himſelf upon the Duty and Honour of that Party; the two *Houſes* thought it neceſſary to come towards a Complyance. The *Scotch* having the advantage of the King's Perſon in their Army, were not to be too much provok'd. The Juncture therefore proving ſomewhat unfriendly, they paſs'd an *Ordinance* for the *preſent ſettling of the Presbyterial Government without delay* (*p*). This Settlement notwithſtanding, was to continue but three Years, unleſs the *Houſes* thought fit to prolong the Term. But tho' this Government look'd but ſomewhat precarious and ſhort-liv'd; the *London-Miniſters* reſolv'd to exert themſelves, and practiſe upon the Scheme: To this purpoſe they publiſh'd a Paper entituled *certain Conſiderations and Cautions agreed upon by the Miniſters of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and within the* Lines of Communication, *June the nineteenth*, 1646. *according to which they reſolve to put the Presbyterial Government in execution, upon the Ordinances of Parliament before publiſh'd.*

The two Houſes who reſolv'd to go through with *Root* and *Branch* Work, and ſettle at the greateſt diſtance from the Church of *England*, order'd the *Aſſembly-Divines* to examine the *Nine-*

(*o*) Ruſh- *pt.* 4 *p.* 253. & deinc.

(*p*) Whitlock's *Memorials*, *p.* 213.

The Aſſembly-Divines review ſome of the Nine and Thirty Articles, but break off the Undertaking.

and *Thirty Articles*. This Summary it ſeems, was thought to reſemble the Primitive Syſtems too much; or not to come cloſe enough to *Calvin's* Inſtitutions. Theſe Divines carry'd their Review through Fourteen *Articles*, and with ſome Alterations brought them to a Conformity with their own Notions (q). But finding the reſt too ſtubborn for their purpoſe, they gave over the Attempt, and pitch'd upon a different Scheme. They thought it more practicable to form a new *Confeſſion*, than reconcile the old one. In this Performance they decree the Morality of the Sunday Sabbath, pronounce the Pope *Antichriſt, the Son of Perdition, and the Man of Sin:* The *Calvinian* Rigours of abſolute Predeſtination, irreſiſtable Grace, and the Impotency of the *Will*, are likewiſe intermix'd. But as to the *Presbyterian* Pretenſions to Eccleſiaſtical Authority, they fall much ſhort of the *Scotch* Claim. They are ſo frank as to yield the *Civil* Magiſtrate a Power of convening Church-*Aſſemblies*, of Superintending their Proceedings; that every thing may be done agreeably to the Will of God: And thus the Magiſtracy or *Civil* Legiſlature ſeems to be made the laſt Judge of Controverſy. But as to the Independency of the Church, the Divine Right of the *Presbyteries*, and the ſetting Chriſt upon his Throne, they are altogether ſilent. By their dropping theſe Privileges they had, in all likelihood handled the Pulſe of the two *Houſes*, and found their Veins beat too high to come under ſuch a *Regimen*.

They make a Confeſſion, and two Catechiſms.

This *Confeſſion* tho' imperfectly drawn, was offer'd by way of *humble Advice to the Lords and Commons* for the Sanction of an *Ordinance:* That being thus fortify'd, it might paſs for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Theſe *Aſſembly-Divines* publiſh'd another Compoſition of their *Belief*. 'Tis call'd the *Larger Catechiſm:* And is upon the Matter little more than giving another dreſs to their *Confeſſion*; 'tis put in the form of Queſtions and Anſwers to make it paſs, it may be, for ſome thing new under this Diſguiſe. But being ſomewhat too bulky to be taught in Schools, and poſſibly too difficult for Children to deal with; 'twas afterwards contracted to an *Epitome*, call'd the *Leſſer Catechiſm*, and recommended to publick Uſe as more inſtructive than that in the *Common-Prayer* (r).

It has been already obſerv'd, the two *Houſes* ſpent ſome time in drawing Propoſals, to be ſent to the King at *New-Caſtle*. When this Buſineſs was finiſh'd, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, with four Members of the Commons were made Commiſſioners. I ſhall only mention two or three of the *Articles*. The King was deſir'd to ſwear and ſign the ſolemn League and Covenant, and enjoyn the taking of it in all his Dominions: That a *Bill* might paſs for aboliſhing all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* That the *Aſſembly* of *Divines* might be confirm'd, and *Reformation* ſettled on the foot of the Covenant. The King demurring to theſe Points, *Henderſon* above-mention'd came to *New-Caſtle*, and importun'd his Majeſty to ſatisfy the two *Houſes* (s). The King alledging his Conſcience would not give him leave for ſuch a length of Conceſſion; there paſs'd ſome *Papers* between them upon the Subject of Church Government. To give the *Reader* part of the Argument.

The King and Henderſon *debate the Controverſy of Church Government in ſeveral Papers.*

The King's firſt Papers, May 29. 1646.

“The King in his firſt *Paper* declares, that no one thing gave him a greater reverence for the *Reformation* of his Mother the Church of *England*, than that it was done according to the Apoſtles Practice, *neither with Multitude nor Tumult* *. That it was manag'd within the Forms of the *Conſtitution*, and govern'd by thoſe whom his Majeſty conceives ought to have the Conduct of ſuch an Affair: That this advantage amongſt many other Reaſons, made his Majeſty believe the Work was perfect as to Eſſentials: And as to Church Government, his Majeſty obſerves the *Engliſh Reformation* has kept cloſe to Apoſtolical Appointment, and the Univerſal Cuſtom of the Primitive Church. That therefore the adhering to *Epiſcopacy*, is of the laſt Importance: That by altering the Form of the *Hierarchy*, the Prieſthood muſt ſink, and the Sacraments be adminiſter'd without Effect. For theſe Reaſons his Majeſty conceives *Epiſcopacy* neceſſary to the being of a Church: And over and above, he is bound by his *Coronation*-Oath, to ſupport the Church in the Condition he found it. And laſtly, He deſires to know of *Henderſon what Warrant there is in the word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conſcience? Or to make him alter Laws againſt his Will?*

Henderſon's *firſt Paper,* June 3. 1646.

“*Henderſon* after ſome Introduction of Reſpect, anſwers what the King offer'd from his Father's Example and his own Education; by putting him in mind of a ſaying of St. *Ambroſe, Non eſt Pudor ad meliora tranſire*; that it is neither *Sin* nor *Shame* to change for the better. That *Symmachus* in his harangue for the *Pagan* Religion, argues from the Topicks of Antiquity and the Conſtitution: That reſembling Reaſons were urg'd by the *Jews* againſt Chriſtianity, and may be made uſe of by the Court of *Rome* againſt the *Reformation*. *Henderſon* being ſenſible the King might take this for begging the Queſtion, endeavours to come a little cloſer. He wiſhes Religion was always when occaſion required, reform'd by the *Civil* Migiſtrate; and not left either to the Prelates or the People. However, he will have it, that when Princes are negligent, God ſtirs up the Subject to perform this Work. He takes notice that *Jacob* reform'd his own Family; that *Moſes* deſtroy'd the Golden Calf; that the good Kings of *Judah* reform'd the Church in their Time. But that ſuch Reformation was perfect, he will by no means allow. And for this Point he inſtances in the imperfect Eſſays of *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat* and *Hezekiah*, compar'd with what was carry'd on by their Succeſſor *Joſiah*. From hence he proceeds to arraign the *Reformation* of King *Henry* the VIII. That 'twas extremely defective in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Government. That the *Supremacy* was transfer'd from one wrong *Head* to another: And that all the Limbs of the Antichriſtian *Hierarchy* were viſible in the *Body*. He cites a ſaying of *Groſted* Biſhop of *Lincoln:* That *Reformation* was not to be expected, *niſi in Ore Gladii Cruentandi*; he calls this a hard Saying, but not without ſome reſerve of Approbation. That the *Laodicean* Lukewarmneſs in the *Engliſh Reformation*, had been the conſtant Complaint of many of the Godly in this Kingdom: That it had occaſion'd more Schiſm and Separation than ever was heard of elſewhere; and been matter of unſpeakable Grief to other Churches. That 'tis hop'd the Glory of this great Work is reſerv'd for his Majeſty: And his Soul trembles to think what the Conſequence may be, if this Opportunity ſhould be neglected. And here he takes the Freedom to glance a menacing Text in *Eſther* upon the King *.

(q) Ruſhworth's *pt.* 4.

(r) Heylin, Aerius Redivivus, *p.* 473.

(s) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect. pt.* 4. *p.* 321.

* Acts 24. v. 18.

* Eſther 4. v. 14.

"As to the King's Argument, that the force of the Prieſts Character, and by conſequence the Benefit of the *Sacraments* muſt be loſt in the Abolition of *Epiſcopacy*; he replyes firſt, that *Epiſcopacy* can't make out a Claim to Apoſtolical Appointment. That when the Apoſtles were living, there was no modern difference between a Biſhop and a *Presbyter*, no inequality in Power or Degree, but an exact Parity in every Branch of their Character. That the Apoſtles deſcribing the Functions of Church-Officers, make no mention either expreſly, or by Implication, of a Paſtor or Biſhop ſuperior to other Paſtors. That in the Miniſtry of the *New Teſtament*, there is a beautiful Subordination; one kind of Miniſters are plac'd in Degree and Dignity before another: As the Apoſtles firſt, the Evangeliſts, Paſtors *&c.* But in Offices of the ſame Rank and Kind, we don't find, continues this Gentleman, that one has any odds of Power or Preference in Degree before another. For Inſtance: No Apoſtle is conſtituted Superior to other Apoſtles: No *Evangeliſt* is rais'd above another *Evangeliſt*: Nor has any Deacon a Priority above others in that Order. Why then muſt we ſuppoſe a Particularity in the Character of a *Paſtor*; and that one *Paſtor* ſhould have ſome Eſſential Prerogatives and Juriſdiction above another? That in Matters of Diſcipline or Church Cenſures; our Saviour's Direction *tell it to the Church*, refers to the Congregation, and not to the Biſhop.

"Farther, he humbly deſires his Majeſty to take notice, that arguing from the Practice of the *Primitive* Church, and the *univerſal Conſent* of the *Fathers*, is not without a Fallacy. That the *Papiſts* ſupport their *Traditions* by ſuch Reaſoning. That the *Law* and the *Teſtimony* muſt be the Rule. Beſides, the Practice of the Univerſal Church for many Years cannot certainly be known: That *Euſebius*, as this Divine miſreports him, confeſſes as much. That in the Apoſtles Time, *Diotrephes* mov'd for the Pre-eminence, and the *Myſtery of Iniquity began to work*: That afterwards Ambition in ſome, and Weakneſs in others, made way for a Change in Church Government: But that all the learned and godly in thoſe early Ages, gave in to ſuch an Alteration, is more than can be prov'd.

"This *Divine* takes it for granted, his Majeſty will not deny the Lawfulneſs of the Miniſtry, and the due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the *Reformed Churches*, in Churches where there are no Dioceſan Biſhops. That it is not only evident from *Scripture*, but confeſſed by many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for *Epiſcopacy*, that Presbyters may ordain Presbyters; and that Baptiſm adminiſter'd by a Midwife, or a Lay-Perſon, and by a Presbyter not ordain'd by a Biſhop, are by no means one and the ſame thing.

"To diſengage his Majeſty from his Coronation Oath, as far as it relates to the Church, he conceives the formal Reaſon of the Oath ceaſes, and by conſequence the Obligation is diſcharg'd. To make this Reaſoning bear in the Application, he obſerves, 'That when an Oath has a ſpecial regard to the Benefit of thoſe to whom the Engagement is made, if the Parties intereſted relax upon the Point, diſpenſe with the Promiſe, and give up their Advantage, the Obligation is at an End. Thus for inſtance, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have agreed to the repealing a Law, the King's Conſcience is not ty'd againſt ſigning the *Bill*, otherwiſe the Legiſlature would be bound to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the altering any Law would be impracticable. But if the King objects the *Matter* of the Oath is unchangeable, he refers his Majeſty to what has been offer'd upon the former Head.

The King's ſecond Paper, June 6. 1646.

"The King in his ſecond *Paper* conceives *Henderſon*'s Precedents from the Old *Teſtament*, are no Evidence that any *Reformation* is lawful, unleſs under the Conduct of the *Regal Authority*. And that *Henry* the Eighth's *Reformation* being imperfect, is no Proof of any Defects of that carry'd on by King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth*. That *Henderſon* can't prove *God has ever given the Multitude leave to reform the Negligence of Princes*. And that this *Divine* muſt grant there is a great Difference between *Permiſſion* and *Approbation*. That *Henderſon* has fail'd in his Promiſe, and not aſſigned any Reaſon for refining upon the *Reformation* ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. That 'twas well he call'd *Grohead*'s Sentence a hard Saying, for the Doctrine held forth in it, has a very ill Complexion. That his comparing our *Reformation* to the *Laodicean Lukewarmneſs*, and citing Remonſtrances in *Proof* of it, is but an unhandſom way of begging the *Queſtion*: For his Buſineſs was, firſt to make out, that thoſe Men had Reaſon to complain: And that the Schiſm was to be charg'd upon the *Conformiſts*. That he ought to have left the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, to have been made good by his Majeſty. However, if he could have prov'd the *Presbyterian* Government practis'd in the primitive Times, the Performance had been conſiderable. On the other hand, the King denys this Church Government was ever ſet up before *Calvin*'s Time, and leaves the Proof of the Affirmative to *Henderſon*. That 'twas his Majeſty's Buſineſs to ſhew the Lawfulneſs, the uninterrupted Succeſſion, and by conſequence the Neceſſity of *Epiſcopacy*. That in Order to this, the Conveniènce of Books, and the Aſſiſtance of ſuch learned Men as his Majeſty could truſt, would be requiſite. And that therefore *Henderſon*'s declining a Conference with Divines nominated by the King, might prove a loſs of Time.

"And whereas *Henderſon* pretended a Fallacy in reaſoning from the *Practice* of the *Primitive Church, and the univerſal Conſent of the Fathers*, his Majeſty conceives his Exception indefenſible: For if the Senſe of a doubtful Place of *Scripture* is not to be govern'd by ſuch an Authority, 'twill neceſſarily follow, that the Interpretation of the *inſpired Writings*, muſt be left to the Diſcretion of every *private Spirit*. That this Liberty contradicts St. *Peter*'s Doctrine (*t*), is the Source of all *Sects*, and without Prevention, will bring theſe Kingdoms to Confuſion. That the affirming an Argument faulty becauſe the *Papiſts* uſe it, or to juſtify a Practice becauſe 'tis the Cuſtom of the *Reformed* Churches, is no Satisfaction to his Majeſty, unleſs *Henderſon* can prove the latter infallible, and always in the right, and the former always in the wrong: And that *Diotrephes* his Ambition (who directly oppos'd the Apoſtle St. *John*) can be an Argument againſt Epiſcopacy, was altogether unintelligible.

"His Majeſty proceeds and urges, that 'twas *Henderſon*'s Part to make good, that *Presbyters* without a Biſhop, may lawfully *ordain* other

---

(*t*) 2 Pet. 1. 20.

Williams Joh. *Abp. of* York.

Presbyters. As to *Baptiſm*. though his Majeſty conceives no Body will affirm, a Woman can lawfully adminiſter this Sacrament; tho' when 'tis done, he believes the Performance will have its Effect. And as to the *Holy Euchariſt*, *Henderſon* cannot deny a lawful *Presbyter*'s being abſolutely neceſſary for that Celebration.

“ As to *Henderſon*'s Diſcourſe concerning the Obligation of Oaths, the King is contented to allow his Principles, and be govern'd by his Rule. But then he proves this Divine is miſtaken in ſtating the Caſe, and applying the general Reaſoning. For if it is enquir'd, for whoſe Benefit the Clauſe touching Religion in the *Coronation Oath* was made; the Anſwer muſt be, 'twas made only to the *Church of* England. And for the Truth of the Fact, the King appeals to the *Record*. That 'tis not in the Power of the two *Houſes* of Parliament, to diſcharge the Obligation of this Oath. That this *Church* never made any Submiſſion to the two *Houſes*, nor own'd herſelf ſubordinate to them: That the *Reformation* was manag'd by the King and the *Clergy*: And that the Parliament aſſiſted only in giving a *Civil* Sanction to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Eſtabliſhment. Theſe Points being all clear to his Majeſty, it follows by neceſſary Conſequence, that 'tis only the Church of *England*, in whoſe Favour he took the Oath, that can releaſe him from it. And that therefore when the Church of *England* lawfully *aſſembled*, ſhall declare his Majeſty diſcharg'd, he ſhall then, and not till then, reckon himſelf at Liberty.

Henderſon's *ſecond Paper*, June 17. 1646.

“ *Henderſon* in his Reply to this ſecond *Paper*, lays it down for a Principle, with reſpect to *Reformation*; that the prime Reforming Power is in Kings and Princes: That in caſe they fail, this Authority devolves upon the inferior Magiſtracy: And that upon their Failure in this Duty, the Right deſcends upon the Body of the People. That this Principle ſtands upon the Suppoſition that a *Reformation* is neceſſary; and that the Peoples Superiors will by no means give leave to the Progreſs of it; that 'tis granted ſuch a *Reformation* is more imperfect, with reſpect to the Inſtruments and manner of Proceſs; and yet commonly more perfect and refin'd, with reference to the Product and Iſſue. That the Teſtimonies of *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, two famous *Engliſh* Biſhops, might be produc'd to prove, that the Tumults in *Scotland*, at the Time of the *Reformation*, were to be charg'd upon the Oppoſition of the *Papiſts*, and not upon the Nobility or People, who appear'd againſt Error and Superſtition. That whether the *Engliſh* Reformation was begun in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time or not, 'twas left unfiniſh'd by Queen *Elizabeth*. The Father ſtirr'd the Humours of the Diſeaſe, but neither the Son nor the Daughter diſcharg'd them throughly.

“ He attempts to make good the Exceptions in his firſt *Letter*, That the Government of the Church of *England* is not *built on the Foundation of Chriſt and the Apoſtles*: He argues, this cannot be deny'd by thoſe who confeſs Church Government mutable and *ambulatory*: That the Majority of the *Engliſh* Biſhops were formerly of this Opinion: That they were contented to act under the Authority of Princes: And that the *Jure Divino* Privilege was not pleaded till lately by ſome few: That the *Engliſh* Reformation *has not perfectly purg'd out the* Roman *Leaven*: *That it has depraved the Diſcipline of the Church, by conforming to the Civil Polity*: That it has added many ſupplemental Church-Offices to thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God: That ſuch Additions are no leſs unlawful, than the ſuppreſſing Offices warranted by divine Inſtitutions.

Charles I. K.

“ *Henderſon* inſiſts, that in his *Anſwer* to the King's firſt *Paper*, he brought ſeveral Reaſons to prove, that a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were Terms equivalent in *Scripture*; and that by Conſequence, there was no Difference in the Office. And whereas the King averr'd, that *Presbyterian* Government was never practis'd before *Calvin*'s Time; he endeavours to diſable this Aſſertion, by the Anſwer given by the *Reformed*, to a Queſtion commonly put by the *Papiſts*. For when thoſe of the *Roman* Communion aſk the *Proteſtants*, where their Church was before *Luther*? One Part of the Anſwer is, *That it is to be found in Scripture*. The ſame may be affirm'd of *Presbyterian* Government. In proof of this Point, *the Aſſembly* of *Divines* at *Weſtminſter*, have made it evident, that the Primitive Church at *Jeruſalem* was govern'd by a *Presbytery*. In order to the Proof of this, they made it appear; 1. That the Church of *Jeruſalem* conſiſted of more Congregations than one: That this is evident from the Multitude of Believers, from the Number of Apoſtles, and other Preachers there, and from the Diverſity of Languages among the Faithful. 2. That all theſe Congregations were combin'd under one *Presbyterial* Government: That with reference to Government, they made no more than a ſingle Church (u). That this Church was govern'd by *Elders* of the ſame Body, who met together for Functions of Authority: And that the Apoſtles themſelves in the Church-Aſſemblies, acted not in the Quality of Apoſtles, but only as *Elders* *: That they ſtated the Queſtion, argu'd upon the Level, and wav'd their Apoſtolical Privilege. That the ſame *Presbyterian* Government was ſettled in the Churches of *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. living the Apoſtles. That this Form of Government continued many Years after: And that at laſt, when one of the Presbytery preſided over the reſt with the Stile of Biſhop, even then, as St. *Jerom* affirms, *Churches were governed with the joint Conſent of the Presbytery*; *and that 'twas Cuſtom rather than Divine Appointment*, *which rais'd a Biſhop above a Presbyter*.

“ To his Majeſty's Argument, that where the Meaning of the *Scripture* is doubtful, the Practice of the *Primitive* Church, and the general Conſent of the *Fathers* ought to determine the Senſe: That unleſs this Rule is admitted, the Interpretation of *Scripture* muſt be left to *private Spirits*: To diſentangle this Difficulty, *Henderſon* replys, that notwithſtanding the Decrees of General *Councils*, and the Reſolutions of the *Fathers*, upon any Point, a Liberty muſt be left for a Judgment of Diſcretion: That this Aſſertion is ſufficiently prov'd by Biſhop *Davenant*, not to name any others, in his Book *de Judice Controverſiarum*. That notwithſtanding all the Pretenſions from the *Fathers*, a Biſhops having the ſole Power of *Ordination* and *Juriſdiction*, can never be found in the earlieſt *Antiquity*. To this he ſubjoins, that many of the *Fathers*, not knowing what they did, brought that *Antichriſt* to the Birth which was conceiv'd in the Apoſtles Time: That for this Reaſon they are by no means qualified to pronounce upon the *Hierarchy*. And that on the other ſide, there has been great Diſcoveries of Truth ſince the *Reformation*: And that many myſterious Things concerning *Antichriſt* and his *Train*, have been brought to Light.

(u) Acts 11. 22, 26.

* Acts 15.

“To prove *Presbyters* may ordain other *Presbyters*, without a Biſhop, he cites St. *Paul*'s Advice to St. *Timothy* (w): *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.* And here he obſerves, that in the *New Teſtament*, the Word *Presbytery* always ſignifies the *Perſons*, and not the *Office*. And granting the Functions of Biſhop and Presbyter were diſtinct, it does not follow, that the Authority and Force of the Presbyter's Character was deriv'd from the Biſhop. For were not the *Evangeliſts* inferior to the *Apoſtles*? However, notwithſtanding this Diſparity, they received their Commiſſion from Chriſt, and not from the *Apoſtles*. The ſame may be affirm'd of the *ſeventy Diſciples*, who were immediately authoriz'd by our Saviour. 'Tis true, St. *Jerom* puts the Queſtion with ſome Advantage to the Biſhop where he ſays, *quid facit excepta ordinatione, Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter (x)?* But then this Father proves in the ſame Place from *Scripture*, that *Epiſcopus* and *Presbyter* are equipollent Terms; and therefore when he makes Ordination the Biſhop's Peculiar, he refers to After-cuſtom, and the Innovations of ſucceeding Ages.

(w) 1 Tim. 4. 14.

(x) Epiſt. ad Evag.

“Upon the Head concerning the King's Coronation-Oath, this Divine declines dilating any farther: He is likewiſe unwilling to enter upon the Queſtion concerning the *Seat* of Eccleſiaſtical *Supremacy*. But after this Reſervedneſs, makes no Scruple to declare, that ſuch a Headſhip as the Kings of *England* have claim'd; ſuch a *Supremacy* as the two Houſes of Parliament inſiſt on; *i. e.* an Authority to receive Appeals from the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical Judicature, upon the Score of their being paramount to the Church in Things purely ſpiritual *; ſuch a *Supremacy* as this, he utterly diſclaims. After this, upon Recollection, he returns to the *Oath*. And here he cannot conceive, how the Clergy of the Church of *England* are, or ought to be principally intended in the *Coronation Oath*: For granting they were then reckon'd the *Repreſentative* Church, yet even under this Notion, they ought to be governed by the Intereſt of the Church *collective*: For the Maxim of *Salus Populi* being *Suprema Lex*, will bring the Point to this Reſolution. And upon this Principle, the Alterations were made in the Church of *Scotland*. And if nothing of this kind can be warrantably done without the Aſſent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, in *Spain*, or in *Rome* it ſelf? 'Tis not to be imagin'd the Pope or the Prelates, *will conſent to their own Ruine*.

* *He calls it in the ſame Line of Subordination.*

“His Majeſty had taken occaſion to ſay, That if his Father King *James* had been conſulted upon the Queſtion of Force and Reſiſtance, he would have anſwer'd, That *Prayers and Tears are the Churches Weapons*: Granting this thing, replies this Divine, 'tis neither acceptable to God, nor ſerviceable for Princes, to force the Church to make uſe of *thoſe Arms*. And here he takes the Freedom to declare, *he could never hear a Reaſon to prove a neceſſary defenſive War, a War againſt unjuſt Violence, unlawful.*

To the King's Queſtion, What Warrant there was in the Word of God for Subjects endeavouring to force their King's Conſciences? He anſwers, by flouriſhing with ſeveral Diſtinctions, unneceſſary to mention: And at laſt concludes, “That as long as a Man's Conſcience is miſtaken, he lies under a Neceſſity of doing amiſs. The way therefore to diſintangle himſelf, is to get his Underſtanding better inform'd; not to move till he has ſtruck a Light, and made a farther Diſcovery. For that ſuch an erroneous Conſcience is Part of the *Old Man*, which we are commanded to *put off*.

The King's Third Paper, June 22d, 1646.

“The King, in his Anſwer to this *Second Paper*, diſſents from *Henderſon* touching the Seat of the *Reforming Power*. His Majeſty grants, where a General *Council* cannot be had, Independent Kingdoms may *Reform* themſelves: And that this Point is fully prov'd by Archbiſhop *Laud* in his Book againſt *Fiſher*. But that the Inferiour Magiſtracy and People have any ſuch Authority, is more than *Henderſon* has prov'd. If this Point can be prov'd by *Scripture*, his Majeſty is ready to ſubmit. But *Henderſon*'s Inſtances out of the *Old Teſtament* rather confirm the King in his own Opinion: All thoſe *Reformations* being made by Princes: That if God had approv'd a *Reformation* in Subjects, there were Occaſions enough in *Paleſtine*, from the Immorality of ſeveral Kings, to have brought on ſuch Precedents. But the Hiſtory in *Numbers* * is a clear Evidence of God's diſapproving ſuch Methods. That this pretended Power of the People muſt either be warranted by direct Commiſſion, or ſubſequent Approbation: That when God Almighty's Pleaſure in Favour of the *Peoples Reforming* can be prov'd, his Majeſty will acquieſce: But that all other Arguments are wide of the Purpoſe. That private Mens Opinions disjoyn'd from the general Conſent of the *Church*, ſignify little. That *Rebels never want Writers to maintain their Revolt*. That tho' his Majeſty has a Regard for *Jewel*'s Memory, he never thought him infallible: As for *Bilſon*, he very well remembers what Opinion the King his Father had of the Biſhop. And that he ſhew'd him ſome Favour, in hopes he might retract his Singularities.

* Cap. 16.

“As to Epiſcopal Government his Majeſty is ready to prove it an Apoſtolical Inſtitution; and that it has been handed down through all Ages and Countries till *Calvin*'s Time. And offers either to make good this Point, or yield the Argument, as ſoon as he is furniſh'd with Books, or ſuch Divines as he ſhall make Choice of. That *Henderſon* has fallen ſhort in proving the Church of *England not built upon the Foundation of Chriſt and his Apoſtles*. For ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* Biſhops had confeſs'd Church Government *Mutable* and *Ambulatory*; *Henderſon*'s Inferences would not follow. And 2dly, the King is confident it can't be prov'd that moſt of theſe Prelates maintain'd this *Walking Poſition*: For their being contented with the Conſtitution of the Church, and the *Authority* and *Munificence* of Princes *, falls much ſhort of Evidence. That the Charge of our retaining the *Roman Leven*, is nothing but bare Affirmation. That the accommodating the Church Diſcipline to the *Civil* Conſtitution, ſhould imply a depraving it, his Majeſty denies: And avers on the other hand, that without ſome Degrees of ſuch Conformity, the flouriſhing of the Church would be impracticable. His Majeſty proceeds and tells *Henderſon*, he would do well to ſhew where

* So Henderſon *expreſs'd himſelf in his Second Paper.*

Williams Joh. *Abp. of* York.

our Saviour has prohibited the Addition of more Church-Officers than thoſe nam'd by him. And more than that, he is not appriz'd the Church of *England* has offer'd at any Supplement of this kind: For an Archbiſhop is only a Diſtinction in the Order of Government, and not a new Officer: And the ſame may be affirm'd of the reſt. And of this Kind there are ſeveral now in *Scotland*, which *Henderſon* will not condemn; as the *Moderators of Aſſemblies*, and others.

The King's Third Paper, June 22d, 1646.

“ The King denies that *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* always import the ſame thing in *Scripture*: And that when they do, it muſt be remember'd it was in the *Apoſtles* time. Now his Majeſty believes himſelf able to prove the Order of *Biſhops* ſucceeded that of the *Apoſtles*: And that the Title was alter'd, and the Name of *Apoſtle* drop'd, chiefly in Regard to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our Saviour. As for the Antiquity of *Presbyterian* Government, his Majeſty is ſurpriz'd the *Aſſembly-Divines* ſhould underſtand the Hiſtory of this Matter better than *Euſebius*. And here he puts *Henderſon* in mind that in his firſt Paper 'twas affirm'd, the Records of the Primitive Times were dark, and that it was very difficult to come at Matter of Fact. But 'tis objected there were ſeveral *Congregations* in *Jeruſalem*. What follows from thence? continues the King: Are there not a great many Pariſhes in one Dioceſe? But *the Apoſtles met thoſe of inferiour Orders for Acts of Government*. What then? Do not the Deans and Chapters, nay do not the inferiour Clergy, many times, aſſiſt the Biſhops? The King preſſes farther, and takes it for granted, that *Henderſon* will not be ſo hardy as to affirm an Equality between the *Apoſtles*, and other *Presbyters*: And yet unleſs this Point can be made good, the Arguments for *Presbyterian* Parity are inconcluſive. And if this Divine can ſay no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. than he has done for that of *Jeruſalem*, 'twill make no Impreſſion upon his Majeſty. As for St. *Jerom*, 'tis well known he was no great Friend to Biſhops: However, take him altogether, he makes a plain Diſtinction between the Power of a Biſhop and a Presbyter, by the Confeſſion of *Henderſon* himſelf. The Truth is, this *Father* was of a warm Temper, and angry with thoſe who ſeem'd to maintain a Parity between Deacons and Prieſts.

“ The King, for ſettling the Senſe of controverted Places in *Scripture*, had appeal'd to *the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the general Conſent of the Fathers*. That *Henderſon* ought either to ſubmit to the Authority of theſe Judges, or find out better. That he has done neither, nor yet ſhewn how by declining theſe Authorities, the Miſchief of interpreting *Scripture* by a *Private Spirit*, can be prevented. The King confeſſes, that in caſe he cannot prove from Antiquity, that *Ordination* and *Juriſdiction* is a peculiar Branch of Authority belonging to Biſhops, diſtinct from Presbyters, he ſhall then begin to ſuſpect the Truth of his Principles. As for Biſhop *Davenant*'s Teſtimony, he refuſes to be determin'd by that Prelate. And for *Henderſon*'s Exception to the *Fathers*, he takes it for begging of the Queſtion. And thoſe great Diſcoveries of *Secrets*, unknown to former Ages, he looks upon as no better than Fancy, and modern Invention, till they are farther prov'd. As for Church-Ambition, the graſping at the *Papacy* is not the only Inſtance of it. An Endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, is in his Majeſty's Opinion, no Argument of Humility. And 'tis poſſible that *Papal* Privilege and Pretentions in a *Multitude*, may be as dangerous as when lodg'd in a ſingle Perſon.

Charles I. K.

“ And whereas *Henderſon* had urg'd the Precedent of Foreign *Reform'd* Churches in Favour of *Presbytery*; the King anſwers, That as he is no Judge over theſe Reform'd *Societies*, ſo neither does he undertake to cenſure them: That Neceſſity may excuſe many things, which would be otherwiſe unlawful. But for a clearer Anſwer to this Matter, he makes no Scruple to declare, that he does not value any thing the more for its being done by a *Particular* Church: But eſteems that Church moſt, which makes the neareſt approach to the *Primitive Doctrine and Diſcipline*: That he believes the Church of *England* ſtands recommended with this Advantage, which is the Reaſon he has ſo great a Regard for her Communion. His Majeſty proceeds to obſerve, that *Henderſon* has fail'd in proving that *Presbyters* may lawfully concern themſelves in *Ordinations* without a Biſhop. That 'tis plain from the *New Teſtament*, that St. *Paul* had a Share in St. *Timothy*'s *Ordination* (*y*). That notwithſtanding the *Seventy* had their Power immediately from Chriſt, 'tis evident our Saviour makes a plain Diſtinction between the Twelve *Apoſtles* and the reſt of the *Diſciples* (*z*).

“ As to the Obligation of the *Coronation*-Oath, the King replies, That tho' the Deſign of this ſolemn Engagement was for the Benefit of the *Church Collective*: Does it therefore follow he can be diſpens'd, without the Conſent of the *Repreſentative Body?* This can no more be done, than the *Laity without Doors* can diſcharge him from any Oaths taken for their Advantage, without the Concurrence of the Two *Houſes*. As for the pretended Impracticableneſs of *Reformation* upon the King's Principles, his Majeſty thinks it ſufficient to let him know, that *incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum*. To the Point of a defenſive War againſt the Supreme Magiſtrate; as his Majeſty owns it a great Sin for any Prince to oppreſs the Church, ſo on the other ſide, he holds it abſolutely unlawful for Subjects to make War (tho' defenſively) againſt their Lawful Sovereign, upon any Pretence whatſoever: And that nothing leſs than plain Proofs from *Scripture*, can make him depart from this Opinion. And that in Diſcourſes upon this Head, Inſtances, no leſs than Compariſons, are odious.

Henderſon's *Third Paper*, July 2d, 1646.

“ Mr. *Henderſon*, in his Third *Paper*, waves moſt of the Points of Controverſy diſcuſs'd before, deſires to change the Method a little, and ſettle the *Rule* for determining the Debate touching *Church Polity*. And here he lays down his Majeſty's Principles, that is, the *Practice of the Primitive Church*, and the *Univerſal Conſent* of the *Fathers*: Theſe Grounds of Antiquity, perpetual Succeſſion, general Conſent of the *Fathers*, and the Univerſal Practice of the *Primitive* Church, are his Majeſty's Grounds for maintaining *Epiſcopacy*, and interpreting doubtful Places of *Scripture*. And here the King falls in exactly with St. *Auſtin*, where he very reaſonably infers, *quod Univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec à Concilio inſtitutum ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi Authoritate Apoſtolica traditum, rectiſſimè creditur*. *Henderſon* allows the Colours of Truth

“ lie

(*y*) 2 Tim. 1. 6.

(*z*) Mark 3. 15. Luke 6. 13.

lie very ſtrong upon this Argument at the firſt View: And does not wonder at its making an Impreſſion upon a modeſt Temper. But when 'tis throughly examin'd, he conceives 'twill be found of no great Weight. For in the firſt place he affirms, there is no ſuch *Primitive* Teſtimony, no ſuch *Univerſal Conſent*, in Proof of the modern Epiſcopacy: There being a great Number of the *Fathers* who aſſert, That a Biſhop and Presbyter, are of the ſame *Order* †. After having premis'd this, he offers ſeveral Conſiderations to combat the Principle, and diſable the Authority of the *Primitive* Church. He pretends the adhering to St. *Auſtin*'s Rule, reſting ſo much upon ancient Practice, Catholick Tradition, and the Writings of the *Fathers*, has opened a Paſſage to many dangerous Errours and prov'd a mighty Hindrance to *Reformations*.

† *This Aſſertion of Henderſon's is a Miſtake.*

“ He proceeds, and obſerves firſt, that ſome lay down two *Rules* for determining Controverſy, the *Word of God and Antiquity*: Theſe two Grounds call'd *Canonical Authority*, and *Catholick Tradition*, are receiv'd with equal Veneration by the *Papiſts*: Others make *Scripture* the only *Rule* and Antiquity the Authentick *Interpreter*. Now he thinks this latter *Diviſion* of Chriſtians moſt miſtaken: For the *Papiſts* bring Tradition no farther than to an Equality of Regard with the inſpir'd *Writings*. But the *Others* ſet up a ground of *Belief* even above the *Scriptures*: For the Interpretation of the *Fathers* muſt be the Διότι the very formal Reaſon why we believe the *Scripture* interpretable in ſuch a Senſe: And thus contrary to the Apoſtles Doctrine; *Men ſhall have Dominion over our Faith* (a) : *And our Faith muſt ſtand in the Wiſdom of Men, and not in the Power of God.* And Scripture muſt be of private Interpretation: Tho' St. *Peter* aſſures us, *Prophecy came not in old Time, by the will of Man.* And by this Reaſoning, as *Tertullian* ſpeaks, *niſi Homini Deus placuèrit, Deus non erit: God muſt ſtand to Man's Courteſy for his Deity.*

(a) 2 Cor. 1. 24.
1 Cor. 2. 5.
2 Pet. 1. 20, 21.

2*dly*. That *Scripture* cannot be authentically interpreted but by *Scripture*, is plain from *Scripture* it ſelf. Thus the *Levites* (as this Gentleman argues) made the Law it's own Interpreter, and had recourſe only to one Part of *Scripture*; for expounding another (b).

(b) Neh. 8. 8.

“ Thus our Saviour, for a Precedent againſt Errour, detected the Devil's Abuſe of the inſpir'd Writings, and gave the true Senſe of Scripture by explaining one *Text*, by another: He compar'd *Scripture* with *Scripture*, without alledging the Authority of the *Rabbins* (c). This was likewiſe the Apoſtles Method: And thus St. *Peter* exhorts us to compare the clear Light of the Apoſtolical Writings with the more obſcure Diſcoveries of the Prophets (d). And when we apply for Direction to the *Fathers*, we had need be very cautious not to charge the *Scriptures* with Obſcurity, or Imperfection.

(c) Matth. 4. 4. 7.
(d) 2 Pet. 1. 19.

“ 3*dly*, The *Fathers* themſelves maintain, that *Scripture* is not to be interpreted but by *Scripture*. But for this Point, he only cites a ſingle Teſtimony from *Tertullian*. *Surge Veritas, ipſas Scripturas tuas interpretare quam Conſuetudo non novit; nam ſi noſſet, non eſſet.*

“ 4*thly*, He pretends ſome Errours have paſs'd under the Shelter of *Antiquity* and *Tradition*: And here he offers at ſeveral Inſtances: For the Purpoſe; the Errour of *Free-Will* began with *Juſtin Martyr*, and continu'd till the *Reformation*: Tho' he grants it was rejected by St. *Auſtin*: And ſo, as he goes on, was the Divine Right of *Epiſcopacy* contradicted by others. Farther, 'twas univerſally held by the Ancients, that the Saints departed were not admitted to the Beatifick Viſion till the Reſurrection: The ſame may be ſaid of the *Millenaries* Doctrine. And which he thinks, comes cloſer to the Queſtion in hand, the Ancients were lamentably miſtaken touching *Antichriſt*: And that the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, tho' the Fathers ſeem'd not ſenſible of it, *began to work* in the Apoſtles Days. Many other Inſtances, he thinks, may be brought to prove the Univerſal Practice of the Church no ſafe Ground to rely on. And particularly, that the ancient Ceremonies in *Baptiſm*, and the *Liturgies*; the forming of the *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*, the Obſerving Anniverſary, and Weekly *Feſtivals*, and *Faſts*, are all unwarranted by the Apoſtle. To take off the Surprize of ſo ſudden a Defection in the *Primitive* Church: To give a more intelligible Account of their going off thus early from Apoſtolical Purity, he endeavours,

“ In the 5th Place, to give parallel Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*. He obſerves the *Iſraelites* in the ſhort Interval of *Moſes* his abſence, debauch'd their Religion, and fell into horrible Idolatry (e). Thus, ſoon after the Death of *Joſhua* and his Contemporary *Elders*, the next Generation revolted from their *Law, and did Evil in the Sight of the Lord.* Soon after the Building of the Temple, and ſettling the Prieſts Courſes by *David* and *Solomon*, the Worſhip of God was polluted with Idolatry. When *Rehoboam had eſtabliſh'd the Kingdom, and ſtrengthned himſelf, he forſook the Law of the Lord, and all Iſrael with him.* And thus in the *New Teſtament* the Apoſtle expoſtulates with the *Galatians, and wonders they are ſo ſoon remov'd unto another Goſpel.* From all theſe Inſtances he infers, we have no reaſon to be ſurpriz'd there ſhould be a ſudden Defection in Matters of *Diſcipline*; eſpecially ſince this Miſchief began to operate in the Apoſtles time. He grants 'tis commonly believ'd the Church was moſt remarkable for Purity and Perfection, in thoſe *Centuries* which came neareſt the Apoſtolical Age. But thinks this Opinion not well ſupported.

(e) Exod. 32.
Judg. 2. 7.
2 Chron. 12. 1.
Gal. 1. 6.

“ 6*thly*, He inſiſts, that the Univerſal Conſent and Practice of the Primitive Church is impoſſible to be known: That many of the *Fathers* were no Authors; that many of their *Tracts* are loſt, which might poſſibly have diſagreed with thoſe extant; that many Performances, which go under their Names, are counterfeit; eſpecially upon the Subject of *Epiſcopacy*: And that the Rule of St. *Auſtin* abovemention'd, favours *Tradition* too much, and is not to be admitted without Caution and Reſtraint.

“ His Majeſty in his Anſwer to this laſt Paper of *Henderſon*, cloſes with his Method, and agrees with him in beginning with *the Settling of the Rule*. He puts him in mind of his offering a Judge to determine the Controverſie: But that *Henderſon* had neither agreed to the *Reference*, nor directed to a better Umpire. As for *Scripture*, tho' no Man can reverence it more, or reſign farther to it than his Majeſty; yet when *Henderſon* and himſelf, differ about the Interpretation of a *Text*, 'tis neceſſary for them to apply to ſome Rule to ſettle the Senſe. And that without compromiſing

The King's Fourth Paper, July, 3. 1646.

“ the Matter thus far, 'tis impoſſible the Diſpute ſhould be determin'd. For inſtance, the King charges *Henderſon* with miſapplying 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. His Majeſty can't imagine how his Principles give *other Men* Dominion over his Faith, when he makes them only ſerviceable to ſupport his Reaſon. And which way 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. can be turn'd to this Purpoſe, is farther than he underſtands. For here St. *Paul*'s Deſign is only to mark the Difference between human Rhetorick and the *Demonſtration of the Spirit*: As for interpreting Scripture, this Apoſtle gives no Directions for that through the whole Chapter. 'Tis true, St. *Peter* does (*f*). But here the King conceives the Advantage lies on his ſide. For ſince *no Prophecy or Scripture is of private Interpretation* his Majeſty infers, 1. That *Scripture* is to be interpreted, otherwiſe the Word *private* would have been omitted by the Apoſtle. 2. That the Catholick Church being the ſureſt Guide, and the moſt publick Authority, ought to be appeal'd to when the Meaning of the Holy Ghoſt is conteſted. And tho' *Scripture* is beſt interpreted by it ſelf, when parallel Places occur, and the Caſe will bear it, does it follow from hence, that all other Methods are unlawful? And thus ſince the King and *Henderſon* differ about the *Meaning* of the *Scripture*, his Majeſty concludes there muſt be a *Rule* or a *Judge* between them, to give Force to their Proofs to make their Arguments bear, and put an End to the Controverſie.

(*f*) 2 Pet. 1. 20.

His Majeſty's 5th Paper, July 6. 1646.

“ Thus far his Majeſty's fourth *Paper*: In his Fifth he engages *Henderſon*'s *Six Conſiderations*, and diſproves his Reaſoning.

“ To the firſt, his Majeſty anſwers, that overflouriſhing the Authority of *Tradition*, is no Argument againſt the Serviceableneſs of it: For tho' ſome *ignorant Fellows* ſhou'd aſſert the Power of *Presbyters* too far, and over-ſtrain their Character, would this be a good Reaſon for leſſening the Regard due to them? By parity of Inference, continues the King, Why may not I ſafely maintain the Interpretation of the *Fathers*, a moſt excellent Support of my Opinion? Why mayn't I depend thus far upon the *Ancients*, tho' ſome extravagant People exceed in their Reliance, and reſolve their *Faith* into this Principle?

“ *Henderſon*'s ſecond and third Conſiderations, that Scripture ought to be interpreted by *Scripture*, hath been anſwer'd already.

“ To the 4th his Majeſty replys, that to charge the *Practice* of the univerſal Church with Error, is a very bold Undertaking: And unleſs the Article can be made good by clear Places of *Scripture*, *Henderſon* is much to be blam'd for this Freedom. That this Divine miſtakes Matter of Fact, and that the Controverſie touching *Free-will*, was never yet decided by any General *Council*. That to call the Cuſtoms and Diſcipline of the Catholick Church, Errors, is an unpardonable Preſumption, unleſs the Charge can be prov'd from holy *Scripture*. And that 'tis not ſufficient to ſay, ſuch Rites in *Baptiſm*, Forms of *Prayer*, Obſervation of *Feſtivals*, &c. are not expreſly warranted by the Apoſtles. This is no good Exception: Thoſe who object to theſe ancient Rites and Cuſtoms, muſt prove ſuch Uſages are plainly unlawful by the Apoſtles Doctrine: Otherwiſe, if the Objections come ſhort of this Evidence, the Practice of the Church is enough in all Reaſon to warrant the Cuſtom. And upon this Ground of the Churches *Tradition*, his Majeſty will believe the Apoſtles *Creed* was formed by thoſe inſpired Writers, till other unqueſtionable Authors can be aſſign'd.

“ To *Henderſon*'s fifth *Conſideration*, his Majeſty oppoſes the Axiom of *à poſſe ad eſſe, non valet conſequentia*; or that there is no good reaſoning from Poſſibility to Matter of Fact: That the Inſtances of *Defection*, brought both from the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, were mark'd at their Riſe, and complain'd of when they appear'd.

“ Farther, his Majeſty denys 'tis impoſſible to diſcover the *univerſal Conſent*, and underſtand the *Practice* of the *primitive* Church: And that all the Reaſons advanced to the contrary, prove no farther than Caution, and are only Motives againſt over-forward Belief. His Majeſty concludes with repeating this remarkable Sentence, that notwithſtanding he never eſteemed any *Authority* equal to the *Scriptures*, yet he believes the *unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, and the univerſal Practice of the primitive Church, the beſt and moſt authentick Interpreters of God's Word*. And by conſequence, the beſt qualify'd Judges between himſelf, and *Henderſon* (*g*).

(*g*) Reliquiæ ſacræ Carolinæ, *p.* 309. & deinc.

Thus I have reported the Subſtance of the Debate, and on which ſide the Victory lies, ſhall be left to the Reader. By his Majeſty's *Manner*, one would almoſt have thought he had lain under no Mortification. That the Rebellion had been cruſh'd: And that his Affairs had been in the eaſieſt Poſture imaginable. He diſcovers no Marks of Dejection or Diſturbance. He lays down ſolid Principles, looks through *Henderſon*'s Diſcourſe with great Penetration, attacks him in his main Strength, and argues with Force and Perſpicuity. And all this without being furniſhed with common Convenience, without Books or Divines to aſſiſt him: Beſides his Majeſty engag'd no ordinary Champion: For to give *Henderſon* his due, he was a Perſon of Learning, Elocution, and Judgment, made the beſt of his way, and ſeems to have been the Top of his Party. 'Twas credibly reported, as the learned *Heylin* relates *, that *Henderſon*'s being worſted in the Controverſie, threw him into a deep Melancholly which ended in a mortal Diſtemper. Some ſay, he dy'd a Convert to his Majeſty, and that he did him the Juſtice of an extraordinary Character in managing a Debate of this Nature. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners being inform'd how well his Majeſty had perform'd againſt *Henderſon*, declin'd engaging in any Diſpute, and only deſir'd his Anſwer to their Propoſitions: But theſe were ſo unreaſonable, the King could give them no Satisfaction.

Henderſon *retires to Edinborough, and dies.*

* *Hiſt. Presbyt. pag.* 477.

An Ordinance for aboliſhing Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſelling their Lands.

In *October* following, the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* made an Ordinance for aboliſhing the Name, Dignity, and Function of all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, alienated their Lands, and ſettled them in Truſtees: And not long after, order'd them to be ſold for the Payment of Debts, and diſcharging the publick Faith (*h*). And thus the Presbyterian Preachers, who had miſreported the King in their Pulpits, given Thanks for ſham Victories, and encouraged the People in their Rebellion, gain'd little at the Foot of the Account. They expected, 'tis likely, to have rais'd their Fortunes, upon the Ruines of Epiſcopacy, and had their Livings augmented with Deans and Chapters Lands. But now they found themſelves diſappointed, the Alienations transferr'd to ſecular Uſes, and the Plunder lodg'd in other Mens Coffers. Beſides, the two *Houſes* had bought the King of the covenanting *Scots*, for 200000 *l.* and wanted to be furniſhed for paying the Purchaſe-Money.

(*h*) Scobell's *Collect.* &c. *fol.* 99 & 100, 101.

May. 1. 1647.

After the Rendition of *Oxford* to the Rebels, a Set of *Viſitors* were impower'd by an *Ordinance*, to enquire into the *Malignancy* of the *Univerſity*. Before theſe *Reformers* came down, a *Convocation* was held, and the Occaſion opened by Dr. *Fell* the Vice-Chancellor. June 1. 1647. At this *Meeting* 'twas unanimouſly agreed, that the Senſe of the *Univerſity*, touching the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, the *Negative Oath*, and the *Directory*, ſhould be drawn up. I ſhall tranſlate an Account of this Matter from *Wood*'s Hiſtory, revis'd by Biſhop *Fell*. The *Covenant* ſworn by all Degrees in the three Kingdoms, is branch'd into Six *Articles*, and omitting the Preamble, begins thus:

The Senſe of the Univerſity of Oxon *touching the Covenant, the negative Oath, and the Directory.*

That according to our reſpective Places and Offices, We will ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and conſtantly endeavour to maintain the Reformed Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of Scotland, *with regard to Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Eccleſiaſtical Government, againſt the common Enemies thereof: And to reform Religion in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, purſuant to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches.* *The Covenant.* *We will likewiſe endeavour to bring the Churches of God in theſe Three Kingdoms, to the cloſeſt Union, Agreement, and Uniformity poſſible; in the Confeſſion of Faith, in the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government, in the Directory, Catechiſm, and Worſhip: That our ſelves, and our Poſterity, may live in the ſame Profeſſion of Faith, and maintain a friendly and Chriſtian Correſpondence, and that the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.*

The remaining *Articles* ſhall be tranſcribed in the *Covenanters* Words.

We ſhall in like manner, without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, that is, Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on the Hierarchy, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine and the Power of Godlineſs, leſt we partake in other Mens Sins, and thereby be in Danger to receive of their Plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one, in theſe three Kingdoms.

We ſhall with the ſame Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the due Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve, and defend the King's Majeſty, his Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.

We ſhall alſo with all Faithfulneſs endeavour the Diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongſt the People, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require, or deſerve, or the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having Power from them, for that Effect, ſhall judge convenient.

And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdoms, deny'd in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and ſettled by both Parliaments, We ſhall each one of us, according to our Place and Intereſt, endeavour that they remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Article.

We ſhall alſo according to our Places and Callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion, or Terror to be divided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Conjunction and Union, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and Honour of the King, but ſhall all the Days of our Lives zealouſly and conſtantly endeavour to continue therein, againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our Power, againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able of our ſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we ſhall do as in the Sight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof; We profeſs and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned Deſire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms, &c. *And this Covenant We make in the Preſence of Almighty God the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as We ſhall anſwer it at the Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſclos'd, moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his Holy Spirit to this End, and to bleſs our Deſires and Proceedings with ſuch Succeſs, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to join in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.*

The Univerſity's Objection to the Preamble.

The *Univerſity* begin their Anſwer, by objecting to the *Preamble* of the *Covenant*. Wherein, amongſt other Things, 'tis affirmed, That the Perſon ſwearing, had offered ſeveral Petitions and Remonſtrances for removing the Grievances pretended. But the *Univerſity* deny they had ever petition'd for that Purpoſe. 'Tis likewiſe ſuggeſted in the *Preamble*, that this *Covenant* was formed upon the laudable Cuſtom of theſe Kingdoms in former Ages. And that it was no more than a Copy of a ſolemn Engagement made by the People of God in foreign Countries. The *Univerſity* can by no means agree to this Aſſertion: They poſitively declare, there was never any Reſemblance of any ſuch Combination amongſt the *Engliſh* Subjects: Neither do they know of any *laudable* Precedent (as the Preamble ſpeaks) for ſuch a Practice beyond Sea: On the other ſide, ſome of their own Party declare this *Covenant* is a perfect Original (*i*).

After this, they make ſome general Exceptions:

First, They cannot underſtand the annexing Penalties to the Refuſal of this *Engagement*. They conceive the menacing People to a Compliance, does not ſuit the Nature of what is tender'd. A Covenant is a Contract. It ſuppoſes the voluntary Conſent of the Parties contracting. That Proſelyes are to be gain'd by Perſuaſion; and that the Reaſons are not to be ram'd down with Terror and Compulſion.

Some other Preliminaries.

Secondly, This Oath cannot be taken without betraying thoſe Liberties, which by their ſolemn

(*i*) Phil. Nye. *Covenant with Narrative p.* 12.

** See the Proteſtation taken in the Year 1641*

(k) 1 Car. 3.

(l) Ib. Jan. 1642.

Exact Collections, p. 859, 860. *where 'tis declar'd, the King, unleſs impower'd by Act of Parliament, can't oblige the Subject to take an Oath.*

Proteſtation * they have already engag'd to maintain, and are now to repeat the Obligation by the Third Article of the *Covenant:* Now the putting an Oath upon the Subject without the Authority of an Act of Parliament, they conceive is wholly inconſiſtent with the *Liberties* above mention'd, with the *Petition of Right* (*k*), and the *Declaration* publiſh'd by the *Lords* and *Commons (l).*

Farther, ſuppoſing this Engagement was not forc'd by way of Authority, but only recommended. They can't perceive which way they could be in a condition to Acquieſce: For how can it be reconcileable with the Duty of Subjects to enter into a *Covenant*, where the Intereſt of their Sovereign is concern'd, without having either his Expreſs or Preſumptive Conſent? By doing this, the Proviſion in the 30*th* of *Numbers* would by Parity of reaſoning be applicable to their Caſe: And thus in all Equity of Conſtruction, it would be in the Sovereign's Power to make void their Engagement.

** The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.*

To this they add, that ſince his Majeſty has by *Proclamation* declar'd his Pleaſure upon this Point; ſince he was expreſly forbiden the Covenant; which way can the Subject engage without a groſs failure in the duty of natural Allegiance, and that requir'd by Statute *? And that upon both theſe tyes they are bound to obey the King's Commands, when neither contrary to the Holy *Scriptures*, nor the Laws of the Realm. After theſe Preliminaries, the *Univerſity* proceeds to argue againſt the firſt *Article*.

They argue againſt the firſt Article.

Firſt, They are apprehenſive the Contents of this *Article* obliges to a contradiction of the Condition of an Oath requir'd in *Scripture*; where we are commanded to *Swear in Judgment*. Now by this *Article* we engage, ſay they, to ſupport the Religion of another Kingdom; which as we are not much concern'd to know, ſo we confeſs our ſelves unacquainted with. But as far as the Misfortune of theſe Times has inform'd us, we are of Opinion, that as the Doctrine profeſs'd in that Kingdom is not better; ſo the *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline* and *Government*, is worſe than our own.

And yet if for the time to come, we ſhould diſcover any thing in this *Scotch* Religion (which is not impoſſible) which ſeems to have a Tincture of *Popery*, *Superſtition*, *Hereſy* or *Shiſm*, or carries a repugnancy to Orthodoxy and good Morals; we ſhall be oblig'd to endeavour its Extirpation by virtue of the next *Article:* And thus one *Article* will bring us under a Counter Oath to another.

(m) That is the Scotch *pronouncing Epiſcopacy, an Antichriſtian Government: And that Rites indifferent in their own Nature are unlawful in Practice. To which may be added their making their Diſcipline and the Preſbyterian Government, a Mark of the true Church,* &c.

And to ſpeak clearly, we have, as we conceive, diſcover'd ſome Aſſertions bordering cloſely upon *Superſtition* and *Schiſm (m).* And therefore think it more reaſonable to remind the *Scotch* of correcting their own *Syſtem*, than that we ſhould be preſs'd to maintain it.

As to the other branch of this *Article*, importing a Reformation of Religion in this Kingdom, with reſpect to *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Government:* Since Reformation neceſſarily implies Alteration; we are not yet ſatisfy'd ſuch an Attempt is in our Power.

Firſt, Becauſe by endeavouring a thing of this kind, we ſhould deſert from the famous Biſhops and other eminent Divines, who from the beginning of the *Reformation*, to the preſent Time, have by their Martyrdom and Writings Signaliz'd themſelves in Defence of the Church of *England*.

Secondly, We can't charge the Church of *England* with Defects and Corruption, without injuring our Conſciences, and expoſing our Fortunes and Reputation. For we conceive we have very good Reaſons to conclude the Church of *England*, ſettled upon a much better Conſiſtency with the *Word* of *God* and the Practice of the Catholick Church, than that Religion we muſt be ſworn to maintain by the former branch of the *Article*.

And laſtly, We conceive 'tis impracticable for us to engage without apparent danger of Perjury. This *Covenant* being contrary not only to our *Proteſtation* and Solemn *Vow* above-mention'd; but likewiſe to the *Oath* of *Supremacy*.

Their Exceptions to the ſecond Article.

In their Exceptions to the Second Article, they remonſtrate and argue thus: We can't but extremely regret, ſay they, to find that ancient Form of Church Government, upon which our *Reformation* was Eſtabliſh'd, and has ſince flouriſh'd to the Envy and Admiration of Foreigners: To find this Form of Government, mark'd for Deſtruction without the leaſt Reaſon aſſign'd, either for the Neceſſity, or ſo much as the conveniency of ſo prodigious a Change. And over and above, rang'd with very exceptionable Company, with *Popery* and *Superſtition*, with *Hereſie*, *Schiſm*, and *Prophaneneſs*. And as if this Cenſure did not go deep enough, an *Innuendo* is thrown in, as if this Form of Government was ſo plainly oppos'd to ſound Doctrine, ſo deſtructive of the *Power of Godlineſs*; that a Man is under a Neceſſity either of endeavouring the Demolition of this Eſtabliſhment; or being *Partaker of other Mens Sins:* Now this is more than at preſent we are able to believe.

Farther, We deſire it may be ſeriouſly conſider'd, that if an *Engagement* couch'd in a reſembling Form, was put to the City of *London*, by virtue of which they were all of them oblig'd to ſwear, "that without Reſpect of Perſons they "would do their utmoſt endeavour towards the "ſuppreſſing of Treaſon, the City Govern-"ment by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, "and Common-Council; and of all Murther, A-"dultery, Theft, Defrauding the Publick, *&c.* "for fear of being *Partakers of other Mens Sins:* Can it be imagin'd that ſuch an Oath could be reliſh'd by any Citizen, who was not altogether loſt to all Senſe of Liberty and Courage?

2*dly*, 'Tis our Opinion we can't with a ſafe Conſcience ſwear to contribute our endeavours for the Extirpation of *Epiſcopacy*, for theſe *four Conſiderations:* That is, if we conſider either the *thing it ſelf*, or our ſelves; the Church of *England*, or the Obligations we lie under to his Majeſty.

Firſt, With reſpect to the *Thing it ſelf*; we conceive *Epiſcopacy*, if not ſtrictly *Juris Divini*, is at leaſt of Apoſtolical Inſtitution. That this Government has all along ſpread to the extent of Chriſtianity, and continued through all Countries, without Interruption for Fifteen Hundred Years together. That during all this long Period, there was ſcarcely any Perſon excepting *Aerius*, who had the aſſurance to declare for a Parity between Biſhops and *Preſbyters*; and that *Aerius* was pronounc'd a Heretick for this Preſumption. And therefore if we ſhould ſwear the ſuppreſſing an *Order* ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, and ſupported by ſo remarkable a Preſcription; the *Papiſts* would triumph in the firſt Place, and charge us with Contempt of Antiquity; neither ſhould we be in a condition to throw off the Imputation. Beſides, by ſuch a Compliance, the Argument drawn from the Judgment and Practice of the Univerſal Church (which is the beſt Expoſitor of Scripture in Things not clearly expreſs'd) would be much weakned: And yet this

muſt

Williams Joh. Abp. of York.

muſt be granted a good Topick for proving a great many things, relating both to *Faith* and *Manners*: And that without ſuch an Authority, we ſhould often be at a loſs to defend our ſelves againſt *Socinians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries. Amongſt theſe Points may be reckon'd ſeveral Orthodox Explications concerning the Attributes and Co-equality of the *Three Perſons* in the *Godhead*; the Number, Uſe, and Efficacy of the Sacraments, Baptiſm of Infants, the obſervation of the Lord's-Day; and which is moſt principally valuable, the diſtinguiſhing the *Canon* of Holy *Scripture* from Human Compoſitions.

2*dly*, Swearing, this *Article* muſt be extremely ſhocking *with reſpect to our ſelves*: For firſt, all of us who have taken any *Degrees*, have ſubſcrib'd the *Thirty Nine Articles*; and by conſequence ſign'd the Approbation of Epiſcopal Government: For in the *Thirty Sixth Article*, 'tis expreſly declar'd, that the *Ordinal* for Conſecration of Biſhops, *contains nothing contrary to the word of God*.

2*dly*, All of us in *Holy Orders* have been ordain'd by Biſhops: Now it would be a ſcandalous return in us, to ſign an Obligation for ſetting aſide the Biſhops, who have lent us their *Hands* for conveying our own Character.

3*dly*, Not a few of us ſome Years ſince, Petition'd the Parliament for the continuance of *Epiſcopacy*, and ſubſcrib'd our Addreſs: And ſince we are not conſcious of having done amiſs, we ſhould be glad to repeat the ſame Application, provided there was any hopes of Succeſs.

4*thly*, Some of us are Members of *Cathedral* and *Collegiate* Churches, and owe our Subſiſtence to the diſtinction of *Deans*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, &c. condemn'd by this *Article*. Now unleſs the thing cenſur'd was unlawful in it ſelf: We conceive the obliging People to ſwear, they will *ſincerely*, *ſeriouſly*, and *heartily endeavour* to ruin their Fortune, and deſtroy the beſt part of their Livelyhood, is a ſort of Uſage never put upon People ſince the World began.

3*dly*. With *Regard to the Church of* England, we are afraid 'tis not in our Power to ſwear the attempting the Abolition of a Government, eſtabliſh'd by Authority, and ſettled upon a long Preſcription; eſpecially ſince we have no cogent Reaſon for ſuch an Endeavour, either ſuggeſted by our ſelves, or offer'd by others.

On the other Hand, we are ſenſible all Alteration in Publick Eſtabliſhments, beſides the diſadvantages already in View, brings a great many unforeſeen Inconveniences; which 'tis impoſſible either to prevent, or ſo much as to diſcover till the Miſchief is paſt Remedy. To apply the Caſe, for ought we know, theſe conſequences may follow, upon ſo great a change in Eccleſiaſtical Government. And theſe Fears work ſtronger upon us when we conſider that this kind of Eccleſiaſtical Government has laſted many Ages in this Kingdom, and is ſo cloſely interwoven with the *Civil* Adminiſtration, that it may be reaſonably fear'd, the taking it away wou'd diſconcert the *State*, and in a great meaſure unſettle the Conſtitution.

2*dly*, Since the *Houſe* of *Commons* have ſome time ſince declar'd, that 'twas never their Intention to aboliſh *the Eccleſiaſtical Government*; *but rather to ſupport all diſtinctions in the Church of* England *in the courſe of Order and Diſcipline, in which they are ſetled by Acts of Parliament: And that they ſhould look upon thoſe as Mal-intention'd Perſons, who rais'd any Jealouſy to the contrary* (n): Now ſince the *Commons*, continue the *Univerſity*, have declar'd themſelves in this Manner, it would be the laſt Imprudence in us, to bring our ſelves under the Imputation of fomenting ſuch a Jealouſy: For thus over and above, by ſwearing the *Second Article*, we ſhould make our ſelves liable to the Penalties mention'd in the *Fourth*.

Charles I. K.

3*dly*, Since ſeveral *Acts* of Parliament declare the *Holy Church of* England *founded in the ſtate of Prelacy* (o): We are afraid the extirpating *Prelacy* ſhou'd overturn the Foundations: And thus as far as in us lies, we ſhould make our ſelves inſtrumental in precipitating the Ruin of a moſt flouriſhing Church; a Church which both the Dictates of our Conſcience, and the particular regards of our Station, oblige us to ſupport and maintain.

Their laſt Reaſon for incomplyance with this *Article*, is drawn from the Oath of *Supremacy*, from the inſecurity of the Prerogative, if the *Presbyterian Diſcipline* ſhould prevail; and from the Sacrilegious Alienation of the Churches Patrimony, which appears to be the conſequence of this Project.

Having gone over theſe two *Articles*, the remainder of the *Covenant* is diſpatch'd with more Expedition.

They argue againſt the third Article.

The third *Article*, as the *Convocation* goes on, ſits uneaſie upon us. Here our profeſſion of Loyalty is clogg'd with a dangerous Limitation. We ſwear our ſelves ready to maintain and defend the King's Perſon and Authority *in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdom*.

Our exception to this *Clauſe* is firſt, Becauſe neither the Oaths of *Supremacy* or *Allegiance*, the ſolemn *Proteſtation* or the *Word* of *God*, have any ſuch Limitations.

2*dly*, Our endeavour for preſerving the Rights and Privileges of Parliament are ſworn in the ſame *Article* without any condition or reſerve.

3*dly*, This qualifying *reſtriction* leaves the Subject as it were at large in his *Allegiance*, and makes a looſe Proviſion for the *Crown*: So that whenever the People have a mind to deſert from their Duty to his Majeſty, this Myſterious *Clauſe* will furniſh them with a colour for their Miſbehaviour.

4*thly*, After we have ſworn the *Article* with this Limitation, and broke in ſo remarkably upon the Prerogative Royal, 'twill look like a ſtrange piece of aſſurance to appeal to the World at the ſame Time, *that they may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs*: Laſtly, The ſwearing with this *Limitation*, ſeems a new and incomprehenſible Inſtance of Allegiance: There's room enough in it for the moſt miſtaken and dangerous Conſcience; and the moſt bigotted *Papiſts*, the rankeſt *Hereticks* and *Sectaries*, may eaſily ſwallow it.

The fourth Article Conteſted.

As to the fourth *Article*, we deſire theſe few things may be throughly conſider'd.

1*ſt*, Whether it does not lay a neceſſity upon the Son, of informing againſt his Father, and proſecuting him to Death, in Caſe he believes him an *Incendiary*, a *Malignant*, &c.

But to purſue ſo cloſe and venerable a relation in this Manner, is in our Opinion, flying in the Face of Nature, and a plain Revolt from all Religion and Humanity.

2. We deſire to know whether this *Clauſe* does not open a Paſſage to Parricide, and other outrageous Villainies of this Nature? For under the Pretex of the *Covenant*, Children may aſſaſſi-

---

(n) 15 Decem. 1641. Exact Collect. p. 19.

(o) *Statute of* Carliſle, 25. Edw. I. *cited in* 25 Edw. 3.

nate their Parents, Husbands murder their Wives, and one Relation deſtroy another. For if any of theſe happen to lie in the way of Intereſt or Pleaſure, 'tis but charging them with Malignancy, and the Work is done.

3. Since by our ſolemn *Proteſtation*, we have oblig'd our ſelves to maintain *the Liberty of the Subject*; ſince the Houſe of Commons have publickly cenſur'd all Inſtances of arbitrary Government; ſhould we not ſcandalouſly betray the Birthright of *Engliſhmen* and the Privilege of the Subject, if we ſhould ſwear a Reſignation of our Lives, of our Liberties, and Fortunes to ſuch arbitrary Juſtice, to ſuch uncertain, undiſtinguiſh'd Judges, as may call us to an account, upon the higheſt Charge, and condemn us without Form of Law? And after all indemnify themſelves, and retire under the Protection of this *Article*.

Their Reaſons againſt the 5th Article.

The Subſtance of the 5th *Article* relates to the ſettling and preſerving the *Peace and Union* of the Three Kingdoms: This is both our Duty and Inclination to promote by all defenſible Methods. And therefore we ſhould very willingly ſwear this part of the *Covenant*, were it not for two Obſtructions.

1. We can't yet diſcover the Happineſs conſequent upon the *Bleſſed Peace* in the Three Kingdoms, mention'd in this *Article*. For the War not only rages in *Ireland*, but the other Two Kingdoms continue embroil'd.

2. Since Juſtice is the only ſolid Baſis for Peace; and this *Virtue* cannot ſubſiſt without *giving every one their own*; 'tis incredible to us, that theſe Kingdoms ſhould ever enjoy a laſting Peace, unleſs the King, the Parliament, and the Subject, have their due Shares of Authority, Power and Liberty, inviolably maintain'd: And that all this be done, purſuant to the Laws and ancient Uſages of each Kingdom: And which were never conteſted till the late *Commotions*.

Farther;

Our Conſciences are by no means ſatisfy'd with the Sixth *Article*.

The Lawfulneſs of the 6th Article diſprov'd.

1. Becauſe the whole *Article* ſtands upon a Suppoſition, which we could never find ſupported with any ſolid Reaſoning. The thing taken for granted is, that this *Covenant* of mutual Defence engag'd in for carrying on the late War, *is the common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms; and has a great Tendency to promote the Glory of God, and the Honour of the King*.

2. Granting this Suppoſition was clear enough to command our Aſſent, yet we can't ſee which way our Conſciences could get through the Remainder of the *Article*: Unleſs it could be farther demonſtrated, that the Means us'd in Maintenance of this *Cauſe*, were unqueſtionably lawful. For ſince *Evil is not to be done that Good may come on't* *; we are not at preſent ſufficiently convinc'd, that *the Intereſt of Religion, the Glory of God, the publick Repoſe, the Good of theſe Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King*, can always be promoted by Methods unſuitable to the Ends pretended: And which, as far as we underſtand, have no manner of Countenance, either from the Laws of God, or thoſe of the Realm.

* Rom. 3.

The ſcandalous Prayer in the Concluſion of the Covenant.

Laſtly, We can't read the Concluſion without Aſtoniſhment: For here the *Covenanters* beg of God Almighty, *That all other Chriſtian Churches may be encourag'd by their Example to joyn in the ſame or like Aſſociation and Covenant, for delivering themſelves from the Yoak of Antichriſtian Tyranny*.

Now, not to mention our knowing nothing of the *Antichriſtian Yoak*, theſe Kingdoms lay under; or of our being deliver'd from this Grievance by the *Covenant* and *Civil* War; waving our Ignorance of this Matter, we can't at preſent diſcover any ſuch Bleſſings conſequent upon this *Covenant*, as to make it part either of our Prayers or Wiſhes, that other Churches ſhould follow the Precedent.

To put up our Petitions to God Almighty for this Purpoſe, would in our Opinion, be in effect to pray: *Firſt*, That God would inſpire the Church with the Spirit of Animoſity and Diſcord; bring War and Confuſion upon *Chriſtendom*, and baniſh Peace and good Correſpondence from the Face of the Earth. *Secondly*, That the *Reform'd* Religion, and the very Name of *Proteſtancy*, may be hated and hiſs'd through the Univerſe. *Thirdly*, That all the Princes of *Europe* may be caution'd to treat the *Proteſtants* with Rigour, or rather to expel them their Dominions: For that otherwiſe 'tis impracticable for crown'd Heads to ſit ſafe upon the Throne.

And to diſpatch their *Concluſion*, ſuppoſing the *Antichriſtian Yoak* ſhould be put upon the Subjects Neck by their lawful Princes; in this caſe we are not to throw it off by applying to Force: This would be *reſiſting the Ordinance of God*: On the other hand, ſuch an Affliction ought to be undergone with Chriſtian Fortitude. We muſt boldly confeſs the Truth, *endure the Croſs*, and maintain our Conſcience with Paſſiveneſs and Submiſſion to the Government.

After this Diſproof of the Lawfulneſs of the *Covenant*, the *Univerſity* proceeds to charge the *Articles* with Contradiction, Obſcurity, and farther dangerous Meaning. And in the Cloſe they return an Anſwer to the Arguments uſually made uſe of in Defence of this *Engagement*: And here they expoſe the *Covenanters* Fallacies with all imaginable Clearneſs, and ſhew the Inſignificancy of the Subterfuges they retire to.

The *Convocation* having done with the *Covenant*, go on to the *Negative Oath*, which ſtand thus.

The Negative Oath.

I A. B. *ſincerely ſwear, That during this War, I will neither directly nor indirectly adhere to, or voluntarily aſſiſt the King againſt the Parliament; or contribute to the Service or Aſſiſtance of any Forces whatſoever, which ſhall be levied without a Warrant from both Houſes of Parliament. I likewiſe ſwear to reſign my ſelf to the Power and Protection of the Parliament, and to a Submiſſion to that Authority, without any Intention or Reſerve which may be prejudicial to the preſent Parliament, or their Intereſt. And all this I ſwear without any Command from the King, without any Communication or Concert with him, or Advice of the King his Council, or other Miniſters whatſoever. So help me God through Jeſus Chriſt, preach'd in this Holy Goſpel.*

This *Oath*, we are afraid, (ſay the *Univerſity*) can't be taken without throwing up that *Liberty*, which by prior *Obligations* we are engag'd to maintain: For forcing an Oath upon the Subject without any Warrant from Law, is, as we think, plainly ſubverſive of this Liberty.

Reaſons againſt it.

2. This *Negative Engagement* is a direct Breach of that Duty a Subject naturally owes to his Prince; and evidently counter to the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, already taken by us. By all which ſolemn Tyes we are bound to defend the King to the utmoſt of our Power. Whereas by this *Negative Oath* we muſt ſwear, and ſwear heartily we will not defend his Majeſty, nor afford him any Aſſiſtance.

Farther, we cannot come under this *New Obligation* without falling foul on the Third *Article* of the *Covenant*, and diminiſhing *his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs* in a very remarkable manner: That is, by owning an Authority in either, or both Houſes of Parliament, in Oppoſition to his Majeſty. Whereas we frankly declare, 'tis farther than we underſtand, that any Lawful Authority unſubordinate to the *Crown*, can be exercis'd in this Kingdom.

As to the *Proviſion* for ſettling the Church *Diſcipline* and the *Directory*; the Univerſity are not ſatisfy'd, of their being at Liberty to obey an *Ordinance* of the Two *Houſes*, not confirm'd with the Royal Aſſent: Eſpecially, conſidering theſe *Ordinances* command things contrary to the *Statutes* of the Realm: And which looks ſtill ſomewhat more ſurprizing, declare an Authority in the Two *Houſes*, for repealing the *Laws* and *Statutes* paſs'd by King, Lords and Commons. Now ſince *making* and *unmaking* is a Property peculiar to the ſame Authority, the *Univerſity* can't underſtand, an inferiour Power or Juriſdiction, can null the *Acts* of a ſuperior.

And againſt the Presbyterian Diſcipline and Directory.

With Reference to Eccleſiaſtical *Diſcipline*, they can't ſubmit to the *Ordinance* touching that Matter, without conſenting to the Abolition of an Eſtabliſhment, ſo much recommended by Antiquity, ſo firmly ſettled by Law, and ſo well accommodated to the *Civil* Government. And here, after ſome Exceptions, to the *Presbyterian* Scheme, they proceed to the *Ordinance* for the *Directory*. By this Ordinance the *Common Prayer* is ſuppreſs'd: The *Univerſity* therefore declare, their Conſciences will by no means allow them to conſent, for the following Reaſons. 1. Becauſe the greateſt part of them have ſubſcrib'd their Approbation of the *Common Prayer:* Solemnly promiſing, that they would make uſe of no other Form in the *Publick Service:* That purſuant to their Promiſe and Subſcription, they had all along officiated by this *Book* to their great Comfort and Benefit. And farther, they don't believe there are any Paſſages really exceptionable in the *Liturgy*. Nothing but what has been ſufficiently defended: Nothing but what they believe themſelves able to maintain againſt all Cavil, and Oppoſition whatſoever. After this, they inſiſt upon the Obligation they lie under for officiating by the *Common Prayer*, from ſeveral *Statutes* provided for this purpoſe: But theſe I have had occaſion to mention already.

This Reſolution upon the *Covenant*, the *Negative Oath*, &c. after having been conſider'd in the Colleges, paſs'd ſmoothly in Convocation. 'Twas carry'd by an Univerſality; one Member excepted, who came from *Geneva*. This, conſidering the Circumſtances they were under, was a bold piece of Honeſty, a noble Defence of the Church and Conſtitution. The Town was now gariſon'd with Parliament Forces. The *Viſitors*, they knew, muſt take their *Apology* for an open Defiance. However, they had the Courage to aſſert their Principles and face a Victorious Rebellion. They choſe rather to abandon their Fortunes and riſque their Lives, than ſuffer in their Conſcience, tarniſh their Honour, and ſubmit to a Criminal Compliance *.

Neither the Aſſembly-Divines, nor any others of that Party had the Courage to return an Anſwer to this *Apology*. To finiſh this Matter, I ſhall break through the Regards of Time and obſerve, that after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the Parliament ſat at *Oxon*, the Commons order'd Thanks ſhould be return'd the *Univerſity*, for having made ſo learned and noble a Stand. The Order runs thus.

Martis 31. *Octob.* 1665.

Reſolv'd,

That the Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to the Chancellour, Maſter and Scholars of the Univerſity of Oxon, *for their remarkable Loyalty to his Majeſty's Father of happy Memory, in the late Rebellion: Eſpecially for that extraordinary Inſtance of their Duty, in making a bold Oppoſition to the Rebellious Viſitors, and refuſing to ſubmit to their League and Covenant: And laſtly for the Illuſtrious Performance they Printed, Entituled* The Judgment of the Univerſity; *in which they have learnedly maintain'd the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe* (p).

The Parliament at Oxon. *return the Chancellour and Students Thanks for the Book call'd,* The Judgment of the Univerſity.

As to the *Viſitors*, what they could not deal with in Argument, they anſwer'd by Force; and turn'd out the *Heads*, and moſt of the *Univerſity* for refuſing the *Covenant*, and the other Novel and Rebellious Engagements (x).

And here it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of what the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge* ſuffer'd, during the courſe of this unnatural War. To begin: In the Year 1641. the Maſters and Fellows of all the Colleges ſent their Plate to the King then at *York*. This piece of Loyalty was interpreted encouraging the War, and made a great Crime by the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter:* And to fright the *Univerſity* from aſſiſting the King any farther; Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Stern*, Maſters of St. *John's*, *Queen's* and *Jeſus* Colledge; are ſent guarded up to *London*, and impriſon'd in the *Tower*, for their Forwardneſs *in the Plate Buſineſs*. The next Year Dr. *Holdiſworth* was ſeiz'd, and put in the *Tower* for executing the King's Command, and printing his *Declarations* at *Cambridge*. About the ſame time, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houſes ſummon'd to meet in the *Conſiſtory*, were requir'd to contribute to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament: That ſuch a Complyance wou'd ſet them right in the Opinion of the two *Houſes*, and wipe off the Imputation of *Malignancy*. But they refus'd to gratifie the Rebels; and frankly told them, that contributing to ſuch Purpoſes, was not to be reconcil'd to *true Religion* and a *good Conſcience*. For this handſome Declaration ſome of them were afterwards impriſon'd. About this time the Earl of *Mancheſter* was ſent down by the Two *Houſes* to purge the Univerſity of *Malignant* Members, as they call'd them. To give Light into this Matter, and make their Scrutiny more ſignificant, *an Oath of Diſcovery* was put (q). This *Teſt* obliging them to inform againſt their Friends, Tutors, and Maſters, and betray the Intereſt of their *Societies*, was univerſally refus'd: 'Twas likewiſe contrary to their *Statutes*, viz. *Non revelabis aliquod ſecretum Collegii, nec malum aut damnum inſeres cuilibet Sociorum.* Not long afterwards, the Members of the Univerſity were all order'd to appear within twelve Days, and take the *Covenant* (r). This, not to mention the thing, was thought a great Hardſhip with reſpect to the ſhort Warning. And therefore *Aſh*, one of the Lord *Mancheſter*'s Chaplains, reports they had longer time afterwards given them. But no Leiſure for Recollection could reconcile them to this Complyance: The *Covenant* was generally refus'd, the Non-compliers turn'd out of their Preferments, and order'd to quit the *Univerſity* within three Days (s). In *Queens College* they made a *thorough Reformation:* The Maſter,

The Loyalty and Sufferings of the Univerſity of Cambridge, *during the Rebellion.*

---

* Tam Spectatæ Fidei & inconcuſſæ Conſtantiæ Documentum fruſtra quiſquam extra Oxonium quæſiverit. Wood *Hiſt.* & Antiq. Univer. *Oxon* lib. 1. *p.* 385.

(p) Wood, Ibid.

(x) Wood, *Ld.* Clarendon.

(q) Querela Cantabrigienſis, *p.* 20.

(r) Id.

(s) Fuller's *Hiſt. of the Univerſity of* Cambridge, 167. & deinc.

ſter, all the Fellows, and Scholars were turn'd out: For here they could not debauch ſo much as a ſingle Member of the Foundation. The Maſters or Heads of the following Colleges were ejected, *viz.*

Heads turned out of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

Maſters put out.	Colleges.
1. Dr. *John Coſens*, Dean of *Peterborough*, and Prebendary of *Durham*.	1. *Peter-Houſe.*
2. Dr. *Thomas Paſk*, Archdeacon of *London*.	2. *Clare Hall.*
3. Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, Dean of *Rocheſter*.	3. *Pembroke Hall.*
4. Dr. *Thomas Badgcroſt.*	4. *Caius College.*
5. Dr. *Samuel Collins*, the Kings Profeſſor.	5. *King's College.*
6. Dr. *Edward Martin*, Chaplain to Abp. *Laud*.	6. *Queens College*,
7. *Ralph Brownrigge*, Bp. of *Exeter*.	7. *Katharine Hall.*
8. Dr. *Richard Stern*, Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Laud*.	8. *Jeſus College.*
9. Dr. *William Beale*, Chaplain to the King.	9. St. *John's College.*
10. Dr. *Thomas Cumber*, Dean of *Carliſle*.	10. *Trinity College.*
11. Dr. *Richard Holeſworth*, Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*.	11. *Emanuel College.*
12. Dr. *Samuel Ward*, (in effect but a Priſoner) dy'd a natural Death.	12. *Sidney College.*

To this Liſt may be ſubjoined ſome other Misfortunes ſuffer'd by the *Univerſity:* The Soldiers were quartered in their Colleges, their Chapels plunder'd and defac'd, the *Common-Prayer* Books torn in St. *Mary*'s before the coming out of the *Suppreſſing-Ordinance*. Their Bridges were broken, their Materials for Building ſeiz'd, their Groves fell'd; and which was almoſt an irreparable Damage, a choice Collection of Antiquity in Coins and Medals, weighing twenty two Pounds, was plunder'd from St. *John*'s College. And for a farther Mortification, their Eſtates formerly exempted, were tax'd, and the Aſſeſſment proportion'd by the *Townſmen*.

To proceed: A general *Aſſembly* met at *Edinborough* on the 4th of *Auguſt*, this Summer. Two of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, *Bailly* and *Gilleſpy*, who ſate with the Divines at *Weſtminſter*, produc'd a Copy of the *Confeſſion* of *Faith* made by the *Aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter*, part of their *Catechiſm*, the *Directory*, and *Rowſe* his *Paraphraſe* on the *Pſalms*. *Gilleſpy* likewiſe laid a Copy before them of the Prolocutor's Speech made to him at his taking leave of the *Aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter*.

The Weſtminſter *Prolocutor's Speech to* Gilleſpy *a* Scotch *Miniſter and Commiſſioner at the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly.*

“ By the *Prolocutor*'s Speech it appears, *Gilleſpy* had drop'd ſome Suſpicion of the *Engliſh* Aſſembly's Defection. The Grounds for this Imputation, the Prolocutor endeavours to diſprove. He excuſes the *Directory*'s not being punctually obſerv'd; complains the *Aſſembly* have no Power to call Offenders to account; *and that the Lord was pleas'd ſtill to exerciſe them with many Wreſtlings*. He confeſſes, their Affairs very much embarraſs'd, and that they are, as it were in a Chaos at preſent. He takes notice what Diſtreſs the Parliament was formerly in; that the *Common Enemy* (meaning the King) was *high* and *ſtrong*; and that their extraordinary Succeſs was owing to the Prayers of their Brethren of *Scotland*, and other *Proteſtants* abroad. He makes an Apology for their not returning an Anſwer to ſeveral Letters ſent them from the *Edinborough* Aſſembly. And here he puts *Gilleſpy* in Mind of the *Reſtraints* they lie under from the Parliament: And that this was no proper Juncture to apply for leave, it being a Time of *general Darkneſs*, and *ſad Apprehenſions* (*t*). Their Meaning is, they were afraid the *Independents* would top them, pull their Scheme in Pieces, and ſet up their own Fancies, which happen'd accordingly.

(*t*) *MS.* Penes honorab. Archibald. Campbel. Armig.

This Speech of the Weſtminſter *Prolocutor is atteſted by* Adoniram Byfield, *Clerk or Actuary to the Aſſembly.* Aug. 7. 1647.

The next Day this Mr. *George Gilleſpy* gave the *Scotch* Aſſembly a Letter from the Churches of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Baſil*, and *Schaffhauſen* in *Switzerland*, directed to the *Aſſembly* at *Edinborough*.

The Swiſs *Proteſtants* Letter *to the General Aſſembly at* Edinborough

“ In the Beginning of their Letter they profeſs a hearty Friendſhip and ſtrong Sympathy with the *Scotch Covenanters*, and regret the *Civil* Commotions. A great Part of their Letter is ſpent in lamenting the Misfortune of the Elector *Palatine*, and that his Intereſt was no farther conſider'd in the *Treaty* at *Munſter*. By the way, this Elector *Palatine*, for whom they ſollicite ſo earneſtly, had deſerted the King his Uncle, at *York:* Notwithſtanding his Majeſty had interpos'd ſo far in his Nephew's Behalf, and imbroil'd his Affairs for his Reſtitution: Notwithſtanding all the Aſſiſtance given this Elector and his Father, he left the King at *York* *, tranſported himſelf to *Holland*, return'd afterwards to *England*, carreſs'd and joined the two *Houſes* at *Weſtminſter*, and ſate in the *Aſſembly of Divines* †.

* *In the Year* 1642.

† Whitlock's Memorials. *p.* 97. 103. & alib.

To return, theſe *Swiſs* take their Leave with a Prayer, “ That God would diſpoſe the King to a Reconciliation to the *Scots*, and their Church-Government.

MS. Penes Archib. Campbel. Armig.

And thus, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's *Maniſeſto* to juſtify the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, to expoſe the Innovations, and dangerous Practice of the *Covenanters* *; notwithſtanding this Precaution, theſe *foreign Proteſtants* cloſe with the *Revolters*, addreſs them with Reſpect, take them into Intimacy and Union, and make themſelves a Party to the *Brittiſh* Rebellion.

* *See above.*

About two Months forward, the general *Aſſembly* at *Edinborough*, appointed a Faſt throughout the Kingdom, and aſſigned ſeveral Reaſons for this publick Humiliation.

The Edinborough *Aſſembly complain of an Apoſtacy in* England.

They begin with a Complaint, “ That *notwithſtanding their ſolemn Engagement, a Multitude of heinous Sins* abound every where in the Land, and that they fall ſhort of that Sobriety, Righteouſneſs, and Holineſs which becomes the Goſpel. They ſuggeſt the great Danger to Religion and Civil Government, from the Prevalency of the *Sectaries* in *England:* And that this Kingdom has made a fearful Defection from the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*. They lament the diſtreſs'd Condition of thoſe who are zealous for the *Work* of *God* in *England:* That ſuch good People are now oppreſs'd by thoſe, who, under Pretence of Liberty, aim at no leſs than Tyranny and arbitrary Power. And laſtly, they inſtruct the People to pray, that God would preſerve the King from farther Snares, *and bow his Heart to the Obedience of his Will in all thoſe Things that concern Religion and Righteouſneſs* (*u*).

(*u*) Id. MS. & Ruſhworth Hiſt Collect. *pt.* 4. *p.* 644.

The Reaſon of the *Scotch* complaining thus tragically of the *Apoſtacy* in *England*, was occaſioned by a ſurpriſing Turn which happen'd in the Beginning of *June* laſt. For when the Presbyterian Party had diſabled the King in the *Field*, and got him into their Cuſtody at *Holdenby*; when they had batter'd down the Church, ouſted the greateſt Part of the regular Clergy, and procur'd

June 4. *The* Presbyterians *ouſted by the* Independents.

cur'd a Settlement of their *Diſcipline* from the two *Houſes*; when they had ſurmounted ſo many Difficulties, and thought their Proſperity eſtabliſhed; when they were thus far advanc'd, they met with unexpected Misfortune. For the two *Houſes* having brought the War to an End, and diſmiſs'd the *Scots*, reſolv'd the disbanding a great Part of the Army. But theſe Meaſures were by no means acceptable to ſome of the General Officers. They were altogether unwilling to quit their Commands, and loſe the Advantage of ſo much Hazard and Fatigue. Theſe Men therefore declare againſt disbanding, ſtand on their Guard, and march towards *London*, contrary to the Order of the two *Houſes*. After this, they proceed more directly towards a Rupture, and impeach eleven Members of the *Commons* of High-Treaſon. And being ſenſible how ſerviceable the King's Perſon would be to them, they ſent Cornet *Joice* with a Party of Horſe to bring his Majeſty to their Head-Quarters at *Wooburn* in *Bedfordſhire*. *Joice* executed his Commiſſion, and ſucceeded in the Attempt, without meeting with any Reſiſtance. And thus the *Presbyterians* having imbroiled the Kingdoms, kindled and carry'd on a calamitous War, during which, more Seats were plundered and burnt, more Churches robb'd and prophan'd *, more Blood ſpilt within the compaſs of four Years; and in ſhort, more frightful Scenes open'd of Ravage, of Slaughter and Confuſion; than had been acted in the long Conteſt between the *Houſes* of *York* and *Lancaſter*; the *Presbyterians*, I ſay, after having thrown their Country into all this Miſery and Convulſion, met with nothing but Infamy and Diſappointment. For after having wreſted the Sword out of the King's Hands, and brought the Rebellion to their Wiſhes: When they thought of nothing leſs than dividing the Prey, and raiſing vaſt Fortunes out of *Crown* and Church Lands, their hopes were ſuddainly ſcatter'd, they were turn'd out of their ſcandalous Acquiſitions, and publickly expos'd to Contempt and Scorn. For now the *Independents* forc'd them to retire from *Weſtminſter*, ſeiz'd their Poſts, and made themſelves Maſters, upon the Matter, both in Church and *State*. But of this more afterwards.

As for Religion, 'twas in no better Condition than Civil Intereſt: The *Presbyterians* preach'd up the *Purity* and the *Power*, till they left neither. I ſhall make a Report of this Matter from an eminent Champion for the *Cauſe*: 'Tis *Edwards* who wrote the *Gangræna*: A Book in which the Errors, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and lewd Practice, which broke out in the laſt four Years *, are recited. This Divine in his Dedication to *both Houſes*, ſets forth how firm he had been to their Service, and how forwardly he had engag'd, when their Affairs were moſt unpromiſing. He tells them, he had laid out his Fortune, and expos'd his Perſon in the Pulpit and the Field; and all this when ſome of the Grandees were ready to diſengage and ſhift for themſelves. A Man thus well affected, we may be ſure would not make things worſe than they were, nor paint the new Reformation in the hardeſt Complexion. Let us hear then what Account the Gentleman gives of this Matter.

Abundance of Hereſies, Blaſphemies, &c. maintained ſince the Beginning of the Rebellion.

Things every Day, ſays he, *grow worſe and worſe, you can hardly imagine them ſo bad as they are. No kind of Blaſphemy, Hereſie, Diſorder, and Confuſion, but 'tis found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, inſtead of Reformation, are grown from one Extream to another; fallen from* Scylla *to* Charibdis; *from Popiſh Innovations, Superſtitions, and Prelatical Tyranny, to damnable Hereſies, horrid Blaſphemies, Libertiniſm, and fearful Anarchy. Our Evils are not remov'd and cur'd, but only chang'd: One Diſeaſe and Devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in the room. Yea, this laſt Extremity into which we are fallen, is far more high, violent and dangerous in many Reſpects,* &c.— *Have we not a Deformation, and worſe things come in upon us than ever we had before? Were any of thoſe Monſters heard of heretofore, which are now common among us, as denying the Scriptures,* &c.— *You have broken down the Images of the* Trinity, *Virgin* Mary, *Apoſtles*; *and we have thoſe who overthrow the Doctrine of the Trinity, oppoſe the Divinity of Chriſt, ſpeak Evil of the Virgin* Mary, *and ſlight the Apoſtles.— You have caſt out the Biſhops and their Officers, and we have many that caſt down to the Ground, all Miniſters in all the Reformed Churches. You have caſt out Ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Croſs, Kneeling, at the Lord's Supper: And we have many who caſt out the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's-Supper. You have put down Saint's-days, and we have many who make nothing at all of the Lord's-day, and Faſt-Days. You have taken away the ſuperfluous, exceſſive Maintenance of Biſhops and Deans, and we have many that take away and cry down the neceſſary Maintenance of Miniſters. In the Biſhop's Days we had Singing of Pſalms taken away in ſome Places, conceiv'd Prayer and Preaching; and in their room, Anthems, ſtinted Forms, and Reading brought in. And now we have Singing of Pſalms ſpoken againſt, and caſt out of ſome Churches. Yea, all publick Prayer queſtion'd, and all miniſterial Preaching deny'd. In the Biſhops Time, Popiſh Innovations were introduc'd, as bowing at Altars,* &c. *And now we have anointing the Sick with Oil. Then we had Biſhoping of Children, now we have Biſhoping of Men and Women, by ſtrange laying on of Hands.— In the Biſhops Days we had many unlearned Miniſters; And have we not now a Company of* Jeroboam's *Prieſts? In the Biſhops Days we had the fourth Commandment taken away; but now we have all the ten Commandments at once, by the* Antinominians, *yea, all Faith and the Goſpel deny'd.— The worſt of the Prelates, in the midſt of many* Popiſh, Arminian *Tenets, and Popiſh Innovations, held many ſound Doctrines, and had many commendable Practices: Yea, the very Papiſts hold and keep to many Articles of Faith, and Truths of God, have ſome Order amongſt them, encourage Learning, have certain fix'd Principles of Truth, with Practices of Devotion and good Works: But many of the Sects and Sectaries in our Days, deny all Principle of Religion, are Enemies to all holy Duties, Order, Learning, overthrowing all; being* Vertiginoſi Spiritus, *whirlgigg Spirits. And the great Opinion of an univerſal Toleration, tends to the laying all waſt, and Diſſolution of all Religion and good Manners,* &c.---- *What Swarms are there of all ſorts of illiterate Mechanick Preachers, yea, of Women and Boy-Preachers?— What Liberty of Preaching, Printing of all Errors, or for a Toleration of all, and againſt the* Directory, Covenant, *Monthly Faſt,* Presbyterial Government, *and all Ordinances of Parliament in reference to* Religion?— *Theſe Sectaries have been growing upon us, ever ſince the firſt Year of our Sitting, and have every Year increaſed more and more* (x).

And to diſmiſs this *Author*, he reckons no leſs than an Hundred Seventy Six heretical and blaſphemous Tenets, maintain'd by the *Sectaries* in the Compaſs of Time abovementioned.

The next remarkable Occurrent, is the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*. In this Iſland his Majeſty was confin'd after his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*. The Party of the two *Houſes*, who were willing to

(w) Whitlock's *Memorials*. Ruſhworth. Hiſt. Collect. pt. 4.

* Dugdale's *ſhort View of the Troubles of* England, p. 558. & deinc.

* *From* 1642, *to* 1646.

(x) Gangræna Epiſt. Ded.

Williams Joh. *Abp. of* Cant.

to preſerve the King, tho' under their own Direction, prevail'd ſo far as to ſend Commiſſioners down, and propoſe an Accommodation. The Treaty commenc'd on the 15th of *September.* I ſhall only relate that Part of it in which Religion is concern'd. And here the two *Houſes* conſented, that ſeveral Biſhops and other Divines, might wait on his Majeſty, inform him in any Points of Controverſie, and reſolve any Difficulties intervening upon the Courſe of the Argument. The Divines who attended the King, were *Juxton* Biſhop of *London*, *Duppa* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Sheldon*, and Dr. *Fern*, Dr. *Henchman*, Dr. *Morley*, and ſome others. Notwithſtanding this Liberty, the Commiſſioners acquainted his Majeſty, they could not admit any Perſon ſhould be preſent in the Room where the *Treaty* was debated. This Preliminary made the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhops and the reſt, in a manner inſignificant. At laſt, the Commiſſioners and his Majeſty agreed, that the Biſhops and Divines might ſtand behind a Curtain, and hear what paſs'd: And when any Difficulty occurr'd, the King might retire to his Chamber, call thoſe he thought proper to adviſe with, and then return to the Commiſſioners, argue farther upon the Point, and declare his Reſolution. The Parliament Divines, were Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryll*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, and Mr. *Lazarus Seaman*. The Queſtion debated was, Whether *Epiſcopacy* was of Divine Inſtitution? The Method was by exchanging of Papers. The King's Argument was read by Mr. *Philip Warwick*, and Mr. *Vines* read what was drawn up by himſelf and his Aſſiſtants. The Buſineſs of the King's firſt *Paper*, was to prove, that the Apoſtles by Commiſſion from our Saviour, exerciſ'd a diſtinguiſh'd and peculiar Authority in Ordinations, in ſettling Church Regulations, and inflicting Cenſures: That St. *Timothy* and St. *Titus* had a Character convey'd to them from the Apoſtles, for exerciſing the ſaid Power in the three Branches laſt mentioned (*y*): And that the *Angels* of the ſeven Churches mention'd in the *Revelations*, were all ſingle Perſons, had an Authority paramount over their reſpective Churches, and ſuperintended both Paſtors and People (*z*). From theſe Grounds the King inferr'd the Divine Inſtitution of *Epiſcopacy*, and ſupported his Concluſion from the Records of the primitive Church, from St. *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, and other Teſtimonies of the *Ancients*: And laſtly, his Majeſty deſir'd to be ſatisfied concerning the *Subſtantials of Church Government* ſettled by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; In whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration of theſe *Eſſentials* are depoſited? Whether they bind to perpetual Uſe, or whether they may be relax'd on Occaſion, and how far?

Sept. 15. A. D. 1648. *The Treaty at the Iſle of* Wight.

Fuller. *Lord* Clarendon. Warwick's *Memoires.*

October 2.

(*y*) John 20. 21. Tit. 1. 5.

(*z*) Rev. 2, & 3.

The next Day the *Parliament Divines* deliver'd in their Anſwer, and confeſs'd the Places of *Scripture* cited by his Majeſty, prov'd the Conveyance of a Power for the Purpoſes abovementioned. But then they deny'd the Perſons exerciſing that Authority, were Biſhops in the modern reſtrain'd Senſe, or govern'd the Church under that Diſtinction.

The Parliament Divines Paper againſt Epiſcopacy.

And here omitting their Coincidency with *Henderſon*, I ſhall only relate what is farther ſuggeſted upon the Queſtion. They affirm *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangeliſts* (*a*), and ſeem willing to infer an Inconſiſtency between this Office and an Epiſcopal Character. 2. They pretend theſe Saints could not be Biſhops, becauſe they were not fix'd to a Dioceſs, but frequently remov'd from Place to Place. To the Text in the *Revelations*, they anſwer'd, *Angels* of the Churches was an allegorical *Addition*, and there was no ſolid arguing from ſuch figurative Expreſſions. And beſides, that thoſe *Letters* of St. *John*, tho' ſuperſcrib'd to one, were in the meaning of them, ſent to the whole Body of the Church.

(*a*) 2 Tim. 4. 5.

Charles I. K.

They ſeem to give little Credit to the Writings of the *Ancients*, and the Teſtimony of the Church poſterior to the Apoſtles, and throw off *Ignatius* his *Epiſtles*, as if they were the Forgery of later Ages. As to the Point of *Subſtantials* in Church Government, inſtituted by our Saviour, they gave only this general and evaſive Anſwer, that ſuch *Subſtantials* were to be found in the *Scripture*.

After three Days the King reply'd to their *Paper*. And here waving his Majeſty's Reaſons urg'd againſt *Henderſon* upon this Head, I ſhall only report what was return'd to their Objections abovementioned. Their endeavouring to turn off the Force of the Text, touching St. *Timothy* and St. *Titus*, by retiring to a Notion of their being *Evangeliſts*, is clearly confuted by *Sculretus*, *Gerrard*, and other *Proteſtants* of Eminency. And that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops, is confirm'd by the conſentient Teſtimony of Antiquity. And here his Majeſty cites St. *Jerom*, and a Liſt of twenty ſeven Biſhops of *Epheſus* ſucceeding each other without Interruption, with St. *Timothy* at the Head of the Catalogue. For this his Majeſty's Author is Dr. *Reynolds* againſt *Hart*.

Octob. 6. *The King's Anſwer.*

His Majeſty goes on with the reſt of their Argument, and puts the Queſtion, That if the *Angels* mention'd in the *Revelations*, were not ſingle Perſons, who preſided Epiſcopally over the Church, he deſires to know, whether they were either the Church diffuſive, or ſuch á Number of *Paſtors*, or the whole College of the *Presbytery*, or the reſpective *Preſidents* of thoſe Colleges? For into all theſe Opinions the *Presbyterians* are divided in their *modern* Expoſitions.

As for the Ages poſterior to the Apoſtles, his Majeſty grants their Authority riſes no higher than *human Teſtimony*; but argues their Report touching Matter of *Fact*, ought not to be queſtioned upon this ſcore: And tho' the Men were fallible, we may have a moral Certainty of the Things deliver'd by them. And thus for the purpoſe, there's no Reaſon to queſtion the Exiſtence of *Ariſtotle*, or his being a *Grecian* Philoſopher. As for *Ignatius* his *Epiſtles*, tho' ſome out of Diſſaffection to Biſhops, have deny'd their Genuineneſs, and endeavoured to ſtrike them out of all Regard; yet their Objections are little better than bare Affirmation and Aſſurance: That ſeveral of this Martyr's *Epiſtles* are ſo ſtrongly atteſted by Antiquity, that the Author cannot be diſputed without great Partiality and Ignorance. And granting the *Epiſtles* belong'd to *Ignatius*, there can be no clearer Proof of the conteſted Diſtinction between a Biſhop and a Presbyter.

Laſtly, His Majeſty declar'd himſelf unſatisfied with their dark and general Anſwer touching the *perpetual and unalterable Subſtantials of Church Government* (*b*).

(*b*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 11. *pag.* 232.

The *Parliament Divines*, after eleven Days for Reſpite and Recruit, return'd an Anſwer to the King's laſt *Paper*, and ſet forth, They could not apprehend, by what Warrant, *this Writ of Partition of the Apoſtles Office*, was awarded: Their Meaning, as they explain themſelves, was, by what authentick Authority it could be prov'd that the governing Function ſhould be lodg'd

Octob. 17. *Their ſecond Paper.*

with the Biſhops, and the teaching Part and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, aſſign'd the *Preſbyters*. And that they were not ſenſible the *Scripture* had ſettled any ſuch Diſtinctions of Office. The reſt of their Anſwer is either trifling, or already conſider'd upon other Occaſions. Only I muſt not omit their giving up a principal Point of Doctrine held by their Brethren of *Scotland*, the old *Engliſh* Puritans, and ſeveral of the *Reform'd* beyond Sea. For inſtance, theſe Divines own the *Power* of Epiſcopacy under Chriſtian and Pagan Princes is the ſame: But the Exerciſe lies reſtrain'd under the Former. And that the Church Officers are ſubordinate to the Civil Magiſtracy. From hence it appears, their Courage was not of the higheſt kind, and that they were ſervily overaw'd by the Parliament.

Id. *pag.* 235.

The King in his laſt *Paper*, acknowledges the Pains theſe Divines had taken to inform his Judgment, as they thought, and bring him to their own Perſuaſion. His Majeſty likewiſe does not forget the Decency of their *Manner*, and the Reſpect of their Application. But then he told them, they miſtook his Meaning when they talk'd of a *Writ of Partition*; as if his Majeſty had ſuppos'd a Diviſion of the *ſpiritual* Government: That one Part of it was granted to the Biſhops, and another to the Presbyters; and that both theſe Allotments were apportion'd and excluſively aſſign'd to each other: Whereas the King only meant, that the *Function of Teaching* was common to both, but the governing Part peculiarly reſerv'd to the Biſhop. Tho' the main of the Controverſie was debated in *Writing*, it ſeems the Commiſſioners gave the Parliament-Clergy Liberty to put in upon Occaſion. Some of theſe Men miſbehaved themſelves to a remarkable Degree. Two of them plainly told the King with ſome Commotion, that unleſs he conſented to the utter aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, he would be damn'd. But his Majeſty had Temper enough to be unconcern'd at this Rudeneſs *.

*Ld. Clarendon's *Hiſt. Rebel. vol.* 3. *p.* 1.

When the *Parliament-Divines* had ſpent their Force, and came off with Diſadvantage, the Commiſſioners preſented their Propoſals: 'Twas a Paper of conſiderable Length, and part of their Demands were altogether new. The King referring his laſt Reſolution till he met the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, made the following Conceſſions at preſent.

His Majeſty agreed, that the Sitting of the *Aſſembly-Divines* at *Weſtminſter* ſhould be confirmed for three Years by Act of Parliament. And that the *Directory* ſhould be ſettled by the ſame Authority throughout the three Kingdoms. That the Form of *Presbyterian* Government ſhould likewiſe be confirm'd by *Act* of *Parliament* for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, during the ſame Period. But here the King threw in a Proviſo, that neither himſelf, nor any others who ſcrupled this Government and Worſhip, might be oblig'd to Compliance, but enjoy the Liberty of ſerving God in their own Way.

His Majeſty's Anſwers to the Propoſitions made by the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty agreed that a free Conſultation might be had with the *Aſſembly-Divines* at *Weſtminſter*; Twenty of his own Nomination being taken into the Conference: That the Queſtions concerning Religion being debated by this Body of Divines before his Majeſty and the two *Houſes*, the Differences upon theſe Heads might be adjuſted: And that the *Articles* of Religion, offered by the Commiſſioners, the *Reformation* inſiſted on, and the Indulgence of tender Conſciences, might be conſider'd and ſettled in the ſame way.

Farther, the King conſidering ſeveral of his Subjects had parted with great Sums of Money, upon Security of being repaid out of the Biſhops Lands, he was contented to paſs an Act of Parliament that thoſe Church-Lands ſhould be leaſed out for ninety nine Years, towards the Satisfaction of ſuch Mortagees, Purchaſers, or others; provided the old Rents, or ſome other moderate ones were reſerv'd to the Biſhops. And in caſe ſuch Leaſes did not ſatisfie, his Majeſty was willing to condeſcend farther; provided the Property of thoſe Lands might ſtill remain in the Church, purſuant to the Intention of the *Founders*.

To proceed: His Majeſty offers his Royal Aſſent for the better Obſervation of the *Lord's-Day*, for ſuppreſſing Innovations in Divine Worſhip, for the farther Encouragement of Preaching, for an Act againſt *Pluralities* and *Non-reſidence*, for reforming both the *Univerſities*, together with the Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty likewiſe agrees to paſs a *Bill* for the better Diſcovery and Conviction of Popiſh *Recuſants*, and for the Education of the Children of ſuch Recuſants, in the Proteſtant Religion; for levying the Penalties againſt *Papiſts*, and for diſpoſing of the Forfeitures levy'd, in ſuch Manner as ſhall be agreed by both Houſes. His Majeſty likewiſe offers his Aſſent to an *Act* for preventing the Practices of *Papiſts* againſt the *State*, for putting the Laws in Execution; and for a ſtricter Expedient to prevent the Hearing and Saying of *Maſs* (c). But as to the *Covenant*, his Majeſty is not ſatisfy'd to impoſe it on the Conſciences of others; neither does he think the inſiſting on it, proper at preſent.

(c) Biblioth. Reg. *pag.* 341. & deinc.

The Commiſſioners having tranſmitted an Account of what paſs'd, to their Principals at *Weſtminſter*, deliver'd a ſecond *Paper* to the King. His Majeſty finding his former Conceſſions not ſatisfactory, makes larger Overtures, and promiſes, that for ſettling the Publick Peace, he will ſign a *Bill* for the taking away all Archbiſhops, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Deans, and other Church-Diſtinctions, and Officers already mention'd in the *Propoſitions* ſent him to *Oxford*: And that theſe *Acts* ſhall extend to all *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; that the Exerciſe of all Epiſcopal Functions and Juriſdiction, ſhall be ſuſpended for three Years, and no Form of Church-Government us'd during that Time, excepting the *Presbyterian*. That in Caſe no Church-Settlement ſhall be agreed by the King and the two *Houſes*, that then, after the Expiration of three Years, the Power of *Ordination* ſhall not be manag'd by Biſhops, without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of *Presbyters*: And that no other Epiſcopal Juriſdiction ſhall be exerciſed, but ſuch, and in ſuch manner, as ſhall be agreed by his Majeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament.

The Commiſſioners putting in their Exceptions to theſe Conceſſions, his Majeſty explained himſelf farther, to prevent Miſunderſtanding: He declares againſt any Intention of making new Biſhops during the three Years; or that after the End of this Term, the Power of *Ordination* ſhall be practis'd in the cuſtomary Manner. That whereas formerly the Biſhops were at Liberty to make uſe of what Presbyters they pleas'd, but under no Obligation to act with their Concurrence; his Majeſty now conſents, that Biſhops ſhall not *ordain* without the Advice and Approbation of a certain number of *Presbyters:* And that theſe Coadjutors, as they may be call'd, ſhall be choſen in ſuch a manner, as ſhall be ſettled by his Majeſty and his two *Houſes*.

As for that part of their Propoſal touching the *Common-Prayer*, he is contented not to inſiſt upon the continuance of the *Liturgy* in his own Chapel either for himſelf or his Houſhold; and declares over and above, that he intends to uſe ſome other ſet Form of Divine-Service.

Novem. 18.

In another *Paper* his Majeſty takes notice the main diſſatisfaction of the two *Houſes* lay in his not conſenting to the Abolition of the Order of Biſhops, the Sale of their Lands, and his Reſolution for the uſing a Form of *Divine-Service* in his Chapels. To the two firſt, his Majeſty declares himſelf fully perſuaded Epiſcopacy is an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and that the Alienation of Church Lands is plainly Sacrilege. Neither with reference to the Third, can his Majeſty communicate with a Church, where 'tis wholly uncertain *what the Miniſter will offer to God Almighty*. Therefore, if his two *Houſes* don't think fit to recede from part of their Demands in theſe particulars, his Majeſty reſolves to caſt himſelf upon the Goodneſs of God, and rather ſtand the Event how uncomfortable ſoever, than ſtrain his Conſcience to reſtore his Affairs.

Two Days after, the Commiſſioners deliver'd in their laſt *Paper* upon the ſubject of Religion.

And here they inſiſt, that the *Bill* for the Abolition of *Epiſcopacy*, does not ſtrike at the Biſhops of Apoſtolical Inſtitution: That the Epiſcopacy deſir'd to be ſet aſide by the two *Houſes* is only the *Hierarchy* formerly eſtabliſh'd by Law. That this *Order* was grown up to a burthenſome height of Pomp and Power. That 'twas plainly a grievance to the Subject, a hindrance to Piety, an Encroachment upon the Authority of the *Civil* Magiſtracy; and in ſhort, ſat heavy upon the Fortunes and Conſciences of the People. That for theſe Reaſons the Parliament deſir'd his Majeſty's concurrence for ſuppreſſing this *Epiſcopacy:* That their *Bill* did not meddle with the Apoſtolick Biſhops, nor determine the Power and Privileges of that Character. The Parliament deſires nothing more than to put down thoſe Biſhops by a Law, which the Law had ſet up. Nothing being more uſual for Parliaments than to alter or repeal Laws, as experience directs for the benefit of the Publick. But ſuppoſing the *Bill* deſir'd ſhould come cloſer, and affect the *Apoſtolical* Biſhop, they humbly conceiv'd; this would be no bar in Conſcience againſt the paſſing it. And here they argue upon a diſtinction between Practice and Precept, between what was done, and what was commanded by the Apoſtles, and take it for granted, that *Epiſcopacy* was of the firſt kind: That Circumſtances are ſometimes a ſtrong Diſpenſation, and ſuperſede the common Rules of Conduct. And here they leave it to his Majeſty's conſideration, whether Circumſtances could ever have a greater Weight, and operate more ſtrongly than in the preſent Caſe?

That as to the Sale of Biſhops Lands, when the Biſhopricks are diſſolv'd, their Eſtates revert to the Crown of courſe, and by conſequence the diſpoſing of ſuch Eſtates by Act of Parliament, they humbly conceive cannot come under the Imputation of Sacrilege. That ſuch Alienations of Church Revenues were frequently made in the Reigns of his Majeſty's Predeceſſors: And that even under the Ceremonial Law, conſecrated things in caſes of Neceſſity, were lawfully transfer'd to *Secular* Uſes.

And whereas his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſay he could not communicate in *Divine Service*, where 'tis uncertain *what the Miniſter will offer to God Almighty:* They humbly deſire his Majeſty to conſider, that the *Directory* preſcribes the Matter of the Miniſters Prayer, and only leaves Expreſſion and Inlargement at Liberty. And thus his Majeſty may be pre-acquainted with the Subſtance of the *Worſhip*.

After this they return to the buſineſs of *Epiſcopacy*, and ſuggeſt that the Suſpenſion of this Government, for three Years is too feeble a Remedy: And that great Inconveniences muſt follow upon the return of this *Order*, and the revival of the Authority reſerv'd for it. For in caſe the points of Church Government remain unſettled between the King and Parliament, the Biſhops return of courſe at three Years end; and then their Power will ſtretch to a Nuſance as formerly: For inſtance, they will have a Negative Voice in *Ordinations*; which claim they humbly conceive, is more than the *Scripture* ſupports. As for the offer of Encumbring their Revenues with Leaſes of ninety nine Years; this Conceſſion comes ſhort of Satisfaction to the two *Houſes:* For ſince the Property is to remain in the Church, the old Greivances will be brought back upon the Kingdom; ſo that 'tis impoſſible to diſcharge the Peoples Fears, and the conſequent Diſtractions, without a larger and more effectual Proviſion. Beſides, ſince the *Presbyterian* Government has ſo ſhort and precarious an Eſtabliſhment, a general Complyance muſt be impracticable: Neither is it likely to go on in the mean Time, with much Countenance or Comfort. And whereas his Majeſty hop'd the *Houſes* would not preſs him to act counter to his Perſuaſion; they deſire he would be pleas'd to remove this Obſtacle himſelf, and get his Conſcience better inform'd.

Novem. 20.

Id. p. 350. Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 4. p. 1335.

The next Day the King return'd them his laſt *Anſwer* touching the Abolition of Epiſcopacy. His Majeſty obſerv'd, he had conſented to the lopping all that additional Juriſdiction his Predeceſſors had beſtow'd upon that *Order:* That nothing was left but what was plainly inſtituted by the Apoſtles; and that his Majeſty believ'd he had prov'd this Point in his Paper to their *Divines*.

That tho' Circumſtances chang'd the nature of Moral Actions, yet if the things now in Queſtion are neither fit, nor lawful, his Majeſty conceives the conſideration of Circumſtances, and the regards of publick Peace, ought rather to prevail with the two *Houſes* to make a Ceſſion, and relax in their Demands. That Precedents for *Secularizing* Biſhops Lands, are Topicks ſhort of Conviction: They prove things were done, but not that it was lawful to do them. Now that the total Alienation of Church Revenues amounts to Sacrilege, has been ever agreed by Divines, tho' otherwiſe of different Perſuaſions. That by retrenching the foremention'd Powers and Appendages belonging to the Biſhops, the return of the Greivances objected, will be effectually barr'd. As for the Biſhops negative Voice in *Ordination*, his Majeſty wonders this Privilege ſhould be conteſted: And that it ſhould be deny'd being a Branch of Authority, practis'd by the *Apoſtolical* Biſhops: And that 'tis evident from the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that this part of Government was ſometimes under the ſole Management of the Biſhops (*d*). Laſtly, his

Majeſty

(*d*) 1 Tim. 5. 22 Tit. 1. 5.

Williams Joh. *Abp. of* York.

Novem. 21.

Charles I. K.

Majeſty having declar'd in his *Reply* of the 4th inſtant, That he intended to uſe a ſet Form of *Divine-Service*, diſtinct from the *Common-Prayer*; having now conſider'd the Latitude of the *Directory*, he retracts that Expreſſion. But as to all other particulars, adheres to his former Anſwer (*e*).

When the Treaty broke up, the Commiſſioners made their Report at *Weſtminſter*; and his Majeſty's Conceſſions with reſpect to the Church and other Things, are voted unſatisfactory (*f*). However, being menac'd by the Army-Independents, they reſume the Debate, and after a long Struggle, *reſolve* the King's Complyance a ground to proceed on for the Settlement of the Nation. But they were in no condition to go on with an Accommodation: For now the Army make a loud Remonſtrance, march up to *London*, menace the Parliament, ſeize ſeveral Members of the Lower-Houſe, and over-awe the reſt of the *Presbyterian* Party. Thus the Independents being ſtrengthned to a Majority; the Commons retract their former Vote, and come to a contrary Reſolution: And ſoon after, their Votes of *Non-Addreſſes* are repeated. In ſhort, the King is remov'd from *Cariſbrook* to *Hurſt-Caſtle*; from hence convey'd by the Army to *Windſor*, and from thence to *London*. And now they began to lay aſide the Maſk more fully, and diſcover the barbarity of their Intentions: The King was treated without Ceremony, the Marks of Sovereign reſpect forbidden, and a Committee appointed by the Commons to draw up a charge of High-Treaſon againſt him. This inſolent Impeachment was unanimouſly rejected by the Peers, who then adjourn'd. Upon this the Commons declare themſelves the ſupream Power, clap a Padlock on the Houſe of Lords, and go on without them. (*g*). Their next ſtep was the erecting a High-Court of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: When the King was brought hither, he deny'd the Authority of their Court, argued againſt their Impudence, and behav'd himſelf with that Greatneſs and Dignity which became a Prince. Upon his refuſing to plead, they condemn'd him to be beheaded: And the Sentence was pronounc'd by their Preſident *Bradſhaw*.

The Treaty proves ineffectual.

The King brought before the pretended High Court of Juſtice.

This unparallell'd Outrage of Majeſty, and the Conſtitution, ſtruck the Presbyterian Miniſtry with horror: Theſe Men, tho' they had been zealous in the Revolt, and preach'd up the War againſt the King, had no intention of going this hideous Length. They were for rebelling within a rule, ſinking the Crown to a Doge of *Venice*; and as *Hobbs* ſpeaks, making the *Engliſh* Government *a Commonwealth, with a King under them* *. Therefore when they found the King's Trial reſolv'd by the *Rump*, they made a Remonſtrance againſt it. 'Tis an Addreſs to General *Fairfax* and his Council of War, and entituled *A Serious and Faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of the Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of* London †.

In this Addreſs the *Presbyterian* Miniſters juſtify the War carried on by the *Parliament*, but diſclaim the Authority of the *Army*. And to bring them off from the Extremity of their “Proceedings, they ſuggeſt the ſeveral Oaths and Covenants generally taken throughout the Kingdom: Particularly the *Proteſtation* of May 5. 1641. in which purſuant to the duty of their Allegiance, they engage in the preſence of Almighty God to maintain and defend his Majeſty's Perſon, Honour and Eſtate with their Lives and Fortunes. After this they mention *the ſolemn League and Covenant*, by virtue of which they own themſelves tied to the ſame Duty.

The Presbyterian Miniſters remonſtrate againſt trying the King.

“And here they inſiſt very honeſtly upon the ſacred and inviolable Obligation of Oaths: Which tho' ſome, as they continue, may eſteem no more than an *Almanack out of Date*; yet they look upon ſuch Religious Solemnities as the *Oath of God*. They put the *General* in Mind, how ſeverely God reveng'd the Breach of his *Covenant* made by *Zedekiah* to the King of *Babylon*: Tho' this Engagement was extorted and prejudicial to the King of *Judah* *. After this they cite the Text which ſtands thus, *ſhall he proſper, ſays God, ſhall he eſcape that doth ſuch things? Or ſhall he break the Covenant and be delivered? As I live, ſaith the Lord, ſeeing he deſpiſed the Oath by breaking the Covenant, (when lo he had given his hand) he ſhall not eſcape. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, as I live, ſurely mine Oath that he has deſpiſed, and my Covenant that he has broken, even it will I recompence upon his own Head.*

“From hence they proceed to put the Army upon Recollection, *to remember from whence they are fallen, and repent and do their firſt Works*: That now they had eclips'd their Glory, and tarniſh'd their Merit, and therefore they could not aſſiſt them with their Character; *Bleſs them in the name of the Lord* *, *nor bid them God ſpeed, leſt they ſhould be partakers of their evil Deeds* †. That inſtead of preſerving the Purity of Religion in Belief and Worſhip, theſe Miniſters were afraid the Army and their Abettors were opening a Door to damnable Hereſies, and licentious Practice: That by this Miſbehaviour their Religion was in danger of being the Jeſt and Diverſion of the World: That they had laid the Honour and Authority of Magiſtracy *in the Duſt*. That they could not but know how ſtrictly Obedience to Government is enjoin'd in Holy *Scripture*, and that St. *Jude* denounces a Woe againſt thoſe that *deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak Evil of Dignities* ‖. They proceed to awaken 'em with reciting the Vengeance executed upon *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for their Mutiny againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*. They preſs the Concurrence of Proteſtant Divines both at *Home* and *Abroad*, aſſerting the Unlawfulneſs of oppoſing the Civil Magiſtrate by *private* Perſons, and that they all deteſt the Murdering of Kings upon any ſpecious Pretences whatever.

“They deſire 'em not to infer the Juſtice of their Proceedings from Succeſs: That they ought to diſtinguiſh between God's Permiſſion, and Approbation; and that God ſuffering Men to proſper in wicked Courſes is one of the ſevereſt Judgments. That their cuſtomary Argument from *Providence* is no ſafe Rule, eſpecially when *Practice* and *Revelation* claſh with each other: That by this Logick *David* might have made uſe of the opportunity and kill'd *Saul* *. But no favourable Juncture, no former Provocations could juſtify ſuch an Attempt, *for who*, as himſelf ſpeaks, *can ſtretch forth his Hand againſt the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltleſs?*

The Presbyterian Miniſters went upon Calvin's *falſe Principle that Parliaments and the Magiſtracy are Guardians of the Peoples Liberties, and have a right to fight their Princes in Caſes of Encroachment.*

“And to diſarm them farther, they argue that the Pretence of extraordinary *Impulſes* or ſupernatural Impreſſion, is no warrantable Direction; eſpecially when ſuch Impulſes are contrary to Moral Precepts, and the *Inſpir'd Writings*. That unleſs we try this *Inward Call* by the *Written Word*, the Temptations of the Devil

---

(*e*) Biblioth. Reg. p. 355.

(*f*) Whitlock's *Memorials*.

(*g*) Ld. Clarendon, Vol. 3.

* Behemoth.

† *This Paper was delivered to the General by ſome of the Subſcribers.* Jan. 18. 1648.

* Ezek. 17. 14, 15, 18, 19.

* Pſalm. 129. 8.

† 2 Joh. v. 11.

‖ Jude v. 8, 11.

* 1 Sam. 24. 4, 6, 7, 13. 1 Sam. 26. 8, 9.

Williams Joh. *Abp of York.*

"Devil may paſs undiſcovered. The Teſt, in this Caſe, is to have recourſe to the *Law* and the *Teſtimony, if they ſpeak not according to this Word, 'tis becauſe there is no Light in 'em* *.

"In the next place they confute the *Independents* Plea from Neceſſity: To this they anſwer, that no Neceſſity can oblige a Man to ſin: That God ſtands in no need of our Wickedneſs to govern the World, and to execute his Pleaſure: That this Plea of Neceſſity is of leſs Weight in the preſent Caſe, becauſe 'tis feared the *Ends* aim'd at are no more juſtifiable, than the *Means*; and farther, that the Neceſſity inſiſted on, is no better than pretended, and the Conſequence of their own Miſcarriage. Farther, they remind them once again how they ſtood engag'd by their *Oaths* to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon, and therefore 'tis moſt evident that no Neceſſity can juſtifie Perjury, or diſpenſe with Lawful Oaths: That dreadful *Flying Roll* being ready to ſeize thoſe who *ſwear falſly by the Name of God* †: And here they mention the Judgments which fell upon the Country for *Saul*'s breaking his Oath to the *Gibeonites*, tho' theſe People had ſurreptiouſly gained the Protection they lived under *.

"They conclude with exhorting them to recover themſelves, and learn their Duty from St. *John Baptiſt*'s Advice, *to do Violence to no Man* †. After this they make no Scruple to tell them, that if they perſiſt in their Proceedings, *their Sin will find them out* *.

And here to do Juſtice to the Memory of theſe Miniſters, I ſhall give the Reader a Liſt of their Names, which ſtands thus:

Thomas Gataker, Paſtor of *Rotherhith*.
George Walker, Paſtor of *John Evangeliſt*.
Arthur Jackſon, Paſtor of *Michael Woodſtreet*.
Charles Offſpring, Paſtor of *Antholines*.
Henry Robrough, Paſtor of *Leonards Eaſtcheap*.
Nicholas Profot, Miniſter of the Word at *Foſters*.
Thomas Caſe, Miniſter of *Maudlins Milkſtreet*.
Stanly Gower, Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Martins Ludgate*.
Andrew Janeway, of *Alhallows on the Wall*.
Samuel Clark, Miniſter of *Bennet Fynk*.
Thomas Clandon, Paſtor of *Alhallows Barking*.
John Wale, Miniſter of *Michael Cornhill*.
James Cranford, Paſtor of *Chriſtophers*.
James Nalton, Paſtor of *Leonard Foſter-lane*.
Thomas Cawton, Paſtor of *Bartholomew Exchange*.
John Fuller, Miniſter of *Botolphs Biſhopſgate*.
Francis Roberts, Paſtor of *Auſtins*.
William Jenkin, Paſtor of *Chriſt-Church*.
Elidad Blackwell, Paſtor of *Alhallows Underſhaft*.
William Harriſon, Miniſter of *Grace-Church*.
John Sheffield, Miniſter of *Swithins*.
Matthew Haviland, Miniſter of *Trinity Pariſh*.
George Smalewood, Paſtor of *Mildreds Poultry*.
William Taylor, Paſtor of *Stephens Coleman-ſtreet*.
Chriſtopher Love, Paſtor of *Anns Alderſgate*.
Robert Mercer, Miniſter of *Brides*.
Ralph Robinſon, Paſtor of *Mary Woolnoth*.
William Blackmore, Paſtor of *Peters Cornhill*.
Francis Peck, Paſtor of *Nicholas Acons*.
Stephen Watkins, Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Saviours Southwark*.
William Wickins, Paſtor of *Andrew Hubbard*.
John Wallis, Miniſter of *Martins Ironmonger-lane*.
Thomas Manton, Miniſter of *Stoke-Newington*.
Thomas Gouge, Miniſter of *Sepulchres*.
Thomas Watſon, Paſtor of *Stephen Walbrook*.
Nathanael Staniforth, Miniſter of *Mary Botham*.
John Halk, Preacher at *Alhallows on the Wall*.
John Glaſſock, Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Andrew Underſhaft*.
Thomas Whately, Paſtor of *Mary Wool-Church*.
Jacob Tice, Paſtor of *Botolph Billingſgate*.
Jonathan Lloyd, Paſtor of *James Garlickhith*.
John Morton, Paſtor of *Newington Butts*.
Joſhua Kirby, Miniſter of the Word.
Arthur Barham, Paſtor of *Hellens*.
Benjamin Needler, Paſtor of *Margaret Moſes*.
John Wells, Miniſter of *Olaves Jury*.
Robert Matthew, Miniſter of *Andrew Wardrobe*.

This Addreſs was handſome Plain-dealing: 'Twas a bold Reprimand of a victorious Army, and expos'd the Villainy of the *Independent* Faction with Advantage enough. But theſe Men were impenetrably hardened, and out of the reach of Admonition: They, like *the deaf Adder, refuſed to hear the Voice of the Charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

To return: On the 28th of *January* at Night, and not ſooner, *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* was admitted to aſſiſt his Majeſty in his Devotions *(b)*. On *Tueſday* following the execrable Murther was committed on the ſide of the *Banqueting Houſe* at *Whitehall*. The King appear'd on the Scaffold undiſturb'd both in Aſpect and Motion, ſupported his Character to the laſt Minute, and declar'd himſelf of the Communion of the Church of *England*, as 'twas ſettled in the Time of his Father King *James*.

And murder'd at Whitehall.

To ſhut up this melancholy Scene in a Word or two of general Deſcription: He was a Prince of great Abilities, equal and diſpaſſionate in his Temper, and remarkably regular in his private Life. He never enter'd on his Diverſions abroad till he had firſt paid his Duty to God at the publick Prayers. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in obſerving the Hours for his Cabinet-Devotion. He would not endure any Licentious Jeſts, any rallying of Religion, tho' never ſo much recommended by Pleaſantry and Wit. He was well furniſh'd with Capacity and Reſolution to adviſe at the *Council Board*, and execute in the *Field*. One of his greateſt Misfortunes ſeems to have been an Exceſs of Clemency: Of this the Pacification at *Berwick*, was a fatal Inſtance. He had likewiſe too modeſt a Senſe of his Judgment and Sufficiency: This Diffidence made him ſometimes over-rul'd by other Mens Opinions, worſe grounded than his own. The Extent of his Knowledge, the Force of his Reaſoning, and the Nobleneſs of his *Manner*, is ſufficiently diſcover'd in his Printed *Works*. The beautiful Turn and Luſtre of his Compoſitions are ſeldom met with in *Engliſh* Authors of that Age. To conclude; the Lord Chancellour *Clarendon*, who knew him very well, gives him the Character of *the Worthieſt Gentleman, the Beſt Maſter, the Beſt Friend, the Beſt Husband, the Beſt Father, and the Beſt Chriſtian, that the Age in which he liv'd, produc'd (i).*

Something farther of his Character.

This Prince left Iſſue three Sons, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* who ſucceeded him, *James* Duke of *York* afterwards King of *England*, and *Henry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who died ſoon after the *Reſtoration*. His Daughters were the Princeſs *Mary* married to the Prince of *Orange*, *Elizabeth* who died during the *Uſurpation*, at *Cariſbrook* Caſtle in the Ille of *Wight*, and *Henrietta* married to the Duke of *Orleans*.

When the King was murder'd the Prince of *Wales* was at the *Hague*, and not ill, tho' ſomewhat cautiouſly entertain'd, by the States of *Holland*. The *Engliſh* Rebels forbid the proclaiming

---

* Iſa. 28. 20.

† Zach. 5. 4.

* 2 Sam. 21. 1, 2, 6.

† Luk. 3. 14.

* Num. 32. 23.

(b) Warwick's *Memoirs*.

(i) *Hiſt.* Rebellion, Vol. 3.

Regicides form a pretended Government.

ing him under the Penalty of High Treaſon: They vote the Houſe of Lords uſeleſs and dangerous, giving the Peers leave notwithſtanding to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, provided they were elected. The *Rump*-Parliament, now at the Helm, proceed to aboliſh Kingly Government, and chuſe a *Council of State*, with whom they lodge the executive part of the Rebellion *(k)*. From hence they advance to repeal the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy (l)*. Thus when the Rebels had made themſelves liable to the higheſt Forfeitures by a continued Breach upon theſe Laws, they thought it neceſſary to take them out of the way. This was a ſhrewd Expedient! And by the ſame Authority a Set of Libertines may abrogate the *Seventh* Commandment: Or to bring the Reſemblance a little nearer, by the ſame Right a Company of Thieves, who have rais'd their Fortunes by their Profeſſion, may meet together, dub themſelves the *Legiſlature*, and declare the *Statutes* againſt Burglary and Robbing void, and of none Effect. *But that when many Men ſwear ſingly, they may, when aſſembled, abſolve themſelves if they pleaſe*, was a piece of Law which even *Hobbs* confeſſes he could not underſtand *(m)*.

(k) Ruſhworth's *Hiſt. Collect.* pt. 4. Walker's *Hiſt. of Independency.*

(l) 1 Eliz. cap. 1. 3 Jac. 1. cap. 4. Scobell's *Collect. of Acts*, &c. fol. 3. Feb. 9th. 1648--9.

The Acts enjoining the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy repealed.

(m) Behemoth.

A Petition from Norfolk *to the Lord General* Fairfax.

A little after a *Petition* was addreſs'd to his Excellency *Thomas Fairfax* Lord General *of the Forces rais'd for the Defence of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Enlargement of the Liberty of the well affected* Engliſh. The Addreſs makes a Recital of the Sins and Corruption of the Times, and prays,

" 1. That none but Men of known Integrity,
" Fidelity and well affected to the *Cauſe*, may
" be put into any Office Military, or Civil,
" and that no *Delinquent* (that is no Roy-
" aliſt) may be truſted with any publick
" Employment.
" 2. That the ſcandalous, ignorant and malig-
" nant Clergy, may no longer take the
" Word of God into their Mouths, but that
" a godly and painful Miniſtry may be ſet-
" tled throughout the Kingdom, and that
" all *Rectories* may be reſtored for their
" Maintenance.

But here theſe well-affected *Petitioners* ſeem to forget themſelves; for immediately after, they mov'd, " That *Tithes* may be wholly taken away, " and every Miniſter have a hundred Pounds *per* " *Annum* to be rais'd by a Rate upon the reſpe- " ctive Pariſhes. They inſiſt farther upon purg- " ing the Schools, and the *Univerſities*, and re- " forming the Law: For Inſtance, they would " have Perjury and Subornation capitally pu- " niſh'd, that no Cauſe ſhould hang above two " *Terms*, and that the Number of Lawyers ſhould " be retrench'd, and the Fees made leſs, and " aſcertain'd *(n)*.

(*n*) Whitlock's *Memomorials*, &c. p. 379.

The Presbyterian Miniſters endeavour a Vindication of themſelves from the Charge of being concerned in the King's Murder.

The *Presbyterian* Miniſters not having Intereſt enough to prevail with the Army, and the *Weſtminſter-Junto*, for preventing the King's Murder, endeavour'd to wipe off the Aſperſion of their being a Party to this Wickedneſs: To this purpoſe they publiſh'd a *Paper*, in which they diſclaim and deteſt the Proceedings of the Regicides *(o)*. Their *Vindication* is ſign'd by fifty nine Miniſters, among theſe Abhorrers are *Cornelius Burges*, *William Gouge*, *Edmund Stanton*, *Thomas Temple*, Doctors in Divinity; *Edmund Calamy*, Paſtor of *Aldermanbury*, *William Spurſthow* of *Hackney*, with ſeveral others unmention'd in the former *Liſt*. But theſe Divines did not well conſider that by their preaching up the Warrantableneſs of fighting the Government, and their Zeal for the Parliament *Cauſe*, they fail'd in their Allegiance, and broke the Laws: And in Conſequence of this, were unhappily inſtrumental in diſabling the King, and laying him at the Mercy of the Rebellion.

(o) *A Vindication of the Miniſters of the Goſpel in and about* London, &c. Lond. *printed in the Year* 1648.

About this time, *Fairfax* and the Army publiſh'd a *Paper*, entituled, *The Agreement of the People*: This, as the *Presbyterians* rightly judg'd, gave a dangerous Liberty to all *Perſuaſions*. To prevent ill Impreſſions from this Quarter, the Miniſters of *Eſſex*, *Leiceſterſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, appear in Print *(p)*: In managing the Argument they take notice *the Agreement* ſuggeſts, That *the Chriſtian Religion ſhall be held forth and recommended as the publick Profeſſion in this Nation*; but then they don't define Chriſtianity, nor diſtinguiſh it from other Religions: Farther, *the Agreement would have the publick Profeſſion ſo held forth, that none may be compell'd by Penalties or otherwiſe, but only may be endeavour'd to be made one by ſound Doctrine and the Example of a good Converſation*: 'Tis true, they exclude *Popery* and *Prelacy* from this Privilege. But this Limitation doth by no means ſatisfie the *Presbyterians*. They conceive *the Indulgence* takes in too large a Compaſs, and that *Anabaptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Arians*, *Socinians*, and other groſs *Miſperſuaſions*, may be comprehended. However, *the Agreement* pretends this Liberty is *Fundamental to our common Right, to our Freedom and Safety*: To this the *Presbyterians* return they would be glad to know what Right there can be in a Liberty for Iniquity? In a Liberty to corrupt the Articles of *Faith*, and break the Ordinances of God; to propagate Infection, to diſconcert the Unity of the Church, and deſtroy the Souls of Men? What ſort of Freedom is it to ramble from Truth, and revolt from God, and to be led away by Ignorance and Errour? What *Safety* can be expected by opening the Sheep-Folds for the Wolves to enter, to give *Hereſy* an unlimited Range, and feed the Diſeaſe without thinking of a Remedy? And to reinforce this Reaſoning, they cite a great many *Texts* both from the *Old* and *New Teſtament (p)*.

(p) Eſſex *Mens Watch Word*, &c. *Paper called the Agreement*, &c. *by the Miniſters of Chriſt in the Province of* Lancaſter. *The humble Repreſentation of the Committee, Miniſtry*, &c. *in the County of* Leiceſter. *They publiſh an Anſwer to a Paper call'd*, The Agreement of the People, &c.

(q) Deut. 7. 5. 12. 2, 3. 13. 1, 2. Gen. 18. 19. 35. 2. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. 2 Joh 10. Rev. 17. 12, 13, 14, 16. Mat. 7. 15. Gal. 1. 9. Phil. 2. 2.

A Declaration concerning Religion.

The *Rump*-Parliament finding the *Presbyterian* Miniſters perplex'd *the Cauſe*, committed a *Bill*, prohibiting Miniſters intermeddling with State-Affairs; and to ſoften this Reſtraint a little, and reconcile the different Parties, they gave order for a *Declaration* touching Matters of Religion, and ſettling the Church: The Expedient imported, That Tithes ſhall not be taken away till another Maintenance equally large, and honourable be provided for the Miniſter: That as ſoon as ſuch a Proviſion can be made, Tithes ſhall be taken off, and the National Church Eſtabliſhment ſhall be the *Presbyterian* Government: And laſtly, that an Expedient ſhould be found out for the admitting all ſuch Churches as tend to Godlineſs: And that ſuch Congregations ſhall be tolerated and free from Diſturbance *.

A. D. 1649.

A deſperate Enthuſiaſt's five Lights.

Upon the Strength of theſe *Indulgences*, the Office of Preaching was ſometimes invaded by the *Laity*, and ſtrange Flights of Enthuſiaſm and Phrenſie thrown out for Prophecy: For inſtance, at *Walton* upon the *Thames* in *Surrey*, a Soldier coming into the Church with a Candle and Lanthorn, and being refuſed to hold forth there, went into the Church-yard, and told the People, " he had a Viſion, and received a Command from " God, which he was to deliver, and which they " were to govern themſelves by, under Pain of " Damnation: It conſiſted of five Lights:

* Whitlock's *Memorials.*

1.

1. “That the Sabbath was aboliſh'd as unneceſſary, Jewiſh, and meerly ceremonial; and here, ſays he, I ſhould have put out my firſt *Light*, but the Wind is ſo high I can't light it.

2. “Tithes are aboliſh'd as Jewiſh and ceremonial, a great Burthen to the Saints of God, and a Diſcouragement of Induſtry and Tillage: And here the ſecond *Light* ſhould have been put out, but for the Reaſon abovemention'd.

3. “Miniſters are aboliſhed as Antichriſtian, and of no longer Uſe now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the Hearts of his Saints, and his Spirit enlightens them with Revelations and Inſpirations.

4. “Magiſtrates are aboliſhed as uſeleſs, ſince Chriſt himſelf, is in the Purity of the *Spirit*, come amongſt us, and has erected the Kingdom of the Saints upon the Earth: Beſides, Magiſtrates are Tyrants, and Oppreſſors of the Liberty of the *Saints*, and tie 'em to Laws and Ordinances, mere humane Inventions. After this, he pulls a Bible out of his Pocket, holds it up to the People, and then goes on with the following Blaſphemy. *Here is a Book you have in great Veneration, conſiſting of two Parts, the Old and New Teſtament: I muſt tell you*, ſays he, *it is aboliſhed: It contains beggarly Rudiments, Milk for Babes: But now Chriſt is in Glory amongſt us, and imparts a fuller Meaſure of his Spirit to his Saints than this can afford; and therefore I am commanded to burn it before your Faces:* Upon this, he ſet fire to the Leafes, and then putting out the Candle, let 'em know his *fifth Light was exninguiſhed* (*r*).

(*r*) *Hiſt. of Independency*, *pt.* 2. *p.* 152.

To impoſe upon the People, and carry on the Farce the better, the Rump-Parliament erected a Corporation for *promoting and propagating the Goſpel* in *New-England*. For this purpoſe they order'd a general Collection throughout the Kingdom, that the Pariſh Miniſters ſhould read their pretended *Act*, and recommend a Subſcription for this purpoſe (*ſ*).

(*ſ*) Scobell's *Collection of Acts*, &c. *fol.* 68.

July.
The Rebels form a Common-Wealth, and vote the Lord's uſeleſs.

And now having ſet up for a Common-wealth in Form, they fortify their Scheme with an Oath call'd the *Engagement:* Thus their *Officers, Civil, Military* and *others*, ſwore to be *true and faithful to the Commonwealth of* England, *as 'tis now Eſtabliſh'd, without King or Houſe of Lords.* And here thoſe who took the Oath had the Liberty, either of laying their Right-hand on the Bible, or holding it up when this *Engagement* was adminiſter'd. The Penalty of Non-complyance was, that thoſe in Publick Employment ſhould loſe their Offices; and others who refuſ'd were barr'd the benefit of the Law, and diſabl'd to ſue in any Court (*t*). This latter Severity paſs'd the *Houſe* ſome Months afterwards, and preſs'd the *Engagement* upon all Perſons throughout the Kingdom.

Id. fol. 88.
Sept. 5.

December.
(*t*) Whitlock's *Memorials, p.* 420.

The Scotch *Covenanters apply to the King, but with a Mixture of Miſbehaviour.*

The *Scotch Covenanters* who began the Rebellion at *Home*, and ſupported it here; came now to a Rupture with their *Engliſh* Confederates. They found their *Covenant* diſcountenanc'd by the *Rump* at *Weſtminſter*, and it may be, they might think the Rebellion carry'd too far: In ſhort whatever the Motives of their Diſguiſe were, they pretended themſelves highly injur'd, and complain'd loudly againſt the *Regicides*. This Diſſatisfaction brought them towards ſome Thoughts of Loyalty to the preſent King: Tho' it muſt be ſaid, they manag'd themſelves very untowardly in this Recollection. For the purpoſe, the general *Aſſembly* of the *Kirk* ſent a Declaration to the King, in which there appears a very odd mixture of Duty and ill Manners. “They take the freedom to reprimand his Majeſty for adhering to the Council of *James Graham*, (meaning the brave Marquiſs of *Montroſs*) and his Accomplices: They adviſe him to ſettle the *Presbyterian* Government and Worſhip, in all his Dominions: Upon this condition, they promiſe him their Aſſiſtance; *but that otherwiſe all the Blood ſhed by his Father will be laid to his Charge.*

Ibid.
The Rump Proviſion for Learning in Ireland.

At *Weſtminſter* an Act paſs'd for the Advancement of the *Goſpel*, as they call'd it, in *Ireland*; for ſettling ſeveral Parcels of Land upon the College of *Dublin*, formerly belonging to the *See* and Cathedral of that City: There was likewiſe a Proviſion for the Erecting and Maintenance of a Free-School in *Dublin*. This *Ordinance* was a varniſh for the Iniquity of the Times; and thus they endeavoured to bribe the Univerſity into the *Revolt*. This Act was follow'd by another for aboliſhing the *Hierarchy* in *Ireland*, and forbidding the Uſe of the *Common-Prayer* there.

March 1649-50.
Id. *p.* 429.
They ſuppreſs the Hierarchy, and prohibit the Common-Prayer in that Kingdom.
The Death of Abp. Williams.

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this Life. This Prelate, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the King's Service. His active Loyalty brought him in Danger of being ſeiz'd and murder'd at his Caſtle of *Cawood*. To execute this Deſign, young *Hotham* came thither with a Party in the Night. But the Archbiſhop having notice ſome Hours beforehand, made his Eſcape. However, his Houſe was plunder'd, and his learned Collections and Compoſitions deſtroy'd. He retir'd into *Wales*, where he promoted the King's Intereſt conſiderably, fortify'd the Caſtle of *Abberconway* at his own Expence, and put the Country in a Poſture of Defence for his Majeſty. The King inform'd of the Service the Archbiſhop had done him, wrote ſeveral Letters to teſtify his great Satisfaction; and which goes ſomewhat towards a Juſtification of what happen'd afterwards, the King gave *Williams* the Cuſtody of *Abberconway* Caſtle, by a Letter under his Signet, with an Authority to keep it till his Expences were reimburs'd: Notwithſtanding this Grant, Sir *John Owen*, by Virtue of a Commiſſion from Prince *Rupert*, ſeizes the Fort, and makes Prize of the Archbiſhop's Effects, and thoſe of the Country, lodg'd there. The Archbiſhop thus ouſted, ſends a Complaint of this Uſage to *Oxford*; but his Meſſenger brought no Redreſs. About fifteen Months after, when *Oxford* was inveſted, and the King's Affairs not likely to recover, the Archbiſhop made Terms with Collonel *Milton*, who commanded for the Parliament; and promis'd to aſſiſt him in ſtorming the Caſtle, upon condition his Effects, and thoſe of the Neighbourhood might be reſtor'd. *Williams* with his Relations attack'd, Sir *John Owen*, and help'd to force him to a Surrender. This indulging the warmth of his Temper, and puſhing his Reſentment too far, made his former Services almoſt forgotten, and prov'd unſerviceable to his *Memory*.

March 25. 1650.

After the Murther of the late King, the Archbiſhop liv'd very retir'd, ſeem'd to take no Satisfaction in his Life, and us'd to riſe every Night at Midnight to his Devotions. As to the reſt of his Character, I ſhall only add, he was a Prelate of great Learning and Courage, and well qualify'd for Buſineſs both in Church and State: His private Life was unexceptionably regular, and his Fortune creditably ſpent in Charity, Benefactions and hoſpitable living (*u*). He was born at *Abberconway* in the County of

Carnarvan

(*u*) *Bp.* Hacket's *Life of Abp.* Williams.

Carnarvan, and was a Gentleman well deſceded on both ſides.

The Levellers Addreſs.

" The extravagant indulging Opinions, and " flouriſhing upon the liberty of the Subject, " encourag'd the *Levellers*, call'd the Planters " of *Commons* to addreſs the *Rumpers* for general " Freedom. They deſir'd they might be re- " ſtor'd to the Privilege of *Adam*'s Deſcendants; " that ſome of the Reſtraints of Property might " be taken off, and the Earth made common to " Induſtry: That every body's Labour might " furniſh them *freely* with the Conveniences of " Cloaths and Diet: That the Incumbrances of " paying of Rent, and doing Homage to a Fel- " low Creature of their own Kind, might be " no longer ſuffer'd: And that the mark of Ser- " vitude and Tyranny being thus taken out of " the way, all People might live at Eaſe, and " enjoy the benefit of their Creation (*w*).

(*w*) Whitlock's *Memorial, p.* 432.

A Bill againſt Inceſt, Adultery, &c.

To keep on the Mask of *Reformation*, the pretended Parliament paſs a *Bill* for diſcountenancing Licentiouſneſs. By their *Act*, Inceſt and Adultery is made Felony, and Fornication puniſh'd with three Months Impriſonment; Panders and Bawds are Whip'd, Pillor'd, Mark'd with a hot Iron in the Forehead with the Letter *B.* and Impriſon'd three Years for the firſt Offence: The ſecond Offence is Felony without Benefit of Clergy (*x*).

May 1650.

Scobel's *Collect.* &c. *fol.* 121.

August. *An Act againſt Blaſphemy and Execrable Opinions.*

By another *Act* made this Summer againſt *Atheiſtical, Blaſphemous and Execrable Opinions*; the *Reader* may collect the Declenſion of Morality, and the lamentable condition to which Belief and Practice were now reduc'd: In this pretended *Statute* 'tis enacted amongſt other Things, that if any Perſon ſhall profeſs, **that the Acts of Adultery, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, and the like open Wickedneſs, are in their own Nature as Holy and Righteous as the duties of Prayer, Preaching, or giving Thanks to God; or whoſoever ſhall avowedly profeſs that Happineſs conſiſts in the Commiſſion of ſuch Crimes; that there is really no ſuch thing as Unrighteouſneſs or Sin independent of Conſcience and Opinion; that there is neither Heaven nor Hell,** with ſome other Blaſphemies too horrid to be inſerted: If any Perſon ſhall be convicted of maintaining ſuch frightful Doctrine; they were to ſuffer Six Months Impriſonment for the firſt, and be baniſh'd for the ſecond Offence: And in caſe they return'd without Leave, were to be treated as Felons.

Id. *fol.* 124.

The Scotch *Covenanters diſengage with the King, and are defeated at* Dunbar.

In *Scotland* the *Kirk* not finding the King compliant with all their extravagant Demands, drew off to a diſtance, and ſet up for themſelves. In ſhort, his Majeſty's Houſhold is purg'd, and moſt of the Royaliſts oblig'd to quit the Country, and retire to *Holland*. And now many of the Military *Liſt* going in to the *Kirk* Intereſt, they levy Forces, and fortify the Caſtle of *Edingborough*. This look'd like menacing, and made the *Rump* apprehenſive their Affairs might be embroyl'd from that Quarter. And therefore by way of Precaution, they gave *Cromwell* the Command of the Army, and order'd him to march into *Scotland*, to check the Commotions there: Leiutennant General *Cromwell* was made Commander in chief of their Forces; for their General Lord *Fairfax* choſe rather to lay down his Commiſſion, than attack the Covenanters. To proceed, The *Kirk* prevail'd with the Officers to fight the *Engliſh* at *Dunbar*; where, notwithſtanding the Superiority of their Numbers, the *Scots* were entirely defeated.

September 3.

Before the Battle, the *Kirk* relying on the ſtrength of their Forces, and being confident of Succeſs, would neither permit the King, nor the *Engliſh* Royaliſts to appear in the Army: As for *Cromwell*, he loſt no time in improving this Victory. He march'd farther into the Country, and made himſelf Maſter of *Leith* and *Edinbourgh*, excepting the Caſtle of the latter. And the better to recommend his Moderation (*y*), and make them believe the fighting their Religion was no part of his Buſineſs, he ſent word to the Governour of *Edinbourgh*-Caſtle, that the Miniſters with him might return to their Churches, and preach without being diſturb'd. To this the Miniſters Anſwer was, *That they found nothing expreſs'd from whence they might infer Security for their Perſons: And therefore they reſolv'd to reſerve themſelves for better Times, and wait upon him who had hidden his Face for a while from the Sons of* Jacob.

(*y*) Whitlock.

Cromwell *clears himſelf from the charge of diſturbing the* Scots *in their Religion.*

His two Letters to the Governour of Edinbourgh Caſtle, *upon this Subject.*

Cromwell to vindicate himſelf from the Imputation of inſidious Dealing, replys in a Letter to the Governour to this Effect. " That his Kind- " neſs offer'd to the Miniſters in the Caſtle, was " meant fairly, and without any fraudulent re- " ſerve; and that he expected to have met " with the ſame Candour and Frankneſs; and " that if their *Maſters Service*, as they pretend, " was their Principal concern; the fancy of ſuf- " fering wou'd not have made them ſo exceſſive- " ly cautious: That theſe *Divines* miſreport the " Conduct of his Party, when they charge them " with drawing a Perſecution upon the Mini- " ſters of Chriſt in *England*.

" The Miniſters of *England*, continues *Cromwell*, are countenanc'd and ſupported: They " have the liberty to preach the *Goſpel*, tho' " not to rail at Diſcretion, nor under any pre- " tended Privilege of Character, to top the " *Civil* Authority, and ſink it towards Inſigni- " ficancy. No Man, as he goes on, has been " diſturb'd in *England* or *Ireland* for preaching " the Goſpel; nor has any Miniſter been mo- " leſted in *Scotland* ſince the *Engliſh* Forces " came thither. And to deliver the reſt of the " Letter in *Cromwell*'s Language, *the ſpeaking Truth*, ſaith this Gentleman, *becomes the Miniſters of Chriſt. When Miniſters pretend to a glorious Reformation, and lay the Foundation thereof in getting to themſelves Power, and can make worldly mixtures to accompliſh the ſame; ſuch as their late Agreement with their King, and hopes by him to carry on their Deſigns; they may know that the* Sion *promis'd and hop'd for will not be built with ſuch untempered Mortar.*

And for the unjuſt Invaſion, they mention Time was when an Army of Scotland *came into* England, *not called by the Supreme Authority. We have ſaid in our Papers, with what Hearts, and upon what account we came, and the Lord hath heard us; tho' you would not,* upon as ſolemn an Appeal *as any Experience can Parrallel.*

When they truſt purely to the Sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, *which is powerful to bring down ſtrong-Holds, and every Imagination that exalts it ſelf, which alone is able to ſquare and fit the Stones for the* New Jeruſalem.

Then, and not before, and by that means, and no other ſhall Jeruſalem *(which is to be the Praiſe of the whole Earth) the City of the Lord be built, the* Sion *of the Holy One* of Iſrael: *I have nothing to ſay to you, but that I am,*

Id. September 9

Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

O. Cromwell.

The *Scotch* Miniſters returning an Anſwer to this Letter, *Cromwell* ſent them a ſecond Proof of his Rhetorick, much in the ſame ſtrain with the former.

We look ſaith, he, *upon Miniſters, as Helpers of, not Lords over the Faith of God's People: I appeal to their Conſciences, whether any denying their Doctrines, and diſſenting, ſhall not incur the cenſure of Sectary. And what is this but to deny Chriſtians their Liberty, and aſſume the infallible Chair?*

Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is included in your Function? Though an Approbation from Men hath Order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that aſcended up on High, may give his Gifts to whom he pleaſe; and if thoſe Gifts be the Seal of Miſſion, be not envious, though Eldad *and* Medad *Propheſy; you know who bids us covet earneſtly the beſt Gifts, but chiefly that we may Propheſy.*

Which the Apoſtle explains there to be a ſpeaking to Inſtruction, and Edification, and Comfort, which the inſtructed, edified and comforted can beſt tell the Energy and Effect of.

If ſuch evidence be, I ſay again, Take heed you envy not for your own Sakes, leſt you be guilty of a greater Fault than Moſes *reproved in* Joſhua, *for envying for his Sake.*

Indeed you err through the Miſtake of the Scriptures: Approbation is an Act of Conveniency, in reſpect of Order; not of Neceſſity, to give Faculty to preach the Goſpel.

Your pretended fear leſt Error ſhould ſtep in, is like the Man who would keep all the Wine out of the Country leſt Men ſhould be drunk. It will be found an unjuſt and unwiſe Jealouſie to deny a Man the liberty he hath by Nature, upon a Suppoſition he may abuſe it; when he doth abuſe it, judge. Some few Days after the Victory at *Dunbar*, the Governour of *Edinbourgh*-Caſtle charg'd *Cromwell* and the *Weſtminſter Juncto* with falling off from their firſt Principles, and not being true to the ends of the **Covenant**: And ſecondly he objected that in *England* Men of Secular Employments had uſurp'd the Office of the *Miniſtry*, to the ſcandal of the *Reform'd Kirks* (z).

Id. *p.* 458.

(x) *Perfect diurnal, p.* 476, *&c.*

In Anſwer to the firſt Part of this Expoſtulation, *Cromwell* deſired to know whether their bearing witneſs to themſelves was good evidence of their having proſecuted the ends of the **Covenant**; and whether their own Affirmation is ſufficient to juſtify their Conduct? He tells them, that to infer this, is to have too favourable an Opinion of their own Judgment and Impartiality: That their Doctrines and Practice muſt be try'd by the *Touchſtone of God's Word.* That other People muſt have a liberty of examining them upon theſe Heads: And where there is a right to try the Cauſe, there muſt be a liberty allow'd for giving Sentence.

He purges himſelf from the farther imputation of being falſe to the ends of the Covenant.

As to the charge of indulging the uſe of the Pulpit to the *Laity*; *Cromwell* replys in theſe Words: *Are ye troubled*, ſaith he, *that Chriſt is preach'd? Does it ſcandalize the reform'd* Kirks, *and* Scotland *in particular? Is it againſt the Covenant? Away with the Covenant if it be ſo. I thought the Covenant and theſe Men, would have been willing that any ſhould ſpeak good of the name of Chriſt: If not 'tis no Covenant of God's approving; nor the* Kirk *you mention ſo much the Spouſe of Chriſt.*

He defends the preaching of Lay-Men, and juſtify's the reaſoning from Events.

In Anſwer to the witneſs of God upon our ſolemn Appeal, continues *Cromwell*; *You ſay you have not ſo learnt Chriſt, as to hang the Equity of a Cauſe upon Events. We could wiſh that Blindneſs had not been upon your Eyes to thoſe marvellous Diſpenſations, which God hath lately wrought in* **England**: *But did not you ſolemnly Appeal and Pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you to think with fear and trembling of the Hand of the great God, in this mighty and ſtrange Appearance of his, and not ſlightly call it an Event? Were not your Expectations and ours renew'd from Time to Time, whilſt we waited on God to ſee how he would manifeſt himſelf upon our Appeals? And ſhall we after all theſe our Prayers, Faſtings, Tears, Expectations, and ſolemn Appeals call theſe bare Events? The Lord pity you!*

Id.

This canting Logick ſufficiently ſheweth the Fallacy of reaſoning from Succeſs. Thus *Cromwell* argued cloſely, *ad hominem* againſt the *Scotch* Covenanters, and turned their own Artillery upon them. This fortunate Campaign in *Scotland*, rais'd the Spirits of the Independent Party at *Weſtminſter*, and made them more hardy in executing their Scheme: And now to recommend themſelves farther to the Populace, and draw all the *Sectaries* to their Intereſt, they paſs a Repeal of ſeveral Penal *Statutes* for not coming to Church (*a*). The Preamble ſets forth, that **by the ſaid Acts divers religious and peaceable People, well affected to the Proſperity of the Common-wealth, have not only been moleſted and impriſoned, but alſo brought into Danger of abjuring their Country, or in caſe of Return, to ſuffer Death as Felons, to the great Diſquiet and utter Ruine of ſuch good and godly People** (b).

(*a*) 1 Eliz. c. 2. 23 Eliz. c. 1. 35 Eliz. c. 1. Septem. 27.

Penal Statutes againſt Diſſenters repeal'd.

This Year *George Fox*, an ordinary Mechanick, preach'd his *New Light*, and begun the *Sect* of the *Quakers*. The Defeat the *Scots* receiv'd at *Dunbar*, brought the *Covenanters* to ſome Temper, and recover'd them towards Duty to the Government: And for a Proof of their Recollection, they invited the King to return from the *Highlands*, and crown'd him at *Schone* with the cuſtomary Ceremony and Magnificence (*c*).

The Scotch *Covenanters apply to the King, and Crown him at* Schone,

(*b*) Scobel's *Collect. of Acts,* &c. *fol.* 131.

At *Weſtminſter*, the *Houſe* had a warm Debate upon a *Bill* for turning all Law-Books and Proceedings in Courts of Juſtice, into *Engliſh.* To make way for the *Bill*, *Whitlock* a Member of the Long-Robe, declared, he did not think it reaſonable the Generality ſhould implicitely depend upon the Skill of others, nor altogether rely upon foreign Integrity. And that ſince the Lives and Fortunes of the People are governed by Law, and ſubject to it, he thought it ſhould be penn'd in the Mother Tongue, and lie open to common view.

(*c*) *Hiſt. of Independents, pt.* 4.

An Argument in the Houſe of Commons for turning the Law Books into Engliſh.

To ſupport this Opinion, he obſerves, that *Moſes* read the Law to the *Jews* in the *Hebrew* Tongue: That God commanded him to write and explain this publick Proviſion in the Language of the Country: That they were deeply concern'd to know where their Rights, their Privileges were ſettled, where the Forfeitures were mark'd out, and not be kept in Ignorance of the Rule by which their Intereſt was directed. The Laws of the Eaſtern Nations, continues this Gentleman, were in their Mother-Tongue. The Laws at *Conſtantinople* were in *Greek*; at *Rome* in *Latin*; and in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other Places, their Laws ſtand publiſh'd in their native Language: As for your own Country, ſaith he, every Body that can read the *Saxon* Character, may find the Laws of your Anceſtors in the *Engliſh* Tongue. Purſuant to this Regulation, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, commanded the Laws to be proclaim'd in *Engliſh*, that none might pretend Ignorance. And to reinforce theſe Authorities, he takes notice, that 36 *E.* 3. 'twas order'd in Parliament, that *Pleadings* ſhould be made in *Engliſh*. And in the Reigns of thoſe Times when our *Statutes* were enroll'd in *French*, the Sheriffs were oblig'd to proclaim them in *Engliſh*. In this Speech this Member endeavours to diſprove the *Engliſh* Laws being introduc'd by tbe Conqueror *(d)*: And here his Reaſoning ſeems to fail. But this Argument having been already conſider'd in the firſt Part of this *Work*, needs not be repeated (*e*).

(*d*) Whitlock's *Memorials, p.* 460. & deinc.

(*e*) *See Eccleſ. Hiſt. pt.* 1. *under the Reign of* William *the Conqueror.*

As for the *Bill*, the *Houſe* paſs'd it in the Form following.

A Bill paſs'd for this purpoſe.

The Parliament have thought fit to Declare and Enact, and be it Declared and Enacted by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That all the Report-Books of the Reſolutions of Judges, and other Books of the Law of England, ſhall be tranſlated into the Engliſh Tongue: And from and after the firſt Day of January 1650, all Report-Books of the Reſolutions of Judges, and all other Books of the Law of England, which ſhall be printed, ſhall be printed in the Engliſh Tongue only.

And be it farther Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That from and after the firſt Return of Eaſter Term, which ſhall be in the year One Thouſand Six Hundred Fifty and One, all Writs, Proceſs, and Returns thereof, and all Pleadings, Rules, Indictments, Inquiſitions, Certificates, and all Patents, Commiſſions, Records, Judgements, Statutes, Recognizances, Rolls, Entries, and Proceedings of Courts-Leet, Courts-Baron, and Cuſtomary-Courts, and all Proceedings whatſoever in any Courts of Juſtice within this Common-wealth, and which concerns the Law and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſhall be in the Engliſh Tongue only, and not in Latin or French, or any other Language than Engliſh, any Law or Cuſtom, or Uſage heretofore to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that the ſame, and every of them, ſhall be written in an ordinary, uſual, and legible Hand and Character, and not in any Hand commonly call'd Court Hand.

Nov. 22. 1650.

And be it laſtly Enacted and Ordained, That all and every Perſon and Perſons offending againſt this Law, ſhall for every ſuch Offence loſe and forfeit the full Sum of twenty Pounds of lawful Engliſh Money, the one Moiety thereof to the Uſe of the Commonwealth, and the other Moiety to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by Action of Debt, Suit, Bill, Plaint or Information; in which no Wager of Law, Eſſoyn, or other Delay, ſhall be admitted or allowed (f).

(f) Scobell's *Collect. fol.* 148.

April 1651.

About four Months forward, an Act paſs'd for referring the Tranſlation of Law-Books and Forms of Proceſs, to the Speaker, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the two Chief Juſtices, and the Chief Baron. And what was agreed by theſe, or any two of them, was to paſs for an authentick Tranſlation, and have the Great Seal fix'd to it. And here a Proviſo was thrown in, that theſe *Acts* were not to extend to the Courts of *Admiralty*; but that the Proceedings there might paſs and be certify'd in *Latin*, according to ancient Uſage.

Id. *fol.* 154. Love *tryed for High-Treaſon, and executed.*

Mr. *Love* who had preach'd ſeditiouſly againſt the late King at *Uxbridge*, fell under the Diſpleaſure of thoſe at the *Helm*, and was try'd for High-Treaſon. He confeſs'd himſelf privy to a Deſign for concerting with the *Scots*, and was ſentenc'd to loſe his Head. Upon the Day fixed for his Execution, a *Petition* was preſented to the pretended Parliament by ſeveral *London* Miniſters, requeſting, that in caſe it was not thought proper to grant a Pardon, they might at leaſt prevail for a Reprieve. This Addreſs procur'd a Month's Reſpite, after which he was beheaded upon *Tower-Hill* (*g*).

(*g*) Whitlock's *Memorials, p.* 468. 471. & alib.

The King marches with an Army into England *and is defeated at* Worceſter.

The *Scotch* Royaliſts and *Covenanters*, being now tolerably reconcil'd, the King appeared at the Head of a conſiderable Army in that Country; and after having try'd his Fortune to ſome Diſadvantage with *Cromwell*, enter'd *England* by way of *Carliſle*. *Maſſey*, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf at *Glouceſter* againſt the late King, was now return'd to his Duty, and truſted by his preſent Majeſty. This Gentleman being an Officer of Character, and an eminent *Presbyterian*, was detach'd with ſome Troops, and order'd to keep about a Day's March before the Army: His Buſineſs was, to give notice of the King's Approach, prepare the Gentry to attend him, and bring in thoſe of his own Party.

This *Expedition*, tho' not the worſt concerted, is ſaid to have been ruin'd, by entertaining a Committee of *Scotch* Miniſters in the Army. Theſe *Divines* obſerved, that after the King's Entrance into *England*, thoſe about his Majeſty grew cooler in their Regards for the *Covenant*. Upon this ſhocking Diſcovery, they ſent an Expreſs to *Maſſey*, without acquainting the King with ſuch an extraordinary Freedom. This Meſſenger was furniſh'd with Letters and a *Declaration*, which *Maſſey* was requir'd to publiſh. "The Inſtrument ſet forth the King's and the whole Armies Zeal for the *Covenant*, and their Reſolution to proſecute the true Intent of this Engagement: They likewiſe forbid him entertaining any Soldiers, excepting ſuch who would ſubſcribe the ſame Obligation. The King who had quickly notice of this *Diſpatch*, ſent a Countermand to *Maſſey*: But before this Order was receiv'd, the Buſineſs took Air, ſpread through the Kingdom, diſcouraged his Majeſty's Friends, and made a great many People leſs forward to ſerve him than formerly (*h*). Notwithſtanding this Accident, the King held on his March to *Worceſter*, and enter'd the Town. And now *Cromwell* and *Lambert* being come up with a much ſuperior Army, a deciſive Battle was fought on the third of *September*. During the Action, the King diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, and did his own Part to great Commendation. But his Troops being over-laid with Numbers, were, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, broken, and routed. After this Defeat, the King lay conceal'd for ſome time, and with much Difficulty got himſelf tranſported to *France*. *Cromwell* in his Letter to the pretended Parliament, confeſſes the Battle was fought with various Succeſs for ſome Hours. I ſhall give the *Reader* ſome of his religious Cant upon this Occaſion.

(*h*) *Ld.* Clarendon's *Hiſt. Rebel. p.* 399.

Cromwell's *canting Reflections upon the Victory. This Letter is directed to the* Speaker.

The Dimenſions of this Mercy are above my Thoughts: It is, for ought I know, a crowning Mercy; ſurely if it be not, ſuch an one we ſhall have, if this provoke thoſe that are concern'd in it to Thankſulneſs, and the Parliament to do the Will of him who hath done his Will for it, and for the Nation, whoſe good Pleaſure is to eſtabliſh the Nation and the Change of the Government, by making the People ſo willing to *the Defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the Endeavours of your Servants in this late great Work.*

I am bold humbly to beg, that all Thoughts may tend to the promoting his Honour, who hath wrought ſo great Salvation, and that the Fatneſs of theſe continued Mercies may not occaſion Pride and Wantonneſs, as formerly the like hath done to a choſen People.

But that the Fear of the Lord, even for his Mercies, may keep an Authority, and a People ſo proſpered and bleſſed, and witneſſed to, humble and faithful, that Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, Mercy and Truth, may flow from you, as a thankful Return to our glorious God: This ſhall be the Prayer of

SIR,

Your moſt Humble

And Obedient Servant,

Worceſter,
Sept. 4. 1651.

O. Cromwell (i).

(i) Whitlock, *p.* 483.

Monk *checks the* Scotch *Diſcipline.*

The Laird of Drum's *Letter to the Presbyters of* Aberdeen.

After the *Engliſh* had over-run *Scotland*, and brought that Nation to Submiſſion, the Presbyterian Diſcipline was quickly check'd. For inſtance, the Laird of *Drum*, being cited by the *Presbytery* of *Aberdeen*, ſummon'd them to appear before Collonel *Overton*: He declar'd himſelf under the Protection of the Parliament of *England*, and refus'd to acknowledge any other Juriſdiction. But provided the *Kirk* would wave their Pretences to Authority, he offer'd to purge himſelf from the Imputation of Popery. This Laird gave Lieutenant General *Monk* a Letter of Thanks for reſtoring Conſcience to its juſt Freedom, and reſcuing the People from the Tyranny of the *Presbyteries*. It muſt be ſaid, *Monk* brandiſh'd his Sword over the *Aſſembly*, and publiſh'd an Order that neither any Oaths, nor the *Covenant* ſhould be impos'd upon any Perſon, without Direction from the *State* of *England*. And that unleſs they acquieſc'd in theſe Points, he ſhould treat them as Enemies. He likewiſe commanded the Magiſtracy not to ſeize the Eſtates of any excommunicated Perſons, prohibit Correſpondence with them, or give them any other Diſturbance. And thus the Diſcipline of the *Kirk* was diſabled, and laid aſleep. But the *Presbyterians*, headed by the Lord *Wariſton*, reſolv'd to conteſt the Matter as far as a Remonſtrance, and ſent a Letter to Major-General *Lambert*, “in which they charge the *Engliſh* with downright Invaſion and ſhedding the Blood of many of the *Scotch* Saints: However, they confeſs'd themſelves juſtly puniſhed for their late Treaty with the King. They proceed in their Expoſtulation, and complain of the *Engliſh* Army for countenancing depos'd Miniſters, and allowing them the Pulpit; for ſilencing others of that Function, upon the Score of intermeddling in their Sermons with Matters of State; they complain of their permitting Officers to preach; for their ſubordinating the Church to the *State* in *ſpiritual* Things; for tolerating the *gathering of Churches*, purſuant to the Practice in *England*; for leſſening the Authority of *Kirk Aſſemblies*, and putting Magiſtrates upon them of unorthodox Principles. In the cloſe, they offer to comply as far as their Conſcience and the Liberty of the *Kirk* will give them leave, and intreat *Lambert* to uſe his Intereſt on their Behalf, with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

Id. *p.* 497.

By the way, upon *Cromwell*'s Succeſſes, the *Scotch* ſurrender'd the Adminiſtration to the Rump-Parliament, and were govern'd by eight *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, *Lambert* and *Monk* being two of the Number. To proceed, notwithſtanding *Monk* by Order from the Commons at *Weſtminſter*, had laid an Imbargo upon the *Scotch* Diſcipline, the *Kirk* went vigorouſly on with their Juriſdiction, and declaimed with great Freedom and Vehemence, againſt the *Engliſh*: And *Cant* a celebrated Preacher, harrangu'd his *Audience* to prepare for ſuffering, preſs'd the *Covenant*, and when Parents offer'd their Children to Baptiſm, he made them promiſe to educate them for that *Engagement*.

The *Presbytery* of *Aberdeen* made another Trial upon the Laird of *Drum*: They let him know, they reſolved to excommunicate him, unleſs he made a Submiſſion and revok'd his Appeal. This Notice was given him in a Letter, in which they exhorted him to prevent this dreadful Sentence, putting him in Mind, that *Presbytery* is the *Lord's Ordinance*; and for proof, cited 1 *Tim*. 4. 14. and that religious Swearing is not only lawful, but commanded by God himſelf. To this Letter the Laird of *Drum* returned an Anſwer in Writing, in which he acquaints them, that he could neither in Conſcience nor Honour comply with their Demands, and that he was not at all concern'd at the Menace of their *Cenſure*. He endeavours to preſs them with a Dilemma, and argues, they are either infallible or fallible, in forming their Reſolutions: And here he concludes, they have not Aſſurance enough to challenge the firſt Quality, tho' their Practice oftentimes requires no leſſer Privilege to ſupport it: However, if they ſhould claim thus high, their Counter-marches and frequent Changes would diſprove them. And ſince they muſt confeſs themſelves fallible, he is not much affected with a fallible Sentence; he conceives there's a great deal of Reaſon to believe them actually miſtaken in urging him to ſwear, that this *Presbyterian* Scheme is the only Church Government eſtabliſh'd by Chriſt. And as for their Proof from 1 *Tim*. 4. 14. he tells them this *Epiſtle* and that to *Titus*, affords much ſtronger Argument for Epiſcopacy. He grants, that Oaths are a Branch of religious Worſhip, but that they ought not to be taken without a Reſerve, without the Limitations of *Judgment* and Truth. He deſires them to remember, how ſtrongly they had remonſtrated againſt the Tyranny of Biſhops, tho' they were willing to relax in ſome Points, and come to a Temper for tender Conſciences. But as this Laird continues, when the *Presbyterians* held the *Reins*, neither Miniſter nor Laird, no Condition or Sex, had the leaſt Share of Indulgence. All People were forc'd to comply, and ſwear to the Length of the *Kirk*'s Appointment, notwithſtanding theſe Guides knew many of the People practis'd one thing and believ'd another. Farther, that tho' they complain'd ſo much of the Grandeur and pompous Diſtinctions in the Biſhops; tho' they have not aſſum'd the Title of Lords, they have exceeded the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, and ſtrain'd up to a Papal Authority, and that their little Finger has been heavier than the Weight of the Epiſcopal *Body*. He wonders they ſhould aſſert the ſame *Presbyterian* Government is eſtabliſh'd by Law in *England*, when 'tis well known the *Presbyterians* there, have no ſuch Power of *Cenſuring*, or forcing Men upon Oaths: That by ſuch a Permiſſion the Common-wealth of *England* wou'd

Jan. 20.

diſimprove their Condition, and make the Reſtraints of Conſcience more troubleſome than thoſe they lay under from the Prelates. That Succeſs hardned the *Kirk* againſt Compaſſion, and made them more intolerable, and excepting Pike and Muſket, was the ſtrongeſt Argument they ever us'd. At laſt he charges them with very remarkable Rigor; that they had ſet up an Inquiſition againſt him, and that when other Evidence fail'd, they forc'd his Servants to ſwear the Diſcovery of their Knowledge of what paſs'd in the Houſe. This Laird's Name was *Irving*.

Id. *p.* 500.

April 1652.
Id. *p.* 505.
The Cracovian *Catechiſm order'd to be burnt.*

To return to *Weſtminſter*, ſeveral Paſſages in the *Cracovian* Catechiſm being reported to the Houſe, this Summary of *Belief* was voted to contain Matters *blaſphemous*, *erroneous* and *ſcandalous*, and all the printed Copies of that Book were ordered to be burnt.

Cromwell *turns out the Rump-Parliament in a diſgraceful manner.*

Cromwell, who was now ſtrengthened in his Intereſt, and elated by a Courſe of Victory, grew weary of the *Rump-Parliament*. At theſe Men, lying croſs to his Greatneſs, and hindring his Ambition from mounting, he reſolved to make a bold Puſh: And having concerted the Deſign with his Officers, he march'd to the Parliament-Houſe with ſome Troops, plac'd a Guard at the Door, and enter'd the Houſe with a File of Muſqueteers. His manner of Addreſs was ſuitable to his military Appearance; for with an Air of Haughtineſs and Paſſion, he commanded the *Speaker* to leave the Chair, told the Houſe *they had ſate long enough, unleſs they had done more Good*, pointed to ſome of the *Members*, and gave them coarſe Language, bid one of his Soldiers *take away that Fool's Bauble, the Mace*, ſtaid till the Houſe was empty, and then order'd the Doors to be lock'd. The *Aſſembly* of *Divines* at *Weſtminſter*, who had gone leſs and leſs for ſome time, and dwindled to a *Committee*, were now entirely diſabled, and ſunk with this Long-Parliament (*k*).

Id. *p.* 529.

April, A. D. 1653.

(*k*) Fuller's *Church Hiſt. Book* 11. *p.* 113.

June.

The firſt Uſurpation being thus melted down, *Cromwell* caſt it in a new Mould of his own contriving. And after ſome Days of *Humiliation, and ſolemn Pretences of ſeeking God*, he iſſues out *Circular Letters* to a ſelect Number of his Creatures to take upon them the Government of the Commonwealth. This Set of Men was call'd *Barebones* Parliament. Theſe Members for a Proof of their Zeal and Capacity, vote down Tythes, diſcourage the Miniſtry, harraſs the Univerſities, attempt almoſt an entire Change of the Conſtitution, and run to the laſt Extremes of Folly and Extravagance. This overdriving was ill reliſhed without *Doors*, as might well be expected. The *Enthuſiaſts* therefore being apprehenſive they might be call'd to an Account, quitted their Poſt, and reſigned the Government to *Cromwell*, who accepts the Overture under the Title of Lord *Protector*. The Adminiſtration was convey'd to him by a ſolemn *Inſtrument*, by which, amongſt other Things, a Proviſion was made for Succeſſive Triennial Parliaments.

Barebones *Parliament.* Id. *p.* 532.

Dec. 1653.

The Authority of the Scotch *Kirk quite broken by the* Engliſh *Commiſſioners.*

To go back a little, the *Scotch* Kirk which had ſtruggled with the *Engliſh* Commonwealth for ſome time, was now entirely broken. In *July* laſt, a *General-Aſſembly* met at *Edinborough*, and after Sermon, went to their Houſe and enter'd upon Buſineſs. But before they had made any Progreſs, Lieutenant-Collonel *Coterel* breaking in upon them, mounted a Bench, and made Proclamation, *That no Judicatory ought to ſit, that had not Authority from the Parliament of* England. Upon this, ordering them to retire, he guarded them off till they had paſs'd the *Weſt-Gate*. The next Command they received, was to throw themſelves into a Circle, then ſurrounding them with his Troops, he reprimanded them for the Preſumption of their Meeting, took away their Commiſſions, commanded them to diſperſe, not to meet three together, but to quit the Town immediately, and repair to their reſpective Dwellings.

Id. *p.* 535, 542.

A Committee of Triers ſettled.

Cromwell now ſeated in his *Protector*'s *Chair*, ſummons a pretended Parliament, where *Lenthal* was *Speaker*. Theſe Members paſs'd an *Act* for ſettling a Committee of *Tryers* for the Approbation of publick Preachers. Thoſe who were admitted to any Benefice or Lecture, were oblig'd to paſs the Teſt of this Committee, and receive an Inſtrument equivalent to Letters of *Inſtitution* and *Induction*. 'Tis true, the Majority of theſe *Tryers* were Miniſters; but ſince Eight of them were Laymen, and any Five enabled to execute the Powers of the *Act*; it might ſometimes happen that none but *ſecular* Men might act in this Poſt, and determine upon the Qualifications of thoſe who were to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments (*l*). This *Act* was confirm'd in the next pretended Parliament, held in the Year 1656.

March 20. 1653-4.

(*l*) Scobell's *Collect.* &c. *fol.* 279.

A. D. 1654.

Their next *Statute* provides for removing ſcandalous and inſufficient Miniſters and School Maſters; that is, thoſe who had continued firm to the Church and *Crown*. For this purpoſe, a conſiderable Number of *ſecular* Commiſſioners are nominated for each County: There's likewiſe a Liſt of Miniſters throughout the ſame Diviſions of the Kingdom, appointed for this purpoſe. By the *Act* the Lay-Commiſſioners could determine nothing without the Approbation of the *Miniſters*, who were joyn'd in Commiſſion with them. It muſt be ſaid, theſe *Uſurpers* did not plunder and perſecute without ſome Reſemblance of Compaſſion. For by the *Act*, a fifth part of the Profits of the Benefice, is allow'd to the Wives and Children of the *Ejected* Miniſters. And here likewiſe the *Ordinance* for due Payment of the Tithes and other Duties, made in the Year 1647, is confirm'd: And ſo was this *Act* afterwards in the Year 1656. It muſt not be forgotten that by a Clauſe of this *Act*, none was permitted to teach School in the Pariſh whence he had been ejected. And to make the *Pulpits* more inoffenſive, by an Act paſs'd ſoon after, no Clergymen ejected for Delinquency, were to be re-admitted by the *Tryers*, without expreſs Order from his Highneſs, as they call'd him, and his *Council*.

The fifth Part of the Profits of Benefices allowed the ejected Clergy.
Id. *fol.* 335.

Id. *fol.* 365.

This pretended Parliament graſping at the Adminiſtration, and endeavouring to recover their former Sway, were in the latter End of this Year diſſolv'd by *Cromwell*.

Jan. 22. 1654-5.

Primate Uſher*'s Death and Character.*

In *February* the next Year, *James Uſher*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, departed this Life. This moſt Learned Prelate was born at *Dublin* in the Year 1580. He was extracted from an ancient and conſiderable Family of the Sirname of *Nevil*. In the Reign of King *John*, one of his Anceſtors, who was Gentleman-Uſher to that Prince, chang'd his Name to that of his Office. His Father *Arnold Uſher* was a Lawyer of Character, and one of the *Six Clerks* of *Chancery*. His Mother's Father, *James Stanyhurſt*, Eſq; was Recorder of *Dublin*, one of the Maſters of *Chancery*, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in three Parliaments. The Archbiſhop made an early Progreſs in Learning, and gave extraordinary Proof of his Capacity and Improvement at Eighteen Years of Age. His Inclination leading him to the Study of Divinity, he enter'd into Orders, and made a very conſiderable Figure in that Profeſſion. In his younger time he adher'd to the *Calvinian* ſide of the Predeſtinarian Controverſy. However, he afterwards drew the Union Canon between the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*. But the Warmth of his Affection to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in general, and his Zeal for a cloſe Correſpondence between all the *Reform'd* Churches, made him depart a little from the Primitive Government, give too great an Allowance to the *Presbyterian* Scheme (*m*), and qualiſe the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction too much in Favour of the Schiſmaticks. And 'tis ſuppos'd the Relaxations made upon the Head of Epiſcopacy, by the late King, in the Iſle of *Wight*, were ſuggeſted by *Vſher*. When the Rebellion broke out, this Archbiſhop was nominated by the Parliament in the Liſt of the *Aſſembly-Divines*: But being diſſatisfied with the convening Authority, and foreſeeing the fatal Conſequences of that Meeting, he refus'd to appear.

(*m*) Smith's Vit. Jacob. Uſher.

When the King made *Oxford* his Head Quarters, the Archbiſhop retir'd thither, declar'd ſtrongly againſt the Rebellion, and both by his Sermons, other Diſcourſes, and Letters, confirm'd ſeveral who were wavering, and recover'd ſome from an open Revolt.

When *Cromwell* took the Title of Lord Protector, he treated *Vſher* with particular Marks of Eſteem, ſent for him to his Court, and pretended to ſuggeſt a Scheme for promoting the *Proteſtant* Intereſt both at *Home* and *Abroad*. A Regard for the *Proteſtant* Religion, was then a plauſible Cover to keep the *Vſurpation* out of View. For at this time of Day *Cromwell* had not quite pull'd off the Maſk, but by his Diſcourſes to *Vſher*, ſeem'd tolerably reconcil'd to the Church of *England* and Epiſcopacy. But this Year *Cromwell* finding himſelf ſtrong enough to explain his Malevolence, publiſhed a *Declaration*, by virtue of which, thoſe of the Loyal Clergy, who either manag'd private Schools, or officiated in Noblemens Families, were order'd to be impriſon'd: When a new Storm threaten'd thoſe who had loſt their Fortunes before, ſome of the ejected Divines deſir'd *Vſher* to uſe his Intereſt with *Cromwell*, and try to prevail for ſome Abatements of Rigour. The Archbiſhop addreſſing the *Vſurper*, requeſted the Epiſcopal Clergy might have a ſhare in the common *Indulgence*, and uſe the *Liturgy* without Diſturbance from the Soldiers. *Cromwell* promis'd to recall the *Declaration*, or at leaſt to prevent its being executed, provided the Clergy were inoffenſive in their Diſcourſes, and ſtood clear from meddling with Matters of *State*. But when *Vſher* made him a ſecond Viſit to get this Promiſe ſign'd, the *Vſurper* told him, that having adviſ'd with his Council, and farther conſider'd the Matter, himſelf and the reſt were of Opinion, that 'twas not ſafe for him to grant a Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe Men who were declar'd Enemies to his Government.

Id.& Par's *Life of* Uſher.

To proceed: The Primate had a ſlender Opinion of the *Septuagint*. For he would allow that nothing but the *Pentateuch* was at firſt tranſlated. And thus far *Ariſtæus*, *Joſephus*, and St. *Jerom* agree with him. That this firſt *Tranſlation* lodg'd in *Ptolemy*'s Library at *Alexandria*, was deſtroy'd by the Accident of a Fire. That the other *Verſion* made not long after comprehending all the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, and us'd by the *Helleniſt Jews*, and Primitive Chriſtians, was made after the fourth Year of *Ptolemy Philometer*. That it was the Performance of an obſcure *Jew*, who was very unequal for the Undertaking. That this Man had taken an unaccountable Liberty with the Text, and made a great many Omiſſions and Interpolations: And that the Difference between the *Hebrew* Original and the *Greek*, is owing to this foul dealing. That the *Jewiſh* Prieſts and Levites who officiated in *Onias* his Temple at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, were impos'd on by Negligence and Sloth, and took this *Verſion* upon Content. Theſe are ſome of *Vſher*'s Singularities upon this Subject, for which he was call'd to Account by the learned *Valeſius* (*n*).

(*n*) Annot. Valæſ. ad Hiſt. Eccleſ. Euſeb. in Calce. Vid. Prefat. Grabii in Edit. Verſ. LXX.

Vſher, as has been remark'd, was a ſtrict *Calvinian*, and held the Predeſtinarian Controverſy in the Senſe of the *Lambeth* Articles. But ſometime before his Death, he chang'd his Opinion touching the *Five Points*, came over to the other ſide, and was reconcil'd to Biſhop *Overal*'s Sentiment. That this is Matter of Fact, appears by the ſign'd Teſtimonies of Dr. *Bryan Walton*, Mr. *Peter Gunning*, and Mr. *Herbert Thorndike* *.

* Smith's Vit. Jacob. Uſſeri.

This learn'd Prelate, as has been obſerv'd, ſeemed to have an Over-ballance of Affection for the *foreign Proteſtant* Churches. This put him upon ſome Strain to vindicate their *Orders*, and make their Miniſtrations valid. For this purpoſe he reviv'd the Novelty of ſome of the *School-Men*, and made no Scruple to affirm, that the Office of Biſhop and Prieſt, was the ſame as to Subſtance, and only different Degrees of the ſame *Order*. Biſhop *Davenant* was likewiſe of *Vſher*'s Opinion in this Point (*o*). But with all reaſonable Deference to this moſt learned Primate, there appears more Charity than Caution in this Latitude. This ſtraining of Courteſy for the *Proteſtants* abroad, ſeems to throw us off our Guard, and weaken the *Engliſh* Reformation *. 'Tis the ſafeſt way to keep cloſe to the earlieſt Ages. Theſe were Times of *Light* and *Truth*, of Zeal and Union, of Diſ-intereſtedneſs and Courage. 'Tis dangerous to croſs upon the Judgment of the firſt five *Centuries*, and deſert the Practice of the Primitive Church. As for the *Modern Diſtinctions* of Chriſtianity, it may, in my humble Opinion, be moſt adviſeable to ſtand *aloof*, and wiſh them well: To leave them to their own Recollection and God's Mercy: To pray their Prejudices may be no longer too ſtrong for them: That they may diſengage from their *Novelties*, and govern themſelves by the *Ancient* Standard. As to the Archbiſhop's Opinion upon this Queſtion, 'tis ſomewhat remarkable, conſidering his publiſhing St. *Ignatius*'s *Epiſtles*: For in the genuine Writings of this Martyr, the Diſtinction between Biſhop and Prieſt is plainly mark'd; the Prerogative of the former ſet very high, and the Supreme Direction of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs lodg'd with him (*p*).

(*o*) Davenant's Determinat. *Q.* 42.

* Dum texit Imaona Haleſus, Arcadio incautus telo dat pectus inermum.

1655.

(*p*) Smith's Vit. Jacob. Uſſeri.

But notwithſtanding this charitable Byaſs, *Vſher* made no difficulty to cenſure the Practice of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch Presbyterians*. He would neither allow their *Orders*, nor communicate with them. He charg'd them with downright Perjury and Revolt from the Biſhops: To whom they had engag'd their Faith and ſworn Canonical Obedience: That their Miniſtrations were ſacrilegious Invaſions of the Epiſcopal Privilege, and that they had no Colour for their *Schiſm*. And here it muſt be obſerv'd, that this Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding his Relaxations already mention'd, maintain'd that Biſhops had a peculiar Extent of Spiritual Authority. That this Superiority was no Conceſſion of *Councils*, no Privilege of After-ages, but ſettled by the Apoſtles themſelves.

Wren Mat. *Abp. of Ely.*

Id.

April, 1656.

(a) Whitlock's *Memorials*, &c. p. 632.

themſelves. To conclude the Archbiſhop's Character, he was a great Genius, a Perſon of indefatigable Induſtry, and in his Life altogether regular and unblemiſhed. And as to his Attainments, to omit other Inſtances of his Proficiency, he was a great Maſter in Eccleſiaſtical Learning and Chronology: The learned Works, either written or publiſhed by him, are too long to mention. He was bury'd in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, *Cromwell* allowing two hundred Pounds for the Expence of the Funeral (a).

Id. p. 643, 644.

This Year *James Naylor* and ſome others impriſon'd at *Briſtol*, being charg'd with Blaſphemy, the *Houſe* order'd a Committe to ſend for them, and examine the Witneſſes. *Naylor* was accordingly brought to the *Bar* of the *Houſe*, and upon hearing the Cauſe they reſolved him a grand Impoſtor and guilty of horrid Blaſphemy. The Sentence pronounced againſt this Criminal, was to ſtand n the Pillory two Hours at *Weſtminſter*, to be whipt from thence by the Executioner to the *Old Exchange*, and there to have his Puniſhment in the Pillory repeated. His Tongue was likewiſe to be bor'd through with an hot Iron, and his Forehead ſtigmatiz'd with the Letter *B*, with ſome other Circumſtances of Correction.

A Committee for conſulting Divines touching the reviewing the Engliſh *Tranſlation of the Bible.*

Feb. 1656-7.

Id.

'Twas order'd at the Grand Committee for Religion, that a Sub-Committee ſhould adviſe with Dr. *Walton*, Mr. *Hughes*, Mr. *Caſtle*, Mr. *Clerk*, Mr. *Poulk*, Dr. *Cudworth*, and ſuch others as they thought proper, to conſider of the *Tranſlations* of the Bible, and to offer their Opinions to the Committee. And to ſpeak in the Language of thoſe Times, the Care of this Buſineſs was recommended to the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*. This Committee met frequently at *Whitlock*'s Houſe, conſulted ſeveral of the moſt celebrated Men for the Oriental Tongues, furniſh'd themſelves with learned Obſervations upon this Subject, pretended to diſcover ſome Miſtakes in the laſt *Engliſh Tranſlation*, which yet they agreed, was the beſt extant. But this Deſign, as *Whitlock* reports, miſcarry'd by the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The Polyglott Bible *publiſh'd*.

About the latter End of this Year, Dr. *Walton* publiſh'd the *Polyglotte-Bible*.

The Anabaptiſts Addreſs to the King.

The *Anabaptiſts* diſappointed by *Cromwell*'s Ambition, and haraſs'd with his arbitrary Exceſſes, apply'd to the King. In this *Addreſs* they declaim with a great deal of Warmth, and lament their own Miſbehaviour in very remarkable Expreſſions. I ſhall give the Reader Part of it in the Words of their Addreſs.

“We muſt confeſs, ſay they, we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden Paths of Fanatick and Enthuſiaſtick Notions, till now at laſt, but too late, we find our ſelves intricated and involved in ſo many Windings, Labyrinths, and Mæanders of Knavery, that nothing but a Divine Clew of Thread handed to us from Heaven, can be ſufficient to extricate us, and reſtore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have juſter Matter of Shame or Sorrow adminiſter'd to us, when we take a reflex View of our paſt Actions, and conſider into the Commiſſion of what Crimes, Impieties, Wickedneſſes, and unheard of Villanies, we have been led, cheated, couzened, and betray'd by that grand Impoſtor, *&c.*

A. D. 1658.

And after having rail'd plentifully upon *Cromwell*, they go on in this tragical Manner againſt themſelves. “What have we done, ſay they, nay, what have we not done, which either helliſh Policy was able to contrive, or brutiſh Power to execute? We have trampled under Foot all Authorities; we have laid violent Hands upon our own Sovereign; we have raviſh'd our Parliaments; we have deflour'd the virgin liberty of our Nation; we have put a Yoke a heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the Neck of our own Country-Men; we have thrown down the Walls and Bullworks of the Peoples Safety; we have broken often-repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Proteſtations; we have betray'd our Truſts; we have violated our Faith; we have lifted up our Hands to Heaven deceitfully; and that theſe our Sins might want no Aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, we have added Hypocriſy to them all; and have not only like the audacious Strumpet wiped our Months, and boaſted *that we have done no Evil*; but in the midſt of all our Abominations (ſuch as are too bad to be named amongſt the worſt of Heathens) we have not wanted Impudence enough to ſay, let the Lord be glorified: Let *Jeſus Chriſt* be exalted: Let his Kingdom be advanced: Let the Goſpel be propagated: Let the Saints be dignified: Let Righteouſneſs be eſtabliſh'd: *Pudet hæc Opprobia Nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli* (r).

(r) *Ld.* Clarendon, *Hiſt. Rebel. Vol.* 3.

It muſt be ſaid, this is downright Confeſſion, and honeſt Repentance: This plain dealing looks much better than Artificial Diſtinctions; than retiring under the Protection of *Knox* and *Calvin*, and applying to Varniſh and Palliation.

During this *Uſurpation*, tho' the Year is not mention'd, a Paper was drawn up by ſome of *Cromwell*'s Divines for admitting the *Jews* with Limitations. I ſhall report their Reſolution upon this Point in their own Language.

A Reſolution of ſome of Cromwell's *Divines touching the permitting* Jews *to ſettle in theſe Kingdoms.*

The Jews *deſiring it*, as theſe Divines determine, *may be admitted into this Nation, to Trade and Traffick, and dwell amongſt us, as Providence ſhall give occaſion.*

This as to point of Conſcience, we judge lawful for the Magiſtrate to admit, in caſe ſuch material and weighty Conſiderations as hereafter follow be provided for; about which, till we are ſatisfy'd, we cannot but in Conſcience ſuſpend our Reſolution in this Caſe.

1. *That the Motives upon which* Manaſſes Ben. Iſrael *in behalf of the reſt of his Nation, in his Book lately printed in the Engliſh Tongue; deſires their admiſſion into this Commonwealth are ſuch, as we conceive to be very ſinful for this or any other Chriſtian State to receive them upon.*

2. *That the danger of ſeducing the People of this Nation by their admiſſion, in Matters of Religion is very great.*

3. *That their having Synagogues, or any publick meetings for the exerciſe of their Worſhip or Religion, is not only evil in it ſelf, but likewiſe very ſcandalous, to other Chriſtian Churches.*

4. *That their Cuſtoms and Practices concerning Marriage and Divorce, are unlawful, and will be of very evil Example amongſt us.*

5. *The Principles of not making Conſcience of Oaths made, and Injuries done to Chriſtians in Life Chaſtity, Goods, or good Name, have been very notoriouſly charg'd upon them by valuable Teſtimony.*

6. *That great prejudice is like to ariſe to the Natives of this Commonwealth in Matter of Trade, which beſides other dangers here mention'd we find very commonly ſuggeſted by the Inhabitants of the City of* London.

7. *We humbly preſent.*

1. *That they be not admitted to have any publick Judicatories, whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtical; which were to grant them Terms beyond the condition of Strangers.*

2. *That they be not permitted to ſpeak, or do any thing to the Defamation or Diſhonour of the name of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *or of the Chriſtian Religion.*

3. *That they be not permitted to do any Work, or any thing to the open Prophanation of the Lord's-Day, or Chriſtian Sabbath.*

4. *That they be not admitted to have any Chriſtians dwell with them as their Servants.*

5. *That they have no publick Office or Truſt in this Commonwealth.*

6. *That they be not allow'd to print any Thing, which in the leaſt oppoſes the Chriſtian Religion in our Language.*

7. *That ſo far as may be, they be not ſuffer'd to diſcourage any of their own from uſing, or applying themſelves to any which may tend to convince them of their Error, and turn them to Chriſtianity: And that ſome ſevere Penalty be impoſed upon them, who ſhall Apoſtatize from Chriſtianity to Judaiſm (s).*

(s) *Paper-Office.*

After *Oliver Cromwell*'s Death, the *Uſurpation* appear'd more floting, frequently ſhifted Poſture, and roll'd through ſeveral Forms till the *Reſtoration.* For Inſtance: *Richard, Oliver*'s eldeſt Son having ſat at the *Helm* about half a Year, was laid aſide, and the *Rump* Parliament reviv'd. Theſe Men drew up an Oath for abjuring the King: The entring into this Bond of *Iniquity*, was likewiſe preſs'd in the Pulpit by their Clergy (r). But theſe *Rumpers* were quickly thrown out of the *Seat* by *Lambert* and *Fleetwood*, and ſome other Officers of Rank. Theſe *Generals* put down the *Rump's* Council of *State*, and ſettled a *Commiſſion of Safety:* But the Adminiſtration reſted but a little while in their Hands. Upon Petitions from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom for a Free Parliament the *Rump* recovers. *Monk* marches from *Scotland*, comes to *London*, and admits the *Secluded Members.* The next Turn was the Diſſolution of the *Long-Parliament: A Council of State* was form'd, and a new Set of Lords and Commons met at *Weſtminſter.*

A. D. 1659. *The Uſurpation ſhifts through ſeveral Forms.*

(r) Dudgdale's *View of the Troubles of* England. Whitlock's *Memorials, Hiſt. of Indepen. pt.* 4.

Feb. 20. 1659-60.

April 25. 1660.

Theſe Lords and Gentlemen recollect themſelves to Purpoſe, return to their Duty, and invite the King to the Government (u). He was now at the *Hague*, and honourably receiv'd by the *States* of *Holland.* Here his Majeſty publiſh'd a *Declaration:* I ſhall tranſcribe one Paragraph of this Inſtrument, relating to the Church: The words are theſe.

(u) *Ld.* Clarendon, *Hiſt. Rebel. Vol.* 3.

The King's Declaration at Breda, *touching Liberty of Conſcience.*

“ And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs “ of the Times, have produc'd ſeveral Opinions “ in Religion, by which Men are engaged in “ Parties and Animoſities againſt each other; “ which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a “ Freedom of Converſation will be compos'd, “ or better underſtood; we do declare a liberty “ to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhall “ be diſquieted or called in Queſtion, for diffe- “ rences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, “ which do not diſturb the Peace of the King- “ dom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent “ to ſuch an *Act* of Parliament, as upon ma- “ ture Deliberation, ſhall be offer'd to us, for “ the full granting that *Indulgence.*

The *Reſtoration* being concerted, the Lords and Commons ſent a Committee to wait upon the King at the *Hague.* The Peers ſent *Six*, and the Lower-Houſe Twelve of their Body: The City likewiſe diſpatch'd Fourteen Perſons of their Corporation for the ſame purpoſe. About eight or ten of the *Presbyterian* Divines went in Company with theſe Commiſſioners. *Reinolds, Calamy, Caſe, Manton*, and ſome other eminent Perſons of that Party, were pitch'd on for this Affair. They choſe to appear by themſelves, and make a diſtinct Repreſentation: The Buſineſs of *Chaplains* they knew, was commonly miſconſtrued, and taken at diſadvantage: For this Reaſon they were unwilling to be miſtaken for Perſons of that Character. This Conduct ſhews them Men of Senſe and Spirit, and that they underſtood the World. Having agreed upon this Manner of Addreſs, they requeſt an *Hour*, and at their publick Audience make large Profeſſions of Duty, and magnify the Affections of themſelves and their Friends. “ They “ had always, they ſaid, purſuant to the Obliga- “ tion of the *Covenant*, wiſh'd his Majeſty very “ well; and upon the late opportunity which “ God had put into their Hands, had reminded “ their People of their Duty, and awakened “ them to Loyalty: And they preſum'd his “ Majeſty might have hear'd theſe Applications “ of theirs were not without conſiderable Suc- “ ceſs. They thank God for his conſtancy to “ the Proteſtant Religion, and declar'd them- “ ſelves no Enemies to Moderate Epiſcopacy: “ They only deſir'd that ſuch things might not “ be preſs'd upon them in God's Worſhip, “ which even in the Judgment of thoſe who “ us'd them, were own'd to be Matters indif- “ ferent, and that others ſtood off from them “ as altogether unlawful (w).

The Presbyterian Divines wait upon the King at the Hague *and have publick Audience.*

Their Addreſs, with the King's Anſwer.

“ The King receiving them kindly, ſaid “ he had heard of their good Behaviour; that “ he had no Intention to impoſe hard conditions “ and embarraſs their Conſciences: That he had “ refer'd the ſetling all Differences of the nature “ they mention'd, to the Wiſdom of the Parlia- “ ment: And that the two *Houſes* were the “ beſt Judges what Indulgence and Toleration “ was neceſſary for the repoſe of the Kingdom.

(w) *Ld.* Clarendon, *Hiſt. Rebel. Vol.* 3.

Theſe *Divines* being willing to diſcourſe the King farther upon this Subject, deſir'd ſeveral private *Audiences*, which were granted. And now they took the Freedom to ſuggeſt: That the *Common-Prayer* had long been diſcontinued in *England:* That many of the People had never once heard it; and therefore it would be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty at his firſt landing ſhould revive the uſe of it in his own Chapel: And therefore to prevent the Peoples being ſhock'd at ſuch uncuſtomary Worſhip, they intreated him not to uſe it in Form, and by *Rubrical* Directions. But only to order the reading ſome Part of it with the intermixture of other good Prayers.

“ The King reply'd with ſomewhat of Re- “ ſentment, that ſince he gave them their Li- “ berty; he ſhould by no means reſign his own: “ That he had always us'd that Form of *Service:* “ That he thought it the beſt in the World; “ and that he had never diſcontinu'd it in “ Places, where it was more diſlik'd, than “ he hop'd it was by them: That when he “ came into *England*, he would not make any “ ſtrict enquiry how they officiated in other “ Churches; tho' he did not queſtion, he ſhould “ find the *Liturgy* regularly receiv'd in many “ Places: But let that be as it would, he was “ reſolv'd not to ſuffer any other publick Devo- “ tion in his own Chapel.

Theſe Addreſſers deſpairing to carry this Point, importun'd his Majeſty, "That the uſe of the *Surplice* might be diſcontinued by his Chaplains, becauſe the Sight of this Habit would give great Offence to the People. But this Requeſt made no Impreſſion. The King told them plainly, "he would not be reſtrain'd himſelf, when others had ſo much Indulgence: That the *Surplice* had been always reckon'd a decent Habit, and conſtantly worn in the Church of *England*, till theſe late ill Times; and that he had all along retain'd the Uſe of it in foreign Parts; that tho' he thought himſelf oblig'd for the preſent, to connive at Diſorder, and tolerate a Failure of Solemnity and Decorum in religious Worſhip, yet he would never abbet any ſuch Irregularity by his own Practice, nor diſcountenance the ancient and laudable Cuſtoms of the Church in which he was bred.

This Firmneſs in his Majeſty, was no ſmall Diſappointment to theſe *Divines:* They expected to have found him more compliant with their Schemes. However, they declin'd giving him any more Trouble upon this Head, hoping to meet with a more favourable Opportunity in *England.*

May 26. *The King reſtor'd.*

The King having been eight or ten Days ſplendidly entertain'd by the *States*, went on board the *Engliſh* Fleet, arriv'd at *Dover*, and was receiv'd by the Kingdom with all imaginable Marks of Duty and Inclination.

At this happy Return, the Church recover'd with the Crown; tho' this Ground was not gain'd without ſome Conteſt with the *diſſenting* Party. Neither is this Struggle much *ſurpriſing*, if we conſider, that for fourteen or fifteen Years laſt paſt, the *Hierarchy* had been broken, the *Liturgy* laid aſide, and a new Form both as to Worſhip and Government, publickly prevail'd. The *Presbyterians* had ſeveral Circumſtances of Advantage to ſupport their Hopes. Poſſeſſion of the *Chair*, the Inclination of no ſmall Numbers of the People, the Countenance of Great Men, and the King's *Declaration* at *Breda*, gave this Party no uncomfortable Proſpect. To keep them ſomewhat ſanguine in their Expectations, Dr. *Reinolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſk*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Caſe*, and two or three more, were made the King's Chaplains in Ordinary; tho' none of them ever preach'd before his Majeſty, excepting *Calamy*, *Reinolds*, *Baxter*, *Spurſtow*, and *Woodbridge*; and none of theſe but once. However, this appearing in the Chapel, made their Acceſs to his Majeſty the more eaſy. To purſue their Intereſt therefore, they waited on his Majeſty ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, being introduc'd by the Earl of *Mancheſter*. In their Addreſs, "They recommended the uniting the Kingdom in Matters of Religion: That if his Majeſty would pleaſe to contribute his Aſſiſtance, nothing could be more promiſing than the preſent Juncture: They intreated that the Terms of Union might include nothing but neceſſary Things: That the true Exerciſe of Church Diſcipline might be allow'd: That thoſe Miniſters who were moſt ſerviceable for this Branch of the Function might not be laid aſide, nor unworthy unqualify'd Men, put upon the People.

Some of the Presbyterian *Miniſters wait upon the King, and diſcourſe him upon the Subject of Church-Government and Ceremonies.*

The King declar'd himſelf much pleas'd with their reconciling Temper, and reſolv'd to do his Part for promoting what was ſuggeſted: But told them withal, "That this Agreement could not be expected without ſomething of Ceſſion and Abatement on both ſides: That if the Iſſue did not anſwer, it ſhould not be his Fault but their own: That he was reſolv'd to leave no proper Methods unattempted, for procuring a Harmony, and drawing the diſtant *Perſuaſions* to a good Underſtanding. To this End he deſir'd them to lay ſome Propoſals before him touching Church Government. That this main Difference being once ſettled, other Matters would be eaſily accommodated. And here his Majeſty order'd them to ſet down the full length of their Conceſſions. "They told the King they were but a ſmall Number, and had no Commiſſion from their Brethren to declare themſelves upon this Head. They deſir'd therefore they might have leave to acquaint their Brethren in the Country, with his Majeſty's Commands, and receive their Sentiments upon this Argument. The King reply'd, that Method would be dilatory, and make too much Noiſe: That therefore he had rather the *Propoſals* ſhould come from themſelves; and that for fuller Information, they might communicate this Affair with their Friends in the City. To this their Anſwer was: "They were in no Condition either to ſpeak for, or oblige other People: And therefore what they offer'd his Majeſty could only be taken for their own Senſe. The King let them know, they ſhould be conſtrued no otherwiſe, and that he did not deſign to convene a *Synod* or Aſſembly of the other Party, but only make uſe of a few for adjuſting this Matter (*x*). Upon this, theſe *Divines* begg'd the King, that when they laid their Conceſſions before him, his Majeſty would order their Brethren of the Church of *England*, might deliver in a Paper of the utmoſt they could yield: That when the Relaxations of both ſides were compar'd, the Succeſs might the better be conjectur'd. The King, thinking this reaſonable, promis'd their Requeſt.

Their Propoſal for an Accommodation with the Epiſcopal Party.

About three Weeks after, the *Propoſals* were agreed: The *Paper* was moſtly drawn by *Calamy* and *Reinolds*. It begins with four preliminary Requeſts: *That ſerious Godlineſs might be countenanced; a learned and pious Miniſter in each Pariſh encouraged; that a perſonal publick owning the Baptiſmal Covenant, might precede an Admiſſion to the Lord's-Table; and that the Lord's-Day might be ſtrictly ſanctified.* After this general Introduction, they proceed to Particulars. "And here they offer, as they pretend, to allow the true primitive Preſidency in the Church, with a due Mixture of *Presbyters*. That this Scheme was neceſſary to avoid the Corruptions, Partiality, and Tyranny incident to the Adminiſtration of a ſingle Perſon. The Things which they chiefly blam'd in the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, were; *The great Extent of the Biſhop's Dioceſs; their deputing Commiſſaries, Chancellors, and Officials to act in their ſtead; their aſſuming the ſole Power of Ordination and Juriſdiction; and acting ſo arbitrarily in Viſitation-Articles.* Beſides this, they objected, their bringing in new Ceremonies, and ſuſpending Miniſters at Pleaſure: For reforming theſe Evils, as they call'd them, they propos'd that Biſhop *Uſher*'s Notion of Epiſcopal Government, might be receiv'd as the Ground-Work of an Accommodation. This *Primate*'s Scheme is couch'd under the four following Propoſitions.

Primate Uſher's *Plan for Epiſcopal Government.*

I.

Uſher would have it, *That in every Pariſh the Rector, or the incumbent Paſtor, together with the Church-Warden and Sidemen, may every Week take notice*

(*x*) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter.

Wren Mat. Bp. of Ely.

notice of ſuch as live ſcandalouſly in the Congregation; who are to receive ſuch ſeveral Admonitions and Reproofs, as the Quality of their Offence ſhall deſerve; and if by this means they cannot be reclaim'd, they may be preſented unto the next Monthly Synod, and in the mean time, be debarr'd by the Paſtor from Acceſs unto the Lord's Table.

II.

Whereas by a Satute in the 26 of Hen. 8. *(reviv'd in the 1ſt of Q.* Eliz.*) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in 26 ſeveral Places of this Kingdom, the Number of them might be very well conform'd unto the ſeveral Rural Deanaries, into which every Dioceſe is ſubdivided; which being done, the Suffragan (ſupplying the Place of thoſe who in the ancient Church were call'd* Chorepiſcopi*) might every Month aſſemble a Synod of all the Rectors or incumbent Paſtors, within the Precinct, and according to the major part of their Voices, conclude all Matters that ſhould be brought into Debate before them. To this Synod the Rector and Churchwardens might preſent ſuch impenitent Perſons, as by Admonition and Suſpenſion from the Sacrament, would not be reform'd, who, if they would ſtill remain contumacious and incorrigible, the Sentence of Excommunication might be decreed againſt them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the Pariſh where they liv'd. Hitherto alſo all things that concern'd the Parochial Miniſters might be refer'd, whether they did touch their Doctrine or their Converſation: As alſo the Cenſure of all new Opinions, Hereſies, and Schiſms, which did ariſe within that Circuit, with Liberty of Appeal, if need ſo require, unto the Dioceſan Synod.*

III.

The Dioceſan Synod might be held once or twice in the Year, as it ſhould be thought moſt convenient; therein all the Suffragans, and the reſt of the Rectors or incumbent Paſtors, or a certain ſelect Number out of every Deanary within that Dioceſe *might meet; with whoſe Conſent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Biſhop or Superintendent (call him which you will) or in his abſence by one of the Suffragans, whom he ſhould depute in his ſtead, to be Moderator of that Aſſembly. Here all Matters of great Moment might be taken into Conſideration, and the Orders of the Monthly Synods reviſ'd, and, if need be, reform'd. And if here alſo any Matter of Difficulty could not receive a full Determination, it might be referr'd to the next Provincial, or National Synod.*

IV.

The Provincial Synod might conſiſt of all the Biſhops and Suffragans, and ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould be elected out of every Dioceſe within the Province. The Primate of either Province, might be the Moderator of this Meeting (or in his room ſome one of the Biſhops appointed by him) and all Matters be order'd therein by common Conſent, as in the former Aſſemblies. This Synod might be held every third Year, and if the Parliament do then ſit, both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the Land might joyn together, and make up a National Council; wherein all Appeals from inferiour Synods might be receiv'd, all their Acts examin'd, and all Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions which concern the State of the Church of the whole Nation eſtabliſh'd *.

Id.
* Smith. Vit. Jacob. Uſſer.

These Miniſters refine upon Archbiſhop Uſher.

The *Presbyterian* Divines refine upon this *Plan*, and go farther in their Demands: “They move, that the *Suffragans* ſhould be choſen by their reſpective *Synods*: That Diſtricts may be reduc'd to a moderate Extent: That Miniſters ſhould be under no Oaths, or Promiſes of Obedience to the Biſhops, as being reſponſible for all Breaches upon the Law: That the Biſhops may not govern at Diſcretion; but be reſtrain'd to the Direction of *Canons*, or Conſtitutions: And that theſe ſhould be either made, or confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament.

“As to the *Liturgy*, they own'd the Lawfulneſs of a preſcrib'd Form of publick Worſhip: But deſir'd withal, that ſome learned, pious and moderate Divines of both Parties, might be employ'd either to draw up a new *Liturgy*, or reform the *old* one: And here they propoſe the adding ſome Variety of Compoſure couch'd in *Scripture* Phraſe, to be us'd or omitted, as the Miniſter ſhall think fit. —— As to the *Ceremonies*, 'twas their humble Opinion, *Divine Service* was perfect without them. That in Matters of Worſhip God has declar'd himſelf a Jealous God: That moſt of the *Reform'd* Churches *abroad*, rejected the *Engliſh* Ceremonies: That at *home*, they had been Matter of Diſpute and Contention, ever ſince the *Reformation*: That many pious and uſeful Miniſters had been ſilenc'd upon this Score, and *Separations* from the Church occaſion'd from hence. That theſe *Externals* were no immutable Circumſtances, and therefore they intreated, that kneeling at the Sacrament might not be impos'd. That the wearing the Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, rather than of *Chriſt* or *Emanuel*, might be laid aſide; and that Care might be taken to prevent Innovations, contrary to Law †. Farther, they deſir'd the King, “That none of their Miniſters might be ejected from *ſequeſter'd* Livings, where the Epiſcopal Incumbents were dead: That his Majeſty would pleaſe to give a publick Signification of his Pleaſure, that no Oaths, Subſcriptions, or Renunciation of *Orders*, might be requir'd, till the preſent Debate was gone through, and the Controverſie brought to an Iſſue.

† *See two Papers of Propoſals, &c. humbly preſented to his Majeſty by the* Presbyterian *Miniſters.*

The King treated them with Regard, told them he was much pleas'd with their declaring for a *Liturgy*, and yielding to the *Eſſentials* of Epiſcopacy; and promis'd them, that where the old Incumbents were dead, the Benefices ſhou'd be confirm'd to thoſe in Poſſeſſion *.

* Calamy's *Life of* Baxter, *p.* 147.

Not long after, the Biſhops return'd an Anſwer to the *Presbyterians* Paper of Propoſals.

The Biſhops Anſwer to the Presbyterians *Propoſals.*

“As to their *Preliminary Requeſts*, they conceive the Laws of the Realm have made a ſufficient Proviſion, and that no farther Security can be given. As for Liberty of Conſcience they are willing to comply, provided a Paſſage may not be open'd for private Conventicles: For ſhould ſuch an *Indulgence* be granted, the Conſequences might prove very unſerviceable to the *State*. That they approve the fixing a godly Miniſter in each *Pariſh*, but do not underſtand what is meant by *reſiding on his Cure*, nor how far thoſe Words may be ſtretch'd; nor what farther Proviſion can be made upon that Head. As for *Confirmation*, and the barring ſcandalous Perſons from the Communion, they thought the *Church* had taken ſufficient Care of that Matter. And touching the *Obſervation of the Lord's Day*. They reply; the Laws of the Kingdom were ſtricter than thoſe of any foreign *Reform'd* Communion whatſoever. As to *Church Government*, they inſiſt upon continuing the former *Hierarchy* without any Alteration: And that the *Presbyterians* Objections againſt a ſingle Perſon's Adminiſtration in the *Church*, were equally applicable to the *State*. The Extent of the Dioceſes they conceive well "enough fitted to the Biſhops Inſpection and Management: And that the Share of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction put into the Hand of *Chancellours*, &c. was regular in the main. Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Plan* for retrenching the Biſhops Authority, they declare inconſiſtent with two other *Diſcourſes* of that Prelate: And that his Four *Propoſitions*, at the beſt, were but ſome private Thoughts thrown together. They pronounce the *Offices* in the *Common Prayer* altogether unexceptionable; and conceive the *Book* cannot be too ſtrictly enjoyn'd: Eſpecially when Miniſters are not deny'd the Exerciſe of their Gifts in praying before, and after Sermon; which Liberty for extemporary or private Compoſitions, ſtands only upon a late Cuſtom, without any Foundation from Law or *Canons:* And that the common Uſe of this Practice comes only from Connivance. However, they are contented to yield the *Liturgy* may be review'd, in caſe his Majeſty thinks fit. As for the *Ceremonies*, they are unwilling to part with any of them; being clearly of Opinion, that the Satisfaction of ſome private Perſons ought not to over-rule the publick Peace, and Uniformity of the Church: And that if any Abatements were made, it would only feed a Diſtemper, and encourage unquiet People to farther Demands (*y*).

(*y*) Calamy's *Life of Baxter.*

The Biſhops who live to the Reſtoration.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that Nine of the Biſhops surviv'd the Rebellion, and recover'd their *Sees* at the *Reſtoration*, viz. *William Juxton* Biſhop of *London*, tranſlated this Year to *Canterbury*; *William Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Oxford*, tranſlated afterwards to *Worceſter*; *John Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *William Roberts* Biſhop of *Bangor*; *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*; *Bryan Duppa* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; from whence after the *Reſtoration*, he was remov'd to *Wincheſter*; *Henry King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; *Accepted Frewen* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and this Year promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. Beſides theſe, there were Six Biſhops conſecrated on the firſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, viz. *John* * Lord Biſhop of *Durham*; *William* Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s; *Benjamin* Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*; *Hugh* † Lord Biſhop of *Landaff*; *Richard* * Lord Biſhop of *Carliſle*; *Bryan* † Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *John* * Lord Biſhop of *Exeter:* When *Juxton* was tranſlated to *Canterbury*, *Gilbert Sheldon* was made Biſhop of *London* (*z*). The other Biſhopricks were quickly fill'd with well qualify'd Perſons.

* Coſens.
† Laney.
* Stern.
† Walton.
* Gauden.

(*z*) See Abp. Sancroft's *Life and Sermons.*

Ld. Chancellour Hide's *Speech upon the Subject of Religion.*

To return: Soon after the Biſhops had ſent the *Anſwer* abovemention'd, the *Presbyterian* Miniſters were told the King would put all he thought proper to grant them into a *Declaration:* That they ſhould ſee this Inſtrument before it was publiſh'd, and have the Liberty to report what they happen'd to diſlike. A Copy of this *Declaration* was accordingly ſent them by the Lord Chancellour *Hide*. Some little time before it was iſſued out, this Lord gave notice of it in a Speech to the Parliament. Here he acquaints the Houſes, "He was commanded to mention two things recommended to them by his Majeſty in his *Declaration* from *Breda*, the one for compoſing thoſe unhappy Differences and Diſtempers in Religion, which had too much diſturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom. This, (ſaith he) is a ſad Argument indeed, it is a Conſideration that muſt make every Religious Heart bleed to ſee Religion, which ſhould be the ſtrongeſt Obligation and Cement of Affection, and Brotherly Kindneſs and Compaſſion, made now by the perverſe Wranglings of paſſionate and froward Men, the ground of all Animoſity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge; and this unruly and unmanly Paſſion, I fear, too frequently tranſports thoſe who are in the right, as well as thoſe who are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more excuſable than the former. When Men who find their Manners and Diſpoſitions very conformable in all the neceſſary Obligations of human Nature, avoid one another's Converſation, and grow firſt unſociable, and then uncharitable to each other, becauſe one cannot think as the other doth.---

My Lords *and* Gentlemen,

"This Diſquiſition hath coſt the King many a Sigh, many a ſad Hour, when he hath conſider'd the almoſt irreparable Reproach the *Proteſtant* Religion hath undergone from the Diviſions and Diſtractions which have been ſo notorious in this Kingdom. What Pains he hath taken to compoſe them, after ſeveral Diſcourſes with pious and learned Men of different Perſuaſions, you will ſhortly perceive by a *Declaration*, which he will publiſh upon that Occaſion; by which you will ſee his great *Indulgence* to thoſe who can have any Pretenſion from Conſcience to differ from their Brethren.

The *Presbyterian* Divines having peruſ'd the *Declaration* drew a Petition to the King, and ſubjoyn'd ſome Remarks on the *Declaration*. They deliver'd what they had done to the Lord Chancellour, who thought it moſt adviſable to drop this Addreſs, and never call'd on them to preſent it to the King. However, he deſir'd they would give in the Particulars of what they thought proper ſhould be alter'd: Upon which, they deliver'd him Minutes upon theſe Heads. And now a Day was fix'd for his Majeſty's peruſing the *Declaration* as the Lord Chancellour had drawn it. Accordingly the King came to the Lord Chancellour's with the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Angleſy*, the Lord *Hollis*, and ſome others of the Court: With theſe appear'd *Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, *Morley* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Hinchman* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Coſens* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Gauden* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Berwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, &c. On the other ſide, the *Diſſenters* were repreſented by *Reinolds*, *Calamy*, *Aſh*, *Wallis*, *Manton*, *Spurſtow*, *Baxter*, and ſome others. The Buſineſs of this Day was not to argue, but as the Lord Chancellour read the *Declaration*, each Party was to ſpeak their Exceptions, and after all, the King was to over-rule the Debate, and ſettle the Form. There were ſeveral Objections rais'd touching Prelacy, Re-ordination, and other Particulars. When the whole was read, the Lord Chancellour pull'd out another Paper and acquainted them, that the King had been petition'd by the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts*, for indulging their reſpective *Perſuaſions*. Upon this, he read a Supplemental Clauſe in the *Declaration* to this Effect: *That others alſo might be permitted to meet for Religious Worſhip, provided they give no Diſturbance to the publick Peace: And that they may not be moleſted by any Juſtice of Peace, or other Officer.* This Clauſe was ſuſpected upon the Score of the Latitude in which it was expreſs'd, and that there might be a Deſign to bring the *Papiſts* within the Compaſs of the *Toleration:* For this reaſon, probably, 'twas neither approv'd by the Epiſcopal, or *Presbyterian* Party. However, the

Point being nice, and the Conſtruction ſomewhat uncertain, there was nothing objected; only *Baxter* took the Freedom to declare againſt the tolerating *Papiſts* and *Socinians*: To which his Majeſty reply'd, the Laws had ſufficiently provided againſt Danger from the *Papiſts*. And thus the Matter was dropt. Before the Meeting broke up, the King ſettled the Senſe of the *Declaration*: And if there happen'd any Diſpute touching the manner of Expreſſion, this Point was to be referr'd to Biſhop *Morley* and Biſhop *Hinchman*, *Reinolds* and *Calamy*. And in caſe they happened to diſagree, the Earl of *Angleſy* and the Lord *Hollis* were to determine the Difference (a).

(a) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter.

The King's Declaration touching Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. A. D. 1660.

On the 25th of *October* his Majeſty ſet forth his *Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* I ſhall give the Reader part of this Inſtrument.

“In our Letter, ſaith the King to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, from *Breda*, we declared how much we deſired the Advancement and Propagation of the *Proteſtant* Religion; that neither the Unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame *Faith* towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion, (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it, and that nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily conſent. And we ſaid then, that we did hope in due time, Ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfy the World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough obſerved what is moſt like to bring Diſadvantage to it. And the Truth is, We do think Ourſelf more competent to propoſe, and with God's Aſſiſtance to determine many Things now in difference, from the Time we have ſpent, and the Experience we have had in moſt of the *Reformed* Churches *Abroad*, in *France*, in the *Low-Countries*, and in *Germany*, where we have had frequent Conferences with the moſt learned Men, who have unanimouſly lamented the great Reproach the *Proteſtant* Religion undergoes from the Diſtempers and too notorious Schiſms in Matters of Religion in *England*. And as the moſt learned amongſt them, have always with great Submiſſion and Reverence acknowledged and magnified the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*, and the great Countenance and Shelter the *Proteſtant* Religion received from it before theſe unhappy Times: So many of them have with great Ingenuity and Sorrow confeſt, that they were too eaſily miſled by Miſ-information and Prejudice, into ſome Diſeſteem of it; as if it had too much comply'd with the Church of *Rome*; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the beſt Fence God hath yet raiſed againſt *Popery* in the World: And we are perſuaded, they do with great Zeal wiſh it reſtored to its old Dignity and Veneration.

“When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Miniſters from hence, who were look'd upon as the moſt able and principal Aſſertors of the *Presbyterian* Opinions; with whom we had as much Conference as the Multitude of Affairs which were then upon us, would permit us to have, and to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Perſons full of Affection to Us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and *State*, and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) to *Epiſcopacy* or *Liturgy*, but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations in either, as without ſhaking Foundations, might beſt allay the preſent Diſtempers, which the Indiſpoſition of the Time, and the Tenderneſs of ſome Mens Conſciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we did intend upon our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a *Synod* of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all thoſe Differences and Diſſatisfactions which had or ſhould ariſe in Matters of Religion. And in the mean time, we publiſhed in our *Declaration* from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhould be diſquieted, or call'd in queſtion for differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an *Act* of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation, ſhall be offer'd to us, for the full granting that *Indulgence*.

“We need not profeſs the high Eſteem and Affection we have for the Church of *England*, as it is Eſtabliſh'd by Law; the Reverence to which hath ſupported us, by God's Bleſſing, againſt many Temptations: Nor do we think that Reverence in the leaſt degree diminiſhed by our Condeſcenſions, not peremptorily to inſiſt on ſome Particulars of Ceremony, which however introduced by the Piety and Devotion and Order of former Times, may not be ſo agreeable to the preſent, but may even leſſen that Piety and Devotion for the Improvement whereof they might happily be firſt introduc'd, and conſequently may well be diſpenſed with. And we hope this charitable Compliance of ours will diſpoſe the Minds of all Men to a chearful Submiſſion to that Authority, the Preſervation whereof is ſo neceſſary for the Unity and Peace of the Church, and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Epiſcopal Authority to be the beſt Support of Religion, by being the beſt Means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government. And they who would reſtrain the Exerciſe of that holy Function within the Rules which were obſerv'd in the primitive Times, muſt remember and conſider, that the Eccleſiaſtical Power being in thoſe bleſſed Times always ſubordinate and ſubject to the *Civil* *: It was likewiſe proportion'd to ſuch an Extent, as was moſt agreeable to that. And as the Sanctity and Simplicity, and Reſignation of that *Age*, did then refer many Things to the Biſhops, which the Policy of ſucceeding Ages would not admit, at leaſt did otherwiſe provide for; ſo it can be no Reproach to primitive Epiſcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the *Civil* Government from what was then, there have been likewiſe ſome Difference and Alteration in the Eccleſiaſtical, the Eſſence and Foundation being ſtill preſerv'd.

* *This is a Miſtake. See the firſt Part of this Hiſtory, and above in this ſecond.*

The King's *Conceſſions* ſhall be next inſerted.

1. “We do in the firſt place, continues his Majeſty, declare, Our Purpoſe and Reſolution is, and ſhall be, to promote the Power of Godlineſs, to encourage the Exerciſes of Religion both publick and private, and to take Care that the Lord's-Day be apply'd to holy Exerciſes, without unneceſſary Divertiſements; and that inſufficient, negligent, and ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church. And that as the preſent Biſhops are known to be

“ Men of great and exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifeſted in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings during theſe late Diſtempers, and of great and known Sufficiency of Learning; ſo we ſhall take eſpecial Care to prefer no Man to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Virtue and Piety, who may be themſelves the beſt Examples to thoſe who are to be govern'd by them. And we ſhall expect and provide the beſt we can, that the Biſhops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often preach themſelves in ſome Churches of their Dioceſs, except they be hinder'd by Sickneſs, or ſome or other bodily Infirmity, or ſome other juſtifiable Occaſion, which ſhall not be thought juſtifiable if it be frequent.

2. “ Becauſe the *Dioceſſes*, eſpecially ſome of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, We will appoint ſuch a Number of *ſuffragan* Biſhops in every Dioceſs, as ſhall be ſufficient for the due Performance of their Work.

3. “ No Biſhop ſhall ordain or exerciſe any Part of Juriſdiction which appertains to the Cenſures of the Church, without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Presbyters: And no Chancellor, Commiſſaries, or Officials, as ſuch, ſhall execute any Act of ſpiritual Juriſdiction in theſe Caſes; *viz.* Excommunication, Abſolution, or wherein any of the Miniſtry are concern'd, with Reference to their Paſtoral Charge. However, our Intent and Meaning is, to uphold and maintain the Profeſſion of the *Civil* Laws, ſo far and in ſuch Matters as it hath been of Uſe and Practice within our Kingdoms and Dominions: Albeit, as to Excommunication, our Will and Pleaſure is, that no Chancellor, Commiſſary, or Official ſhall decree any Sentence of Excommunication or Abſolution, or be Judges in thoſe Things wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned, as is aforeſaid: Nor ſhall the Archdeacon exerciſe any Juriſdiction without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of ſix Miniſters of his Archdeaconry, whereof Three to be nominated by the Biſhop, and Three by the Election of the major Part of the Presbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. “ To the End that the *Deans* and *Chapters* may be the better fitted to afford Council and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops both in *Ordination*, and the other Offices mention'd before, We will take Care that thoſe Preferments be given to the moſt learned, pious, and diſcreet Presbyters of the ſame Dioceſs. And moreover, that an equal Number to thoſe of the *Chapter*, of the moſt learned, pious, and diſcreet Presbyters of the ſame Dioceſs, annually choſen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Dioceſs, preſent at ſuch Elections, ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting, together with thoſe of the *Chapter*, in all *Ordinations*, and in every part of the Juriſdiction which appertains to the *Cenſures* of the Church, and at all other ſolemn and important Actions in the Exerciſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned; provided that at all ſuch Meetings, the Number of the Miniſters ſo elected, and thoſe preſent of the *Chapter*, ſhall be equal, and not exceed one the other; and that to make the Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding Number be withdrawn, that the moſt ancient may take place. Nor ſhall any *ſuffragan* Biſhop ordain, or exerciſe the forementioned Offices and Acts of ſpiritual Juriſdiction, but with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a ſufficient Number of the moſt judicious and pious Presbyters annually choſen as aforeſaid, within his Precincts. And our Will is, that the great Work of *Ordination*, be conſtantly and ſolemnly perform'd by the Biſhop and his aforeſaid Presbytery, at the four ſet Times and Seaſons appointed by the Church for that purpoſe.

5. “ We will take Care that *Confirmation* be ſolemnly and rightly perform'd by the Information, and with the Conſent of the Miniſter of the Place, who ſhall admit none to the Lord's-Supper, till they have made a credible Profeſſion of their Faith, and promis'd Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expreſſed in the Conſiderations of the *Rubrick* before the *Catechiſm*: And that all poſſible Diligence be uſed for the Inſtruction and Reformation of ſcandalous Offenders, whom the Miniſter ſhall not ſuffer to partake of the Lord's-Table, until they have openly declar'd themſelves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly expreſſed in the *Rubrick*, and more fully in the *Canons*; provided there be place for due Appeal to ſuperior Power. But beſides the *Suffragans* and their Presbytery, every *Rural* Dean (thoſe Deans as heretofore to be nominated by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs) together with three or four Miniſters of the *Deanry* choſen by the major Part of all the Miniſters within the ſame, ſhall meet once in every Month, to receive ſuch Complaints as ſhall be preſented to them by the Miniſters or Church-Wardens of the reſpective Pariſhes; and alſo to compoſe all ſuch Differences betwixt Party and Party, as ſhall be offer'd to them by way of Arbitration, and to convince Offenders, and reform all ſuch Things as they ſhall find amiſs by their Paſtoral Reproofs and Admonitions, if they may be ſo reformed: And ſuch Matters as they cannot by this paſtoral and perſuaſive Way compoſe and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and preſented to the Biſhop; at which Meeting any other Miniſter of the *Deanry* may, if they pleaſe, be preſent. Moreover, the *Rural* Dean and his Aſſiſtants, are in their reſpective Diviſions, to ſee that Children and younger ſort be carefully inſtructed by the reſpective Miniſters of every Pariſh, in the Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion, and be able to give a good Account of their Faith and Knowledge, and alſo of their Chriſtian Converſation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Biſhop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper.

6. “ No Biſhop ſhall exerciſe any Arbitrary Power, or do, or impoſe any Thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Law of the Land.

7. We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferr'd, do in their Judgements approve a *Liturgy*, or Set-Form of Publick Worſhip, to be lawful; which in our Judgment, for the Preſervation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very neceſſary, and though we do conceive the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England* contained in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and by Law eſtabliſhed, to be the beſt we have ſeen; and we believe, that we have ſeen all that are extant, and uſed in this Part of the World, and well know what Reverence moſt of the *Reformed* Churches or at leaſt the moſt learned Men in thoſe Churches have for it; yet ſince we find ſome Exceptions made

“againſt ſeveral Things therein, we will appoint an equal Number of learned Divines of both *Perſuaſions* to review the ſame, and to make ſuch Alterations as ſhall be thought moſt neceſſary, and ſome additional Forms (in the Scripture Phraſe as near as may be) ſuited unto the ſeveral parts of Worſhip, and that it be left to the Miniſter's Choice to uſe one or other at his Diſcretion. In the mean time, and until this be done, altho' we heartily wiſh and deſire, that the Miniſters in their ſeveral Churches, becauſe they diſlike ſome Clauſes and Expreſſions, would not totally lay aſide the Uſe of the Book of *Common-Prayer*, but read thoſe Parts againſt which there can be no Exception, which would be the beſt Inſtance of declining thoſe Marks of Diſtinction which we ſo much labour and deſire to remove: Yet in Compaſſion to divers of our good Subjects who ſcruple the Uſe of it as now it is, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that none be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it, until it be reviewed, and effectually reformed as aforeſaid.

“In the mean Time, out of Compliance and Compaſſion towards thoſe who would forbear the Croſs in Baptiſm; we are content that no Man ſhall be compelled to uſe the ſame, or ſuffer for doing it. But if any Parent deſire to have his Child Chriſtned according to the Form uſed, and the Miniſter will not uſe the Sign, it ſhall be lawful for the Parent to procure another Miniſter to do it: And if the proper Miniſter ſhall refuſe to omit the Ceremony of the Croſs, it ſhall be lawful for the Parent, who would not have his Child ſo baptized, to procure another Miniſter to do it who will do it according to his Deſire.

“No Man ſhall be compelled to bow at the Name of Jeſus, or ſuffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching thoſe who, out of their Devotion, continue that ancient Ceremony of the Church.

“For the Uſe of the *Surplice*, we are contented that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they ſhall think fit, without ſuffering the leaſt degree for wearing or not wearing it: Provided that this Liberty do not extend to our own Chapel, Cathedral, or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of our Univerſities, but that the ſeveral Statutes and Cuſtoms for the Uſe thereof in the ſaid Places, be there obſerv'd as formerly.

“And becauſe ſome Men, otherwiſe pious and learned ſay, they cannot conform unto the Subſcription required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience; we are content, and it is our Will and Pleaſure (ſo they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they ſhall receive *Ordination*, *Inſtitution* and *Induction*, and ſhall be permitted to exerciſe their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without the ſaid Subſcription or Oath of Canonical Obedience: And moreover, that no Perſons in the Univerſities ſhall for the want of ſuch Subſcription be hinder'd in the taking their Degrees. Laſtly, That none be judg'd to forfeit his Preſentation or Benefice, or be depriv'd of it upon the *Statute* of the thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chapter the twelfth; ſo he read and declare his aſſent to all the *Articles* of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments compriſ'd in the Book of *Articles* in the ſaid Statute mention'd. In a word, We do again renew what we have formerly ſaid in our *Declaration* from *Breda*, for the Liberty of tender Conſciences, that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or call'd in Queſtion for differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And if any have been diſturb'd in that kind ſince our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours.

It muſt ſaid thoſe who penned this Inſtrument, carry'd the Prerogative to an extraordinary extent: The Declaration ſeems not only to reach into the Buſineſs of Synods, over-rules the Canons, and diſables the Diſcipline of the Church; but over and above diſpenſes with Statutes to the Conſtruction of a Repeal, and lies hard upon the Civil Conſtitution. For this Reaſon 'twas overlook'd at the Aſſizes and Seſſions in ſeveral Places in the Country, where the Diſſenting Miniſters were indicted for not conforming purſuant to the Laws in Force. However, upon Application to the King and the Lord Chancellour, they were commonly diſcharg'd (b). And thus generally ſpeaking, the Declaration ſuſpended the execution of the Law, and ſhelter'd the Diſſenting Miniſters for more than a Year.

(b) Calamy's *Life of Baxter.*

During part of this Interval, ſeveral of the Presbyterian Miniſters were invited to Church Preferments: *Calamy* had the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* offer'd him, *Reynolds* that of *Norwich*, and *Baxter* that of *Hereford*: *Manton* was offer'd the Deanary of *Rocheſter*, *Bates* the Deanary of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Bowlas* the Deanary of *York*: But all of them excepting *Reynolds*, refus'd theſe Promotions. It ſeems they were afraid the Conceſſions in the *Declaration* might be recall'd by the King, or over-rul'd by an Act of Parliament *.

* Calamy's *Life of Baxter.*

The Inſurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men.

About this Time the *Fifth-Monarchy*-Men heated with Enthuſiaſm, projected the Conqueſt of the Univerſe; and having lately diſcover'd ſome Signs of Phrenſy and alarm'd the Government, Collonel *Overton*, Major *Allen*, Cornet *Day*, and ſome other leading Men of that *Sect*, were ſeiz'd and impriſon'd. However, the reſt of them being rather animated then diſheartned by this Correction, broke out into open Rebellion, under the command of their Preacher *Thomas Venner* a Wine-Cooper. Thus on Sunday in the Evening, *Jan.* 6. they ſally'd out of their Meeting-Houſe in *Colemanſtreet*: And tho' their number was not above Sixty at firſt, nor increas'd much afterwards; they fought the *Train-Bands* and the *Guards* with incredible Obſtinacy and Fury: At laſt they were broken, and *Venner* with about Sixteen of his Men taken Priſoners. Theſe Rebels were try'd at the *Old Baily* and found guilty: They continued impenitent to the laſt, and rail'd upon the King and the Judges at their execution.

The King having promis'd in his late *Declaration*, that the Liturgy ſhould be review'd in order, to have it farther accommodated to a general Satiſfaction; a Commiſſion was granted to ſeveral Perſons of each Perſuaſion for this purpoſe. The Inſtrument runs thus,

The Commiſſion for the Conference of the Savoy.

“*Charles* the *Second* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To Our Truſty and Well-beloved the moſt Reverend Father in God *Accepted*, Archbiſhop of *York*, the Right Reverend Fathers in God *Gilbert* Biſhop of

Juxton Wil. Abp. of Cant.

“of *London*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*. *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Humphrey* Biſhop of *Sarum*, *George* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Benjamin* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, *Brian* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, *John* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*: And to Our Truſty and Well belov'd, the Reverend *Anthony Tuckney*, D. D. *John Conant*, D. D. *William Spurſtow*, D. D. *John Wallis*, D. D. *Tho. Manton*, D. D. *Edmund Calamy*, D. D. *Richard Baxter* Clerk, *Arthur Jackſon*, *Tho. Caſe*, *Samuel Clerk*, *Mathew Newcomen* Clerks; and to our truſty and well beloved Dr. *Earles*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, *Peter Heylin*, D. D. *John Hacket*, D. D. *John Berwick*, D. D. *Peter Gunning*, D. D. *John Pearſon*, D. D. *Tho. Pierce*, D. D. *Anthony Sparrow*, *Herbert Thorndike*, D. D. *Thomas Hortar*, D. D. *Thomas Jacomb*, D. D. *William Bate*, *John Rawlinſon* Clerks, *William Cooper* Clerk, D. *John Lightfoot*, D. *John Collings*, D. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, and *William Drake* Clerk, greeting. Whereas by our *Declaration* of the 25th of *October* laſt, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, we did (amongſt other Things) expreſs our Eſteem of the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, contain'd in the Book of *Common-Prayer*; and yet ſince we find Exceptions made againſt ſeveral things therein, we did by our ſaid *Declaration* declare we would appoint an equal number of Learned Divines, of both Perſuaſions to review the ſame: We therefore in accompliſhment of our ſaid Will and Intent, and of our continued and conſtant Care and Study for the Peace and Unity of the Churches within our Dominions; and for the removal of all Exceptions and Differences, and the occaſion of ſuch Differences and Exceptions from among our good Subjects; for or concerning the ſaid Book of *Common Prayer*, or any thing therein contain'd, do by theſe Our *Letters Patents* require, authorize, conſtitute and appoint you the ſaid &c. to adviſe upon, and review the ſaid Book of *Common Prayer*; comparing the ſame with the moſt ancient *Liturgies* which have been uſed in the Church in the primitive and pureſt Times. And to that end, to aſſemble and meet together, from Time to Time, and at ſuch time within the ſpace of four Kalendar Months now next enſuing, in the Maſters Lodging in the *Savoy* in the *Strand*, in the County of *Middleſex*, or in ſuch other Place or Places as to you ſhall be thought fit and convenient; to take into your ſerious and grave conſideration the ſeveral Directions and Rules, Forms of Prayer, and things in the ſaid Book of *Common-Prayer*, contained, and to adviſe, conſult upon and about the ſame, and ſeveral Objections and Exceptions which ſhall now be raiſ'd againſt the ſame; and, (if occaſion be) to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as by and between you the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Doctors, and Perſons hereby required and authorized to meet and adviſe aforeſaid, ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving Satisfaction to tender Conſciences, and the reſtoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under our Protection and Government; but avoiding (as much as may be) all unneceſſary Abbreviations of the Forms and *Liturgy*, wherewith the People are altogether acquainted, and have ſo long receiv'd in the Church of *England*. And our Will and Pleaſure is, that when you the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Doctors and Perſons authoriz'd and appointed by theſe Our *Letters Patents* to meet, adviſe, and conſult upon, and about the Premiſes as aforeſaid, ſhall have drawn your Conſultations to any Reſolution, and determination which you ſhall agree upon as needful or expedient to be done for the altering, diminiſhing, or enlarging the ſaid Book of *Common-Prayer*, or any Part thereof. That then forthwith you certify and preſent to us in Writing under your ſeveral Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon you ſhall ſo determine for our Approbation; and to the end the ſame, or ſo much thereof, as ſhall be approved by us, may be Eſtabliſh'd; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops have ſeveral great charges to attend, which we would not diſpenſe with, or that the ſame ſhould be neglected upon any great occaſion whatſoever; and ſome of them being of great Age and Infirmities, may not be able conſtantly to attend the execution of the Service and Authority hereby given and required by us, in the Meeting and Conſultation aforeſaid; We will therefore, and hereby require you the ſaid Dr. *Earles*, &c. to ſupply the Place and Places of ſuch of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops (other than the ſaid *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*) as ſhall by Age, Sickneſs, Infirmity, or other occaſions be hindred from attending the ſaid Meeting or Conſultation (that is to ſay) that one of you the ſaid Dr. *Earles*, &c. ſhall from Time to Time ſupply the Place of each one of them the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops (other than the ſaid *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*) which ſhall happen to be hindred or to be abſent from the ſaid Meetings or Conſultations; and ſhall and may adviſe, conſult and determine; and alſo certify and execute all and ſingular the Powers and Authorities before mention'd, in and about the Premiſes, as fully and abſolutely as ſuch Archbiſhop and Biſhops which ſhall ſo happen to be abſent, ſhould or might do by Virtue of theſe our *Letters Patents*, or any thing herein contained, in Caſe he or they were perſonally preſent. And whereas in regard of the diſtance of ſome, the Infirmity of others, the Multitude of conſtant Imployment and other incidental Impediments; ſome of you the ſaid *Edward* Biſhop of *Norwich*, &c. may be hindred from the conſtant attendance in the execution of the Service aforeſaid; We therefore will, and do hereby require and authorize you the ſaid *Thomas Horton*, &c. to ſupply the Place or Places of ſuch the Commiſſioners laſt above mentioned, as ſhall by the Means aforeſaid, or any other occaſion be hindred from the ſaid Meeting and Conſultations, that one of you the ſaid *Thomas Horton* Doctor, ſhall from Time to Time ſupply the Places of each one of the ſaid Commiſſioners laſt mention'd, which ſhall happen to be hindred or abſent from the ſaid Meeting and Conſultations; and ſhall and may adviſe, conſult and determine, and alſo certify and execute all and ſingular the Powers and Authorities before mention'd, in and about the Premiſes, as fully and abſolutely as ſuch of the ſaid laſt mention'd Commiſſioners, which ſhall ſo happen to be abſent, ſhould or might do by Virtue of theſe our *Letters Patents*, or any thing therein contain'd, in Caſe he or they were perſonally preſent: In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our

Charles II. K.

A. D. 1661.

“ Letters to be made Patents: Witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, the 25th of March, in the thirteenth Year of our Reign.

Per ipſum Regem.

Barker.

The firſt Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Parliament which met on the 25th of *April* before the *Reſtoration*, was diſſolv'd on the 29th of *December*. I ſhall mention only two of the *Acts* paſs'd; the one was for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the 29th of *May*, the Day on which the King made his Entry into *London*: The other was for reſtoring ejected and ſequeſter'd Miniſters, and confirming ſome others who had the Title of Reſignations from the Incumbent, and had not renounc'd their Orders, receiv'd before the 25th of *December*, 1659 (e). The two *Houſes* not being convened by the King's *Writ*, were look'd on as eſſentially defective in their Authority, and therefore their *Acts* are all confirm'd in the next Parliament.

The Conference at the Savoy.

To return to the *Conference*: The Biſhop of *London*'s Lodgings in the *Savoy* was appointed for the Place of Meeting; when the Parties appear'd, the Biſhop of *London* acquainted the Presbyterian Miniſters, *that themſelves and not the Biſhops, had requeſted the Conference for making Alterations in the Liturgy: That therefore nothing was to be done till they had deliver'd their Exceptions in Writing, together with the additional Forms and Alterations which they deſir'd.* Theſe *Miniſters* were willing that the Debate might be carried on by way of verbal Debate. This Method they conceiv'd was purſuant to the directions in the *Commiſſion*, and moſt likely to anſwer the end of the *Meeting*: Writing they ſaid would be a tedious Expedient, and hinder the coming to a cloſe Underſtanding with each other. Biſhop *Sheldon* adhering to his former Opinion, 'twas agreed at laſt they ſhould bring in all their *Exceptions* at one Time, and their Additions at another. The *Exceptions* were accordingly drawn up by Dr. *Renolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Mr. *Clerk*, &c.

The general Exceptions of the Presbyterian Divines to the Common-Prayer.

In this *Paper* laid before the Biſhops, “ they move, that the Prayers and other Materials of the *Liturgy*, might not be clogg'd with any thing that was doubtful or queſtioned among pious, learned and orthodox Perſons.

1. “ That the impoſing things of doubtful Diſputation as Terms of Communion, had in all Ages been the Ground of Schiſm and Separation: And for this they cite the Authority of Mr. *Hales* (d).

2. That as the *Engliſh* Reformers at firſt out of their great Wiſdom, form'd the *Liturgy* in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to gain upon the *Papiſts*, by varying as little as might be from the *Offices* anciently receiv'd; ſo according to the ſame Rule of Prudence, and Charity, they deſir'd the *Liturgy* might be ſo compos'd as might beſt reconcile it to thoſe *Proteſtants* who are agreed in the ſubſtantial Points of Religion.

3. “ To proceed, they would have the *Repetitions* and *Reſponſals* of the Pariſh-Clerk and People, and the alternate reading of the *Pſalms* and Hymns, omitted. They pretend this Cuſtom rais'd a confuſ'd Noiſe in the Congregation, and made what was read, leſs intelligible. They argue farther, that the *Miniſter* ought to be the Peoples Mouth in all publick *Services*: And that by the *Holy Scriptures*, the Peoples Part is only to attend with reverential Silence, and declare their Conſent in the Cloſe, by ſaying *Amen*.

4. “ For this Reaſon they would have the divided Petitions in the *Litany* thrown into one ſolemn Prayer, to be pronounc'd by the Miniſters.

5. “ That nothing might remain in the *Liturgy*, which ſeems to countenance the Obſervation of *Lent*, as a *Religious* Faſt: That the Example of our Saviour's Faſting forty Days and forty Nights, was above human Strength, and never deſign'd for Imitation. To corroborate this Reaſoning, they take notice, that by an *Act* of Parliament made the 5th of *Elizabeth*, Abſtinence from Fleſh is prohibited, upon the Score of Religion, and only recommended for politick Conſiderations.

6. “ That the Religious Obſervation of *Saints-Days*, together with their *Vigils*, may be laid aſide. And that if any of them are continued, they may be call'd *Feſtivals*, and not *Holy-Days*, that they may not be made equal with the Lord's-Day, nor have any peculiar *Service* appointed, nor the People oblig'd wholly to forbear working: And that ſuch Names in the *Kalendar* which are not inſerted in the firſt and ſecond Books of King *Edward* the 6th, may be left out.

7. That the Gift of Prayer being one ſpecial Qualification for the Miniſtry, they deſire the Liturgy may not be ſo ſtrictly impos'd, as totally to exclude the Exerciſe of that Faculty in any part of Publick Worſhip: And that in conſequence of this, it may be left to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter to omit part of the *ſtated Service*, as Occaſion ſhall require. And this Liberty they pretend, was allowed by the firſt *Common-Prayer-Book* of *Edward* the Sixth.

“ 8. That in Regard of the many Defects obſerv'd in the *Verſion* of the *Scriptures*, us'd in the *Liturgy*, they move theſe Miſ-performances may be ſtruck out, and the new *Tranſlation* allow'd by Authority, ſubſtituted inſtead of the former. That the *Verſion* in the *Liturgy* is either obſolete in Language, or miſtaken in Senſe, they endeavour to prove from the following Inſtances. In the Epiſtle for the firſt *Sunday* after *Epiphany*, Rom. 12. 1. 'tis read, *Be ye chang'd in your Shape*: And the Epiſtle for the *Sunday* next before *Eaſter*, Phil. 2. 5. Our Saviour is ſaid to be *found in his Apparel as a Man*: And in the Epiſtle for the Fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, Galat. 4. the old *Verſion* runs, *Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia, and borders upon the City which is now call'd Jeruſalem*: The Epiſtle for St. *Matthew*'s Day, 2 *Cor.* 4. they tranſlate, *We go not out of Kind*. The Goſpel for the Second *Sunday* after *Epiphany*, John 2. 'tis tranſlated, *When Men be drunk*. The Goſpel for the Firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, taken out of the 11th of St. *Luke*, 'tis turn'd, *One Houſe does fall upon another*. And laſtly, the Goſpel for the *Annunciation*, taken out of the 1ſt of St. *Luke*, *This is the firſt Month which is call'd barren*.

“ 9. That the *Canonical* Scriptures, containing all things neceſſary to Salvation, they deſire the *Apocryphal* Books may not be read: Theſe Writings having no unqueſtionable Authority for recommending Matters either of Belief, or Practice.

“ 10. That the Miniſter may not be enjoyn'd to read any part of the *Liturgy* at the Communion Table, excepting ſuch Portions which properly belong to the Lord's Supper: And at ſuch times only, when the Holy Sacrament is adminiſter'd.

(e) 12 Car. 2. c. 14. 12 Car. 2. c. 19.

(b) Hales Tract of Schiſm.

“11. That whereas the Word *Miniſter*, and not *Prieſt* or *Curate* ſtands in the *Rubrick* for the Abſolution, and divers other Places: 'Tis requeſted this Uſage may be continued through the whole Book: And that the *Lord's Day* may be inſerted inſtead of *Sunday*.

“12. And in Regard ſinging of Pſalms is a conſiderable Part of Publick Worſhip; they deſire the *Verſion* ſet forth, and allow'd to be ſung in Churches, may be mended; or that they may have leave to make uſe of a more correct Tranſlation.

“13. That all obſolete Terms and Expreſſions in Language worn out, may be alter'd to Words of common Uſe. This is repeating part of their Eighth Objection. “Their Inſtances are (*Aread*) us'd in the *Goſpel* for *Monday* and *Wedneſday* before *Eaſter*. And *then opened he their Wits*, in the *Goſpel* for *Eaſter Tueſday*.

“14. That no Portions of the *Old Teſtament*, or of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, be call'd *Epiſtles*, and read as ſuch.

“15. That the Phraſe in ſeveral *Offices* which preſumes all Perſons within the Communion of the Church, *Regenerated*, *Converted*, and in an actual State of Grace, may be reform'd: For conſidering the want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, confeſſed in the *Commination*, ſuch a Suppoſition is more than the utmoſt Charity can admit.

“16. That the *Petitions* in the Prayers might have a more orderly Connection, and the Forms carried on to a more competent Length: That this Method would be more to Edification, and gain farther upon the Peoples Eſteem.

Under this Head, they are ſomewhat more particular:

And Firſt, “They charge the *Collects* with being generally too ſhort, many of them conſiſting but of one, or at moſt, but of two Sentences of *Petition*. That they are generally prefaced with a repeated mention of the Name and Attributes of God, and preſently concluded with the Name and Merits of Chriſt. That by this Diſpoſition of the *Service*, many unneceſſary Breaks are occaſion'd: And that when many Petitions are to be offer'd at the ſame time, theſe Interruptions are neither agreeable to *Scriptural* Examples, nor ſuited to the Gravity of that Holy Duty.

Secondly, “They object the *Prefaces* of many *Collects* have no clear and direct Reference to the following Petitions. That the *Petitions* are put together without due Order or natural Connection, and falling ſhort, inſtead of being ſuitable to the Occaſions for which they are us'd, ſeem to have been the Effect of Chance and Inadvertency. 'Tis therefore deſir'd, that inſtead of thoſe diſcontinued *Collects* there may be one methodical and entire Form of Prayer compos'd out of many of them.

“17. They obſerve the publick *Liturgy* of a Church ought to comprehend the Summ of all ſuch Sins as are ordinarily to be confeſſed in Prayer: And take in ſuch Petitions and Thankſgivings as are commonly to be put up by the Church: And that the *Catechiſms*, or publick *Syſtems* of Doctrine, ſhould contain a brief Abſtract of all ſuch Doctrines as are neceſſary to be believ'd: And the Points ſhould be ſet down in a clear, explicit manner. And here they pretend the *Liturgy* is defective as to all theſe Matters.

“1. Say they, there is no preparatory Prayer, in the beginning of the *Service*, for God's Aſſiſtance and Acceptance; and yet many *Collects* in the middle of the Worſhip, have little or nothing elſe.

“2. The *Confeſſion*, as theſe Miniſters continue, is very defective: Original Sin is not clearly expreſſed, nor the Number of actual Sins with their Aggravations, ſufficiently enlarg'd on. That the Form goes too much upon Generals: Whereas Confeſſion being an Exerciſe of Repentance, ought to be more particular.

“3. They complain of a great Defect in the Forms of publick Thankſgiving. And,

“4. They object the whole Body of the *Common Prayer* is too much wrapt up in Generals: As, *to be kept from all Evil, from all Enemies, from all Adverſity, that we may do God's Will*, &c. without dilating upon the Particulars included.

“5. They pretend the *Catechiſm* is defective in many neceſſary Doctrines, and that ſome of the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity are not mention'd, unleſs in the *Creed*.

“18. They alledge the *Liturgy* enjoins the Uſe of ſeveral Ceremonies, which from the time of the firſt *Reformation* have been judg'd unwarrantable by divers learned and pious Men.

“The Impoſitions complain'd of are, Firſt, The enjoyning the Uſe of the *Surplice*. Secondly, That none may baptize or be baptized, without the tranſient Image of the *Croſs*, which has at leaſt, ſay they, the Appearance of a Sacrament of human Inſtitution. Thirdly, The enjoyning the Poſture of kneeling at receiving the Lord's Supper. And here they cite the Authority of our Saviour and his Apoſtles for a different Geſture: And that the Church of *England* contradicts the Practice of the Catholick Church for ſeveral Ages, and runs counter to the *Canons* of the moſt venerable *Synods*. And laſtly, that the Weight of theſe Impoſitions are ſtill made more burthenſome by the *Canons* requiring the Clergy to ſubſcribe their Lawfulneſs (z).

To theſe Exceptions the Commiſſioners who repreſented the Church of *England* return'd an Anſwer; part of which ſhall be laid before the *Reader*.

The Anſwer of the Commiſſioners for the Church.

“1. The *Presbyterian* Miniſters objected the *Liturgy* had all along given Diſſatisfaction to ſeveral Perſons of Piety and Learning; to this the Epiſcopal Divines return'd, “That the Paſſages complain'd of in the *Liturgy* ought to be evidently prov'd unlawful, before any Alterations can be demanded. That 'tis no Argument to ſay a great many pious Perſons ſcruple the Uſe of it, unleſs it can clearly be made out the *Liturgy* has given juſt ground for ſuch Scruples. For otherwiſe, if the bare Pretence of Scruples is a ſufficient Plea to diſcharge us from Obedience, all Law and Order can ſignify nothing. To this they add, that if the Liturgy ſhould be alter'd as the *Miniſters Paper* requires, the Generality of the ſobereſt and beſt Members of the Church of *England*, would have juſt Cauſe of Diſguſt. For that ſuch an Alteration would imply a Conceſſion, that this Liturgy was an intolerable Burthen upon tender Conſciences, and a

Their Anſwer to the Presbyterians *firſt Propoſal.*

(z) *An Account of all the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners of both Perſuaſions, &c.* London, *Printed in the Year* 1661.

Juxton Will. *Abp. of* Cant.

Uſage plainly ſuperſtitious: For theſe are the Pretences ſuggeſted for an Alteration. Now the granting all this, muſt infer the juſtifying thoſe who have ſeparated from it, and the condemning all thoſe who have adher'd to it, with the Hazard and Loſs of Lives and Fortunes. After this Introduction, they proceed to give an Anſwer to the firſt general *Propoſal*, and affirm, that the *Engliſh* Reformers had been careful to put nothing into the *Liturgy*, but what is either evidently the Word of God, or has been generally received by the Catholick Church. To the next *Propoſal* they anſwer, that great Care muſt be taken to ſuppreſs private Conception of Prayer, both before, and after Sermon: That otherwiſe private Opinions will be brought into Pulpit-Prayers. For what elſe can be expected, if private Perſons may have the Liberty of making publick Devotions?

“To that Part of the *Propoſal* that Prayers may conſiſt of nothing *doubtful* or *queſtioned* by *pious*, *learned*, and *orthodox* Perſons: The Epiſcopal Divines reply, that ſince 'tis not defin'd and aſcertained who thoſe Orthodox Perſons are, they muſt either take all thoſe for orthodox Perſons who have the Aſſurance to affirm themſelves ſuch: And if ſo, the Demand is unreaſonable. For ſome who deny the Divinity of the Son of God, will ſtile themſelves orthodox, and yet there is no Reaſon we ſhould part with an Article of our Creed for their Satisfaction. Beſides, the *Propoſal* requires an Impoſſibility. For there never was, nor ever will be, any Prayers couch'd in ſuch a manner, as not to be queſtion'd by ſome People who call themſelves, pious, learned, and orthodox. But if by *Orthodox* is meant only thoſe who adhere to *Scripture*, and the Catholick Conſent of Antiquity, they are not of Opinion that any Part of the *Engliſh* Liturgy has been queſtion'd by ſuch.

“To the general Objection of the *Engliſh-Service* being loaded with Church-Pomp, Imagery, many Superfluities, and reviving obſolete Cuſtoms: To this they Anſwer, That if theſe generals are intended to be apply'd to the *Liturgy*; they are groſs Calumnies, and a Contradiction to the Confeſſion of theſe very *Miniſters* in the latter Part of their Exceptions. But if no Application is intended, they are foreign to the Purpoſe, and therefore it had been more Prudence and Candour not to have mention'd them.

To go on with the *Church Commiſſioners*, who need not be mention'd at every *Article*.

“It was the wiſdom of our *Reformers*, ſay they, to draw up ſuch a *Liturgy* as neither *Romaniſt* nor *Proteſtants* could juſtly except againſt: And therefore, as the firſt never charg'd it with any poſitive Errors; but only with the want of ſomething they conceiv'd neceſſary: So was it never found fault with by thoſe properly diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Proteſtants*; that is, thoſe of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*: And as for others who have brought the Church-*Service* into diſlike with ſome People; this Practice of theirs has been their Fault and their Sin: So that to urge the preſent State of Affairs as an Argument why the *Book* ſhould be alter'd, is by no Means reaſonable. To do this would be to gratify theſe Men in an Error, and make their own unwarrantable Conduct an Advantage to them.

Charl. II. K.

The Anſwer to the third and fourth Propoſals.

“The third and fourth *Propoſals* may go together; the Demand in both being againſt *Reſponſals* and alternate Readings in Hymns, Pſalms, &c. And that upon ſuch a Motive as really rather proves the Neceſſity of continuing them in their preſent Condition. They would take theſe Uſages away, *becauſe they do not edify*: Now for this very Reaſon, they ought to be kept on. For that they do edify, is plain, if not by informing our Underſtandings, (the Prayers and Hymns being never made for a *Catechiſm*) yet by quickning, keeping up, and uniting our Devotion, which is apt to ſleep or grow languid, in a long continued Prayer: Our *Edification* therefore is beſt conſulted by being call'd on and awakened by frequent *Amens*; by being excited by mutual Exultations, Petitions, and holy Emulations, which of us ſhall go fartheſt in ſhewing his own Zeal for the Glory of God, or contribute moſt to that of others. For this purpoſe alternate Reading, Repetitions, and Reſponſes, are far more ſerviceable than a long tedious Prayer. Nor is this our Opinion only, but the Judgment of former Ages, as appears by the Practice of the Jewiſh and ancient Chriſtian Churches (*f*).

“But theſe *Demandants* object, this Cuſtom claſhes with the *Scripture*: That theſe *inſpired Writings* declare the *Miniſter's* being appointed for the Congregation in publick Prayers: That the Peoples part is only to attend with Silence, and ſignify their Aſſent, by ſaying *Amen*. Now if theſe Gentlemen mean, that the People in publick *Services* muſt only ſay the Word *Amen*, they have no Text to prove their Aſſertion. Beſides, they themſelves practiſe the direct contrary in one of their principal Parts of Worſhip: We mean their ſinging of *Pſalms*, where the People have as great a Part as the Miniſter. Now if this may be done in *Hopkin's*, why not in *David's* Pſalms? If in Metre, why not in Proſe? If in a Pſalm, why not in a *Litany*?

Anſwer to the fifth Objection.

“Farther, 'tis deſir'd that nothing ſhould be in the *Liturgy* which ſo much as ſeems to countenance the Obſervation of *Lent*, as a religious Faſt: This is requeſted as an Expedient for Peace, and is in effect to deſire our Church may ſhew herſelf contentious for the ſake of Peace, and divide from the Catholick Church, that we may correſpond the cloſer at *Home*, and live at Unity among our ſelves. But St. *Paul* reckons thoſe contentious, who oppoſe the Cuſtom of the Churches of God. Now that the religious Obſervation of *Lent* was a Cuſtom of the Churches of God, appears by the Teſtimonies of the *Fathers* (*g*). This Demand therefore has no Tendency to Peace, but Diſſention. And here the Faſting Forty Days may be practis'd in Imitation of our Saviour, notwithſtanding what is objected to the contrary. For though we cannot reach up to his Divinity, follow him *paſſibus æquis*, and abſtain wholly from Meat for ſo long a Time, yet we may faſt forty Days together, either as *Cornelius* did, till three a Clock in the Afternoon, or till Noon, as St. *Peter* did, or at leaſt we may come up to *Daniel's* Faſt, and forbear entertaining our Pallate: And thus far, without queſtion, 'tis poſſible for us to imitate our Lord. Nor does the *Act* of Parliament, 5 *Eliz.* forbid Faſting in this manner, or upon the View abovementioned: We dare not ſuppoſe the Parliament had any Intention to prohibit a Cuſtom commanded by the Church of Chriſt. Neither does the *Act* determine any-

“ thing

(*f*) 2 Chron. 7. 1. 2 Ezra 3. 11. Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.

(*g*) Chryſoſt. Hom. 11. in Heb. 10. Cyril. Catec. myſt. 5. St. Auguſt. Ep. 119. ut 40 dies ante paſcha obſerventur, eccleſiæ conſuetudo roboravit. *And St.* Jerom Ep. ad Marcel. *ſays it was* ſecundum traditionem Apoſtolorum.

“thing about a *Lenten* Faſt, but only provides for the Increaſe of the Navy, and encouraging the Fiſhery upon that ſcore. Beſides, we muſt not interpret one *Statute* ſo as to make it claſh with another. Now the 1ſt of *Eliz. cap.* 2. ſtill in Force, confirms the whole *Liturgy*, and by conſequence the *religious* keeping of *Lent*: And this with a ſevere Penalty upon all thoſe who ſpeak in Derogation of any Part of the *Common-Prayer*. And therefore that other *Act* of 5 *Eliz. cap.* 5. muſt not be interpreted to a counter Senſe, and as if it prohibited the religious keeping of *Lent*.

Anſwer to the 6th Propoſal.

“The obſerving *Saints-Days* is not enjoyn'd as of Divine, but of Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution: That therefore 'tis not neceſſary they ſhould have any particular Appointment in *Scripture*: Their being uſeful for the promoting Piety, and ſerviceable to the general End recommended in *holy Writ*, is ſufficient for this purpoſe. That the Obſervation of theſe Solemnities was a primitive Cuſtom, appears by the *Rituals* and *Liturgies*, by the conſentient Teſtimony of Antiquity, and by the ancient *Tranſlations* of the Bible: For inſtance, by the *Syriack* and *Ethiopick* Verſions, where the Leſſons appointed for *Holy Days*, are particularly mark'd. Now the former of theſe *Tranſlations* comes near the Apoſtolick Age. Farther, our Saviour himſelf kept the Feaſt of the *Dedication* (*h*) which was a Solemnity of the Churches Inſtitution. And the chief Buſineſs of theſe Days, being not for Feaſting, not for Entertainment and Diverſion, but the Exerciſe of holy Duties, they are more properly call'd *Holy Days* than *Feſtivals*: And tho' they are all of a reſembling Nature, it cannot be inferr'd they all require an equal Regard. As for the People, they may be indulg'd working after Evening Service, if Authority ſhall think fit. The other Names excepted againſt, ſtand in the *Kalendar*, not that they ſhould be kept as *Holy-Days*, but upon the ſcore of their being uſeful for preſerving the Memories of ſome eminent Perſons: They are likewiſe ſerviceable for *Leaſes*, *Law-Days*, &c.

Anſwer to the 7th.

“Their *Propoſal* touching the *Gift* of Prayer, makes the *Liturgy*, in effect, wholly inſignificant: For what elſe can be the Conſequence, if every Miniſter may put in, and leave out at Diſcretion? As for the Gift, or rather the Spirit of Prayer, it conſiſts in the inward Graces of the Holy Spirit, and not in extemporary Expreſſions: Such unpremeditated Effuſions are only the Effects of natural Parts, of a voluble Tongue and uncommon Aſſurance. But if there is any ſuch Gift as is really pretended, this extraordinary Qualification muſt be ſubject to the *Prophets* and the Order of the Church (*i*)

“Conſidering the Miſchiefs coming by impertinent, ridiculous, and ſometimes ſeditious, wicked and blaſphemous Expreſſions, under pretence of giving Liberty for exerciſing the Gift of *Prayer*; conſidering the Honour of God is ſo highly injur'd, and Religion ſuffers ſo much this way, 'tis reaſonable thoſe who deſire ſuch an Indulgence in publick Devotions, ſhould firſt give the Church Security, that no private Opinions ſhould be put into their Prayers: And that nothing contrary to the *Faith*, ſhould be utter'd before God, or offer'd up to him in the Church. To prevent which Miſchiefs, the former Ages knew no better way than forbidding the Uſe of any Prayers in publick, excepting ſuch as were preſcrib'd by publick Authority (*k*).

The *Presbyterians* Objections againſt the obſolete Language, and miſtaken Senſe in the *Tranſlation* us'd in the *Liturgy*, are all true, and all amended.

The *Church Commiſſioners* proceed to conſider their Exceptions againſt reading *Apochryphal* Leſſons in the Church. And here they obſerve, “the *Presbyterians* demand an Alteration upon ſuch Grounds as would exclude all Sermons as well as the *Apocrypha*. Their Argument is, the holy Scriptures contain all Things neceſſary with reference both to Belief and Practice. This Plea is returned upon them with a Dilemma: If the *inſpired Writings*, ſay the *Church-Commiſſioners*, are ſo comprehenſive, to what purpoſe are there ſo many unneceſſary Sermons? Why have we any Thing more than the reading of *Holy Scriptures*? But if notwithſtanding the Sufficiency of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, Sermons are neceſſary, there is no Reaſon why theſe *Apocryphal* Chapters ſhould not be reckon'd equally uſeful: For moſt of them deliver excellent Diſcourſes and Precepts of Morality: And 'tis much to be wiſh'd the Sermons of theſe *Miniſters* were no worſe: If they are afraid theſe *Books* may by this Regard come up to an equal Authority with the *Canon*; the Church has ſecur'd them againſt this Apprehenſion, by calling them *Apocryphal*: Now 'tis the Churches Teſtimony which teaches us to make this Diſtinction. And laſtly, to leave out theſe *Apocryphal* Leſſons, were to croſs upon the Practice of former Ages.

Anſwer to the 9th Propoſal.

Anſwer to the 10th.

“That the Miniſter ſhould not read the Communion Service at the Communion-Table, is not reaſonable to demand, ſince it was the Practice of all the primitive Church: And if we do not govern our ſelves by that Golden Rule of the *Council* of *Nice*, (*Let ancient Cuſtoms be continued*) unleſs Reaſon plainly requires the contrary, we ſhall give Offence to ſober Chriſtians by a cauſeleſs Departure from Catholick Uſage, and put a greater Advantage in the Hands of our Adverſaries, than 'tis to be hop'd our Brethren the *Diſſenters* would willingly allow. As for the Prieſt's ſtanding at the Communion-Table, it ſeems an Invitation to the holy Sacrament, and reminds us that 'tis the Duty of ſome of us at leaſt, to receive every *Sunday*: And tho' we happen to neglect our Duty, 'tis fit the Church ſhou'd ſuggeſt Recollection, and keep her *ſtanding*.

Anſwer to the 11th.

“'Tis not reaſonable the Word *Miniſter* ſhould only be us'd in the *Common-Prayer*: For ſince ſome Parts of the *Liturgy* may be perform'd by a *Deacon* and others, ſuch as *Abſolution* and *Conſecration*, by none under the Order of a Prieſt, 'tis fit ſome ſuch Word as *Prieſt* ſhould be us'd for thoſe Offices which are appropriated to his Character: The Term *Miniſter* being of too low and lax a Signification for this purpoſe. The Word *Curate* likewiſe ſignifys thoſe who are entruſted by the Biſhop with the Cure of Souls, and therefore very fit to be us'd. *Sunday* being a very ancient Diſtinction of the Day upon which our Saviour roſe from the Dead (*l*), there is no Reaſon that Name ſhould be diſus'd.

Anſwer to the 12th.

“Singing of *Pſalms* in Metre, continue the Church-Commiſſioners, is no Part of the *Liturgy*, and by conſequence no part of our Commiſſion.

Anſwer to Number 15.

“In Anſwer to the 15th Objection, they alledge, that the Churches Phraſe in her Prayers,

(*h*) Joh. 10. 22.

(*i*) 1 Cor. 14.

(*k*) Concil. Carthag. Can. 106. Concil. Milev. Can. 12.

(*l*) Juſt. Martyr. Apol. 2.

is no more offenſive than St. *Paul*'s: This Apoſtle in his Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, and others, calls them in general the Churches of God ſanctifyed in *Chriſt Jeſus*, and *Saints* by their Vocation. And yet amongſt theſe, there were many, who upon the ſcore of their open Irregularities, could not properly be ſtyl'd ſuch: However, St. *Paul* denominates the whole from the greater part, and puts the reſt in Mind of their Profeſſion, what they have undertaken in their Baptiſm, and the Privileges and honourable Diſtinctions to which that Sacrament has given them a Title.

Anſwer to the 16th Objection.

“As to the Connexion of the Parts of the *Liturgy*, 'tis conformable to the Example of the Churches of God, and has as much Coherence as uſually occurs in many Petitions of the ſame *Pſalm*. And the Method of theſe *Offices* they muſt believe to be admirable and beyond Exception, till the *Presbyterians* can ſuggeſt a better, which is not yet done.

“The *Collects* by their Brevity, are beſt ſuited to Devotion, and reſemble thoſe ſhort, but prevalent Prayers in *Scripture*, *Lord be merciful to me a Sinner. Son of* David *have Mercy on us. Lord increaſe our Faith.*

After this, proceeding to the Remainder of the Objection, they ſubjoin “We cannot imagine why the repeated Name and Mention of the Attributes of God, ſhould not be moſt acceptable to any Perſon religiouſly diſpos'd; or how this Repetition ſhould ſeem any Burthen, ſince *David* magnified one Attribute of God's Mercy ſix and twenty Times together *(m)*. Nor can we conceive why the Name and Merits of Jeſus ſhould be leſs comfortable to us than to former Saints and Martyrs: And ſince the Hopes of obtaining our Petitions are founded upon the Attributes of God, ſuch Prefaces of Prayers as are taken from the Divine Perfections, are not to be cenſured as unſuitable and caſual, though they ſhould have no ſpecial Reference to the following Petitions.

Anſwer to the 17th Objection.

From hence they advance to the 17th Exception: “And whereas 'twas objected there was no preparatory Prayer in our *Liturgy* for God's Aſſiſtance or Acceptance, they anſwer, this is plain miſreporting the *Common-Prayer*. For beſides a preparatory Exhortation, there are ſeveral Prayers upon the Heads in which 'tis pretended they are deficient. The Inſtances are theſe; *Deſpiſe not, O Lord, humble and contrite Hearts. That thoſe Things may pleaſe him that we do at this preſent. O Lord open our Lips*, &c.

Anſwer to the 18th Objection.

“As to the *Presbyterians* Objection againſt the Churches *Confeſſion* being couched in general Terms, the Epiſcopal Divines anſwer, that this is rather a Perfection, than a Diſadvantage: That the *Offices* are intended for common Uſe: That general *Services* would ceaſe to be ſuch, by deſcending to Particulars. To come cloſer to the Caſe: When Confeſſion of Sins is general, all Perſons may and muſt join in it, conſidering *in many things we offend all*. But if the Enumeration of Sin was particular, it would not be ſo well ſuited to the Uſe of the Congregation: For it may well be ſuppoſed to happen, that ſome Perſons may by God's Grace, have been preſerved from ſeveral of thoſe Sins recited: And therefore by confeſſing themſelves guilty, they would lie to God Almighty, and thus ſtand in need of a new Confeſſion. As for *Original* Sin, they conceive it ſufficiently acknowledg'd in the Churches confeſſing, that *without God's Help, our Frailty cannot but fall; and that our mortal Nature can do no good thing without him*.

“And whereas the *Presbyterians* complain'd of the Want of ſtated Forms for ſeveral publick Occaſions; the Church-Commiſſioners anſwer, they are not conſcious of any ſuch Defect: However, if any ſuch Thing can be made good, the Church will provide accordingly.

“The *Diſſenters* complain, the *Liturgy* goes too much upon Generals, in their Applications for God's Grace and Protection, and inſtance in theſe Expreſſions; *That we may do God's Will; that we may be kept from all Evil.* Now theſe, reply the Church-Commiſſioners, are almoſt the very Terms in the *Lord's-Prayer*. So that they muſt reform that, before they can pretend to mend our *Liturgy* in theſe Petitions.

The principal Demand of the *Presbyterians*, was, “That thoſe which impoſe any Ceremonies, eſpecially the *Surplice*, *the Sign of the Croſs*, *and Kneeling might be abrogated*. Their Reaſons for this Demand, are theſe.

1. “*'Tis doubtful*, as the *Presbyterians* argue, *whether God has empower'd Men to impoſe ſuch ſignificant Signs. For though they call them ſignificant, they have no real Goodneſs in the Judgment of the Impoſers themſelves: For they call them Things indifferent, and therefore they cannot fall under St.* Paul's *Rule of* Omnia decenter, *neither are they ſuitable to the Simplicity of Goſpel Worſhip.*

2. *Becauſe 'tis a Violation of the Royalty of Chriſt, and an Impeachment of his Laws as inſufficient.* Their other two Reaſons drawn from their being ſcrupled by ſeveral learned and orthodox Men; and giving Occaſion to Diviſions and Perſecution, have been mentioned already.

The *Church-Commiſſioners*, before they anſwer particularly to theſe Reaſons, premiſe ſome general Rules for ſupporting their following Diſcourſe.

Five general Rules laid down by the Church-Commiſſioners.

1. “They obſerve, that God has not only given a Power, but likewiſe commanded the impoſing whatever ſhall be truly decent and becoming his publick Service. That after St. *Paul* had laid down ſome particular Rules for Praying, Thankſgiving, Propheſying, *&c.* he concludes with this general Precept, *Let all Things be done* ἐυσχημόνως, in a decent manner: And that there may be Uniformity in theſe Circumſtances of Decency, the Apoſtle adds, let there be a τάξις, a Rule, or *Canon* for that purpoſe.

2. “Superiours, not Inferiours, muſt be Judges of what is decent and convenient: Thoſe who have Authority to order that every Thing be done *decently*, muſt of Neceſſity firſt judge of the quality of Things.

3. “Theſe Rules for *Decency* made and enjoyn'd by Superiours, ought to be obey'd by Inferiours, till 'tis made as clear that they are not bound to obey in the particular Caſe, as 'tis evident in general, that 'tis their Duty to obey their Superiours: For if the Exemption from Obedience is leſs clear than the command to obey, it muſt be Sin not to obey.

4. “Pretence of Conſcience is no diſcharge from Obedience, for the Law, as long as it continues, binds to Obedience: 'Tis the A-

---

(m) Pſalm 136.

poſtles Doctrine, *Ye muſt needs be Subject* *. As to the pretence of a tender or reluctant Conſcience, this Plea can never diſable the Law: For it neither takes away the Authority of the Legiſlator, nor makes the *Matter* of the Law unlawful. Beſides, if pretence of Conſcience was a ſufficient excuſe for Non-Obedience, Laws would ſignify nothing; for every Body might pretend this Plea; which if allow'd, Anarchy and Confuſion muſt inevitably follow.

5. "Tho' Charity moves for Compaſſion, and may diſpoſe Superiours to relieve thoſe that are really over-ſcrupulous and perplex'd; yet we muſt not break God's Command out of good nature: And therefore, we muſt not ſuffer the *Publick-Service* to be indecently or diſorderly perform'd, for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences.

Their Anſwer to Particulars.

"Having premis'd this general Anſwer, the Church-*Commiſſioners* proceed to argue that thoſe Things which they call *Indifferent*, becauſe neither expreſly commanded, nor forbidden by God Almighty, have ſomething of natural Proportion, Goodneſs and Decency in them; and for this Reaſon they are impos'd: Thus by St. *Paul*'s Rule †, and many others in *Scripture*, Authority is given to Governours, to impoſe Signs, which certainly are never the worſe, becauſe they carry a Signification of Decency and Regard. On the other ſide, if the Church ſhould enjoyn the uſe of Ceremonies which were wholly inſignificant; ſuch an Exerciſe of Power might rather be queſtion'd.

2. "To make ſuch Laws upon the ſcore of Decency is no *Violation of Chriſt's Royalty*: 'Tis only exerciſing a Branch of that Authority granted to his Church: And therefore diſobeying ſuch Commands of Superiours, is a plain Oppoſition to his Sovereignty. Farther, Making Laws for the ſake of Decency, does by no Means imply a charge of Inſufficiency upon our Saviour's Inſtitutions. For 'tis evident by the Precepts themſelves, that our Saviour never intended to determine every minute Circumſtance of Time, Place and Manner: He only commanded the ſubſtance of Religious Duties in general, and directed to the right ends of the *Performance*. As to other Matters, our Lord left every Man to the Suggeſtions of Reaſon for private Services; and appointed Governours of the Church to determine ſuch Particularities for the Publick. Thus for inſtance, Our Saviour commanded Prayers, Faſting, &c. But Time and Place for theſe Duties are undetermin'd. Thus by Parity of Reaſoning, to make Laws for regulating the Points of Decency, is no Imputation upon his Oeconomy: For 'tis plain it was not his deſign to ſtate theſe Matters. He has left us Governours for this Purpoſe: Their Commiſſion is expreſs to all imaginable Advantage: *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you. Obey thoſe that have the Rule over you.* He has likewiſe told us, that if we will not *hear his Church*, we muſt be reckon'd no better than *Heathens and Publicans*.

"And whereas the *Non Conformiſts* plead they cannot obey the Commands of the Church for fear of violating the Precept, which forbids *adding to the word of God* *. To this the *Church-Commiſſioners* anſwer, Theſe *Miniſters* do not well conſider, that 'tis no *Addition* to the *Word of God* to command things for Order and Decency, provided they are not enjoyn'd as God's immediate Inſtructions, but only as Regulations of humane Authority. But on the other Hand, to affirm that Superiours are not allow'd to command things unforbidden by God Almighty, is an undeniable *Addition* to the *Word of God*. And likewiſe to deny Eccleſiaſtical or *Civil* Governours that Power which the *Scriptures* have given them, is *diminiſhing God's Word*, which is no leſs forbidden in the *Text* laſt mention'd.

"And ſuppoſing ſome People continue perplex'd, and under Scruples; the Church may notwithſtanding, without Sin inſiſt upon her Commands for complying with decent Ceremonies. And all this without being guilty of *offending our weak Brother*: For here the ſcandal is taken, and not given. 'Tis the Prejudice and Miſtake of the ſcrupulous Perſon that diſturbs himſelf; and therefore he may be juſtly ſaid to lay the *ſtumbling Block* in his own way.

"Neither will the Caſe of St. *Paul's not eating Fleſh if it offended his Brother* ‖, do any Service to the *Complainants*. For here it muſt be obſerv'd, the Apoſtle ſpeaks of things not commanded by God or his Church; of Matters which had nothing of *Decency* or *Significancy* for Religious Purpoſes. And therefore in a Caſe thus foreign and unrelated to Divine Worſhip, St. *Paul* was willing to reſign his Liberty, rather than *offend his Brother*. But if any Man ſhould venture to break a juſt Law or Cuſtom of the Church, the Apoſtle marks him for a *Contentious* Perſon †.

"That theſe *Ceremonies* have occaſion'd many Diviſions as 'tis pretended, is no more their Fault, than the Miſunderſtandings between the neareſt Relations, accidentally conſequent upon the Preaching of the *Goſpel* *, can be fairly charg'd on the Chriſtian Religion.

"After this they proceed to juſtify the uſe of the *Surplice* by alledging, that both Reaſon and Experience may inform us, that Decency in Ornament and *Habit* ſtrike the Senſes, and excite Reverence and Regard: Upon this View they are made uſe of in the Equipage of Princes, and in Courts of Juſtice. And why then ſhould the Service of God be refus'd this common Advantage? and to come to the particular Caſe, no Habit is more ſuitable at Holy Miniſtrations than white Linen: 'Tis an Emblem of Purity and Beauty: Angels have appear'd in this Dreſs, and therefore what Colour can be more proper for thoſe whom the *Scripture* dignifies with that Name *? And that this Habit was anciently us'd in the Church, we may learn from St. *Chryſoſtom* (n).

"The *Croſs*, continue theſe *Epiſcopal Divines*, was always us'd in the Church in *immortali Lavacro* (o). To teſtify therefore our Communion with the *Saints* of former Ages, as our *Creed* teaches us; and to ſignify we are not aſham'd of the Croſs of Chriſt: For theſe Reaſons they conceive it proper this Ceremony ſhould be continued, and cannot imagine it ſhould trouble the Conſcience of any Perſon that deſires to be ſatisfy'd.

"As to the Poſture of *Kneeling*, they argue it beſt becomes the Solemnity of the Holy *Euchariſt*: That the moſt valuable Bleſſings ought to be receiv'd with the greateſt Marks of Reverence and Submiſſion. That Poſtures of Familiarity are not acceptable to God Almighty upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, may be

5 U 2

---

* Rom. 13.

† 1 Cor. 14.

* Deut. 12. 32.

‖ Rom. 14.

† 1 Cor. 11. 16.

* Luke 12.

* Revel. 1.

(n) Chryſoſt. Hom. 60. ad pop. Antioch.

(o) Tertull. de Coron. Milit. Minut. Felix.

“ collected from, *Malachi* 1. 6, 8. That when the Church us'd ſtanding at her (p) Prayers, the Manner of *Receiving* was *More Adorantium*: That ſince this Poſture of *Standing* has been diſus'd, and Kneeling practis'd inſtead of it; ſince this Circumſtance is thus alter'd by the Churches Appointment, to ſtand at the Communion *now*, when we kneel at Prayers, would be by no Means decent; neither was it ever the Cuſtom of the beſt Times.

“ The *Church-Commiſſioners* conclude their general Anſwer with taking Notice, that there were ancient *Liturgies* in the Church, as appears plainly from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s, St. *Baſil*'s and others: And the *Greeks*, ſay they, mention St. *James*'s, much older than the reſt. And tho' we cannot trace entire *Liturgies* thro' all the *Centuries* of Chriſtianity; yet that there were ſuch in the earlieſt Ages, may certainly be concluded from the Fragments remaining: Such as, *Surſum Corda*, &c. *Gloria Patri*, *Benedicite*, *Hymnus*, *Cherubinus*, &c. *Vere Dignum & Juſtum*, &c. *Dominus vobiſcum & cum Spiritu tuo*, with ſeveral others: And notwithſtanding the *Liturgies* now extant may be interpolated; yet where the Forms and Expreſſions are agreeable to Catholick Doctrine, they may well be preſum'd uncorrupted Remainders, and Primitive Uſage; eſpecially ſince General *Councils* are ſilent as to the Original of theſe *Liturgies* (a).

“ To this *Anſwer* the *Non-Conformiſts* put in a *Reply* too long to inſert. And here I ſhall only obſerve, that tho' they could not break the *Anſwer* of the Epiſcopal *Commiſſioners*: Tho' Truth is inflexible, and the nature of the Cauſe made it *impar Congreſſus*: Yet it muſt be ſaid, they did not make the worſe Defence, nor ſhew'd themſelves unqualify'd with Parts and Learning.

Some farther Exceptions of the Non-Conformiſts to the Common-Prayer.

As to their more particular *Exceptions* againſt the *Rubrick* and the *Offices* in the *Common-Prayer*; they ſeem not altogether free from Prejudice, and a diſputing Inclination. To give ſome Inſtances: “ In the *Litany* they would have, *from all other deadly Sin*, alter'd to *from all other heinous Sins*. *From ſuddain Death*, they mov'd might be chang'd to *unprepar'd dying ſuddainly*. They take check at the Churches praying *for all that travel*, and inſiſt the Expreſſion may be qualify'd, *to thoſe that travel*. In the Office for the *Viſitation of the Sick*, they except to the Form of Abſolution, preſs for declarative and conditional Expreſſions; as I *pronounce thee abſolv'd if thou doſt truly repent and believe*: To this the Church-Commiſſioners Anſwer, “ That the Form of Abſolving in the *Liturgy* is more agreeable to the *Scriptures* than that which theſe *Miniſters* deſir'd. For where the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors the Biſhops and Prieſts, are commiſſionated for this Purpoſe *, 'tis declar'd, *whoſe Sins ye remit, they are remitted*, not whoſe Sins you pronounce remitted; neither needs the Condition be expreſs'd, being always neceſſarily underſtood.

“ In the Office for *Churching of Women*, they would have this Prayer with the Reſponſal omitted; **O Lord ſave this Woman thy Servant**: Anſw. *Which putteth her Truſt in thee.* The Reaſon of their Exception is, That it may happen a Woman may come to give Thanks for a Child born in Adultery or Fornication. But to this the *Epiſcopal Divines* Reply, That in ſuch Caſes ſhe is to do Penance before ſhe is Church'd. And which is the laſt Caſe that I ſhall mention, they except againſt the *Rubricks* enjoyning the Woman to *offer the accuſtom'd Offerings*: This they pretend looks too like a Jewiſh Purification. To this the Church-Commiſſioners return, That Offerings are requir'd as well under the *Goſpel*, as under the *Law*; and that when we give Thanks for ſpecial Bleſſings and Deliverance from Danger, 'tis a proper occaſion for ſuch Religious Acknowledgments. The reſt of the *Non-Conformiſts* Objections, tho' all of them not altogether ſo ſlender as ſome of thoſe recited, receiv'd a ſufficient Anſwer from the *Church-Commiſſioners* (r). But I ſhall detain the *Reader* no longer upon this Subject. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, there were ſome few Conceſſions for Alteration agreed to on the *Church-es* ſide (s).

Baxter's Reform'd Liturgy.

Beſides the Exceptions already mention'd by the *Non-Conformiſts*, there were larger *Additions* or new *Forms* referred to *Baxter*'s Management. This Divine went a great way in his Commiſſion, and drew up an entire *Service* which he entituled the *Reform'd Liturgy*. This tho' perform'd by a ſingle Hand, not well practis'd in *Antiquity*, was read by the *Miniſters* and generally approv'd. The Common-Prayer is very much alter'd in this Compoſition: The Additions and Omiſſions are conſiderable; and both Matter and Form remarkably different. 'Twas laid before the Biſhops and other Divines in the *Commiſſion*. In the recommendatory Addreſs before it, the *Non-Conformiſts* had the Modeſty to declare, *that if any of thoſe Rules or Directions upon Debate ſhall be judg'd by the Commiſſioners unneceſſary or overlong, we ſhall be very ready (ſay they) to ſubmit either to the Alteration, or Omiſſion of them. At laſt, in the cloſe of their Application, they deſire the ſeveral particulars thereof, may be inſerted into the reſpective Places of the Liturgy to which they belong; and be left to the Miniſters Choice to uſe the one or the other, according to his Majeſty's gracious Declaration concerning* **Eccleſiaſtical Affairs** (t).

The Non-Conformiſts deſire a perſonal Conference between the Epiſcopal and Non-Conformiſt Divines.

To proceed; About ten Days before the Commiſſion expir'd, the Non-Conformiſts deſir'd a perſonal Conference with the Biſhops upon the Subject of the *Papers* exchang'd. This Requeſt being agreed, three of each Party were pitch'd on to manage the Diſpute: The Biſhops choſe Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow*: The *Miniſters* Managers were Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*: When they met, the Conference through want of Order, frequent Interruptions, and Perſonal Reflections, turn'd to no Account.

Time being thus ſpent to little purpoſe, Biſhop *Coſens* at laſt produc'd a Paper, containing an Expedient to end the Controverſy. The principal thing in this Paper was a Propoſal *to put the Complainants upon diſtinguiſhing between things they charg'd as Sinful, and others, which they oppos'd upon the ſcore of inexpediency.* The three Diſputants on the *Miniſters* ſide, were deſir'd to draw up their Senſe upon this Subject againſt the next Morning. This was accordingly done and deliver'd, but in their own names only: For here they would not pretend to repreſent their Party. In this Diſcourſe they charge the *Rubrick* and Injunctions of the Church with eight Things, flatly ſinful and contrary to the Word of God: They are theſe, 1. *That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without the tranſient Image of the Croſs.* 2. *That no Miniſter be permitted to read or pray, or exercife the other Parts of his Office that dares not wear a Surplice.* 3. *That none be admitted*

The Non-Conformiſts make eight Exceptions againſt the Rubrick, but fail in the Proof.

(p) St. Auguſt. Pſalm 98. Cyril catech. Myſtag. 5.

(a) *Papers that paſs'd between the Commiſſioners at the* Savoy *Conference. See above under the Reign of* K. Ed. VI.

* John 20.

(r) *Papers that paſs'd between the Commiſſioners at the* Savoy *Conference.*

(s) *See Records*, *N.* 119.

(t) *Petition for Peace with the Reformation of the Liturgy*, &c. *printed* A. D. 1661. Lond. *Here the Reader may ſee* Baxter's *Reform'd Liturgy.*

ted to Communion in the Lord's-Supper, that dare not receive it Kneeling; *and that all Miniſters be enjoyn'd to deny it to ſuch.* 4. *That Miniſters are oblig'd to pronounce all baptiz'd Infants regenerate by the* Holy Ghoſt, *whether they are Children of Chriſtians or not.* 5. *That Miniſters be forc'd to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt unto the unfit, both in Health, and Sickneſs, and that with perſonal Application, putting it into their Hands: And that ſuch are forc'd to receive it, tho' againſt their own Wills, in the Conſcience of their Impenitency.* 6. *That Miniſters are forc'd to abſolve the unfit, and that in abſolute Expreſſions.* 7. *That Miniſters are forc'd to give Thanks for all whom they bury, as Brethren whom God has deliver'd and taken to himſelf. And,* 8. *That none may be a Preacher that dares not ſubſcribe, there is nothing in the Common-Prayer-Book, Book of Ordination, and the Nine and Thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God* (u).

But this Charge looks like naked Affirmation: For ought appears, they either begged the Queſtion, or elſe fail'd in the Proof. Beſides, in the fifth and ſixth Articles, they went upon a Suppoſition evidently falſe. For by the *Common-Prayer Book*, the Prieſt was not forc'd to adminiſter either the holy *Euchariſt*, or the Abſolution, to Perſons *unfit*. This way of Management on the ſide of the *Nonconformiſts*, gave but a ſlender Proſpect of an Accommodation. However, the Epiſcopal Divines being willing the others ſhould go their whole Length, and exert their Force, 'twas at laſt agreed to argue in Writing. The moſt remarkable Things in this Debate were theſe Two.

Firſt, They had a long Argument about ſettling the Senſe and Application of *Rom.* 14 1, 2, 3. *Him that is weak in the Faith, receive you, but not to doubtful Diſputations*, &c. But the meaning of a reſembling *Text* having been diſcuſs'd in the Church-Commiſſioners *Anſwer*, I ſhall wave the Recital of what paſs'd upon this Head. Only here it may be obſerv'd, that the *Presbyterian* Miniſters were the Opponents.

In the other part of the Diſpute, the Queſtion was, *Whether it was ſinful to enjoin Miniſters to deny the Communion to thoſe that would not receive it kneeling?* And here the Epiſcopal Divines who oppos'd, urg'd ſeveral Arguments, that Things in their own Nature indifferent, might become neceſſary as to their Uſe, when commanded by lawful Authority. In this Debate, *Baxter* ſeems to have been either perplex'd in his Underſtanding, or indiſpos'd for cloſing the Difference: For no Propoſition could be made plain enough to gain his Aſſent. For inſtance, the Epiſcopal Divines arguing thus; *That a Command which commands only an Act in it ſelf lawful, is not ſinful.* This was deny'd by *Baxter*, upon the ſcore that ſome unlawful Circumſtance might hang upon the Command, or becauſe the Penalty might be over-charg'd. The Opponents reinforc'd their Propoſition thus: *That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is injoined, nor any Circumſtance whence directly, or* per accidens, *any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, is not ſinful.* This *Baxter* deny'd, for this dark Reaſon; "Becauſe the firſt *Act* commanded, may be accidentally unlawful, and be commanded by an unjuſt Penalty, though no other Act or Circumſtance be ſuch. This, beſides the Obſcurity of the Anſwer, appears no more than a Repetition of what he had anſwer'd before. However, to diſentangle this *Divine*, the *Opponents* endeavour to ſet the Argument in a ſtronger Light, if poſſible: To this purpoſe they improve their Propoſition thus: *That Command which commandeth an Act, in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumſtance whence directly or* per accidens, *any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all Things requiſite to the Lawfulneſs of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act* per accidens *unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjuſt Penalty* (w). This Propoſition thus demonſtratively couch'd, was deny'd by *Baxter* for his Reaſons laſt mention'd. His Talent lay in retiring to foreign Diſtinctions, and Miſapplications of the Rules of Logick. But whether this involving the Argument, and raiſing a Miſt, was Art, or Infirmity, is hard to determine: However, let the moſt charitable Conſtruction paſs: This Cavilling and Chicane, as it appear'd at leaſt in *Baxter*'s Management, was complained of in Print, by Bp. *Morley* (x). This Prelate takes notice, that *Baxter*'s denying that plain Propoſition laſt mention'd, was not only a frivolous and falſe manner of arguing, but likewiſe deſtructive of all Authority, Human and Divine: That the rejecting Propoſitions of ſuch Evidence, ſtrikes the Church out of all Authority for making *Canons* for the ſetling of Order and Diſcipline: And more than this, ſuch a Sceptical Length of denyal takes away all Legiſlative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himſelf. For no Act can be ſo good in it ſelf, but that it may lead to a Sin by Accident: And if to command ſuch an Act be a Sin, then every command muſt be a Sin (y).

Baxter's unſupported manner of arguing.

And thus the *Conference* at the *Savoy* ended without an Accommodation: Whether the Encouragement the *Non-Conformiſts* receiv'd from the King, and the *Miniſtry*, the Aſſurances they might have from ſome leading *Members* in Parliament, or their Intereſt they reckon'd on with the People; whether all, or any of theſe Motives made them ſtand off, and leſs complyant, is farther than I ſhall pronounce.

The Conference at the Savoy ends without an Accommodation.

Before I take leave of this Subject, I ſhall juſt mention thoſe Church *Commiſſioners* who had the greateſt Share in the Debate. *Henchman* then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and afterwards of *London*, is reported well acquainted with the *Fathers* and *Councils*: He diſcours'd with great Temper, but was ſtrongly againſt large Abatements, and Schemes of *Comprehenſion*. This Prelate, together with *Sheldon* and *Morley*, are ſaid to have had the chief Management of this Affair. Dr. *Pearſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, diſputed with great Exactneſs. The Miniſters on the other ſide had a particular Regard for him, and believ'd that if this *Divine* had been an Umpire in the Controverſy, his Conceſſions would have gone a great way: And to mention only one more, Dr. *Gunning* afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*, had a principal Part in the Debate: He had a ready Pronunciation, and argued with great Learning and Vigour. His Regard for the Practice of *Antiquity* made him adhere ſtrictly to the Ceremonies and Conſtitution of the Church: And he thought it by no means reaſonable to give up Uſages and Regulations, ſo primitively ſettled, and ſupported.

At the Cloſe of the laſt Day it was mutually agreed, that the Report of the *Conference* ſhould be deliver'd to the King in Writing: And that each Party ſhould give in this general Account, "That the Church's Welfare, that Unity and "Peace, and his Majeſty's Satisfaction, were "Ends upon which they were all agreed: But

---

(u) Calamy's *Life of Baxter, p.* 164.

(w) Id *p.* 167-8.

(x) *Letter to a Friend for Vindication of himſelf from Mr.* Baxter's *Calumny.*

(y) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter, 168-9.

“ as to the Means, they could not come to any Harmony.

Soon after this *Conference* the *Non-conformiſt Commiſſioners* drew up an Account of their Performance, together with a Petition to his Majeſty for thoſe Alterations and Abatements which had been lately promiſ'd. It was preſented by Biſhop *Reinolds*, *Bates*, *Manton* and *Baxter*. Part of their Addreſs runs thus:

The Non-conformiſt Addreſs the King for the Benefit of his late Declaration.

——— *As your Majeſty, under God, is the Protection whereto your People fly, and as the ſame Neceſſities ſtill remain, which drew forth your Gracious* Declaration, *we moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that the Benefits of the ſaid Declaration may be continued to your People, and in particular, that the Additions may be made to the Liturgy, that are therein expreſs'd.*--------*We ſhall wait in Hope, that ſo great a Calamity of your People as would follow the Loſs of ſo many able, faithful Miniſters as rigorous Impoſitions would caſt out, ſhall never be recorded in the Hiſtory of your Reign: But that theſe Impediments of Concord being forborn, your Kingdoms may flouriſh in Piety and Peace*, &c.

Id. *p.* 176.

But this Application fail'd of Succeſs. The King might probably be of Opinion, that theſe *Miniſters* came off with Diſadvantage, and ſunk in the Controverſy.

May 8. 1661.

While the Debate at the *Savoy* was on foot, a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*: The *Members* of both Houſes were generally well affected to the Church and *Crown*. And, not to mention other things, of this we have an Inſtance in their Order for burning the *National Vow and Covenant* by the common Hangman.

May 22.

A new Parliament meets at Weſtminſter.

At the ſummoning this Parliament, the Church was not perfectly re-eſtabliſh'd: And the King, as has been obſerv'd, had granted a *Commiſſion* to a certain Number of Epiſcopal and *Presbyterian* Divines, to treat an Union at the *Savoy*: For theſe Reaſons it was once almoſt reſolv'd by the *Court*, not to call a *Convocation* with the Parliament. Before this Matter was fully ſettled, Dr. *Heylin* wrote a Letter to a Principal Miniſter of State to ſolicit the King, that the Clergy might be continued in their ancient Privilege of holding *Synods*. I ſhall give the *Reader* only ſome part of this Application.

Dr. Heylin's *Letter to a Miniſter of State.*

My LORD,

----“ If 'tis objected, ſays the Doctor, That the *Commiſſion*, now on foot, for altering and explaining certain Paſſages in the publick *Liturgy*, may either paſs inſtead of a *Convocation*, or elſe is thought to be neither compatible nor conſiſtent with it; I hope far better in the one, and muſt profeſs, that I can ſee no Reaſon in the other. For, firſt, I hope that the ſelecting ſome few Biſhops and other learned Men of the lower Clergy, to debate on certain Points contained in the *Common-Prayer Book*, is not intended for a *Repreſentation* of the *Church of England*, which is a Body more diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand bound by their Acts and Counſels. And if this Conference be for no other purpoſe, but only to prepare Matters for a *Convocation* (as ſome ſay it is not) why may not ſuch a *Conference* and *Convocation* be held at once? For neither the ſelecting of ſome learned Men out of both the *Orders* for the compoſing and reviewing of the two *Liturgies* digeſted in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. proved any Hindrance in the calling of thoſe *Convocations* which were held both in the Second and Third, and in the Fifth and Sixth of the ſaid King's Reign. Nor was it found, that the holding of a *Convocation* together with the firſt Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, proved any Hindrance to that *Conference* or *Diſputation* which was deſigned between the Biſhops and ſome learned Men of the oppoſite Parties: All which conſider'd, I do moſt humbly beg your Lordſhip to put his Majeſty in mind of ſending out his *Mandates* to the two Archbiſhops for ſummoning a *Convocation* (according to the uſual Form) in their ſeveral *Provinces*; that this poor Church may be held with ſome degree of Veneration, both at home and abroad.

Your LORDSHIP's, &c.

Upon the Strength and Seaſonableneſs of this Application, the King, 'tis probable, diſpatch'd his *Mandates* for a *Convocation* in each Province; the *Writs* for ſummoning the Parliament having been iſſu'd ſome unuſual time before. His Majeſty's *Writ* to *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for meeting his *Suffragans* and Clergy at St. *Paul's*, *London*, was dated *April* the 11th.

Seſſion 2.

At the time appointed the *Convocation* was opened with Divine Service, and a Sermon preached in *Latin* by Dr. *Thomas Pierce* on *Acts* 15. 28. And the Archbiſhop being ſomewhat diſabled by Age and ill Health, the Biſhop of *London* preſided. On the 16th of *May* the *Convocation* met upon Prorogation in the Collegiate Church at *Weſtminſter* *. And here Dr. *Fearn*, Dean of *Ely*, elected Prolocutor in the former *Seſſion*, was preſented to *Sheldon*, and confirmed. After this the Clergy of the lower Houſe being diſmiſs'd, the Biſhops conſulted for a Form of Prayer to be uſed on the 29th of *May*, and another for the 30th of *January*. The drawing theſe Forms was referred to two ſeveral Committees, each conſiſting of four Biſhops, and eight of the inferior Clergy.

* Acta ſuperioris domûs Convocat. Vid. Synod. Anglican. in Append. p. 60. & deinc.

The Convocation meets.

Seſſ. 3.

After the next Prorogation, the *Preſident* delivered the Form of Prayer for *May* 29, to the Prolocutor, who was to lay it before the Lower-Houſe for their Conſent. And now this *Preſident* ſuggeſted the Want of a particular *Form for the Miniſtration of Baptiſm, to thoſe of riper Years*, and referr'd it to a Committee of three Biſhops, and ſix of the lower Clergy. Id.

Seſſ. 18. Id. p. 80.

July the 17th, the Biſhop of *Sarum* brought in a Draught of ſome *Canons* which were read, amended, and recommitted.

Id. *p.* 84.

At the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament, *Nov.* 20. the *Convocation* met the Day following, when the King's Letters were read for the Review of the *Common-Prayer*, and a Committee was appointed for that purpoſe. This weighty Buſineſs engaged the whole *Synod* till *December* 20. when the Book of *Common-Prayer*, reviſ'd and amended, was approv'd and ſign'd by all the *Members* of each Houſe. In the 56th *Seſſion*, the Upper-Houſe conſulted about the *Act for Uniformity of Publick Prayers*.

Seſſ. 48.

Id. *p.* 95.

March A. D. 1661--2.

In the 70th *Seſſion* the Preſident ſent for the Lower-Houſe, and told them, *that the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Uſe of the Church of* England, *together with the* Form of Ordaining *and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, as reviſ'd by the Convocation, had been well received by the Houſe of Lords: And that all the Temporal Peers returned Thanks to both Houſes of Convocation for their great Care and Induſtry in that Matter.*

Id. *p.* 106.

On

Seſſ. 71. Id. *p.* 107.

On *Saturday, March* the 22d, the Preſident and Biſhops conſulted about a Form for Conſecrating *Pariſh Churches* and *Chapels*, and referr'd that Buſineſs ſolely to the Management of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Durham*.

The Convocation at York *ſend Proxies to* London, *to tranſact with the Province of* Canterbury.

Upon the 10th of *June*, this Summer, the King directed his *Writ* to *Accepted Frewen* Archbiſhop of *York*, to ſummon a *Convocation* for that Province. And upon the 22d of *November* following, his Majeſty in a Leter to the ſaid Archbiſhop, impower'd this *Synod* to review the *Common-Prayer* and the *Ordinal*, and to make ſuch Additions or Alterations as they thought proper. But his Majeſty requiring all poſſible Expedition, and this Northern *Synod* conſidering they were too far diſtant for conſulting with the *Canterbury* Convocation; and that the ſending Diſpatches to *London*, and receiving them from thence, would take up too much time: For this Reaſon the Upper and Lower Houſe agreed to make *Proxies* to tranſact in their Names, with the Province of *Canterbury*; obliging themſelves to abide by their Vote, under the Forfeiture of all their Goods and Chattels. Their Repreſentatives furniſh'd with Procurational Letters for this purpoſe, were *John Berwick* D. D. and Dean of St. *Paul's, London. John Earles*, D. D. and Dean of *Weſtminſter. Henry Fearn*, D. D. and Dean of *Ely. Henry Bridgeman*, D. D. and Dean of *Cheſter. Robert Hich*, D. D. Archdeacon of *Leiceſter. Matthew Smalwood*, D. D. Convocation-Man for the Archdeaconry of *Cheſter* and *Litchfield. Andrew Sandiland* Clerk, Rector of *Skeringham*, and Proxy for the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of the Eaſt-Riding in the County of *York. Humphry Floyd* Clerk, Proxy for the Chapter of *York*. And here we are to obſerve, that the Commiſſion of theſe Gentlemen was limited to the Buſineſs of reviewing the *Common-Prayer*, and Book for Ordination *.

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland.

In the Beginning of this Year, a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, where amongſt other things relating to Religion, 'tis expreſly declared, " That there is no Obligatitn upon this Kingdom (of *Scotland*) by Covenant, Treaties or otherwiſe, to endeavour by Arms, a Reformation of Religion in the Kingdom of *England*, or to meddle with the Government and publick Adminiſtration of that Kingdom.— And farther, his Majeſty, with Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, does diſcharge and inhibit all his Majeſty's Subjects within this Kingdom, that none of them preſume upon any Pretext of any Authority whatſoever, to require a Renewing or Swearing of the ſaid *League* and *Covenant*, or of any other Covenants, or publick Oaths concerning the Government of the Church or Kingdom, without his Majeſty's ſpecial Warrant and Approbation (*z*).

A Recital of the Acts relating to the Church there.

September 6.

About this Time, Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Barwell*, and Mr. *Loghton*, all in *Presbyterian* Orders, came to *London*; where, after being ordained Deacons and Prieſts, they were conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with the Aſſiſtance of two other *Engliſh* Prelates. At this Solemnity, they expreſly diſclaim'd the Validity of their former Ordination: They likewiſe procur'd a Proclamation, declaring the King's Pleaſure for reſtoring the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as it was ſettled in the Year 1637. It was likewiſe farther ſignify'd in this *Inſtrument*, that his Majeſty had nominated and preſented Archbiſhops and Biſhops to their reſpective *Sees*, to exerciſe and enjoy the ſame Authority, with which the Prelates govern'd that Church in the Reign of his Royal Grandfather.

Purſuant to this *Proclamation*, the Privy-Council of *Scotland* ſtrictly diſcharged all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings at *Synods, Presbyteries*, &c. till they ſhould be authoriz'd for that Purpoſe by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

Jan. 9. 1662. *according to the* Scotch *Computation where the Year begins on the* 1*ſt of* Jan.

At the ſecond *Seſſion*, begun at *Edinburgh* upon the 8th of *May* 1662, the Reſtitution of Epiſcopacy was confirm'd by Act of Parliament. The *Statute* ſets forth; *That his Majeſty and his Eſtates of Parliament, taking to their ſerious Conſideration, that in the Beginning of, and by the late Rebellion within this Kingdom, in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred and thirty Seven, the ancient and ſacred Order of Biſhops was caſt off; their Perſons and Rights were injur'd and overturned, and a ſeeming Parity among the Clergy factiouſly and violently brought in, to the great Diſturbance of the publick Peace, the Reproach of the Reformed Religion, and Violation of the excellent Laws of the Realm, for preſerving an orderly Subordination in the Church: And therewithal conſidering what Diſorders and Exorbitances have been in the Church, what Encroachments upon the Prerogative and Right of the Crown, what Uſurpations upon the Authority of Parliaments, and what Prejudice the Liberty of the Subject hath ſuffered by the Invaſion made upon the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Government which they find to be the Church-Government, moſt agreeable to the Word of God, moſt convenient and effectual for the Preſervation of Truth, Order and Unity, and moſt ſuitable to Monarchy, and the Peace and Quiet of the State; therefore his Majeſty with Advice and Conſent of his Eſtates of Parliament, hath thought it neceſſary, and accordingly doth hereby redintegrate the State of Biſhops to their ancient Places and undoubted Privileges in Parliament, and to all their other accuſtomed Dignities, Privileges and Juriſdictions, and doth hereby reſtore them to the Exerciſe of their Epiſcopal Function, Preſidence in the Church, Power of Ordination, inflicting of Cenſures, and all other Acts of Church-Diſcipline, which they are to perform, with Advice and Aſſiſtance of ſuch of the Clergy as they ſhall find to be of known Loyalty and Prudence* (*a*).

By another Statute 'tis Enacted, *That whatſoever Miniſter ſhall without a lawful Excuſe to be admitted by his Ordinary, abſent himſelf from the Viſitations of the Diocefs, which are to be performed by the Biſhop, or ſome of the Miniſters to be appointed by him, or from the Dioceſan Aſſembly; or who ſhall not according to his Duty concur therein, or who ſhall not give them Aſſiſtance in all the Acts of Church Diſcipline, as they ſhall be required thereunto by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſs, every ſuch Miniſter ſo offending, ſhall for the firſt Fault, be ſuſpended from his Office and Benefice till the next Dioceſan Meeting; and if he amend not, ſhall be deprived, and the Church and Benefice to be provided for as the Law alloweth in other Caſes of Vacancies.*

By this *Act* likewiſe, all Meetings or Conventicles in Houſes for Religious Exerciſes, are prohibited; and none are permitted to preach in Publick, or in Families, or teach any publick School, or be Tutors to Children of Perſons of Quality, without a Licenſe from the Ordinary of the Dioceſe (*b*).

And to mention another Proviſion in this Seſſion, all Perſons in publick Truſt or Office, are oblig'd to ſign the following Declaration.

I A. B. do ſincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation, or other Pretence whatſoever, to enter into Leagues and Covenants, or take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe commiſſionated by him: And that all

---

* *Bp.* Wake's *Appendix to the State of the Church, tranſcribed from the Convocation-Book at* York, *p.* 240.

(*z*) Car. 2. Parl. 1. c. 7. p. 140.

(*a*) Car. 2. Parl. 1. 2d. Seſſ. Act. 1.

(*b*) Id. Act. 4.

theſe Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Proteſtations, and erecting and keeping of Council Tables, that were uſed in the Beginning, and for carrying on of the late Troubles, were unlawful and ſeditious. And particularly, that theſe Oaths, whereof the one was commonly called, **The National Covenant** *(as it was ſworn and explained in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty eight, and thereafter) and the other entitled* **A Solemn League and Covenant,** *were, and are in themſelves unlawful Oaths, and were taken by, and impos'd upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, againſt the fundamental Laws and Liberties of the ſame. And that there lieth no Obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects from the ſaid Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of the Kingdom.*

Id. Act 5.

Id. Act 3.

Before I take Leave, I muſt obſerve, that an Act for reviving the right of Patronages, ſeiz'd by the *Presbyterians* paſs'd this *Seſſion*.

Ld. Chancellour Hide's *Speech againſt the Diſſenting Preachers.*

To return to *England*: At the opening of the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the Lord Chancellor *Hide* harangu'd with great Vehemence againſt the *Diſſenting* Preachers: "He tells the Lords and Commons they were *the great Phyſicians of the Kingdom*; and then applying this Character, he ſuggeſts there is a ſort of your *Patients*, that I muſt recommend to your utmoſt vigilance, utmoſt Severity, and to no part of your Lenity and Indulgence; ſuch who are ſo far from valuing your Preſcriptions, that they look not upon you as their Phyſicians, but their *Patients*; ſuch who inſtead of repenting of any thing they have done amiſs, repeat every Day the ſame Crimes, for the Oblivion whereof the *Act* of *Indemnity* was provided. Theſe are the Seditious Preachers, who cannot be contented to be diſpenſed with for their full Obedience to ſome Laws eſtabliſh'd, without reproaching and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſtabliſh'd ſoever; who tell their *Auditories*, that the Apoſtle meant, when he bid them *ſtand to their Liberties*, that they ſhould ſtand to their Arms; and who by repeating the very Expreſſions, and teaching the very Doctrine they ſet on Foot in the Year 1640. ſufficiently declare, that they have no Mind that twenty Years ſhould put an end to the Miſeries we have undergone. What good Chriſtian can think without Horror, of theſe *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel*, who by their Function ſhould be Meſſengers of Peace, and are in their Practices the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion? —— And if the Perſon and Place can improve and aggravate the Offence, as no doubt it does before God and Men; methinks the Preaching Rebellion and Treaſon out of the *Pulpit*, ſhou'd be as much worſe than the advancing it in the Market, as poyſoning a Man at a Communion, would be worſe than killing him at a Tavern.

And after having gone on with great Force and Severity of Language, he concludes thus, "If you do not provide for the thorough quenching theſe Firebrands, King, Lords and Commons ſhall be their meaneſt Subjects, and the whole Kingdom kindled into one general Flame.

A. D. 1662.

The Rhetorick and Intereſt of this great *Miniſter* might poſſibly make an Impreſſion upon both *Houſes*, and occaſion the paſſing the *Act* for *Uniformity* in the condition it now ſtands. This *Bill* receiv'd the Royal Aſſent *May* the 19*th*, when his Majeſty prorogu'd the Parliament to the 18*th* of *February*.

The Act for Uniformity.

This *Act* being prefix'd to the *Book* of *Common-Prayer*, and lying open to general View, I ſhall be ſhort in the recital of the contents: By this *Statute, all and ſingular Miniſters are bound to uſe the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and all other Common-Prayer, in ſuch Order and Form as is mention'd in the Book. And that every Parſon, Vicar, or Miniſter ſhall before the Feaſt of St.* Bartholomew, 1662. *after the reading of the ſaid Book, declare his unſeigned Aſſent and Conſent to the uſe of all Things in the ſaid Book in theſe Words.*

I A. B. *do here declare my unſeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contained and preſcribed in, and by the Book entituled*; "The Book of *Common-Prayer*, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; together with the *Pſalter* or *Pſalms* of *David*, pointed as they are to be ſung or ſaid in Churches, and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining and Conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.

The Penalty for refuſing was Deprivation: Farther, every Miniſter and School-Maſter are bound at their Admiſſion to their Promotion or Employment, before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* above-mention'd, to ſubſcribe the *Declaration* following.

"I. *A. B.* do declare, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him; and that I will conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd. And I do declare, that I do hold there lies no Obligation upon me or on any other Perſon, from the Oath commonly called the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or *State*, and that the ſame was in it ſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

This *Declaration*, excepting the Clauſe for Conformity to the Church of *England*, had already been couch'd in the Form of an Oath in the beginning of this *Seſſion*: And requir'd of all Magiſtrates and Officers in Corporations (*c*). And a Year forwards, the ſubſcribing the *Declaration* was enjoyn'd all *Veſtry*-Men, in Cities or Towns Corporate.

The *Militia-Act* paſs'd this *Seſſion*; being farther explanatory of the Conſtitution upon this Head; I ſhall tranſcribe part of it. The *Statute* begins thus.

Foraſmuch as within all his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, the ſole Supreme Government, Command and Diſpoſition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength is, and by the Law of England, **ever was the undoubted Right of his Majeſty and his Royal Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of** England; **and that both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, cannot nor ought to pretend to the ſame; nor can, nor lawfully may raiſe or levy any War offenſive or defenſive againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, or lawful Succeſſors,** &c. (*d*).

These

(*c*) 13 Car. 2. *Stat.* 2. *c.* 1. 15. Car. 2. *c.* 5.

(*d*) 13. Car. 2. c. 6.

Theſe *Statutes* are remarkably extenſive and determining: They point particularly againſt all Evaſion and Reſerve: The force of Language could not, one would think, ſecure the *Crown* better, nor barr Reſiſtance more effectually than this Proviſion.

To proceed a little farther with the *Statute* for *Uniformity*, by which 'tis enacted, *That no Perſon ſhall be capable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, before he be Ordain'd Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordination, upon pain to forfeit for every Offence, the Sum of an hundred Pounds.*

And which is the laſt Branch I ſhall mention 'tis provided that none *be receiv'd as a Lecturer or permitted to preach or read any Sermon or Lecture in any Church or Chapel, unleſs approv'd and licens'd by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop, and ſhall read the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion, with a Declaration of an unfeign'd Aſſent to the ſame* (e).

(e) 13. & 14. Car. 2. c. 4.

About two thouſand of the Non-conforming Miniſters ejected.

This *Act* preſs'd hard upon the Principles of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, and tho' the Grounds for Non-complyance were not the ſame to every individual Perſon, yet about two thouſand of them loſt their Preferments upon ſcrupuling ſome Parts of the *Statute*. Now if theſe Divines wou'd have ſubſcrib'd the *Declaration*, own'd the *Dioceſan* for Head of their Communion, taken Orders from the Biſhops, forbore Oppoſition to the eſtabliſh'd Church, and not perpetuated their Singularities by *Ordaining* others: Provided they would have advanc'd thus far; a Queſtion may be ask'd whether they might not have been diſpens'd with for their Non-conformity in other Matters, and ſuffer'd to enjoy their Livings? But whether theſe Terms were offer'd and refus'd, before the *Bill* paſs'd, is more than I can diſcover. But had the Church and Government relax'd to theſe Conditions, I find it would have been ſhort of Satisfaction to the moſt moderate *Non-conformiſts* (f). However, to ſay nothing more, the Misfortune of their *Perſuaſion* cannot be remember'd without regret: Thoſe who quit their Intereſt are certainly in earneſt, and deſerve a charitable Conſtruction: Miſtakes in Religion are to be tenderly us'd, and Conſcience ought to be pitied, when it cannot be reliev'd.

(f) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter, *p.* 497. & deinc.

At the Beginning of this *Seſſion*, the Parliament repeal'd an Act paſs'd in the laſt Reign (g), *for diſabling all Perſons in Holy Orders to exerciſe any Temporal* Juriſdiction or Authority (h).

(g) 17 Car. 1 c. 17.
(h) 13. Car. 2. c. 2.

To give ſome Account of the Proceedings of the *Convocation*, during the Time the *Act* of *Uniformity* was going forward in the Parliament.

The Proceedings in the Convocation.
* Synod Anglican. Append. *p.* 108, 109.
April 12. 1662.
April 26.

To begin: The Biſhop of *London* as Preſident, and the reſt of the Biſhops conſulted touching a Subſcription to the *Three Articles* in the Thirty Sixth Canon *: And referr'd the drawing up a Form of Subſcription to a Committee of Biſhops. It was likewiſe reſolv'd by the *Upper-Houſe*, that no *Ordination* of Clerks ſhould be made by any Biſhop but only within the four *Ember-Weeks* ſolemnly appointed for that Purpoſe: And that no Biſhop ſhould Ordain beyond the Bounds of his own Diſtrict, unleſs by Letters dimiſſory firſt obtain'd from the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Three Forms of Prayer for the Fifth of *November*, the Thirtieth of *January*, and the 29th of *May*, were brought up into the Upper-Houſe, and unanimouſly approv'd; and the care of tranſlating the Book of *Common-Prayer* into *Latin*, was committed to Dr. *John Earl*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Dr. *John Pearſon*. A few Days forward, the *Preſident* and Biſhops held a Debate upon a Meſſage receiv'd from the Houſe of *Commons*, touching *Reverent and Uniform Geſtures and Demeanours at the time of Divine Service*: And here it was agreed by the Majority that the Conſtitution in the Book of *Canons*, made in the Year 1603. and entituled, *Of Solemn Reverence to be us'd in Time of Divine-Service*; 'twas agreed, I ſay, this Conſtitution ſhould be laid before the Houſe of *Commons*, having been firſt conſider'd by the Lower-Houſe of Convocation. After two Days, this Conſtitution was brought up to the Biſhops from the Lower-Clergy, with ſome Amendments, to which their Lordſhips agreed. And now, without making any farther Progreſs, the Convocation was Prorogu'd by the King's *Writ*, to *February* the 19*th* next enſuing.

Id. *p.* 110.
May 10.
Id. *p.* 111.
May 10.
December 26

In *December* following, His Majeſty ſet forth a *Declaration*, in which, amongſt other Things, “He declar'd his Reſolution to maintain the *Act* of *Uniformity*; only he ſhould diſpenſe with ſome Matters in it. And in his Speech at the next *Seſſion*, he concluded with a ſmooth Intimation of ſome Indulgence granted to *Diſſenters*. The mention of this Favour was couch'd in wary and gentle Expreſſions, and which ſeem'd almoſt to give up the *Diſpenſing* Power. His Majeſty's Words were theſe. *That if the Diſſenters wou'd demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly, he could heartily wiſh he had ſuch Power of Indulgence, to uſe upon occaſion.*

The King's Declaration for inſinuating an Indulgence to the Non-conformiſts.

The *Houſe* of *Commons* might probably ſuſpect, this *Toleration* might comprehend more *Perſuaſions* than they deſir'd ſhould be ſhelter'd: And over and above, they might be apprehenſive, the *Diſpenſing* in this Manner would carry the Prerogative too far, preſs the Conſtitution, and bear down upon Property, and *Civil* Right. In ſhort, they reſolv'd to preſent an Addreſs, importing *that it was the humble Advice of their Houſe, that no Indulgence be granted to Diſſenters from the Act of Uniformity*. They likewiſe order'd a Committee *to collect and bring in the Reaſons of the Houſe for this Vote*. The next Day a Report was made to the *Houſe* from the Committee by Sir *Henage Finch*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor General: And after ſome Amendments the Addreſs was agreed, and preſented by the *Speaker* to his Majeſty at the *Banqueting-Houſe* at *White-Hall*. I ſhall inſert only that Part of their Application in which their Reaſonings are mention'd.

Feb. 16.
1662 3.
Feb. 17.

The Commons Remonſtrance upon this Head

“We have conſider'd, ſay they, the nature of your Majeſty's *Declaration* from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion, that your Majeſty ought not to be preſs'd with it any farther.

“Becauſe it is not a Promiſe in it ſelf, but only a gracious Declaration of your Majeſty's Intentions, to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to do; and no ſuch Advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offer'd; nor could it be otherwiſe underſtood, becauſe there were Laws of *Uniformity* then in being, which could not be diſpenſed with but by *Act* of Parliament.

“That they who do pretend a Right to that ſuppoſed Promiſe, put the Right into the Hands of the *Repreſentatives*, whom “they choſe to ſerve for them in this Parliament, who have paſs'd, and your Majeſty conſented to, the *Act* of *Uniformity*. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, that a Right to the Benefit of this *Declaration* doth ſtill remain after this *Act* paſſed.

“It tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Government, and to ſuppoſe a Diſability in your Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament, to make a Law contrary to any part of your Majeſty's *Declaration*, though both Houſes ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to it.

“We have alſo conſider'd the Nature of the *Indulgence* propos'd, with reference to thoſe Conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend it.

“It will eſtabliſh Schiſm by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church precarious, and the Cenſures of it of no Moment or Conſideration at all.

“It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdom of a Parliament, to paſs a Law at one *Seſſion* for *Uniformity*, and at the next *Seſſion* (the Reaſons of Uniformity continuing ſtill the ſame) to paſs another Law to fruſtrate or weaken the Execution of it.

“It will expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſs Importunity of every *Sect* or Opinion, and of every ſingle Perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent from the Church of *England*.

“It will be a Cauſe of increaſing *Sects* and *Sectaries*, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true *Proteſtant* Profeſſion ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it to defend it ſelf againſt them: And which is yet farther conſiderable, thoſe Numbers, which by being troubleſome to the Government, find they can arrive to an *Indulgence*, will, as their Numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome, that ſo at length they may arrive to a general *Toleration*, which your Majeſty hath declar'd againſt; and in time ſome prevalent *Sect* will at laſt contend for an Eſtabliſhment, which, for ought can be foreſeen, may end in *Popery*.

“It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of convicting *Recuſants*, and be inconſiſtent with the Method, and Proceedings of the Laws of *England*.

“Laſtly, It is humbly conceiv'd, that the *Indulgence* propos'd will be ſo far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion great Diſturbance. And on the contrary, that the aſſerting of the Laws and Religion eſtabliſh'd, according to the *Act of Uniformity*, is the moſt probable means to produce a ſettled Peace and Obedience throughout your Kingdom: Becauſe the Variety of Profeſſions in Religion, when openly *indulg'd*, doth directly diſtinguiſh Men into Parties, and withal gives them Opportunity to count their Numbers; which, conſidering the Animoſities, that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot by the ſeveral Factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open Diſturbance.

“Nor can your Majeſty have any Security, that the Doctrine or Worſhip of the ſeveral Factions, which are all govern'd by a ſeveral Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the Peace of your Kingdom.

The King inclin'd to make the Diſſenters eaſy.

His Majeſty gave them hearty Thanks for their Addreſs, acknowledg'd that never any King was ſo happy in a Houſe of *Commons*, as himſelf in this; telling them withal, that their *Paper* and Reaſons being long, he ſhould take time to conſider them, and ſend them a Meſſage.

By this Anſwer, and his late *Declaration*, we may collect, the King was unwilling to part with the *Toleration*. Whether this Unwillingneſs proceeded from good Nature, or to make a Return to ſome of the *Nonconformiſts* for promoting the *Reſtoration*; or becauſe he thought the publick Tranquillity might be better preſerv'd by ſuch Uſage: Which of theſe Motives, or whether all of them affected his Majeſty, cannot certainly be determin'd: But 'tis pretty plain, He was not a little deſirous the *Indulgence* ſhould have paſs'd, and that the non-complying Divines ſhould have been gently treated, and ſuffer'd to live at their Eaſe.

The King's Inſtructions for augmenting poor Vicaridges, &c.

The next remarkable Occurrence was the providing a better Maintenance for the Clergy. The Appropriations of *Rectories* made by the Popes to *Religious* Houſes; the ſecular Views of ſome great Perſons of the *Temporalty* at the *Reformation*, continuing the Alienation of the great Tithes, and ſettling them upon the *Laity*; and farther Depredations being afterwards made upon the Patrimony of the Church. This unfortunate Conduct had reduc'd many of the *Parochial* Clergy to a lamentable Condition. In many Towns the whole Profits were appropriated, and only a ſlender Stipend allow'd to the Perſon officiating. In many others a Vicaridge was ſettled, but ſo meanly endow'd, that a Vicar, tho' without the Charge of a Family, cou'd not tolerably ſubſiſt upon it. This Miſmanagement of the conſecrated Revenues has been the Calamity and Scandal of the Nation. For without a competent Settlement for the Parochial Clergy, it was reaſonably concluded the Church of *England* could never be happily eſtabliſh'd. And in regard many of the impropriate *Rectories* were annex'd to *Sees*, to Cathedral and Collegiate Bodies, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, 'twas thought proper the Precedent for Reſtitution, ſhould be ſet by the Biſhops and Clergy: Theſe Eccleſiaſticks being at that Juncture particularly furniſh'd for augmenting ſlender *Livings*, upon the Score of the conſiderable Fines lately receiv'd by them. For this purpoſe a *Bill* was depending in Parliament for laying down Rules and Proportions to be obſerv'd in the Augmentation of poor Vicaridges, and other *Cures* not competently endow'd. But the Diſadvantages ariſing from the paſſing ſuch a *Bill* being foreſeen, or at leaſt ſuſpected, it was thought more adviſeable to refer the Matter to the King's *Inſtructions*. Purſuant to this Suggeſtion, his Majeſty directed his *Letters* to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, “That forthwith Proviſion be made for the Augmentation of all ſuch Vicaridges and *Cures* where the Tithes and Profits are appropriated to them and their Succeſſors, in ſuch manner, that they who immediately attend upon the Performance of Miniſterial Offices in every Pariſh, may have a competent Portion out of every *Rectory* impropriate, *&c.*

They are anſwer'd by the Clergy-Impropriators.

Theſe *Letters* were readily comply'd with, and very conſiderable Augmentations made in moſt of the Pariſhes appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical *Corporations*: But Lay Impropriators ſtuck too cloſe to the Point of Intereſt, and refus'd to be govern'd by his Majeſty's Direction.

ction. 'Tis true, many of the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd well diſpos'd to a Remedy for this Evil, and ſeveral *Reſolves* were made to this purpoſe: But theſe pious Advances came to nothing. The Miſcarriage is ſuppos'd to have happen'd, either by the Members being diverted and call'd off by the King's preſſing for Supplies, by the Covetouſneſs of Impropriators, or by the Diſaffection of ſome Lay Patrons, who envy'd the Clergy a better ſupported and independent Condition.

Bp. Sanderſon's *Death.* Jan. 29. 1662--3.

In *January* laſt *Sanderſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln* departed this Life. He was youngeſt Son of *Robert Sanderſon*, of *Gilth-Wait-Hall*, Eſq; in *Yorkſhire*, by *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Richard Carr*, Gent. of *Buthar-Wait-Hall* in *Ecclesfield*, in the ſame County. He was educated at *Lincoln* College in *Oxon*, where he was Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. In the Year 1647. he was principally concern'd in drawing up the Univerſities Reaſons againſt the *Covenant* and *Negative Oath* formerly mention'd. The next Year he was turn'd out of his Profeſſorſhip and Canonry of *Chriſt Church* by the Parliament *Viſitors*. After this he retir'd to *Boothby Pannel* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he was plunder'd and impriſon'd. In his younger time he was inclin'd to *Calviniſm:* But having argued the Quinq-Articular Controverſie with Dr. *Hammond*, he came off from *Calvin* and *Twiſs*, and diſlik'd both the *Supra*, and *Sub-lapſarian* Schemes. Soon after the *Reſtoration* he was promoted to the *See* of *Lincoln*, aſſiſted at the *Conference* of the *Savoy*, but did not engage much in that Debate. He was a Prelate of conſiderable Learning: The Talent which diſtinguiſh'd him moſt, was the Reſolution of Caſes of Conſcience, in which he was particularly eminent. His principal Works are, *De Juramenti Obligatione Prælectiones ſeptem. De Obligatione Conſcientiæ Prælectiones Decem.* Nine Caſes of Conſcience in *Engliſh*, and a Volume of Sermons in Folio *.

The Death of Archbiſhop Juxton.

The next Summer in *June*, *William Juxton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died in his Palace at *Lambeth*, and was buried in the Chapel of St. *John*'s College, *Oxon.* to which he was a conſiderable Benefactor. He receiv'd his Education in this *Society*, and was ſome time afterwards Student in *Grays-Inn.* In the late Reign he was firſt preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, next to that of *London*, and upon the *Reſtoration* was tranſlated to the *See* of *Canterbury:* But part of his Character being touch'd already, I ſhall add nothing farther. Upon his Death *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London* was made his Succeſſor, and *Humphry Henchman* Biſhop of *Sarum* remov'd to *London*.

And of Primate Bramhal.

About this time *John Bramhal* Archbiſhop of *Armagh* departed this Life. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family, deſcended from the *Bramhals* of *Bramhal-Hall* in *Cheſhire*. He was educated in *Cambridge*, where he commenc'd Doctor of Divinity. Being benefic'd in *Yorkſhire* he engag'd a Jeſuit in a Conference about *Tranſubſtantiation*, and had the Advantage in the Diſpute. Upon this, he was made Chaplain to *Mathews* Archbiſhop of *York*, and not long after Prebendary of *York* and *Rippon*. In 1633. he reſign'd his Preferments in *England*, and ſettled in *Ireland:* Where by the Recommendation of the Lord Deputy *Strafford*, he was made Biſhop of *Derry*. At his coming to *Ireland* he found the Revenues of the Church miſerably waſted; and procur'd ſeveral *Acts* of Parliament for ſecuring the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue. And not ſtopping at the preventing future Encroachment, he regain'd the Rights of the Church by Argument, Law and Purchaſe; got *Fee Farms* ſurrender'd, and recover'd between thirty and forty thouſand Pounds *per Annum* in four Years time. To conclude: At the *Reſtoration* he was made Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Speaker of the Houſe of Lords in the Parliament at *Dublin*. To take leave of his Memory, he was very conſiderable in the argumentative part of Learning, a great Controverſial Divine, a good Governour and Stateſman, and furniſh'd with Courage ſuitable to his Character and Principles. He was far from being ſtraitlac'd in his Notions, and uncharitable in his Cenſures; being famous for his Diſtinction between Articles of *Peace* and Articles of *Faith* (*i*).

Some of the Presbyterian Miniſters communicate with the National Church.

To proceed: Several of the Nonconforming Divines, tho' they believ'd the Terms for Miniſterial Conformity impracticable, yet made no ſcruple of joyning in Lay-Communion with the eſtabliſh'd Church. Thus, after the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, they uſually came to their Pariſh Church at Divine Service, and were ſometimes communicated there. And this is ſuppos'd to have been the Riſe of *Occaſional* Conformity (*k*).

July *the* 27th, 1663. *A farther Account of the Convocation.*

The Church being now brought forward to ſo good a Settlement, the *Convocation* acquieſc'd, and mov'd little farther. This *Seſſion* ended with the Prorogation of the Parliament this Summer. From this time till the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Year 1678, the Clergy met moſtly for Form ſake. As for *Synodical* Buſineſs there was little done, excepting three things of no great Importance *. This ſmall Buſineſs was a Committee appointed to inſpect a new Grammar, *May* the 4th, 1664: An Order about a *Latin* Prayer Book, *May* the 18th: And a Petition, *October* 11. 1667, agreed to be preſented to the King for a *Patent* on Behalf of Dr. *Duport*, to have the ſole Liberty of printing his *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* for ſeven Years. And thus the *Reader* can expect nothing farther from the *Convocation*.

Acts relating to the Church made in the Parliament at Edinbourgh.

Upon the 18th of *June*, a third *Seſſion* of the firſt Parliament began at *Edinbourgh*. The Preamble of the firſt *Act* ſets forth, *That it was his Majeſty's expreſs Pleaſure, that in the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and chooſing Lords of the Articles at this Seſſion, and in all Time coming, the ſame Form and Order ſhould be kept which had been us'd before theſe late Troubles, eſpecially in the Parliament holden in the Year* 1633; *and the manner of Election of Lords of the Articles being now ſeen and conſidered by the Eſtates of Parliament, they did in all Duty humbly acquieſce in his Majeſty's Pleaſure. And in Proſecution thereof, the Clergy retired to the Exchequer-Chamber, and the Nobility to the Inner-Houſe of the Seſſion (the Barons and Burgeſſes keeping their Places in the Parliament Houſe). The Clergy made Choice of Eight Noblemen to be on the Articles: And the Nobility made Choice of Eight Biſhops:* Both theſe Diviſions are named. This being done, to ſpeak in the Language and Order of the Act; *the Clergy and Nobility met together in the Inner Exchequer Houſe, and having ſhewn their Elections to each other, they jointly made Choice of Eight Barons and Eight Commiſſioners of Boroughs, who were likewiſe named. After this, they repreſented the whole Ele-*

---

* Walton's *Life of Biſhop* Sanderſon. Athen. Oxon.

(*i*) *Archbiſhop* Bramhall's *Life before his Works, in Folio.*

(*k*) *Complete Hiſt. of* Eng. Vol. 3.

* Synod. Anglican. in Append. p. 124, 125.

ction to his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, the Earl of Rothes, *who being ſatisfy'd therewith, did then with the Clergy and Nobility, return to the Parliament Houſe, where the Liſt of Eight Biſhops, Eight Noblemen, Eight Barons, and Eight Burgeſſes being read, it was approven: To this Liſt his Majeſty's Commiſſioner added the Officers of State, and appointed the Lord Chancellor to be Preſident in the Meetings of the Lords of the Articles* (l).

(l) Car. 2. Parl. 1. Seſſ. 3. cap. 1.

I ſhall give the Reader Part of one Act more paſs'd this *Seſſion* relating to the Eſtabliſhment and Conſtitution of a *National Synod*. By this *Statute* 'tis enacted, there ſhall be a National Synod of the Church of *Scotland*: “*And that this Synod for the lawful Members thereof, ſhall conſiſt and be* conſtitute of the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſcow*, and the Remanent Biſhops of theſe two Provinces, of all Deans of Cathedral Churches, of Archdeacons, of all the Moderators of *Meetings* for Exerciſe, allowed by the Biſhops of the reſpective Dioceſes, and of one Presbyter or Miniſter of each *Meeting*, to be elected by the Moderator and Plurality of Presbyters of the ſame, and of one or two from the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, one from *Glaſgow*, one from the King's College, one from *Marſhal*'s College of *Aberdeen*, and one from the College of *Edinborough*. And this *Synod* thus conſtitute, is to meet at ſuch Places and Times as his Majeſty by his Proclamation ſhall appoint; and is to debate, treat, conſider, conſult, conclude, and determine upon ſuch pious Matters, Cauſes and Things concerning the Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of this Church, as his Majeſty ſhall from Time to Time, under his Royal Hand, deliver or cauſe to be deliver'd to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Preſident of the ſaid National *Aſſembly*, to be by him offer'd to their Conſideration. 'Tis likewiſe declar'd, that unleſs his Majeſty or his Commiſſioner are preſent, no National Aſſembly can be kept. 'Tis farther Enacted, that no Act, Canon, Order, or Ordinance ſhall be own'd as an Act of the *National Synod* of the Church of *Scotland*, excepting that which ſhall be conſider'd, conſulted and agreed upon by the Preſident, and major Part of the Members above ſpecify'd (m).

(m) Id. c. 5.

1664.
The Clergy give way to be tax'd by the Commons in Parliament.

I am now to remark an extraordinary Change in the manner of taxing the Clergy. Soon after the planting of Chriſtianity in *England*, the Church, as has been obſerved, was largely endow'd, and the Eſtates of the Clergy cover'd in ſome Meaſure from the common Burthens. 'Tis true, in the *Saxon* Reigns they were charged with contributing towards *Pontage*, *Murage*, and *Expedition*: And the Conqueror afterwards put the Biſhops and *Religious Houſes* under *Knights Service*. This, notwithſtanding the Credit of the Tenure, was reckon'd a great Oppreſſion (n). However, this Impoſition affected but a few of the *Rectories*, or other Eccleſiaſtical Endowments of leſſer Value. No ſmall part of the Clergy being therefore exempt from publick Charges, farther Projects for making them more ſerviceable to the Government, were ſet on foot. Sometimes the Popes taxed the Church for the King's Uſe, and ſometimes upon an extraordinary Emergency, the Biſhops were prevail'd with to enjoin their Clergy the granting a *Subſidy* to the King, by way of *Benevolence*: And that their Property might not be encumber'd, they had Letters of Security from the *Crown*, to prevent this *Aid* being drawn into a Precedent againſt them. Theſe Contributions to the Publick, were commonly made at Dioceſan *Synods*. And here either their Biſhops, their Archdeacons, or other Proctors of their own chooſing, were empower'd for this purpoſe. Thus the Matter reſted till the Reign of King *Edward* the firſt. This Prince, after ſome other Experiments, fix'd at laſt, upon an *Eſtabliſhment* which has in ſome meaſure, been ever ſince continued. His Method was this: Having iſſued out his cuſtomary *Writs* for the Biſhops to come to the Parliament, he inſerted a new Clauſe in the Writs directed to theſe Prelates, which from the firſt Word, is call'd the *Præmunientes* Clauſe. It runs thus: The Biſhop is required *to give Notice to the Prior, or Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church, to the Archdeacons and all the Clergy of his Dioceſe; that they, the ſaid Prior or Dean, and Archdeacons in their proper Perſons, the Chapter by one, and the Clergy by two well qualify'd Proxies ſufficiently empowered by the ſaid Chapter and Clergy; ſhould by all means, be preſent at the Parliament with him, to do and conſent to thoſe Things, which, by the Bleſſing of God, ſhall by their common Advice, happen to be ordain'd in the Affairs ſpecify'd: And the executing this Command, he was by no means to omit* (o). The Deſign of this *New Aſſembly*, was to tranſact Matters of *Civil* Right, and grant *Aids* to the Crown, in the Name of the whole Body of the Clergy.

(n) Matthew Paris.

(o) Prynnes *Regiſter* pt. 1.

Whether the inferior Clergy ſate in the ſame Houſe with the *Commons*; how long they appeared in this *Civil* Capacity, and acted as Members of Parliament; and whether this Cuſtom was diſcontinued in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, I ſhall not enquire. But let that be as it will, 'tis certain the *Præmunientes* Clauſe inſerted in the Biſhop's *Writ*, was kept on and executed *, and the Clergy gave *Subſidies* for their own *Body*, as before. The Proportion which every one was to pay, was aſſeſs'd by Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and the Money levy'd by Methods of their own Appointment. In caſe of Non-payment, the *Cenſures* of the Church were exerted: And if the Sheriff prov'd negligent in executing the *Writ*, *de excommunicato capiendo*, the Biſhops had Priſons in their reſpective Dioceſſes, to mortify thoſe who prov'd refractory. Beſides, we may reaſonably conclude, 'twas within the Juriſdiction of the Dioceſans, to ſequeſter the Profits of thoſe Incumbents, who refuſed to comply with the Aſſeſſment. Theſe *Aids* from the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth downwards, are generally confirmed by Act of Parliament: And therefore from this Time, I ſuppoſe the Property of the Clergy came under the Compulſion of the Laws, and the Money might be levy'd by way of *Diſtreſs*. The *Provincial* Convocation of the Clergy is to be conſider'd under a Capacity diſtinct from that abovementioned, and met only for tranſacting Church Buſineſs. This *Aſſembly* was ſometimes conven'd by the Archbiſhop's Mandate, without any Authority from the King. Of this we have an Inſtance as late as Archbiſhop *Warham*, about the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth (p). However, theſe two different *Conventions* grew by degrees, as it were, into one Body: The Provincial *Writs*, and the *Præmunientes* Clauſe, generally bringing the

* Regiſt. Brev. Epiſt. &c. temp. Jo. Parkhurſt. An. 1572. Regiſt Capit. Litch. An. 1620. Lincoln. Lib. Act. Capit. Not. 20. fol. 204. ad An. 1640. *Bp.* Wake's *State of the Church*, &c.

(p) Regiſt. Fitz-James.

the Clergy together at the ſame time. And to return more directly to the Matter in hand: It has all along been the Cuſtom for the *Engliſh* Clergy to tax themſelves. The Rebellion in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, and the following Uſurpations, were the firſt that broke in upon this Privilege. For now the *Diſſenting* Miniſters, either out of voluntary Compliance, Affectation of Popularity, or becauſe they wanted Proxies to repreſent their Body, had their Benefices tax'd with the Laity, in the pretended Parliaments. But when the King returned, this ancient Right of the Church was reſtor'd with him: And thus the Matter continued for three Years. For inſtance, in the 15th Year of this Prince's Reign, the Clergies Grant of four *Subſidies* was confirm'd by *Act* of Parliament (q). But now, as it happen'd, ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy fell into Sentiments much different from thoſe of their Predeceſſors: They began to think this cuſtomary Method of taxing themſelves, ſomewhat burthenſome. They thought, 'tis poſſible, the Expectations of the Court might be ſet too high upon them this way; and that the *Commons* were often diſcontented, unleſs they overcharg'd themſelves, and ſwell'd their *Subſidies* beyond a reaſonable Proportion. How well theſe Jealouſies were founded, I ſhall not examine: But 'tis ſuppoſed, the being apprehenſive of ſuch Inconveniences, brought Archbiſhop *Sheldon* and ſome other leading Prelates, into a Concert with the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, the Lord Treaſurer, and ſome others of the Miniſtry. And now at a Conſultation it was concluded the Clergy ſhould ſilently wave the Cuſtom of taxing their own *Body*, and ſuffer themſelves to be included in the Money-*Bills* prepar'd by the *Commons*: And to encourage their Aſſent to this Ceſſion, two of their four *Subſidies* were to be remitted; and over and above, they had the Promiſe of a Clauſe for ſaving their ancient Rights. This Security was accordingly given, and a very clear comprehenſive *Proviſo* inſerted in the Statute for this purpoſe (r). The *Act* ſtands thus.

(q) 15 Car. 2. cap. 10.

(r) 16 & 17 Car. 2. cap. 1. Rot. Parl.

A full and expreſs Clauſe for reſerving their ancient Right.

> Provided always, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that all Spiritual Promotions, and all Lands, Poſſeſſions, or Revenues annexed to, and all Goods and Chattels growing, or renewed upon the ſame or elſewhere, appertaining to the Owners of the ſaid Spiritual Promotions, or any of them, which are or ſhall be charged, or made contributory to this Act towards the Payments aforeſaid, during the Time therein appointed (which was to be rais'd, levy'd, and paid in the Space of three Years) ſhall be abſolutely freed and diſcharged from the two laſt of the four Subſidies granted by the Clergy to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, by an Act made in a former Seſſion of this preſent Parliamevt, Entitled, A Act for confirming of four Subſidies granted by the Clergy, any Clauſe or Thing in the ſaid Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. —— Provided always, that nothing herein contained, ſhall be drawn into Example to the Prejudice of the ancient Rights belonging unto the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, or Clergy of this Realm, or unto either of the ſaid Univerſities, or unto any Colleges, Schools, Alms-Houſes, Hoſpitals, or Cinque-Ports.

That the Clergy were Gainers by this Change, is more than appears; Were they allowed to elect ſome of their Function to repreſent them in the Houſe of Commons, the quitting their ancient Right would be more intelligible. But ſuch a Choice will not paſs the Committee of *Elections*. The conſenting therefore to be tax'd by the *Temporal* Commons, makes the Clergy more dependent on a foreign Body, takes away the Right of diſpoſing of their own Money, and lays their Eſtates in ſome meaſure at Diſcretion. And being in no Condition to give Subſidies, and Preſent the Crown, 'tis well if their Convocation Meetings are not ſometimes diſcontinued, if they do not ſink in their Significancy, lie by for want of a Royal Licenſe, and grow leſs regarded when their Grievances are offer'd. And here I cannot forbear ſaying, their having the Liberty of Polling for Parliament Men, ſeems ſhort of an Equivalent for the Privileges reſign'd. However, the *Reader* may ſee there is an expreſs *Clauſe* in the *Act* for reſerving their Right, and returning them to their former Circumſtances.

But if this ſhould be inſiſted on, 'tis a great Queſtion, in the Opinion of a *late* Hiſtorian, whether the Houſe of Commons would allow the *ſaving Clauſe* abovementioned (s). Does this learned *Writer* then ſuppoſe this extraordinary Uſage would be the Conſequence of ſuch a Claim? He grants the *Clauſe* for reſerving the Right to tax themſelves, is ſufficiently plain and explicit. Can he then imagine thoſe Gentlemen who repreſent the *Commons*, would ſtrain the *Statute*, and deny the Subject the Benefit of the Conſtitution? Or are the Clergy the only People that muſt claim no Advantage from the Laws? Muſt they fare the worſe on the ſcore of their *Character*, and ſuffer for their Commiſſion from Chriſt Jeſus? Does not ſuch a Suppoſition ſound harſhly, and imply ſomewhat of Reflection on a *Chriſtian Legiſlature*?

(s) *Compleat Hiſt. of* Engl. *pag.* 255.

The Oxford Act againſt Conventicles.

To proceed: The Behaviour of the *Nonconformiſts* grew more unacceptable to the Government. It cannot be deny'd there was ſome Umbrage given for Jealouſy and Caution. Some Phanaticks took Service under the *Dutch*, againſt their own Prince and Country: For which they were attainted in the *Oxford* Parliament. And even ſome of the moderate *Diſſenters* diſcover'd a Diſinclination to a War with *Holland*. Farther, the *Conventiclers* in *Scotland* appear'd bold and mutinous, and were ſuppoſed to correſpond with ſome of that Party in *England*. Now to be better inform'd of the Numbers and Strength of theſe *diſſenting* and diſaffected People, Orders were ſent from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the *Suffragans* of his Province, "Requiring them punctually "to obſerve all the Canons and Rules con- "cerning Ordination, and that for the future "they yearly certify the Names of all ordain'd "by them, and that they forthwith make a Re- "turn of the Names and Degrees of all the "Benefic'd Clergy, and of Lecturers, School- "Maſters, Uſhers, and Practioners of Phyſick, "as likewiſe of all ejected Nonconformiſt Mi- "niſters with their Place of Abode and Man- "ner of Life. The Returns of the ſeveral Biſhops are ſtill remaining in *Lambeth* Library.

Id.

July 5. A. D. 1665.

The *Oxford* Parliament being apprehenſive of Danger from the *Diſſenters*, paſs'd an Act, **That no Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Lecturers and other Perſons in Holy Orders, or pretended Holy Orders, ſhould come within five Miles of any City or Town Corporate, or Borough that ſends Burgeſſes to Parliament, or within five Miles of any Pariſh Town, or Place wherein he or they have ſince the Act of Oblivion, been Parſon, Curate, Stipendiary or Lecturer, or taken upon them to preach in any unlawful Aſſembly, Conventicle or Meeting; unleſs they take and ſubſcribe the Oath following.**

I *A. B. Do ſwear that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition, of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions; and that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government either in Church or State.*

'Tis farther *provided*, That thoſe who were reſtrain'd from coming to any City, Town Corporate, *&c.* as aforeſaid, or any other Perſon who ſhall refuſe to take the Oath abovemention'd, and not frequent Divine Service at Church, ſhall not be allow'd to teach any publick or private School, or take any Boarders. The Penalty of contravening this *Proviſo*, and the former Part of the *Statute* is forty Pounds, and Six Months Impriſonment, unleſs they take the ſaid Oath before their Commitment (*t*).

(*t*) 17 Car. 2. c. 2.

An Act for the Union of Churches in Cities, &c.

Another *Act* paſs'd this *Seſſion*, for uniting Churches in Cities and Towns Corporate. I ſhall inſert the Preamble, which begins thus: **Foraſmuch as the ſettled Proviſion for Miniſters in moſt Towns Corporate within this Realm, is not ſufficient for the Maintenance of able Miniſters fit for ſuch Places, whereby mean and ſtipendiary Preachers are entertain'd to ſerve the Cures there; who wholly depending upon the good will and liking of their Auditors, have been, and are hereby under Temptation of too much complying, and ſuiting their Doctrine, and teaching to the Humour, rather than good of their Auditors; which has been a great occaſion of Faction and Schiſm, and of the Contempt of the Miniſtry: The Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being deeply ſenſible of the evil Conſequences thereof, and piouſly deſiring able Miniſters in ſuch Places, and a competent Maintenance for them in the Union of Churches; which is alſo become neceſſary by Reaſon of the great Ruin of many Churches and Pariſhes in the late ill Times and otherwiſe. 'Tis therefore enacted**, &c.

By this *Statute*, no Union was to be good, where the ſettled Maintenance exceeded an hundred Pounds *per Annum* clear. 'Tis likewiſe farther enacted, That all Proprietors of Tithes, or Owners of Impropriations may lawfully convey, annex, and unite the ſaid Tithes or any part of them to any Pariſh or Chappelry, within the Kingdom of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, where ſuch Tithes ſhall lye. They are likewiſe enabled to ſettle the ſame in Truſt for the Benefit of the ſaid Parſonage or Vicaridge, or of the Curate, where the Parſonage is impropriated, and no Vicar endow'd: And this Settlement they are allow'd to make without any Licenſe of Mortmain. And laſtly, 'tis *lawful for the Parſons, Vicars, and Incumbents, to take, receive and purchaſe to themſelves and Succeſſours, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tithes or other Hereditaments, without any Licenſe of Mortain* (*u*).

(*u*) 17 Car. 2. c. 3.

When the King recover'd his Dominions, the *Hierarchy* of *Ireland*, reviv'd to their former Condition. To give the Church and *Crown*, a firmer Eſtabliſhment in that Kingdom, the Act for *Uniformity* paſs'd this Year. The Preamble of this Statute being ſomewhat remarkable, ſhall be tranſcrib'd: It ſtand thus.

The Subſtance of the Engliſh *Act of* Uniformity *paſs'd in the Parliament at* Dublin.

Whereas nothing conduceth more to the Honour of God, the ſetling the Peace of a Nation, which is deſired of all good Men, or to the Advancement of Religion than an univerſal Agreement in the publick Worſhip of Almighty God; and to the Intent that we his Majeſty's Subjects of this his Kingdom of Ireland, **may in this Church of** Ireland, **hold the ſame Conformity of Common-Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments and other the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the uſe of the Church of** England: **Together with the** Pſalter **or** Pſalms **of** David, **pointed as they are to be ſung or ſaid in Churches, and the Form, or Manner of Making, Ordaining, or Conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, which was recommended unto both Houſes of Convocation here Aſſembled in** Ireland; **to conſider whether the ſame Form of publick Worſhip might not be profitably received, as the publick Form of Divine Service in this your Majeſty's Kingdom of** Ireland.

Whereupon both Houſes of Convocation did diligently conſider the ſame, and after mature conſideration, well weighing the great Advantages that muſt neceſſarily ariſe unto the whole Kingdom, from the Uniformity of publick Prayers did fully approve and allow the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the *Act*, being the ſame with that paſs'd in *England*, in the 14*th* Year of this Reign, ſhall be omitted (*w*).

(*w*) Iriſh *Acts* 17.&18. Car 2. c 6.

The ſame *Seſſion* an *Act* paſs'd in the Parliament at *Dublin*, for diſabling Spiritual Perſons from holding Biſhopricks, Benefices, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignities in *England* and *Ireland*, at the ſame Time (*x*).

(*x*) 17. & 18. Car. 2. c. 10.

A. D. 1668.

An Eſſay to accommodate the Difference between the Non-conformiſts of England.

Mr. *Calamy* in his *Abridgment* of *Baxter's* Life reports, that the Lord *Keeper Bridgman*, deſir'd to diſcourſe Dr. *Manton* and *Baxter* upon the Subject of a *Comprehenſion* and *Toleration*: At their waiting upon him, it was agreed to go firſt upon the Buſineſs of *Comprehenſion*: Dr. *Wilkins*, and one Mr. *Burton*, were conſulted upon this occaſion. The Point of *Re-ordination* ſtuck moſt between them: At laſt Sir *Matthew Hale* ſuggeſted a Temper to adjuſt the Difference. The Expedient was, That thoſe *Non-conformiſts* who had been *Ordain'd* before, ſhould be admitted into the Miniſtry of the Church of *England* with this Form. *Take thou legal Authority to preach the Word of God, and Adminiſter the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of* England, *where thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.* It was likewiſe agreed that

Ceremonies ſhould be left indifferent, the *Liturgy* alter'd, and that thoſe who could not be *comprehended*, ſhould be *Indulg'd*: And for Security, to the Government, the Names of the *Teachers* and all the Members of the Congregation, were to be Regiſter'd: A *Bill* was accordingly drawn by the Chief-Juſtice *Hales*, againſt the enſuing Parliament: But when the *Houſes* ſat the Epiſcopal Party cruſh'd the Deſign, and carry'd a Vote againſt bringing in a *Bill* of this nature (*y*).

It miſcarries.

A. D. 1669.

In *September* the next Year, the *Diſſenters* were inform'd that a publick Acknowledgment of the Clemency of his Majeſty's Government, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it, would be an acceptable Application. Upon this an Addreſs was preſented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Imeſs*. The King receiv'd them graciouſly in the Earl of *Arlington*'s Apartments, and promis'd to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the publick Eſtabliſhment.

Id. p 589.

This Year at the Parliament at *Edinborough*, the *Aſſertory Act* of the King's Spiritual Supremacy was made. 'Tis pen'd in ſtrong comprehenſive Language: The Words are theſe.

The Aſſertory Act of the Parliament at Edinborough. Novemb. 1669.

His Majeſty, with Advice and Conſent of his Eſtates of Parliament, doth hereby enact, aſſert and declare, that his Majeſty hath the Supreme Authority and Supremacy over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical within his Kingdom; and that by Virtue thereof, the ordering and diſpoſal of the external Government, and Policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majeſty and his Succeſſours, as an inherent Right to the Crown: And that his Majeſty and his Succeſſours may ſettle, enact and emit ſuch Conſtitutions, Acts and Orders, concerning the Adminiſtration of the external Government of the Church, and the Perſons imploy'd in the ſame; and concerning all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings, and Matters to be propoſed and determined therein, as they in their Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit (*z*).

The Archbiſhop of Glaſcow *turn'd out by this Act, and Reſtor'd.*

By Virtue of this *Act* (whether ſtrain'd or not I ſha'n't examine) *Burnet* Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* was diſpoſſeſs'd of his *See*; and Dr. *Leighton* put in his Place: This remove was made by the High-Commiſſioner *Lauderdail*: However, the Court being ſenſible this was puſhing the *Regale* to an unuſual extent; gave *Leighton* only the Title of *Commendator* of *Glaſcow*, till Archbiſhop *Burnet* was prevail'd with to ſign a Reſignation. But this being look'd on as an involuntary Ceſſion, the Scottiſh Biſhops were ſhock'd at it. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* likewiſe and the *Engliſh* Prelates thought the common Intereſt of their *Order* affected, and that the Epiſcopal Authority was ſtruck at in the *Glaſcow* Precedent.

In ſhort, They ſollicited ſo heartily in the Cauſe, and repreſented the Buſineſs in ſo perſuaſive a Manner to the King; that his Majeſty revok'd his Proceedings, and Archbiſhop *Burnet* was reſtor'd.

An Act againſt thoſe who aſſaulted the Clergy.

The next *Seſſions* an *Act* paſs'd *againſt Invaders of Miniſters*, as the *Title* runs. And here 'tis *enacted and declar'd, That whatſoever Perſon or Perſons ſhould be found guilty of the aſſaulting the Lives of Miniſters, or robbing their Houſes, or actually attempting the ſame, ſhall be puniſh'd with the pain of Death, and the Confiſcation of their Goods* (*a*). How well this *Act* has been ſince regarded, the Period of my *Hiſtory* will not give me leave to enquire.

To return to *England*: In the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, an *Act* paſs'd *for preventing and ſuppreſſing Seditious Conventicles*: "By this *Statute* if any Perſon upwards of Sixteen ſhould "be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or "Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any "exerciſe of Religion, in any other Manner "than according to the *Liturgy* and Practice "of the Church of *England*, where there was "five Perſons or more beſides thoſe of the "ſaid Houſhold; or if they met in the *Fields*, "where there were five Perſons met for the "Purpoſes above-mention'd; in ſuch Caſes "the Offenders were to be fined five Shillings "for the firſt Offence, and ten Shillings for "the ſecond. And the Preachers and Teachers in any ſuch *Meetings* were to forfeit "twenty Pounds for the firſt, and forty for "the ſecond Offence. And laſtly, thoſe who "knowingly ſuffer'd any ſuch *Conventicle* in "their Houſes, Barns, Yards, *&c.* were to "forfeit twenty Pounds *.

An Act for ſuppreſſing ſeditious Conventicles.

Promotions in the Church.

To ſay ſomething concerning Promotions in the Church: The Honourable *Nathanael Crew*, Son to the Lord *Crew*, and Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty, Biſhop elect of *Oxon*; and Dr. *Thomas Wood*, late Dean of *Litchfield*, Biſhop elect of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, were on Sunday *July* the ſecond, ſolemnly Conſecrated in the Chapel at *Lambeth* by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*. On Sunday *October* 1. Dr. *Henry Bridgeman* Dean of *Cheſter*, was, in the Cathedral of that City, Conſecrated Biſhop of *Man* by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, deputed for that Purpoſe by *Stern* Archbiſhop of *York*; the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Bangor* and *Clougher*, aſſiſting at the Solemnity: On *February* the 12th following, *John Coſens*, Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, remarkably eminent for his Loyalty and Learning, departed this Life.

1671.

Beſide his *Devotions* already mention'd; he wrote a *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Canon of the Scriptures*. This *Tract* written at *Paris*, is a very learned and ſolid Juſtification of the Church of *England*, as to this Branch of the Controverſy. The extending the *Canon* by the *Council* of *Trent*, being ſufficiently diſprov'd from the *Fathers* and *Catholick* Tradition. After the *See* of *Durham* had been kept vacant ſome Time, *Crew* Lord Biſhop of *Oxon* was tranſlated thither.

When the War broke out a ſecond Time between *England* and *Holland*, the King, who ſeem'd inclin'd to favour the *Diſſenters*, thought this a proper Juncture to quiet the Minds of his Subjects, and ſet them at eaſe in Matters of Religion. To this purpoſe, by the Advice of his Privy Council, he publiſh'd the *Declaration* following.

The King's Declaration for an Indulgence.

CHARLES REX,

——"Our Care and Endeavours for the "Preſervation of the Rights and Intereſt of "the Church, have been ſufficiently manifeſted to the World by the whole Courſe "of our Government ſince our happy Reſtoration, and by the many and frequent ways "of Coercion that we have uſed for reducing "all erring or *diſſenting* Perſons, and for compoſing the unhappy Differences in Matters "of Religion, which we found among our "Subjects upon our Return; but it being "evident, by the ſad Experience of twelve "Years,

---

(*y*) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter.

(*z*) Car. 2. Parl. 2. c. 1.

(*a*) Car. 2. Parl. 2. Seſſ. 2. c. 4.

* 22 Car. 2. c. 1.

“ Years, that there is very little Fruit of all thoſe forcible Courſes, we think our ſelf obliged to make uſe of that ſupreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be ſo by ſeveral *Statutes* and *Acts* of Parliament: And therefore we do now accordingly iſſue this our *Declaration*, as well for the quieting the Minds of our good Subjects in theſe Points, for inviting Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and live under us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a chearful following of their Trade and Callings, from whence we hope, by the Bleſſing of God, to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; as alſo for preventing, for the future, the Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from private *Meetings* and ſeditious *Conventicles*.

“ And in the firſt place, We declare our expreſs Reſolution, Meaning and Intention to be, That the Church of *England* be preſerved and remain entire in its Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Government, as now it ſtands eſtabliſh'd by Law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the Baſis, Rule, and Standard of the general and publick Worſhip of God, and that the Orthodox conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; and that no Perſon, tho' of a different Opinion and Perſuaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tithes, or other Dues whatſoever. And farther we declare, That no Perſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Preferment of any kind in this our Kingdom of *England*, who is not exactly conformable.

“ We do in the next place, declare our Will and Pleaſure to be, That the Execution of all and all manner of Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever ſort of *Nonconformiſts* or *Recuſants*, be immediately ſuſpended; and they are hereby ſuſpended. And all Judges, Judges of Aſſize, and Goal-Delivery, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto.

“ And that there may be no Pretence for any of our Subjects to continue their illegal *Meetings* and *Conventicles*, we do declare, That we ſhall from time to time allow a ſufficient Number of Places, as they ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of this our Kingdom, for the Uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in, in order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion; which Places ſhall be open and free to all Perſons.

“ But to prevent ſuch Diſorders and Inconveniences as may happen by this our *Indulgence*, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civil Magiſtrate, our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That none of our Subjects do preſume to meet in any Place until ſuch Places be allow'd, and the Teacher of that Congregation be approved by us.

“ And leſt any ſhould apprehend, that this Reſtriction ſhould make our ſaid Allowance and Approbation difficult to be obtain'd, we do farther declare, That this our *Indulgence*, as to the Allowance of the publick Places of Worſhip, and Approbation of the Preachers, ſhall extend to all ſorts of *Nonconformiſts* and *Recuſants*, except the *Recuſants*, of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, to whom we ſhall in no wiſe allow publick Places of Worſhip, but only indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the Execution of the Penal Laws, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes only.

March 15, 1671-2.

“ And if, after this our Clemency and *Indulgence*, any of our Subjects ſhall preſume to abuſe this Liberty, and ſhall preach ſeditiouſly, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the eſtabliſh'd Church, or ſhall meet in Places not allow'd by us; we do hereby give them warning, and declare, we will proceed againſt them with all imaginable Severity: And we will let them ſee, we can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch Offenders, when ſo juſtly provok'd, as we are indulgent to truly tender Conſciences.

Given at our Court at Whitehall *this*
15*th Day of* March, *in the Four and*
Twentieth Year of our Reign.

February 4, 1672-3.

The next *Seſſion* of Parliament, the King in his Speech to both *Houſes*, acquainted them, he had granted an *Indulgence*, and was reſolv'd to ſtand by it. The Lord Chancellour *Shaftsbury* dilated upon what his Majeſty had deliver'd. 'Twas in this *Speech* that he apply'd that remarkable Sentence, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, to the *Hollanders*: And endeavour'd to prove a Competition for Intereſt and Trade, between *England* and the *United Provinces*: And that the *Dutch* would always be Enemies to his Majeſty's Kingdoms, upon this Principle.

The Commons remonſtrating againſt it, 'tis recall'd.

The *Commons* being apprehenſive the diſpenſing Power might make the Scale too heavy on the Crown ſide, remonſtrated againſt it: And in their Addreſs acquainted his Majeſty, that *conſidering his Declaration of Indulgence, they found themſelves bound in Duty to inform him, that Penal Statutes in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament*. The King in his Anſwer endeavour'd to prevail with them to ſolicit no farther, but drop the Motion. But the Houſe not being ſatisfy'd with what his Majeſty had offer'd, repeated their Application, and argued againſt the Legality of *diſpenſing* to ſuch Compaſs and Latitude. In ſhort, they preſs'd the Complaint with ſo much Vigour, that his Majeſty found himſelf oblig'd to comply: And thus the *Indulgence* was recall'd, and taken off the *File*.

Soon after this *Addreſs*, the Commons reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, That a *Bill be brought in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England. This *Bill* paſs'd the lower Houſe, but was thrown out by the Lords.

February 14.

A Scotch Act of Parliament againſt unlawful Ordinations.

To go back a little to the Parliament at *Edinbourgh*; where an *Act* paſs'd againſt unlawful Ordinations. The Statute *ordains*, *That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever preſume to appoint or ordain any Perſon to the Office and Work of the Miniſtry, except thoſe who have Authority approved by the Laws of the Kingdom for that Effect; and that no Perſon take Ordination from any but ſuch as are thus lawfully authorized to give the ſame: Declaring hereby all pretended Ordinations of any*

Perſons ſince the Year 1661. *which have not been, or hereafter ſhall not be according to the Appointment of the Law, to be null and invalid* (*b*). By the way, the *Reader* may obſerve, *John* Duke of *Lauderdale* was High Commiſſioner of *Scotland* during the firſt, ſecond, third and fourth *Seſſions* of this ſecond Parliament.

(*b*) Car. 2. Parl. 2. Seſſ. 3. cap. 9.
A Scotch *Act of Parliament againſt unlawful Ordinations.*

Another Statute in this *Seſſion* ſets forth, "That upon the 13th of *Auguſt* 1670. an Act had been made againſt *Conventicles*: And that upon the 20th of the ſaid Month in the Year aforeſaid, another Act paſs'd againſt Separation, and withdrawing from the publick Meetings for Divine Worſhip. Theſe Acts being only temporary Proviſions for three Years, (excepting his Majeſty ſhould think fit to prolong the Term) "They are now continued three Years forward, and as much longer as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to appoint. 'Tis likewiſe farther enacted, *That no outed Miniſter, not licens'd by his Majeſty's Council, nor other Perſon not authoriz'd nor tolerate by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe preſume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray in any Meeting, excepting in their own Houſes, and to thoſe of their own Family*: But in the next Clauſe the *Statute* is explain'd to a Senſe of Relaxation, and gives leave for four Perſons to be preſent beſides thoſe of the Family (*c*).

(*c*) Car. 2. Parl. 2. Seſſ. 3. cap. 17.
The Sacramental Teſt enacted.

At *Weſtminſter* this Seſſion of Parliament, the *Sacramental Teſt* was enacted: 'Tis entitl'd, *An Act to prevent Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* By this *Statute* all Perſons in Office, Civil or Military, are oblig'd to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, in ſome Pariſh Church, upon ſome Lord's-Day. Such Perſons are likewiſe required to ſubſcribe the following Declaration.

A. D. 1673

I *A. B.* do *declare*, that I do *believe that there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at, or after the Conſecration thereof by any Perſon whatſoever.* The Forfeiture of breaking thro' the *Act*, beſides a Diſability of proſecuting any Suit, or acting in the Capacity of other Subjects in ſeveral Reſpects, is Five Hundred Pounds. There are however, ſome ſaving *Proviſo*'s which need not be mentioned (*d*). Upon the paſſing this *Act*, the Duke of *York*, who was High Admiral of *England*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, laid down their Places. This Year a reconciling Motion between the Church and *Nonconformiſts*, was ſuggeſted by the Earl of *Orrery*, who deſired *Baxter* to draw up the Terms. *Baxter* gave in Propoſals for this Purpoſe, which being much the ſame with thoſe offer'd by the *Presbyterians* at the *Savoy-Conference*, need not be repeated. The Earl of *Orrery*, ſome time after his receiving *Baxter*'s Propoſals, return'd them with Biſhop *Morley*'s Animadverſions. In ſhort, both ſides keeping at the uſual Diſtance, the Buſineſs came to nothing (*e*).

(*d*) 25 Car. 2. c. 2.

(*e*) Calamy's *Life of* Baxter, *p.* 600.

When the next *Seſſion* of Parliament drew near, Biſhop *Morley* and Biſhop *Ward* are reported inclin'd to Abatements, and taking the *Nonconformiſts* by the Hand. Upon this Encouragement, 'tis probable, Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* deſired a Meeting with Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Bates*, with *Pool* and *Baxter*, in order to adjuſt an Accommodation: And 'twas pretended there were ſeveral Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the ſame Sentiment. *Baxter* is ſaid to have met only *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet* at firſt. And here, after ſeveral Schemes diſlik'd, they fix'd upon one they agreed to. This was communicated to the *Nonconformiſts*, and approv'd by them. But when the Biſhops peruſed the Draught, they could by no means aſſent to the Conceſſions. When the Treaty broke off, *Tillotſon* in a Letter to *Baxter*, acquainted him, *That as Circumſtances ſtood, ſuch an Act* (as it ſeems the Nonconformiſts mov'd for) *could not paſs in either Houſe, without the Concurrence of a conſiderable Part of the Biſhops, and his Majeſty's Countenance, which at preſent he ſaw little Reaſon to expect.* The Terms of Union were little different from thoſe abovementioned to the Earl of *Orrery*.

Id. *pag.* 605.

Auguſt 29. 1675.

The *See* of *Worceſter* being void, by the Death of Biſhop *Blandford*, Dr. *James Fleetwood* Provoſt of *King's*-College in *Cambridge*, was promoted to that *See*. Not long after, Biſhop *Henchman* departing this Life, the honourable *Henry Compton* D. D. Son to the loyal and brave Earl of *Northampton*, was tranſlated from *Oxon* to *London*: And upon the Vacancy of the *See* of *Oxon*, the learned Dr. *Fell* Dean of *Chriſt-Chriſt*, was conſecrated for that Dioceſs. The next Year *Anthony Sparrow* Biſhop of *Exeter* was tranſlated from thence to *Norwich*, and Dr. *Thomas Lamplugh*, Dean of *Rocheſter*, preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Exeter*.

Promotions in the Church.

Novem. 12. 1676.

An Act for perpetuating the Augmentation of ſmall Vicaridges.

At the Seſſion of Parliament, the Year following, an Act paſs'd *for confirming and perpetuating Augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to ſmall Vicaridges and Curacies.* Theſe Augmentations, as the *Reader* may remember, were granted by the Biſhops and *dignify'd* Clergy, ſoon after the *Reſtoration.* 'Tis provided, *That no future Augmentations ſhall be confirmed by vertue of this Act, which ſhall exceed one Moiety of the clear yearly Value above all Reprizes of the Rectory impropriate, out of which the ſame ſhall be granted or reſerved* (*f*).

April 14. 1677.

(*f*) 29 Car. 2. cap. 2.

This Seſſions a Bill paſs'd both Houſes, and receiv'd the Royal Aſſent for *taking away the Writ* De Hæretico Comburendo (*g*). The making this *Statute* is ſaid to have been promoted by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*.

(*g*) 29 Car. 2. cap. 3.
The Writ de Hæretico comburendo *taken away by Act of Parliament.*

In *November* this Year, *Sheldon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* departed this Life. He was deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable Family in *Staffordſhire*. He received his Education at *Trinity-College* in *Oxon*, where he commenc'd Dr. in Divinity. He was made Clerk of the Cloſet to King *Charles* the Firſt, and elected Warden of his own College. He was remarkably eminent for his Loyalty, and loſt his Wardenſhip upon that ſcore. And not to repeat what I have already related concerning him, his publick Benefactions were extraordinary. He built the *Theatre* at *Oxon*, a fair Library at *Lambeth*; and, in ſhort, ſpent above Threeſcore Thouſand Pounds in Encouragements of Learning, and in Bounties, and Legacies to pious and charitable Uſes (*h*).

(*h*) Athen. Oxon.

He was ſucceeded by Dr. *William Sancroſt* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a Perſon well diſtinguiſh'd for his Loyalty and Learning, and unexceptionable through the reſt of his Character

Jan. 27. 1677--8.

Oats *his Narrative of the* Popiſh Plot.

The next thing which occurs is *Titus Oates*'s *Narrative of a Plot carry'd on by the Jeſuits, and other* Roman *Catholicks, againſt his Majeſty's Life, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom.* This *Oates* had received Orders in the Church of *England*, and officiated as a Curate in *Kent*. He was afterwards reconciled to the Church of *Rome* and enter'd in the College of St. *Omers*. And thus, as he reports, coming to a cloſe Correſpondence with Jeſuits and Prieſts, he was let into the Deſign diſcover'd by him. To confirm his Teſtimony, he referr'd himſelf to Letters and Papers in the Cuſtody of *Coleman* then Secretary to the Duke of *York*. Theſe Letters were afterwards ſeiz'd and publiſh'd. As to the Contents 'tis ſomewhat foreign to this *Work*: But touching the main and blackeſt Part of the *Plot*, I ſhall give the *Reader* the Judgment of an Author who ſeems by no means inclin'd to blanch, or extenuate Matters of this kind. "What Superſtructure, ſays he, might have been afterwards built upon an unqueſtionable Foundation, (meaning *Coleman*'s Letters) and how far ſome of the Witneſſes of that *Plot* might come to darken Truth by ſubſequent Additions of their own, muſt be deferr'd till the *Great Account* to be made before a *Higher Tribunal*: And till then, a great Part of the *Popiſh Plot*, as it was then ſworn to, will in all humane Probability, lie *among the darkeſt Scenes of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory* (i).

(i) Wellwood's *Memoirs. Compleat Hiſt.* of England. *p.* 364. *vol.* 3.

An Act for diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament.

The two *Houſes* now under Apprehenſions of the Increaſe of Popery, and the Danger which might ariſe from that Quarter, paſs'd a *Bill*, which was ſign'd by the King, *for the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling* Papiſts *from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament*. By this *Statute*, no Peer or Commoner is allow'd to be a Member of either *Houſe*, unleſs they firſt qualify'd themſelves by taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and likewiſe ſubſcribed and audibly repeated the *Declaration* following.

"I *A. B.* do ſolemnly and ſincerely in the Preſence of God, profeſs, teſtiſie, and declare, *That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, there is not any Tranſubſtantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine, into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, at, or after the Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever: And that the Invocation, or Adoration of the Virgin* Mary, *or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, as they are now uſed in the Church of* Rome, *are Superſtitious and Idolatrous.* And I do ſolemnly in the Preſence of God, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, That I do make this *Declaration*, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary Senſe of the Words read unto me, as they are commonly underſtood by *Engliſh* Proteſtants; without any Evaſion, Equivocation, or mental Reſervation whatſoever, and without any Diſpenſation already granted me for this purpoſe by the Pope, or any other Authority or Perſon whatſoever, or without any Hope of any ſuch Diſpenſation from any Perſon or Authority whatſoever, or without thinking that I am, or can be acquitted before God or Man, or abſolved of this *Declaration*, or any part thereof, altho' the Pope, or any other Perſon or Perſons, or Power whatſoever, ſhould diſpenſe with, or annul the ſame, or declare that it was null and void from the Beginning. The *Statute* concludes with a Proviſo, *That nothing contained in this Act, ſhall extend to his Highneſs the Duke of* York.

30 Car. 2. c. 1.

The Long Parliament diſſolved.

On the 24th of *January*, the Long-Parliament which had ſate 17 Years, was diſſolv'd, and another ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 6th of *March* following. The *Convocation* for the Province of *Canterbury*, met on the third of *April*, but did no Buſineſs.

May 3. *Abp.* Sharp *aſſaſſinated.*

In *May* following, *James Sharp* Arhbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was murthered by nine *Cameronian* Aſſaſſines. Theſe Wretches aſſaulted him on the Road in his Coach; firſt wounded ſome of his Retinue and his Daughter, and then gave him two and twenty Wounds with Sword and Piſtol. He was a Prelate of great Natural Parts, well improv'd with Books and Buſineſs. He had a Share in retrieving the *Scottiſh* Church and Government; and did his Part towards the reſtoring Epiſcopacy and the Royal Family.

1679.

In *England*, the new Parliament being diſſolved this Summer, another was ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 17th of *October*, but was by ſeveral Prorogations continued till the 21ſt of *October* 1680. From this time the Seſſion held till the 10th of *January* following, and then being prorogu'd to the 20th of the ſame Month, the Houſes were diſſolv'd. The next Day after the Meeting of the Parliament, both the *Convocations* were aſſembled, and continued to the 21ſt of *January*, but nothing of Buſineſs was done by either of them.

A. D. 1680.

The Convocation does no Buſineſs during the two enſuing Parliaments.

This Year the Lord Biſhop of *London*, in hopes to recover the Diſſenters to the Communion of the Church, wrote to Monſieur *Le Moyne* Profeſſor in Divinity at *Leyden*, to Monſieur *L'Angle* Preacher to the Reform'd Church at *Charenton* near *Paris*, and to Monſieur *Claude* another learned *French* Divine, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf againſt Monſieur *Arnauld*'s *Perpetuity of the Faith*. The Deſign of his Lordſhip's Letters was, to receive the Judgment of theſe Divines upon the Controverſie between the *Nonconformiſts* and the Church of *England*.

Part of Mr. Le Moyne's *Letter to the Lord Biſhop of* London, *touching the Nonconformiſts.*

I ſhall give the *Reader* Part of their Anſwers ſent to the Biſhop upon this Head. To begin: Monſieur *Le Moyne* ſpeaking of Epiſcopal Government, declares himſelf thus: "What is there in it that is dangerous, or may reaſonably give an Alarm to any Man's Conſcience? If ſuch a Form of ſpiritual Adminiſtration is capable of depriving us of eternal Happineſs, or ſhutting up the Paſſages to Heaven, who could poſſibly get thither for more than fifteen hundred Years together? For during this whole Time, no Churches in the World have been under any other Government. If Epiſcopacy was thus deſtructive of Truth and future Happineſs, is it imaginable that God would have given it ſuch Marks of open Approbation, and ſuffer'd his Church to be thus tyrannically oppreſs'd for ſo many Centuries? For who have all along govern'd this ſpiritual Society? Who have been the Members both of General, Provincial, and Dioceſan Councils? Who are they that have combated the Hereſies with which the Church has been diſturb'd thro' every Age? Were not theſe Fathers the Biſhops? And has it not been the Effect of their prudent Conduct, next under God, that the Word of God has made its way againſt all Oppoſition, and that Truth has triumph'd over Error? And without tracing the Hiſtory of the Church to its Beginning; Who was it that recover'd *England* in the laſt *Century* from the Miſperſuaſions they lay under? Who was it that reviv'd primitive Belief in ſo won-

September 5. A. D. 1680.

derful a manner? Was not all this compaſſed by the Miniſtry, the Zeal, and Reſolution of the Biſhops? After a great deal more to this purpoſe, he takes notice that all the *Proteſtants* of *France*, thoſe of *Geneva*, thoſe of *Switzerland*, *Germany* and *Holland*, have a profound Veneration for the Church of *England*. How comes it to paſs then, that the *Engliſh* ſhould be thus ſingular in their Conduct, thus unhappy in their Belief, as to break with them? Is not this plainly coming to a Rupture with all the Churches of Antiquity, with all the Eaſtern Churches, with all the *Proteſtant* Churches, who have always had a great Regard for the *Engliſh* Communion, upon the ſcore of the Purity of her Doctrine and Conſtitution? Is it not a ſtrange degree of Severity and Aſſurance, to excommunicate her without Mercy, and to imagine themſelves the only Perſons in *England*, or indeed in the whole Chriſtian World, that are predeſtinated to eternal Happineſs, and maintain thoſe Truths that are neceſſary to Salvation? Certainly one might draw a very diſadvantageous Parallel between theſe *Teachers* and Pope *Victor*, who would needs excommunicate the *Aſian* Churches, becauſe they would not keep the *Eaſter Feſtival* upon the ſame Day it was obſerv'd at *Rome*: The Compariſon might be carry'd farther between theſe *Miniſters* and the *Audeans*, who went off from the Communion of the Church, and would not endure the Biſhops ſhould be any thing wealthy: Between them and the *Donatiſts*, who would maintain no Spiritual Correſpondence with thoſe who had been *ordain'd* by Biſhops that had been *Traditors*; the *Donatiſts*, I ſay, who fancied their Society the only true Church, and that the Spouſe in Canticles fed his Flock in the *South*.

Mr. De L'Angle's *Letter upon the ſame Subject.* Octob. 31.

To take leave of Monſieur *Le Moyne*, who has ſufficiently diſcover'd his Opinion in what has been recited already. Monſieur *De L'Angle* ſhall be the next. After ſome introductive Lines of Ceremony, he comes cloſe to the Queſtion, and argues upon the following Acknowledgement: "Since, ſays he, the Church of *England* is a true Church, ſince her Worſhip and Doctrines are pure, and have nothing in them contrary to the Word of God; and ſince at the *Engliſh* Reformation, Epiſcopacy, the *Liturgy*, and Ceremonies now us'd, were jointly eſtabliſh'd at the ſame time; 'tis without doubt, the Duty of all the *Reformed* of that Kingdom, to keep themſelves inſeparably united to your Church. And thoſe who decline ſuch Conformity, upon pretence they muſt inſiſt upon more plain and unornamented Ceremonies, and have leſs Inequality amongſt the *Miniſters*, are undoubtedly guilty of a great Sin. For Schiſm is the moſt terrible Evil can poſſibly happen to the Church.

After this, he cites the Authorities of *Calvin* and *Beza*, in Approbation of the *Engliſh* Epiſcopacy (*k*). In the cloſe of the Letter, Monſieur *De L'Angle* acquaints his Lordſhip, Mr. *Claude* is entirely of the ſame Opinion. However, it may not be amiſs to let this laſt Divine ſpeak a little for himſelf.

To paſs over ſome of his Letter more remote from the Controverſie in hand, I ſhall begin with that part of it in which he delivers his Judgment concerning the *Independents*: "I could wiſh with all my Soul, ſaith he, that thoſe who fly out ſo far, as to think of nothing leſs than coming to an abſolute Rupture, and throwing off all Dependence and Subordination, in order to give every particular Congregation a ſort of Sovereign Government: I could wiſh theſe People wou'd thoroughly conſider, whether their Scheme is not a direct Contradiction to the Spirit of Chriſtianity, which is a Spirit of Union and ſocial Correſpondence, and not of Diviſion. That they would conſider, that tho' the Principle of the *Reformed* Churches will by no means ſuffer *Men ſhould have Dominion over their Faith*, and govern the Conſcience at Diſcretion; and that ſuch arbitrary and implicit Methods are deſtructive to Religion: That notwithſtanding this, it does by no means follow, that 'tis lawful for Chriſtians to take Check at Diſcipline, to throw off the Yoke of Government, and deprive themſelves of thoſe Aſſiſtances which are the Conſequences of general Union; and that ſuch a Subordination in the Parts of this Spiritual *Society*, is very ſerviceable to ſecure orthodox Belief, and regular Practice. And laſtly, I deſire they would conſider, that the ſame Reaſon which makes them inſiſt upon the Independence of one Congregation upon another, will carry them much farther than they deſire, and may be made uſe of to break the Union of particular Congregations, and make every ſingle Perſon independent of each other. For one Congregation has no more Right to claim an Independency of other Congregations, than one ſingle Perſon has to ſet up himſelf independent of others in the ſame Congregation. This Principle therefore muſt of neceſſity deſtroy all Diſcipline, throw the Church as far as in us lies, into a horrible Confuſion, and expoſe the *Heritage of our Lord* to the Reproach of the Adverſaries.

Novem. 29. Stylo novo. 1680. *Monſieur Claude's Letter upon the ſame Argument.*

"*As for thoſe amongſt you*, continues Monſieur *Claude*, who are call'd *Presbyterians*, tho' I perſuade my ſelf, they are not unfurniſh'd with Knowledge, Judgment and Zeal, yet I could wiſh with all my Heart, they had ſhewn more Temper in reſenting the Scandal, they fancy has formerly been given them by the Biſhops, and that they had diſtinguiſh'd the *Order*, from the Men. Perſons in publick Stations are not only liable to Miſcarriage, but it may happen that the moſt holy and conſiderable Functions, are ſometimes manag'd by ill People; and in this Caſe both Reaſon and Religion will tell us, that the Miniſter and the Employment ought not to be intermixt and thrown together. And ſince at preſent, by the Bleſſing of God, there is no ſuch Pretence for Diſguſt, and that my Lords the Biſhops are remarkable for their Piety, their Zeal, and Conſtancy to their Religion; I hope the Advantage of their Example will have a good Effect upon the Generality, compoſe the Minds of thoſe formerly diſaffected, and ſweeten their Diſpoſition. Beſides, the *Diſſenters* ſhould pleaſe to conſider, that if the *Epiſcopal* Government is attended with ſome troubleſome Inconveniences, as I do not queſtion but it may be; ſo on the other ſide, the *Presbyterian* Conſtitution is not without very great Diſadvantages. No Order, or Function, where mortal Men have the Manage-

(*k*) Calvin. Edit. Amſtel. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 60. Beza contra Sarrav. ad cap. 8. Art. 3. p. 270. Edit. Francof. A. D. 1601.

“ment of it, is exempt from Inconveniences. *Equality* amongſt the Miniſtry, is ſubject to Blemiſhes and Exceſſes, no leſs than *Superiority*. The ſafeſt and moſt prudent Conduct therefore, is not to run from one Settlement to another, nor to hazard the ſhaking the whole Frame in hopes of a better Conſtitution, tho' we had both Authority and Power to make ſuch an Experiment. Prudence, Juſtice, and Chriſtian Charity, will by no means give us leave to puſh the Point thus far, and venture on ſuch dangerous Extremities, only for a different Form of Government. The beſt Expedient is to endeavour the drawing towards a Temper, and leſſen, as much as may be, the Inconveniences we are afraid of, and not to have Recourſe to violent Remedies. My Lord, I make no ſcruple to call the ſetting up private *Meetings*, declining the publick Congregations, and withdrawing themſelves from your Lordſhip's Government, violent Remedies. Such Practice is apparently no better than a formal *Schiſm*; a Crime in its own Nature hateful to God and Men, and for which, both thoſe, who ſet it up, and encourage it, muſt expect to give an Account at the Great Day (*l*). The Remainder is too long to be inſerted. From what has been already recited, 'tis plain theſe three celebrated Divines have juſtify'd the Communion of the Church of *England*, and given the Cauſe againſt the *Diſſenters*.

March 21. 1680-1.

In the latter end of this Year the Parliament was ſummon'd to *Oxon*, and diſſolv'd after one Week's ſitting: The *Convocation* was order'd to meet at St. *Paul's London*, *March 22d*, but was firſt prorogu'd, and afterwards diſſolv'd without doing any *Buſineſs*.

The Parliament at Edinbourgh *provides for the Security of the Religion Eſtabliſh'd.*

This Summer a Parliament was held at *Edinborough*, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* being High-Commiſſioner. The firſt *Act* relates to Religion, and ſtands thus.

Our Sovereign Lord, with the Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, ratifies and approves all and whatſoever Laws, Acts and Statutes, made by his Royal Grandfather and Father of Bleſſed Memory, or made and paſt in any of his Majeſty's former Parliaments; for ſettling and ſecuring the Liberty and Freedom of the true Kirk *of God, and the Proteſtant Religion, preſently profeſs'd within this Realm, and all Acts made againſt Popery, and Ordains the ſame to ſtand in full Force and Effect, and to be put in execution according to the Tenour and Purport of theſe Acts, as if they were ſpecially mention'd and ſet down herein* (*m*).

The Scotch *Teſt.*

This *Seſſion* a *Teſt* was enacted for the farther ſecurity of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and Government. This ſolemn Engagement was to be ſworn by all Perſons in publick Truſt, in the Church, in the *State*, and the Army. And here to ſay ſomewhat more particularly, the *National Covenant* and the *Solemn League and Covenant* are renounc'd: The endeavouring any Alteration either in Church or State, is diſclaim'd: The Defence of the *Crown* as fully engag'd for, and the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance as ſtrongly aſſerted, as can well be expreſs'd (*n*).

The Power and Juriſdiction of the Church own'd by the State *to continue the ſame 'twas formerly during the three firſt* Centuries *under Heathen Princes.*

Thoſe who refuſe to ſwear purſuant to the Tenour of this *Act*, are declar'd incapable of all Offices and publick Truſt, both in Church and State: And were to be puniſh'd over and above with the loſs of their Moveables, and Life rent eſcheat. But notwithſtanding the heavy Penalties of this *Statute*, the *Teſt* was generally refuſ'd by the *Scottiſh* Biſhops and Clergy, till 'twas explain'd to an inoffenſive Senſe by the King and *Council*, and the inherent Rights of the Church expreſly guarded and reſerv'd. This being a Matter of conſiderable Moment, and much to the Commendation of the *Scottiſh* Hierarchy, the *Reader* ſhall have the publick *Inſtruments* of this Proceſs inſerted at large.

An Act of Council explanatory of the Teſt, Edinborough *the third Day of* November. 1681.

“Foraſmuch as ſome have entertain'd Jealouſies, and Prejudices, againſt the *Oath* and *Teſt* appointed to be taken by all Perſons in publick Truſt, Civil, Eccleſiaſtick or Military in this Kingdom, by the ſixth *Act* of his Majeſty's third *Parliament*, as if thereby they were to ſwear to every Propoſition, or Clauſe in the *Confeſſion of Faith* therein mention'd; or that Invaſion were made thereby upon the *Intrinſick Spiritual Power of the Church, or Power of the Keys; or as if the preſent Epiſcopal Government of this National Church, by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, were thereby expos'd to the hazard of Alteration, or Subverſion; all which are far from the Intention and Deſign of the *Parliament's* impoſing this *Oath*, and from the genuine Senſe and Meaning thereof: Therefore his *Royal Highneſs, his Majeſty's* High-Commiſſioner, and the Lords of Privy-Council do allow, authorize, and impower the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, to adminiſter this *Oath* and *Teſt* to the Miniſters and Clergy in their reſpective Dioceſſes in this expreſs Senſe; that though the *Confeſſion of Faith*, ratify'd in *Parliament*, one thouſand five hundred ſixty and ſeven, was fram'd in the Infancy of our *Reformation*, and deſerves it's due Praiſes; yet by the *Teſt* we do not ſwear to every Propoſition, or Clauſe therein contain'd; but only to the *true Proteſtant Religion, founded on the word of God, contain'd in that Confeſſion, as it is oppos'd to Popery, and Phanaticiſm*.

“Secondly, That by the *Teſt*, or any Clauſe therein contain'd, no Invaſion, or Encroachment, is made, or intended upon the *Intrinſick Spiritual Power of the Church, or Power of the Keys, as it was exerciſed by the Apoſtles, and the moſt pure and primitive Church, in the firſt three Centuries after Chriſt*, and which is ſtill *reſerv'd intirely to the Church*.

“Thirdly, That the *Oath* and *Teſt* is without any prejudice to the *Epiſcopal Government of this National Church*; which is declar'd by the firſt *Act* of the ſecond *Seſſion* of his *Majeſty's* firſt *Parliament*, to be moſt agreeable to the word of God, and moſt ſuitable to Monarchy, and which upon all occaſions, his *Majeſty* has declar'd he will inviolably, and unalterably preſerve; and appoints the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops to require the Miniſters in their reſpective Dioceſſes, with the firſt Conveniency, to obey the Law, in ſwearing and ſubſcribing the aforeſaid *Oath* and *Teſt*, with certification; that the Refuſers ſhall be eſteem'd Perſons diſaffected to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to his *Majeſty*'s Government, and that the Puniſhment appointed by the aforeſaid Sixth *Act* of his *Majeſty*'s third *Parliament*, ſhall

“be

(*l*) Stillingfleet's *unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, p. 395. & deinc.

(*m*) Car. 2. Parl. 3. c. 1.

(*n*) Car. 2. Parl. 3. c. 6.

Rehearſal, *Vol.* 1. *Numb.* 163.

“ be impartially, and without delay, inflicted upon them.

“ Extracted forth of the Records of Privy-Council, by

Will. Paterson

Cl. Sti. Concilii.

To this Record I ſhall ſubjoyn *his Majeſty's Letter of Approbation.*

Charles Rex.

“ Moſt dear, and moſt intirely belov'd Brother; right truſty and well belov'd Couſins, and Councellours, right truſty and well beloved Councellours, and truſty and well beloved Councellours, we greet you well: Whereas by one of your Letters directed unto us, bearing date the 8th Inſtant, we do find that ſome having entertain'd Scruples, and Prejudices againſt the *Teſt*, by miſtaking the true Senſe and Meaning thereof: And others having put falſe and unjuſt Gloſſes, and Sences upon it, tending to defeat its excellent Deſign for the ſecurity of our Government, and that upon this account you found it neceſſary, by an Act of that our Council (which we have ſeen) to declare its true, and genuine Sence, and to allow, and impower the Biſhops to Adminiſter the ſame, in this Senſe to the Clergy in their reſpective Dioceſſes; we are ſo well pleas'd with that explanatory Act, that we will not delay to ſend you our chearful Approbation thereof, with our hearty Thanks for your Zeal in our Service upon all Occaſions, eſpecially in what relates to the Security of the Perſons, Rights, Intereſts, and Privileges of our orthodox Clergy, which we do now (as we have often done before) in a particular manner recommend to your Care, as a Matter wherein you may render unto us the moſt acceptable Services; and therefore we expect that you will upon all fit Occaſions, give them all poſſible Encouragement, as thoſe whom we have receiv'd, and will conſtantly ſhelter under our Royal Protection, againſt all their Enemies: So We bid you heartily Farewel.

“ Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the Fifteenth Day of *November*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty and One, and of Our Reign the Thirty Third Year.

By his Majeſty's Command,

MORRAY.

And here it may not be improper to advertize the *Reader*, that by the *Scottiſh* Conſtitution, the *King* and *Council* are the authentick Interpreters of the Legiſlature; and their Explanation of the Senſe of an *Act* ſtands for Law, unleſs afterwards diſallow'd in *Parliament*, which never happen'd in the preſent Caſe.

And thus upon the whole, we have a full Acknowledgment from the *State*, of the Churches Independency in Spiritual Matters: That the *Power* of the *Keys*, as 'twas exercifed by the Apoſtles, and by other Eccleſiaſtical Governours through the firſt three *Centuries*, is ſtill reſerv'd entirely to the Church as a peculiar and unalienable Juriſdiction. From whence the next Inference is, that the *Chriſtianity* of Princes implies no Ceſſion of Authority in the *Hierarchy*, or the forfeiture of any Branch of our Saviour's Commiſſion to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors the Biſhops.

Soon after his Royal Highneſs return'd to *England*, Seven of the *Scotch* Biſhops wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint him, how ſenſible they were of the Benefit of the Duke's Adminiſtration. Their Letter ſtands thus.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Edinborough March 9. 1682. *But by the* Engliſh *Computation,* 1681--2.

“ His Royal Highneſs having paſs'd from hence on *Monday* laſt, being call'd by the King to attend his Majeſty at *New-Market*; We ſhould prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if upon this Occaſion, we ſhould forget to acknowledge to your Grace, how much this poor Church, and our *Order*, do owe to his Princely Care and Goodneſs, that his Majeſty and the worthy Biſhops of *England*, may from you receive the juſt Account thereof.

The Scotch *Biſhops Letter by way of Acknowledgment of the Benefit of the Duke's Adminiſtration.*

“ Since his Royal Highneſs's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Caſe much changed to the better, and our Church and *Order*, (which through the Cunning and Power of their Adverſaries, were expoſed to extreme Hazard and Contempt) ſenſibly reliev'd and reſcued; which, next to the watchful Providence of God (that mercifully ſuperintends his Church) we can aſcribe to nothing, ſo much as to his Royal Highneſs's gracious owning and vigilant Protection of us.

“ Upon all Occaſions he gives freſh Inſtances of his eminent Zeal againſt the moſt unreaſonable Schiſm, which by Renting, threatens the Subverſion of our Church and Religion, and concerns himſelf as a Patron to us, in all our Publick and even Perſonal Intereſts: So that all Men take notice of his ſignal Kindneſs to us, and obſerve, that he looks on the Enemies of the Church, as Adverſaries to the Monarchy it ſelf: Nor did we ever propoſe or offer to his Royal Highneſs, any rational Expedient which might conduce for the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

“ The Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom is the Effect of his prudent and ſteddy Conduct of Affairs; and the Humours of our wicked Fanaticks, are much reſtrain'd from dangerous Eruptions, upon their Apprehenſions of his Vigilance and Juſtice: For they dread nothing ſo much as to ſee him upon the Head of his Majeſty's Councils and Forces againſt them.

“ We hope your Grace will make our dutiful Acknowledgment to his Royal Highneſs for all his Princely Favours to us, and give him the moſt firm Aſſurance of our moſt ſincere Endeavours to ſerve him, and of our moſt fervent Prayers for his Temporal and Eternal Happineſs, as the bounden Duty of,

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Your Grace's moſt Humble

And Faithful Servants,

Alexand. St. And.
Jo. Edinburgenſ.
Andr. Dunkelden
Arch. Glaſcuenſ.
Ja. Gallovidienſ.
George Brechin.
Ja. Dumblanen.

That theſe Seven Biſhops were ſolicited for this Acknowledgment; That they were careſs'd or over-aw'd into a Compliment; And that they wanted Matter of Fact to ſupport their Letter, is an uncourtly and uncharitable Suppoſition, and argues they had nothing of that Truth and Reſolution requir'd in their Character. However, ſomething of this is glanc'd at by a late Hiſtorian (*o*). The *Duke*, it ſeems, muſt have a Blow at all Adventures: For 'tis not uncuſtomary with this Learned Author, to take extraordinary Freedom with that Prince's Memory.

The Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford.

Upon the breaking out of the *Rye-Houſe* Plot, and ſome other bold Practices againſt the Government, the Univerſity of *Oxon* thought it their Duty to do their Part for diſabling ſuch treaſonable Attempts. To this purpoſe they paſs'd a ſolemn *Cenſure* of 27 Propoſitions extracted from modern Authors, who moſt of them had either acted in, or abetted the late Rebellion. This *Decree* was drawn up in *Latin* by the Profeſſor in Divinity, paſs'd the Convocation on *Saturday* July 21. and was preſented to his Majeſty in *Engliſh* on the 24th of the ſame Month. 'Tis to the Tenour following.

The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of Oxon, *paſs'd in their Convocation on* July *the* 21. 1683. *againſt certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the Sacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all Human Society.*

A. D. 1683.

I ſhall omit the introductive Diſcourſe, and paſs to the ſcandalous Aſſertions, which are theſe:

The Firſt Propoſition.

“ All Civil Authority is derived originally from the People.

The Second.

“ There is a mutual Compact, tacit or expreſs, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are diſcharg'd from theirs.

The Third.

“ That if lawful Governours become Tyrants, or govern otherwiſe than by the Laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the Right they had unto their Government. *Lex Rex. Buchanan, de jure Regni. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Bellarm. de Conciliis, de Pontifice. Milton, Goodwin, Baxter,* H. C.

The Fourth.

“ The Sovereignty of *England*, is in the three Eſtates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons. The King has but a co-ordinate Power, and may be over-ruled by the other two. *Lex Rex. Hunton, of a limited and mix'd Monarchy. Baxter*'s *H. C. Polit. Catechiſ.*

The Fifth.

“ Birthright and Proximity of Blood, give no Title to Rule or Government; and it is lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succeſſion to the Crown ”. *Lex Rex.* Hunt'*s Poſtſcript.* Dolman'*s Hiſtory of Succeſſion.* Julian *the Apoſtate.* Mene Tekel.

The Sixth.

“ It is lawful for Subjects, without the Conſent, and againſt the Command of the Supreme Magiſtrate, to enter into Leagues, Covenants, and Aſſociations, for Defence of themſelves and their Religion ”. *Solemn League and Covenant. Late Aſſociation.*

The Seventh.

“ Self Preſervation is the fundamental Law of Nature, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of all others, whenſoever they ſtand in Competition with it ”. *Hobbs de Cive. Leviathan.*

The Eighth.

“ The Doctrine of the *Goſpel* concerning patient ſuffering of Injuries, is not inconſiſtent with violent reſiſting the higher Powers, in caſe of Perſecution for Religion ”. *Lex Rex. Julian the Apoſtate. Apolog. Relat.*

The Ninth.

“ There lies no Obligation upon Chriſtians to *Paſſive* Obedience, when the Prince commands any thing againſt the Laws of our Country; and the primitive Chriſtians choſe rather to die, than reſiſt, becauſe Chriſtianity was not ſettled by the Laws of the Empire ”. *Julian the Apoſtate.*

The Tenth.

“ Poſſeſſion and Strength give a Right to govern; and Succeſs in a Cauſe or Enterprize, proclaims it to be lawful and juſt: To purſue it, is to comply with the Will of God, becauſe it is to follow the Conduct of his Providence ”. *Hobbs. Owen*'s *Sermon before the Regicides,* Jan. 31. 1648. *Baxter. Jenkin*'s *Petition,* Octob. 1651.

The Eleventh.

“ In the State of Nature there is no Difference between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong: The State of Nature is a State of War, in which every Man hath a Right to all things.

The Twelfth.

“ The Foundation of Civil Authority is this Natural Right; which is not given, but left to the ſupreme Magiſtrate, upon Mens entring into *Societies*: And not only a Foreign Invader, but a Domeſtick Rebel, puts himſelf again into a State of Nature, to be proceeded againſt, not as a Subject, but an Enemy; and conſequently acquires, by his Rebellion, the ſame Right over the Life of his Prince as the Prince, for the moſt heinous Crimes, has over the Life of his own Subjects.

The Thirteenth.

“ Every Man, after his entring into a *Society*, retains a Right of defending himſelf againſt Force; and cannot transfer that Right to the Commonwealth, when he conſents to that Union whereby a Commonwealth is made: And in caſe a great many Men together have already reſiſted the Commonwealth, for which every one of them expecteth Death, they have Liberty then to join together to aſſiſt and defend one another: Their bearing of Arms, ſubſequent to the firſt Breach of their Duty, though it be to maintain what

“ they

(*o*) *Complete Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 3. p. 407.

they have done, is no new unjuſt Act; and if it be only to defend their Perſons, it is not unjuſt at all.

The Fourteenth.

“ An Oath ſuperadds no Obligation to Pacts, and a Pact obliges no farther than it is credited: And conſequently, if a Prince gives any Indication, that he does not believe the Promiſes of Fealty and Allegiance made by any of his Subjects, they are thereby freed from their Subjection; and notwithſtanding their Pacts and Oaths, may lawfully rebel againſt, and deſtroy their Sovereign. *Hobbs, de Civ. Leviathan.*

The Fifteenth.

“ If a People, that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and, contrary to their Covenants, chuſe and covenant with another; they may be obliged by their latter Covenants, notwithſtanding their former. *Baxter*'s H. C.

The Sixteenth.

“ All Oaths are unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God. *Quakers.*

The Seventeenth.

“ An Oath obligeth not in the Senſe of the Impoſers, but the Takers. *Sheriff's Caſe.*

The Eighteenth.

“ Dominion founded in Grace.

The Nineteenth.

“ The Powers of this World are Uſurpations upon the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt; and it is the Duty of God's People to deſtroy them, in order to the ſetting Chriſt upon his Throne. *Fifth-Monarchy-Men.*

The Twentieth.

“ The *Presbyterian* Government is the Scepter of Chriſt's Kingdom, to which Kings, as well as others are bound to ſubmit: And the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, aſſerted by the Church of *England*, is injurious to Chriſt, the ſole King and Head of his Church. *Altare Damaſcenum. Apolog. Relat. Hiſt. Indulg. Cartwright. Travers.*

The Twenty-firſt.

“ It is not lawful for Superiours to impoſe any thing in the Worſhip of God, that is not antecedently neceſſary.

The Twenty-ſecond.

“ The Duty of not offending a weak Brother, is inconſiſtent with all human Authority of making Laws concerning indifferent things. *Proteſtant Reconciler.*

The Twenty-third.

“ Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to Death; and if the Judges and inferiour Magiſtrates will not do their Office, the Power of the Sword devolves to the People: If the major part of the People refuſe to exerciſe this Power, then the Miniſters may excommunicate ſuch a King: After which 'tis lawful for any of the Subjects to kill him; as the People did *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabel*. *Buchanan, Knox, Goodman, Gilby,* Jeſuits.

The Twenty-fourth.

“ After the ſealing of the *Scripture Canon*, the People of God in all Ages, are to expect new Revelations for a Rule of their Actions (*a*); and 'tis lawful for a private Man, having an inward Motion from God, to kill a Tyrant, (*a*) (*b*) *Quakers, and other Enthuſiaſts* (*b*) Goodman.

The Twenty-fifth.

“ The Example of *Phinehas* is to us inſtead of a Command: For what God hath commanded or approved in one Age, muſt needs oblige in all. *Goodman, Knox, Naphtali.*

The Twenty-ſixth.

“ King *Charles* I. was lawfully put to Death; and his Murtherers were the Bleſſed Inſtruments of God's Glory in their Generation. *Milton, Goodwin, Owen.*

The Twenty-ſeventh.

“ King *Charles* I. made War upon his Parliament: And in ſuch a caſe, the King may not be reſiſted, but he ceaſeth to be King. *Baxter.*

“ We decree, judge and declare all and every of theſe *Propoſitions* to be Falſe, Seditious and Impious, and moſt of them to be alſo Heretical and Blaſphemous, Infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and deſtructive of all Government in Church and State.

A. D. 1683.

“ We farther decree, That the Books which contain the aforeſaid Propoſitions, and impious Doctrines, are fitted to deprave good Manners, corrupt the Minds of uneaſie Men, ſtir up Seditions and Tumults, overthrow States and Kingdoms, and lead to Rebellion, Murther of Princes, and Atheiſm it ſelf. And therefore we interdict all Members of the *Univerſity* from the reading of the ſaid Books, under the Penalty in the *Statutes* expreſs'd. We alſo order the before-recited Books to be publickly burnt by the Hand of our Marſhal, in the Court of our Schools.

“ Likewiſe we order, That, in perpetual Memory hereof, theſe our *Decrees* ſhall be entred into the Regiſtry of our Convocation; and that Copies of them being communicated to the ſeveral Colleges and Halls within this Univerſity, they be there publickly affix'd in the Libraries, Refectories, or other fit Places where they may be ſeen and read of all.

The reſt may be omitted.

Thoſe who blame theſe Gentlemen of the *Univerſity*, as if they ſet the Obedience of the Subject too high, do not ſeem to have fully conſider'd that the *Homilies* and *Statutes* (*p*) make Submiſſion to the *Crown* no leſs abſolute, the *Paſſive* Chain altogether as heavy, and ſtrike the *Reſiſting* Principle as ſtrong, as any Inference which can be drawn from the *Oxford Decree*.

(*p*) 13, 14. Car. 2. cap. 3. 13. Car. 2. cap. 6. 14. Car. 2. cap. 6. 25. Ed. 3. cap. 2. 14. Car. 2. cap. 4. *Homil.* 10. *Exhortation to Obedience. Homil.* 33. *againſt Diſobedience and wilful Rebellion.*

The *Cambridge Addreſs* publiſh'd about this time, is particularly remarkable for Loyalty, and Elocution, and deſerves to be remembred: It was preſented to the King at *New-Market*, by the Vice Chancellour Dr. *Gower*. 'Tis this:

The Cambridge *Univerſity Addreſs.*

Sir,

“ We your *Majeſty*'s moſt Faithful and Obedient *Subjects* of the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge*,

“ have long, with the greateſt and ſincereſt Joy, beheld what we hope is in ſome meaſure the Effect of our own *Prayers*, the generous *Emulation* of our *Fellow Subjects*, contending who ſhould firſt and beſt expreſs their *Duty* and *Gratitude* to their *Sovereign*, at this time eſpecially, when the ſeditious *Endeavours* of unreaſonable Men have made it neceſſary to aſſert the ancient *Loyalty* of the *Engliſh Nation*, and make the World ſenſible, that we do not degenerate from thoſe prime Glories of our *Anceſtors*, Love and *Allegiance* to our *Prince*.

“ That we were not earlier ſeen in thoſe Loyal Crowds, but choſe rather to ſtand by, and applaud their honeſt and religious Zeal, we humbly preſume will not be imputed to the want of it in our ſelves, either by your *Majeſty*, or your *People*; for it is at preſent the great Honour of your *Univerſity*, not only to be ſtedfaſt and conſtant in our *Duty*, but to be eminently ſo, and to ſuffer for it, as much as the *Calumnies* and *Reproaches* of factious and malicious Men can inflict upon us: And that they have been hitherto able to do no more than vent the Venom of their Tongues; that they have not proceeded to *Plunder* and *Sequeſtration*, to violate our *Chapels*, rifle our *Libraries*, and empty our *Colleges*, as once they did, next to the over-ruling *Providence of Almighty God*, is only due to the *Royal* Care and *Prudence* of your moſt *Sacred Majeſty*.

“ But no Earthly Power, we hope, no Menaces or Miſery, ſhall ever be able to make us renounce or forget our *Duty*. We will ſtill believe and maintain, that our *Princes* derive not their *Title* from the *People*, but from *God*; that to him only they are accountable, that it belongs not to *Subjects* either to create, or cenſure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be ſo, by a *Fundamental* Hereditary *Right* of *Succeſſion*, which no *Religion*, no Law, no *Fault*, or *Forſeiture*, can alter or diminiſh.

“ Nor will we ever abate of our well-inſtructed Zeal for our moſt holy *Religion*, as it is profeſs'd and eſtabliſh'd by *Law* in the *Church* of *England*, that Church that hath ſo long ſtood, and is ſtill the Envy and Terror of her *Adverſaries*, as well as the Beauty and Strength of the *Reformation*.

“ It is thus that we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their Duty to *God* and their *Prince*: In the conſcientious Diſcharge of both which, we have been ſo long protected and encourag'd by your *Majeſty's* moſt juſt and gracious *Government*, that we neither need nor deſire any other *Declaration* than that Experience, for our Aſſurance and Security for the future.

“ In all which Grace and Goodneſs we have nothing to return: We bring no *Names* and *Seals*, no *Lives* and *Fortunes*, well capable of your *Majeſty's* Service, or at all worthy of your Acceptance: Nothing but *Hearts* and *Prayers*, *Vows* of a zealous and laſting *Loyalty*; our *ſelves* and *Studies*, all that we can, or ever ſhall be able to perform, which we here moſt ſincerely promiſe, and moſt humbly tender at your *Majeſty's* Feet, a mean and worthleſs Preſent; but ſuch an one as we hope will not be diſdain'd by the moſt gracious and indulgent *Prince* that Heaven ever beſtow'd upon a *People*.

Michaelmas-Term, A.D. 1684.
Oats *indicted for Perjury.*

Titus Oats, now in the Declenſion of his Credit, was indicted at the *King's Bench*, and at the *Old Baily* for Perjury; but his Tryal was deferr'd till *Hilary-Term*. And ſince thus much of *Oats* his Hiſtory has come in the way, the *Reader* may probably expect not to be left in ſuſpence about the Iſſue. We may obſerve therefore, that in *May* the next Summer, he was proſecuted for the ſame Crime upon two Indictments, and found guilty. The Particulars upon which he was convicted, are the Diſproof of ſome material Circumſtances ſworn by him at the Tryals of *Ireland*, *Whitebread*, and others (q). *Oats* liv'd to a favourable *Juncture* for reverſing theſe Judgments, and brought his *Writs* of Error for that purpoſe: However, after a full Debate upon the Cauſe, the Lords could not be prevail'd with to blanch his Character, or reſtore him to the Capacity of being an Evidence in any Court *(r)*.

A.D. 1684-5.
The King's Death.

To return: At the latter End of this Year, the King fell ſick of an Apoplexy, and dy'd at *Whitehall* on the 6th of *February*. To conclude in a Word or two, by way of Character: He was a Prince of extraordinary natural Endowments, of great Quickneſs and Penetration, and admirably qualify'd for the Station he was born to. But theſe Advantages were not without Abatements in private Life. It muſt be granted, his Pleaſures were too ſtrong for him. Theſe Sallies prov'd unſerviceable to his *Exchequer*, and drove him upon Inequalities in the Adminiſtration. Thus, being ſometimes exhauſted, he ſtoop'd his Authority to Diſadvantage, and careſs'd a Party, no Friends to the *Crown*. However, in the latter End of his Reign, he recollected himſelf for Buſineſs, recover'd his Ground, and dy'd with the *Faction* at his Feet. He married *Donna Catharina*, *Infanta* of *Portugal*, but had no Iſſue by her.

The END.

(q) Oats his *Tryal.*

(r) Compleat Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. 3. *p.* 530.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

Num. I.

Pope Julius II.*'s Bull for diſpenſing with Prince* Henry*'s marrying* Catharine *of* Spain.

Lord Herbert *p.* 236.

JUlius Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico chariſſimi in Chriſto filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſimi nato, & dilectæ in Chriſto filiæ Catharinæ chariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Ferdinandi Regis ac chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ noſtræ Elizabethæ Reginæ Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout perſonarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata, id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte veſtra Petitionis ſeries continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus chariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtriſſimi primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Ferdinandum, & chariſſimam in Chriſto filiam noſtram Elizabeth. Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos Regem & Reginam, ac præfatum Angliæ Regem matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxiſſetis, illudque carnali copula forſan conſummaviſſetis; Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujuſmodi matrimonio non ſuſcepta deceſſit; cum autem ſicut eadem Petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinculum pacis & amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitima de præſenti contrahere; ſupplicari nobis feciſtis, ut vobis in præmiſſis de opportunæ diſpenſationis gratia providere de Benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur: Nos igitur qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amænitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, vos & quemlibet veſtrûm a quibuſcunque Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis & Interdicti, aliiſque eccleſiaſticis ſententiis, cenſuris & pœnis à jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa, latis, ſi quibus quommodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie abſolventes, & abſolutas fore cenſentes, hujuſmodi Supplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum aut, impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente, ac Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, cæteriſque contrariis nequaquam obſtantibus, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, etiamſi forſitan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula conſummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis Auctoritate Apoſtolica & tenore Præſentium de ſpecialis dono gratiæ diſpenſamus, ac vos & quemlibet veſtrûm, ſi contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab exceſſu hujuſmodi ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem Auctoritate abſolvimus, prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſive contracto, vel contrahendo ſuſceptam, forſan vel ſuſcipiendam, legitimam decernendo. Proviſo, quod (tu filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod ſi hujuſmodi matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrûm eligendus, pœnitentiam ſalutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ Abſolutionis, Diſpenſationis, & Voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri ac Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quingenteſimo tertio ſeptim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno primo.

The Pope's Brief for this purpoſe is much of the ſame Tenor, but with ſome ſupplemental Clauſes of Advantage: There's a Copy of it atteſted at Toledo *by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction.*

Num. II.

Prince Henry*'s Proteſtation againſt his Marriage with* Catharine *of* Spain.

Biblioth. Cotton. Vitell. B. 12.
Lord Herbert *p.* 249.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Domino Ricardo Dei & Apoſtolicæ Sedis gratia Epiſcopo Wintonienſi, ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Ceſtriæ, dico, allego, & in his ſcriptis propono, quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie exiſtens cum sereniſſima Domina Catharina Hiſpaniarum Regis filia matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem contractus quamvis obſtante ipſa minore ætate mea de ſe jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ, aut vigoris extiterit; quia jam annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam ſupervenientibus, contractus ipſe per tacitum conſenſum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut interſignium dationem ſeu receptionem, vel alium quemcunque modum, jure declaratum, forſan exiſtimari ſeu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; eapropter ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati exiſtens, & annos pubertatis attingens, proteſtor, quod non intendo eundem prætenſum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta ſeu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, ſeu ratum habere; ſed nunc in præſenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, ſed ſponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujuſmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem diſſentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimoniali prætenſo, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero vel poſſim, penitus reſilire, & eidem expreſſe diſſentire, prout in præſenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem diſſentio. Proteſtorque, quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut geſtum, per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunque aut qualemcunque, inpoſterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimonialem, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam ſponſam, aut uxorem meam conſentire. Super quibus vos omnes teſtimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obteſtor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Jun. 27. 1505.

Lecta fuit & facta ſupraſcripta Proteſtatio, per præfatum Sereniſſimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Domino Richardo permiſſione divina Winton. Epiſcopo, judicialiter pro Tribunali Sedente, & me Notarium infraſcriptum ad tunc præſentem in ejus Actorum ſcribam in hac parte aſſumente, & teſtium infraſcriptorum præſentiis; Anno Domini 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatûs Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ Secundi Anno ſecundo, menſis vero Junii die vigeſimo ſeptimo; quo die Dominus Sereniſſimus Princeps, proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem aſſerebat; in quadam baſſa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richmondiæ, in parte Occidentali ejuſdem Palatii ſituata. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis præfatus ſereniſſimus Princeps me Notarium prænominatum Inſtrumentum conficere, & teſtes infra nominatos teſtimonium perhibere requiſivit inſtanter & rogavit. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium, præfatus Sereniſſimus Princeps ſupra, & teſtes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requiſiti ſua nomina propriis manibus infra ſcripſerunt. Ita eſt ut ſupra quod ego Johannes Read manu & ſigno meo manuali atteſtor.

Giles Dobney,
C. Sommerſet,
Tho. Rowthal,
Nicholas Weſt,
Henry Marny.

Num. III.

Sententiæ quædam Reſponſionis Lutherianæ adverſus Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem.

Inter opera Thomæ Mori edit. Lovaniæ an. 1566.

SOlum rhetoricatur glorioſus Rex ---- Sic dixiſſe ſatis fuit Defenſori novo Eccleſiæ, & Numini recens in Angliæ nato ---- Quando ergo Larvam verbis Larvatis ludere libuit in re tam ſeria & ſacra. Ego ſine Larva ſed apertè dico Regem Angliæ Henricum iſtum plane mentiri, & ſcurram leviſſimum mendaciis ſuis magis referre quam Regem ---- Faceſſat mihi in hac re Majeſtas Regia, & mea Humilitas, cum mendaci ſcurra loquor, Regis titulo velato ---- Si ſtultus Rex ſic Regiæ Majeſtatis obliviſcitur, ut mendaciis apertis in publicum audeat prodire, idque dum ſacra tractat, cur mihi non pulchrum ſit mendacia ejus rurſus in os ejus regerere, ut ſi quam voluptatem concepit adverſus divinam Majeſtatem mentiendo, eam amittat, Veritatem adverſus ſuam Majeſtatem audiendo. ---- Denique adeo ſtultum eſt hoc Regis propoſitum, ut & communi Hominum ſenſui repugnat. ---- Stulta, ridicula, & veriſſimè Henriciana, & Thomiſtica ſunt hæc. ---- Hoc agit inquietus Satan, ut nos à Scripturis avocet per ſceleratos Henricos, & ſacrilegos Thomiſtas, &c. ---- Hæc ſunt robora noſtra, adverſus quæ obmuteſcere coguntur Henrici, Thomiſtæ, Papiſtæ, & quicquid eſt fæcis, ſentinæ, & latrinæ impiorum & ſacrilegorum ejuſmodi. ---- Indulgendum eſſet ei, ſi humano modo erraret: Nunc quum prudens & ſciens mendacia componat, adverſus mei Regis Majeſtatem in Cœlis, damnabilis Putredo iſta & Vermis, Jus mihi erit pro meo Rege Majeſtatem Anglicam luto & ſtercore conſpergere, & Coronam iſtam Blaſphemam in Chriſtum, pedibus conculcare.

Num. IV.

Bulla Leonis Decimi Papæ, qua Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem titulo Fidei Defenſoris *ornavit.*

Lord Herbert, *who tranſcrib'd it from the Original.*

LEO Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, Salutem & ampliſſimam Benedictionem. Ex ſupernæ Diſpoſitionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, univerſalis Eccleſiæ Regimini præſidentes, ad hoc cordis noſtri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, ſine qua nemo proficit ad ſalutem, continuum ſuſcipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibuſque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, ſana (Chriſti Fidelium præſertim dignitate regali fulgentium) doctrina ſunt diſpoſita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes noſtri Miniſterii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et ſicut alii Romani Pontifices Prædeceſſores noſtri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, ſpecialibus favoribus proſequi conſueverunt, illos præſertim qui procelloſis temporibus, & rabida Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, non ſolum in Fidei Serenitate & Devotione illibata Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ immobiles perſtiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipſius Eccleſiæ legitimi Filii, ac fortiſſimi Athletæ Schiſmaticorum & Hæreticorum inſanis furoribus ſpiritualiter & temporaliter ſeſe oppoſuerunt: Ita etiam nos Majeſtatem tuam, propter excelſa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc ſanctam Sedem, in qua permiſſione divina ſedemus, opera & geſta condignis & immortalibus Præconiis & Laudibus efferre deſideramus, ac ea ſibi concedere, propter quæ invigilare debeat, a Grege Dominico Lupos arcere, & putrida Membra, quæ myſticum Chriſti Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abſcindere, & Nutantium Corda Fidelium in Fidei ſoliditate confirmare. Sane cum nuper dilectus Filius Johannes Clarke, Majeſtatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Conſiſtorio noſtro coram venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, & compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis, Librum, quem Majeſtas tua, Charitate, quæ omnia ſedulo & nihil perperam agit, Fideique Catholicæ Zelo accenſa, & Devotionis erga nos & hanc ſanctam Sedem fervore inflammata, contra Errores diverſorum Hæreticorum ſæpius ab hac ſancta Sede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum ſuſcitatos, & innovatos tanquam nobile & ſalutare quoddam Antidotum compoſuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde Authoritate noſtra approbandum obtuliſſet, ac luculenta Oratione ſua expoſuiſſet Majeſtatem tuam paratam ac diſpoſitam eſſe, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum Authoritatibus, notorios Errores ejuſdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos ſequi & defenſare præſumentes totius Regni viribus & armis perſequatur: Noſque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & Cœleſtis Gratiæ rore conſperſam Doctrinam diligenter accuratéque introſpexiſſemus; Omnipotenti Deo a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum eſt, immenſas Gratias egimus, qui optimam & ad omne Bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inſpirare, eique tantam Gratiam ſuperne infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea ſcriberes, quibus ſanctam ejus fidem contra novum Errorum damnatorum hujuſmodi ſuſcitatorem defenderes, ac reliquos Reges & Principes Chriſtianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipſi etiam Orthodoxæ Fidei & Evangelicæ Veritati in periculum & diſcrimen adductæ, omni ope ſua adeſſe opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autem eſſe cenſentes, eos, qui pro Fidei Chriſti hujuſmodi defenſione pios labores ſuſceperunt, omni laude & honore afficere, volenteſque non ſolum ea quæ Majeſtas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum abſolutiſſima Doctrina, nec minori Eloquentia ſcripſit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, Authoritateque noſtra approbare & confirmare, ſed etiam Majeſtatem ipſam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut noſtris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Chriſti fideles omnes intelligant, quàm gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majeſtatis tuæ munus hoc præſertim tempore nobis oblatum: Noſque Petri, quem Chriſtus in Cœlum aſcenſurus Vicarium ſuum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam Gregis ſui commiſit, veri Succeſſores ſumus, & in hac ſancta Sede, qua omnes Dignitates ac Tituli emanant, ſedemus; Habita ſuper his cum iiſdem Fratribus noſtris matura deliberatione, de eorum unanimi conſilio & aſſenſu, Majeſtati tuæ titulum hunc (viz.) *Fidei Defenſorem* donare decrevimus, prout te tali titulo per præſentes inſignimus; Mandantes omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ut Majeſtatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, &, cum ad eum ſcribant, poſt dictionem *Regi*, adjungant *Fidei Defenſori*. Et profecto hujus tituli excellentia ac dignitate, ac ſingularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpenſis & conſideratis, nullum neque dignius, neque Majeſtati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuiſſemus: Quod quoties audies & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; Nec hujuſmodi titulo intumeſces, aut in ſuperbiam elevaberis, ſed ſolita tua Prudentia humilior, & in Fide Chriſti, ac Devotione hujus ſanctæ Sedis, a qua exaltatus fueris, fortior & conſtantior evades, ac in Domino omnium bonorum largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ Monumentum Poſteris tuis relinquere, illiſque viam oſtendere, ut ſi tali titulo ipſi quoque inſigniri optabunt, tali etiam opera efficere, præclaraque etiam Majeſtatis tuæ veſtigia ſequi ſtudeant; quam prout de nobis ac Dominica Sede optimè merita eſt, unà cum Uxore ac Filiis ac omnibus qui a te ac ab illis naſcentur, noſtra Benedictione, in nomine illius a quo illam concedendi poteſtas nobis data eſt, largâ ac liberali manu benedicentes. Altiſſimum illum, qui dixit, per me *Reges regnant*, & *Principes imperant*, & in cujus manu Corda ſunt Regum, rogamus & obſecramus, ut eum in ſuo ſancto Propoſito confirmet, ejuſque Devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro ſancta Fide geſtis ita illuſtret, ac toti Orbi Terrarum conſpicuum reddat, ut Judicium quod de ipſa facimus, eam tam inſigni titulo decorantes, a nemine falſum aut vanum judicari poſſit: Demùm mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, ſempiternæ illius Gloriæ Conſortem atque Participem reddat.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Anno milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo primo. Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno nono.

X. Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus ſubſcr.
Ego P. tit. S. Euſebii Presb. Cardinalis ſubſcr.
Ego A. tit. Sanctæ Mariæ in trans Tiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. ſubſcr.
Ego Lan. Scopum quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis manu propria ſubſcr. &c.
24 alii Cardinales.

Num. V.

Epiſtola Lutheri.

Invictiſſimo, Illuſtriſſimoque Principi ac Domino, Domino Henrico Octavo, Regi Angliæ & Franciæ, Domino ſuo Clementiſſimo.

An. Dom. 1525. Londini in Ædibus Pynſonianis Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo ſexto, ſecunda Decembris. Cum privilegio a Rege indulto.

GRatiam & Pacem in Chriſto Jeſu Domino & Salvatore noſtro Amen. Quanquam vereri merito debuerim, Sereniſſime Rex, Illuſtriſſimeque Princeps, Litteris Majeſtatem tuam tentare; Ut qui mihi conſcius maxime ſum, graviſſime offenſam eſſe Majeſtatem tuam Libello meo: Quem non meo Genio, ſed incitantibus iis, qui Majeſtati tuæ parum favebant, ſtultus & præceps edidi: Tamen Spem & Auſum mihi facit non modo Regia illa Clementia, ſic mihi Literis & Verbis indies cantata à quamplurimis: Ut cum mortalem ſeſe noverit, immortales Inimicitias ſervaturam eſſe non credam: Verum etiam quod fide dignis teſtibus didici, Libellum ſub Majeſtatis tuæ nomine in me editum non eſſe Regis Angliæ, ut videri volebant, ſubdoli Sophiſtæ; Qui Majeſtatis tuæ titulo abuſi, non ſenſerunt quam ſibi ipſis periculum in Regia Ignominia pararent: Præſertim illud monſtrum, & publicum Odium Dei & Hominum Cardinalis Eboracenſis, peſtis illa Regni tui: Ita & nunc vehementer pudefactus, metuam oculos coram Majeſtate tua levare; Qui paſſus ſim levitate iſtâ me moveri in talem tantumque Regem, per malignos illos Operarios, præſertim cum ſim Fex & Vermis, quem ſolo contemptu oportuit victum aut neglectum eſſe. Accidit ad hæc, quod me ſerio compulit, quantumvis abjectum ſcribere, Majeſtatem tuam cœpiſſe favere *Evangelio*, & non parum tædere iſtius generis Hominum perditorum. Hoc ſanè Nuncium fuit vere *Evangelion*, i. e. lætum Nuncium Cordi meo. Quare his literis, proſterno me pedibus Majeſtatis tuæ quantum poſſum humillime; Et per Chriſti Crucem & Gloriam oro & obſecro, Majeſtas tua dignetur ſeſe ſubmittere, & veniam donare in quibuſcunque Majeſtatem tuam læſi: Sicut Chriſtus oravit, & dimittere debita nos quoque invicem juſſit. Deinde ſi Majeſtati tuæ non videbitur contemnendum, ut alio Libello publico Palinodiam cantem, & nomen Majeſtatis tuæ rurſus honorem; Det mihi clementem aliquam Significationem, tum in me mora non erit ulla, faciam illud libentiſſimè. Quamvis enim ſim homo nihili ad tuam Celſitudinem comparatus; tamen, non parum fructus Evangelio & Gloriæ Dei hinc ſperare licebit; ſi mihi ad Regem Angliæ ſcribendi de Evangelii cauſa fuerit copia facta. Interim Majeſtatem tuam (ut cœpit) Dominus augeat; Ut pleno Spiritu, & obediat & faveat Evangelio; Nec ſinat Aures Regias & Animum occupari peſtilentibus Syrenum vocibus, quæ nihil niſi Hæreticum Lutherum vociferari nôrunt. Tua vero Majeſtas apud ſe cogitet, quidnam mali poſſim docere, qui aliud nihil doceam quam Fide Jeſu Chriſti Filii Dei, pro nobis paſſi & ſuſcitati, ſalvos fieri oportere; ſic ut teſtantur Evangelia & Epiſtolæ Apoſtolorum. Hoc enim eſt Caput & Fundamentum Doctrinæ meæ, ſuper quod poſtea ædifico, & doceo Charitatem erga proximum, Obedientiam erga politicos Magiſtratus, tum Crucifixionem Corporis peccati, ut itidem præſcribit Chriſtiana Doctrina. Quid in his Capitibus Doctrinarum mali eſt? Expectetur tamen, audietur & judicetur primum. Cur damnor neque auditus neque convictus! Porro quod Abuſum & Tyrannidem Pontificum taxo: Qui alia quam iſta prædicta capita, imo contraria, docent; Interim Pompæ, Ventribus, imo Regnis & Principatibus, omniumque opibus innitentes, nonne id ipſum & vulgus ſentit & damnat, atque ipſimet coguntur confiteri? Cur non emendant ſeſe, & recta docent, ſi odio & correptione liberi eſſe volunt? Videt Majeſtas tua Sereniſſima quanti Principes in Germania, quot Politiæ, deinde quot viri ſapientiſſimi mecum faciant; & (Deo Gratia) indemnatum cupiant. Quorum numero utinam Chriſtus Majeſtatem tuam aſcribat, & ab iſtis Animarum Tyrannis ſeparet. Quid mirum vero ſi Cæſar & aliqui Principes in me ſæviunt?

Nonne ut Pſalmus ſecundus dicit, *Adverſus Dominum & Chriſtum ſuum fremunt Gentes, meditantur Populi, conſpirant Reges Terræ, & conveniunt Principes?* Ut mirandum potius ſit ſi aliquis Principum ac Regum *Evangelio* faveat.

Huic Miraculo in Majeſtate tua quàm opto ex totis Medullis aliquando gratulari. Et ipſe Dominus (quo præſente & volente hæc ſcribo) cooperetur verbis meis, ut Rex Angliæ brevi fiat perfectus Diſcipulus Chriſti, Evangeliique Profeſſor, tum Lutheri Clementiſſimus Dominus *Amen*. Reſponſum (ſi viſum fuerit Majeſtati tuæ) expecto clemens & benignum. Wittenbergiæ primo Septembris Anno Domini 1525.

Regiæ Majeſtati tuæ ſubjectiſſimus Martinus Lutherus manu propria.

Num. VI.

Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter's *Opinion of King* Henry *the Eighth's Marriage in a Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey.

Paper Office.

Anno Dom. 1527.

SAlva ſit tua Celſitudo: Jam conſultis omnibus iſtis, ut aiunt, mutis Magiſtris, quos ad manum habere potui, diligenterque ſingulorum excuſſis Opinionibus, & Rationibus expenſis, comperio, quòd & tuæ Sublimitati nuper ſcripſi, magnum inter eos eſſe diſſidium, pluribus aſſerentibus id eſſe Divino Jure prohibitum; aliis contra pertinaciter affirmantibus id Divino Juri nullo pacto repugnare. Et profecto penſitatis utrinque Rationibus æqua lance, mihi videor perſpicere facilem Enodationem omnium Argumentationum, quas illi producunt, qui negant id divino Jure licere; aliorum vero non ita facilem, ut & nunc mihi perſuaſiſſimum ſit non poſſe quavis ratione ſolida comprobari; quod prohibitum ſit Divino Jure (quod hodie vim habet) ne viz. Frater defuncti Fratris abſque Liberis, Conjugem accipiat. Quod ſi verum ſit, & etiam non dubito certiſſimum eſſe, quis jam, attenta plenitudine Poteſtatis, quam Chriſtus Pontifici contulit, negare queat poſſe Pontificem diſpenſare, quatenus ob aliquam arduam cauſam, Frater Fratris ſui defuncti ſine Liberis, Uxorem ſibi copulet: Cæterum ut concedam pares utriuſque partis eſſe Rationes, & neutras alteris præponderare, ſed velut in Æquilibrio ſtare ſuſpenſas, quum poſſint utrinque pari facilitate ſolvi, me tamen iſtud impelleret, ut ſim in partes Pontificis inclinatior atque propenſior, quod ſciam iſtud ab utraque parte tributum amplitudini Poteſtatis Pontificiæ, nimirum ut ambiguos Scripturarum locos, auditis in ea re Theologorum & Juriſperitorum ſententiis, liceat interpretari; alioquin fruſtra dixiſſet ei Chriſtus, quicquid ſolveris in Terra erit ſolutum in Cœlis, & quicquid alligaveris in Terra erit alligatum in Cœlis. Quùm igitur apertiſſimè conſtat Pontificem haud ſemel facto ſuo declarâſſe, quod liceat in prædicto caſu diſpenſare cum ſecundo Fratre, hoc ſolum me vehementer moveret ad aſſentiendum, etiamſi potiores Rationes & Probationes non attuliſſet, ſed eſſent, ut dixi, pares in Aſſertionibus ſuis.

Verum nunc cum planè perſpiciam & Rationes efficaciores eſſe pro parte eorum, qui Pontificis Poteſtatem in hac re tuentur, quumque præter hoc, advertam quibus verbis & quam pleniſſimè tradita ſit Pontifici Poteſtas a Chriſto, quum & denique clariſſimis Teſtimoniis intelligam ejuſmodi Diſpenſationem effectui ſæpius commendatam, nullus omnino ſcrupulus mihi ſupereſt, quin iſtud Pontifici liceat, nimirum ut cum Fratre diſpenſat, quatenus alterius Fratris abſque Liberis defuncti, Conjugem accipiat. Habet itaque paucis tua Celſitudo quid ego ſuper hac re ſentiam, jam reliquum eſt ut Celſitudini tuæ proſperam & longævam optem Incolumitatem.

Ex Roffa.

Per me Sublimitati,

Devinctiſſimum,

Jo. Roff.

Num.

Num. VII.

Pope Clement *the Seventh's Commiſſion to the Cardinals* Wolſey *and* Campegio, *for Trying the Cauſe of the Divorce.*

Lord Herbert *p.* 233. An. 1528. 6. Id. Junii.

CLemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilectis Filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ Eboracenſ. & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Trans Tyberim de Campegio nuncupatis Presbiteris Cardinalibus, in Regno Angliæ noſtris & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatis de Latere, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Sanè ad Aures noſtras ex plurimorum Fide dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum eſt, de Validitate illius Matrimonii quod chariſſimus in Chriſto Filius noſter Henricus Angliæ Rex illuſtris, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ cum chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Catharina Regina, Sedis Apoſtolicæ Diſpenſatione prehenſa, contraxiſſe & conſummâſſe dignoſcitur, subortam nuper in Partibus illis Quæſtionem, quæ licet in publicum Eccleſiæ Judicium deducta hactenus non fuerit, cauſæ tamen tam magni graviſque momenti exitus, viz. quem juſtitia & æquitas dederit, animos iſthic omnium ſic habet ſuſpenſos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non ſine maximo diſcrimine protelandam. Quum itaque nos, quos ad juſtitiam in judicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo adminiſtrandam ſervum ſervorum Deus conſtituit, facti veritatem per nos ipſos inquirere, ac cauſam hanc examinare non valemus: Conſiderantes præterea, quod factum, ex quo jus oritur, illic certiùs quam hic, tum etiam citius expeditiuſque cognoſci poterit; cupienteſque in Regno illo, Sedi Apoſtolicæ ſemper devotiſſimo, omnem diſſentionum materiam extingui, & dulciſſimum illum pacis amoriſque inteſtinum concentum, fæliciſſimamque charitatis harmoniam, multos jam annos conſtantem retineri, ac in poſterum conſervari, dictamque proinde ſuper præfato Matrimonio cauſam in judicio juſtitia & veritate decidi, certumque, firmum, validum, & maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem ſortiri: Circumſpectioni veſtræ ad audienda ea omnia & ſingula, quæ dicti Matrimonii vires, diſpenſationiſve Apoſtolicæ cujuſcunque coram vobis producendæ aut exhibendæ validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deque & ſuper omnibus illis ac aliis quibuſcunque materiis, allegationibus, & cauſis dictum Matrimonium aut Diſpenſationem concernentibus ſeu tangentibus cognoſcendum, necnon in cauſa dicti Matrimonii & Validitatis Diſpenſationis, vocatis partibus, ſummariè & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii procedendum, Diſpenſationes quaſcunque Apoſtolicas, prout, illas validas, efficaces & ſufficientes, invalidaſve inefficaces, minus ſufficientes, ſurreptitias, aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunque modo enervatas inveneritis, tales illas eſſe, & haberi debere, pronunciandum & declarandum, dictumque Matrimonium ſimiliter, ſi ab alterutra parte petatur, prout Animo Conſcientiæque veſtræ juris ratio perſuaſerit, validum, juſtum & legitimum ac firmum eſſe, aut è contra invalidum, injuſtum & illegitimum, nullumque fuiſſe & eſſe; pro valido, juſto, legitimo & firmo, aut è contra invalido, injuſto & illegitimo, nulloque haberi debere, definiendum, ſententiandum & decernendum; ac in eventum improbatæ Diſpenſationis & Declarationis Nullitatis Matrimonii, ſummariè & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu aut figura judicii, ut præfertur, Sententiam Divorcii judicialiter proferendam. Denique tam Henrico Regi quam Catharinæ Reginæ præfatis ad alia Vota commigrandi licentiam in Domino, ac facultatem tribuendam. Vobis conjunctim, & altero veſtrûm nolente aut impedito, diviſim, citra omnem Perſonæ aut Juriſdictionis gradum, omni recuſatione & appellatione remotis, Vices & omnem Authoritatem noſtram committimus & demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero veſtrûm nolente, aut impedito, diviſim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia, quæ in hac Commiſſione continentur, duntaxat exequenda, expedienda, ac plenæ finalique executioni demandanda, vices gerentes noſtras, etiam ex certa noſtra ſcientia creamus ac deputamus, ita ut in præmiſſis, quod nos authoritate & poteſtate noſtra facere poſſemus, id etiam vos facere poſſitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio ſuſceptam, ſi id ita expediri viſum fuerit, quam ex ſecundo Matrimonio ſuſcipiendam, legitimam decernendi, pronuntiandi & promulgandi, legitimitatem etiam utriuſque Prolis Cenſuris & Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque per modum decreti aut ſanctionis perpetuæ muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis, quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterint, ex certa noſtra ſcientia authoritate apoſtolica, tenore præſentium, poteſtatem pariter & authoritatem concedimus; Non obſtantibus Conciliis Generalibus, Apoſtolicis Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus editis, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque. Dat. Viterbii Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo octavo, ſexto Id. Junii, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno quinto.

Num. VIII.

A decretal Bull drawn up in England, *and tranſmitted to* Rome: *The Purport of it is, to prevent a Reverſal of the Legate's Sentence in the Buſineſs of the Divorce.*

DIlecto &c. Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Sedis Apoſtolicæ ſuprema Authoritas poteſtatis ſuæ copiam ſic omnibus exhibet, ut pro cauſarum, perſonarum & temporum qualitate, remedia ſingulis ad ædificationem ſubminiſtrare, & cauſas ad Canonum Sanctiones expenſas æquiſſima certiſſimaque lance trutinans, laborantibus conſcientiis & fluctuantibus conſulere, ſummamque ipſis tranquillitatem ſtatuere contendat. Cum itaque clariſſimus in Chriſto Filius noſter Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ ſua nobis conqueſtione monſtraverat, quod ab annis hinc decem & octo Nobilem Mulierem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Regis Hiſpaniarum Filiam, Illuſtris Principis Arthuri Fratris ſui defuncti quondam Uxorem, Hortatu, Suaſu & Conciliis eorum, quibus ſe totum in prima Regni ſui Adminiſtratione crediderat, quadam Sedis Apoſtolicæ Diſpenſatione prætenſa, ſibi bonâ fide Matrimonio copulâſſet, ac ab eo tempore hactenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitâſſet, prole interim Fæminea ſuſcepta, & ſuperſtite ex eadem, ac jam tandem poſt deſperatam Prolem maſculam, de ſtabilienda ac confirmanda ejuſdem Filiæ ſuæ ſucceſſione cogitaret, luſtratiſque ſcriniis dictam ſuper Matrimonio præfato Diſpenſationem faceret proferri, doctorumque virorum judicio examinari, cujus quidem Diſpenſationis tenor ſequitur, & eſt talis &c.

Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 12. Febr. 1527.

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Eccleſiaſticorum conſulti datum dictæ cum narratis ejuſdem conferentes, aliaſque nonullas circumſtantias, quæ tum ante dictæ Diſpenſationis impetrationem, quæ poſt eandem impetratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quòd cauſa, quæ in Bulla prætenſa eſt, pacis continuandæ, viz. quæ ipſa tum coaluerat fœderibus percuſſis firma conſtiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum ſui violationis timorem incutiens, qui juſtus & non omnino vanus dici poſſit, nec urgentiſſima proinde nec evidentiſſima videretur, qualem *Prohibitionis* relaxatio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces falſæ erant, dum narrabatur Prædeceſſori noſtro, eundem chariſſimum Filium noſtrum tum cupere cum chariſſima dicta Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutiùs continuarentur, cum, eo tempore, ut aſſerit, impetrationem prorſus ignoraret, & per Ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujuſmodi inducere non poterat; tum quod *Proteſtatione* poſtmodum interveniente, & vim Renuntiationis habente, Diſpenſatio tunc per Renuntiationem extincta videretur: Denique quod Principes inter quos fœdera conſervarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam, fatis conceſſerant: Bullam ipſam tum ex ſurreptionis & abreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de cauſis minus validam & efficacem eſſe renuntiârunt & retulerunt, ſcrupulum dicti Regis animo & conſcientiæ gravem injicientes, eamque illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non conſiſtere, neque hactenus jure conſtitiſſe judicârit. Porro autem, cum frequentius apud ſe, ut aſſerit, animo volverit, & meditaretur, quales exitus hujuſmodi Nuptiæ præfatæ habuerint, ex quibus viz. aliquot partus maſculi imperfecti parumque vitales prodiere, atque ideo ſe omni ſpe Succeſſoris prorſus deſtitui, quo ſuam familiam ad paucos redactam conſervaret, occurrente ſimul memoriæ divina interminatione, quæ Fratris ſui turpitudinem revelanti, & illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præcepta accipienti, inſcribitur, præſertim ubi Diſpenſatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni ſua parte valeat & conſiſtat; Nonullis etiam affirmantibus noſtram non eatenùs poteſtatem patere, ut in ea ſpecie gratiam faciamus, etiamſi, ut ſcribit, de noſtræ poteſtatis plenitudine non dubitat, juſtè duntaxat & legitimè interpoſitæ, quam ſummam in Terris agnoſcit & veneratur, ad improbandas illas Nuptias, tantum undique videt conſenſum, ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus poſſit diſſuaderi, quin abominandas eas judicet, & Divinæ Majeſtati odioſas. Denique idem chariſſimus Filius noſter debita cum inſtantia nos precibus ſollicitaverit, quatenus Perſonæ ſuæ, & Regni nobis ſemper devotiſſimi, rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab anguſtiis liberemus, quibus ſe uſu præſentis Matrimonii per legem Conſcientiæ privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante ſententiam admiſſum, vehementer conqueritur comprehenſum eſſe.

Nos igitur conſiderantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apoſtolicam, tum in Fidem Chriſtianam, Officia præ cæteris exhibuerit, promeritus eo nomine ut noſtræ viciſſim poteſtatis gratiam uberrimam & promptiſſimam referat, aliamque illius cauſam atque privati eſſe, ex qua nimirum pendeat ſalus plurimorum, nec poſſe dictæ cauſæ Deciſionem diutiùs proferri & protelari ſine gravi diſcriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maximo, quæ nos ex gratitudinis viciſſitudine minuere debeamus, qua decet feſtinatione procedi facientes, ut ad finem celerrimè perducatur: De Conſilio Fratrum noſtrorum, quorum in hac cauſa tam gravi atque urgenti judicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum, quos & Sacræ Theologiæ peritiſſimos, & Juris Eccleſiaſtici callentiſſimos, deſuper conſulendos, audiendoſque putavimus, quoniam vitia & defectus prædictos ejuſmodi eſſe comperimus, quæ penſata præfatæ *Prohibitionis* natura, vires ipſius Bullæ meritò enervarent; quo magis viz. atteſtamur & palam facimus, quanta Animi cura & ſollicitudine præfati chariſſimi Filii noſtri Conſcientiam hujuſmodi ſcrupulis & difficultatibus impediri, implicari, atque vexari ſuſtineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium noſtrum Cardinalem Eboracenſem, in illa Provincia & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum, à præclaris Animi tui virtutibus, ad Juſtitiam vero & Æquitatem propenſiſſimo ſinceriſſimoque affectu nobis ſic commendatum & cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito ſoli omnem noſtram authoritatem, cum in hac cauſa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, digniſſimus quidem nobis exiſtimatus, qui partes noſtras tractes, & vices abſentis poſſis ſupplere: Te tamen dilectum Filium ---- (ſcilicet Cardinalem Campegium) à nobis ſpecialiter iſthuc deſtinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac cauſa procedere poſſitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum caſuum eventum, mandatam authoritatem temperantes, ut altero veſtrûm nolente, aut impedito, alter omnia exequi, & cauſam ſine debito valeat terminare. Vobis, ut præfertur, conjunctim, &, ut præfertur, diviſim, ad cognoſcendum & procedendum ſummariè & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii, ac de & ſuper viribus dictæ Bullæ ſive Diſpenſationis inquirendum, ipſamque Bullam ſive Diſpenſationem, ſi de vitiis prædictis, aut eorum aliquo tali probationi conſtiterit, quæ licet aliàs minus clara videatur, Animo tamen religioſo, Conſcientiæque veſtræ, aut ejus veſtrûm, qui in hac cauſa proceſſerit, diviſim, ut præfertur, ſatisfecerit, & veriſimile apparuerit, vel pacem, quæ in Bulla prætenditur, ſine hujus Matrimonii Contractu conſiſtere poſſe & continuari, vel dictum chariſſimum Filium noſtrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiiſſe contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc, ut pacis fœdera conſervarentur; vel denique Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis conceſſiſſe, ipſam nullam, minus validam, ex ſurreptione & obreptione inefficacem, irritam, & inanem fuiſſe ſemper, & eſſe pronuntiandam & declarandam: Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejuſdem virtute conſiſtere videtur, nullum ſimul, ac minus legitimum eſſe, ac pro nullo minuſque legitimo haberi debere, decernendum: Ipſos porro contrahentes ab omni Contractu matrimoniali hujuſmodi liberos, à Conſortio conjugali, quod hactenus obſervârunt, ſeparari debere, ſententiandum & authoritate noſtra ſeparandum. Denique, utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio, vel alia, novum Conjugium ineundi, Licentiam & Facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, citra omnem recuſationem, aut appellationis interpoſitionem, committimus & demandamus vices noſtras; ac vos conjunctim, aut altero veſtrûm, nolente, ut præfertur, aut impedito diviſim, ad præmiſſa exercenda & expedienda, plenæ finalique executioni demandanda, Vicarios noſtros & noſtrum Vicarium, ut ſi quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatam in prædictis Authoritatem ampliaret, cum omni poteſtatis plenitudine, tam abſolutæ, quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii congruam Diſſolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Conſtitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Authoritate præſentis Commiſſionis noſtræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem, efficacioremque Proceſſus veſtri firmitatem poteritis diſpenſare, quæcunque eidem obſtare putabuntur, omnemque defectum, quacunque ex cauſa contingentem, noſtræ Authoritatis interpoſitione, Diſpenſatione Apoſtolica ſupplere poſſitis & valeatis, tam Prolem ex primo Matrimonio ſuſceptam, propter bonam fidem Parentum, ſi ita expedire viſum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando, & promulgando, quam ex ſecundo Matrimonio ſuſcipiendam; Legitimitatem etiam utriuſque Prolis, Cenſuris & Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, per modum Decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ muniendo & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterunt, facimus, conſtituimus, & ordinamus per præſentes: Et quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut diviſim procedentes, per Cognitionem judiciariam & ſummariam, aut extrajudiciariam, Proceſſus quoſcunque faciendo, pronuntiando aut promulgando, eoſdemve executioni mandando, Diſpenſationes quaſcunque aut Gratias in præmiſſis concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in aliquibus prædictorum poteſtatem noſtram, vel ordinariam, vel abſolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, geſtum, decretum, diſpenſatum, pronuntiatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne & totum, quum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum, & firmum habentes, in validiſſima & efficaciſſima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus, aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; Declarantes etiam & proteſtantes per præſentes, noſtræ intentionis eſſe, ut præſens Commiſſio vel Delegatio Authoritatis noſtræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & uſque ad finalem prædictorum concluſionem extremumque terminum durat & conſiſtat, non obſtantibus quibuſcunque Decretis, Sententiis, Mandatis, Reſcriptis, Literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam Irritatoriis, Derogatoriis, aut Revocatoriis præſentis Conceſſionis noſtræ, emittendis, deſtinandis aut promulgandis: Quibus omnibus expreſsè per præſentes derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, caſſis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia eſſe ac haberi, iſtiſque omnino anteriora judicari, præſentia vero poſteriora, & poſt illa repetita, emiſſa, & deſtinata cenſeri, ac tanquam ultima ac poſteriora, contrariis ſic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & cæteris contrariis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

Num. IX.

Pope Julius *the Second's* Brief *to diſpenſe with* Henry *Prince of* Wales *for marrying* Catharine *Relict to his Brother Prince* Arthur.

Dec. 26. An. Dom. 1503. *Lord* Herbert *p.* 238.

JUlius Papa II. dilecte Fili & dilecta in Chriſto Filia Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout (perſonarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata) id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte veſtra Petitionis ſeries continebat, quòd cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, chariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtriſſimi Primogenitus, pro conſervandis Pacis & Amicitiæ Nexibus & Fœderibus, & inter præfatum Angliæ ac chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Ferdinandum Regem, & chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Elizabeth. Reginam, Catholicos Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitimè de præſenti contraxeritis, illudque carnali copula conſummaveritis; quia tamen Dominus Arthurus Prole ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio non ſuſcepta, deceſſit, & hujuſmodi vinculum Pacis & Connexitatis inter præfatos Reges & Reginam, ita firmiter non veriſimiliter perduraret, niſi etiam illud alio Affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur: Ex his & certis aliis cauſis, deſideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitimè de præſenti contrahere: Sed quia deſiderium veſtrum in præmiſſis adimplere non poteſtis, Diſpenſatione Apoſtolica deſuper non obtenta; Nobis propterea humiliter ſupplicari feciſtis, ut vobis providere in præmiſſis de Diſpenſationis Gratia, & Benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, Pacis & Concordiæ Amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, his & aliis cauſis Animum noſtrum moventibus, hujuſmodi Supplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, aut aliquo impedimento Affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente non obſtante, Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam contractum fuerit, remanere liberè & licitè valeatis, Autoritate Apoſtolica per præſentes diſpenſamus: Et quatenus forſan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto, publicè vel clandeſtinè contraxeritis, ac carnali Copula conſummaveritis. Vos, & quemlibet veſtrum ab exceſſu hujuſmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia, quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem Autoritate abſolvimus; ac etiam vobiſcum ut in hujuſmodi Matrimonio, ſic de facto contracto, remanere, ſeu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos liberè & licitè valeatis ſimiliter diſpenſamus; Prolem ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio, ſive contracto, ſive contrahendo, ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, ſi hujuſmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor per vos, & quemlibet veſtrûm eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum. ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die xxvi. Decembr. milleſimo quingenteſimo tertio, Pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

Sigismundus.

Num. X.

Articuli Pardonationis Reverendiſſimi Patris Thomæ Cardinalis &c. *Or the Articles in Cardinal* Wolſey's *Pardon,* 21. H. VIII. Feb. 12.

Cotton. Libr. Julius I. fol. 27. An. Dom. 1529.

OMnimodæ Proditiones tam majores quam minores; Proditionum Meſpriſiones & aliæ Meſpriſiones.

Legum Subverſiones, & earum illicitæ Extenſiones.

Outlagarum quæcunque.

Intruſiones & ingreſſus in Temporalia Archiepiſcopatuum, Epiſcopatuum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, ſive aliarum Domorum Religioſarum infra Regnum Angliæ.

Proviſiones Bullarum circa Executionem Officii Legationis de Latere, contra formam Statuti de Proviſoribus.

Conceſſo quod præfatus Thomas Cardinalis omni Pardonatione & Gratia gaudeat Populo Regni Angliæ in aliquo Parliamento conceſſa.

Donatio Archiepiſcopatus Eboracenſis cum pertinentiis.

Num. XI.

King Henry *the Eighth's Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey *to ſign a Commiſſion, for conveying the Diſpoſal of ſeveral Benefices in his Gift to the King.*

Henry Rex,

Biblioth. Cotton. Titus B. I. fol. 59. March 29. 1529. *An Original.*

MOST Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well beloved, we greet you well; And ſend unto you at this time by our truſty and well beloved Chaplain Doctor *Incent* your Vicar General, a Commiſſion touching the Gift of Benefices and Offices within your Dioces of *Wincheſter*, being at our Denomination and Appointment devis'd by our *Council*: Wherefore we will and deſire you to ſubſcribe the ſame Commiſſion, and to ſeal it with your Seal: And thereupon deliver the ſame to the ſaid Vicar General, which he ſhall uſe none otherwiſe but according to our Commandment and Pleaſure. Yeaven under our Signet at our Mannor of the Moor the nine and twenty day of March.

Num. XII.

Biſhop Tunſtall's *Monition to the Archdeacon of* London *to bring in* Tyndall's *Tranſlation of the* New Teſtament.

Tunſtall Epiſc. London. Regiſt. fol. 45. An. Dom. 1526.

CUthbertus, permiſſione divina Londinenſ. Epiſcopus dilecto nobis in Chriſto Archidiacono noſtro Londinenſ. ſeu ejus Officiali Salutem Gratiam & Benedictionem. Ex paſtoralis noſtri debito ea quę ad ſubjectorum noſtrorum periculum, & maximè ad internecionem animarum eorundem tendere dinoſcuntur; ſalubriter propellere, & totis viribus extirpare aſtringimur. Sanè ex fidedignorum relatione, ipſaque rei evidentia, ad noſtrum jamdudum pervenit notitiam, quod nonnulli Iniquitatis Filii, ac Lutheranæ Factionis Miniſtri, quos ſumma excęcavit malitia, à via veritatis, & orthodoxę Fidei declinantes, ſanctum Dei Evangelium, in vulgare noſtrum Anglicanum ſubdola verſutia transferentes; ac nonnullos Hęreticę pravitatis Articulos, & Opiniones erroneas, pernicioſas, peſtiferas, ſcandaloſas, & ſimplicium mentium ſeductivas intermiſcentes, illibatam hactenus ſacrę Scripturę Majeſtatem, ſuis nefariis, & tortuoſis interpretationibus prophanare, & verbo Dei S. Sancto, & recto ſenſui ejuſdem callidè & perverſè abuti temptaverint. Cujus quidem Tranſlationis nonnulli Libri impreſſi, quidam cum Gloſis, quidam ſine Gloſis (ut accepimus) dictum peſtiferum & pernicioſum virus in vulgari Idiomate in ſe continentes, in promiſcuam noſtrarum Diœceſis & Juriſdictionis Londinenſ. multitudinem ſunt diſperſi: Qui ſanè Gregem nobis commiſſum, niſi citius provideatur, tàm peſtifero veneno, & mortifero pravitatis Hęreticæ morbo, proculdubio inficient & contaminabunt, in animarum nobis commiſſarum grave periculum, & Divinę Majeſtatis graviſſimam offenſam. Undè nos Cuthbertus antedictus, de prędictis magnoperè dolentes, & antiqui Hoſtis calliditati, quam ſuis ſatellitibus, ad animarum ſubditorum noſtrorum interemptionem, ſubminiſtrat, obviam ire, curaque paſtorali ſuper Grege nobis commiſſo, diligenter invigilare, ac remedia opportuna pręmiſſis adhibere cupientes; vobis conjunctim & diviſim committimus, ac firmiter in virtute ſanctę obedientię qua nobis tenemini, injungendo mandamus, quatenus auctoritate noſtra moneatis ubilibet commorantes quatenus infra triginta dierum ſpatium, quorum quidem dierum decem pro primo, decem pro ſecundo, & decem pro tertio, & peremptoriè tertio, ſub Excommunicationis pœna, ac criminis Hęreſios ſuſpicionis inquirendę, eis aſſignamus; omnes & ſingulos hujuſmodi Libros, Tranſlationem Novi Teſtamenti in vulgarem Linguam, factam continentes, ad nos, ſeu noſtrum in Spiritualibus Vicarium Generalem inferant & realiter tradant: Et quid in pręmiſſis feceritis, nos, aut Vicarium noſtrum hujuſmodi infra duos menſes a die data pręſentium debitè certificare perſonaliter, vel per Litteras veſtras patentes, unà cum pręſentibus ante ſigillatas, non omittatis, ſub pœna contemptus. Dat. ſub Sigillo noſtro 18. die menſis Octobris Anno Domini 1526. & Conſecrationis noſtrę anno quinto.

Num. XIII.

The Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford *againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage of King* Henry *the Eighth with* Catharine *of* Spain.

April *the* 4th 1530. *Lord* Herbert *pag.* 324.

NOS Johannes Cotisford hujus Almæ Univerſitatis Oxoniæ Commiſſarius, Authoritate & Conſenſu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & definimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum Magiſtrorum, tam regentium quam non regentium, ſingularum facultatum hujus Almæ Univerſitatis Oxon. conceſſiſſe, & conſenſum pariter & aſſenſum ſuum prębuiſſe, quod Determinatio, Definitio, & Reſponſio ad Quęſtionem nobis ex parte Sereniſſimi Domini Regis nuper propoſitam, per illos triginta tres Doctores & Baccalaureos, ad id per facultatem Theologię nuper electos, ſive per majorem partem eorum facienda, habeatur, cenſeatur, & reputetur, pro Definitione, Determinatione, & Reſponſione totius hujus Univerſitatis: Et quod liceat Dominis Commiſſario & Procuratoribus, Sigillum commune Univerſitatis, Litteris ſuper pręfata Determinatione per eoſdem concipiendis, apponere.

Num. XIV.

An Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to the Pope upon the Subject of the King's Marriage.

July *the* 30th 1530. *Lord* Herbert *pag.* 303.

SAnctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Domino Clementi, divina Providentia ejus nominis Papę ſeptimo, oſculatis pedibus omni cum humilitate fœlicitatem pręcamur, & optamus perpetuam, in Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. Beatiſſime Pater, tametſi cauſa Matrimonii, Invictiſſimi & Sereniſſimi Principis Domini noſtri Anglię Francięque Regis Fidei Defenſoris & Domini Hibernię, multis ipſa per ſe Argumentis veſtrę Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerrime finem accipiat, quem nos, ſummo cum deſiderio, jamdiu deſideravimus, & longa, ſed hactenus vana ſpe a veſtra Sanctitate

Expectavimus : Non potuimus tamen committere ut Rebus noſtris Regnique ſtatu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum diſcrimen adducto omnino ſileremus, ſed quod Regia Majeſtas noſtrum Caput, atque adeo anima omnium noſtrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, juſta compagine capiti coherentia, multa ſolicitudine veſtram Sanctitatem precati, & fruſtra tamen precati ſumus, id nos literis noſtris doloris gravitate adducti ſeorſim & ſeperatim flagitaremus. Sufficere ſane alioqui debuiſſet, Cauſæ ipſius Juſtitia eruditiſſimorum virorum calculis paſſim probata, celeberrimarum Academiarum ſuffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, a Gallis, ab Italis, prout quiſque apud eos cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut ſanctitas veſtra etiam nemine petente & Reclamantibus quibuſcunque, ſuo ore, ſuaque Authoritate aliorum ſententias confirmaret; præſertim cum Cauſæ definitio eum Regem, illud Regnum reſpiciat, quod de ſede illa Apoſtolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum ſit: Precibus autem nihil opus fuiſſet, niſi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & preces non neceſſarias interdum effundere ſolent. Cæterum quum apud ſanctitatem veſtram nec ipſius Cauſæ Juſtitia, nec beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam aſſiduæ & diligentes preces quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur à vobis quod Paternæ Pietatis officium exigebat; adauctus ſupra modum in nobis miſeriarum ac calamitatum recordatione doloris cumulus ſingula etiam Reipublicæ noſtræ membra vocalia facit, & verbis & literis conqueſtionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ Academiæ noſtræ, quod Academia Pariſienſis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod paſſim doctiſſimi eruditiſſimi & integerrimi viri domi foriſque verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam verbis quam calamo ſe paratos oſtendunt, id pro vero non obtineat a ſede Apoſtolica ille Princeps cujus ore atque Præſidio ſua ſtat ſedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritas à tam multis ac Populis etiam Potentiſſimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim ferro, partim calamo, partim voce atque authoritate ſæpius in ea cauſa reſtitit; & tamen ſolus illius authoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut eſſet qua alii fruerentur. His quid reſponderi poſſet non videmus, & malorum interim Pelagus Reipublicæ noſtræ imminere cernimus, ac certum quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod diluvio par eſt, multa cæde ac ſanguine reſtinctam olim ſucceſſionis controverſiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim ſummis virtutibus Principem, certiſſimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno Tranquillitatem daturum, ſi ſobolem ex corpore maſculam nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero matrimonio ſola ſpes eſſe poteſt: Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obſtat, ut quod de priore Matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique veſtra ſanctitas ſua Authoritate declaret. Hoc autem ſi non vult, & qui Pater eſſe debeat, Nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, & pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Noſtri nobis curam eſſe relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, ſanctitatem veſtram oramus ut Regi noſtro in tam ſanctis deſideriis adeſſe, &, ſine mora aut dilatione, favere velit, vehementer obſecramus, ut judicio ſuo comprobet quod viri Doctiſſimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Paſtorali officio debet pietatem ex mutuo cordis affectu obteſtamur, ne claudantur Paterna viſcera, tam obſequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris Filiis. Cauſa Regiæ Majeſtatis noſtra cujuſque propria eſt, à Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majeſtate compatimur, quibus facile ſanctitas veſtra mederi poſſet, nec poſſet modo, ſed ex Paterna Pietate deberet. Quod ſi vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem diſtulerit ſanctitas veſtra, hactenus ſane conditio noſtra erit miſerior, quod tam diu ſine fructu fruſtra laboratum ſit, ſed non omni remedio prorſus deſtituta. Sunt quidem remedia extrema ſemper duriora, ſed morbum omnino utcunque levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione non nihil eſt ſpei; ut ſi minus ſuccedat quod bonum eſt, ſequatur ſaltem quod eſt minus malum, & id etiam temporis curſu facile tolerandum. Iſta autem ut ſecum conſideret ſanctitas veſtra iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jeſu Chriſto, cujus vices in terris ſe gerere, profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur oſtendere; ut veritatem doctiſſimorum hominum, vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam ſua ſententia & pronunciatione velit illuſtrare. Interim vero Deum Optim. Maxim. quem ipſam eſſe veritatem certiſſimo teſtimonio cognoſcimus, comprecabimur; ut veſtræ ſanctitatis conſilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut, quod ſanctum, juſtum ac verum eſt, à veſtra ſanctitatis authoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia aſſe quendæ veritatis moleſtia liberemur.

1. Archiepiſcopi.

T. Cardinalis Ebor.
Willielmus Cant.

2. Duces.

Tho. Norfolke.
Charles Suffolke.

3. Marchiones.

T. Dorſet.
H. Exeter.

4. Comites.

Willielmus Arundel.
Jo. Oxenford.
H. Northumberland.
Rauf. Weſtmerland.
Geo. Shrowsbury.
Henr. Eſſex.
Edw. Darby.
H. Worceſter.
Tho. Rutland.
Hen. Cumberland.
Robert Suſſex.
Geo. Huntington.
G. of Kildare.

5. Epiſcopi.

Robert Ciceſtrenſ.
Joh. Carliolenſ.
Joh. Lincoln.
Rich. Menevenſis.

6. Barones.

Hen. Mountagu.
G. Rochford.
Willielm. Weſton.
E. Bergavenny.
Jo. Audley.
Hen. Scroope.
Tho. Dacres.
Tho. La-ware.
Willielm. Dacre.
Tho. Barkley.
Hen. Morley.
Geo. Cobham.
Rich. Latimer.
Edw. Stourton.
Jo. Fitzwarren.
Jo. Semers.
Jo. Lumley.
Willielm. Mountjoy.
Chriſ. Coniers.
Hen. Daubeny.

T. Darcy.
T. Montegle.
Willielm. Sandys.
Jo. Huſey.
Andr. Windſor.

7. Abbates.

Jo. of *Weſtminſter.*
Jo. of *Bury St. Edmund.*
Rich. Glaſton.
Will. Glouceſter.
Tho. of *Abendon.*
Hugh of *Reading.*
Edw. of *Yorke.*
Jo. of *Peterburgh.*
Jo. of Ramſey.
Jo. of *Croyland.*
Ro. of *Thorney.*
Ro. of *Selby.*
William Abbot of *Bardney.*
Will. Ab. of *St. Bennet de Hulmo.*
Tho. Ab. of *St. John* by *Colcheſter.*
Jo. Abbot of *Hyde.*
Clem. Ab. of *Eveſham.*
Rich. Ab. of *Malmsburry.*
Ric. Ab. of *Winchecomb.*
Rob. Ab. of *St. Crucis de Waltham.*
Jo. Ab. of *Circeſter.*
Hen. Ab. of *Teuxbury.*

8 Milites & Doctores in Parlamento.

Wiliam Fiz-William.
Hen. Guildford.
Steph Gardiner.
Jo. Gage.
William Kingſtonne.
Bryan Tuke.
Rich. Sacheverell.
Rich. Sampſon.
Edw. Lee.
Rich. Woolman.
Jo. Bettat.

Num. XV.

September the 27th, 1530. *An Original.*

The Pope's Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, *&c.*

Paper Office.

Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis, ac dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Nobilibuſque viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parlamenti Regni Angliæ, Clemens Papa VII.

VEnerabiles fratres & dilecti filii Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Multa ſunt in veſtris literis die 13. Julii datis ac nobis ſuperioribus diebus redditis quæ gravius accepiſſemus, niſi ea affectui, ſtudioque veſtro erga chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum, Regem veſtrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaque ſedato animo ad eas literas reſpondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis conqueſti ſitis, neque oportuiſſe tantum à vobis tribui privato erga Regem ſive officio ſive amori veſtro, ut nos duobus ingrati adverſus ſerenitatem ſuam animi, ac denegatæ juſticiæ, graviſſimis nominibus incuſaretis. Nos quidem agnoſcimus Regem veſtrum ea omnia quæ in veſtris literis enumeratis, ac multo etiam plura promeritum, manebitque perpetuo non modo apud nos ſed ad Poſteros noſtros memoria ejus in ſedem Apoſtolicam meritorum. Fatemurque nos non modo Pontificiæ Perſonæ quam gerimus, ſed privato noſtro nomine tantum ſerenitati ſuæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed quod attinet ad Controverſiam quæ de Matrimonio eſt inter ſerenitatem ſuam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum abeſt, ut denegando juſtitiam, Regis ſpem fruſtrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes Majeſtatis ſuæ propenſi, reprehendamur. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi noſtri erga Regem veſtrum tenorem repetamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme ab hinc Annis, Regii Oratores ad nos hanc Cauſam detuliſſent; animi noſtri propenſionem potius quam juris rigorem ſecuti, commiſimus illam dilectis filiis noſtris Thomæ Cardinali ſanctæ Ceciliæ Eboracen. in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio Cardinali Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim Campegio à noſtro Latere miſſo, Presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno atque adeo domi ipſius Regis, audiendam & terminandam; ſatis fecimuſque tum quantum in nobis fuit, ſerenitatis ſuæ voluntati. Verum cùm Regina ſuſpectum illud in partibus judicium habere cepiſſet, & à gravaminibus ſibi, ut dicebat, per eoſdem Legatos illatis ad ſedem Apoſtolicam appellâſſet procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem proſequendam conſtitutis, ne tum quidem deſiderari paſſi ſumus noſtram erga ipſum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tamet ſi cauſæ hujuſmodi appellationis Commiſſio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via juris terminari hanc Controverſiam cupientes, omnes moras in Commiſſione dictæ cauſæ appellationis concedenda interpoſuimus, eo pretextu, quod eſſet de majoribus Cauſis, meritoque ad Conſiſtorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde ſuper hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus, aliquoties conſultatione, fuit aliquamdiu dilatum Negotium; ſed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto concluſum eſt, Commiſſionem cauſæ Appellationis hujuſmodi per nos negari non poſſe. Itaque commiſſa eſt audienda & ſubinde in dicto Conſiſtorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in rebus conſiderate procedere debemus, tum in hac potiſſimum quæ Regias & illuſtres Perſonas tangit, & in quam totius Chriſtianitatis oculos conjectos eſſe videmus. Poſt quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus procurator comparuit, qui aut ſcripto aut verbo de juribus Regis doceret; ideoque factum, ut lis adhuc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum ex actis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda ſit. Quamobrem nulla cauſa eſt, cur nobis aſcribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam oratores ipſius Regis alibi, & præſertim Bononiæ, a nobis petierint & impetrarint, invitiſſimis quidem & reclamantibus Reginæ Procuratoribus. Cum itaque nunquam per nos ſteterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus rebus mature diſcuſſis, terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur querimonia veſtra; niſi forte id dicitis, tot eſſe Regis erga nos ac ſedem Apoſtolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Cauſam diffinire oportuerit; id enim oſtenditis ſatis aperte cum dicitis, in cauſa, ab eruditiſſimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiarum ſuffragiis probata, & jam nemine petente, ac reclamantibus quibuſcunque, ſententiam a nobis ferri debuiſſe. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modeſtiam veſtram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti poſtuletis, ut, in cauſa maximi momenti, ſententiam feramus, nemine petente, ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adverſa pars continue opponat totius Chriſtianitatis ſcandalum, tot annorum Matrimonium ad Supplicationem Clariſſimorum Regum Henrici Patris, ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex diſpenſatione hujus ſanctæ ſedis conſtitutum; præterea filiam extantem, & plures Reginæ partus; & adverſus opiniones Doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum etiam ipſi Doctorum, graviſſimorumque virorum judicium, & pro ſe facientia divini juris mandata adducant; Argumentis hauſtis non modo ex Latinis, ſed etiam ex uberrimis in hac re Hæbreorum fontibus; nobis tamen in neutram adhuc partem inclinantibus, ſed æquas aures præbentibus, cum cauſam hanc graviſſimam, & ad totam Rempublicam Chriſtianam ac poſteritatem omnem pertinere exiſtimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Univerſitatum Opiniones ſcribitis paucæ admodum venerunt in manus noſtras, nobis non legitimè, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præſentatæ; illæque nudæ tantum illorum hominum Opiniones, nullis adſcriptis rationibus cur ita ſentiant, nullaque Sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum ſpectare debemus, authoritate ſubnixæ. Poſtulare autem; ut, in Regis Gratiam, quicquam temerè atque inconſiderate ſtatuamus, nec æquum nec veſtra ſapientia dignum eſt; nam tametſi multum Serenitati ſuæ debemus, tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur eum, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes imperant, & veri Patris officium eſt proſpicere, ne nimia facilitate plus æquo indulgeamus filiis noſtris, irretiremus enim non ſolum noſtram, ſed ſerenitatis ſuæ Conſcientiam, immatura ſententia; quæ non rectè prolata, pernicioſo univerſæ Chriſtianitati noceret exemplo. Nam quod Regno veſtro diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum eſſe arbitraremur, ſi ſententiam, quæ recta juſticiæ via ac ratione ferenda eſt, præcipitaremus; ac nimio erga Regem veſtrum amore provecti, à juſtitia atque officio noſtro diſcederemus. Maſculam autem Prolem, non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati ſuæ: Atque utinam tanto Regi ſimiles filios, ac non regni tantum, ſed etiam virtutum hæredes haberet Chriſtiana Reſpublica: Sed pro Deo non ſumus, ut Liberos dare poſſumus. Quod autem dicitis nolle nos auctoritate noſtra ſecundum veritatem de priore Matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipſo Rege pronuncient, vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati ſuæ gratificari; poſſe autem ita debemus, ut non deſtruamus; deſtrueremus enim ſi quid contra juris Ordinem ſtatueremus, etiamſi oculis noſtris exploratiſſima res eſſet. Cæterum quod eſt in extremo literarum veſtrarum, niſi petitionibns veſtris ſatisfecerimus, vos exiſtimaturos veſtri vobis curam eſſe relictam, atque aliunde remedia conquiſituros, nec veſtra prudentia nec Religione dignum Conſilium, ab eoque ut abſtineatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus. Nec tamen ulla medici culpa eſſet, ſi ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in ſe ſtatuerit, quod adverſaretur ſaluti. Nos quidem quæ rectè ac ſine pernicie dari poſſunt, remedia non denegamus; *Quis enim infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis ſcandalizatur, & ego non uror? Os meum patet ad vos Filii dilectiſſimi*, & vos ut filios chariſſimos monemus: Sed nec Regem ipſum cujus cauſam agitis, probaturum fuiſſe credimus, ut ita ſcriberetis: Cognitam enim & perſpectam habemus ejus Probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non eſſet, accepturum fuiſſe putemus: & tametſi veſtrum omnium interceſſionem magnificamus, tamen noſter erga Serenitatem ſuam amor, non patitur ſe cujuſque cohortatione precibuſque excitari: nec meminimus fruſtra unquam Serenitatem ſuam a nobis petiiſſe quod cum noſtro & hujus ſanctæ ſedis honore concedere poſſemus, paremque oſtendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Denique quod ad hanc cauſam attinet, nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram interponemus, quin cum inſtructa, & partes auditæ fuerint, terminetur: Nobis ſummopere cupientibus veſtrum Regem, & ipſam Reginam, noſque ipſos moleſtiſſimo hoc Negotio liberari. Hoc tantum à ſerenitate ſua & Devotionibus veſtris requirimus, ne plus, ob ſumma ejuſdem Regis beneficia, à nobis exigatis, quam quod ſine offenſa Dei perſolvere poſſimus: cum in cæteris omnia à nobis expectare poſſitis, quæ habita officii ac Perſonæ quam gerimus, & Juſtitiæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, Die xxvii. Septembris 1530.

Num. XVI.

Sir Gregory Caſſali's *Letter to the King, mentioning a Diſpenſation of the Pope; ſeeming to import an Indulgence for the having two Wives.*

Paper Office, September 18, 1530.

SUperioribus Diebus Pontifex Secreto, veluti rem quam magni facere, mihi propoſuit Conditionem hujuſmodi concedi poſſe veſtræ Majeſtati ut duas Uxores habeat. Cui dixi nolle me Provinciam ſuſcipere ea de re ſcribendi, ob eam Cauſam quod ignorarem an inde veſtræ Conſcientiæ ſatisfieri poſſet, quam veſtra Majeſtas imprimis exonerare cupit. Cur autem ſic reſponderem illud in Cauſa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cæſariani moliuntur aucupari ſoleo, exploratum certumque habebam, Cæſarianos illud ipſum quærere & procurare: Quem vero ad Finem id quærant pro certo exprimere non auſim: Id certe totum veſtræ Prudentiæ conſiderandum relinquo-------

Num. XVII.

The Clergy's Grant of an Hundred Thouſand Pounds to the King, for Releaſe of the Premunire.

Dr. Atterbury's *Rights*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation.* Appendix, *p.* 512. March 22. A.D. 15^{30}_{31}. *Journal of the Convocation. fol.* 38.

EXcellentiſſimo & Illuſtriſſimo Principi & Domino noſtro, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, & Domino Hiberniæ Invictiſſimo & Potentiſſimo, Willielmus Permiſſione Divinâ Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, Salutem in eo per quem Reges regnant & Principes dominantur. Veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini per præſens publicum Inſtrumentum, ſive has Literas Teſtimoniales, Sigillo noſtro ſigillatas, ac Signo, Nomine, & Subſcriptione Manûs Publici Notarii ſubſcripti, Scribæ noſtri in hac parte aſſumpti, ſubſcriptas & ſignatas Tenore Præſentium ſignificamus & notum facimus, quod nos Willielmus Archiepiſcopus prædictus, ac Suffraganei noſtri, cæterique Prælati & Clerus noſtræ Provinciæ Cantuarienſis, in Sacra Synodo Provinciali, ſive Prælatorum & Cleri Provinciæ ejuſdem *Convocatione* in Eccleſia Cathedrali Divi Pauli Lond. quinto Die menſis Novembris, An. Dom. 1529. Indictione tertia, Pontificatûs Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini, Domini Clementis Divina Providentia hujus nominis Papæ Septimi, Anno ſeptimo inchoata & celebrata, ac de Tempore in Tempus continuata,

tinuata, ac nuper ex cauſis urgentibus ad Domum Capitularem infra Monaſterium Sancti Petri Weſtminſter ſituatam prorogata, & ibidem de Diebus in Dies continuata congregati ſuper quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus Negotiis Eccleſiam Anglicanam tangentibus, ſæpius, pluries, & iteratis vicibus tractavimus, & communicavimus. Tandem poſt longum tractatum intra nos & Confratres nos Prælatoſque, Decanos, Archidiaconos & Cleri noſtri Provinciæ Cantuarienſis Procuratores in ea parte habitum, die Martis, viz. 24. die menſis Januar. A. D. ſecundum Curſum & Computationem, 1530. Indictione quarta Pontificatûs dicti Sanctiſſimi Patris in Chriſto Anno octavo, in Domo Capitulari Weſtminſter prædicta iterum congregata, nos Willielmus Arch. antedictus noſtrique Suffraganei, cæterique Prælati, & Clerus antedictus veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati conceſſimus ſummam centum millium librarum, ſumptibus & expenſis omnium noſtrorum prædictorum colligendam, levandam, & ad uſum veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtatis perſolvendam, locis & terminis in ea parte aſſignatis & limitatis, prout in quodam Scripto Certificatorio, veſtræ Celſitudini per nos facto, & ſub ſigillo noſtri Archiepiſcopatûs prædicti plenius continetur: Cujus Conceſſionis Forma ſequitur in hæc Verba.

Si naturaliter obligamur eis benefacere, qui de nobis præ cæteris bene meriti ſunt (ut certe obligamur) profecto niſi humanitatis officia, & naturæ jura fœdè violare voluerimus, non poſſumus prætermittere vel præterire quin Illuſtriſſimo & Potentiſſimo Domino noſtro Henrico Octavo, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi Invictiſſimo, Fidei Defenſori, & Domino Hiberniæ, pro ſuis ingentibus & incomparabilibus beneficiis aliquam animi noſtri gratam Significationem, non tantum per verbalem gratiarum & laudum Actionem, ſed etiam per realis & pecuniariæ benevolentiæ ſpontaneam oblationem oſtendamus. Tanta enim ſunt Illuſtriſſimæ ejus Majeſtatis in nos merita, quòd nullis Laudibus æquari, nullis Gratiis referri, nullis Officiis rependi, nedum noſtris Præmiis aut Muneribus recompenſari queant. Etenim ſicut ſuperioribus diebus, univerſalem Eccleſiam (cujus humillima Membra ſumus) ſtudioſiſſimè Calamo, & ſumptuoſiſſimè Bello contra Hoſtes defendit, tam potenter & invictè quod & nominis & famæ æternam Gloriam inde promeruit, atque ad Cælos viam aperuit & ingreſſum ſibi patefecit, atque præterea totam Chriſti Eccleſiam generaliter, & nos ſuos ſubditos peculiariter, tali merito ſibi perpetuo & obligatiſſime devinxit: Sic impræſens quam plurimos Hoſtes, maximè Lutheranos, in perniciem Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani (*Cujus ſingularem Protectorem, Unicum & Supremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet etiam Supremum Caput ipſius, Majeſtatem recognoſcimus*) Conſpirantes ac in Prælatorum & Cleri famam & Perſonas, ſparſis famoſis libellis, mendaciis & maledictis, jampridem hoc animo debachantes, ut illorum æſtimationem læderent, & vulgo contemnendos propinarent: Sapientiſſima ejus Majeſtas, ut decebat, piam Fidei & Eccleſiæ defenſorem, ſuis Laboribus, ſuis Rationibus & Conciliis, immo ſuis Monitis, Edictis, & Authoritate taliter contudit & repreſſit, quod illorum audacia cæpit refrigeſcere, quæ maximum Tumultum contra Eccleſiam videbatur excitatura: Qui tametſi in ſola Eccleſiæ Poteſtate præludebant, tamen forſan intendebant non ſolum Prælatorum, ſed etiam omnium Principum poteſtatem enervare, & Evangelii imitationem ſimulantes, atque Sanctum quandam Hypocriſin ſuis inceptis pretendentes, eò reſpiciebant, ut tandem Confœderata nequiſſima multitudine inſurgerent, & bona Chriſto data diriperent, ac in Eccleſiarum Poſſeſſiones violenter irrumperent: Quem metum atque periculum Rex noſter Invictiſſimus a nobis repulit, & curavit ut in quiete ſecuraque pace Deo miniſtrare, & *Curæ Animarum Populi Majeſtati ejus commiſſæ*, debitè inſervire poſſimus. Quocirca ne Illuſtriſſima ejus Majeſtas ſuam Benevolentiam, & Excellentiſſima Beneficia præfata in omnino ingratos ſe contuliſſe judicet & quia ſumme confidimus, quod ejus celſitudo ex ſua in Deum ingenti pietate, proque Clariſſimo Fidei Defenſoris nomine, quod præ cæteris Regibus longè honoratiſſimum jam olim promeruit, Chriſti Fidem & Eccleſiam ſolito zelo contra Hæreticos & alios oppugnatores potenter defendet: Et ut omnibus & ſingulis Prælatis Clericis, & Religioſis in ſacris Ordinibus conſtitutis, Abbatiſſis, Prioriſſis, etiam Sanctimonialibus Cantuarienſis Provinciæ, atque quibuſvis Judicibus, Advocatis, Regiſtrariis, & Scribis, Procuratoribus ad Judicia conſtitutis, ac Apparitoribus cæteriſque qui intra Cantuarienſem Provinciam, Poteſtatem aut Juriſdictionem, ut Judices, eorumve Deputati, in aliquibus Curis Spiritualibus exercuerunt, aut ejuſdem Juriſdictionis exercitio aut executioni, ſicut Advocati, Regiſtrarii, Scribæ, Procuratores ad Judicia, & Apparitores, Miniſtri fuere, generalem Gratiam, & Pardonationem de omnibus eorum Tranſgreſſionibus, *Pœnalium Legum*, & *Statutorum* hujus Regni, tum Cœterorum tum etiam Statutorum de *Proviſoribus* & *Præmunire*, in tam amplis modis & forma, prout ſuæ Majeſtati, ex ſolita ſua Benignitate, in Subditos ſuos ſæpius oſtendere placuit, concedere dignetur, nobis in iis condonatis, quæ nobis humillimis ſuis Subditis prodeſſe, & ab Anguſtiis quibus verſamur liberare potuerit. (Quod ut faciat humillimè provoluti in Genua ante Pedes ejuſdem Celſitudinis Supplices deprecamur.) Nos Prælati & Clerus dictæ Provinciæ Cantuarienſis in Convocatione, &c. Illuſtriſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi, &c. Dedimus & conceſſimus, prout per Præſentes damus & concedimus ſummam centum millium Librarum de Bonis & Poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiaſticis, &c. ad uſum Majeſtatis ejuſdem, infra Quinquennium ex nunc proximè & immediatè ſequens, per Quintas æquales Portiones, fideliter perſolvendam, &c------- Nos Willielmus Archiepiſcopus, Primas & Legatus anteſcriptus, præſentes Literas Teſtimoniales, ſive hoc præſens Publicum Inſtrumentum Sigilli noſtri Appenſione, Signoque & Subſcriptione Willielmi *Potkyn* Publici Auctoritate Apoſtolica Notarii, & Regiſtrarii, Scribæque noſtri, ut premittitur, in hac parte aſſumpti, fecimus & juſſimus communiri. Dat. quoad Sigillationem Præſentium 22 Die menſis Martii Anno ſecundum Curſum & Computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ 1530, & noſtræ Tranſlationis Anno 28.

Num. XVIII.

The King's Confirmation of the Act for the extinguiſhing the Payment of Annates.

Bp. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Part. I. Records. Book 2. p. 107.

MEmorandum quod Nono Die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici viceſſimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas ſuas Patentes ſub Magno Sigillo ſuo Sigillatas, Actum prædictum Ratificavit & Confirmavit, & Actui illi Aſſenſum ſuum Regium dedit, prout per eaſdem Literas Patentes, cujus Tenor ſequitur in hæc verba, magis apte conſtat.

Then follows the King's Confirmation in which the Act is recited.

Num. XIX.

The laſt Form of Submiſſion required by the King of the Clergy; and to which the Lower Houſe only conſented.

Dr. Atterbury's *Rights*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation. Apendix, p.* 537. A.D. 1532. Cotton *Libr.* Cleop. VI. F. *fol.* 96.

WE your moſt humble Subjects, daily Orators and Beadſmen of your Clergy of *England*, having our ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your excellent Wiſdom, your Princely Goodneſs, and fervent Zeal to the Promotion of God's Honour, and Chriſtian Religion, and alſo in your Learning, far exceeding in our Judgment the Learning of all other Kings and Princes that we have read of, and doubting nothing but that the ſame ſhall continue and daily increaſe in your Majeſty.

Firſt, Do offer and promiſe in *verbo Sacerdotii*, here unto your Highneſs, ſubmitting our ſelves moſt humbly to the ſame, that we will never from henceforth preſume to *attempt*, *alledge*, *claim*, *or put in ure*; or to *enact*, *promulge*, *or execute any Canons*, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, or by any other Name whatſoever they may be call'd in our Convocation in time coming, (which Convocation is always, hath been, and muſt be aſſembled only by your Higheſſes Command or Writ) unleſs your Highneſs by your *Royal Aſſent*, ſhall *licenſe* us to *make*, *promulge*, *and execute* the ſame, and thereto give your moſt *Royal Aſſent*.

Secondly, That whereas divers of the Conſtitutions Provincial, which have been *heretofore enacted*, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your Prerogative Royal, but alſo over much onerous to your Highneſſes Subjects, (your foreſaid Clergy is contented) it be committed to the Examination and Judgment of thirty two Perſons, whereof ſixteen to be of the upper and nether Houſe, of the Temporalty, and other ſixteen of the Clergy; all to be choſen and appointed by your moſt noble Grace: So that finally, which ſoever of the ſaid *Conſtitutions* ſhall be thought and determin'd by the moſt part of the ſaid thirty two Perſons not to ſtand with God's Laws, and the Laws of your Realm, the ſame to be abrogated and taken away by your Highneſs and the Clergy, and to be abolite as of no Force and Strength.

Thirdly, That all other of the ſaid *Conſtitutions* being view'd and approbate by the ſaid thirty two Perſons, which by the moſt part of their Judgments do ſtand with God's Laws, and your Highneſs, to ſtand in full Strength and Power, your Graces Royal Aſſent once impetrate and fully given to the ſame.

Num. XX.

The laſt Submiſſion of the Clergy to King Henry the Eighth. The *Latin* Title runs thus: *Inſtrumentum ſuper Submiſſione Cleri, coram Domino Rege, quoad Celebrationem Conſiliorum Provincialium.*

Dr. Atterbury's *Rights*, &c. *Appendix, p.* 539. *From Lord* Longvil's *Library. Paper Office, from whence I tranſcrib'd a Copy.* May 16. A.D. 1532.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Per præſentis publici Inſtrumenti ſeriem cunctis appareat evidenter & ſit notum quod Anno Domini milleſimo quingentiſimo triceſimo ſecundo, indictione quintâ, Pontificatûs Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Domini Clementis Divinâ Providentiâ illius nominis Papæ Septimi Anno Nono, menſis vero Maii die decima ſextâ, in quodam ambulatorio intra ædes Excellentiſſimi & Invictiſſimi in Chriſto Principis & Domini noſtri Domini *Henrici* Octavi, Dei Gratiâ *Angliæ*, & *Franciæ* Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, & Domini *Hyberniæ* Illuſtriſſimi, prope *Weſtmonaſterium* ſituato, Conſtitutus perſonaliter Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus *Willielmus* permiſſione Divina *Cantuarienſis* Archiepiſcopus, totius *Angliæ* Primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, quandam *Schedulam per ipſum & alios Epiſcopos*, *Abbates & Priores Domûs Superioris* Convocationis Prelatorum & Cleri Provinciæ Cantuarienſis Domo Capitulari infra Monaſterium Weſtmonaſterienſe heſternâ die, viz. Quinto decima die hujus menſis Maii, tentæ, inactitatam, concordatam, & concluſam eidem Excellentiſſimo & Invictiſſimo Domino Regi præſentavit, tradidit, & liberavit. Quam quidem ſchedulam Illuſtris Dominus *Thomas* Dux *Norff*. Theſaurarius *Angliæ*, tunc & ibidem coram, dicto Excellentiſſimo Domino noſtro Rege, Reverendiſſimoque, Patre, Archiepiſcopo Prædicto, nec non Reverendis Patribus, Dominis *Joanne Lincoln*, *Joanne Bathon*, *& Wellen*, *& Henrico Aſſaphen*, Epiſcopis, Religioſiſque viris Monaſteriorum Sancti *Albani*, de *Bury*, de *Hyde*, *Waltham*, ac *Merton*, Abbatibus, & Prioribus, in noſtrorum Notariorum Publicorum Subſcriptorum & Teſtium inferius nominatorum præſentiis de Mandato ejuſdem Excellentiſſimi & Invictiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis publicè perlegebat. Cujus quidem ſchedulæ verus Tenor ſequitur verborum ſequentium ſub Tenore.

We your moſt humble Subjects, daily Orators, and Beadſmen of your Clergy of *England*, having our ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your moſt excellent Wiſdom, your princely Goodneſs, and fervent Zeal to the promotion of God's Honour, and Chriſtian Religion, and alſo in your Learning far exceeding in our Judgment, the Learning of all other Kings and Princes that we have read of; and doubting nothing but that the ſame ſhall ſtill continue, and daily encreaſe in your Majeſty; *Firſt*, Do offer and promiſe, in *verbo Sacerdotii*, here unto your Highneſs, ſubmitting our ſelves moſt humbly to the ſame, that we will never from henceforth *enact*, *put in ure*, *promulge*, *or execute any new Canons* or Conſtitutions Provincial, or any *new Ordinance* Provincial or Synodal, in our Convocation or Synod in time coming, (which Convocation is always, hath been, and muſt be aſſembled only by your high Commandment or Writ) unleſs your Highneſs by your Royal Aſſent ſhall licenſe us to aſſemble our Convocation, and to *make*, *promulge*, *and execute* ſuch Conſtitutions and Ordinances as ſhall be made in the ſame; and thereto give your Royal Aſſent and Authority. *Secondarily*, That whereas divers of the Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and Canons Provincial, or Synodal, which *hath been heretofore enacted*, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your Prerogative Royal, but alſo over-much onerous to your Highneſſes Subjects, your Clergy aforeſaid, is contented if it may ſtand with your Highneſſes Pleaſure, that it be committed to the Examination and Judgment of your Grace, and of thirty two Perſons, whereof ſixteen to be of the upper and nether Houſe of the Temporalty, and other ſixteen of the Clergy; all to be choſen and appointed by your moſt no-

ble Grace: So that, finally, whichſoever of the ſaid Conſtitutions, Ordinances, or Canons, Provincial, or Synodal ſhall be thought and determined by your Grace, and by the moſt part of the ſaid thirty two Perſons, not to ſtand with God's Laws and the Laws of your Realm, the ſame to be abrogated, and taken away by your Grace and the Clergy; and ſuch of them as ſhall be ſeen by your Grace, and by the moſt part of the ſaid thirty two Perſons, to ſtand with God's Laws, and the Laws of your Realm, to ſtand in full Strenth and Power, your Grace's moſt royal Aſſent and Authority once impetrate, and fully given to the ſame.

Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis tam dictus invictiſſimus Princeps Henricus Rex *Angliæ* & *Franciæ*, Dominus noſter ſupremus quam idem Reverendiſſimus Pater Archiepiſcopus *Cant*. Nos Notarios Publicos ſubſcriptos unum, vel plura, Publicum, ſeu Publica, Inſtrumentum, ſive Inſtrumenta exinde conficere inſtanter requiſiverunt, & eorum uterque requiſivit: Acta fuerunt hæc omnia & ſingula, prout ſupra ſcribuntur, & recitantur, ſub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, Menſe, Die, & Loco prædictis; præſentibus tunc ibidem Nobilibus Viris Dominis *Georgio Bergavenny*, *Joanne Huſe*, *Joanne Mordaunt*, Baronibus, *Willielmo Fitzwilliam*, Milite, & *Thoma Cromwell* Armigero, Teſtibus ad præmiſſa rogatis, & ſpecialiter requiſitis.

Hoc Inſtrumentum retro ſcriptum erat ſubſcriptum manibus trium Notariorum, viz. *Magiſtri* Willielmi Potkyn, *Magiſtri* Joannis Hering, & *Thomæ Argall*.

Num. XXI.

King Henry *the Eighth's Letter to the College of Cardinals, for a Cardinal's Cap for* Hierom *Biſhop of* Worceſter.

Paper Office, May 19, 1532.

HEnricus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, Fidei Defenſor ac Dominus Hiberniæ; Reverendiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus & Dominis, Epiſcopis, Presbyteris, ac Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus, *&c.* Amicis noſtris Chariſſimis ſalutem. Non tam crebro apud Reverendiſſimas Dominationes veſtras de eadem re ageremus, niſi imprimis Cordi nobis eſſet, futurumque aliquando ſperaremus, ut Honoris noſtri meritorumque aliqua tandem ab ipſis ratio haberetur: Non oblitas putamus eſſe Reverendiſſimas Dominationes veſtras, quam ſedulo, & quam ex Animo, ſæpe ante egerimus, ut Reverendus Dominus Epiſcopus Wigornienſis (quem Ejus in nos Fides virtuteſque non vulgares nobis Chariſſimum efficiunt) ad Cardinalatûs Dignitatem noſtro intuitu promoveretur: Hoc tamen ingens Deſiderium noſtrum, una vel altera injecta occaſione, hactenus dilatum eſt. Verum tamen cum Res hæc præter Domini Wigornienſis merita, Honoris quoque noſtri reſpectu, imprimis Cordi nobis ſit; intelligamuſque de novis Cardinalibus in aliorum Principum Gratiam creandis, nunc tractari, voluimus iterum atque iterum his noſtris literis Reverendiſſimas Dominationes veſtras rogare, ut hujus etiam Deſiderii noſtri, noſtrorumque Meritorum in hoc noſtro exornando oratore, rationem aliquam habeant. Nos certe quam ex Corde poſſumus Rem hanc veſtris Reverendiſſimis Dominationibus commendamus; Eo quidem Animo ut Benevolentiæ viciſſitudinem reponamus; Memorique Pectore acceptam Gratiam conſervemus. Et fæliciter valeant Reverendiſſimæ Dominationes veſtræ. Ex Regia noſtra Greenwici, 19 Maii, 1532.

Veſter bonus Amicus

HENRY R.

Num. XXII.

Cranmer*'s Proteſtation made in the Chapter Houſe at* Weſtminſter, *before his Conſecration.*

Regiſt. Cranmer Fol. 4. An. Dom. 1533.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Autentica Perſona & Teſtibus Fide dignis hic præſentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant. Archiepiſc. Electus, Dico, Allego & in his ſcriptis palam, publicè, & expreſſe, Proteſtor; quod cum Juramentum ſive Juramenta ab Electis in Cant. Archiepiſcop. ſummo Pontifici præſtari ſolita, me, ante meam Conſecrationem, aut Tempore ejuſdem, pro Forma potius, quam pro eſſe aut re obligatoria, ad illam obtinendam, oporteat: Non eſt, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujuſmodi Juramentum. vel Juramenta qualitercumque verba in ipſis poſita ſonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem poſthac, dicendum, faciendum, aut attemtandum, quod erit, aut eſſe videbitur contra Legem Dei, vel contra Illuſtriſſimum Regem noſtrum Angliæ, aut Rempublicam hujus ſui Regni Angliæ, Legeſve, aut Prærogativas ejuſdem; & quod non intendo per hujuſmodi Juramentum aut Juramenta quovis modo me obligare, quo minus liberè loqui conſulere, & conſentire valeam, in omnibus, & ſingulis Reformationem Religionis Chriſtianæ, Gubernationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, aut Prærogativam Coronæ ejuſdem, Reipublicæve Commoditatem, quoquo modo concernentibus: Et ea ubique exequi, & reformare, quæ mihi in Eccleſia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur: Et ſecundum hanc Interpretationem, & Intellectum hunc, & non aliter, neque alio modo dicta Juramenta me præſtaturum Proteſtor, & Profiteor. Proteſtorque inſuper quodcunque Juramentum ſit quod meus Procurator ſummo Pontifici meo nomine, ante hæc præſtitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ, ſibi aliquam dare Poteſtatem, cujus vigore aliquod Juramentum meo nomine præſtare potuerit, contrarium aut repugnans Juramento per me præſtito, aut in poſterum præſtando, præfato Illuſtriſſimo Angliæ Regi. Et Caſu quo aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans Juramentum meo nomine præſtitit; Proteſtor, quod illud me inſcio, & abſque mea authoritate præſtitum pro nullo & invalido eſſe volo: Quas Proteſtationes in omnibus Clauſulis & ſententiis dictorum Juramentorum repetitas & reiteratas volo; a quibus per aliquod meum Factum vel dictum quovis modo recedere non intendo, nec recedam, ſed eas mihi ſemper ſalvas eſſe volo.

Num. XXIII.

King Henry *the Eighth's Warrant to the Abbot of* Eveſham *to excuſe his Attendance in Parliament.*

Henry Rex.

Ex Bibliot. Harley Armig. *An Original* 23. H. 8.

TRuſty and well beloved in God, we greet you well: And albeit that you have Monition among them other Prelates of this our

Realm to be preſent at our High Court of Parliament next to be holden; yet nevertheleſs we of our ſpecial Grace, conſidering your Debility and Age be content, and by theſe Preſents licenſe you to be abſent from our ſaid Parliament, during the Continuance, Prorogation or Adjournment of the ſame: The ſaid Monition, or any our Writs directed unto you, or a Commandment by us given you, notwithſtanding.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Greenwich, *the ſixth of* January, *the twenty third Year of our Reign.*

Num. XXIV.

King Henry *the Eighth's Letter to Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *authorizing him to give a final Determination concerning the Marriage between the King and* Catharine *of Spain.*

Ex Biblioth. R.Harley Armig. April, An. Dom. 1533.

MOST Reverend Father, *&c.* we greet you well. Doing you to underſtand, that the twelfth Day of this Month of *April*, we received Letters from you, dated at *Lambeth* the 11th of the ſaid Month. In which Letters ye writ, that, foraſmuch as our great Cauſe of Matrimony (which has long depended in Queſtion) is divulgated, as it is thought throughout all Chriſtendom, and it is ſo commented of the Mouths of no ſmall Number of our People, that many of 'em fear not to ſay and report, that thereof, is likelihood hereafter to enſue great Inconvenience, Dangers and Perils to this Realm, and much Uncertainty to our *Succeſſion*, whereby our ſaid People is ſeem'd to be not a little offended. Whereupon ye, whom God and we have ordain'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all this our Realm of *England*; to whoſe Office it has been and is appertaining, by the Sufferance of us and our Progenitors, as ye write your ſelf moſt juſtly and truly, to order, judge and determine mere Spiritual Cauſes within this our Realm. Having due Conſideration to the ſaid Inconveniences, Dangers and Perils, and Incertainty, if the ſaid Cauſe of Matrimony, ſhould be ſuffer'd ſtill to continue in Queſtion undecided; and alſo reducing to your Remembrance, the great Blame that has been arrected to the Clergy of this our Realm, eſpecially to the Heads and Preſidents of the ſame; becauſe they have not hitherto ſtudied and travell'd for Remedies to exclude and put out of doubt ſuch Uncertainty, Inconveniences, Perils and Dangers, being moved in your Conſcience by reaſon of the Premiſes to endeavour your ſelf as far as you may, by reaſon of your ſaid Office of Primacy, to ſet ſome Direction and End in the ſaid Cauſe of Matrimony, according to the Pleaſure of Almighty God. And thereupon ye duly recognizing, that it becomes you not, being our Subject, to enterprize any part of your ſaid Office, in that ſo great and weighty Cauſe pertaining to us, being your Prince and Sovereign, without our Licence obtain'd ſo to do. And therefore in your moſt humble wiſe, ye ſupply unto us, in your ſaid Letters, to grant unto you our Licence to proceed to the Examination and final Determination of the ſaid Cauſe, in Exoneration of your Conſcience towards God; and for the ſatisfying of your bounden Duty towards us, our Realm, *Succeſſion* and Poſterity, in avoiding of the ſaid Inconvenience. And finally, in the end of your ſaid Letters, ye beſeech us to pardon your Boldneſs and rude Writing in that ſaid Behalf, and to take the ſame in good Senſe and Part as you do mean, calling God to your Record, that only for the Zeal you have to the Premiſes, ye have written the ſaid Letters, and for none other Intent, Cauſe, or Purpoſe.

My Lord, where you write in the laſt part of your ſaid Letters, whereunto we make you firſt Anſwer, that ye be mov'd only by the Zeal you have to Juſtice, and for the Exoneration of your Conſcience againſt God, to write as you do unto us, we cannot of Reaſon be diſcontented therewith, but condignly praiſe you therein, and for that we perceive that ye have ſuch a good Mind and fervent Zeal to do juſtice according to your Office, for the quieting of our Realm, and for the excluding of ſuch Dangers and Perils as be in your ſaid Letters mention'd; and alſo for putting our *Succeſſion* and Poſterity out of Queſtion, Doubt and Uncertainty, we cannot but much commend and laud your good and vertuous intended Purpoſe in that behalf.

In Conſideration whereof, albeit we being your King and Sovereign, do recognize no Superior in Earth, but only God, and not being ſubject to the Laws of any other earthly Creature; yet, becauſe ye be under us by God's Calling and ours, the moſt principal Miniſter of our Spiritual Juriſdiction within this our Realm, who we think aſſuredly is ſo in the Fear of God, and Love towards the Obſervance of his Laws, (to the which Laws, we as Chriſtian King, have always heretofore, and ſhall ever moſt obediently ſubmit our ſelf) will not therefore refuſe (our Preheminence and Authority to us and our Succeſſors in this Behalf nevertheleſs ſav'd) your humble Requeſt, Offer and Towardneſs, that is to mean, to make an end according to the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God, in our ſaid great Cauſe of Matrimony, which has ſo long depended (as our Saviour Chriſt knows) undetermin'd, to our great and grievous Inquietneſs and Burthen of our Conſcience.

Wherefore we inclining to your humble Petition, by theſe our Letters ſeal'd with our Seal, and ſign'd with our *Sign Manual*, do licenſe you to proceed in the ſaid Cauſe, and to the Examination and final Determination of the ſame; not doubting but that you will have God and the Juſtice of the ſaid Cauſe only before your Eyes, and not to regard any earthly or worldly Affection therein; for aſſuredly, the thing that we moſt covet in this World, is to proceed in all our Acts and Doings, as may be moſt acceptable to the Pleaſure of Almighty God our Creator, and to the Wealth and Honour of us, our *Succeſſion* and Poſterity, and the Surety of our Realm and Subjects within the ſame.

Num. XXV.

The Archbiſhop of York *and the Biſhop of* Durham's *Letter to the King: In which they report their Meſſage delivered to the Queen; and her Anſwer upon the Sentence of Divorce, pronounced* May *the 20th,* 1533.

Paper Office.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs to underſtand, that this Day we repaired to the Princeſs Dowager, and there I, the Archbiſhop of *York*, for an Introduction, did declare to her the effect of our Commiſſion, and ſaid to her. 1*ſt*. That your Highneſs

neſs had often ſent unto her divers of your Counſel, and amonſt 'em me one, to declare to her the Invalidity of the Marriage between your Highneſs and her. *2dly*. That Carnal Knowledge, which is the great Key of the Matter, is ſufficiently proved in the Law, as alſo ſome that were of her Counſel do avow. *3dly*. That upon proof ſo ſufficiently made of Carnal Knowledge, Divorce was made between your Highneſs and her. *4thly*. That upon Divorce made by lawful Sentence, ſhe was admoniſhed to leave the Name of a Queen, and not to account or call call herſelf hereafter your Highneſs's Wife. *5thly*. How that after your Highneſs was diſcharged of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*. *6thly*. That foraſmuch as (thanked be God) fair Iſſue is already ſprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow by God's Grace, that the whole Body of the Realm gathered together in Parliament, hath for the Stabliſhment of this Iſſue by your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succeſſion coming of this Marriage, made *Acts* and *Ordinances* againſt all them that wou'd in Word or in Deed withſtand 'em: And that for theſe Purpoſes we were ſent unto her Grace, to the intent ſhe might underſtand the true purport of theſe Acts with the Pains, leaſt by Ignorance ſhe ſhould fall in any of 'em, and ſo I declared the *Act*. Which things being thus declared unto her, ſhe being upon it in great Choler and Agony, and always interrupting our Words, to the aforeſaid Points made theſe Anſwers following. To the *1ſt*. That ſhe took the Matrimony between your Highneſs and her to be good, and ſo wou'd always account herſelf to be your Highneſſes lawful Wife, in which Opinion, ſhe ſaid, ſhe wou'd continually till Death perſiſt. To the *2d*. She utterly denied that ever Carnal Knowledge was had between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that ſhe wou'd never confeſs the contrary, and with a loud Voice, when mention was made of this Point, ſhe ſaid, they lied falſly that ſo ſaid. To the *3d* ſhe anſwer'd, That ſhe is not bound to ſtand to the Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom ſhe call'd a Shadow, and that altho' he had given Sentence againſt her, yet the Pope had given Sentence with her, whom ſhe took for Chriſt's Vicar, and therefore wou'd always obey him as his faithful Daughter. To the *4th* ſhe anſwer'd, That ſhe wou'd never leave the Name of a Queen, and wou'd always take her ſelf for your Highneſſes Wife. To the *5th* ſhe ſaid, That this Marriage, made after her Appeal which ſhe made by your Highneſſes Leave and Conſent, is of no value. To the *6th* ſhe anſwer'd, That ſhe is not bound to the *Acts* of Parliament, foraſmuch as ſhe is your Highneſſes Wife, and not ſubject to your Highneſs, and alſo becauſe theſe *Acts* were made by your Highneſſes Subjects in your favour, your Highneſs being Party in this matter, with diverſe other unſeeming Words. Unto which her Anſwer, I the Biſhop of *Durham* replying, Foraſmuch as ſhe had ſaid in her Communication, that both I and the reſidue of her Counſel had always ſhew'd unto her that her matter was juſt and good, I ſaid, that all the Queſtion whereupon we were conſulted at ſuch time as the *Legates* were here, depended only upon the Validity of the *Bull* and *Brief*. Albeit I ſaid, that ſith that time divers other Queſtions had riſen, and had been debated by many Univerſities, the chief of Chriſtendom, of which one was *Bononia*, the Pope's own Town, and by 'em concluded, that after the Deceaſe of the Brother who had Carnal Knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not marry the ſaid Wife by any Diſpenſation of the Pope, becauſe it was forbidden by the Law of God. And foraſmuch as the Pope (albeit the ſaid Concluſions have been by learned Men ſent from your Highneſs declared unto him) never made anſwer, to maintain lawfully his Power to the contrary, but rather, in Confirmation of the Opinions of the ſaid Univerſities, ſaid at *Marſile*, that if your Grace wou'd ſend a Proxie thither he would give the Sentence for your Highneſs againſt her, becauſe that he knew that the Cauſe was good and juſt; which his Saying was according alſo to an Epiſtle decretal, ſent hither by the *Legate Campegius*, whereof the Effect was, that if Marriage and Carnal Knowledge was had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the *Legates* ſhould pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto Proofs were brought in before the Legates, and alſo ſince before the Convocations of this Realm and the Biſhops of *Canterbury*, and by 'em allowed and approved as ſufficient and lawful; whereby it doth plainly appear that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not valeable, becauſe it pronounced the Diſpenſation which he had no Power to grant, ſeeing it was againſt the Law of God, to be good, therefore I had now chang'd my former Opinion, and exhorted her to do the ſemblable, and to forbear to uſurp any more the Name of a Queen, ſpecially for that the Sentence which ſhe ſticketh ſo greatly unto, was given after your Grace's Appeal to the Council General, and intimate to the Pope, ſo that it cou'd not be valeable, and that if ſhe wou'd ſo do, ſhe might thereby attain much quietneſs for herſelf and her Friends, and that ſhe being conformable ſo to do, I doubt not but your Highneſs wou'd ſuffer her to have about her ſuch Perſons as ſhou'd be to her Pleaſure, and intreat her as your Grace's moſt deareſt Siſter, with all Liberty and Pleaſure; with divers other things which by her much interlacing I was forc'd to anſwer unto. The Specialties whereof and of her Obſtinacy, that ſhe will no ways ne for any Peril or loſs of her Life and her Goods, relinquiſh the Name of a Queen, we do remit for tediouſneſs unto the Wiſdoms and Directions of my Lord of *Cheſter*, Maſter Almoner, and Mr. *Redell*, who as they have very ſubſtantially wiſely, and effectually ordered themſelves in the Execution of the Premiſes, ſo we doubt not they will ſincerely report the Circumſtances unto your Highneſs: Whom we beſeech Almighty God long to preſerve in much Honour, to his Pleaſure, and your Highneſſes Deſire. At *Huntington*, *May* the 21ſt Day.

By your Highneſſes
most humble Subjects,
Servants and Chaplains,

Edvardus Ebor.
Cuthbert Dureſme.

Num.

Num. XXVI.

Proteſtatio ſive Confeſſio Facta per quoſdam Epiſcopos Decanos & Magiſtros Eccleſiarum Cathedralium, quod Epiſcopus Romanus non habet majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem a Deo ſibi collatam in hoc Regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Epiſcopus.

Bibl. Cotton. Cleop. E. vi. *fol.* 207.

ILluſtriſſimo & Excellentiſſimo Principi Domino Henrico Octavo Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi Fidei Defenſori & Domino Hiberniæ; Edvardus Permiſſione Divina Eborum Archiepiſcopus Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, ſalutem in eo per quem Reges regnant, & Principes dominantur. Veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini tenore preſentium innoteſcimus, & ſignificamus, quod cum juxta veſtræ Majeſtatis Regiæ mandatum coram Prælatis & Clero Eborum Provinciæ, in ſacra Synodo Provinciali, ſive Convocatione Prælatorum & Cleri ejuſdem Provinciæ Eborum, in Domo Capitulari Eccleſiæ Metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto die Menſis Maii Anno Domini 1534 jam inſtantis, celebrata, & de diebus in dies continuata, congregatis; propoſita fuit ſequens concluſio, quod *Epiſcopus Romanus in ſacris Scripturis non habet aliquam majorem Juriſdictionem in Regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Epiſcopus.* Ac inſuper ex parte Præſidentium in eadem Synodo per nos Deputatorum memorati Prælati & Clerus rogati & requiſiti, ut illam concluſionem ſuo conſenſu confirmarent & corroborarent, ſi illam Veritati conſonam, & ſacris Scripturis non repugnantem exiſtimarent aut judicarent: Tandem dicti Prælati & Cleri Eborum Provinciæ antedictæ, poſt diligentem tractatum in ea parte habitum ac maturam deliberationem unanimiter & concorditer, nemine eorum diſcrepante, prædictam Concluſionem fuiſſe & eſſe veram affirmârunt, & eidem concorditer conſenſerunt: Quæ omnia & ſingula veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini tenore præſentium intimamus & ſignificamus. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum Fidem & Teſtimonium, Sigillum noſtrum præſentibus apponi fecimus.

Dat in Manerio noſtro de Cawood, Primo die Menſis Junii 1534, & noſtræ Conſecrationis Anno tertio.

Conſimilis Proteſtatio ſive Confeſſio facta per Epiſcopos & Decanos infraſcriptos, *viz.*

Ep. Litchf. & Covent.
Ep. Menevenſ.
Ep. Bath. & Wellenſ. & Decanum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis cum 15 aliis.
Priorum & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Menevenſ. propriis Signis ſubſcript. Manibus cum 7 aliis.
Præceptorem Eccleſiæ Cathedralis de Landavenſ. ſubſcript. cum 4 aliis.
Decanum & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. Subſcript. cum 78 aliis.
Decanum & Capitulum Aſſavenſ. ſubſcript. cum 3 aliis.
Decanum & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lincoln ſubſcript. cum 70 aliis.

Conſimilis proteſtatio facta fuit per 34 Abbates Monaſteriorum maxime Inſignium, cum multis de eorum Conventibus.

Num. XXVII.

Proteſtatio &c. Univerſitatis Oxon. Quod Romanus Epiſcopus non habet majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem ſibi a Deo collatam in hoc Regno Angliæ quam quivis alius Externus Epiſcopus.

Ditto. *fol.* 209.

UNiverſis Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ filiis ad quos præſentes Literæ pervenerint, Joannes permiſſione Divina Licoln. Epiſcopus Almæ Univerſitatis Oxon. Cancellarius, necnon Univerſus Doctorum ac Magiſtrorum Regentium & non Regentium in eadem Cœtus, ſalutem in autore ſalutis. Quum Illuſtriſſimus ſimul ac Potentiſſimus Princeps & Dominus noſter Henricus octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor & Dominus Hyberniæ; aſſiduis petitionibus & querelis ſubditorum ſuorum in ſummo ſuo Parliamento, ſuper intolerabilibus poteſtatum exterarum exactionibus, nuper propoſitis; Controverſiiſque quibuſdam habitis ſuper poteſtate ac Juriſdictione Romani Epiſcopi variiſque & urgentibus cauſis contra eundem Epiſcopum tunc ibidem expoſitis & declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit ut commodis ſuorum ſubditorum in hac parte conſuleret, & querelis ſatisfaceret. Ipſe tanquam prudentiſſimus Salomon ſolicite curans quæ ſuorum ſunt ſubditorum, quibus in hoc Regno, Divina diſponente Clementia, præeſt; aliaſque ſecum conſiderans quo pacto commodiſſimas Regno ſuo ſanciret Leges; denique ante omnia præcavens ne contra ſacram Scripturam aliquod Statuat, quod vel ad ſanguinem uſque defendere ſemper fuit, & erit paratiſſimus: Solerti ſuo Ingenio ſagacique Induſtria, quandam quæſtionem ad hanc Academiam Oxon. publice & ſolenniter per Doctores & Magiſtros ejuſdem diſputandam, tranſmiſit, viz. *An Romanus Epiſcopus habeat majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem ſibi a Deo collatam in Sacrâ Scripturâ in hoc Regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Epiſcopus.* Mandavitque ut habita ſuper hac Queſtione matura examinatione & deliberatione diligenti, quid ſacræ Literæ noſtro judicio in hac parte ſtatuant, eundem certiorem facere, ſub Inſtrumento Sigillo communi noſtræ Univerſitatis Communito & firmato, curaremus. Nos igitur Cancellarius, Doctores, ac Magiſtri prædicti ſæpe reminiſcentes ac penitus apud nos penſitantes, quanta ſit Virtus Sanctitas, ac noſtræ profeſſioni quam conſona res, & debitæ Submiſſioni, Obedientiæ, Reverentiæ ac Charitati congrua, præmonſtrare viam juſtitiæ & veritatis cupientibus Sacrarum Literarum veſtigiis inhærere, ſecuriorique & tranquilliori conſcientia in Lege Divina Sacra (ut aiunt) ſuam anchoram reponere: Non potuimus non invigilare ſedulo quin in petitione tam juſta, ac honeſta tanto Principi (cui velut auſpicatiſſimo noſtro ſupremo Moderatori obtemporare tenemur) modis omnibus ſatisfaceremus. Poſt ſuſceptam itaque per nos Queſtionem antedictam cum omni humilitate, devotione, ac debitâ Reverentiâ, convocatis undique dictæ noſtræ Academiæ Theologis, habitoque quamplurium dierum ſpatio ac deliberandi temporis ſatis amplo, quo interim quam cum omni qua potuimus diligentia juſtitiæ Zelo, Religione & Conſcientia incorrupta perſcrutaremur, tam Sacræ ſcripturæ Libros quam ſuper eiſdem approbatiſſimos Interpretes, & eos quidem ſæpe ac ſæpius a nobis evolutos, & exactiſſime collatos, repetitos & examinatos, deinde, & Diſputationibus ſolennibus palàm & publicè habitis & celebratis, tandem in hanc ſententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus & concordes fuimus; viz. Romanum Epiſcopum majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem non habere ſibi à Deo collatam in ſacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam alium quemvis externum Epiſcopum. Quam noſtram Aſſertionem, Sententiam ſive Determinationem ſic ex Deliberatione diſcuſſam, ac juxta Exigentiam Statutorum & Ordinationum hujus noſtræ Univerſitatis per nos concluſam, publico totius Academiæ nomine, tanquam veram, certam ſacræque Scripturæ conſonam affirmamus, ſincereque teſtificamur per Præſentes. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum Fidem & Teſtimonium has Literas fieri, & Sigillo noſtræ Univerſitatis communi roborari fecimus. Dat. in Domo Convocationis noſtræ viceſimo ſeptimo die Junii Anno Domini 1534.

Ibid. *fol.* 210.

Proteſtatio ejuſdem Tenoris facta fuit ab omnibus ejuſdem Univerſitatis Collegiis, & per Præpoſitos & Magiſtros quindecim Collegiorum in Diœceſibus Wigorn. Norwich. Exon. & Menevenſ. & à ſeptem Hoſpitiis in Diœceſibus London. Wigorn. Norwich. Lincoln. & à quamplurimis Prioribus.

Proteſtatio ejuſdem Tenoris facta fuit ab Univerſitate Cantabrigienſi. *Vid. Fox Vol.* 2. *pag.* 338.

And here it may not be improper to inſert the Congratulatory Addreſſes of both Univerſities to the King, made after the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, upon this Subject.

Num. XXVII.

A Letter from the Univerſity of Cambridge *to* K. H. VIII. *congratulating his Majeſty for throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, and ſuppreſſing Superſtition.*

Bibl. Cotton. Cleop. E. vi. *fol.* 242.

Octavius Auguſtus Princeps invictiſſime cum veteranus quidam illi pro tribunali ſedenti libellum timidius porrigerat. Quid (inquit) trepidas commilito tamquam ſi ſtipem Elephanto dares? Ægre nimirum tulit modeſtiſſimus Imperator, quod quam lenitatem & animi moderationem toto orbe notam illuſtremque eſſe voluit, eam ejus Miles ita timide reformidaret. At nos immenſa Clementia meritorumque Magnitudo tuorum, & ardens ille atque inflammatus in pietatem amor, quem in tua Majeſtate cernimus, ita conſolatur & ad ſe invitat, ut quod alioqui ne optare quidem aut ſperare fuiſſemus auſi, id tuæ Majeſtatis in virtutem ac religionem animi impetu & ardore abuſi, etiam petere audeamus. Acceptis enim duobus à tua Majeſtate Beneficiis, quibus nihil majus aut populus accipere aut melius Princeps dare, aut omnino uberius homo homini conferre, præſtareve poteſt, Pace nimirum & pura purgataque Religione: Nova quidem & alia petere, cum quæ dediſti ſint maxima, nec volumus nec debemus. Quæ autem ad hæc defendenda & ſarta tecta conſervanda pertinent, ſi poſtulaverimus, & velle illud tuam Majeſtatem, & jubere ſperamus. Quamquam alteram ita tua Serenitate tutatam fuiſſe cernimus, nihil ut quiſque amplius exoptare poſſit. Alteram tanto ſtudio inchoatam vidimus, ut omnia jam ſperare queamus. Nam cum initio fauſtiſſimi tui Regni ſubactis Scotis, Gallos ad conditiones pacis adegiſti; illa tum fuerunt fundamenta pacis & quietis jacta, tot ut jam annos ad hunc uſque diem, non nemo fortaſſe cupiit, nemo tamen auſus eſt eam convellere.

Ad Religionem vero corrigendam, quæ longè à prima puritate receſſerat, ſero animum adjeciſti; non profecto ſero, ſi quanta res quam parvo ſpatio in illa emendanda & corrigenda, tranſacta confectaque ſit, reputemus; ſed nimirum certe ſero, ſi quanto deſiderio veræ Religionis tua Majeſtas, quanto amore jam agnitæ pietatis populus flagret, velimus conſiderare. Illa quoque quæ ingenti labore, magnoque ſtudio in vineam Domini repaſtinanda refodiendaque peregeris, non ſolum paranda, ſed etiam fruenda fuerant.

Utque tanquam excellens artifex non ſpecioſum præclarumque opus ederes, & ad exitum perduceres; ſed operis etiam tui pulchritudine diu multumque oblectatus, ante actorum laborum fructum jucunda factorum memoria retineres. Quanquam Sublimitatis tuæ labores, & defixas in Evangelium propagandum cogitationes, reſpiciens Deus, ut reſipiſcentem populum & ad leges ſuas converſum aliquo magno bono afficeret; tandem, inquam, aliquando pignus illud amoris erga nos ſui Principem Edvardum infantem, tali parente dignum, ad nos demiſit, ut eſſet cui non ſolum Florentiſſimi Regni, ſed etiam ſinceræ tuæ Fidei Germanæque Religionis Hæreditatem relinqueres. Hujus de cauſa noctes ac dies ſtudere intelligimus; omnemque operam tuam ac ſollicitudinem eò conferre, ut quod in Religione purganda feliciter fortunatiſſimeque ſit inchoatum, quod quidem adhuc relinqui videtur, id Chriſto bene ſecundante perficias quamprimum, & abſolvas. Quid igitur inchoatum dicimus, quid relictum? Annon Romanus Pontifex ejectus eſt? Ejicitur. Annon ejus Diplomata, Condonationes, Indulgentiæ, cæteræque Bullæ ac Nugæ ſunt exploſæ? Exploduntur. Annon bona Monachorum pars, quorum Vita ſuperſtitioſa, Religio vana, Ritus monſtroſi fuerant, ſublata eſt? Tolluntur. Annon indignus Cultus Imaginum ac Sanctorum prohibitus eſt? Prohibetur. Annon Fraterculorum Gens, Natio ex fraudibus & Mendaciis concreta, Romani Pontificis Idolum, Papiſticæ Vanitatis Seminarium, & veterum Phariſiorum & Philoſophorum Reliquiæ, exactæ ſunt? Exiguntur.

Intelligimus nos jamdiu abuti patientia tua, clementiſſime Princeps, niſi quod hæc recordatio pulcherrimorum factorum tuorum quæ nobis eſt jucunda, eſt ut ſperamus & Majeſtati tuæ non ingrata. Quid igitur deſideramus? Quid petimus? Quæ hactenus facta ſunt, ea ſunt omnia ſummo conſilio, ſummaque prudentia geſta. Quicquid enim fuit Errorum & Nebularum, id omne Serenitatis tuæ vigilantia pepulit, diſturbavit, diſſipavit, evertit. Et erat hoc quidem primum, ſed tamen intelligit illa tua Majeſtas non ſemper ſatis eſſe adverſam aciem profligare & fundere, niſi tuam quoque diligenter munias & conſerves. Non ſufficit quantumlibet procul effugâſſe hoſtem, niſi diſpoſitis præſidiis, & per ſtationes idoneas collocato milite, quam longiſſime a tuis muris eundem coerceas.

Magna res eſt, quam es exorſus. Divinum eſt & non humanum Inceptum, religioſiſſime Princeps; Chriſtus ipſe primus hæc jecit Fundamenta, ſecuti Apoſtoli, & tamen quam brevi tempore Zizanium ſuccrevit, adolevit Superſtitio, Pontificia Tyrannis impoſita eſt! Etenim umbra quamvis longe abigatur, niſi accenſis identidem Luminibus aſſiduè repulſa fuerit, quam mox revertit;

& hominum fere genus magis Tenebris delectatur quàm Luce. Quamobrem innitendum eſt ſedulo & omni ope in id incumbendum, non ſolum ut ea quæ nunc tua Serenitas habet totius Orbis Lumina, puros ac ſinceros radios emittant, ſed ut ſi quod illis humanitùs contingat, novæ ut Lampades novæque Faces poſſint accendi; qui quanto ſint copioſiores & denſi magis, tanto majorem veræ Lucis proventum, tanto debiliores fore Tenebras, oportet ſperare. Neque vero committendum eſt, ut ex Agro Dominico malæ tantum Herbæ, vitioſæque ſtirpes evellantur, ſed adhibenda eſt opera ut etiam bonæ magno numero foveantur & conſerantur. Quid igitur anticipamus Conſilia tua, & quid faciendum ſit ipſi præibimus? Minimè vero, neque enim ignoramus iſta tuam Sublimitatem agitare & tota mente revolvere quomodo de Pietate vera quam optimè merearis, & Chriſtianam Religionem quam latiſſimè exaugeas, neque id parca & maligna, ſed liberali ac magnifica, vereque Regia Manu. Sed ſi quid tale Majeſtas tua cogitârit, aut animo deſtinaverit, noſtri fuit officii ſubmonere, ſuppliciterque petere, ut huc ad noſtram Academiam flectos oculos: Quæ cum ſemper ſinceriori Religioni maximè faverit, talem Principem qui in ſecernenda depurandaque Doctrina Chriſti, tantum laborem collocaverit, non potuit non eximiè præter cæterorum Subditorum conditionem amare.

Movet nos Fraterculorum Ruina, non quidem quod eos exactos dolemus, quos non ſolum inutiles, ſed etiam pernicioſos Chriſtianæ Religioni fuiſſe duximus; ſed, ut exoptemus & vehementer cupiamus, quæ Domicilia Superſtitioni olim & vanæ Religioni dedicata fuerunt, ut eadem Doctrina Chriſti, boniſque litteris edocendis, aliquando inſerviant.

Atque illud quidem ſupremis precibus a Deo Opt. Max. tuaque Majeſtate petimus, id in ſummis Votis atque Optatis noſtris habemus; quibus ex Ædibus cum Cœnobia dicebantur, ignavus Fucorum Grex, & magnus Impoſtorum numerus evolare ſolebat; ut eadem Collegia facta, vel juvenum præclaros indoles ad diſcendum vel ſeniorum eruditam Turbam ad concionandum, videamus emittere. Quibus noſtris Precibus, ſi tua Majeſtas annuat, cum omnia feceris quæ non ſolum ad conſervandam, ſed etiam ad ornandam tuam Rempub. pertinent, tamen ad innumerabilia tua in Religionem Chriſtianam Beneficia, quod fieri jam poſſe non videbatur, maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accedet, Jeſus Chriſtus Sereniſſimam Majeſtatem tuam diu ſervet ac tueatur.

Cantab. è Senatu
noſtro Oct. 12.

Majeſtati tuæ,

Deditiſſimi Servi ac

Scholaſtici Vicecancell.

Et Academ. Cantab.

This Letter was written after the Diſſolution of the Abbeys, as appears by one Clauſe, in which they deſire the Monaſteries may be turn'd into Colleges for the Incouragement of Preachers, or the Improvement of young People in other Parts of Learning.

The Univerſity of *Oxford* wrote to the King on a reſembling Subject. In their Addreſs they take notice of the Reſtoration of Learning, and congratulate with him upon the Suppreſſion of the Tyranny and Superſtition of the Court of *Rome*. Amongſt other Acknowledgments they make his Majeſty one for excepting the Univerſities in the Act of Parliament from the Payment of *Firſt Fruits and Tenths*. In the Cloſe of the Letter they addreſs him to protect them in their antient Privileges againſt the Encroachment of their Neighbours, by which, I ſuppoſe, they mean the Town of *Oxford*. Their Addreſs runs thus.

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. vi. *fol.* 245.

SEreniſſimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis VIII. Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Domino Hyberniæ, Fidei Defenſori, necnon Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ immediatè poſt Chriſtum in Terris Capiti ſupremo, Cancellarius, & univerſus Oxonienſium Cœtus, Salutem.

Quum alia ſunt permulta, Henrice Regum Clariſſime, quæ ſacræ Majeſtatis tuæ nomen Orbi commendant, illud tamen, communi omnium ſententia, cum primis illuſtrat, quod nihil jam diu tibi ſit antiquius, nihil magis quicquam in Votis habeas, quam Angliam tuam non multis antè ſæculis Barbaram prorſus & Incultam, a fæda Barbarie, reſuſcitatis ubique meliorum Literarum Studiis, vindicare, & ab umbratili ac falſâ quadam Religione, quæ paulatim Romanorum Pontificum Impoſturis irrepſit, ad Pietatem ac verum Numinis Cultum reducere. Nam cum non aliud conſtet eſſe Munus, quod magis Chriſtianum Principem deceat, quam in hunc totis nervis ſcopum incumbere, huc labores omnes, omniaque Conſilia referre, ut Subditi fiant non tam claris literis, quam pietate inſignes, quis jure negaret te Optimi Regis Officio abundè perſunctum eſſe, cujus potiſſimum Opera tantus ubique bonorum pariter ac literatorum proventus, per omnes Regni tui partes exoriatur; ut Britannia in qua Patrum noſtrorum memoria omnium ferè bonarum Artium Studia frigebant, ſic te Principe, ſinceriores Diſciplinas colat, ut in ea non parum multi ſint, qui cum Veteribus ipſis Literarum Proceribus jure optimo queant de Eruditionis Palma concertare; ſic Pietatis Studium amplectatur ut nuſquam omnino magis ad Chriſti Regulam ac puræ Religionis Præſcriptum, hodiè vivatur. Nec mirum ſanè in Regno tuo Virtutis ac Literarum Segetem paſſim renaſci, quum a te, penes quem ſumma rerum eſt, hæc imprimis coluntur; ſicut Subditis tuis vel calcar eſſe poſſis, quo hiſce rebus acrius inſiſtant, quodque facilè maximum eſt, cum harum rerum ſtudioſis ita ex Animo faveas, ut non alios libentius ad ſummos provehas honores, quam quos vel Vitæ integritas, vel eximia Literarum peritia, vel utrumque horum tibi commendant. Accedit etiam quod Academias, quæ ſunt veluti Fontes Virtutis & Literarum Seminaria, ſic Regiâ Autoritate tueris, ſic inauditâ Liberalitate foves, ſic denique melioris Literaturæ Profeſſoribus ornas, ut unus ipſe multorum Beneficia Regum, qui eaſdem primitus in publicam Utilitatem inſtituere, tua penitus Munificentia obſcurâris. Quare nè ſingula perſequamur, vel unum illud Argumento eſt ſanè quam luculento, te Virtute & Literis promovendis eſſe natum, quod tàm benignè Decimarum nuper ac Primitiarum Solutionem, tua ac Senatus Autoritate, eiſdem condonâras. Quod ſanè tàm benignum Facinus, ita Sacratiſſime Majeſtatis tuæ nomen Immortalitati commendatum conſecrârit, ut nunquam ſalvis Literis, ulla Ætatis vel Oblivionis Injuria intercidere poterit. Quod vero noſtrarum eſt partium, ſedulo quidem ac pro virili parte connitemur omnes, ut tanta demum Beneficentia digni judicemur, hoc eſt, ut pro tuis maximè Votis Literis ſimus juxta ac morum Probitate inſigniter conſpicui. Atqui in tales poterimus viros minori cum negotio evadere, ſi tua nunc tandem Celſitudo non gravabitur,

bitur, ſimul & Litigiis iſtis, quæ nobis jamdiu cum vicinis noſtris interceſſerint, finem imponere ſimul & Privilegia nobis reſtituere, quæ ab illuſtriſſimis olim Majoribus tuis, noſtræ in publicam ſtudiorum utilitatem, Academiæ ſunt conceſſa. Quæ ut propediem reſtituas tuam Sublimitatem tam vehementer obſecramus, quam iis ad communem Studiorum Tranquillitatem, maximè indigemus. Quod ſi Sacratiſſima Majeſtas tua noſtris annuere precibus, vel querelis potius juſtiſſimis, pro ſua bonitate dignabitur, quod unam pręſtare poſſumus, Deum Opt. Max. pro tua ſalute perpetuis interpellare precibus non ceſſabimus, in quo valeat Celſitudo tua quam diutiſſimè.

Dat. Oxon. Prid. Id. Novembr.

Num. XXVIII.

A Petition of the Clergy of Canterbury *to King* Henry *the Eighth for Relief againſt a Statute paſs'd in the 21ſt Year of his Reign.*

Petitio Cleri. *&c.*

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. vi. F. ii. Fol. 257. 21. H. viii. Cap. 13. An. Dom. 1529.

UT Eccleſia Anglicana gaudeat & fruatur omnibus & ſingulis Juribus, Libertatibus, Conſuetudinibus antiquis, & Privilegiis & Immunitatibus conceſſis à Nobilis Memoriæ Regiæ Sublimitatis Progenitoribus, Regibus Angliæ, prout in Chartis & Conceſſionibus eorundem, præſertim in Charta Magna, in Charta de Foreſta, in Charta Edwardi ſuper Articulis Cleri, & in Brevi *circumſpecte Agatis* nec non Edvardi quarti, aliis item Immunitatibus ſuis quibuſcunque.

Et quia Clerus ſummopere affectat vitare offenſa Regiæ ſublimitatis, & æquum non eſt ut aliquis Pœnam violatæ Legis incurrat quam ſcire non potuit; ut dignetur ſua ſublimitas curare ac jubere ut in præſenti Parliamento certi ac præſcripti limites clarè deſignentur caſuum Statutorum de *Præmunire*, ſic quod extra illos caſus declaratos aliqua non incurratur Pœna; & ne de cætero decernatur a Curia Regia emittendum contra ullum Judicem Eccleſiaſticum, aut Partes litigantes, Breve pręfatum de *Præmunire*, niſi pręmiſſa *Prohibitione* Regia & in caſibus pręſcriptis.

Pręterea quum Clerus multum gravaminis ac damni ſuſtineat, ratione Statutorum in præſenti Parliamento editorum, Libertatem Eccleſiaſticam, & Sanctiones Canonicas enervantium, in animarum ſtatuentium, & quorumcunque Executionem demandantium, periculum manifeſtum, ſententiamque Excommunicationis notoriè & damnabiliter incurrendo; ad quę facienda nec conſenſerunt per ſe, nec per procuratores ſuos, neque ſuper eiſdem conſulti fuerunt; ipſaque eadem ſtatuta tum graves, tum inevitabiles pœnas in ſe contineant; non nihil etiam iniquitatis habeant contra Charitatem & Canonicas Sanctiones edita; ſintque in ſe adeo captioſa, ut difficile ſit ea non violare: Hoſpitalitati quoque non parum derogantia, miſeris vicariis Rectoriarum ſuarum Conductiones uti videtur prohibentia; ut iidem patres (quorum eſt veritatem Canonum annunciare) Remedium opportunum in Statutis prędictis provideant tam præſenti, quam futuris temporibus debitè conſulentes.

Num. XXIX.

A Commiſſion to enquire into the yearly value of the Revenues belonging to the Clergy and Religious Houſes, &c. *purſuant to certain Inſtructions.*

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. Fol. 167. *An Original.* Jan. An. Dom. 153$\frac{4}{5}$.

HEnricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in Terra ſupremum Caput Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ, Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Epiſcopo Londinenſi, ac Dilectis & Fidelibus ſuis Johanni Champneys Militi, Thomæ Cromwell Magno Secretario ſuo, Johanni Alleyn Militi, Thomæ Bedyl Clerico, Johanni Baker, Henrico White, Johanni Onley, Thomæ Ruſhton, Gulielmo Bowyer, Paulo Wichpoll, Richardo Greſham, Hervey Mildmay, Thomæ Burgoyn, & Thomæ Roberts, Auditoribus, Salutem: Sciatis quod nos de Fidelitatibus & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plenè confidentes; aſſignavimus vos quinque quatuor è vobis, ac quinque quatuor & tribus veſtrum, vel in majori aut minori numero, prout per diſcretiones veſtras vobis melius viſum fuerit, plenam poteſtatem & auctoritatem ad inquirendum, ſcrutandum, & examinandum viis, modis quibus ſcire poteritis infra Civitatem London. & Libertates ejuſdem, de omnibus & ſingulis articulis & inſtructionibus præſentibus annexis, faciend. & exequend. cum effectu, prout in iiſdem articulis plenius continetur, & idem injungentes quod circa præmiſſa effectualiter intendatis, ac ea faciatis & exequamini diligentes, *&c.* quod veritatem de eiſdem articulis, & de eorum ſingulis habere poterimus, abſque favore, fraude, dolo, corruptione, inde nobis reſpondere velitis; & quicquid in præmiſſis feceritis Theſaurario, Cancellario, Camerario & Baronibus de Scaccario noſtro; inde & de omnibus circumſtantiis eorundem prout articuli prædicti in ſe exigunt, & Feſto ſanctæ Trinitatis proximè futuræ ſub ſigillis veſtris diſtinctè & apertè in debita forma in ſcriptis certificetis: Et hoc ſub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittatis; damus etiam præterea vobis plenam poteſtatem tales & tantos Scribas, Regiſtrarios Receptores Auditores & alios Officiarios, & Miniſtros quorumcunque Prælatorum & Clericorum Eccleſiæ, coram vobis convocandi & examinandi, prout vobis pro meliori executione videbitur expedire: Mandantes inſuper tenore præſentium omnibus & ſingulis Vice-comitibus, Majoribus, Ballivis, Regiſtrariis ac aliis Officiariis & Miniſtris, tam noſtri quam aliquorum Prælatorum, ſeu Clericorum, ſingulis Fidelibus ſubditis noſtris quibuſcunque quod vobis in executione præmiſſorum de tempore in tempus intendentes ſint & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes apud Weſtm. xxx. die Januarii Anno Regni noſtri viceſſimo ſexto.

Num. XXX.

King Henry *the Eighth's Commiſſion in allowance of the Deputation made by* Cromwell, *Vicar-General.*

Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. vi. F. ii. Fol. 131. An. Dom. 1535.

HEnricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hibernię, ac in Terris ſupremum totius Eccleſię Anglicanę ſub Chriſto Caput, dilectis nobis A. B.

C. D. ſalutem. In Terris ſupremam Eccleſię Anglicanę ſub Chriſto auctoritatem, etſi Regię noſtrę Dignitati, ut pręcellenti jam inde ab adepto primum divina diſponente gratia, hujus Regni noſtri Anglię Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc demum exerere quodam modo impellimur. Nempe quum hi, qui curam illius & Regimen, ſibi potiſſimum arrogabant, ſuis potius ipſorum privatis commodis, quam publicę illius ſaluti, aut compendio conſulentes, eam tandem eò calamitatis tum nimia licentia & in officiis eis commiſſis oſcitantia, tum ſuis malis exemplis, devenire paſſi ſunt, ut non ab re metuendum ſit, nè illam Chriſtus ſuam non agnoſcat ſponſam. Quamobrem noſtrę Regię Excellentię, cui prima & ſuprema poſt Deum Auctoritas in quoſcunque hujus Regni noſtri incolas, nullo ſexûs, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito diſcrimine, ſacro teſtante eloquio, cælitùs demandata eſt; ex muneris hujuſmodi debito potiſſimum incumbit dictam Eccleſiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, purgare, & virtutum Seminibus & Plantis conſerere. Porro cum hi qui in eadem de cæteris antehac cenſuram ſibi vendicabant de ſe vero nullam à quovis mortalium haberi ſuſtinebant tum aliis Hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris ſint plebi offendiculo: ut non immeritò iidem & bonorum omnium, ſi boni, & malorum omnium ſi contra, certiſſimi ſint Authores. Ab his igitur veluti Fonte & Scaturigine ad Univerſitatem hujus Regni noſtri, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Reformationem jure auſpicandam eſſe duximus; haud vanam ſpem habentes, quod Fonte primitùs purgato purus deinde & limpidus decurret Rivus. Cæterum quia ad ſingula hujus Regni noſtri loca, pro præmiſſis exequandis noſipſi perſonaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum vicariâ fide freti munus hujuſmodi, veluti per Miniſtros exequamur, qui quod vices noſtras in ea parte ſuppleant, in partem ſollicitudinis aſciſſimus, & vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias per dilectum nobis Thomam Cromwel Secretarium noſtrum primarium & Rotulorum noſtrorum Magiſtrum ſive Cuſtodem noſtrum, ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas quaſcunque noſtrâ auctoritate, uti ſupremi Capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractandum ſeu ventilandum, atque ad exercendum, expediendum & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Juriſdictionem, Auctoritatem ſive Poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam ſupremo Capiti hujuſmodi competit, aut quovis modo competere poſſit, aut debeat ubilibet, infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ & loca quæcunque nobis ſubjecta, *Vicemgerentem*, *Vicarium Generalem*, ac *Comiſſarium Specialem, & Principalem* cum poteſtate alium vel alios Commiſſarium ſive Commiſſarios, ad præmiſſa vel ex eorum aliqua ordinandâ & deputanda, per alias Literas noſtras patentes, ſigillo noſtro majori conjunctas, conſtituerimus, præfecerimus & ordinaverimus prout ex tenore Literarum noſtrarum hujuſmodi plenius liquet.

Quia tamen & ipſe noſtris & totius Regni noſtri negotiis præpeditus exiſtit, quo minus præmiſſa perſonaliter obire & exequi poſſit. Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicemgerens, Vicarius Generalis & Officialis Principalis noſter hujuſmodi, vos A. B. C. D. prælibatos ad infra ſcripta omnia & ſingula vice & nomine noſtris exequenda, Commiſſarios noſtros deputaverit, ordinaverit & conſtituerit. Nos igitur Deputationem, Ordinationem & Conſtitutionem hujuſmodi ratas & gratas habentes, ad viſitandum tàm in Capite quàm in Membris, Sede tàm plenâ quàm vacante, quoties & quando vobis opportunum viſum fuerit, omnes & ſingulas Eccleſias, etiam Metropoliticas, Cathedrales, & Collegiatas, Hoſpitalia quæque & Monaſteria tàm Virorum quàm Mulierum, Prioratus, Præceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos & Loca alia Eccleſiaſtica tàm ſecularia quàm regularia, exempta & non exempta quæcunque infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ & Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia & Loca nobis ſubjecta, ubicunque ſita ſeu conſtituta, cujuſcunque Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ ſive Conditionis exiſtant, deque Statu & Conditione eorundem tàm in Spiritualibus quàm in Temporalibus; necnon Vita, Moribus & Converſatione tàm Præſidentium ſive Prælatorum eorundem quocunque Nomine & Dignitate, etiamſi Archiepiſcopali vel Epiſcopali præfulgeant, quam aliarum Perſonarum in eis degentium quarumcunque inquirendum & inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curioſos vel culpabiles compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujuſmodi corrigendi, puniendi & coercendi; ac ſi delicti qualitas id popoſcerit, Officiis ſive Beneficiis ſuis pro tempore, vel in perpetuum privandi & amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eiſdem ſuſpendendi; Fructus quoque Redditus & Proventus Eccleſiarum & Locorum hujuſmodi, ſi videbitur, ſequeſtrandos, ac ſub ſalvo & tuto Sequeſtro cuſtodiri faciendos atque mandandos. Sequeſtrumque hujuſmodi relaxandum, ac componendum, calculum & rationem de receptis & collectis per Sequeſtros hujuſmodi tempore Sequeſtri, & de Adminiſtratione per eoſdem exigendum & recipiendum, ac bene & fideliter computantes, quietandum & liberandum. Deque ſtatu dictarum Eccleſiarum & Locorum tempore Viſitationis hujuſmodi adnotationem, necnon de Bonis, Rebus & Jocalibus eorundem Inventoria facienda & exigenda.

Statuta inſuper, Ordinationes & Injunctiones particulares & generales pro bona & laudabili Conſervatione ſeu Reformatione Perſonarum, Locorum & Ordinum prædictorum juxta rei exigentiam Auctoritate noſtrâ faciendas & imponendas, pœnaſque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas & irrogandas. Synodoſque Capitula & Convocationes tàm ſpeciales quàm generales pro Præmiſſis, vel aliis Cauſis & Rationibus quibuſcunque quoties & quando & ubicunque vobis viſum fuerit magis expedire, nomine & auctoritate noſtris conciendos & convocandos, ac eas & ea celebrandi, continuandi & prorogandi, Clerumque & Populum ad Synodos & Capitula hujuſmodi convocandi & congregandi, ac Synodis, Capitulis & Convocationibus hujuſmodi intereſſendi & præſidendi; Eaque inibi ſtatuendi & ordinandi, quæ pro Reformatione vel Emendatione Perſonarum, Locorum & Ordinum prædictorum viſa fuerint quomodolibet expedire.

Dictaſque Eccleſias, Loca & Perſonas modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius valeatis ad ſtatum honeſtiorem probatioreſque vivendi Mores reducendi & reponendi.

Crimina quoque, Exceſſus & Delicta quoruncunque Subditorum noſtrorum juxta comperta & detecta quęcunque debitè reformandi corrigendi & puniendi, quoſcunque inſuper ſubditos noſtros pro pręmiſſis, vel quibuſcunque aliis cauſis ad Forum Eccleſiaſticum quomodolibet ſpectantibus & pertinentibus, undicunquę & quocunque infra hoc noſtrum Anglię Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos & coram vobis citandi & evocandi. Contumaceſque & Rebelles tam per Cenſuras & pęnas Eccleſiaſticas, quam per Mulctarum impoſitionem ac alia juris hujus Regni noſtri Remedia coercendi & puniendi. Cauſaſque & Negotia Eccleſiaſtica hujuſmodi cognoſcendi, examinandi ac fine debito terminandi & ſubditos hujuſmodi rei per vos judicatę ſtare & acquieſcere cogendi & compellandi. Reſignationes inſuper ſive Ceſſiones Eccleſiarum ſeu Locorum quaſcunque & quorumcunque, prędictorum factas ſive faciendas, recipiendi & admittendi.

Eccleſiaſque & Loca reſignata, vacantia & pro vacantibus habenda fore pronuntiandi & declarandi. Licentiaſque ad tractandum, communicandum & concludendum de & inſuper Penſione ex Fructubus & Emolumentis, necnon dictarum Eccleſiarum & Locorum Commiſſarium aſſignandum; necnon de & ſuper quacunque permutatione fienda, quibuſcunque Perſonis idoneis id petentibus concedendum, Penſioneſque annuas, congruas & moderatas Reſignantibus hujuſmodi aſſignandum & limitandum, Eccleſiaſque & Loca prædicta de & ſuper Penſionum hujuſmodi Solutione & Præſtatione onerandum & obligandum; ac Decreta & ſummas in ea parte neceſſarias, ſeu requiſitas ferendas & promulgandas.

Electionibus quoq; Prælatorum qui per Electionem hujuſmodi aſſumi ſoleant quorumcunq; intereſſendi præſidendi, Eligenteſq; in iiſdem dirigendi & informandi. Electiones inſuper quaſcunq; rite factas & celebratas, & Perſonas Electas ſive eligendas confirmandi, ac aliter factas & celebratas caſſandi & annullandi, ac rite Electos & Confirmatos inſtallandi ſeu inſtallari faciendi. Inſtitutiones quoque & Inveſtituras in quibuſcunque Eccleſiis & Locis prædictis pendente Viſitatione noſtra hujuſmodi, Perſonis idoneis & rite preſentatis quibuſcunque conferendi & concedendi, ac eas in realem, actualem, & corporalem Poſſeſſionem Eccleſiarum & Locorum prædictorum inducendi, ſeu ſic induci faciendi, atque mandandi, cum ſuis Juribus & Pertinentiis Univerſis. Quæcunque inſuper Inſtrumenta Litteraſque tam Teſtimoniales quam Mandatorias, & Reſcripta alia quæcunque in ea parte neceſſaria opportuna &c. Deſunt cætera.

Num. XXXI.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury*'s Mandate, to inhibit the Provincial Biſhops the Exerciſe of any Juriſdiction during the King's Viſitation.*

Regiſt. Stokeſly. *fol.* 47. Sept. 1535.

Thomas Permiſſione divina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus &c. Venerabili Confratri noſtro Johanni Londinenſi Epiſcopo ſalutem, &c. Cum nuper recepimus Sereniſſimi Domini noſtri Henrici Octavi, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regis, &c. ac in Terris ſupremi Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Capitis, Literas *Inhibitionis*, ſub verborum Tenore ſequentium.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, ac in Terris ſupremum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput; Dilecto nobis Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Thomæ Miſeratione divina Cant. Archiepiſcopo, & totius Angliæ Primati, ſalutem. Cum nos Auctoritate noſtra ſuprema Eccleſiaſtica, omnia & ſingula Monaſteria, Domos, Prioratus, Eccleſias, & Loca alia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque, totumque Clerum infra & per totum noſtrum Angliæ Regnum conſtitutum, propediem viſitare ſtatuerimus; vobis Tenore præſentium ſtricte inhibemus atque mandamus, & per vos Suffraganeis Confratribus veſtris Epiſcopis, ac per illos ſuis Archidiaconis, infra veſtram Provinciam Cantuarienſem ubilibet conſtitutis, ſic inhibere volumus atque præcipimus, quatenus pendente viſitatione noſtra hujuſmodi, nullus veſtrûm Monaſteria, Eccleſias & alia Loca prædicta, Clerumve viſitare, aut ea quæ ſunt Juriſdictionis exercere; ſeu quicquam aliud in Prejudicium dictæ viſitationis noſtræ generalis, attemptare præſumat, ſub Pœnâ Contemptus: In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, has Præſentes Literas inde fieri, & Sigilli noſtri quoad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur, appenſione communiri curavimus.

Dat. decimo octavo die Menſis Septembris, An. Dom. 1535. & Regni noſtri 27.

Num. XXXII.

The Founder of an Abby or Hoſpital's Letter to the Biſhop, to confirm the Election of the Head of the Houſe.

Regiſt. Fitz-James. A.D. 1515.

Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Domino & Domino Ricardo permiſſione divina Epiſcopo Londinenſi, ſuus humilis & devotus Rogerus Wentworth Miles, Reverentias omnimodas tanto Patri debitas cum Honore. Cum Religioſus Vir Frater Gulielmus Barlow Prior Prioratûs Sancti Nicolai de -------Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini, veſtræ Londinenſis Dioceſeos fuerit & ſit in Priorem Prioratûs de Lega, per Conventum ejuſdem canonice electus, & nobis ejuſdem Prioratûs Patrono, per Litteras Patentes Sigillo communi dicti Prioratûs, ut moris eſt, præſentatus; Nos, ut Patronus ejuſdem Prioratûs, dictæ Electionis noſtrum præbemus conſenſum, Perſonam ipſius Electi acceptam Deo, prout credimus, placitam, & Hominibus acceptam, humiliter, ſuppliciter & devotè petimus, quatenus Electionem de dicto Fratre Gulielmo, ut præmittitur factam & celebratam, confirmare, cæteraque peragere quæ veſtro in hac parte incumbunt officio Paſtorali, gratioſè dignemini cum favore.

In cujus rei Teſtimonium Sigillum meum quoad Arma appoſui.

Dat. apud Goſfield, Julii 20, An. Dom. 1515.

Num. XXXIII.

The Prior of St. Auſtin's London *Oath of Canonical Obedience to Biſhop* Tunſtal.

Tunſtal. Regiſt. *fol.* 57. A. D. 1524.

In Dei Nomine Amen. Coram vobis venerabili viro Magiſtro Galfrido Wharton Decretorum Doctori, Reverendi in Chriſto Patris & Domini Domini Cuthberti Permiſſione divina Londonenſis Epiſcopi, Vicario in Spiritualibus Generali; ego Nicolaus Hancock Electus in Priorem Domûs ſive Prioratûs Sanctæ Trinitatis, Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini London. Dioceſeos & Juridictionis, Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia, per me hîc corporaliter tacta, quod Reverendo in Chriſto Patri & Domino, Domino Cuthberto, Permiſſione divina London. Epiſcopo Moderno meo, & dicti Prioratûs mei Ordinario, & Dioceſano, ſuiſque Succeſſoribus Canonice intrantibus ac ſuis Miniſtris, in omnibus licitis ac Canonicis Mandatis obediens ero, & Canonicam Obedientiam exhibebo, necnon in Factis debitam Reverentiam, dicto Reverendo Patri, & ſuis Miniſtris impendam, & in verbis effectualiter exhibebo.

Inſuper quod Honorem & Augmentationem divini Cultûs in dicto Monaſterio pro Poſſe meo conſervabo, & ſtatum ejuſdem Domûs quantum in me eſt, meliorabo; necnon Fundationem; Statuta regularia quoque, & laudabiles Conſuetudines dictæ Domus manutenebo & obſervabo. Quodque ad Synodum ſeu viſitationem dicti Reverendi Patris, vel Succeſſorum ſuorum vocatus veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero legitimo & canonico Impedimento. Poſſeſſiones inſuper & Bona Immobilia ſive Jocalia dictæ Domûs, ſine conſilio dicti Reverendi Patris aut Succeſſorum ſuorum, etiam cum conſenſu Capituli mei non alienabo nec impignerabo, nec diminuam, neque devaſtabo. Sed quod Bona dictæ Domûs diſperſa pro poſſe meo congregabo. Sic me Deus adjuvet, & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. Inſuper in hiis Scriptis verbo promitto, quod in ſingulis Annis fidele Compotum de ſtatu dictæ Domûs Confratribus meis Canonicis, ibidem in Domo noſtra Capitulari faciam, reddam, & exhibebo.

Regiſt. Tunſtal. *fol.* 58.

John Baker, another Prior of the Order of St. *Auſtins*, *London*, beſides the Particulars in the Oath laſt mention'd, ſwears not to renew any Leaſes, or grant a longer Term in any Mannors, Tenements, *&c.* belonging to the *Houſe* without a Licenſe from the Biſhop.

Num. XXXIV.

A Form for Inſtalling or Conſecrating an Abbeſs; compos'd by Theodorus *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Ordo Romanus. Hittorpius. *p.* 163.

IN Ordinatione Abbatiſſæ, Epiſcopus debet Miſſam cantare, & eam benedicere hoc modo: Poſt Antiphonam ad Introitum, & datam Orationem, & reliquum officium Miſſæ, uſque ad Evangelium, proſternat ſe electa ante altare retro Epiſcopum, cum duabus vel tribus de ſororibus ſuis, fiantque ibi Litaniæ. Deinde, Pater noſter. Cum Precibus iſtis, ſalvam fac Ancillam tuam Domine Deus meus ſperantem in te. Dominus conſervet eam, & vivificet eam. Et beatam faciat eam in Terra. Dominus cuſtodiat introitum tuum & exitum tuum ex hoc nunc & uſque in ſæculum. Dominus cuſtodiat te ab omni malo. Cuſtodiat animam tuam Dominus. Mittat tibi Dominus Auxilium de Sancto. Et de Sion tueatur te. Nihil proficiet Inimicus in eam. Et filius Iniquitatis non nocebit ei. Eſto illi Domine Turris Fortitudinis, a facie Inimici. Exurge Domine, adjuva eam. Et libera eam propter nomen tuum. Domine, exaudi Orationem meam, & Clamor meus ad te veniat. Precibus finitis, Benedicat eam Epiſcopus, inclinato Capite dicens: Dominus vobiſcum: Et cum Spiritu tuo. Sequitur Oratio.

Oremus.

Concede, quæſumus Omnipotens Deus, Affectui noſtro tuæ miſerationis effectum, & Famulam tuam quam ad Regimen Animarum elegimus, Gratiæ tuæ dono proſequere, ut te largiente, cum ipſa tibi noſtra Electione placeamus. Per Dominum noſtrum.

Tunc Imponat ei Manum ſuper Caput, dicens hanc Præfationem.

Verè dignum & juſtum eſt, æquum & ſalutare: Nos tibi ſemper, & ubique Gratias agere Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, æterne Deus.

Reſpice, quæſumus, ſuper hanc Famulam tuam, quam in tui nominis vice Cuſtodem Monacharum ordinamus. Immitte ei Domine Spiritum Sapientiæ & Intellectûs, Spiritum Conſilii & Fortitudinis, Spiritum Scientiæ & Pietatis, & reple eam Spiritu timoris tui quatenus tua Gratia præventa, nihil contra tuum præceptum faciat, doceat, conſtituat, vel jubeat: Sed magis mentes diſcipularum tam exemplis bonorum operum, quam verbis inſtruat: Et quæ diſcipulabus docuerit eſſe contraria, in operibus ſuis judicet non agenda. Sit in omnibus operibus ſuis provida & conſiderata: Sit ſobria & caſta, ſit vita probabilis, ſit ſapiens & humilis, ſit benigna & charitativa, ſit in pauperum Peregrinorum ſuſceptione aſſidua, ſit in Hoſpitalitate hilaris, ſit pia & miſericors, & ſemper Miſericordiam ſuperexaltet judicio, ut ipſa a te æquiſſimo judice veniam conſequatur. Fac eam Domine te ſolum ex totius viribus ſuis diligere, jejunium amare, corpus caſtigare, delicias non appetere, tribulatis ſubvenire, neminem odiſſe, zelum injuſtum & invidiam non habere, ſuſpicionem omnino devitare, in tuo nomine pro inimicis exorare. Fac eam ſemper agnoſcere, quia tibi redditura eſt rationem villicationis ſuæ, & quantas ſub curâ ſuâ animas habuerit, ipſas ſine dubio ante ſedem Majeſtatis ſuæ ſit latura. Quaproptèr tibi piiſſimo Paſtori ſupplicamus, ut ad Humilitatis noſtræ Orationes, cor ejus gratia tua illuſtres, quo poſſit quæque ſingula ita diſcernere atque temperare, ut fortes habeant quod cupiant, & infirmæ quod non refugiant. Da illi Domine Spiritum compunctionis, ut Cæleſtia ſempèr diligat, & inextinguibilem Gehennæ ignem ante mentis oculos ſibi proponat, quatenus ſupernorum dulcedine gaudiorum, & infernalium amaritudine tormentorum, ſemetipſam irrepræhenſibilem cuſtodiat, ut cum creditis ſibi Ovibus in tremendo examine gaudeat, & cum omnibus Sanctis tuis immarceſcibilem Cæleſtis Regni coronam accipiat. Per Dominum &c. Tunc det ei Regulam, dicens:

Accipe Regulam a Sanctis Patribus nobis traditam, ad regendum nobis cuſtodiendumque gregem tibi a Deo creditum, quantùm Deus ipſe te confortaverit, ac fragilitas humana permiſerit.

Oratio.

Domine Deus Omnipotens, qui Sororem Moyſis Mariam præeuntem cum cęteris Mulieribus inter ęquoreas Undas cum Tympanis & Choris lętâ mente ad Littus Maris venire feciſti, te ſupplices deprecamur pro Famula tua, quę hodie materna in Cathedrâ ſuper univerſas Subditas ſibi Abbatiſſa conſtituitur, ut ita Monaſtica norma tueatur cunctas Famulas tuas, quatenus ad ęternam Gloriam te auxiliante cum omnibus illis introeat lęta, ibique exultans cum Angelis canens Cantica nova, ſequatur agnum quocumque ierit, Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Qui tecum vivit & regnat Deus.

The Form at the veiling of a Nun; *or*, Conſecratio Virginum, quę a Sęculo converſę, in Domibus ſuis ſuſceptum caſtitatis habitum, privatim obſervare voluerint.

Benedictionem velaminum require retrò in Conſecratione ſanctarum Virginum. Ancilla Dei Virgo, cum ad Conſecrationem ſui Epiſcopi offertur, in talibus Veſtibus applicetur, qualibus ſemper uſa eſt Profeſſioni & Sanctimonię aptis. Procedente ergo Epiſcopo ad Officium more ſolenni, imponatur Antiphona ad Introitum, & cętera uſque ad Evangelium: profeſſa illa de religioſi Habitus obſervatione perpetuâ, proſternatur ante Altare toto Corpore, obſecrans intentè Conſecrationum Largitorem, & imponat Schola Litaniam. Quâ finitâ, tâ, eâdemque Ancillâ Dei erectâ, & humilitèr ante Altare nudo Capite inclinatâ, Epiſcopus dicat hanc Præfationem in ejus Conſecrationem.

Præfatio.

Oremus, Fratres chariſſimi, Miſericordiam Domini: Ut illud donum tribuat huic Puellæ, quæ Deo votum vovit, veſtem candidam perferre cum integritate Coronæ in Reſurrectionem Vitæ æternæ, quæ futura eſt nobis.

Sequitur Benedictio.

Famulam tuam, Domine, tua Cuſtodia muniat Pietatis, ut Virginitatis ſanctæ propoſitum, quod te inſpirante ſuſcepit, te protegente illæſum cuſtodiat. Per.

Alia.

Deus, qui Habitaculum tuum in Corde pudico fundâſti, reſpice ſuper hanc Famulam tuam, ut quæ Caſtigationibus aſſiduis poſtulat, tuâ Conſolatione percipiat. Per.

Sequitur Benedictio.

Benedicat te Deus Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, in omni Benedictione ſpirituali, ut maneas ſine Macula ſub Veſtimento Sanctæ Mariæ Matris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Qui vivit. Ad miſſam. Preces Famulæ tuæ, quæſumus Domine. Ut ſupra. Secreta. Votivis, quæſumus, Domine, Famulæ tuæ adeſto muneribus, ut te Cuſtode ſervata, Hæreditatem Benedictionis æternæ percipiat. Per.

Infra agenda.

Hanc igitur Oblationem Famulæ tuæ N. quam tibi offerimus ob diem natalis ſui, quo eam ſacro Velamine protegere dignatus es, quæſumus Domine placatus accipias, pro qua Majeſtati tuæ ſupplices fundimus preces, ut in numerum Sanctarum Virginum eam tranſire præcipias, quatenus tibi ſponſo ſuo venienti cum Lampade inextinguibili poſſit occurrere, atque intra Regna Cœleſtia Gratias tibi referat, Choris Sanctarum Virginum ſociata. Dieſque noſtros, &c.

Another Form at the veiling of a Nun, extracted out of the old Gallican *Liturgy.*

Benedictio ſuper Virgines.

Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican. lib. 3. pag. 311.

Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, adjuva quas Virginitatis honore dignatus es decorare. Perferant inchoati operis conſummatum affectum, & votorum ſuorum expediant inſtitutum: Virginali habitu perfectam tibi offerant plenitudinem; & initia ſua perducere mereantur ad finem: Ut matura Sanctimoniæ cumulent merita, & centenarium munus de perfecto agone Virginitatis accipiant.

Conſecratio Virginum.

Caſtum veri Dei Cultum incorruptâ Religione retinentes, inviolabilis naturæ Dominum ſuppliciter oremus: Ut hanc Famulam ſuam corroboret: quæ ſanctam & maximam acceptabilem Deo Virginitatem, adſumptis ſpiritalium Cogitationum viribus, dedicavit, bene concepto mentis propoſito perſeveret: ut Virginitas, quæ Eccleſiæ comparatur, & ſimilitudine divinæ Immortalitatis induitur, Perennitatis Gratiam conſequatur. Per Dominum.

Deus, caſtorum Corporum benignus habitator, & incorruptarum Deus Amator Animarum, Deus qui humanam Subſtantiam in primis hominibus diabolica fraude vitiatam, ita in verbo tuo, per quod omnia facta ſunt, reparas, ut eam non ſolum ad primæ originis innocentiam revoces; ſed etiam ad experientiam bonorum, quæ in novo ſæculo ſunt habenda, perducas; & obſtrictos adhuc conditione Mortalium, jam ad ſimilitudinem provehas Angelorum: Reſpice Domine ſuper has Famulas tuas: Quæ in Manu tua Continentiæ ſuæ Propoſitum conlocantes, tibi devotionem ſuam offerunt, à quo ipſa Vota ſumpſerunt. Quomodo enim Animus mortali Carne circumdatus, legem naturæ, libertatem licentiæ, vim conſuetudinis, & ſtimulos ætatis evinceret: Niſi tu per liberum Arbitrium hunc amorem Virginitatis clementer accenderes; tu hanc Cupiditatem in earum Corde benignus aleres; tu fortitudinem miniſtrares? Effuſa namque in omnes Gentes gratia tua, ex omni Natione quæ eſt ſub Cœlo, in Stellarum innumerabilem numerum Novi Teſtamenti Hæredibus adoptatis, inter cæteras Virtutes, quas Filiis tuis non ex Sanguinibus, nec Voluptate Carnis, ſed de tuo Spiritu genitis, indidiſti, etiam hoc donum in quorumdam mentes de largitatis tuæ fonte defluxit: Ut cum Honorem Nuptiarum nulla interdicta minuiſſent, ac ſuper Copulam tua Benedictio permaneret: Exiſterent tamen ſublimiores Animæ, quæ non hoc concupiſcerent, quod habet mortale Conubium; ſed hoc eligerent, quod præmittit divinum Chriſti Eccleſiæque Sacramentum. Agnovit Auctorem ſuum beata Virginitas; & æmula Integritatis Angelicæ illius Thalamo, illius Cubiculo ſe devovit, qui ſic perpetuæ Virginitatis eſt Sponſus, quemadmodum perpetuæ Virginitatis eſt Filius. Implorantibus ergo auxilium tuum Domine, & confirmari ex Benedictionis tuæ Conſecratione cupientibus da Protectionis tuæ Munimen: Nè Hoſtis antiquus, qui excellentiora Studia ſubtilioribus infeſtat inſidiis, ad obſcurandam perfectæ Continentiæ Palmam per aliquam ſerpat mentis Incuriam: & rapiat de propoſito Virginum, quod etiam moribus decet ineſſe Nuptiarum, ſit in eis, Domine, per donum Spiritûs tui prudens Modeſtia: Et quod ſunt profeſſa cuſtodiant, ſcrutatori Pectorum non Corpore placituræ, ſed Mente. Tranſeant in numerum Sapientium Puellarum; ut cœleſtem Sponſum accenſis Lampadibus cum Oleo præparationis expectent: Nec turbatæ improviſi Regis adventu, ſecuturæ cum lumine, ut præcedentium Choro jungantur, occurrant: Nec excludantur cum ſtultis. Regalem Januam cum ſapientibus Virginibus licenter introeant; & in Agni tui perpetuo Comitatu probabiles manſura Caſtitate permaneant. Per.

Accipe Puella Pallium, quod perferas ſine macula ante Tribunal Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti: Cui flectit omne Genu Cœleſtium, & Terreſtrium, & Infernorum. Benedicat te Conditor Cœli & Terræ, Deus Pater Omnipotens: Qui te eligere dignatus eſt ad inſtar Sanctæ Mariæ Matris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ad integram & immaculatam Virginitatem, quam profeſſa es coram Deo & Angelis ſanctis. Idcirco ſerva Propoſitum; ſerva Caſtitatem per Patientiam: Ut Coronam Virginitatis tuæ accipere merearis. Nunc exoro Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti divinam Miſericordiam; ut hanc Virginem conſecrare ac ſanctificare dignetur uſque in finem. Per.

Benedicat te Deus Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus omni Benedictione ſpirituali: Ut maneas ſine Macula ſub Veſtimento Sanctæ Mariæ Matris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Qui tecum vivit & regnat in ſæcula ſæculorum.

Num. XXXIV.

The Opinion of Gardiner *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *concerning the Articles preſented to the King's Highneſs by the Princes of* Germany *at the Conference at* Smalcald*: Where the Articles were propos'd to the King's Agents the Biſhop of* Hereford, *&c.* An. 1536.

As touching the firſt Article.

Cleop, V. *fol.* 213. Gardiner *was then Ambaſſador in* France.

IF this Article be granted, then ſhall the King's Highneſs be bound unto the Church of *Germany*; and without their Conſent may not do that the Word of God ſhall permit, unleſs the common Conſent doth concur hereunto.

Whereupon if this Capitulation be lawful, and ſhall bind, then ſhall the Biſhop of *Rome* draw it for an Argument to his part, that the Word of God may be reſtrain'd to a common Aſſent.

Wherefore a League or Band herein, in ſuch Terms, is in my Judgment incompatible: For by the Word of God, both they may reform their Opinion without our Aſſent, and we without theirs, whatſoever League were made to the contrary.

And as for the World, inaſmuch as the King's Highneſs being of the eſtate of a King, and in his Realm an Emperor, and Head of the Church of *England*: And among the Princes of *Germany*, only Dukes, and lower Degrees, ſuch alſo as knowledge the Emperor for their ſupreme Lord. By reaſon whereof, the ſame Reaſons whereby we prove by *Scripture* the King's Majeſty Head of the Church of *England*, we prove alſo the Emperor *Head* of their Churches: How ſhall they, then, without the Conſent of the Head of their Church, which is the Emperor, eſtabliſh with us the Agreement upon their Religion? Or how ſhall we without derogating the King's Cauſe of his Prerogative and Supremacy, covenant with them in that behalf, whom we know are no Heads of their Church, but inferior Members, as long as they knowledge a ſuperior in the ſame Church; that is to ſay, themſelves as Subjects to the Emperor? For as we muſt be order'd by our Head the King's Highneſs, ſo will the Emperor alſo that they ſhould be ruled by him, according to the Word of God. If they herein will not agree with us, then ſhall we vary in a great matter. For either they muſt deny the Emperor their Superior, wherein they be very ſcrupulous, and ſeem to attribute very much unto him: Or elſe granting that, they muſt according to our opinion, which is Truth, grant him the Head of the Church; then it follows that without him they can eſtabliſh nothing; But ſuch as he alone by the Word of God may reform at all times.

As touching the ſecond.

The King's Highneſs might make ſuch a Promiſe unto them as is contain'd in this *Article*, and thereby be bound, ſo as by the *Word* all were diſcuſs'd. But on their part, I ſee not how their Promiſe can ſtand, and be ſure, becauſe they knowledge a Subjection to the Emperor.

To the third Article, as concerning the Council to be indicted as they have anſwer'd to the Biſhop of Rome.

Inaſmuch as the King's Highneſs hath nothing to do with the Emperor, I ſee not how his Grace ſhould agree to any *Council* to be indicted by the ſaid Emperor; and yet this Article doth import that effect; in that it makes an Exception of ſuch a *Council* as ſhould be indicted according to the Anſwer made to *Peter Paul*.

As touching the fourth Article.

The King's Highneſs may accompliſh this Article on his part, but I ſee not how they cou'd do any thing again for their part, in letting the *Council*, for as much as touches them in caſe the Emperor wou'd as Emperor call the *Council*.

To the fifth Article.

Me ſeemeth the word *Aſſociation* ſounds not well, ne it were convenient that the King's Highneſs ſhou'd have any lower place than to be Chief, Principal, and Head of the *League*; and the reſt not to be *Aſſociate* but *Adherent* and *Dependent* hereunto as *Contrahents:* and if any were, only the Duke of *Saxony* to be *Aſſociate*; whom for that he is *Elector*, the King's Highneſs has been accuſtom'd to write his *Couſin*, &c. The reſt of the Articles concerning mutual Defence and Money, be very good for the ſaid Princes, for they ſhall be ſure of a great Prince to their Friend; and herewith a Sum of Money in hand, wherewith they might be per caſe relieved: But as for a *Reciproque* I ſee none to the King's Highneſs for their part again; inaſmuch as they be ſo far off, and call themſelves the Emperor's Subjects.

Finally, when they deſire to have all things agreed unto before they ſend an Ambaſſador to the King's Highneſs, they ſpeak therein wiſely for their own Commodity; for ſo ſhall they ſtill obtain the Glory that they ſhall then ſend unto us, not to learn of us, but to inſtruct and teach us; not to ſue to us, but to direct our Church in ſuch Ceremonies, as by their Deliberation ſhou'd be commun'd off and concluded.

Thus, Mr. *Secretary*, according to your Letters I write unto you what I think; That is to ſay, what Doubts and Scrupuloſities I find in the matters: wherein per caſe I write ſomewhat amiſs becauſe I underſtand not fully how they take the Emperor in *Germany*; ne what will be their opinion in him: But if they take him as I gather by their other Writings they do, then our Matters by way of *League* ſhall be ſo much the more perplexed with them, I would rather adviſe the King's Highneſs, to give them Money wherewith to defend Truth, than to enter any League with ſuch Men, which as I fear cannot be faſt bound again, and dwell alſo ſo far off. To hear their Ambaſſadors, to commune alſo with them, to diſcuſs the very Truth, were very good; but upon the Word of God to make a new Knott, whereof the one end ſhall be in *Germany*, ſhall declare rather a Change of a Bond of Dependency, than a Riddance thereof: If the King's Highneſs can induce them wholly and uniformly to agree upon the mere Truth, it ſhall be an honourable Deed, beſide the ſecret Merit thereof: But in caſe a Bond were made, and then any of them ſhould ſwerve from any piece of the Capitulation by force of the Emperor, a Grief and Diſpleaſure ſhould enſue without any Commodity of redreſſing the ſame: I write the worſt, for that ever needs Remedy, the beſt needs no Commendation; and the beſt I doubt not, ſhall be followed with you. One thing I have thought good to put you in remembrance of, that it were well done, that they were moved there in *Germany*, to agree upon the King's *Stile*, becauſe of his *Supremacy*, as well as upon the Cauſe of Matrimony; wherein God has given Sentence for the moſt part by the death of the *Dowager*, and this Cauſe is now ſo neceſſary as the other; for ſince my coming hither I have been aſſay'd herein; and one ſaid, he thought they in *Germany* would not agree thereunto, for fear of giving unto the Emperor overmuch Authority over them; upon which Occaſion I made in this Anſwer my firſt Reaſon unto you: The King our Maſter has a ſpecial Caſe, becauſe he is Emperor in himſelf, and has no Superior: Other Kings that knowledge an Emperor, had rather ſuffer any Man elſe than the Emperor to be the Head of their Church: This I doubt not by your Wiſdom you can conſider, and the Emperor, which is too great already, they will in no wiſe make him greater.

Num. XXXV.

Propoſitions laid before the Council *about the Pope's pretended Authority.*

Biblioth. Cotton, Cleop. E. VI. Fol. 319. An. Dom. 1533. Decemb.

FIrſt, It was moved to ſend for all the Biſhops of the Realm, and eſpecially for ſuch as live neareſt the Court, and examine 'em apart, whether they can prove the Pope Superior to a General *Council*; or whether he has any more Authority by the Law of God within this Realm, than any other foreign Biſhop.

Secondly, Provided 'twas prov'd, (which I perceive was not much queſtion'd) that the Authority of a *General Council* was paramount to the Pope's, that then this Doctrine ſhould be publickly ſet forth and preach'd by the Biſhops and Clergy throughout the Realm. And particularly the People ſhou'd be taught, that the Power formerly exercis'd by the Popes in this Realm, was both a Breach of the divine Law, and an Invaſion upon General *Councils*: And that this Uſurpation in *England*, got footing only by the connivance of Princes.

Item, That this Doctrine ſhou'd be preach'd, not only by the Prelates and ſecular Clergy, but likewiſe by all the *Religious* in their reſpective *Houſes*.

Item, That the King's *Appeal* from the Pope, to a *General Council*, ſhou'd be printed and affix'd to every Church Door throughout *England*. That in Caſe any *Fulminations* ſhou'd be diſcharg'd againſt the King or Kingdom, it may then appear to the World, that *Cenſures* ſignifie nothing, as being poſterior to the King's *Appeal*.

Item, That Copies of the *Appeal* ſhou'd be tranſmitted into all parts of *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially into *Flanders*: That the Injuſtice of the Biſhop of *Rome* may be apparent to foreign Princes.

Item, That all the Nobles of this Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, ſhou'd write a *Remonſtrance* to the Pope, upon the Subject of the Injuries and Uſurpations upon the King and Kingdom.

Item, 'Twas moved to ſend Spies into *Scotland*, to feel the Pulſe of that Court, and get Information, whether that Nation is concerting Meaſures with any foreign Prince.

Item, 'Twas thought adviſeable that ſome Perſons of Management might be diſpatch'd into *Germany*, to ſound the Inclination of the Princes of the Empire, and conclude a League with 'em. The ſame Method was to be taken, and the ſame Negociations carry'd on with the *Hans* Towns, and with the Cities of *Nurembergh* and *Auſburgh*.

The Merchants likewiſe in *Brabant* were to be applied to for the Purpoſe abovemention'd.

Item, a Regulation to be made for Queen *Catharine*'s (call'd the Princeſs *Dowager*) and the Lady *Mary*'s Houſe; that is, to appoint their Servants, and ſettle the Train of their Domeſtick.

The Reſolution of the Council *concerning ſome of theſe Propoſitions.*

Firſt, The Suggeſtions mention'd in the firſt Article with the Circumſtances depending, were referred to the Dean and Almoner, and other Doctors, who were to conſult their Books, and return their Anſwer to the Lords of the *Council* within a Week. The Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Bath*, were likewiſe ſummon'd to appear before the *Council*. Decemb. the 2d, 1533.

As to the other Articles relating to the Doctrine in the *firſt*, the *Council* will determine nothing, till the return of the Anſwers above-mention'd.

As to the *Remonſtrance*, a *Minute* was order'd to be drawn up by the Almoner: and that in the firſt place a Copy of an old Letter ſent to the Pope by the Nobility, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Firſt; and likewiſe a late Letter ſent to the Court of *Rome*, for the Redreſs of Grievances, ſhould be laid before the *Council*.

Num. XXXVI.

An Inſtrument of Francis *the 1ſt. King of* France, *for the Juſtification of the Marriage of King* Henry *the Eighth with Queen* Anne, *and againſt the Validity of the former Marriage with Queen* Catherine, *notwithſtanding the Pope's Diſpenſation.*

FRanciſcus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Chriſtianiſſimus omnibus & ſingulis pręſentes lecturis & auditturis ſalutem. Non honoris ſolum noſtri verum etiam officii & pietatis ratio illud a nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas ſed etiam fidem, autoritatem, gratiam, & ſtudium omne noſtrum adhibeamus ne cum amici longe chariſſimi & de nobis optime meriti injuria, juſtitia etiam & veritas negligantur. Hinc eſt quod cum Sereniſſimus & invictiſſimus Princeps. Henricus Dei Gratia Angliæ Rex, fidei defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, chariſſimus frater ac conſanguineus & perpetuus confederatus noſter vigore cujuſdam Diſpenſationis a bonæ memoriæ Julio Papa illius nominis ſecundo, cum nobili mulieri Catherina pręclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi & Iſabella Hiſpaniarum Regum filia, ac præclaræ memoriæ illuſtris Principis Arthuri dicti Sereniſſimi Regis Henrici fratris naturalis & legitimi relicta, Matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, & ex eadem in eodem prætenſo Matrimonio Filiam adhuc Superſtitem Mariam nomine ſuſceperit. Cumque idem Sereniſſimus Rex dicti inceſti Matrimonii conſcientia- Paper Office.

motus a pręfata Domina Catherina diverterit ac juſtiſſimis graviſſimiſque de cauſis nobis etiam ſatis cognitis & perſpectis ad id inductus Matrimonium cum clariſſima ac nobiliſſima Domina Anna nunc Angliæ Regina ritè legitime & realiter inierit contraxerit & in facie Eccleſię ſolemnizaverit, & pręclariſſimam Dominam Eliſabetham Anglię Principem in eodem Matrimonio procreavit & ſuſcepit. Cumquę pręterea ſuper illius diſpenſationis & Matrimonii viribus ac juſtitia nec non ſupra dictę Dominę Marię legitimitate & natalium defectu multæ graveſque quęſtiones ſubortæ fuerunt; in quibus tractandis ac in judicio & veritate diſcutiendis nos bene multis argumentis perſpeximus non eam quam oportuit equitatis rationem ab ipſo Pontifice Romano habitam fuiſſe, & multa ſive temporum iniquitate ſive hominum vitio, contra omne jus faſque in pręmiſſis & circa ea deſignata. Volumus in hac cauſa tam gravi integerrimos quoſque noſtri Regni viros ac non modo in Sacra Theologia peritiſſimos, verum etiam juris Eccleſiaſtici callentiſſimos conſulere, quibus etiam mandavimus ut quid in tota hac cauſa ſecundum Deum & conſcientiam ſentirent fideliter nobis referrent atque reſponderent. Quoniam autem habitis prius inter eruditiſſimos viros matura deliberatione diligenti examinatione ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium & ſingulorum unanimi ſententia & conformi relatione, liquido comperimus invenimus & plene intelleximus non ſolum quod dicta diſpenſatio fuit & eſt omnino nulla inefficax & invalida tam propter Subreptionis & Obreptionis vitia, quam propter alias cauſas maxime vero propter poteſtatis in diſpenſante defectum, ex eo, *viz.* Quod Matrimonia cum relictis fratrum decedentium ſine liberis contracta, ſint de jure naturali & divino prohibita. Nec Romanus Pontifex nec ulla alia humana poteſtas poſſit diſpenſare ut illa aliquo modo legitimo fiant aut conſiſtant; verum etiam cum pręfatum Matrimonium inter dictum chariſſimum fratrem noſtrum ac pręfatam nobilem mulierem Dominam Catherinam de facto ut pręfertur contractum, fuit & eſt inceſtuoſum, ac prorſus nullum ac etiam contra Sacroſancta Dei pręcepta atque adeo contra omnia jura tam divina quam humana uſurpatum: quodque proinde dicta Domina Maria in eodem pretenſo Matrimonio ut prefertur ſuſcepta & procreata ad omnem juris effectum ſpuria & illegitima proles ac ex illicito & inceſto coitu genita fuit & eſt, ſicque ab omnibus reputari ac cenſeri debuit ac debeat omnino. Ac etiam quod dictum Matrimonium quod idem chariſſimus frater noſter cum dicta clariſſima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, fuit & eſt omnibus modis ſacroſanctum legitimum & validum. Quodque dicta illuſtris Domina Eliſabetha Angliæ Princeps ex eodem Matrimonio ſuſcepta nec non alia quæcunque proles ex eodem Matrimonio divina boni tatein poſterum ſuſcipienda, legitima fuit & eſt eritque & eſſe debet. Ac denique cum non ſolum multis ex reverendiſſimis Romanæ ſedis Cardinalibus inter quos primus fuit reverendiſſimus ille quondam Anconitanus, verum etiam ipſe nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens Papa Septimus ex certa & deliberata animi ſui Sententia cum nobis ipſis Marſilię tunc exiſtentibus, tum alias ſæpe Oratoribus noſtris tunc Romæ agentibus palam ac vivæ vocis ſuæ oraculo confeſſus ſit & expreſſe declaravit ſe ſentire dictam diſpenſationem & Matrimonium cum dicta Domina Catherina contractum, fuiſſe & eſſe nulla prorſus & de jure invalida, atque eadem ſic fuiſſe & eſſe per ſuam Sententiam definitivam ſeu finale decretum declarâſſet pronuntiâſſet & definiviſſet, ſi privati quidem affectus & reſpectus humani non obſtitiſſent. Nos igitur Franciſcus Francorum Rex antedictus ut juſtum veritati Suffragium ferentes, ſimul & juſtiſſimę chariſſimi fratris noſtri cauſæ patrocinemur notum facimus & in publicam teſtationem deduci volumus per præſentes; quod nos primam quidem dictam diſpenſationem quæ ab dicto Julio Secundo ut prædicitur emanavit, nullam prorſus ac minus validam, & ex dictis cauſis inefficacem irritam & inanem fuiſſe ſemper & eſſe. Deinde ipſum Matrimonium quod ejuſdem Diſpenſationis virtute cum dicta Domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, inceſtuoſum nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali juri & divino contrarium fuiſſe & eſſe, ac pro inceſtuoſo, nullo minuſque legitimo haberi debere. Denique dictam Dominam Mariam ex eo Matrimonio ut præmittitur ſuſceptam prorſus illegitimam & ad ſuccedendam in paterna hæreditate prorſus inhabilem fuiſſe & eſſe, & pro tali haberi cenſerique debere reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, aſſeremus, cenſemus & affirmamus. Similiter reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, aſſerimus, cenſemus & affirmamus quod Matrimonium illud quod idem Sereniſſimus Rex ac chariſſimus frater noſter cum præfata illuſtriſſima Domina Anna contraxit fuit & eſt, modis omnibus Sacroſanctum legitimum & validum, & quod proles ex eodem Matrimonio ſuſcepta ſeu ſuſcipienda, maxime autem dicta clariſſima Domina Eliſabetha nunc Angliæ Princeps ex iiſdem ut præfertur procreata ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit & eſt eritque & eſſe debet. Quodque non ſolum omnia & ſingula quæ dictus Sereniſſimus Rex & chariſſimus frater noſter pro confirmando & ſtabiliendo hujuſmodi Matrimonio ſuo quod cum præfata illuſtriſſima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, nec non pro dictę Dominę Eliſabethę filię ſuę ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc Matrimonio procreabuntur legitima & hęreditaria in Regnum Succeſſione ſtatuit, ordinavit aut promulgavit, juſtiſſimis & æquiſſimis fundamentis innitantur & ſubſiſtant. Verum etiam quod omnia & ſingula ſententię cenſurę & decreta ac alia quicunque proceſſus & judicia contra pręmiſſa ac eorum occaſione per bonę memorię Clementem nuper Pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcunque judicem, ſive aliam autoritatem quamcunque facta edita aut promulgata, aut in poſterum edenda ferenda, facienda ſive promulganda ſunt ipſo jure nulla irrita injuſta & iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari ac judicari & cenſeri debere, certo credimus conſtanter atteſtamur, cenſemus, aſſerimus & affirmamus per pręſentes. Promittimus inſuper in fide ac verbo regio ac ſub hypotheca omnium bonorum noſtrorum patrimonialium & fiſcalium, nec non bonorum ſubditorum noſtrorum etiam in forma contractus Guarantitii paratam executionem habentes, obligamus nos, hęredes & ſucceſſores noſtros dicto Sereniſſimo Henrico chariſſimo fratri noſtro Hęredibus & Succeſſionibus ſuis, quod nos hanc animi noſtri ſententiam & judicium quod ſuper pręmiſſis nos habere vere & ex animo declaravimus, ſemper & ubique locorum maxime autem in omnibus & ſingulis futuris Synodis aut Conciliis generalibus, & coram quibuſcunque judicibus, nec non apud & contra omnes homines quicunque eidem Sententię noſtrę quacunque ratione adverſabuntur, cujuſcunque autoritatis pręeminentiæ aut dignitatis, etiamſi ſupremæ fuerint, per nos ac noſtros ſubditos quoſcunque tam in judicio, quam extra, manu tenebimus, propugnabimus, ac ſi opus fuerit etiam manu forti defendemus ac pro viribus juſtificabimus, nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore in poſterum publicè aut occultè directè aut indirectè eidem ſententię noſtrę contraveniemus, nec quicquam unquam attentabimus moliemur aut faciemus, nec ab aliis in poſterum cujuſcunque autoritatis fuerint

fieri aut attentari quantum in nobis eſt permittemus quod in irritationem, enervationem præjudicium, aut in contrarium huic noſtræ ſententiæ cedat, aut cedere poſſit quovis modo. In cujus rei Teſtimonium, *&c.*

Num. XXXVII.

The Opinion of certain of the Biſhops and Clergy touching a General Council, in the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth.*

Paper Office.

THO' that in the old Times, when the Empire of *Rome* had his ample Dominion over the moſt part of the World, the firſt four General Councils which at all times have been of moſt Eſtimation in the Church of Chriſt, were call'd and gather'd by the Emperor's Commandment, and for a godly Intent that Hereſies might be extinct, Schiſms put away, good Order and Manners in the Miniſters of the Church, and the People of the ſame eſtabliſh'd, like as many Councils more were call'd till now of late, by the Negligence, as well of the Emperor as other Princes, the Biſhop of *Rome* hath been ſuffer'd to uſurp this Power; yet now, foraſmuch that the Empire of *Rome*, and the Monarchy of the ſame, has no ſuch general Dominion, but that many Princes have abſolute Power in their own Realms, and an whole intire Monarchy, no other Prince may by his Authority call a General Council: But that if any one or more of theſe Princes for the eſtabliſhing of the Faith, for the Extirpation of Schiſms, do lovingly, charitably, with a good ſincere Intent to a ſure Place, require any other Prince, or the reſt of the great Princes be content to agree, that for the Wealth, Quietneſs and Tranquillity of all Chriſtian People, by his or their free Conſent a General Council might be aſſembled; That Prince or thoſe Princes, ſo requir'd, are bound by order of Charity for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condeſcend and agree thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor juſt Cauſe to the contrary. The chief Cauſes of the General Councils are before expreſs'd.-------- In all the ancient Councils of the Church in Matters of the Faith, and in Interpretation of *Scripture*, no Man made diffinite Subſcription but Biſhops and Prieſts, foraſmuch as the Declaration of the Word of God pertains unto them.

St. John *cap.* xx. *v.* 22, 23.

Acts xx. *v.* 28.

The Words of *John* in his 20th Chapter, *Sicut miſit me Pater, & ego mitto vos*, &c. has no reſpects to a King's or Princes Power; but only to ſhew how that the Miniſters of the Word of God, choſen and ſent for that intent, are the Meſſengers of Chriſt, to teach the Truth of his Goſpel, and to *looſe* and *bind* Sin, *&c.* As Chriſt was the Meſſenger of his Father. The Words alſo of St. *Paul* in the 20th Chapter of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & univerſo Gregi in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit Epiſcopos, regere Eccleſiam Dei*, were ſpoken unto the Biſhops and Prieſts to be diligent Paſtors of the People, both to teach 'em diligently, and alſo to be circumſpect that falſe Preachers ſhou'd not ſeduce the People, as follows immediately after in the ſame place. Other places of *Scripture* declare the Highneſs and Excellency of Chriſtian Princes Authority and Power, the which of a truth is moſt high; for he hath Power and Charge generally over all, as well Biſhops and Prieſts as others: The Biſhops and Prieſts have charge of Souls within their own Cures, Power to miniſter Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God, to the which Word of God Chriſtian Princes knowledge themſelves ſubject: And in caſe the Biſhops be negligent, 'tis the Chriſtian Princes Office to ſee 'em do their Duty.

T. Cant.
Jo. London.
Cuthbert Dunelm.
Jo. Bath & Well.
Thom. Elien.
Johannes Bangor.
Nicolaus Sariſburien.
Hugo Wygorn.
Johannes Roffen.
Willielmus Abbas Monaſterii Sancti Benedicti.
Robertus Aldrydg.
Ricardus Coren.
Edwardus Leyghton.

In a Paper drawn up in a fair Hand againſt the Pope's Uſurpation, and concerning the Authority of General Councils, theſe two Propoſitions amongſt others occur.

Cotton *Libr.* Cleop. E. vi. *fol.* 329.

Firſt, "That a General Council lawfully conven'd is and ought to be ſuperiour to all Juriſdictions, (either uſurp'd and ſuffer'd as the Papal, or juſtly holden as the King's) in all Matters concerning the Faith, and Direction of the whole Church of Chriſt, which ought to be judged thereby, and by the Decrees of the ſame, only and by none other, they being conſonant to the Law of Chriſt.

Secondly, "That Princes have two ways principally, when none other can prevail, to attain Right. *i. e.* In Cauſes concerning the Soul, being mere ſpiritual, Appellation to a General Council: In Temporal Cauſes the Sword only: Except by Mediation of Friends the matter may be compounded.

This Paper ſeems to have been written ſoon after the King had appeal'd from the Pope to a General Council.

Num. XXXVIII.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hyberniæ, ac in terris ſub Chriſto Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Supremum Caput. Pio & Chriſtiano Lectori.

Reſponſio H. 8. Regis Angliæ ad Bullam Papalem Pauli tertii. *Paper Office.*

QUandoquidem nulli obſcurum eſſe poteſt, quam indefeſſe, & ſedulo, Chriſti Honorem & Gloriam, deinde Sacroſancti Evangelii curſum, dignitatem, lucem, & ornamentum quærere, illuſtrare, ornare, promovereque ac propagare ad reipublicæ Chriſtianæ uſum & commodum, noſtrique Regni Anglicani fructum & incrementum, omni qua potuimus ſinceritate veritate, ope, induſtria, & diligentia, ſemper & ubique ſtuduerimus, ac nunc etiam non omnino negligimus, præſertim reputantes quantum ex officio divinitus demandato nobis ſit injunctum, quamque dura & acerba adminiſtrati principatûs ratio, a nobis tandem ſit exigenda, viſum eſt non admodum abſurdum, (quanquam profecto ut libere & ex animi ſententia loquamur, minime neceſſarium,

rium, utpote orbi univerſo, quantumlibet tacentibus nobis, clarius ac manifeſtius, quam vel ut à nobis dicendum ſit, vel ut ab aliis honeſtè ac probè diſſimulari, poſſit) teſtimonio præſentium fidem facere; primum Principibus Chriſtianis, deinde reliquis Orthodoxis omnibus quotquot veritatem, non autem ſimulationem amplectuntur, nos nullo unquam tempore recuſaſſe, aut ſubterfugiſſe, liberum, verum, purum, catholicum, pium, chriſtianum & ſincerum ac generale Concilium; quinimmo ſæpe id & per quam anxiè, tum propter communem Eccleſiæ ſalutem, & utilitatem, tum propter morum, & abuſuum in Eccleſia reformationem ac emendationem, ſummis votis expetiviſſe, quemadmodum una nobis cum certum eſt bonos viros omnes, apud omnes gentes cum totis ſtudiis expetere: Quis enim, præſertim iſta tempeſtate, hoc turbulentiſſimo tempore, non vere id & ex animo expeteret? non efflagitaret & non omnibus denique votis expoſceret? quando Chriſti, ejuſque ſponſæ Eccleſiæ vera doctrina, quæ Chriſtianorum omnium pabulum eſſe debet, prorſus eſt profligata, oppreſſa, & proculcata, quando Chriſti fides, & Religio, tot, tamque indignis modis eſt tractata fœdataque: Quando ſit ubique, & tam impunè impietas in Chriſti contemptum, & ignominiam, graſſatur, & regnat: denique cum ſurſum ac deorſum volvuntur omnia.

Verum ut in liberum ac pium concilium hujuſmodi, hactenus ſemper propenſi fuimus, & in præſenti ſumus, erimuſque, Præterea (Deo vitam prorogante & ceptis noſtris feliciter aſpirante) omnino in futuro; quo ſcilicet tranquillitas Eccleſiæ Catholicæ reſtituatur, & ſalubris aliqua medicina afflictis rebus opem ferat, ita in concilium violentum, impium, inſincerum, nepharium, & illegitimum, neque ipſi conſentiemus, neque authoris erimus amicis, ut ipſi rei tam impiæ tamque periculoſæ temere unquam conſentiant:

Cum itaque nuper fama & rumore, magis quam certa aliqua ſignificatione, aut intimatione conſueta intellexerimus Paulum, Epiſcopum Romanum, de facto quum id de jure non potuit, Synodum, ſeu (ut ipſe appellat) & generale & œcumenicum Concilium Mantuæ in Partibus Italiæ celebrandum temere & illegittime nulliterque & inique indixiſſe, ac multos Principes & Prælatos, ad Synodum & locum hujuſmodi, pari temeritate, injuria, & nullitate, evocâſſe, ſtatim ob oculos verſabatur quod in eo loco, eoque ex conſeſſu, ſi quid tandem poſſent, fraus, impoſtura calliditas, machinatio, dolus, improbitas, ambitio, auri ſacra fames, largitio vel hypocriſis, expectandum eſt ubi Paulus ac ſui Complices & Confederati lapidem omnem Moturi ſunt, quo regnum ſuum papiſticum, & tyrannidem conſolidare, ac ſtabilire poſſunt & valeant.

Nam quid quæſo aliud tot retro Pontifices egerunt, ubi de eorum honore, poteſtate, juriſdictione, aſſerto uſurpatoque primatu & commodo, pertractabatur? Annon divina humanaque omnia miſcuerunt, ut temporale mundanumque Regnum ſibi conſtituerent, & Chriſti Legem violarent.

Verum hujus rei curam cogitationemque ut inutilem nihilque pene ad nos, niſi quod Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ bene conſultum eſſe cupimus, ſpectantem; denique indignam quæ noſtra ſtudia occuparet rejecimus, deque arduis & gravibus Regni noſtri negotiis, ut par erat, cum ejuſdem Regni primatibus, viriſque doctiſſimis conſultandum deliberandumque fore cenſuimus.

Porro dextrè tractatis ac compoſitis Regni negotiis, quum incidenter de Synodo, mentio denuò fuiſſet oborta, ſuccurrebat diligentius, & quibus de rebus inter ipſum Paulum cæteroſque Catholicos Principes & Chriſtianos impræſentiarum controverteretur; & quæ remedia (quando nullo modo hic eſſe connivendum videbatur) eſſent exercenda.

Quanquam vero certò & haud dubiè fuerimus perſuaſi, nihil nobis, ſubditiſque noſtris commercii eſſe cum illo homine; denique nos aut ſubditos noſtros in aſſerta illa Synodo hujuſmodi neque comparere, neque nuncium aut procuratorem aliquem (attenta rei magnitudine & importantia) illuc mittere quavis ratione obligatos eſſe; tamen quo infirmitati aliorum juxta regulam evangelicam conſulamus, tum ut orbis intelligat non libidine aliqua animi, ſed honeſtis ac juſtis rationibus permotos fuiſſe nos, quominus aut ipſi veniremus, aut nuncium vel procuratorem aliquem hujuſmodi mitteremus; dicimus, proponimus & allegamus, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde ſequi poſſit & valeat, proteſtamur, citra tamen ipſius Epiſcopi Romani prætenſæ juriſdictionis, & auctoritatis prorogationem, aut in ipſum ipſiuſque prætenſam juriſdictionem, & uſurpatam auctoritatem, conſenſum: Quod cum mos indicendorum Conciliorum Epiſcopoſque tum alios, tum ipſum quoque Romanum evocandorum, antiquitus is fuiſſe traditur, ut non unius Romani Epiſcopi arbitrio, ſed Imperatorum, Regum & Principum, auctoritate, conſenſu, voluntate & mandato, indicerentur & fierent, (id quod ex optimis & probatiſſimis quibuſque authoribus & teſtibus manifeſtius eſt quam ut poſſit inficiari) non debuit, immo non potuit Paulus prædictus (adhibitis ſecum Cardinalibus creaturis (ut blaſphemus ille blaſpheme appellat) ſuis, & conjuratis aliquot Epiſcopis, omnia ut illi libeat licere affirmantibus) citra Chriſtianorum Principum conſenſum, voluntatem, auctoritatem ac mandatum, Synodum aut indicere, aut (quod ſe facturum glorioſè jactitat) in illa præſidere.

Quis enim ferat, aut æquum putet (niſi planè ſtupidus is ſit, & rerum tam divinarum quam humanarum omnium imperitus æſtimator) eum (Romanum dico qui cæteris Epiſcopis par eſt & æqualis, nec ullam de jure divino ſuperioritatem prærogativamq; ſupra cæteros Epiſcopos habeat, aut habere poſſit, ea eſſe animi confidentia, elatione & ſuperbia, audacia denique & arrogantia, ſupra quam dici poſſit ſacrilega & nefanda, ut citra Chriſtianorum Principum conſenſum & auctoritatem, generale Concilium indicere, Reges & Principes reluctantes, ac invitos imperioſè ad id evocare: Denique invitis omnibus contra expreſſum Dei verbum, ſacroſanctamque illius voluntatem in Chriſtianorum cœtu dominari; regnare in hominum conſcientiis, & (ut ſemel finiam) ſub concordiæ & unitatis prætextu, quo incautos fallat, in cauſa propria (ubi de ipſius ſuorumque falſa & improba Doctrina, de nonnullis Traditionibus impiis & nephariis; denique de ementito hactenus illius primatu & imperio agitur, de quo certè apud omnes juſtiſſima eſt querela cum is judicandus ſit) judicare poſſe cenſeatur; ac omnia tàm divina, quàm humana figere, & refigere pro arbitrio. Quod ſi Concilium illi indicere licuiſſet (id quod non licere & jam diximus, perpetuoque dicemus, aſtipulantibus nobis quotquot eruditi ſunt, & Pontifici ipſi Romano minime obærati) tamen belligerantibus inter ſe Principibus Chriſtianis, & tot tantiſque rerum tumultibus, occupatis, non conveniebat profecto ad Concilium vocare, diemque ac locum præfigere, priuſquam concordia, pax & tranquillitas inter illos Principes coaleſcens, orbi fuiſſet reddita.

Nam id primum niſi actum fuerit, quid aliud eſt Concilium indicere, quam vel oleum & operam (quod aiunt) perdere? negligentibus ſcilicet illis intereſſe, & intentos animos redintegrandis rebus adhibere, vel omnia in rem & utilitatem ſuam agere, dum illis bello & tumultibus vehementer implicitis, non vacat, aut non libet videre, quid interim tumultuantibus illis perficere deſignet: Quorum alterum ut imperitum arguit, ita alterum impoſtorem plane, & vafrum hominem probat.

Porro tam diſtantem & remotum locum, tam plenum periculis, tamque expoſitum & obvium injuriis, adhæc tam vicinum & propinquum ipſius Pauli ditionibus, conſanguineis & amicis, denique in quo tanta tamque magna fertur illius eſſe potentia & fortitudo, aſſignare; quid aliud eſt obſecro, quam eos qui vel aliquantulum rerum uſu ſapiunt, ne talem locum accedant planè deterrere, vel parum cautos & oſcitantes, veluti in naſſam pellicere.

Quis enim niſi demens prorſus, & plane mente captus, ſciens prudenſque ac volens, manifeſtis ſe exponat periculis, in hoſtium ſinu ſe reponat, ac ad mortem per violentam injuriam, non autem per juſtitiam, ultroneum ſe, cum vitare liceat, offerat temere; quod ſane facturus erit quiſquis is fuerit, minimè dubium eſt, qui Cremonæ vicinam Mantuam hac tempeſtate adiverit, & libidini Romani Pontificis & imperio fuerit adverſatus.

Verum ut detur Mantuam, cum acceſſeris, locum eſſe tutum, (quod ipſum tamen nos juſtiſſimis cauſis adducti minimè putamus) tamen non conſequitur ſtatim loca illa intermedia, per quæ omnino tranſeundum eſt, tuta ſatis eſſe & ſecura.

Illa autem tuta eſſe & ſecura; ſi cundum ſit, leges omnes teſtantur & affirmant.

Quam vero non ſint ſecura & tuta, immo quam plena periculis, & quam obnoxia adverſis caſibus, & injuriis, iis præſertim qui ab ipſo Epiſcopo Romano diverſum ſentiunt, omnes quotquot & locorum & rerum ſtatus, ac ſæculi hujus calamitatis ac miſeriæ vel mediocrem cognitionem habuerint, non difficulter pronunciabunt putabuntque.

Ad hæc periculi etiam nonnihil ex defectu ſalvi Conductûs, de quo nihil hactenus dictum fuit, oritur ab illis quorum ea ſunt loca concedendi, qui cum non ſit præſtitus, temeritatem profecto argueret illius qui cum juſtus timor & metus eum excuſant, periculoſo nihilominus itineri ſe committeret: Et præſtitus quidem, (rebus ſic ſe habentibus, ut habent, & tam potentibus Principibus inter ſe tam atrociter contendentibus, nihil habet in ſe ſolidi & firmi: Sed adeo fragilem lubricamque cautionem continet & complectitur, ut qui illum habeat, ſecurus magis quam tutus plerumque cenſeri poſſit. Cujus rei fidem, etiamſi nihil eſſet aliud, facere poſſunt non pauci in papiſticis illis Conciliis olim neglecti ſalvi Conductûs, & contemptæ promiſſiones.

Sed hæc cum ſint nobiſcum aliis Principibus communia, deſinemus illa perſequi; perſequemur autem nunc (quanquam carptim & breviter cum nulli non ſunt nota quæ deinceps dicturi ſumus) ea quæ privatim & ſeorſim nos reſpiciunt. Qualia ſunt quod idem Paulus animo eſt in nos hoſtili, & pluſquam capitali, non raro id neque diſſimulanter oſtendens, ſed palàm & apertè. Deinde quod nuper cum quibuſdam Rebellibus Subditis noſtris, Confœderationes, & Conſpirationes iniverit & fecerit in noſtrum, Regni noſtri contemptum, præjudicium, offenſam, & injuriam, Rebellionem in Dominiis noſtris non chriſtianè ſed malicioſè & fraudulenter concitando, ac Subditos noſtros, quantum in ipſo fuit, ut nobis rebellarent, repugnarentque ſollicitando; denique mediis illicitis, nunc pecuniis & præmiis, nunc fictis honoribus & titulis, nunc blandiciis ac promiſſis pertrahendo, non pacem veniens mittere in terram, ſed gladium, ac gladium quidem alium quam Chriſtus vel intellexerat, vel unquam exercebat.

In quem Paulum & Pontifices certè Romanos jam ideo piget pudetque nos tam egregiè fuiſſe munificos; quod Judæos illi imitati pro gratia contumeliam, pro beneficio injuriam nobis rependunt.

At valeant ingratiſſimi homines, indigni qui vel hominum vocabulum habeant, quorum ſeditioſos conatus, quanquam Deo benè fortunante, irritos reddidimus, tutum tamen non videtur ad loca præſertim tam remota, in tantis rerum turbinibus, nos conferre, aut commiſſum nobis gregem negligenter deſerere; nè abſentibus ſcilicet nobis, aſtuta vulpecula, imo verius ſanguinarius & rapax Lupus, incuſtoditum, & defenſore ſuo carentem Gregem, crudeliter invadat, miſereque dilaniet; tranquillitatem Chriſtianorum non ferens, ſed cædem depopulationem, & ruinam quærens.

Manet quidem haud dubiè, & alta mente repoſtum manebit, quod illius Epiſcopi Romani ſuper omnes Gentes, Eccleſias & Regna, prætenſum uſurpatumque primatum non agnoſcimus, quamquam nec agnoſcere debeamus. Dolet illi non licere tyrannidem in regno noſtro (quod licuit olim conniventibus majoribus noſtris, & ut tunc ferebant tempora permittentibus) exercere. Iniquiſſimo fert animo non poſſe immenſam auri vim fictis ac mendacibus titulis, indulgentiarum præſertim & diplomatum, congerere, & pro arbitrio exportare; denique in hoc Regno non facere quod libet.

Verum utcunque res ceciderit, nos hæc illi tamen cum tanto Religionis Chriſtianæ detrimento, ac Regni noſtri non præjudicio ſolum, ſed pernicie, haud unquam conceſſuri permiſſurive ſumus.

Porro cum nihil neque ſacroſanctum, aut honeſtum, nihil denique quod aut Evangelicis Litteris congruat, aut bonis moribus proficiat, in eo Concilio (ſi ex principio & malè jactis fundamentis quid deinceps ſecuturum ſit liberè liceat pronunciare) ipſi Epiſcopo Romano ſtatuere ſit animus, niſi forſan (quod verſuti plerumque ſolent) ſub ſpecie aliqua honeſtatis quædam in hominum gratiam concedet, quo deinceps liberius homines fallat minime ſuſpicaces, non putavimus æquum, immo nec ſalva conſcientia debuimus, nos, aut ſubditi noſtri, procuratorem vel nuncium, tot refragantibus rebus, & exiſtentibus impedimentis, ad eum locum, eam perſonam mittere, cujus juriſdictioni nullatenus nos ſubici certum eſt; & quam veluti competentem in hac parte, nos & Subditi noſtri, ex cauſis prædictis, aliiſque juſtiſſimis, nos & illos, reſpectivè moventibus, neque hic agnoſcimus, neque (altiſſimo noſtros conatus benè ſicuti ſperamus moderante) agnituri unquam ſumus: Id quod (quo magis fidem adhibeas) chriſtiane ac pie Lector, expreſsè ac dilucidè dictum teſtatumque hic eſſe voluimus: Præſertim cum hoc Concilium, quin verius Conciliabulum (cur enim non ita appellare ſit liberum, cum magis hoc, quam illud quadret) à Paulo prædicto indictum deſignatumque, non eò ſpectare videmus quo ſui & ſuorum impii errores, & abuſus corrigantur & reformentur: ſed ad opprimendum Veritatem Evangelicam, Regnumque Papiſticum, Antichriſti autem Imperium, ſtabiliendum ornandumque.

Itaque quid facturi ſint alii Chriſtiani Principes & Fideles prorſus neſcientes, ac quid denique nobis viſum eſt paucis aperientes, (quod noſtrum factum bonos omnes boni conſulturos eſſe minimè dubitamus) Deum Optimum Maximum cujus nutu, ac renatu diſponantur ac fiunt omnia, ex animo precamur, ut miſeriarum humanarum, de piiſſima ac infinita illa & immenſa ſua benignitate, miſertus, ſublatis ubique diſcordiis, ac gravibus rerum tumultibus, liberum tandem, ſincerum, purum, verum, catholicum ac chriſtianum œcumenicum Concilium, de conſenſu Principum congregatum, (quo de illius honore & gloria, Chriſtianorum omnium utilitate & fructu, catholicè, concorditer ac unanimiter tractetur, (ſuo Gregi Chriſtiano, cujus cauſa & amore, tot tamque diros & indignos cruciatus, tormenta, & afflictiones, unigenitus Dei Filius in hoc mundo ſua ſponte perpeſſus eſt, concedere dignetur. Pro quo celebrando quemadmodum hactenus nihil omnino prætermiſimus, quod ut fieret expedire videbatur; ita nec prætermittemus unquam, ubi aliqua vel leviſſima occaſio & opportunitas nobis dabitur.

Et tamen (ut liberè ſincereque & apertè loquamur) ea jam videtur eſſe & rerum, & temporum tam miſeranda conditio, ut quanquam multa non ſolum dici, ſed fieri etiam in Chriſti laudem,nominiſq; ſui propagationem concupiſcimus & optamus, tamen ſic in immenſum veteres errores, & abuſus crevere, & quotidie novi exoriuntur, ut ſalubrem aliquam medicinam, multo facilius ſit optare quam ſperare; adeo quod (quemadmodum nobis videtur) vel nulla jam eſt, tot, tamque gravibus & multiplicibus, denique tam inveteratis, & confirmatis morbis ſanandis, curandiſque medicina ex parte conſentanea, & ſufficiens. Vel ſaltem hæc via eſſe videtur admodum compendiaria, ut ſi ad tollendos corrigendoſque hujuſmodi errores & exceſſus, Concilium tale, loco, tempore, & circumſtantiis legitimis, in hac rerum & temporum malignitate, congregari fieri, & haberi, non poſſit, (id quod modis multis & rationibus pluſquam videtur veriſimile) ſaltem Concilio Provinciali, cum videlicet & vigilantia ſingulorum Principum, in ſua cujuſque ditione, regimine & imperio, exceſſus & abuſus hujuſmodi debitè reformarentur corrigerenturque: Qua quidem in re noſtrarum partium eſſe, obiter & reliquos Chriſtianos Principes noſtro exemplo, factoque & conſilio, redderem admonitos: Ne callidis & vafris ipſius Pauli commentis & fraudibus, ſubſcribere, aut ſe illius uſurpatæ, violentæ, & injuſtæ tyrannidi ſubjicere, ſed Honorem ac Majeſtatem ſuam integram, & ſartam tectam habere velint, ac ut debita reformatio fiat, modis omnibus contendant.

Illud autem (quod minime tacendum eſt) addimus, quod ſi in hoc Mantuæ Concilio (ſic enim Paulus, non Apoſtolus tamen, nec adeo bonus Epiſcopus appellandum cenſet, quanquam nos contrarium, & minime ſic appellandum putamus) quicquam geſtum, tractatum, ordinatum, ſeu concluſum fuerit, quod cum ſacro Evangelio, Religioneque Chriſtiana prorſus, & omnimodò conveniat; qua quidem in re tamen, non Pauli illius judicio, conjuratorumque ſuorum & complicum; ſed ſententiæ & opinioni eorum qui verè & ſincerè Evangelio favent, acceſſuros nos eſſe profitemur: Non quia illic, aut ab ipſo Paulo geſtum & factum fuerit, ſed quoniam revera jure divino eſt congruum, ac rationi humanæ conſonum, accepturi probaturique ſumus: Id quod in Infidelium etiam dictis & factis nos poſſe facere quis neget?

Quod ſi in illo aſſerto Concilio quicquam tractetur, geratur, aut fiat, quod cum Evangelicis Litteris pugnat, aut in Chriſti dedecus, ignominiam, & contemptum cedat; vel denique in Romani Epiſcopi aſſertum, uſurpatumque primatum & imperium, noſtri aut amicorum noſtrorum, vel ſubditorum Regni noſtri præjudicium, gravamen, aut injurias, tendat, (quod ſanè valdè eſt veriſimile futurum, & quaſi certum, ſi ut cæperit, pergat, & ex præteritis futura liceat colligere) id nos non eſſe accepturos probaturoſve, ut rejicere ac reprobare, damnareque protinus, & pro nullo irrito & inani habere velimus: Id quod in caſum & eventum hujuſmodi, etiam exnunc non acceptamus, nec probamus; ſed rejicimus, reprobamus ac damnamus per Præſentes.

Proteſtantes poſtremo, quod fuit, & eſt intentio, animique noſtri propoſitum & voluntas, hanc præſentem Proteſtationem & ſingula contenta in eadem, pro loco & tempore opportunis & congruis, quotiens & quando nobis melius expedire, & magis prodeſſe videbitur, emendare, corrigere, reformare, ac in meliorem & competentiorem formam redigere, necnon eidem addere, ac ab eadem ſubtrahere, juxta & ſecundum Conſilium Doctorum proborumque Virorum, prout juris fuerit & rationis.

Hæc ſunt chriſtiane ac pie Lector, quæ tibi, & per te cæteris omnibus dicta declarataque eſſe voluimus: Nihil addubitantes quin jamdudum tibi perſuaſerimus, Pontificem ipſum Paulum, & aſtute nobiſcum, & iniquè hic egiſſe. Deinde honeſtiſſimas nos habere rationes quamobrem Concilium illud declinavimus, ejuſque Concilii aſſertum mendacemque Parentem, minimè pro Concilii Præſide, aut ſummo illius Authore, vel Judice aut Monarcha, acceptandum putavimus.

Teſtamur autem apud te cæteroſque Catholicos & Fideles, chriſtiane Lector, eam ſinceram Fidem, & Doctrinam nos tenere, & (Deo dante) ſincerè & integrè, quamdiu ſpiritus hos regit artus amplexuros, profeſſuros, & retenturos eſſe, quam vera & catholica Eccleſia hactenus ſemper prædicavit & docuit: Quodque ab hac veræ catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitate nunquam quavis cauſâ vel occaſione diſceſſuri ſumus: Denique quod in tota hac cauſa nihil aliud expectamus aut quærimus, quam Dei gloriam, & publicam chriſtiani orbis utilitatem & Pacem: Quam animi affectionem tam in nobis quam in reliquis Principibus omnibus auctam abunde atque multiplicatam eſſe ſummis votis exoptamus. Quod præſtare dignetur Jeſus Chriſtus, omnis boni & Author & Conſummator: Cui ſit honor & gloria in æternum. Amen.

Num. XXXIX.

King Henry *the Eighth's Letter to ſome of the Biſhops, reprimanding them for not reading the Articles lately ſet forth, and for ſpeaking againſt ſome of the Ceremonies of the Church.*

Ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig. Novemb. 20. An. Dom. 1536.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Welbelov'd we greet you well: And whereas upon the good Opinion which of your Vertue, Learning and good Qualities we had heretofore conceiv'd, purely and plainly to ſet forth the Word of God, and inſtruct our People in the Truth of the ſame, in a ſimple and plain ſort for their better Inſtructions, Unity, Quiet and Agreement in the Points thereof, we advanc'd you to the Room and Office of a Biſhop within this our Realm, and ſo endow'd you with great Revenues and Poſſeſſions; perceiving after that, by the Contrariety of Preaching within this our Realm, our ſaid People were brought into a Diverſity of Opinion, whereby there enſued Contention among 'em, which was only engender'd by a certain contemptuous manner of ſpeaking againſt honeſt, laudable and tolerable Ceremonies,

Uſages and Cuſtoms of the Church, we were enforc'd by ſundry Letters to admoniſh and command you amongſt others to preach God's Word ſincerely, and declare Abuſes plainly, and in no ways contentiouſly to treat of Matters indifferent, which be neither neceſſary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of holy Church, ne yet in any wiſe to be contemn'd and abrogate, for that they be Incitements and Motions to Vertue, and Allurements to Devotion. All which our Travel notwithſtanding, ſo little Regards you took to our Advertiſements therein, that we were conſtrain'd to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain *Articles*, which were by all you, the Biſhops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agree'd on, as Catholick, meet, and neceſſary to be by our Authority, for avoiding of all Contention, ſet forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the ſame in Unity, Quietneſs and good Concord: Suppoſing then that no Perſonage having Authority under us, as ye have, wou'd either have preſum'd to have ſpoken any Word that might have offended the Sentence and Meaning of the ſame, or have been any thing remiſs, ſlack or negligent, in the plain ſetting forth of them, as they be conceived, ſo as by that Means the Fruit of Quiet and Unity ſhou'd not grow thereupon, as we deſir'd and look'd for of the ſame. And perceiving eftſoons by credible Report, that our Labours, Travail and Deſire therein, is nevertheleſs defeated, and in manner, by general and contemptuous Words, contemn'd and deſpis'd: So that by the Abſtinence of direct and plain ſetting forth of the ſaid *Articles*, and by the fond and contentious manner of ſpeaking, that ye and ſome others of your ſort, do ſtill uſe, againſt the honeſt Rites, Cuſtoms and Uſages, and ceremonial things of the Church: Our People be much more offended than they were before, and in manner exclaim, that we will ſuffer that Injury at your Hands; whereby they think God, us and our whole Realm highly offended; inſomuch as principally upon that Ground, and for the Reformation of your Abuſes therein they have made, this Commotion and Inſurrection whereby they have offended us, damag'd themſelves, and troubled many of our good Subjects. We be now inforced for our Diſcharge towards God, and for the tender Love and Zeal we bear to the Tranquillity, Love and Unity of our ſaid Subjects, again to addreſs theſe our Letters unto you, as a peremptory Warning to adviſe you to demean and uſe your ſelves as ſhall hereafter be declared, upon Pain of Deprivation from your Biſhoprick; and further to be puniſh'd for your Contempt, if you ſhall offend in the contrary, as Juſtice ſhall require for your own Treſpaſs, and as may ſerve for the Example of others. And *Firſt*, We eſpecially charge and command you, that plainly and diſtinctly, without any Additions, you ſhall every Holy-day, whereſoever you ſhall be within your Dioceſe, when you may ſo do with your Health, openly in your Cathedral Church, or in the Pariſh Church where you ſhall fortune to be, read and declare our ſaid Articles, and in no wiſe in the reſt of your Words, which you ſhall then ſpeak of your ſelf (if you ſpeak any thing) utter any Word that ſhall make the ſame or any Word in the ſame, doubtful to the People.

Secondly, We will and command you, that you ſhall in your Perſon travel from Place to Place in all your Dioceſe, as you may with your Commodity, and endeavour your ſelf every Holy-day to make a *Collation* to the People, and in the ſame, to ſet forth plainly thoſe Texts of Scripture that you ſhall treat off, and with the ſame alſo, as well to declare the Obedience due by God's Law to your Prince and Sovereign Lord, (againſt whoſe Commandment, they ought in no wiſe, tho' the ſame were unjuſt to uſe any Violence) as to commend and praiſe all the honeſt Ceremonies of the Church, as they be to be prais'd in ſuch plain and reverend ſort, that the People may perceive that they be not contemn'd, and yet learn how they were inſtituted, and how they ought to be obſerv'd and eſteem'd. Uſing ſuch a Temperance therein, that our ſaid People be not corrupted by putting over much Affiance in them, which ſhou'd more offend than the clean ſilencing of the ſame. And that our People may therewith the better know their Duty to us, being their King and Sovereign Lord.

Thirdly, We ſtraitly charge and command you, that neither in your private Communications you ſhall uſe any Words that may ſound to the contrary of this our Commandment; ne that you ſhall keep or retain any Man of any Degree, that ſhall in his Words privately or apertly, directly or indirectly, ſpeak in thoſe Matters of the Ceremonies contemptuouſly or contentiouſly. But we will, in caſe you have, or ſhall have any ſuch Perſon that will not better temper his Tongue; ye ſhall, as an Offender and Seducer of our People, ſend the ſame in ſafe Cuſtody to us and our *Council*, to be puniſh'd as ſhall appertain, and ſembleably to do with other Strangers, whom ye ſhall hear to be Offenders in that part.

Fourthly, Our Pleaſure and Commandment is, that you ſhall on our Behalf, give ſtrait Commandment upon like pain of Deprivation and farther Puniſhment, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates and Governours of Religious Houſes, Colleges and other Places Eccleſiaſtical, within your Dioceſe, that they and every of them ſhall, touching the indifferent Praiſe of Ceremonies, the avoiding of Contentions, and contemptuous Communication concerning any of the ſame, and the diſtinct and plain reading of our *Articles*, obſerve and perform in their Churches, Monaſteries, and other Houſes Eccleſiaſtical aforeſaid, the very ſame Order that is before to you preſcrib'd.

And further, that ye permit nor ſuffer any Man of what Degree ſoever he be in Learning, Stranger or other, to preach in any Place within your ſaid Dioceſe, out of his own Church, by virtue of any Licence by us, or any of our *Miniſters*, granted before the 15th Day of this Month, neither in your Preſence nor elſewhere; unleſs he be a Man of ſuch Honeſty, Learning and Judgment, as you ſhall think able for that Purpoſe, and one whom in manner you dare anſwer for.

Finally, Whereas we be advertis'd, that divers Prieſts have preſum'd to marry themſelves contrary to the Cuſtom of our Church of *England*: our Pleaſure is, you ſhall make ſtrict Enquiry within your Dioceſe, whether there be any ſuch Reſiant within the ſame, or no. And in caſe you find that there be any ſuch Prieſts who have preſumed to marry themſelves, and have ſith hence uſed or exerciſed in any thing the Office of Prieſthood, we charge you as you will anſwer upon the Pains aforeſaid, to cauſe 'em to be apprehended, and to ſend 'em up unto us accordingly.

Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 20th of *November*, in the 28th Year of our Reign.

Num.

Num. XL.

The Form of the Beads in Ireland.

Paper Office. An. Dom. 1537.

YE ſhall pray for the Univerſal Catholick Church, both Quick and Dead, and eſpecially for the Church of *England* and *Ireland*. *Firſt*, for our Sovereign Lord the King, ſupream Head in Earth, immediate under God, of the ſaid Church of *England* and *Ireland*; and for the Declaration of the Truth thereof, ye ſhall underſtand, that the unlawful Juriſdiction, Power and Authority, of long time uſurped by the Biſhop of *Rome* in *Ireland* and *England*, who then was called Pope; is now, by God's Law, juſtly, lawfully, and upon good Grounds, Reaſons and Cauſes, by Authority of Parliament, and by and with the whole Conſent and Agreements of all the Biſhops, Prelates, and both the Univerſities of *Oxon* and *Cambridge*, and alſo the whole Clergy, both of *England* and *Ireland*, extinct and ceaſed for ever, as of no Strength, Value or Effect, in the Church of *England* or *Ireland*; in the which Church the ſaid whole Clergy, Biſhops and Prelates, with the Univerſities of *Oxon* and *Cambridge*, have according to God's Laws, and upon good and lawful Reaſons and Grounds, knowledged the King's Higneſs to be Supream Head in Earth imdiate under God, of this Church of *England* and *Ireland*; which their Knowledge confeſſed, being now by Parliament eſtabliſhed, and by God's Laws juſtifiable to be juſtly executed; ſo ought every true Chriſtian Subject of this Land, not only to knowledge, and obediently recognize the King's Highneſs to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*; but alſo to ſpeak, publiſh and teach their Children and Servants the ſame; and to ſhew unto them how that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* hath heretofore uſurped not only upon God, but alſo upon our Princes. Wherefore, and to the intent that ye ſhould the better believe me herein, and take and receive the Truth as ye ought to do; I declare this not only of my ſelf, which I know to be true, but alſo delare unto you, that the ſame is certified unto me from the Mouth of my Ordinary, the Arcbiſhop of *Dublin*, under his Seal, which I have here ready to ſhew you; ſo that now it appeareth plainly, that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, hath neither Authority nor Power in this Land, nor never had by God's Laws; therefore I exhort you all, that ye deface him in all your Primers and other Books where he is named Pope; and that ye ſhall have from henceforth, no Confidence nor Truſt in him, nor his Bulls or Letters of Pardon, which before, with his juggling-caſts of binding and looſing, he ſold unto you for your Money, promiſing you therefore forgiveneſs of your Sins; whereof truth, no Man can forgive Sins but only God; and alſo that ye fear not his great Thunder Claps of Excommunication or Interdiction, for they cannot hurt you: But let us put all our Confidence and Truſt in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended him, but that we ſhould repent and forſake our Sins, and believe ſtedfaſtly that he is Chriſt, the Son of the living God, and that he died for our Sins, and ſo forth, as it is contained in the Creed. And that through him, and by him, and by none other, we ſhall have remiſſion of our Sins, *& Pena & Culpa*, according to his Promiſes made unto us in many and ſundry Places of Scripture. On this part ye ſhall pray alſo, for the proſperous Eſtate of our young Prince, Prince *Edward*, with all other the King's Iſſue; and for all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and eſpecially for my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and for all the Clergy, and namely, for all them that preach the Word of God, purely and ſincerely: On the ſecond part, ye ſhall pray for all Earls, Barons, Lords; and in eſpecial, for the Eſtate of the Right Honourable the Lord *Leonard Gray*, Lord Deputy of this Land of *Ireland*, and for all them that be of the King's moſt honourable Council; that God may put them in Mind to give ſuch Council, that it may be to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, and Wealth of this Land. You ſhall pray alſo for the Mayor of this City, and his Brethren, with all the Commonalty of the ſame; and for the Pariſhioners of this Pariſh, and generally for all the Temporality. On the third part, ye ſhall pray for the Souls that be departed out of this World, in the Faith of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which ſleep in Reſt and Peace, that they may riſe again with Chriſt in Eternal Life; for theſe, and for Grace, every Man ſay a *Patre Noſter*, and an *Ave*, &c.

Num. XLI.

Relaxation of the regal Suſpenſion of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, or Licentia Domini Regis ad exercendam juriſdictionem.

Regiſtrum Stokeſly, *Fol.* 48.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, ac in terris ſupremum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Johanni Lond. Epiſcopo ſalutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi auctoritas, atque etiam juriſdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ eccleſiaſtica dicitur, quam ſæcularis, à regia Poteſtate velut a ſupremo Capite & omnium infra Regnum noſtrum magiſtratuum fonte & ſcaturigine primitùs emanavit: Sanè illos, qui juriſdictiones hujuſmodi antehac, non niſi precariò fungebantur, beneficium hujuſmodi ſic eis ex liberalitate regiâ eis indultum gratis animis agnoſcere, idque regiæ Munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique (quoties ejus Majeſtati videbitur) libenter cedere convenit. Cum itaque aliàs ſupremum totius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ in terris ſub Chriſto Caput, tametſi ſic ſemper jure tam divino quam humano, ut Prædeceſſores noſtri ſemper fuere (eruntque Succeſſores noſtri in perpetuum) à Clero tamen & Populo hujus Regni nuper ſic recogniti & declarati, univerſum Clerum totius Regni noſtri Angliæ viſitare intendentes, & viſitationem hujuſmodi inchoantes prout re verâ inchoavimus, per dilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium noſtrum primarium, & Rotulorum ſive Scriniorum noſtrorum Magiſtrum & Cuſtodem noſtrum, ad quaſcunque Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas noſtrâ Auctoritate, uti ſupremi Capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractandas ſive ventilandas Vicem-gerentem, Vicarium Generalem & Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes Sigillo noſtro majori communitas conſtituerimus & præfecerimus: Reverendiſſimoque Patri & prædilecto Conſiliario noſtro Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ac per eum tibi, & aliis hujus Regni noſtri Epiſcopis quibuſcunque, ne pendente Viſitatione noſtrâ hujuſmodi aliquas Eccleſias aut Monaſteria ſive loca alia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque, viſitare, aut ea quæ ſunt Juriſdictionis exercere, attemptares, ſive attemptarent, per alias Literas noſtras inhibueri-

mus. Quia tamen ipſe Thomas Cromwell, noſtris & hujus Regni noſtri Angliæ tot & tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus exiſtit, qui quoad omnem Juriſdictionem nobis ut ſupremo Capiti hujuſmodi competentem, ubique locorum infra hoc noſtrum Regnum, & præſertim in his quæ commodè moram non patiuntur, aut ſine ſubditorum noſtrorum injuriâ deferri non poſſint, in ſua perſona expediendâ non ſufficiet: Nos tuis in hac parte ſupplicationibus humilibus inclinati, ---- tibi vices noſtras ſub modo & forma inferius deſcriptis committendas fore decrevimus, teque licentiandum eſſe. Ad ordinandum igitur quoſcunque infra Dioceſim tuam London: ---- Quos moribus & literaturâ prævio diligenti & rigoroſo examine idoneos fore compereris. ---- After this Authority for conferring Orders, the Biſhop's Commiſſion from the King proceeds to empower him for other Branches of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; ſuch as Inſtitution and Collation to Benefices, Probat of *Wills*, &c. to which this remarkable Clauſe is added. Cæteraque omnia & ſingula in præmiſſis, ſeu circa neceſſaria ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex ſacris Literis divinitùs commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur, vice, nomine & auctoritate noſtris exequenda, &c.

Num. XLII.

The Abbot and Convent of St. Edmondsbury*'s Grant of an Annuity to* Thomas Cromwell *and his Son.*

Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig. 27. H. 8.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos hoc præſens Scriptum pervenerit, Johannes, permiſſione divinâ, Abbas Monaſterii de Bury Sancti Edmundi, & ejuſdem loci Conventus, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Sciatis nos præfatos Abbatem & Conventum unanimi aſſenſu & conſenſu noſtris, pro plurimis Beneficiis nobis per egregium virum Thomam Cromwell Armigerum, primarium Secretarium Domini Henrici Octavi, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, & Domini Hiberniæ, ac in terra ſupremi Capitis Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, impenſis, dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, ac per Præſentes dare & concedere eidem Thomæ & Gregorio Cromwell Armigero, Filio & Hæredi apparenti ejuſdem, unum annualem Redditum ſive Anuitatem decem Librarum Sterling. habendum & annuatim percipiendum dictum annualem Redditum ſive Annuitatem decem Librarum, eiſdem Thomæ & Gregorio, & eorum utrique, ad terminum vitæ dictorum Thomæ & Gregorii, & utriuſque eorum diutius viventium, de & in Manerio noſtro de Garlew cum pertinentiis in Com. Eſſex. ad Feſta Paſchæ & Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, æquis portionibus annuatim à nobis in uſum dictorum Thomæ & Gregorii, & utriuſque eorum diutius viventium, ſolvendum. ----- In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Scripto noſtro Sigillum noſtrum commune appoſuimus.

Dat. in Domo noſtra Capitulari infra Monaſterium ſupradictum viceſimo ſexto die Novembris, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi viceſimo ſeptimo, &c.

Num. XLIII.

King Henry *the Eighth's Patent for creating the Abbot of* Taveſtocke *in* Devonſhire *a Lord of Parliament.*

Rot. Pat. 5. H. 8. part 2. M. 22. Fuller *Church Hiſtory, Book* vi. *pag.* 293.

HEnricus, &c. Sciatis quod certis conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter moventibus, & ob ſpecialem devotionem, quam ad beatam Virginem Mariam Matrem Chriſti, ſanctumque *Rumonum* in quorum honore Abbatia de Taviſtoke, quæ de fundatione Nobilium Progenitorum noſtrorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, & noſtro Patronatu dedicata exiſtit, gerimus & habemus, hinc eſt quod de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, volumus eandem Abbatiam, ſive Monaſterium noſtrum gaudere honore, privilegio, & libertatibus Spiritualium Dominorum Parliamenti noſtri, Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ideo conceſſimus, & per præſentes concedimus pro Nobis, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, quantum in nobis eſt, dilecto nobis in Chriſto, Richardo Banham Abbati de Taviſtoke prædicto & Succeſſoribus ſuis, ut eorum quilibet qui pro tempore ibidem fuit Abbas, ſit & erit unus de ſpiritualibus & religioſis Dominis Parliamenti noſtri, Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, gaudendo honore, privilegio ac libertatibus ejuſdem; & inſuper, de uberiori gratia noſtra, affectando utilitatem dicti noſtri Monaſterii, conſiderando ejus diſtantiam, ita quod ſi contingat aliquem Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit, fore vel eſſe abſentem propter prædicti Monaſterii utilitatem in non veniendo ad Parliamentum prædictum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, quam quidem abſentiam eidem Abbati pardonamus per præſentes; ita tamen quod tunc ſolvet pro hujuſmodi abſentia cujuſlibet Parliamenti integri in noſtro Scaccario, ſuum per Attornatum quinque Marcas Nobis Hæredibus ſive Succeſſoribus noſtris, toties quoties hoc in futurum contigerit. In cujus, &c.

Teſte, &c. viceſimo tertio die Januarii, &c.

Num. XLIV.

The Valuation of 27 of the Mitred Abbeys, extracted from Speed.

Speed's *Catalogue of Religious Houſes, pag.* 787.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*ob.*	*q.*
1. St. *Peters*, *Weſtminſter*,	3977	6	4	1	1
2. *Glaſſenbury*, *Somerſetſhire*,	3508	13	4	1	1
3. St. *Albans*, *Hertfordſhire*,	2510	6	1	1	1
4. St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, *Mid.*	2385	19	8	0	0
5. St. *Edmondsbury*, *Suffolk*,	2336	16	0	0	0
6. *Reading*, *Berkſhire*,	2116	3	9	0	1
7. St. *Maries* nigh *York*,	2085	1	5	1	1
8. *Abingdon*, *Berkſhire*,	2042	2	8	1	1
9. *Ramſey*, *Huntingdonſhire*,	1983	15	3	0	1
10. *Peterborough*, *Northampt.*	1972	7	0	1	1
11. *Glouceſter*,	1550	4	5	1	0
12. St. *Auſtines*, *Canterbury*,	1412	4	7	1	1
13. *Eveſham*, *Worceſterſhire*,	1268	9	9	0	0
14. *Crowland*, *Lincolnſhire*,	1217	5	11	0	0
15. *Waltham*, *Eſſex*,	1079	12	1	0	0
16. *Circenſter*, *Glouceſterſhire*,	1051	7	1	0	0
17. *Battaile*, *Suſſex*,	987	0	11	0	0
18. *Taviſtoke*, *Devonſhire*,	902	5	7	1	1
19. *Hide* nigh *Wincheſter*,	865	1	6	1	1

20. *Selby*,

20. *Selby, Yorkſhire,*	819	2	6	0	0
21. *Malmsbury, Wiltſhire,*	803	17	7	0	0
22. *Wivelſcombe, Gloceſterſhire,*	756	11	9	0	0
23. *Middleton, Dorſetſhire,*	720	4	1	0	0
24. St. *Bennet Hulme, Northfolk,*	677	9	8	0	1
25. *Shrewsbury,*	615	4	3	1	0
26. *Thorney, Cambridgeſhire,*	508	2	5	0	0
27. *Bardney, Lincolnſhire,*	429	7	0	0	0

Num. XLV.

A Copy of the Monks Patents for the Payment of their Penſions.

Augmentation Office. Fuller *Church Hiſt. Book* vi. *p.* 341.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in terra ſupremum Caput Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ. Omnibus ad quos præſentes Litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. Cum nuper Monaſterium de Carthus de Hinton in Com. noſtro Somerſ. jam diſſolvatur, unde quidam Edmundus Horde tempore Diſſolutionis illius & diù antea Prior inde fuit; nos volentes rationabilem annualem Penſionem ſive Promotionem condignam eidem Edmundo ad victum exhibitionem & ſuſtentationem ſuam melius ſuſtinendum provideri. Sciatis igitur quod nos, in conſideratione præmiſſorum, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, per adviſamentum & conſenſum Cancellarii & Conſilii Curiæ Augmentationum & Reventionum Coronæ noſtræ, dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus eidem Edmundo quandam Annuitatem ſive annualem Penſionem quadraginta quatuor Librarum Sterlingorum, habendum, gaudendum & annuatim percipiendum eaſdem quadraginta quatuor Libras præfato Edmundo & Aſſignatis ſuis a Feſto Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis ultimo præterito ad terminum & pro termino vitæ ipſius Edmundi, vel quouſque idem Edmundus ad unum vel plura Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica ſive aliam Promotionem condignam clari annui valoris quadraginta quatuor Librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus Theſaurarii Reventionum Augmentationum Coronæ noſtræ pro tempore exiſtentis, de Theſauro noſtro in manibus ſuis de Reventionibus prædictis remanere contingen', quàm per manus Receptorum Exituum & Reventionum dicti nuper Monaſterii pro tempore exiſten', de eiſdem Exitibus & Reventionibus ad Feſtum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, per æquales Portiones. Et ulterius, de uberiori gratia noſtra, dedimus, & pro conſideratione prædicta per præſentes concedimus, præfato Edmundo Horde undecim Libras Sterlingorum, habendas eidem Edmundo ex dono noſtro per manus Theſaurario prædicti de Theſauro prædicto, vel per manus dicti Receptoris de Exitibus & Reventionibus Maneriorum Terrarum & Tenementorum dicti nuper Monaſterii ſolvendas. Eo quòd expreſſa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmiſſorum, ſive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis ſive conceſſionibus per nos præfato Edmundo ante hæc tempora fact' in præſentibus minimè fact' exiſtit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, Proviſione, ſive Reſtrictione in contrarium inde habit', fact', ordinat', ſeu proviſ', aut aliqua alia re, cauſa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obſtante.

In cujus rei teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri ſecimus Patentes.

Teſte Ricardo Riche Milite apud Weſtmonaſterium viceſimo ſeptimo die Aprilis, Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo primo.

DUKE.

Per Cancellarium & Concilium Curiæ Augmentationum Reventionum Coronæ Regiæ virtute Warranti Regii.

Num. XLVI.

A Commiſſion granted to Archbiſhop Cranmer *and others againſt the Anabaptiſts.*

Regiſt. Cranmer, *fol.* 67. Octob. 15. An. Dom. 1538.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, Johanni Londonienſi, & Richardo Ciceſtrenſi, Epiſcopis, Johanni Ship Dorſet. Nicolao Heath Staff. Thomæ Thurleby Elienſ. ac Richardo Gwent London. Archidiaconis, Sacellanis noſtris, necnon Roberto Barnes & Edvardo Crome, S. T. Doctoribus, ſalutem.

Cum nonnulli, uti accepimus, Anabaptiſtarum errore ſeu potius furore perciti, in hoc noſtrum Angliæ Regnum clàm irrepſerunt, noſtroſque Subditos ſuo peſtiferæ Hæreſeos veneno, inficere moliantur: Noſtri præſertim muneris, eſſe cenſemus hujuſmodi tam publico tamque præſenti animarum diſcrimini, cum primum obviam ire, &c.

Then follows the Powers in the *Commiſſion*, by vertue of which any three or four of them are authoriſed to enquire after all Perſons ſuſpected for Anabaptiſts or any other erroneous and damnable Hereſie. Theſe Perſons they were to try *ſummariè & de plano*, and to examine them either judicially, or extrajudicially, as they thought proper. To give final Sentence and Determination, and to confute their Tenents by *Scripture* and the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. They were likewiſe impower'd to injoin thoſe they had undeceiv'd to abjure their Errors, and impoſe any other Penance at their Diſcretion, and afterwards to reſtore them to Communion. But as for thoſe who were obſtinate and irreclaimable, they were to be excommunicated, deliver'd over to the ſecular Magiſtrate, and puniſh'd according to Law. They had likewiſe an Authority to ſeize all Anabaptiſts Books, to forbid the reading them, to burn and deſtroy them as they thought fit. And laſtly, they had an Authority to execute the Premiſſes, notwithſtanding ſome part of them might be contrary to the cuſtomary Courſe and Forms of Law; The words in the *Commiſſion* are theſe; Eo non obſtante quod Denuntiatio, Detectio ſive Indictatio contra eoſdem, aut eorum aliquem, in hac parte non præceſſerit, aliquibus Statutis vel Statuto in Parliamentis noſtris in contrarium editis ſeu proviſis, cæteriſque contrariis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

In cujus rei teſtimonium, &c. primo die Octobris 1538. Regni noſtri triceſimo.

THOM. CRUMWELL.

Num. XLVII.

A Declaration of the Faith, and a Juſtification of the Proceedings of King Henry *the Eighth in matters of Religion; or a ſummary Declaration of the Faith, Uſes, and Obſervations in* England.

Paper Office. A.D. 1539.

ENgliſhmen have forſaken *Satan*, his Satellits, and all Works of Darkneſs, and utterly dedecate themſelves to Chriſt his Words, Faith, and to the Works of Light.

Engliſhmen believe in one God, three Perſons in one Eſſence, Fader, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as the Symbole of *Athanaſius* according to the Goſpel doth purporte.

Engliſhmen believe in God the Fader Allmighty, Creator of Heaven and Erthe; and in Jeſus Chriſt his Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, and the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, Remiſſion of Synns, the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, and the Life everlaſting, in ſuch form and manner, as the Symboles of the Apoſtles, and of *Nice* do declare. And therewith they do deteſt and abhor, the Hereſies of the *Arrians*, and all others repugnant to the truth of the Goſpel, and the very Word of God.

Engliſhmen ſtyk faſt to the Doctrine of God, in the *New Teſtament*, and in the *Old*, conformable to the *New*, and do eſteeme that it is, *Fons aquæ ſalientis in vitam eternam*; Alſo they do accept the holy Councills and Doctors, where they be not contrary but conformeable unto the ſame Doctrine.

Engliſhmen deteſt the Anabaptiſts, Sacramentaries, and all other Hereſies and Errors, and with great reverence do ſolemnnize holy Baptiſme, the Sacrament of the bleſſed Body and Blood of Chriſt, and other Sacraments and Sacramentalls, as they have done in Tymes paſt, with all the laudable Ceremonies, and dayly Maſſes; and do the other Service of God in their Churches, as honourably and devoutly, paye their Tythes and Offerings truely, as ever they did, and as any Men do, in any part of Chriſtendome; And beſides that, Preachers do more often preach and declare the Goſpell and true Doctrine of Chriſt, moveing the People to the Glory of God, to Charity, to Hope, to lively Faith, and to good Works, more than ever they did afore.

Engliſhmen have now in hand in every Church and place, almoſt every Man, the Holy Bible, and *New Teſtament*, in their Mother Tongue, inſtead of the old fabulous and phantaſticall Books, of the *Table round*, *Launcelot du Lake*, *Huou de Bourdeux*, *Bevy* of *Hampton*, *Guy* of *Warwick*, &c. and ſuch other whoſe unpure Filth and vain Fabuloſity, the Light of God has aboliſhed utterly.

The Ten Commandments of God be obſerved there; the Sonday and Feaſts, hallowed and obſerved; Confeſſion and Communion at *Eaſter* at the leaſt; the four Embres, the *Lent* Vigills and Faſts, Fryday and Saturday with Abſtinence of Fleſh.

The States of the Realme of *England* have by a Law, provided to avoid idle People and Vagabones, to cheriſh and ſuſteyne the Poore, and Impotent: And live ſo, that the Works of Charitie be obſerved as well and better there, then ever they were afore.

This being the Faith, Uſes, and Obſervations of *England*, how can any wiſe Man, well enform'd thereof, call or eſteem them, or ſuffer them to be called, Erronius, Heritycks, Schiſmatycks, and to ſlander them as Infidells?

The Abuſes, Uſurpations and Superſtitions, reformed, aboliſhed, and baniſhed out of England, *whereby Hypocrites and Pharyſys, do wrongfully ſlaunder the moſt noble King of* England, *and his Subjects; againſt all God's Word, Right and Conſcience; calling them Heritycks and Schiſmatycks where indeed* Engliſhmen *have done therein, like good Chriſten Men in their Parliament, and by the Advice of all the Eſtates of the whole Realme.*

THE great Polling and Exactions, which the Buſhopps and Arcdeacons were wont to take for probate of Teſtaments, have ben moderate by Statute, to a reaſonable Summe.

The Tributes exacted for dead Bodies, called ſome time Mortuaries, levyed by the Curates, whereby the poor Pupills and Widdowes were commonly undone, hath been utterly taken away.

The Exerciſe and Traffique of Merchandiſe, and takeing of Lands in Farme for lucre, and prophane Negotiations, have been taken away from the Prieſts and Spiritual Perſons.

The Diſpenſations and Faculties for Prieſts to have Dualities, Trialities, Pluralities, and *tot quot* of Benifices, hath been forbidden, and cannot be granted, by the Statutes of *England*, but only to very fewe.

The benificed Men *cum cura* be commanded, to make Reſidence upon their Benifices, or els to be ſore puniſhed.

The unlawfull Appellations, and Preventions in ſpiritual Courts have been reformed, and reduced to a Stay, and the *Engliſhmen* relieved from going ſo far as *Rome*, for the purſute of the ſame, but all Proceſſes to be determyned within the Realme of *England*.

That the Biſhopps ſhould be elected and conſecrated within *England* as the Cuſtome was to conſecrate Byſhoppes, without running to *Rome*, only for the Payment of the Annatts, being an undue Exaction, and never directly granted to the Buſhoppe of *Rome*.

That whereas, about ſuch time as there were ſix or ſeven Kings in *England*, the Biſhopp of *Rome* for to yoke the *Engliſhmen*, had forbidden that no Univerſite ſhould be kepte of Theologie or Divinity in *England*, certain of the ſame Kings did in their Realme, grant a yearly Penny upon every Houſe, called *Peter Pence*, for the Mainteynance of a Colledge, for their own Nation in *Rome*, called *Collegium Saxonicum*, which decay'd long agon, wherefore the *Engliſhmen* hereafter ſhould be diſcharged of the Payment thereof, for ceaſeing the Cauſe, the Effect ought to ceaſe.

That Diſpenſations for *England* ſhould be no more bought, nor ſought derely at *Rome*, but that in Caſes reaſonable, not repugnant to the Law of God, and common Reaſon, Diſpenſations ſhould be granted in *England* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the King's Aſſent.

That Biſhoppes created at *Rome*, upon Biſhopppricks in *Turkey*, and *Barbary*, only for a Colour and a Fiction, ſhould from henceforth not be admitted in *England*, but certain Places moſt meete, and convenient, be appointed within the Realme, whereto Biſhopps Suffragans be aſſigned, for to aid and aſſiſt the Biſhopps, Dioceſſans, and thereupon be conſecrated accordingly.

That for Reformation of ſundry Points in the *Decretalls* and Provincial Conſtitutions, being too extreame and rigorus, to the prejudice of the Common-wealth, and againſt the Lawes of the Realme; the King ſhould appoint thirty two learned Perſons, ſixteen whereof to be of the Clergy, and other ſixteen to be of the Temporaltye, to reforme the ſame, at the Examen and Balances of Equity.

Knowledge and Graunts made to the King's Majeſty, by the Clergy and hole Royalme of England.

THE whole Cleargy of *Englond*, of their free Will and common Aſſent, have ſubmitted themſelves to the King's Highneſs, as to him of whom they had and have immediately, all manner of Juriſdiction and Goods; ſave only ſuch mere Spiritualties, as were graunted unto them, by the Goſpells and Holy Scriptures: Alſo they have knowledged, that without his Aſſent and Confirmation, they could pretend none other.

The whole Cleargie and Realme of *England*, by Authoritie of the Holy Goſpell, Scripture and Examples of the Bible, have knowledged and affirmed, That the King of *England* recognizing no Superiour in his Realme, may be called, and is indeed in Earth immediately under Chriſt, ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, and that the Authority thereof is due to his Crowne; and likewiſe to all emperial Princes in Chriſtendome upon their Churches, if they will ſo accept it, as in a Book printed and intitled, *De Auctoritate Regia & Pontificia*, and by infinite other Reaſons it appeareth.

The whole Clergy and Realme, conſidering the Chriſten Lay Perſons, as well as the Clergy, (not being excommunicate by the Word of God) to be Members of the Church; And that the Catholique Church is a Communion and Congregation of all the ſame togeder, called otherwiſe Univerſall, which is but one in the World, and is alſo called the Apoſtolique Church, whereof Chriſt is the only Head, as the Scripture witneſſes, and in the univerſal Adminiſtration thereof, hath, ne needeth no oon Vicar. And wayinge that Saynt *Gregory*, a holy Fader, refuſed to take upon him to be Biſhopp univerſall, or Head of the univerſal Church, although he ſhould at that time be Pope of *Rome*; and alſo finding no part of the Holy Scripture, that giveth any ſuch Authority to any Man, as the Biſhopp of *Rome* doth pretend, but rather forbiddeth it, and commandeth the contrary. That is if they be Succeſſours of *Peter*, or of any of the Apoſtles, to take upon them no Majoritie; and Chriſt himſelf by his very Words, in the Day of the *Cœnæ*, when the Apoſtles ſtrived amongſt them which ſhould be the greater, ſaid, *Reges gentium dominantur earum & qui Poteſtatem habent ſuper eos benefici vocantur; vos autem non ſic, ſed qui major eſt, fiat ſicut minor; & qui præceſſor ſicut miniſtrator*; and gave himſelfe Example to them, ſaying, *Quis major eſt? qui recumbit an qui miniſtrat? Nonne qui recumbit*; But what follows? *Ego autem* (ſayd Chriſt) *in medio veſtrum ſum ſicut qui miniſtrat.* And in another place, *Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo*, and other like. Remembring alſo that all the places of Holy Scripture, which can be alledged for the Confirmation of the Papace be nothing to ſuch purpoſe, unleſs they be violently wreſted and wringed. As *Tu es Petrus & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.* Chriſt the Son of God living, is the *Petra* and Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and not *Peter*. *Et dabo tibi claves Regni Cælorum, & quicquid ſolveris*, &c. Altho' he promis'd the Keys to *Peter*, yet nevertheleſs in the fulfilling of his Promiſe, he granted them no leſs to all other Apoſtles, than to him; *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, ite docete omnes gentes; quorum ſolveritis peccata*, &c. *quorum retinueritis retenta ſunt*, &c. As to the Authority; *Petre paſce oves meas*, Chriſt knowing that with blaſphemus Oath and Swearing *Peter* had thrice forſaken him, otherwiſe than any of the Apoſtles, cauſed him to re-knowledge him thrice openly; and that done ſaid, *Peter* feed my Sheep. He ſaid not thy Sheep, nor be a Tyrant nor a Pope over my Sheep. And to ſay, pay the Didrachme for me and for thee, which is one of the Authorities; And finally to ſay, *Peter* I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith ſhould not fail, but after that thou ſhalt be converted, confirm thy Bretheren; where Chriſt did mean, that *Peter* for the forſakeing of him, ſhould not utterly diſſpaire, for he ſhould convert againe. Theſe be all the Reaſons of Holy Scripture they can alledge of any colloure for the Papace. And nevertheleſs, who is the Man of any Judgment that woll well pondre them, and nothing wreſt or wring them farr, that can conclude, that it is as much as to ſay, *Peter* be thou Pope, and ſupream Head of all the Churches in the World, and thy Church ſhall be the Catholique Church; for theſe Reaſons and ſuch as be conteyn'd in the ſaid Book, *De Auctoritate Regia & Pontificia*, and innumerable other more Cauſes, and Authorities of Scripture, long to be rehearſed, the Clergy and Realm of oon hole aſſent have declared, That the Biſhop of *Rome*, is not, nor ought to be called, *Caput univerſalis Eccleſiæ*, which Title appertayneth only to Chriſt, and to no Man elſe; And that by the poſitive Law, he cannot claime the ſame Title in *England* nor elſewhere, nor to be Head of any other Church, then of *Romes* See; but only by the Sufferance of Princes, the which Sufferance, hath been uſurped and induced in the blynd and unlearned World, and the Princes deceived and by the wreſting of the ſaid Scripture, and ſome for private Affections, to permit the ſame, whereby ſince that they had not granted the ſame, but being deceived, and by their ſimple Ignorance beguiled, thinking that Godes Law ſhould have ſo ordained, but now after Knowledge of the Truth, by the which the contrary appeareth unto them. And in reſpect the Popes of ſo long ſeaſon, have ſo miſſuſed the ſame, as all the World knoweth, why ſhould they not looſe that Preheminence gotten by deception and execrabely miſſuſed? And why ſhould not the Princes if it pleaſe them, revoke it unto them, *Et repetitis plumis moveat nuda cornicula riſum.*

Therefore by one hole Aſſent of the Biſſopps, and Cleargy, Abbotts and others of the Cleargye, with the States of the Realme, the Popes uſurped Authorite, hath been exiled out of *England*, not without great reaſon, whoſoever woll conſider the thinges well.

The ſaid Cleargye and other Eſtates of the Realme, for the better and more honorable Maintenance of the Royal Authorities, and that leaſt need ſhould be, to put Charges or Impoſitions upon the People, did freely grant and annex to the Crowne, of the ſame, the Annates and firſt Fruits of all Biſhoppricks, Abbeys, aud other Benefices for the Yeare of the Vacation thereof;

of; and therewith a yearly Penſion, of the tenth part of the ſaid Benifices, the which like, as they have proceeded from the Royall Majeſtie and Authoritie ; ſo his Grace may lawfully receive them.

Other Proceedings of England; *the which although they be godly, yet Calumniators do defame and ſlander the Nation thereby, ſaying, That* Engliſhmen *have put down the Chriſtian Religion, Churches, Holy days, Pardons, Images, and brent holy Saints and Reliques, and martyred holy Men: Which is a very ſlaunderous and falſe Defamation; as it ſhall appeare by the Truth of their doings as followeth.*

AS concerning Religion, the King of *England*, after that he had taken upon him, his Right, in the Title of Supreame Head, following the Right of the Kings in *Judah* and *Iſrael*; took in hand to ſupply the Negligence of the Prelates, and cauſed Viſitations to be made of all States of the Clergy, and enquired of their Life and Converſation, which in the Monks and Friars, ſpecially dwelling in ſmall Houſes, was found ſo vicious, I will ſay no worſe, although I could, that by Authoritye of the reſt of the Cleargy and Parliament, it was decreed ; that all the Houſes of Religion, being under the value of 200 *l. Sterl.* for their evil Converſation, in now iſe ſhould be ſuffered to ſtand, but within a Year after to be ſuppreſſed, and the Monks thereof ſuffered to have Diſpence, or elſe to go unto other Houſes of that Order ; and that the whole Revenues thereof ſhould be annexed to the Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown of *England*, as the Tenths and Annatts had been afore, for ever: And the Houſes and Churches thereof defaced after that ſort and faſhion as other Houſes of Religion, by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authorite, (in the Cardinal of *York*'s time,) had been defaced afore.

Sythens that time, other religious Perſons, as well Monks as Friars, ſeeing the Word of God to proſper, knowing that their Profeſſion was but the Inſtitution of Men ; and perceiving the Abuſe that lay hidden under their Cowles and Habitts, have been diſſpoſed through the hole Realme, to ſurrender their Houſes and Lands, to the King's Hands ; beſeeching him to take them: and ſo by Authoritie of all the States of the Realm, his Majeſty authorized to diſſolve the ſame, upon the free ſurrender of ſome, did take their Houſes and Goods, and ſo proceeded to the Diſſolution thereof, giving to the chief Members, and religious Perſons, of the ſaid Religious, ſuch honeſt and ample Penſions, as upon the Revenues of their Rents, could be born: Some other Houſes, in reſpect of the Places they ſtood in, his Grace would not diſſolve: and ſundry yf the King's Highneſs had not, or would not take their Houſes, would forſake them: Now what Fault can be found at this Proceeding? By the King's Authority they had Lands and Goods, with their free Will and Permiſſion, by the aſſent of his Realm ; the ſame be returned again to his Highneſs? what Fault? ye ſhall perchance ſay, the Churches and Burials cannot be applied to other prophane Uſes ; but why was not this Fault found when the ſame was done by the Pope's Authority: And now when a King, the chief Fundator thereof, doth the like, Fault muſt needs be found: What is that elſe to ſay? but that ſuch as is a great Vice in a temporal Man, is no Fault in the Clergy ; as though one was bound to live according to the Law, and not the other, but under the Law of Pleaſure.

The King ſeeing ſuch a multitude of Holydays, of late introduced, to the utter Empoveriſhment of the poor Labourers and Workmen, that had none other thing to live on, and noriſhe their Wife, Children and Family, than their handy Works, hath ordeined, that within the four Terms of the Year, at which the Common Courts of the Law be kept, and in the time of Harveſt, there ſhould be no Holy-days kept, but only the Sunday, the Feaſts of our Lady, and of the Apoſtles, and certain ſpecial beſides. At other Times, the Holy-days ſhould be kept as they were afore. What Perſon, of any Judgment, conſidering this Matter, will not judge the ſame to be very godly and neceſſary to be done?

For abolliſhment of Pardons and Remiſſions, Jubilees, and ſuch Indulgencies, his Majeſty conſidereth, that the Cannons Penitentials, whereupon the Pardons were grounded, be abrogate by the Catholick Church, and that the Injunction of Penance is arbitrary to the Ghoſtly Father ; then ſeeing that there is no ſuch Bond or Obligation, as ſometime it appeareth was, what needeth any Quittance where no Obligation is: and that when God hath pardoned the Offence, what availed or needed a Man's Pardon, ſpecially upon a Statute afterward reputed as inſupportable? And therefore his Grace hath eſtabliſhed not the Alms Deeds, or Acts of Charity to be void ; but the Pardons, Remiſſions and Indulgencies, granted for the Acquittal of a thing whereunto no Man is bound ; as the *Scalas Cæli*, Jubilees and Indulgencies of *Rome* be, which yet, and they were available, as they be not, yet the ſimonaick ſelling and buying of them ſhould not be ſuffered.

Touching the Images ſet in the Churches, as Books of the unlearned People, although they be not neceſſary, but rather give a certain Opinion to the *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Sarazens* (who deteſt Idols) to think that we be Idolaters ; yet the King's Highneſs doth tolerate and ſuffer them, ſave that, whereas his Highneſs hath ſeen Idolatries committed about notable Images, which his People thought to have ſome ſpecial Virtue in themſelves, and ran forth to Pilgrimages, to worſhip ſuperſtitiouſly the ſame, ſome of them being no ſuch Image indeed, as ſome of them were ſet forth, as the Image called our Lady, in *Worceſter*, when her precious Decks and Ornaments, full of Rings, Jewels, Gold and Silver were torn from her, the ſame Image was the Symilitude of a Biſhoppe, like a Gyant, almoſt ten Foot long. At *Boxlege*, and ſundry other Places, Monks and Friars had deviſed preſtigious Images of Chriſt crucified, and others by Engines, Viſes, and crafty Conveyances, turneing their Eyen, moveing their Lippes, and ſtirring themſelves, when certain Keys and Strings, by the ſaid Monks, Fryars and Prieſts, were bent or pulled in ſecret places, whereby the poor People were deceived and moved to Idollatry. The King's Highneſs inſueing the bleſſed King *Ezechias*, who deſtroyed the Image of the Serpent, made by *Moſes* by God's Commandment, for Idollatry, through the which that Image was miſuſed, hath cauſed as many of the Images of that ſorte as he knew, to be avoided, and permitted others as it was convenient.

As for Shrines, Capſes, and Reliquaries of Saints ſo called, altho' the moſt were nothing leſs, for as much as his Highneſs hath found, other Idollatry or deteſtable Superſtition uſed thereabouts, and perceived that they were for the moſt part feigned things ; as the Blood of Chriſt ſo called in ſome place, was but a piece of red

Sylke, incloſed in a piece of thyck Glaſs of Chryſtallyne. In an other place, Oyle colloured of *Sanguinis Drachonis*, inſtead of the Mylk of our Lady, a piece of Chalk or of Ceruſe, our Lady's Girdle, and other innumerable Illuſions, Superſtitions, and apparent Deceipts; and more of the holy Croſſe than three Waines may carry. His Majeſtye therefore hath cauſed the ſame to be taken away, and the abuſyve Pieces thereof to be brent, the doubtfull to be ſett and hydden honeſtly away for fear of Idollatry.

As for the Shryne of *Thomas Beckett*, ſometime Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which they called St. *Thomas*, by approbations it appeareth clearly, that his common Legend is falſe; and that at the time of his Death, and long afore, he was reconciled to King *Henry* II. King of this Realme, Duke of *Normandy* and *Guyene*, and had no Quarrell directly with him, but only againſt the Archbiſhop of *York*, which roſe from proud Preheminences between them; and by the Strife thereof procured frowardly, his own Death, which they untruly called Martyrdome; and happened upon the Arreſt of a Servant of his, whereupon the Gentleman that arreſted him cauſed the whole City to riſe up in armes, and for that he gave opprobrious Words to the Gentleman, which then counſailed him to leave his Stubborneſs, and avoyed out of the way. And he not only called the one of them Band, but alſo took another by the Boſſome, and violently ſhook and plucked him in ſuch manner, that he had almoſt overthrown him to the Pavement of the Church; ſo that upon this Fray, the ſame moved and chaffed, ſtrake him, and ſo in the Throng *Beckett* was ſlayne; and that he never did acte in his Life ſufficient to prove any Hollineſs, but came to be the King's Chancellour by Mony, was a great Warriour, a brenner of Townes, a croacher of Benifices, a Hunter and Hawker, proud and ſeditious; by Corruption and unlawful Means obtained the Archbiſhopricke of *Canterburry*, as he himſelfe confeſſed openly to Pope *Alex*: And as by Writeings and Chronicks of good Record, by his Chapleins and Bretheren the Biſhopps of *England* made; and ſundry of them above 40 Yeares printed in *Paris*, and never reproved, (altho' the Mercy of God might be extended unto him) yet nevertheleſs it was arreſted, that his Shrynes and Bones ſhould be taken away, and beſtowed in ſuch place, as the ſame ſhould cauſe no Superſtition afterwards. And foraſmuch as his Head almoſt hole, was found with the reſt of the Bones, cloſed within the Shryne; and that there was in that Church, a great Scull of an other Head, but much greater by the three quarter parts than that part which was lacking in the Head cloſed within the Shryne, whereby it appeared, that the ſame was but a feigned Fiction; If this hede was brent, was therefore St. *Thomas* brent, aſſuredly it concludeth not. St. *Swythyn* and other Reliques where abuſe of Ipocraſy was, be laid ſave; and not as it is untruly ſurmized brent, but according to reaſon collocate ſecretly, where there ſhall be no Cauſe of Superſtition given by them; as ſome ſay that for the like Cauſe, the Body of *Moyſes* was hidden, leaſt the *Jews* ſhould fall to Idollatrie.

But concerning the putting to Death of ſeveral Noble Men, Abbots and Monks, Prieſts, and other within *England*, without any Degradation; his Majeſty knowing the Degradation to be but an iddle Ceremonie, introduced for the only Eſtimation of Clerks, Exemption and Impunitie; it hath been ordained that the ſame ſhould not be needful, but like as a Chriſten Thief, can be hanged without rayſeing or ſcrapeing the holy Chriſme from his Fore-head; and the Traytor that hath been hence led without the Mouth and Tongue, wherewith he hath received the Bleſſed Body of our Lord, be raſed or waſhed, can be lawfully hanged, drawn, heded and quartered; why ſhould not a Biſhopp, an Abbot, or any other Traytor in Holy Orders, be executed without Execration or Degradation?

Should the King's Highneſs have ſuffered thoſe Traytors to live, *Thomas Moore* the Jeaſter, *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, the glorious Hypocrite, both the Champions of Superſtition and Abuſe; the Cartuſiens and Fryars obſtinate, and other Wool cloathed Wolves, who attribute more to their Cowle and Habit, than to the precious Blood of Chriſt. The holy Maid of *Kent*, that ſo long brought the People to Idolatrye, by telling them their Sinns, in particular, as tho' ſhe had known them by Revelation; who had Letters from St. *Mary Magdalen*, brought to her from Heaven, written in Letters of Gold, who had Viſions, Revelations, Extaſies, and ſo much Holineſs, as *Sylveſter*, *Darius*, and other the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Nuncios, did kiſs her Feet. She conſpired with Monks *Obſervants*, the King's Deſtruction; ſhe made ſeditious Propheſies, to move the People to Sedition: What evil yf her Holyneſs diſcloſed ſo with her Fader Confeſſor, with the ſorte of Doctors, that gave her her Leſſon, and the holy Confeſſors that detected to her Mens Confeſſions, with the holy Secretary that wrote in Heaven *Mary Magdalen*'s Letters, and ſuch others were hanged? Should not the Heads of the Inſurrection in *York* firſt pardon'd, and afterward relapſe, be corrected? The Judges of *Exeter*, the Lord *Mountague* and their Adherents, which conſpired the King's and his Iſſues Deſtruction, and to tranſport the Crown of the Realm: were they not worthy to die?

Herein I proceed to no further Particulars, but ſeeing that the very Truth is, that the King's Highneſs never put to death any Man, *Authoritate abſoluta*, but by ordinary Proceſs; and no Perſon at all hath been condemned, but by twelve of his Peers, irreprovable and indifferent. No noble Lord, without the ſpecial Sentence of twenty four Lords at the leaſt, and ſome of many more, and never put to Execution till they had been indicted in their Countries, and afterwards, arraigned, heard and declared at the length, and as long as they would to the Judges and their Peers, all the Excuſes and Reaſons they could alledge openly for themſelves in the Hall of *Weſtminſter*, and been by their Peers found guilty, and by the Judges condemned. Who can find in his Heart, knowing this, to think the ſame Prince that ſo hath Judgments miniſter'd by the Law, and by ordinary Juriſdiction, to be a Tyrant? It is plain Malice and Iniquity, ſo to defame and miſreport his noble Grace.

If his Grace, for the Intereſt of Princes and Conſervation of their Rights, that ſeeing the Biſhop of *Rome* will be Head of the Council, and will admit no Perſons to have Voice there, but ſuch as be of his Sort and Diſpoſition. God knoweth how good it ought to be eſteemed; whereby they do nothing but for their own Advantage and Profit, but oft-times for a Shadow, make ſome Reſtrictions, to get in Mony to the ſaid Biſhopp and Diſciples of *Rome*, for the Diſpenſation of the ſame; hath for that Conſideration, proteſted to appear nor agree to no manner Council, unleſs it be indicted by the common appearance of Princes in an indifferent Place, free and frank, as well for ſuch as they call Lay, as for the Spiritual. Is he therefore to be called Schiſmatick, Inobedient, or Rebel to Church, ſince the old Uſe was in Times paſt, as now his Grace deſireth; and that Councils kept otherwiſe, be no very Councils, but rather *Conciliabula Malignantium.* I leave to declare what Fruits and Miſchiefs have followed of ſome of them.

Num. XLVIII.

The Judgment of the Convocation for Annulling the Marriage between the King and Anne *of* Cleve.

Cotton *Library tranſcrib'd from the Original by Dr.* Smith *and atteſted by three Publick Notaries.* Anno Dom. 1540.

EXcellentiſſimo, Invictiſſimo, & Potentiſſimo Principi & Domino noſtro Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, Domino Hiberniæ, & in terra ſupremo ſub Chriſto Capiti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, Thomas & Edoardus, permiſſione divinâ, Provinciarum Cantuarienſis & Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopi, cum omni Reverentiâ, Honore, & Subjectione debitis ſalutem & fœlicitatem.

Cum veſtra Excellentiſſima Majeſtas ad inſtantiam & requiſitionem Procerum & Populi hujus incliti Regni veſtri per Literas veſtras Commiſſionales dat' ſexto die Julii anno Regni veſtri triceſimo ſecundo nobis ac reliquis Confratribus noſtris, utriuſque Provinciæ Epiſcopis, unà cum Decanis, Archidiaconis, & Clero earundem conjunctim & diviſim commiſit ut Matrimonii cauſam, quæ inter veſtram Sereniſſimam Majeſtatem & Illuſtrem ac Nobilem Fœminam, Dominam Annam Clivenſem multis modis ambigua & perplexa exiſtit, maturâ deliberatione diſcuteremus, & quid verum ac juſtum eſſet, ac veſtræ Majeſtati licere arbitraremur diffiniremus & veſtræ Majeſtati Scripto authentico renunciaremus, prout in Literis antedictis Commiſſionalibus apertius & latius continetur: Nos igitur tum noſtro, tum Confratrum noſtrorum & reliqui Cleri nomine, veſtræ Excellentiſſimæ Majeſtati duximus, ſignificand. & ſignificamus per Præſentes, quod nos & Confratres noſtri, utriuſque Provinciæ Epiſcopi, unà cum Decanis, Archidiaconis & Clero, virtute & vigore Literarum Commiſſionalium veſtræ Majeſtati prædictarum convenientes, & in Synodum univerſalem congregati, auditis, examinatis, perpenſis, & diſcuſſis, quæ apud nos propoſita, allegata, affirmata, & probata fuerunt, communi omnium & ſingulorum tum præſentium conſenſu & aſſenſu declaravimus & diffinivimus, Majeſtatem veſtram prædicto Matrimonio prætenſo, utpote nullo & invalido, non alligari, ſed alio deſuper judicio non expectato, Eccleſiæ ſuæ autoritate fretam, poſſe arbitrio ſuo ad contrahendum & conſummandum Matrimonium cum quavis Fœmina, divino jure vobiſcum Matrimonium contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenſo illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obſtante, ſimiliter etiam Dominam Annam prædictam, non obſtante Matrimonio prætenſo cum Majeſtate veſtra, quod nullo pacto obſtare debere decernimus, poſſe arbitrio ſuo cum quavis alia perſona divino jure non prohibita, Matrimonium contrahere. Quam noſtram & univerſi Cleri diffinitionem veram, juſtam, ſanctam, & honeſtam, ex animorum noſtrorum judicio ſincero manantem, atteſtamur, profitemur, & affirmamus, prout etiam illi unà nobiſcum atteſtati & profeſſi ſunt, ac nominum ſuorum ſubſcriptione confirmârunt, ac ejuſdem diffinitionis executioni quam perfectiſſimè, integerrimè, & efficaciſſimè nobiſcum aſſenſi ſunt & conſenſerunt, quemadmodum etiam nos conſentimus & aſſentimur per præſentes.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium præmiſſorum has Literas noſtras certificatorias manu noſtrâ ſubſcriptas, & Notariorum, qui Actis interfuerunt, Subſcriptionibus & Signis annotatas, Sigillorum noſtrorum appoſitione communivimus.

Dat. & acta fuerunt ſupraſcripta Domo Capitulari Weſtmon. nono die Menſis Julii, Anno Domini milleſimo, quingenteſimo quadrageſimo, & Regni veſtri feliciſſimi, triceſimo ſecundo.

T. CANTUARIEN.
EDOUARDUS EBOR.

I could have inſerted another Manuſcript, * for annulling this Marriage, which has more Depoſitions than that tranſcrib'd by Biſhop *Burnet* †, and is a full Tranſcript of the Convocation Inſtrument: It is atteſted by three Publick Notaries, *viz. Richard Watkin*, *Anthony Huſſey*, and *Thomas Argall.*

* Penes Johan. Anſteys Armig.
† *Biſhop* Burnet, *p.* 1*ſt Records* Book III. *pag.* 197.

Num. XLIX.

The Reſolutions of ſeveral Biſhops and Divines upon ſome Queſtions concerning the Sacraments.

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet. *Biſhop* Burnet *Hiſt. Ref.* p. 1*ſt Records, Book* III. *Number* xxi.

The firſt Queſtion.

WHAT a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

Anſwers.

Cant.

The Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is; nevertheleſs where in the *Latin* Text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the *Greek* we have *Myſterium*; and ſo by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Myſterium*, *id eſt, res occulta ſive arcana.*

York.

To the firſt; In Scripture we neither find Definition nor Deſcription of a Sacrament.

Without Prejudice to the Truth, and ſaving always more better Judgment, *cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte.*

London.

To the firſt Queſtion; I think that the Scriptures do uſe this word Sacrament, in divers places, according to the matter it treateth upon, *Tobit* 12. *Rev.* 1. *Wiſd.* 2. 6, 12. *Dan.* 2. *Eph.* 1. 3, 5. *Col.* 1. 1 *Tim.* 10. *Rev* 17. as alſo it doth divers other words: Yet what a Sacrament is by Definition, or Deſcription of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewiſe as I cannot find the Definition or Deſcription of the Trinity, nor yet ſuch like things; marry, what other Men can find, being daily and of long Seaſon exercis'd in Scripture, I cannot tell; referring therefore this thing to their better Knowledge.

Rocheſter.

I think that where this word Sacrament is found in the Scripture in the *Latin* Tranſlations, there in the *Greek* is found this word Μυστήριον, that is to ſay a Myſtery or a ſecret thing.

Carliſle.

What the word Sacrament betokeneth, or what is the Definition, Deſcription, or Notification thereof, I have found no ſuch plainly ſet out by Scripture. But this I find, that it ſhould appear by the ſame Scripture, that the *Latin* word *Sacramentum*, and the *Greek* word *Myſterium*, be in manner always uſed for one thing; as much as to ſay as, *abſconditum, occultatum, vel in occulto.*

Ad Quæſtiones.

Dr. Robertſon.

THOMAS ROBERTSON,

Ad primam reſpondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in ſacris Literis non reperiri in hac ſignificatione, niſi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur à Paulo, ubi tamen Græcè habetur Myſterium, & proinde ex meris Scripturis expreſſè definiri non poſſe.

Dr. Cox. I find not in Scripture the Definition of a Sacrament, nor what a Sacrament is.

Dr. Day. I find no Definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit whereſoever it is found in Scripture, the ſame is in the *Greek Myſterium*, which ſignifieth a ſecret or hid thing.

Dr. Ogelthorp. Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum propriè ſit, niſi quod ſubinde Myſterium dicitur: Varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Eccleſiaſticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis ſignificatio; ideoque definiri non poteſt.

Dr. Redmayn. I find no Definition of this word Sacrament in the Scripture; nor likewiſe of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they ſignifie, it is known. So the ſignification of this word Sacrament is plain, it is nothing elſe but a ſecret hid thing, or any Myſtery.

Dr. Edgworth. Like as *Angelus*, *Cœlum*, *Terra*, be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined; ſo altho' *Sacramentum* be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no Definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers ſignifications.

Dr. Symmons. This word Sacrament in Scripture is not defined.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay this word Sacrament, taken in his common ſignification, betokeneth a Myſtery, an hid, or a ſecret thing: But if ye underſtand it in his proper ſignification, as we uſe to apply it only to the ſeven Sacraments, the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is. And yet leſt any Man might be offended, thinking, that becauſe the Scripure ſheweth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the ſame is a light thing, or little to be eſteem'd: Here may be remembred, that there are ſome weighty and godly things, being alſo of our Belief, which the Scripture ſheweth not expreſly what they are. As for Example; We believe the Son is conſubſtantial to the Father: *Item*, That the Father is unbegotten; yet the Scripture ſheweth not what is conſubſtantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewiſe it is true, Baptiſm is a Sacrament, Penance is a Sacrament, *&c.* yet the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is.

Reſponſions unto the Queſtions.

EDWARDUS LEYGHTON,

Dr. Leyghton. To the firſt Queſtion, I ſay; That in holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no Man that will find a Definition or Deſcription of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to ſay in *Engliſh*, as a Myſtery, a Secret, or a hid Thing.

Dr. Coren. I do read no Definition of this word *Sacramentum* in Scripture; but ſometimes it is uſed in Scripture to ſignifie a thing ſecret or hid.

Conveniunt. In primo Articulo conveniunt omnes, non ſatis conſtare ex Scriptura, quid ſit Sacramentum; plerique tamen dicunt Græcè appellari, Myſterium, i. e. *a ſecret or a hid thing*.

Agreement. In the Anſwer unto the firſt Queſtion, they do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture, what a Sacrament is, but *Myſterium*, that is, a Secret, or a hid thing.

2. *Queſtion.*

What a Sacrament is by the antient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. The antient Authors call a Sacrament *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Viſibile Verbum*, *Symbolum*, *atque Pactio*, *quâ ſumus conſtricti*.

York. To the ſecond; Of St. *Auguſtine*'s words, this Deſcription following of a Sacrament may be gathered; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ, viſibilis forma.* And this thing, that is ſuch viſible Form or ſign of inviſible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture; altho' we find not the word Sacrament, ſaving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony.

London. To the ſecond; I find in Authors this Declaration, *Sacramentum eſt ſacræ rei ſignum.* Alſo, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ, viſibilis Forma.* Alſo, *Viſibilis Forma inviſibilis Gratiæ Imaginem gerens & Cauſa exiſtens.* And of the Verity and Goodneſs of this Deſcription or Declaration, I refer me to the Divines, better acquainted with this matter than I am.

Rocheſter. I think that this word Sacrametut, as it is taken of the old Authors, hath divers and ſundry ſignifications; for ſometimes it is extended to all holy Signs, ſometimes to all Myſteries, ſometimes to all Allegories, *&c.*

Carliſle. *Thomas Waldenſis*, who writeth a ſolemn Work *de Sacramentis*, cauſeth me to ſay, that this word *Sacramentum in communi*, is defin'd of the antient Authors; who after that he had ſhew'd how that *Wyclyff*, and before him *Berengarius* hath ſaid, that *Auguſtine* defineth *Sacramentum* thus; *Sacramentum eſt ſacrum Signum*; and *Signum* in this wiſe, *Signum eſt res præter ſpeciem quam ſenſibus ingerit, aliquid aliud ex ſe faciens in cogitationem venire.* He himſelf, with antient Authors, as he ſaith, defineth it thus; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma, vel Sacramentum eſt ſacræ rei Signum:* Both theſe Deſcriptions (ſaith he) be of the antient Fathers.

De Doctrina Chriſtiana.

Dr. Robertſon. Sacramentum a vetuſtioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, niſi quod Auguſtinus, interdum vocet Sacramenta, ſacra ſigna aut ſignacula, interdum ſimilitudines earum rerum, quarum ſunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod ſub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus divina ſecretius ſalutem eorundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & à ſecretis Virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.

Dr. Cox. The antient Authors commonly ſay, that a Sacrament is, *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacroſanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

Dr. Day. The antient Doctors take this word *Sacramentum* diverſly, and apply it to many things.

Dr. Oglethorp. Ex Auguſtino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum poſſe dici, ſacræ rei ſignum, vel, inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis forma, quanquam hæc poſterior Definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, ſcil. tantum ſeptem iſtis uſitatis; ſed nec his quoque ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant Gratiam.

Dr. Redmayn. Generally it is taken to ſignify every ſecret Myſtery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum rerum Signa*, or *ſacra Signacula:* And as this word Sacrament particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this Definition of a Sacrament may be gather'd of St. *Auguſt. Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma.* And alſo that a Sacrament is a myſtical or ſecret Work which conſiſteth *ex Verbo & Elemento.* And *Cyprian* ſaith, *Verborum ſolennitas, & ſacri Invocatio nominis, & ſigna Inſtitutionibus Apoſtolicis Sacerdotum miniſteriis attributa, viſibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem verò ipſam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit.*

Dr. Edgeworth. By the antient Authors, *Sacramentum* hath many ſignifications, ſometimes it is called a ſecret Counſel. *Tob.* 12. *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Nebuchadnezzar*'s Dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The Myſtery of Chriſt's Incarnation, and of our Redemption is ſo called, *Epheſ.* 3. and 1 *Tim.* 3. ſo that every ſecret Thing having ſome privy Senſe or Signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the vocable: notwithſtanding in one Signification, *Sacramentum*, accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the ſeven Sacraments; and hath this Definition taken of St. *Auguſtine* and others, *inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma, ut ipſius imaginem gerat & quodammodo cauſa exiſtat.*

Dr. Symmons. The antient Authors of Divinity uſe this Word Sacrament in divers Significations, for they call it *Myſterium*; and ſo the Scripture uſeth it in many Places, as 1 *Tim.* 3. *Tobie* 12. *Wiſd.* 2. *Dan.* 2. *Eph.* 1. and 3. The Word Sacrament is alſo uſed for a Figure or a Sign of the old Teſtament, ſignifying Chriſt, as the Paſchal Lamb, and the Brazen Serpent, and divers others holy Signs. It is alſo taken of the holy Authors, to be an holy Sign, which maketh to the Sanctification of the Soul, given to God againſt Sin for our Salvation, as it may be gather'd of them; for this Word Sacrament is called by them, *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any expreſs Definition common to all Sacraments.

Dr. Treſham. This Word Sacrament, in the antient Authors, is oftimes uſed in this general Signification, and ſo (as is beforeſaid) it is a Myſtery, or ſecret thing; and ſometimes the ſame Word is uſed, as applicable only unto the ſeven Sacraments; and is thus deſcrib'd, a viſible Form of an inviſible Grace; and thus alſo, a thing by the which, under the covering of viſible things, the godly Power doth work our Health.

*Dr.*Leighton. To the ſecond, I ſay; that *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, is one of the moſt antient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or deſcribe a Sacrament: Howbeit, I ſuppoſe, that this common Deſcription which the Schoolmen uſe, after the Maſter of the Sentences, *viz. Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis ſeu ſenſibilis Forma*, may be gather'd of St. *Auſtin*, and divers other antient Authors Words in many Places of their Works.

Dr. Coren. I do find no Definition plainly ſet forth in old Authors; notwithſtanding this Definition, *inviſibils Gratiæ viſibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. *Auguſtine*.

Con. In ſecundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum eſſe ſacræ rei ſignum. Treſhham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc Definitionem, Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma, his Septem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus ſeptem, & æquè pluribus poſſe attribui atque ſeptem.

Agreem. In the ſecond they put many Deſcriptions of a Sacrament, as the Sign of a holy Thing, a viſible Word, &c. But upon this one Definition, a Sacrament is a viſible Form of inviſible Grace, they do not all agree. And Dr. *Edgworth*, *Treſham* and *Oglethorp* ſay, that it is applicable only and properly unto this Word *Sacrament*, as it ſignifieth the Seven Sacraments uſually receiv'd. My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter* ſaith, that it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more eſpecially unto the Seven, than unto any other.

3. *Queſtion.*

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture.

Anſwers.

Canterbury. The Scripture ſheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Chriſti & Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Myſteria*; and therefore we may call them by the Scripture, *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Myſterium Iniquitatis*, or *Myſterium Meretricis magnæ & Beſtiæ*.

York. To the the third, in Scripture we find no preciſe Number of Sacraments.

London. To the third, I find not ſet forth the expreſs Number, with expreſs Declaration of thus many and no more; nor yet of theſe expreſly by Scripture which we uſe, eſpecially under the name of Sacraments, ſaving only of Matrimony.

Rocheſter. I think, that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Myſteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facts of Chriſt, the whole Story of the Jews, and the Revelations of the Apocalypſe may be named Sacraments.

Carliſle. The certain Number of Sacraments or Myſteries, contain'd within Scripture, cannot be well expreſs'd or aſſign'd; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehears'd.

Dr. Robertſon. De iſtis ſeptem, quæ uſitatè vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, niſi Matrimonium. Matrimonium eſſe Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Hom. 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

Dr. Cox. There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in *Tobie* 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the King's Secret. Alſo *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Dream, *Dan.* 2. is called *Sacramentum*, *Incarnatio Chriſti*, *Sacramentum*, *Epheſ.* 3. *Matrimonium*, *Sacramentum*.

Dr. Day. Taking for Sacraments any thing that this Word, *Sacramentum*, doth ſignify, there be in Scripture a great Number of Sacraments more than ſeven.

Dr. Oglethorp. Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, ſunt enim innumera ferè illic, quæ paſſim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneque Myſterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin & ſomnia, ac ſecreta, ſubindè Sacramenta vocantur, *Tobie* 2. Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt; & *Dan.* 2. Imploremus Miſericordias Dei Cæli ſuper Sacramento iſto, & ſomnio. Paulus etiam Epiſt. 1. Cap. 3. *Tim.* vocat Myſterium Incarnationis Chriſti Sacramentum; & in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum ſeptem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipuè obſervandum venit, nullum à ſeptem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, præter ſolum Matrimonium.

Dr. Redmayn. As many as there be Myſteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the Name.

Dr. Edgeworth. Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable ſpoken of in Scripture; but properly to ſpeak of Sacraments, there be but ſeven that may be ſo called, of which Matrimony is expreſly called *Sacramentum*, *Epheſ.* 5. and, as I think, in the *German* and proper Signification of a Sacrament; ſo that the indiviſible Knot of the Man and his Wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the Matter of this Sacrament; upon which, as on the literal Verity, the Apoſtle foundeth this allegorical ſaying, *ego autem dico in Chriſto, & in Eccleſia*; for the myſtical ſenſe preſuppoſeth a verity in the *letter* on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the Definition doth agree, as manifeſtly doth appear by the Scriptures, with the Expoſition of the antient Authors.

Dr. Symmons. In the Scripture there is no certain Number of Sacraments.

Dr. Treſham. I find no more of the ſeven, called expreſly Sacraments, but only Matrimony, but extending the Name of Sacrament in his moſt general Acception; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apoſtle ſaith, *ſi noverint Myſteria omnia*, &c.

To

D. Leighton. To the third, I ſay, that I find not in Scripture any of theſe ſeven which we commonly call Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium*. But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 12th of *Tobie. Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Item Apoc.* 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum. Item* 1 *Tim.* 3. *Magnum eſt Pietatis Sacramentum.*

Dr. Coren. I cannot tell how many Sacraments be by Scripture for they be above one hundred.

Con. *In tertio conveniunt ſatis: non eſſe certum Numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit*, but by Scripture, I think, the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the Name. *Idem ſentit Edgworth, & ſeptem tantum Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi ſub nomine Sacramenti plerique dicunt.*

Agreem. In the third, they do agree, that there is no certain Number of Sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Myſteries; and none of theſe ſeven be called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture.

4. *Queſtion.*

How many *Sacraments* there be by antient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. By the antient Authors there be many Sacraments more than ſeven, for all the Figures, which ſignified Chriſt to come, or teſtify that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the old Law, and the new Law, *Euchariſtia, Baptiſmus, Paſcha, Dies Dominicus, Lotio Pedum, Signum Crucis, Chriſma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impoſitio Manuum, Oleum, Conſecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cineres, Adapertio Aurium, Veſtis candida*, and all the Parables of Chriſt, with the Prophecies of the *Apocalyps*, and ſuch other, be called by the Doctors *Sacramenta*.

York. To the fourth, there is no preciſe number of Sacraments mentioned by the antient Authors, taking the Word Sacrament, in its moſt general ſignification.

London. To the fourth, I find, that *St. Auſtine* ſpeaketh, *de Baptiſmo, de Euchariſtia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione Clericorum, de Sacramento Chriſmatis & Unctionis:* Alſo I find in the ſaid *St. Auſtin*, that in the old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the new Law few.

Rocheſter. I think, that in the Doctors be found many more Sacraments than ſeven, *viz. Panis Catechumenorum, Signum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel*, &c.

Carliſle. Whereas in Scripture the Number of the Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be certain in the Expoſition of the *Fathers*.

Dr. Robertſon. Apud Auguſtinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptiſmi, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ, quod & Altaris ſive Panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chriſmatis, quod datur per manus Impoſitionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

Dr. Cox. I find in the antient Authors, that Baptiſm is called *Sacramentum, Euchariſtia Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chriſma Sacramentum, Impoſitio Manuum per Baptiſmum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio Pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.

Dr. Day. There be a great ſort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the Acception aboveſaid, more than ſeven.

Dr. Oglethorp. Apud Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos reperiuntur multa plura Sacramenta quam hæc ſeptem.

Dr. Redmayn. Taking this Word Sacrament univerſally for Myſteries, or all ſecret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the ſeven by old Authors may ſpecially obtain the Name. *Lotio Pedum* is ſpoken of in old Authors, as a ſpecial Sacrament uſed then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great Ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and ſo to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminiſh the number of ſeven now uſed.

Dr. Edgworth. Dr. Symmons. The antient Authors acknowledge many more than ſeven, for they call in their Writings, all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments.

Dr. Treſham. Generally, as many as Myſteries, ſpecially ſeven, and no more of like Nature to them; for although I find not expreſs Mention where Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by *Cyprian*, in his Sermon *de Paſſione Chriſti*, in theſe Words; *denique quicunque fiunt Sacramentorum Miniſtri, per Operationem Authoritas in Figurâ Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, & cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet à Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum.: At licet indigni ſint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen Reverentia, & propinquiorem ad Deum parat acceſſum, & ubi redierint ad cor conſtat ablutionis donum, & reddit effectus Munerum, nec aliàs quæri aut repeti neceſſe eſt Salutiferum Sacramentum*; in theſe Words, *reddit effectus Munerum; & nec aliàs repeti neceſſe eſt Salutiferum Sacramentum* muſt needs be underſtood Penance, and alſo that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our firſt Acceſs to God, is by the Sacrament Baptiſm, which *Cyprian* there following called *Ablutionem primam*; ſo if we fall by deadly Sin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by Penance; which rerepeating (*i. e.*) Penance, *Cyprian* calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum.*

Dr. Leyghton. To the fourth, I ſay; That I find in antienter Authors every one of theſe ſeven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in *Auſtin* every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only Penance; which *Cyprian* calleth *Sacramentum*. Alſo I find in the antienter Authors divers other things (beſides the ſeven) called Sacraments, as *Lotio Pedum* in *Cyprian*, &c.

Dr. Coren. More Sacraments be found in old Authors than ſeven.

Con. In quarto conveniunt, plura eſſe Sacramenta quam ſeptem apud Authores: Redman addit; *but the ſeven, by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the Name*. Idem putat Edgworth, & Treſham. Lotio Pedum, *he thinketh were better to be renewed, and ſo made eight Sacraments, than the Number of ſeven to be diminiſhed.* Treſhamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Paſſione Chriſti pro Pœnitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nuſquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus apertè agit de Baptiſmo, quod vocat Donum Ablutionis, & Sacramentum ſalutiferum.

Agreem. In the fourth they agree, That there is no determinate Number of Sacraments ſpoken of in the old Authors; but that my Lord of *York*, Mr. *Edgworth, Treſham, Redman, Craiford*, and *Symons*, ſay, That theſe ſeven by old Authors may ſpecially obtain the Name of Sacraments. And the Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſaith, That there be but four Sacraments in the old Doctors moſt chiefly ſpoken of, and they be Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, and Penance.

5. *Queſtion.*

Whether this word Sacrament, be and ought to be attributed to the ſeven only? And whether the

the Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors, or not?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. I know no Cauſe why this word *Sacrament* ſhould be attributed to the ſeven only. For the old Authors never preſcribe any certain Number of Sacraments; nor in all their Books I never read theſe two Words join'd together, *viz. ſeptem Sacramenta*.

York. To the fifth; To the firſt part of this Queſtion, this word Sacrament is uſed and applied in Scripture, to ſome things that be none of the ſeven Sacraments. To the ſecond part; the ſeven Sacraments be found in ſome of the antient Authors.

London. To the fifth, I anſwer, That this word *Sacrament*, in our Language, commonly hath been attributed to the ſeven cuſtomarily called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word *Sacrament* cannot be applied any more, but for that the ſeven have been ſpecially of very long and antient ſeaſon receiv'd, continued and taken for things of ſuch ſort.

Rocheſter. I think that the Name of a Sacrament is, and may be attributed to more than ſeven, and that all the ſeven Sacraments be found in the old Authors, tho' all peradventure be not found in one Author. But I have not read Penance called by the Name of a Sacrament in any of them.

Carliſle. Certain it is, that this word Sacrament, neither is nor ought to be attributed to ſeven only, for both Scripture and antient Authors otherwiſe applieth it; but yet nothing letteth, but that this word Sacrament, may moſt eſpecially, and in a certain due Preheminence, be applied to the ſeven Sacraments, of moſt antient Name and Uſage amongſt Chriſtian Men. And that the antient Authors have ſo uſed and applied it, affirmeth the ſaid *Thomas Walden*, convincing *Wycliffe* and *Berengarius*, who enforced the contrary; from *Cyprian*, and alſo *Auguſtine*, with other holy Doctors, they may ſo well be gathered.

Dr. Robertſon. Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in ſacris literis nulli Sacramentorum quod ſciam tribuitur, niſi Matrimonio: A vetuſtis ſcriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & Umbris Legis, Incarnationi Chriſti, Figuris, Allegoriis, & Feſtivitatibus: Apud Paulum legitur Divinitatis, voluntatis Divinæ, & Pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ ſunt inviſibilis Gratiæ collatæ in Eccleſiâ Chriſti viſibilia ſigna, opinor non plura quam ſeptem inveniri, hiſque magis propriè quam reliquis, ſub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

Dr. Cox. This word Sacrament, is not, nor ought to be attributed to theſe Seven only. Thoſe that we call ſeven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, altho' ſome of them be ſeldom found called by this name Sacrament.

Dr. Day. This word *Sacramentum*, neither is, nor ought to be ſo attributed unto theſe ſeven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and ſo the antienter Doctors uſe it. The ſeven Sacraments be found in ancient Doctors, under the Name of Sacrament, ſaving that I remember not that I have read in them, *Penance* called a Sacrament.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Nomen commune eſt multis aliis rebus, quam ſeptem iſtis uſitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, ſeorſim & ſparſim reperiuntur in veterum Monumentis.

Dr. Redmayn. To the ſeven ſpecially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any old Author might be found theſe two Words, *Seven Sacraments*, or this Number limitted; but every one of the ſeven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the old Authors.

Dr. Edgeworth. *Sacramentum*, in his proper Signification, is and ought to be attributed to the ſeven only; and they be all ſeven found in the Authors.

Dr. Symmons. This word Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the ſeven, but that the ſeven Sacraments eſpecially conferreth Grace, the old Authors eſpecially accounteth them by the Number of ſeven; and theſe ſeven are found in Authors and Scriptures, although they be not found by the Name of ſeven.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay this word Sacrament is attributed to the ſeven; and that the ſeven Sacraments are found in the ancient Authors.

Dr. Leyghton. To the fifth, I ſay, Firſt, (as before) That this word *Sacramentum*, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the ſeven, but only to Matrimony. But it is attributed in Scripture, and ancient Authors, to many other things beſides theſe. Howbeit, taking this word *Sacramentum*, for a ſenſible Sign of the inviſible Grace of God given unto Chriſtian People, as the Schoolmen, and many late Writers take it; I think that the ſeven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and moſt properly Sacraments.

Dr. Coren. This word Sacrament, may well be attributed to the ſeven; and ſo it is found in old Authors, ſaving that I do not read expreſly in old Doctors, Penance to be under the Name of a Sacrament, unleſs it be in *Chryſoſtome*, in the Expoſition *ad Hebræ. Homil. 20. Sect. 1. Cap. 10. in Principio*.

Non Con. In quinto præter Herefordenſ. Roffenſ. Dayium, Oglethorpum, Menevenſ. & Coxum putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his ſeptem convenire. Symons addit, *The ſeven Sacraments eſpecially confer Grace*; Eboracenſ. Curren, Treſham, Symons, aiunt ſeptem Sacramenta inveniri apud Veteres, quanquam Curren & Symons mox videntur iterum negare.

Diſſent. In the fifth; The Biſhops of *Hereford* and St. *Davids*, Mr. *Day*, Mr. *Cox*, ſay, that this word Sacrament, in the old Authors, is not attributed to the ſeven only, nor ought not to be attributed. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* alleging *Waldenſis*. Mr. *Curren*, *Edgworth*, *Symons*, *Treſham*, ſay, that it is, and may be attributed. And Mr. *Curren* and Mr. *Symons*, ſeem to vary againſt themſelves, each in their own Anſwers: For Mr. *Curren* ſaith, that this word Sacrament is attributed unto the ſeven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find, that it is attributed unto Penance. Mr. *Symons* ſaith, that the old Authors account them by the Number of ſeven; and yet he ſaith, that they be not found there by the Name of ſeven.

6. *Queſtion.*

Whether the determinate Number of ſeven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. The determinate Number of ſeven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old Authors.

York. To the ſixth; The Scripture maketh no mention of the Sacraments determined to ſeven preciſely, but the Scripture maketh mention of ſeven Sacraments, which be uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded partly in Scripture, and no more be in uſe of the ſaid Church but ſeven ſo grounded; and ſome of the ancient Doctors, make mention of ſeven, and of no more than ſeven, as uſed in Chriſt's Church ſo grounded; wherefore a Doctrine may be had of ſeven Sacraments preciſely uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

London. To the ſixth; I think it be a Doctrine ſet forth by the antient Fathers, one from another, taking their Matter and Ground out of Scripture, as they underſtood it; tho' Scripture, for all that, doth not give unto all the ſeven, the ſpecial Names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the Name of Sacrament, except only (as is before ſaid) the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Rocheſter. Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the old Authors, and may therefore be ſo taught; yet I have not read this preciſe and determinate Number of ſeven Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the antient Writers.

Carliſle. By what is here before ſaid, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expoſiters of the ſame, would have the ſeven Sacraments both taught, and in due Form exhibited to all Chriſtian People, as it ſhall alſo better appear by what followeth.

Dr. Robertſon. In Scripturâ tantum unum ex iſtis ſeptem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: Apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc ſeptem, a nullo tamen, quod ſciam, nomine ſeptem Sacramentorum celebrari, niſi quod Eraſm. ait ſeptem a veteribus recenſeri: Auguſt. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium *Ep.* 118. ait numerum ſeptenarium tribui Eccleſiæ propriè inſtar Univerſitatis; item objectum fuiſſe Huſſo in concilio Conſtantienti quod infideliter ſenſerit de ſeptem Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide Auguſt. lib. 1. de Civ, cap. 31.

Dr. Cox. This determinate Number of ſeven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Scripture, nor of the old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as ſuch a determinate Number by Scripture and old Authors.

Dr. Day. Neither the Scripture, nor the antient Authors, do recite the determinate Number of the ſeven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the ſeven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the antient Authors, albeit not altogether.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina eſt recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scripturâ, partim & veterum Scriptis, argutè in ſacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum collegerunt.

Dr. Redmayne. I think, as I find by old Authors, the antient Church uſed all theſe ſeven Sacraments; and ſo I think it good to be taught.

Dr. Edgworth. The determinate Number of ſeven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Proceſſe of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpoſe, ſpeaking of them altogether, or in one Proceſs, as far as I can remember; albeit they all ſeven be there, and there ſpoken of in Scripture manifeſtly, and ſo have the old Authors left them in ſundry places of their Writings; and ſo it ought to be taught.

Dr. Symmons. Foraſmuch as the Scripture teacheth theſe ſeven, and ſheweth ſpecial Graces given by the ſame, the which are not ſo given by others, called Sacraments, the old Authors perceiving the ſpecial Graces, have accounted them in a certain Number, and ſo have been uſed by Doctors to be called *ſeven*, and without Inconvenience may ſo be taught.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay, the determinate Number of ſeven is not expreſſly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate Number of the ſeven Petitions of the Lord's Prayer is not expreſſly mentioned; And as I think the ſeven Petitions to have their Ground in Scripture, even ſo do I think of the ſeven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture.

Dr. Leyghton. To the ſixth I ſay, as before, That the old Authors call each of theſe ſeven Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, preciſe, and expreſs Number of ſeven Sacraments, in any of the antient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, alſo mention made, and the Doctrine of each of theſe ſeven, commonly called Sacraments.

Dr. Coren. The determinate Number of ſeven, is a Doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contain'd in Scripture, tho' they have not the Number of ſeven ſet forth there, no more than the Petitions of the *Pater Noſter* be called ſeven, nor the Articles of the Creed be called twelve.

Con. Priori parti Quæſtionis negativè reſpondent. Herefordenſ. Menevenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, Dunelmenſ. Oglethorpus, Thurlby: Poſteriori parti, quod ſit Doctrina conveniens reſpondent affirmativè Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren. Londinen. & Redmanus non reſpondent priori parti Quæſtionis, nec Oglethorpus, Treſham, Robinſonus poſteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren. volunt è Scripturis peti Doctrinam ſeptem Sacramentorum.

Agreement. In the ſixth, Touching the determinate Number of the ſeven Sacraments, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and *Rocheſter*, the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Day*, and Dr. *Oglethorpe* ſay, this preſcribed Number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors. The Biſhop of *York*, Drs. *Curren*, *Treſham*, and *Symmons*, ſay the contrary. Concerning the ſecond Part, whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Biſhops of *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, think it ought not to be ſo taught as ſuch a determinate Number by Scripture. The Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Carliſle*; Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Treſham*, *Symmons*, *Crayford*, think it a Doctrine meet to be taught: And ſome of them ſay, that it is founded on Scripture.

7. *Queſtion.*

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Virtue of ſuch as we call the ſeven Sacraments; ſo as although the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wiſe ſpoken of?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. I find not in the Scripture the Matter, Nature, and Effects of all thoſe, which we call the ſeven Sacraments, but only of certain of them; as of Baptiſm, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our Sin by the Blood of Chriſt: Of *Euchariſtia*, in which we be concorporated unto Chriſt, and made lively Members of his Body, nouriſhed and fed to the everlaſting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and elſe it is to us rather Death than Life. Of Penance alſo I find in the Sripture, whereby Sinners after Baptiſm returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto his Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture ſpeaketh not of Penance, as we call it a Sacrament, conſiſting in three Parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh Penance for a pure Converſion of a Sinner in Heart and Mind from his Sins unto God, making no mention of private Confeſſion of all deadly Sins to a Prieſt, nor of Eccleſiaſtical Satisfaction to be enjoin'd by him. Of Matrimony alſo I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a mean, whereby God doth uſe the Infirmity of our Concupiſcence to the ſetting forth of his Glory, and encreaſe of the World, thereby Sanctifying the Act of Carnal Commixtion between the Man and the Wife to that uſe;

yea, altho' one Party be an Infidel. And in this and Matrimony is alſo a Promiſe of Salvation, if the Parents bring up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter, Nature, and Effect of the other three, that is to ſay, *Confirmation*, *Order*, and extream *Unction*, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be taken for Sacraments.

York. To the ſeventh; Of Baptiſm, we find in Scripture the Juſtification by the Word of Chriſt; we find alſo that the matter of Baptiſm is Water, the effect and virtue is Remiſſion of Sins. Of Confirmation, we find that the Apoſtles did confirm thoſe that were baptiſed, by laying their Hands upon them, and that the effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghoſt into them, upon whom the Apoſtles laid their hands, in a viſible ſign of the Gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghoſtly ſtrength to confeſs Chriſt, following upon the ſame. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, we find the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the matter thereof, Bread and Wine, the effect, Increaſe of Grace. Of the Sacrament of Penance, we find the Inſtitution in the Goſpel, the Effect, Reconciliation of the Sinner, and the Union of him to the myſtical Body of Chriſt. Of the Sacrament of Matrimony, we find the Inſtitution both in the Old and New Teſtament, and the effect thereof, Remedy againſt Concupiſcence and Diſcharge of Sin, which otherwiſe ſhould be in the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of *Order*, we find, that our *Saviour* gave to his Apoſtles Power to baptize, to bind and to looſe Sinners, to remit Sins, and to retain them, to teach and preach his Word, and to conſecrate his moſt pretious Body and Blood, which be the higheſt Offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace, we find in Scripture. Of Extreme *Unction*, we find in the Epiſtle of the holy Apoſtle St. *James*, and of the effects of the ſame.

London. To the ſeventh, I find, that St. *Auſtin* is of this ſentence, that where the Sacraments of the old Law did promiſe Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the new Law do give it indeed. And moreover he ſaith, that the Sacraments of the new Law are, *factu faciliora, pauciora, ſalubriora, & fœliciora*, more eaſier, more fewer, more wholſomer, and more happy.

Rocheſter. The Scripture teacheth of Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony and Penance manifeſtly: There be alſo in the Scripture manifeſt Examples of Confirmation, *viz.* That it was done after Baptiſm by the Apoſtles, *per Manuum Impoſitionem.* The Scripture teacheth alſo of Order, that it was done, *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione & Jejunio.* Of the Unction of ſick Men, the Epiſtle of St. *James* teacheth manifeſtly.

Carliſle. I think verily, that of the ſubſtance, effect and virtue of theſe ſeven uſual Sacraments, that are to be taken and eſteemed above others, we have plainly and expreſly mention by holy Scripture. Of Baptiſm, that whoſoever believeth in Chriſt, and is chriſtned, ſhall be ſaved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghoſt, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of Matrimony, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Teſtament, both by Chriſt and his Apoſtle *Paul.* Of the Sacrament of the Altar, I find plainly, and expreſly, both in the holy Goſpels, and other places of Scripture. Of Penance in like manner. Of Confirmation we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the Preaching of *Philip*, had receiv'd the Word of God, and were chriſtned, the Apoſtles hearing of the ſame, ſent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they pray'd for them that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt: Then they laid their Hands upon them, and ſo they receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt: This, ſaid *Bede*, is the Office and Duty only of Biſhops. And this manner and form (ſaith St. *Hierom*) as it is written in the *Acts*, the Church hath kept, that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, and lay his Hands upon them, who had been chriſten'd by Prieſts and Deacons. Of the Sacrament of Orders, we have, that Chriſt made his Apoſtles the Teachers of the Law, and Miniſters of his Sacraments, that they ſhould duly do it, and make and ordain others likewiſe to do it after them. And ſo the Apoſtles ordain'd *Matthias* to be one of their Number. St. *Paul* made and ordain'd *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewiſe. Of the *Sacrament* of *Extreme Unction*, we have manifeſtly in the Goſpel of *Mark*, and Epiſtle of St. *James*.

Dr. Robertſon. Materia Sacramentorum eſt Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa dignè ſumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta ſuam promiſſionem, nimirum quod ſint ſacra ſignacula, non tantum ſignantia, ſed etiam ſignificantia. Unde opinor conſtari hanc Sacramentorum vim eſſe in ſacris Literis.

Dr. Cox. I find in Scripture, of ſuch things as we uſe to call Sacraments. Firſt, of Baptiſm manifeſtly. Of *Euchariſtia* manifeſtly. Of Penance manifeſtly. Of Matrimony manifeſtly. Of Ordering, *per Manus Impoſitionem & Orationem* manifeſtly. It is alſo manifeſt, that the Apoſtles laid their hands upon them that were chriſten'd. Of the Unction of the ſick with Prayer manifeſtly.

Dr. Day. Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expreſſed by name, yet the thing it ſelf, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Virtue of them is found there. Of Baptiſm in divers places; Of the moſt holy Communion; Of Matrimony; Of Abſolution; Of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, how they were ordain'd *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione*; Of laying the Apoſtles hands on them that were chriſtned, which is a part of Confirmation; Of Unction of them that were ſick, with Prayer join'd withall.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuſcujuſque Sacramenti proprietas, ſeorſim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati ſunt.

Dr. Redmayn. As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the ſaid ſeven Sacraments.

Dr. Edgworth. In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words Sacramental; and the Matter, as the Element, Oil, Chriſm; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament, and of Grace, and encreaſe of Virtue given by them, as the Effects.

Dr. Symmons. The things are contain'd in Scripture, as Baptiſm, Confirmation, *Euchariſtia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, altho' they have not there this name *Sacramentum* as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Virtue.

Dr. Treſham. I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Virtue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there inſtituted by God's Authority; for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath Power to inſtitute a Sacrament, but that ſuch Inſtitution pertaineth only to God.

Dr. Leyghton. To the ſeventh, I ſay, that we may evidently find in Scripture, the ſubſtance of every one of the ſeven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Virtue of the ſame; as of Baptiſm, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony, and ſo forth of the reſt.

Dr. Coren. Of the Matter, Nature, Virtue, and Effect, of ſuch as we call Sacraments, Scripture maketh mention: Of Baptiſm manifeſtly; Of the moſt holy Communion manifeſtly; Of Abſolution manifeſtly; Of Matrimony manifeſtly; Of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, Scripture ſpeaketh manifeſtly, for they were ordered, *per Impoſitiones Manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & Jejunio*.

Conveniunt. Conveniunt præter Meneven. naturam ſeptem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. effectus ſingulorum enumerat; item Carliolenſ. Londinenſ. non reſpondet Quæſtioni. Treſhamus ait ideo è Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Eccleſia non habet autoritatem inſtituendi Sacramenta.

Agreement. In the ſeventh they do agree, ſaving this, that the Biſhop of St. *David*'s ſays, that the Nature, Effect, and Virtue of theſe ſeven Sacraments, only Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Penance, are contained in the Scripture. The other ſay, That the Nature and the Virtue of all the ſeven, be contained in the Scripture.

8. *Queſtion.*

Whether Confirmation, *cum Chriſmate*, of them that be baptis'd, be found in Scripture?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. Of Confirmation with Chriſm, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no manner of mention in the Scripture.

York. To the eighth; We find Confirmation, *cum impoſitione manuum* in Scripture as before; *Cum Chriſmate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find Chriſmation with Oil uſed even from the time of the Apoſtles, and ſo taken as a Tradition apoſtolick.

London. To the eighth; I find in Scripture in many places, *De impoſitione manuum*, which I think (conſidering the Uſage commonly and ſo long withal uſed) to be Confirmation; and that with Chriſm, to ſupply the viſible appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, which Holy Ghoſt was ſo viſibly ſeen in the primitive Church; nevertheleſs for the perfect Declaration of the Verity hereof, I refer it to the Judgment of Men of higher Knowledge in this Faculty.

Rocheſter. Altho' Confirmation be found in the Scripture, by Example, as I ſaid before, yet there is nothing written *de Chriſmate*.

Carliſle. The Impoſition of Hands, the holy Doctors take for the ſame which we call Confirmation, done upon them which were chriſtened before, whereof is written in the *Acts*. And as for *Chriſma*, it ſhould ſeem by *Cyprian*, both as touching the Confection and Uſage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be deriv'd out of Scripture, tho' it be not manifeſtly therein ſpoken of.

Dr. Robertſon. Res & effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempè, Impoſitio manuum per Apoſtolos baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus ſanctus. De Chriſmate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus ſanctus ſigno viſibili deſcenderit in baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri deſierit, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cœpit.

Dr. Cox. I find not in Scripture that the Apoſtles laying their hands upon them that were baptiz'd, did anoint them *Chriſmate*.

Dr. Day. Confirmation *cum Chriſmate* I read not in Scripture, but Impoſitionem Manuum ſuper baptizatos, I find there is, which ancient Authors call Confirmation; And Inunction with *Chriſma* hath been uſed from the primitive Church.

Dr. Oglethorpe. De impoſitione manuum cum oratione, expreſſa mentio eſt in Scripturis, quæ nunc uſitato nomine, à Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chriſma, Traditio eſt Apoſtolica, ut ex veteribus liquet.

Dr. Redmayn. The Queſtion is not ſimple, but as if it were ask'd, whether *Euchariſtia in infermentato*, be in the Scripture, or *Baptiſmus cum ſale*. Impoſition of the Apoſtles Hands, in which was conferr'd the holy Ghoſt for Confirmation of them who were baptiz'd, is found in Scripture. *Chriſma* is a Tradition deduc'd from the Apoſtles, as may be gather'd by Scripture, and by the old Authors, and the Myſtery thereof is not to be deſpis'd.

Dr. Edgworth. This Sacrament is one *unitate Integritatis*, as ſome others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, *Impoſitio Manuum*, is taken, *Heb.* 6. and *Acts* 8. The other part, that is, Chriſm, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and ſo uſed from the primitive Church. *Vid. Cyp. Epiſt. lib.* 1. *ep.* 12.

Dr. Symmons. Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation *cum Chriſmate* is gather'd from the old Authors.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay, Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chriſmate*, is not of the Scripture; yet it is a very ancient Tradition as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chriſm.*

Dr. Leyghton. To the eighth Queſtion, I ſay, that Confirmation of them that be baptiz'd, is found in Scripture, but *cum Chriſmate* it is not found in Scripture; but it was uſed *cum Chriſmate* in the Church ſoon after the Apoſtles time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors.

Dr. Coren. The laying the Biſhops Hands upon them that be chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with Chriſm, which is another part, hath been obſerv'd from the primitive Church, and is called of St. *Auſtin*, *Sacramentum Chriſmatis*. Unction of the ſick with Oil, and the Prayer is grounded expreſly in Scripture.

Conveniunt. Conveniunt omnes Confirmationem cum Chriſmate non haberi in ſcripturis. Eboracenſ. Treſham, Coren, Day, Ogelthorpe, Edgeworth, Leighton, Simmons, Redman, Robinſonus, Confirmationem in ſcripturis eſſe contendunt; cæterùm Chriſma eſſe Traditionem Apoſtolicam. Addit Robertſonus, & ubi fieri deſierat miraculum conſecrandi Spiritûs Sancti, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cœpit; convenit illi Londinenſ.

Carliolenſ. putat uſum Chriſmatis ex ſcripturis peti poſſe; putant omnes tum in hoc articulo, tum ſuperiori impoſitionem manuum eſſe Confirmationem.

Agreement. In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, that *Confirmatio cum Chriſmate* is not found in Scripture, but only *Confirmatio cum Manuum Impoſitione*. And that alſo my Lord of St. *David*'s denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a Sacrament. My Lord of *Carliſle* ſaith, that *Chriſma*, as touching the Confection and Uſage thereof, hath a ground to be deriv'd out of Scripture. The other ſay, that it is but a Tradition.

9. *Queſtion.*

Whether the Apoſtles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Chriſtian King among them, made Biſhops by that neceſſity, or by authority given them by God?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. All Chriſtian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Adminiſtration of God's Word for the Cure of Souls, as concerning the Miniſtration of things political and civil Governance. And in both theſe Miniſtrations, they muſt have ſundry Miniſters under them to ſupply that, which is appointed to their Offices. The civil Miniſters under the King's Majeſty,

jeſty, in this Realm of *England*, be thoſe, whom it ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs for the time to put in Authority under him: as for Example; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Great Maſter, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Admiral, Maiors, Sheriffs, *&c.* The Miniſters of God's Word, under his Majeſty, be the Biſhops, Parſons, Vicars, and ſuch other Prieſts, as be appointed by his Highneſs to that Miniſtration: as for Example; the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Parſon of *Winwick*, &c. All the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, as well of the one ſort as the other, be appointed, aſſign'd, and elected in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the admiſſion of many of theſe Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities uſed, which be not of neceſſity, but only for a good Order and ſeemly Faſhion. For if ſuch Offices and Miniſtrations were committed without ſuch Solemnity, they were nevertheleſs truly committed. And there is no more Promiſe of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Eccleſiaſtical Office, than it is in committing of the civil Office: In the Apoſtles time, when there was no Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe authority Miniſters of God's Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected, there was no Remedy then for the Correction of Vice, or appointing of Miniſters, but only the Conſent of Chriſtian Multitudes among themſelves, by an uniform Conſent to follow the advice and perſuaſion of ſuch Perſons, whom God had moſt endued with the ſpirit of Counſel and Wiſdom. And at that time, foraſmuch as the Chriſtian People had no Sword, nor Governor amongſt them, they were conſtrain'd of neceſſity to take ſuch Curates and Prieſts, as either they knew themſelves to be meet thereunto, or elſe as were commended unto them by others, that were ſo replete with the Spirit of God, with ſuch Knowledge in the Profeſſion of Chriſt, ſuch Wiſdom, ſuch Converſation and Counſel, that they ought even of very Conſcience to give credit unto them, and to accept ſuch as by them were preſented. And ſo ſometimes the Apoſtles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, ſent or appointed Miniſters of God's Word, ſometimes the People did chuſe ſuch as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or ſent by the Apoſtles or others, the People of their own voluntary Will, with Thanks did accept them: Not for the Supremity, Impery, or Dominion that the Apoſtles had over them to command, as their Princes or Maſters, but as good People ready to obey the advice of good Counſellors, and to accept any thing that was neceſſary for their Edification or Benefit.

York. To the ninth; We find in Scripture, that the Apoſtles us'd the power to make Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; which power may be grounded upon theſe words; *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ſic ego mitto vos, &c.* and we verily think, that they durſt not have uſed ſo high Power, unleſs they had had Authority from Chriſt; but that their Power to ordain Biſhops, Prieſts, or Deacons, by Impoſition of Hands, requireth any other Authority than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture.

London. To the ninth; I think the Apoſtles made Biſhops by the Law of God, becauſe, *Acts* 22. it is ſaid, *in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit:* Nevertheleſs, I think if Chriſtian Princes had been then, they ſhould have named by right, and appointed the ſaid Biſhops to their Rooms and Places.

Rocheſter. I think that the Apoſtles made Biſhops by Authority given them by God.

Carliſle. That Chriſt made his Apoſtles, Prieſts, and Biſhops, and that he gave them Power to make others like, it ſeemeth to be the very Trade of Scripture.

Dr. Robertſon. Opinor Apoſtolos Authoritate divinâ creaſſe Epiſcopos & Presbyteros, ubi publicus Magiſtratus permittit.

Dr. Cox. Altho' the Apoſtles had no Authority to force any Man to be Prieſt, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghoſt) had Authority of God to exhort and induce Men to ſet forth God's Honour, and ſo to make them Prieſts.

Dr. Day. The Apoſtles made, that is to ſay, ordain'd Biſhops by Authority given them by God; *Joh.* 20. *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ita & ego mitto vos. Item Joan. ult. & Act.* 20. *&* 1 *Tim.* 4. *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum & Titum, & præſcribit quales illi debeant ordinare.* 1 *Tim.* 1. *Tit.* 1.

Dr. Oglethorp. Apoſtoli Authoritate & Mandato Dei, ordinabant ac inſtituebant Epiſcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magiſtratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat.

Dr. Redmayn. Chriſt gave his Apoſtles Authority to make other Biſhops and Miniſters in his Church, as he had received Authority of the Father to make them Biſhops; but if any Chriſtian Prince had then been, and ought to have been, the Apoſtles had been obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the permiſſion and aſſent of their earthly Governors: Yet was it meet that they which were ſpecial and moſt elect Servants of our Saviour Chriſt, and were ſent by him to convert the World; and having moſt abundantly the Holy Ghoſt in them, ſhould have ſpecial ordering of ſuch Miniſtry as pertained to the planting and encreaſing of the Faith; Whereunto I doubt not, but a Chriſtian Prince, of his godly Mind, would moſt lovingly condeſcended. And it is to be conſidered, that in this Queſtion, with other like, this word, *making of a Biſhop, or Prieſt*, may be taken two ways: For underſtanding the word, to ordain or conſecrate, ſo it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors only; but if by this word (making) be underſtood the appointing or naming to the Office; ſo, it pertaineth ſpecially to the ſupreme Heads and Governors of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. Edgworth. The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts, by Authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher Power: Notwithſtanding where there is a chriſten'd King or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Aſſignation of them that ſhall be Prieſts or Biſhops, belongeth to the King or Prince; ſo that he may forbid any Biſhop within his Kingdom, that he give no Orders for Conſiderations moving him, and may aſſign him a time when he ſhall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King *David*, 1 Chron. 24. dividing the *Levites* into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Biſhop, preſcribing an Ordinal and Rule how they ſhould do their Duties, their Courſes; and what Sacrifices, Rites, and Ceremonies they ſhould uſe every day, as the day and time required. And his Son, King *Solomon*, diligently executed and commanded the ſame Uſages to be obſerv'd in the Temple, after he had erected and finiſh'd it, 2 *Chron.* 8.

Dr. Symmons. The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts, by Authority given them of God.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay, That the Apoſtles had Authority of God to make Biſhops; yet if there had been a Chriſtian King in any place where they made Biſhops, they would, and ought, to have deſired Authority alſo of him, for the executing of ſuch their godly Acts, which no Chriſtian King would have denied.

To

Dr. Leyghton.

To the ninth, I ſay, that the Apoſtles (as I ſuppoſe) made Biſhops by Authority given unto them of Chriſt: Howbeit I think they would and ſhould have requir'd the Chriſtian Princes Conſent and Licenſe thereto, if there had been any Chriſtian Kings or Princes.

Dr. Coren.

The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts by Authority given them of God: Notwithſtanding if there had been a Chriſtian King at that time, it had been their Duties, to have had his Licenſe and Permiſſion to do the ſame.

Con.

Omnes conveniunt Apoſtolos Divinitus accepiſſe Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos; Eboracenſ. addit, non opus fuiſſe alia Authoritate Apoſtolis quam Divina: Sic Thirleby & Edgworth, Redmaynus diſtinguit de Inſtitutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem & Conſecrationem tribuit tantum Apoſtolicis & eorum Succeſſoribus, Nominationem & Electionem Magiſtratibus: Sic Londinenſ. Leyghtonus, Redman, Treſham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuiſſe Poteſtatem à Magiſtratu Chriſtiano, ſi tum fuiſſet. Robertſonus non reſpondet Qæſtioni, concedit enim datam eſſe Apoſtolis Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos ubi Magiſtratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eas impetrâſſe poteſtatem à Principibus. Carliolenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, non reſpondent ultimæ Parti.

Agreem.

In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apoſtles in making Prieſts, the Biſhop of *York*, the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Edgworth*, ſay, that the Apoſtles made Prieſts by their own Power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power. The Biſhop of *St. David's* ſays, that becauſe they lack'd a Chiſtian Prince, by that Neceſſity they ordain'd other Biſhops. Dr. *Leyghton*, *Curren*, *Treſham* and *Redmayn*, ſuppoſe, that they ought to have aſk'd Licenſe of their Chriſtian Governours, if then there had been any.

10. *Queſtion.*

Whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? and if the Prieſts were firſt, then the Prieſt made the Biſhop.

Anſwers.

Canterbury.

The Biſhops and Prieſts were at one time, and were not two things, but both one Office in the beginning of Chriſt's Religion.

York.

To the tenth, we think, that the Apoſtles were Prieſts before they were Biſhops; and that the divine Power which made them Prieſts, made them alſo Biſhops; and altho' their Ordination was not by all ſuch Courſe as the Church now uſeth, yet that they had both viſible and inviſible Sanctification, we may gather of the Goſpel, where it is written, *Sicut miſit me Pater vivens, & ego mitto vos: & cum hæc dixit, inſufflavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiſeritis*, &c. and we may well think, that then they were made Biſhops, when they had not only a Flock, but alſo Shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghoſt to overſee both; for the name of a Biſhop, is not properly a Name of Order, but a Name of Office, ſignifying an Overſeer. And altho' the inferior Shepherds have alſo Cure to overſee their Flock, yet foraſmuch as the Biſhops Charge is alſo to overſee the Shepherds, the Name of Overſeer is given to the Biſhops, and not to the other; and as they be in Degree higher, ſo in their Conſecration we find Difference even from the Primitive Church.

London.

To the tenth, I think the Biſhops were firſt, and yet I think it is not of Importance, whether the Prieſt then made the Biſhop, or elſe the Biſhop the Prieſt; conſidering (after the Sentence of *St. Jerome*) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very ſmall) Difference between a Biſhop and a Prieſt, eſpecially touching the ſignification.

Rocheſter.

I find in Scripture, that Chriſt being both a Prieſt and a Biſhop, ordain'd his Apoſtles, who were both Prieſts and Biſhops; and the ſame Apoſtles did afterwards ordain Biſhops, and commanded them to ordain others.

Carliſle.

Chriſt made his Apoſtles Exorciſts, as it appeareth in the 10th of *St. Matthew*, Deacons, Prieſts and Biſhops, as partly there, and after, in the 20th of *St. John*, *Quorum remiſeritis*, &c. and where he ſaid, *hoc facite in meam Commemorationem*. In the *Acts*, *Cæterorum nemo audebat ſe conjungere illis*. So that they were all theſe together; and ſo being according to the Ordinance of Chriſt, who had made after them 72 Prieſts, as it appeareth in the 10th of *St. Luke*, they made and ordain'd alſo others the ſeven principal Deacons, as it is ſhew'd in the 6th of the *Acts*, where it is ſaid, that they praying, laid their Hands upon them; in the 13th of the *Acts*, certain there named at the Commandment of the Holy Ghoſt, ſevered *Saul* and *Barnabas* to that God had taken them, faſting, praying, and laying their Hands upon them; the which *Saul*, *Ananias* the Diſciple had baptiz'd, laying his Hand upon him, that he might be repleniſh'd with the Holy Ghoſt. And *Paul* ſo made, ordain'd *Timothy* and *Tite*, willing them to do likewiſe as he had done, and appointed to be done from City to City. *James* was ordain'd the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, by *Peter*, *John* and *James*. So that Example otherwiſe we read not.

Dr. Robertſon.

Incertus ſum utri fuere priores, at ſi Apoſtoli in prima Profectione Ordinati erant, apparet Epiſcopos fuiſſe priores, nempè Apoſtolos, nam Poſteà deſignavit Chriſtus alios ſeptuaginta duos. Nec opinior abſurdum eſſe, ut Sacerdos Epiſcopum conſecret, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt.

Dr. Cox.

Altho' by Scripture (as *St. Hierom* ſaith) Prieſts and Biſhops be one, and therefore the one not afore the other: yet Biſhops, as they be now, were after Prieſts, and therefore made of Prieſts.

Dr. Day.

The Apoſtles were both Biſhops and Prieſts, and they made Biſhops and Prieſts, as *Titus* and *Timotheus* made Prieſts. *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, Acts 1. *Presbyteros qui in vobis ſunt, obſecro & ego Compresbyter*, 1 *Pet.* 5. and in the beginning of the Church, as well that word *Epiſcopus*, as Presbyter, was common and attributed both to Biſhops and Prieſts.

Dr. Oglethorpe.

Utrique primi à Deo facti, Apoſtoli, Epiſcopi; ſeptuaginta Diſcipuli (ut Conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde veriſimile eſt Epiſcopos præceſſiſſe, Apoſtoli enim prius vocati erant.

Dr. Redmayn.

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as *St. Hierom* and other old Authors ſhew by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently.

Dr. Edgeworth.

Chriſt our chief Prieſt and Biſhop, made his Apoſtles Prieſts and Biſhops all at once; and they did likewiſe make others, ſome Prieſts, and ſome Biſhops; and that the Prieſt in the Primitive Church made Biſhops, I think no Inconvenience; (as *Jerome* ſaith) in an Epiſt. *ad Evagrium*. Even like as Soldiers ſhould chuſe one among themſelves to be their Captain: ſo did Prieſts chuſe one of themſelves to be their Biſhop, for Conſideration of his Learning, Gravity and good Living, *&c.* and alſo for to avoid Schiſms among themſelves by them, that ſome might not draw the People one way, and others another way, if they lack'd one Head among them.

Dr. Symmons. Chriſt was, and is the great high Biſhop, and made all his Apoſtles Biſhops; and they made Biſhops and Prieſts after him, and ſo hath it evermore continued hitherto.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay, Chriſt made the Apoſtles firſt Prieſts, and then Biſhops, and they by this Authority made both Prieſts and Biſhops, but where there had been a Chriſtian Prince, they would have deſired his Authority to the ſame.

Dr. Leyghton. To tenth.--------

Dr. Coren. The Apoſtles were made of Chriſt Biſhops and Prieſts, both at the firſt; and after them, *ſeptuaginta duo Diſcipuli*, were made Prieſts.

Con. Menevenſ. Thirleby, Redmanus, Coxus, aſſerunt in Initio eoſdem fuiſſe Epiſcopos & Presbyteros. Londinenſ. Carliolenſ. Symmons, putant Apoſtolos fuiſſe inſtitutos Epiſcopos à Chriſto, & eos poſt ea inſtituiſſe alios & Epiſcopos & Presbyteros, & 72 Presbyteros poſtea fuiſſe Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracenſ. & Treſham aiunt Apoſtolos primo fuiſſe Presbyteros, deinde Epiſcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum credita eſſet illis cura. Robertſonus incertus eſt utri fuere priores, non abſurdum tamen eſſe opinatur, ut Sacerdos conſecret Epiſcopum, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt. Sic Londinenſ. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Epiſcopos, ut vulgo de Epiſcopis loquimur fuiſſe ante Presbyteros, Leightonus nihil reſpondet.

Agreement. In the tenth, where it is asked, whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? The Biſhop of St. *David*'s, my Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Redman*, ſay, that at the beginning they were all one. The Biſhops, of *York*, *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*; Drs. *Day*, *Treſham*, *Symmons*, *Oglethorp*, be in other contrary Opinions. The Biſhop of *York* and Dr. *Treſham*, think, that the Apoſtles were firſt Prieſts, and after were made Biſhops, when the overſeeing of other Prieſts were committed to them. My Lords of *Dureſme*, *London*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Symmons* and *Crafford*, think, that the Apoſtles firſt were Biſhops, and they after made other Biſhops and Prieſts. Dr. *Coren* and *Oglethorp* ſay, that the Apoſtles were made Piſhops, and the 72 were after made Prieſts. Dr. *Day* thinks, that Biſhops as they be now a-days called, were before Prieſts. My Lord of *London*, Drs. *Edgworth* and *Robertſon*, think it no Inconvenience, if a Prieſt made a Biſhop in that time.

11. *Queſtion.*

Whether a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. A Biſhop may make a Prieſt by the Scripture; and ſo may Princes and Governours alſo, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the People alſo by their Election For as we read, that Biſhops have done it, ſo Chriſtian Emperors and Princes uſually have done it, and the People, before Chriſtian Princes were, commonly did elect their Biſhops and Prieſts.

York. To the eleventh, that a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, may be deduc'd of Scripture; for ſo much as they have all Authority neceſſary for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, deriv'd from the Apoſtles, who made Biſhops and Prieſts, and not without Authority, as we have ſaid before to the ninth Queſtion; and that any other than Biſhops or Prieſts may make a Prieſt, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.

London. To the eleventh, I think, that a Biſhop duly appointed hath Authority by Scripture to make a Biſhop, and alſo a Prieſt: Becauſe Chriſt being a Biſhop did ſo make himſelf; and becauſe alive, his Apoſtles did the like.

Rocheſter. The Scripture ſheweth by Example, that a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt; albeit no Biſhop being ſubject to a Chriſtian Prince, may either give Orders to excommunicate, or uſe any manner of Juriſdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commiſſion from the King, who is ſupream Head of that Church, whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it beſides a Biſhop, I find no Example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

Carliſle. By what is ſaid before, it appeareth, that a Biſhop by Scripture may make Deacons and Prieſts, and that we have no Example otherwiſe.

Dr. Robertſon. Opinor Epiſcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magiſtratus publici permiſſu fiat. An vero ab alio quam Epiſcopo id ritè fieri poſſit, haud ſcio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legiſſe. Ordin. conferr. Gratiam, vid. Eck. Homil. 60.

Dr. Cox. Biſhops have Authority, as is aforeſaid, of the Apoſtles, in the tenth Queſtion, to make Prieſts, except in Caſes of great Neceſſity.

Dr. Day. Biſhops have Authority by Scripture to ordain Biſhops and Prieſts, *John* 20. *hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te Cretæ ut conſtituas oppidatim Presbyteros*, *Tit*. 1. *Act* 14.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Autoritas ordinandi Presbyteros data eſt Epiſcopis per Verbum, multiſque aliis quos legi.

Dr. Redmayn. To the firſt part, I anſwer, yea; for ſo it appeareth, *Tit*. 1. and 1 *Tim*. 5. with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, I have not read, but by ſingular Privilege of God, as when *Moſes* (whom divers Authors ſay was not a Prieſt) made *Aaron* a Prieſt. Truth it is, that the Office of a godly Prince is to overſee the Church, and the Miniſters thereof; and to cauſe them to do their Duty, and alſo to appoint them ſpecial Charges and Offices in the Church, as may be moſt for the Glory of God, and edifying of the People: And thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Teſtament, *David*, *Joas*, *Ezekias*, *Joſias*. But as for *making*, that is to ſay, ordaining and conſecrating of Prieſts, I think it ſpecially belongeth to the Office of a Biſhop, as far as can be ſhew'd by Scripture, or any Example, as I ſuppoſe from the beginning.

Dr. Edgworth. A Biſhop hath Authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and that any other ever made a Prieſt ſince Chriſt's time, I read not. Albeit *Moſes* who was not anointed Prieſt, made *Aaron* Prieſt and Biſhop, by a ſpecial Commiſſion or Revelation from God, without which he would never ſo have done.

Dr. Symmons. A Biſhop placed by the higher Powers, and admitted to miniſter, may make a Prieſt; and I have not read of any other that ever made Prieſts.

Dr. Treſham. I ſay, a Biſhop hath Authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and other than a Biſhop, hath not Power therein, but only in Caſes of Neceſſity.

Dr. Leyghton. To the eleventh, I ſuppoſe, that a Biſhop hath Authority of God, as his Miniſter, by Scripture to make a Prieſt; but he ought not to admit any Man to be Prieſt, and conſecrate him, or to appoint him to any Miniſtry in the Church, without the Prince's Licenſe and Conſent, in a Chriſtian Region. And that any other Man hath Authority to make a Prieſt by Scripture, I have not read, nor any Example thereof.

Dr. Coren. A Biſhop being licenſed by his Prince and ſupream Governour, hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Law of God. I do not read that any Prieſt hath been order'd by any other than a Biſhop.

Ad

Con. Ad primam partem Quæſtionis reſpondent omnes & convenit omnibus præter Menevenſ. Epiſcopum habere Autoritatem inſtituendi Presbyteros. Roffenſ. Leighton, Curren, Robertſonus, addunt, modo Magiſtratus id permittat. Ad ſecundam partem reſpondent Coxus & Treſham in Neceſſitate concedi poteſtatem ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc autoritatem. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertſon, Leyghton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen. Edgworth, Oglethorpe, Carliolen. nuſquam legerunt alios uſos fuiſſe hâc poteſtate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data ſit Moyſi, ut Redmanus arbitratur, & Edgworth. Nihil reſpondent ad ſecundam partem Quæſtionis Londinenſis & Dayus.

Agreement. In the eleventh; To the former part of the Queſtion, the Biſhop of St. *David's* doth anſwer, That Biſhops have no Authority to make Prieſts without they be authoriz'd of the Chriſtian Princes. The others, all of them do ſay, that they be authoriz'd of God. Yet ſome of them, as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Robertſon*, add, That they cannot uſe this Authority without their Chriſtian Prince doth permit them. To the ſecond Part the Anſwer of the Biſhop of St. *David's* is, That Laymen have otherwhiles made Prieſts. So doth Dr. *Edgworth* and *Redmayn* ſay, that *Moſes*, by a Privilege given him of God, made *Aaron* his Brother Prieſt. Dr. *Treſham*, *Crayford*, and *Cox*, ſay, that Laymen may make Prieſts in time of neceſſity. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*, Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Symmons*, ſeem to deny this thing; for they ſay, they find not, nor read not any ſuch Example.

12. *Queſtion.*

Whether in the *New Teſtament* be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. In the *New Teſtament*, he that is appointed to be a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, needeth no Conſecration by the Scripture; for Election or Appointing thereto is ſufficient.

York. To the twelfth Queſtion; The Apoſtles ordain'd Prieſts by Impoſition of the Hand, with Faſting and Prayer; and ſo following their Steps we muſt needs think, that all the foreſaid things be neceſſarily to be uſed by their Succeſſors: And therefore we do alſo think, that Appointment only, without viſible Conſecration and Invocation for the Aſſiſtance and Power of the Holy Ghoſt, is neither convenient nor ſufficient; for without the ſaid Invocation, it beſeemeth no Man to appoint to our Lord Miniſters, as of his own Authority: Whereof we have Example in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, where we find, that when they were gather'd to chuſe one in the place of *Judas*, they appointed two of the Diſciples; and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would chuſe which of them it pleas'd him, ſaying and praying, *Lord, thou that knoweſt the Hearts of all Men, ſhew whether of theſe two thou doſt chuſe to ſucceed in the Place of* Judas. And to this Purpoſe in the *Acts*, we read, *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus ſegregate mihi Barnabam*, &c. And again, *Quos poſuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Eccleſiam Dei.* And it appeareth alſo that in the *Old Teſtament*, in the ordering of Prieſts, there was both viſible and inviſible Sanctification; and therefore in the *New Teſtament*, where the Prieſthood is above compariſon higher than in the *Old*, we may not think that only Appointment ſufficeth without Sanctification, either viſible or inviſible.

London. To the twelfth; I think Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt be required, for that in the old Law (being yet but a Shadow and Figure of the new) the Conſecration was requir'd, as appears, *Levit.* 8. yet the truth of this I leave to thoſe of higher Judgments.

Rocheſter. The Scripture ſpeaketh, *De Impoſitione Manus & de Oratione*: And of other manner of Conſecrations, I find no mention in the *New Teſtament* expreſſly; but the old Authors make mention alſo of Inunctions.

Carliſle. Upon this Text of *Paul* to *Timothy*; *Noli negligere Gratiam quæ in te eſt, quæ data eſt tibi per Prophetiam cum Impoſitione Manuum Presbyterii*; St. *Anſelm* ſaith, This Grace to be the Gift of the Biſhop's Office, to the which God of his mere Goodneſs hath called and preferred him. The Prophecy (he ſaith) was the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The Impoſition of the Hand is that by the which he was ordain'd and receiv'd that Office: And therefore (ſaith St. *Paul*) *God is my Witneſs, that I have diſcharg'd my ſelf, ſhewing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom, that ye take to Orders, leſt ye loſe your ſelf thereby.* Let Biſhops therefore, who (as ſaith St. *Hierom*) hath Power to make Prieſts, conſider well under what Law the Order of Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution is bounden; and let them not think thoſe Words of the Apoſtle to be his, but rather the Words of Chriſt himſelf.

Dr. Robertſon. Opinor requiri Conſecrationem quandam, hoc eſt, Impoſitionem Manuum, Orationem, Jejunium, &c. Tamen nuſquam hoc munere fungi poſſe, niſi, ubi Magiſtratus invitet, jubeat, aut permittat.

Dr. Cox. By Scripture there is no Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts required, but only the appointing to the Office of a Prieſt, *Cum Impoſitione Manuum.*

Dr. Day. Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts I read not in the *New Teſtament*, but *Ordinatio per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the Places above; and the only Appointment, as I think, is not ſufficient.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Præter Vocationem, ceu Deſignationem externam, quæ vel à Principe fit, vel à populo per Electionem & Suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per Manuum Impoſitionem, idque per verbum Dei.

Dr. Redmayne. Beſides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth, that in the Primitive Church, the Apoſtles uſed certain Conſecration of the Miniſters of the Church, by Impoſition of Hands and Pray'r, *Acts* 6. and with Faſting, *Acts* 14, &c. The Office of Prieſthood is too dangerous to ſet upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the Confirmation of their Faith, who take in hand ſuch Charge, and for the obtaining of farther Grace requiſite in the ſame, Conſecration was ordain'd by the Holy Ghoſt, and hath been always uſed from the Beginning.

Dr. Edgworth. Deputation to the Office, is not ſufficient to make a Prieſt or a Biſhop, as appeareth by *David* and *Solomon*, who deputed the 24 above-mentioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Prieſts, nor any other.

Dr. Symmons. The appointing to the Office, *per Manuum Impoſitionem*, is in Scripture, and the Conſecration of them, hath of long time continued in the Church.

Dr. Treſham. There is a certain kind of Conſecration requir'd, which is Impoſition of the Biſhop's Hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not ſufficient.

Dr. Leyghton. To the twelfth; I ſuppoſe that there is a Conſecration required, as by Impoſition of Hands;

for ſo we be taught by the Enſample of the Apoſtles.

Dr. Coren. In the *New Teſtament* is required to the making of a Biſhop, *Impoſitio Manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for Conſecration, and Appointment unto the Office is not ſufficient; for King *David*, 1 *Chron*. 24. did appoint twenty four to be Biſhops, who after were conſecrated; ſo that both the Appointment and the Conſecration be requiſite.

Con. Reſpondent Eboracenſ. Londinenſ. Carliolenſ. Leighton, Treſham, Robertſonus, Edgworth, Curren, Dayus, Oglethorp, Conſecrationem eſſe requiſitam. Redmanus ait, eam receptam eſſe ab Apoſtolis, atque à Spiritu Sancto inſtitutam ad conferendam Gratiam. Dayus, Roffenſ. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per Manuum Impoſitionem, idque è Scripturis; Conſecrationem vero diu receptam in Eccleſiâ: Coxus Inſtitutionem cum Manuum Impoſitione ſufficere, neque per Scripturam requiri Conſecrationem. Robertſonus, addit ſupra alios nuſquam hoc munere fungi poſſe quempiam, niſi ubi Magiſtratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

Agreement. In the twelfth Queſtion, where it is asked, whether in the *New Teſtament* be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient? The Biſhop of St. *David*'s ſaith, That only the appointing. Dr. *Cox*, That only appointing, *cum Manuum Impoſitione*, is ſufficient without Conſecration. The Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Treſham*, *Edgworth*, *Oglethorp*, ſay, that Conſecration is requiſite. Dr. *Redmayn* ſaith, that Conſecration hath been receiv'd from the Apoſtle's time, and Inſtitute of the Holy Ghoſt to confer Grace. My Lord of *Rocheſter*, Drs. *Day* and *Symmons*, ſay, That Prieſthood is given *per Manuum Impoſitionem*, and that by Scripture; and that Conſecration hath of long time been received in the Church.

Having now tranſcrib'd at length the Reſolution of this Committee of Biſhops and Divines upon moſt of the *Articles*, I ſhall be ſhorter upon what remains; and only ſet down the Queſtion, with the Agreement or Diſagreement upon it. But becauſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Opinion is not mentioned in ſumming up the Evidence, I ſhall therefore continue to give it the *Reader* as it ſtands in the Head of the *Article*.

13. *Queſtion*.

Whether (if it fortuned a Chriſtian Prince learned to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they ſhould preach and teach the Word of God there, or no? And alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts, or no?

Canterbury. It is not againſt God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed ſo to do; and there be Hiſtories, that witneſſeth, that ſome Chriſtian Princes, and other Laymen unconſecrate, have done the ſame.

Conveniunt. In primâ parte Quæſtionis conveniunt omnes, etiam Laicos, tali rerum ſtatu, non ſolum poſſe ſed debere docere. Menevenſ. Thirlebeus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Treſham, Redmaynus, Robertſonus, etiam Poteſtatem miniſtrandi Sacramenta, & ordinandi Miniſtros, concedunt illis. Eboracenſ. hanc prorſus Poteſtatem Denegat. Coren credit Principem divinitus illuminandum & conſecrandum fore in Epiſcopum internè, aut aliquem ex ſuis, Pauli exempto. Simile habet Herefordenſis & Carliolenſis. Dayus nihil reſpondet de ordinandis Presbyteris in hac neceſſitate.

Agreem. In the thirteenth; Concerning the firſt part, whether Laymen may preach and teach God's Word? They do all agree, in ſuch a Caſe, that not only they may, but they ought to teach. But in the ſecond part, touching the conſtituting of Prieſts of Laymen, my Lord of *York*, and Dr. *Edgworth*, doth not agree with the other; they ſay, that Laymen in no wiſe can make Prieſts, or have ſuch Authority. The Biſhops of *Dureſme*, St. *David*'s, *Weſtminſter*, Drs. *Treſham*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Crayford*, *Symmons*, *Redmayn*, *Robertſon*, ſay, that Laymen in ſuch caſe have Authority to miniſter the Sacraments, and to make Prieſts. My Lords of *London*, *Carliſle*, and *Hereford*, and Dr. *Coren*, think, that God in ſuch a Caſe would give the Prince Authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him, or ſome of his, as he did St. *Paul*.

14. *Queſtion*.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it ſo fortune that all the Biſhops and Prieſts of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God ſhould remain there unpreach'd, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and others unminiſtred) that the King of that Region ſhould make Biſhops and Prieſts to ſupply the ſame, or no?

Canterbury. It is not forbidden by God's Law.

Con. Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos poſſe docere. Eboracenſ. Symmons, Oglethorpe negant poſſe ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracenſ. baptizare & contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare poſſe; nam ſufficere dicit ad ſalutem. Alii omnes eandem Poteſtatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffenſ. non aliud reſpondet his duabus Quæſtionibus, quam quod neceſſitas non habet Legem.

Agreem. In the fourteenth they agree for the moſt part as they did before, That Laymen in this caſe may teach and miniſter the Sacraments. My Lord of *York*, Dr. *Symmons*, and *Oglethorpe* ſay, they can make no Prieſts, altho' *Symmons* ſaid they might miniſter all Sacraments, in the Queſtion before, yet my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth*, do grant, that they may chriſten. The Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *Crayford*, ſay, that in ſuch a caſe, *neceſſitas non habet legem*.

15. *Queſtion*.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (*quorum remiſeritis*) and ſuch like, to confeſs his ſecret deadly Sins to a Prieſt, if he may have him, or no?

Canterbury. A Man is not bound by the Authority of this Scripture, *quorum remiſeritis*, and ſuch like, to confeſs his ſecret deadly Sins to a Prieſt, altho' he may have him.

Con. Eboracenſ. Londinenſ. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, aſſerunt obligari. Coxus, Treſham, & Robertſonus dicunt non obligari, ſi alitèr Conſcientiæ illorum ſatisfieri queat; Menevenſ. nullo modo obligari. Carliolenſ. & Symmons aiunt, ſecundum Veterum Interpretationem hâc Scripturâ quemvis obligari Peccatorum. Roffenſ. Herefordenſ. & Thirleby non reſpondent, ſed dubitant. Leightonus ſolum indoctos obligari ad Confeſſionem. Edgworth tradit duplicem modum Remiſſionis Peccatorem, per Contritionem, ſive Attritionem, & per Abſolutionem: Et quià nemo poteſt certus eſſe, num Attritio & Dolor pro Peccato ſufficiat ad ſatisfaciendum Deo & obtinendam Gratiam, ideò tutiſſiman viam deligendam, ſcilicet, Abſolutionem à Sacerdote, quæ per Promiſſionem Chriſti eſt certa; Abſolvere non poteſt niſi cognoſcat Peccata; ergo Peccata per Confeſſionem ſunt illi revelanda.

In

Agreem. In the fifteenth; concerning Confeſſion of our ſecret deadly Sins. The Biſhops of *Yorke*, *Dureſme*, *London*, Drs. *Day*, *Coren*, *Oglethorpe*, *Redmayn*, *Crayford*, ſay, that Men be bound to confeſs them of the ſecret Sins. Drs. *Cox*, *Treſham*, *Robertſon*, ſay, they be not bound, if they may quiet their Conſciences otherwiſe. The Biſhop of St. *David*'s alſo ſaith, that this Text bindeth no Man. Dr. *Leighton* ſaith, that it bindeth only ſuch as have not the Knowledge of the Scripture. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* and *Symmons*, ſay, that by antient Doctors Expoſition, Men be bound, by this Text, to confeſs their deadly Sins.

16. *Queſtion.*

Whether a Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

Canterbury. A Biſhop or a Prieſt by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate; but where the Laws of any Region giveth him Authority to excommunicate, there they ought to uſe the ſame in ſuch Crimes, as the Laws have ſuch Authority in, and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have none Authority at all; and they that be no Prieſts may alſo excommunicate, if the Law allow them thereunto.

Con. Menevenſ. Herefordenſ. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt Authoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magiſtratu deputentur. Eboracenſ. & Edgworth prorſus negant datum Laicis, ſed Apoſtolis & eorum Succeſſoribus tantum. Roffenſis, Redmaynus, & Robertſonus ambigunt num detur Laicis. Londinenſ. non reſpondet Quæſtioni: Oglethorpus & Thirleby aiunt, Eccleſiæ datam eſſe Poteſtatem excommunicandi; idem Treſhamus.

Agreem. In the ſixteenth, of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, and Dr. *Edgworth* ſay, that Laymen have not the Authority to excommunicate, but that it was given only to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors. The Biſhops of *Hereford*, St. *David*'s, Drs. *Day*, *Coren*, *Leighton*, *Cox*, *Symmons*, ſay, that Laymen may excommunicate if they be appointed by the high Ruler. My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Treſham*, and Dr. *Oglethorp*, ſay farther, That the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to ſuch as the Church ſhall inſtitute.

17. *Queſtion.*

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit venial Sins, as it is now uſed, be ſpoken of in the Scripture, or in any antient Authors?

Canterbury. Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit venial Sins, as it is now uſed, is not ſpoken of in the Scripture, nor in any antient Authors.

T. CANTUARIEN. *This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this preſent, which I do not temerariouſly define, but do refer the Judgment thereof wholly unto your Majeſty.*

Con. Menevenſ. & Coxus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam eſt recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Carliolenſ. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leyghton, Oglethorp aiunt haberi in Scripturis. Roffenſ. Thirleby, Robertſonus, præterquam illud Jacobi 5. Marci 6. nihil proferunt. Herefordenſis ambigit. Treſham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis è Scripturis, ſed Unctionis Ceremonias Traditiones eſſe humanas.

Agreem. In the laſt; The Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and Dr. *Cox* ſay, that Unction of the Sick with Oil conſecrate, as it is now uſed to remit Sins, is not ſpoken of in Scripture. My Lords of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, Drs. *Coren*, *Edgworth*, *Redmayn*, *Symmons*, *Leighton*, and *Oglethorp*, ſay, that it is found in Scripture.

To this I ſhall ſubjoin another Determination upon the Article of *Confirmation*. And here, excepting the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, we have none of the Biſhops or Divines already mentioned. Beſides, by *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*'s being concern'd in this *Paper*, we may conclude the Article could not be argued after *September* 1539. for then this Prelate died. But by *Thirleby Elect* of *Weſtminſter*'s being engaged in the Diſcuſſion of the *ſeventeen Queſtions*, it is evident theſe were debated in *December* one thouſand five hundred and forty: For the King's *Letters Patent* for the founding the See of *Weſtminſter*, are dated *December* the 17*th* in the 32. of his Reign, that is, *An. Dom.* 1540.

Whether Confirmation be inſtituted by Chriſt?

Cranmer Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Paper? Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. v. fol. 83.

The Anſwer.

There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be inſtitute of Chriſt.

Firſt, For the places alledg'd for the ſame, be no Inſtitutions, but Acts and Deeds of the Apoſtles.

Secondly, Thoſe Acts were done by a ſpecial Gift given to the Apoſtles for the Confirmation of God's Word at that time.

Thirdly, The ſaid eſpecial Gift doth not now remain with the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.

What is the external ſign?

The Church uſeth *Cream* for the exterior ſign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this Sacrament?

The Biſhop in the Name of the Church doth invocate the Holy Ghoſt to give Strength and Conſtancy, with other ſpiritual Gifts, unto the Perſon confirm'd: ſo that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of ſuch value as is the Prayer of the Biſhop, made in the Name of the Church.

Hæc reſpondeo, ſalvo ſemper Eruditiorum & Eccleſiæ Orthodoxæ judicio.

Stokeſley Biſhop of *London*'s Paper.

The firſt Queſtion, Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Teſtament inſtituted by Chriſt?

To this I anſwer, that it is.

The ſecond Queſtion, What is the outward Sign, and the inviſible Graces, which be conferr'd in the ſame?

To this I anſwer, That the words *Signo te Signo ſanctæ Crucis, & confirmo te, &c.* with the Conſignation, with the *Cream*, Impoſition of Hands of the Prelates, be the ſigns and the increaſe of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and eſpecially of Fortitude, to ſpeak, ſhew, and defend the Faith, and to ſuffer for the ſame, in caſe need be.

The third Queſtion, what Promiſes be made of the ſaid Graces?

I anſwer, That the Facts and Deeds, that be expreſs'd in the Books of the Apoſtles, with the effects enſuing, by the Impoſition of their Hands, upon them, that before had receiv'd Remiſſion of their Sins, joined with the Promiſes of Chriſt, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the Univerſity of the ſame Catholick Church from the time of the Apoſtles hitherto, without Contradiction of any Man, (ignorants and ſuſpects of Hereſie only excepted) makes us, and in my Opinion, without prejudice of other Mens Opinion, ought to ſuffice to make all Men, that hath promiſed to believe the Catholick Church, aſſuredly to think, that God hath made the Promiſes of the ſaid Grace.

Ego Joannes London. ſic reſpondeo, fretus Autoritate & Teſtimonio Antiquiſſimorum, eorumque Doctiſſimorum pariter ac Sanctiſſimorum Virorum, & præcipuè ſanctæ Matris noſtræ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expreſſis in ſacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam ſcriptis, fides adhibenda eſt; niſi tam de Baptiſmo Parrulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ Virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus ſine ſalutis periculo nemo diffidit, licebit ſalva fide contradicere.

The Opinion of ſome other Biſhops and Divines. An Original in their own Hands.

Cleop. E. v. fol. 73. *Archbiſhop of* York.

1. Whether this Sacrament be a Sacrament of the New Teſtament inſtituted by Chriſt or not?

2. What is the outward Sign and inviſible Grace that is conferr'd in the ſame?

3. What Promiſes be made that the ſaid Graces ſhall be receiv'd by this Sacrament?

That the Sacrament of Confirmation was inſtituted by Chriſt we are induced to think, foraſmuch as the Apoſtles uſed the ſame, and that with much Diligence; as appears, *Acts* the 8*th* and the 19*th* and gave the ſame by Tradition to the Church: and that the Apoſtles durſt not have taken upon them as of themſelves to inſtitute any Sacrament; and this is the Opinion of St. *Clement* in the 4*th* Epiſt. whoſe Words are theſe: *Omnibus ergo feſtinandum eſt ſine mora renaſci Deo, & demum conſignari ab Epiſcopo, id eſt ſeptiformem gratiam Spiritûs Sancti percipere; quia incertus eſt, uniuſcujuſque exitus vitæ, quum autem regeneratus fuerit per aquam, & poſtmodum ſeptiformi Spiritûs Gratia, ab Epiſcopo ut memoratum eſt confirmatus (quia aliter perfectus eſſe Chriſtianus nequaquam poterit, nec ſedem habere inter perfectos: Si non neceſſitate ſed incuria, aut voluntate remanſerit; ut a beato Petro accepimus, & cæteri ſancti Apoſtoli præcipiente Domino docuerint) demum ex operibus bonis oſtendat in ſe ſimilitudinem ejus, qui eum genuit Patris;*

Ad. 1. *Queſt.* By which words of St. *Clement* the firſt Queſtion is anſwer'd, That this Sacrament is inſtituted *præcipiente Domino.*

Ad. 2. *Queſt.* And by the ſame words appeareth Anſwer to the ſecond Queſtion, That the outward Sign is *Conſignatio facta ab Epiſcopo:* and that the Graces conferr'd in the Sacrament be the Graces called the ſeven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.

Ad. 3. *Queſt.* And hereby may appear the Anſwer to the third Queſtion, That for ſo much as the ſeven Graces be given in this Sacrament, that theſe Graces proceed by his Promiſe, by whoſe Commandment the Sacrament is inſtituted.

Ad. 1. *Queſt.* Again, St. *Dionys* (whoſe Book *De Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchia* is wholly grounded upon the Traditions Apoſtolick, as he himſelf avoweth) makes mention of this Sacrament as had in uſe in the time of the Apoſtles, after the Rite of the Church that is uſed now with Chriſmation; wherefore ſince the ſaid Apoſtles, as afore is ſaid, durſt not inſtitute any Sacrament, we muſt needs think that the Inſtitution came from Chriſt, the Declaration and Tradition from the Apoſtles.

Ad. 2. *Queſt.* And to the ſecond Queſtion Anſwer may be made by the words of Saint *Dionys*, which ſaith, that this Sacrament is *Unctio perficiens & Conſummatio poſt Regenerationem, & quod conjungit perfectum & conſummatum Spiritui Sancto, & quod per hoc Sacramentum, datur Spiritus Sanctus.*

Ad. 3. *Queſt.* And ſo Anſwer may be made to the third Queſtion as afore; That ſince the Holy Ghoſt is given by the conferring of this Sacrament, that the Promiſe of Grace in this Sacrament comes from him by whoſe Authority it is inſtituted.

Ad. 1. *Queſt.* St. *Auguſtin* alſo writing *Contra Petilianum Donatiſtam*, ſaith, *Quod Sacramentum Chriſmatis in genere viſibilium Sacramentorum, eſt ſacroſanctum ſicut & Baptiſma*; which cannot be true, unleſs the Sacrament of Confirmation be inſtituted of Chriſt.

Ad. 1. *Queſt.* Alſo St. *Dionys*, St. *Clement*, and St. *Fabian*, ſay, That the Sacrament of Confirmation, is a Sacrament performing the Sacrament of Baptiſm; and St. *Dyonis* ſaith, that he that is baptized is but initiated, that is entered: and that by the Chriſmation of the Buſhoppe he is made perfect, and ſo alſo St. *Clement*, St. *Melchiades*, and St. *Urban*, ſay, that afore the receiving of this Sacrament, *Baptizatus non eſt plene Chriſtianus:* By which thing it appears, that the Sacrament of Confirmation cannot be inſtitute by Man's Authority, for no Man can perform the Work of God.

Ad. 2. & 3. *Queſt.* And needs muſt hereof follow that the ſaid Sacrament being inſtituted of Chriſt, the effect thereof muſt be Grace, for he do's nothing inſtitute but to our ghoſtly Wealth: and therefore he doth aſſiſt his Sacrament, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *Hic omnibus Eccleſiæ Sacramentis intereſt, quæ ipſe efficit & conſummat:* But foraſmuch as St. *Clement*, St. *Melchiades*, and St. *Urban* ſay, that *Baptizatus non eſt perfecte nec plene Chriſtianus, priuſquam confirmatur ab Epiſcopo*; leſt any Man ſhould hereof conceive Error, that if without Contempt of this Sacrament any Man already baptized and forthwith dying ſhould not be taken for a full and perfect Chriſtian Man, as to the effect of his Salvation; the holy Buſhoppe of *Rome*, and Martyr *Melchiades* Words do well avoid, which be theſe. The Holy Ghoſt which deſcended upon the Waters of Baptiſm gave full Innocency at the Font; but in *Confirmation* it gives encreaſe to Grace: and for becauſe whilſt we live in this World, we muſt paſs amongſt our inviſible Enemies in great Danger, therefore in Baptiſm we are regenerate to Life; after Baptiſm we are confirm'd and ſtrengthened to fight: in Baptiſm we are cleanſed, after Baptiſm we are ſtrengthened; and altho' to them that ſhall ſtrait paſs out of this World, the benefits of Regeneration doth ſuffice; yet to them that ſhall live, the helping of Confirmation is neceſſary; Regeneration by it ſelf ſaves, Confirmation arms and ſtrengthens to fight, *&c.* And after this manner muſt the ſaying of the Council of *Orleance* be underſtood, that he that is baptized ſhall never be a chriſten'd Man, unleſs he be chriſten'd by the Confirmation of the Buſhoppe; and ſo by the words of the ſaid St. *Melchiades*, amongſt other things does appear, that one ſpecial effect of the Sacrament of Confirmation, is ghoſtly ſtrength to fight, which effect is alſo ſhew'd by divers other Writers.

My Lord of Ely.

Whether this Sacrament be a Sacrament of the New Teſtament inſtituted by Chriſt or no?

As touching this Sacrament of Confirmation, as 'tis now uſed, there is no expreſs mention made in the New Teſtament of the Inſtitution thereof by Chriſt; but the holy and ancient Fathers have taken it for a Sacrament of the New Teſtament, grounding themſelves upon the *Acts* of the Apoſtles.

What is the outward Sign and inviſible Graces which be conferr'd in the ſame?

The outward Sign is Impoſition of Hands or the anointing with Chriſm and the Prayer, and it is not to be doubted, but the Receivers of this Sacrament, receive ſuch Graces as be neceſſary for them (according to the Promiſe of Chriſt made unto the Church, and to the Miniſters of the ſame) even as it pleaſes him, *Qui dividit ſingulis prout vult*, as ſaith St. *Paul*, what Promiſes be made that the ſaid Graces ſhall be received by this Sacrament?

Reſponſ. ut ſupra.

The Impoſition of Hands derived from the Apoſtles time was not only given to Men of Years and Diſcretion, firſt examin'd by the Biſhop before the Congregation, of the Articles of their Faith, and promptneſs to profeſs the ſame againſt all Perſecutors; but alſo to Infants and Younglings, following the Example of Chriſt, which put his holy Hands upon the Infants pray'd for, and bleſt them.

As touching the Miniſters of this Sacrament, foraſmuch as in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles it appears that the Apoſtles *imponebant Manus*, and not *Philip* who baptized the *Samaritans*; therefore I think that the Biſhops which be called the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, be the convenient Miniſters; for ſo the Uſe hath obtained from the beginning, ſaith *Innocent*, who was long before *Gregory*'s time, who ſeems rather to permit that unto Prieſts for the avoiding of ſlander, than that it ſhould be their Office indeed to confirm.

The Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Bangor* and *Saliſbury*, are much the ſame; only the two latters Anſwers to the third Queſtion is,

That they find no Promiſe in Scripture for the Benefits commonly held to be annexed to this Sacrament: However, the Doctors, ſay they, affirm that in this Sacrament the Graces abovementioned are received.

Dr. *Wotton* is likewiſe of the Sentiment of the Biſhops firſt mention'd, Dr. *Barber* is of Opinion, that Confirmation is not inſtituted in Scripture, but then he believes it an Apoſtolical Tradition, and very beneficial to thoſe who receive it. Dr. *Marſhall* and Dr. *Cliff*, Dr. *Downes* and Dr. *Marmaduke*, are poſitive for its being inſtituted in the *New Teſtament*; but Dr. *Edmonds* is of the contrary Opinion.

Dr. *Robinſon*, and Dr. *Smith*, are of the ſame Opinion with the Doctors laſt nam'd.

Dr. *Buckmaſter*'s Opinion is as follows, *Cleop.* V. *fol.* 90.

Materia hujus Sacramenti eſt & propinqua & remota: Materia propinqua eſt Unctio facta in Fronte in Figura Crucis, cum Chriſmate ſanctificato:------ Materia remota eſt Chriſma compoſitum ex Oleo Olivæ & Balſamo, ſanctificatum ſpecialiter ab Epiſcopo; vel ab alio cui talis ſanctificatio committi poterit; quippe omnia Sacramenta quæ requirunt Miniſtrum determinatum & ſacratum, requirunt etiam materiam ſanctificatam, ſaltem in illo Sacramento ubi requiritur materia ſenſibilis: Per Oleum quod aliis liquoribus ſupereminet deſignatur Charitas, per Balſamum ſuaviter fragrans, Odor bonæ Famæ----- Forma hujus Sacramenti eſt talis. Conſigno te Signo Crucis, & confirmo te Chriſmate ſalutis, in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti; Signatur in parte determinata, nempe in Fronte, in ſignum quod deponet omnem erubeſcentiam ad audacter confitendum Chriſtum-----

And here it is to be noted, that before the Death of our Saviour Chriſt, there was no Confirmation Sacramental uſed; for as St. *John* ſaith in his Goſpel, *the Holy Ghoſt was not given, becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified*: And in another place he ſaith, *'Tis expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away the Comforter will not come to you; but if I go away I will ſend him unto you:* And allbeit that the Apoſtles received the Holy Ghoſt before the Day of *Pentecoſt*, yet did they then firſt receive him, *in Signum Sacramenti Confirmationis*, that is to ſay, in token of the Sacrament of Confirmation; what time the Holy Ghoſt appeared upon them in fiery Tongues, which fiery Tongues were a viſible and ſenſible Sign of the Holy Ghoſt then ſent and given unto them, to confirm and ſtabliſh them in Chriſt's Faith, *&c.*

And the reaſon why that Almighty God uſed this Sign here in this Sacrament was this; Firſt, he uſed this ſenſible Sign of Tongue, ſignifying by the ſame, that they ſhould be liberal of their Tongues to preach the Faith of Chriſt: And again, the Figure of a Tongue appeared in fire, to ſignify unto them, that they ſhould be hot and fervent in Charity; and that they ſhould not preach or teach the Faith of Chriſt for any Lucre or worldly Promotion. But only for the Love unto Chriſt, and for the Health of their Neighbours: And thus did Chriſt confirm his Apoſtles, giving unto them his manifold inward Graces; and alſo outward as it was then expedient for that time, by ſuch an outward and ſenſible Form or Sign; that is to ſay, a fiery Tongue, but after this, for as much as fire can't be applied unto a Man's Body without hurt; therefore in his place was taken Oyl, which is a thing and a matter next unto burning, and draws moſt nigh unto the Nature of Fire; having in it alſo a marvelous Clearneſs, which is a Quality appropriate unto the Fire: Furthermore in the ſtead of a Tongue, the Church uſes Balm, and that for this skill; for as Balm has a good and ſweet Savour, and preſerves from Corruption; ſo by the manifold Graces which be here conferr'd in this Sacrament, they that live and work according unto the ſame, have a ſweet and good Savour of a good Name and Fame before God, either by conſtant confeſſing and preaching of Chriſt's Faith, or elſe by the ſtrong reſiſting and vanquiſhing of his Enemies, the Devil, the Fleſh and the World; and ſo is alſo preſerved from the Corruption of Sin: And as touching theſe two, that is to ſay, Oyl and Balm, which we called before *Materiam hujus Sacramenti*, with holy Conſecrations of the ſame, which may be called *Myſterium Sacrum*; no doubt, but that as the moſt antient Doctors write, the Apoſtles of Chriſt by Chriſt's Authority did inſtitute and ordain the ſame: or elſe to ſpeak better, Chriſt did inſtitute them by his Apoſtles: Altho' that in the beginning for a certain ſeaſon, he might diſpenſe with them, that they ſhould not need to uſe ſuch matter, but only Prayers and Impoſition of their Hands, upon ſuch as they did confirm; and altho' mention of theſe, and ſuch other things, Rites and Ceremonies, which our Mother the Church uſeth not only in the Miniſtration of this Sacrament, but alſo in many of the other, is not had expreſly in *Scripture*, yet be all ſuch to be obſerved and fulfill'd by the Order of Apoſtolical Tradition; for as St. *Auſtin* writes, (*De fide & Operibus circa medium*) theſe things be not mention'd in *Scripture* which were commonly done, and yet by ſome things there, they may be underſtanded in the *Word*: Wherefore St. *Gregory* ſaith, (*Lib.* 7. *Regiſt. Epiſt.* 16.) that the Order of antient Cuſtom, and the Canons of the Church, are an Interpretation of all Doubts which be not expreſs'd in *Scripture*: wherefore albeit all things concerning and appertaining unto this Sacrament, be not expreſly had in *Scripture*, yet ought we reverently and obediently to accept and receive the ſame, foraſmuch as the Church, that is to ſay, the whole Multitude of Chriſtian People, hath ſo allowed and receiv'd them hitherto.

The Apoſtles laid their Hands upon thoſe who were baptiz'd, and they receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt, (*Acts* the *8th*) which thing they would never have attempted but only by *Revelation* and Precept of the Holy Ghoſt: and ſo that ſure Hope which they uſed in the miniſtring of this *Sacrament*, doth openly ſhew and argue, that the Holy Ghoſt had promiſed unto them that he would be ready to give his Grace unto them, which ſhou'd be confirm'd by them; upon whom for the ſame Cauſe they ſhould lay their Hands; and ſo it appears that the Holy Ghoſt which taught and alſo commanded the Apoſtles to uſe this outward Sign, did in like manner make a Promiſe to the worthy Receivers of the ſame.

The inward Graces (Rabanus.)

In undam Baptiſmi Spiritus Sanctus deſcendit ad habitationem Deo conſecrandam; in Confirmatione vero ejuſdem ſeptiformis Gratia cum omni plenitudine ſanctitatis & virtutis venit in hominem.

After this he cites the inſtance of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *John*, laying their Hands upon thoſe who were baptized in *Samaria*; And likewiſe that of St. *Paul*, with reference to thoſe at *Epheſus* above mention'd.

Num. L.

A Copy of the Letters Patent which were to have been ſign'd by King Henry *the Eighth for giving Authority to a Book entitled,* Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, ac in Terris Anglicanæ ſub Deo Caput ſupremum, omnibus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Clericis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, Generoſis, ac aliis cujuſcunque generis Hominibus, Subditis & Ligiis noſtris, per Regnum noſtrum, & Dominia noſtra ubilibet commorantibus, ſalutem & Evangelicæ Veritatis incrementum. Cùm vos optimi Cives mei mihiq; chariſſimi, me nunc unum atque ſolum hujus Regni Principem; in terriſque ſecundum Deum hujus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ unicum ſupremumque Caput, quemadmodum divini atque humani Juris ratio poſtulat, Poteſtatemque tàm Eccleſiaſticæ qtàm Mundanæ Politiæ mihi, Majoribuſque meis, ipſo Jure divino conceſſam, (verum multis ſæculis unius Romani Epiſcopi malitia, fraude, dolis, atque aſtutia ereptam) ad me & Succeſſores meos pertinere unâ voce, uno omnium ſenſu agnoſcitis: Non poſſum indies magis magiſque muneris, atque Officii mei rationem non habere, deque illuſtrandâ Dei Gloriâ, de Chriſtianæ Pietatis vera Doctrina propaganda, de Imperii hujus incolumitate, & quiete tuendâ, ſumma animi cura, atque cogitatione non eſſe ſollicitus. Occurrunt enim ſubindè animo meo verba illa quæ ſapientiæ, cap. 7. habentur ad hunc modum. Audite Reges, & intelligite, *quoniam data eſt à Domino poteſtas vobis, & virtus ab Altiſſimo, qui interrogabit opera veſtra, & ſcrutabitur cogitationes, ad vos ergo Reges ſunt hi Sermones mei, ut diſcatis Sapientiam, & nè excidatis. Qui enim cuſtodiunt Juſtitiam, juſtè judicabuntur, & qui didicerunt juſta, invenient quid reſpondeant*, &c. Hinc facile perſpici poteſt, exactiſſimè à Regibus Poteſtatis ſuæ reddendam eſſe rationem, illoſque graviſſimos manere pœnas, ſi non, ut oportuit, in Republica adminiſtranda ſeſe geſſerint.

Londini ex Officina Johannis Day. An. 1571.

Quod ſi tanta cura, ac ſolicitudine quibuſcunque Regibus opus eſt, quam anxios ac ſollicitos Chriſtianos Reges eſſe debere cenſendum eſt, quibus non Politia modo Civilis, ſed Eccleſiaſtica etiam Poteſtas data eſt? Hos enim non tantum quæ ad humanam Societatem pertinent, ſed etiam quæ Divinæ Chriſtianæque Religioni maximè conſentanea ſunt, curare neceſſe eſt; præſentem hujus ſæculi fœlicitatem Principes Chriſtianos ita metiri convenit ut hac poteſtate ſua ad Dei cultum dilatandum utantur, ut in hoc incumbant, ut recta Doctrina propagetur, orneturque Dei Gloria.

Cùm igitur à Chriſtianis Regibus juſtitiam in Imperio, Pacis tuendæ Curam, Pietatem, ſtudium juvandæ & ornandæ Religionis Chriſtianæ exigi animadverterem, nihil mihi potiùs eſſe debere judicabam, quam ut omnes inirem rationes, quo minus in hoc meo Regno hæc à me deſiderentur, & quoad poſſem, muneri impoſito ſatisfacerem: Hoc ut facilius expeditiuſque præſtare valeam, non ignoratis vos, quantam curam adhibuerim in illis rebus promovendis, tuendiſque quæ huic negotio maximè conducere atque adjumento eſſe videbantur. Quæ contra impedire atque obeſſe viſa ſunt, quanto ſtudio tollere, ac delere conatus ſum, aſſidueque conor. Abunde enim vobis declaratum hactenus fuit, quam in hac noſtra Britannia, multis verò ſæculis, Epiſcopi Romani vis injuſta ac non ferenda, ſacroſancto divino nomini inimica fuit, quantopere Religioni Chriſtianæ veræ Doctrinæ propagandæ adverſata eſt, quantum hujus Reipublicæ Pacem ac Tranquillitatem ſæpiſſimè interturbavit, Poteſtatemque Regiam divinitus conſtitutam labefactando, omnium Obedientiam, à vero ac juſto Principis ſui Imperio, contra omne Jus divinum & humanum ad ſe transferre auſus eſt. Hujus poteſtatem hic cum divino munere ſublatam eſſe manifeſtum eſt, nè quid ſupereſſet, quo non planè fractam illius vim eſſe conſtaret, Leges omnes, decreta atque inſtituta, quæ ab Authore Epiſcopo Romano profecta ſunt, prorſus abroganda cenſuimus. Quorum loco, ut facilius in poſterum Dei Optimi Maximi Gloria illuſtretur, & vera Philoſophia Chriſtiana, Regnumque Chriſti vigere poſſit, & quo omnia decenter, & ordine in Chriſti hac Eccleſia gerantur: En vobis autoritate noſtrâ editas Leges damus, quas à vobis omnibus ſuſcipi, coli, & obſervari volumus, & ſub noſtræ indignationis Pœnâ mandamus, ut veſtra in Deum Pietas, amor ergà Patriam, Principemque veſtrum obedientia, non ſine immenſa Divini Nominis Gloria omnibus conſpicua ſit, ac voſmetipſos non minus de veſtris rationibus ſollicitos oſtendatis, quam ego veſtra cauſa de Officio fuerim meo, ſtrictè præcipientes, ut his noſtris Conſtitutionibus, vos omnes & ſinguli, tam in Judiciis, quam in Gymnaſiis, utamini, ſeverè prohibentes, nè quiſquam veſtrum alias præter has, & Regni noſtri Leges admittere præſumat. Valete.

Num. LI.

Part of King Henry *the Eighth's Laſt Will and Teſtament relating to Matters of Religion.*

Fuller *Church Hiſtory Book* v. *pag.* 243.

IN the Name of God and of the glorious and bleſſed Virgin our Lady St. *Mary*, and of all the holy Company of Heaven: We *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, &c. moſt humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our Soul to Almighty God who in the Perſon of the Son redeem'd the ſame with his moſt precious Body and Blood in time of his Paſſion. And for our better remembrance thereof, has left here with us in his Church militant the Conſecration and Adminiſtration of his precious Body and Blood to our no little Conſolation and Comfort, if we as thankfully accept the ſame, as he lovingly and undeſervedly on Man's behalf, hath ordain'd it for our only Benefit and not his.

Alſo we do inſtantly require and deſire the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* his Mother, with all the holy Company of Heaven continually to pray for us whilſt we live in this World, and in the time of paſſing out of the ſame, that we may the ſooner attain everlaſting Life after our departure out of this tranſitory Life, which we do both hope and claim by Chriſt's Paſſion. ----

We alſo will and ſpecially deſire and require, that where and whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call us out of this tranſitory World to his infinite Mercy and Grace, be it beyond the Sea, or in any other place without our Realm of *England*, or within the ſame, that our Executors, as ſoon as they conveniently may, ſhall cauſe all divine Service accuſtom'd for dead Folks to be celebrated for us, in the next and moſt proper place where it ſhall fortune us to depart out of this tranſitory Life; and ever that we will that whenſoever and whereſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call us out of this tranſitory Life to his infinite Mercy and Grace, be it within the Realm or without, that our Executors in as goodly, brief and convenient haſt as they reaſonably can or may order, prepare and cauſe our Body to be remov'd, convey'd and brought into the ſaid College of *Windſor*, and the Service of *Placebo & Dirige*, with a Sermon and Maſs on the Morrow at our Coſts and Charges devoutly to be done, obſerv'd and ſolemnly kept, there to be buried and interr'd in the Place appointed for our ſaid Tomb to be made for the ſame intent, and all this to be done in as devout wiſe as can or may be; and we will and charge our Executors, that they diſpoſe and give Alms to the moſt poor and needy People, that may be found, common Beggars as much as may be avoided, in as ſhort ſpace as poſſibly they may after our Departure out of this tranſitory Life, One Thouſand Marks of lawful Money of *England*, part in the ſame place, and thereabout where it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to call us to his Mercy, partly by the way, and part in the ſame place of our Burial after their Diſcretions; and to move the poor People that ſhall have our Alms to pray heartily unto God for the Remiſſion of our Offences, and the Wealth of our Soul.

And we will that with as convenient ſpeed as may be done after our Departure out of this World (if it be not done in our Life) that the Dean and Canons of our free Chapel of St. *George* within our Caſtle of *Windſor* ſhall have Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Spiritual Promotion to the yearly Value of vi C. Pounds over all Charges made ſure to them and to their Succeſſors for ever upon theſe Conditions hereafter enſuing, and for the due Accompliſhment and full Performance of all other things contain'd with the ſame in the Form of an Indenture, ſign'd with our own Hand, which ſhall be paſs'd by way of Covenant for that purpoſe between the ſaid Dean and Canons, and our Executors, (if it paſs not between us and the ſaid Dean and Canons in our Life) that is to ſay, the ſaid Dean and Canons, and their Succeſſors for ever, ſhall find two Prieſts to ſay Maſſes at the ſaid Altar, to be made where we have before appointed our Tomb to be made and ſtand.

And alſo after our Deceaſe keep yearly four ſolemn Obits for us within the ſaid College of *Windſor*, and at every of the ſame Obits to cauſe a ſolemn Sermon to be made, and alſo at every of the ſaid Obits to give to poor People in Alms ten Pounds, and alſo to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor Men, which ſhall be called poor Knights, to every of them twelve Pence a Day, and once in the Year yearly for ever a long Gown of white Cloth, with the Garter upon the Breaſt embroyder'd with a Shield and Croſs of St. *George* within the Garter, and a Mantle of red Cloth, and to ſuch one of the thirteen poor Knights, as ſhall be appointed to be Head and Governor over them, iii *l.* vi *s.* viii *d.* yearly for ever over and beſide the xii *d.* by the Day. And alſo to cauſe every Sunday in the Year for ever a Sermon to be made at *Windſor* aforeſaid, as in the ſaid Indenture and Covenant ſhall be more fully and particularly expreſſed, willing, charging and requiring our Son Prince *Edward*, all our Executors and Counſellors, which ſhall be named hereafter, and all other our Heirs and Succeſſors, which ſhall be Kings of this Realm, as they will anſwer before God Almighty at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that they, and every of them, do ſee that the ſaid Indenture and Aſſurance to be made between us and the ſaid Dean and Canons, or between them and our Executors, and all things therein contain'd, may be duly put in Execution, and obſerv'd and kept for ever perpetually according to this our Laſt Will and Teſtament.

Num. LII.

The Order for the Coronation of King Edward. Sunday Feb. 13. *at the* Tower, &c.

Council Book. *Biſhop* Burnet *part* 2. *Records, pag.* 93.

THIS Day the Lord Protector, and others his Executors, whoſe Names be hereunto aſcrib'd, upon mature and deep Deliberation had among them, did finally reſolve, that foraſmuch as divers of the old Obſervances and Ceremonies aforetimes uſed at the Coronations of the Kings of this Realm, were by them thought meet, for ſundry Reſpects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the ſame, which ſhould weary and be hurtſome peradventure to the King's Majeſty, being yet of tender Age, fully to endure and bide out. And alſo for that many points of the ſame were ſuch as by the Laws of the Realm at this preſent were not allowable. The King's Majeſty's Coronation ſhould be done and celebrated upon *Shrove Sunday* next enſuing, in the Cathedral Church of *Weſtminſter*, after the Form and Order enſuing.

Firſt; The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall ſhew the King to the People at four parts of the great Pulpit or Stage to be made for the King, and ſhall ſay on this wiſe; *Sirs, here I preſent King* Edward, *rightful and undoubted Inheritor, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Royal Dignity, and Crown Imperial of this Realm, whoſe Conſecration, Inunction and Coronation, is appointed by all the Nobles and Peers of this Land to be this Day. Will ye ſerve at this time, and give your good Wills and Aſſents to the ſame Conſecration, Inunction, and Coronation, as by your Duty of Allegiance ye are bound to do?*

The People to anſwer, *Yea, yea, yea*; *King* Edward, *King* Edward, *King* Edward.

This done, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being reveſted as he ſhould go to *Maſs*, with the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter*, on both ſides, with other Biſhops, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, in the Biſhops abſence, to go in order before the King; The King ſhall be brought from his Seat by them that aſſiſted him to the Church to the High Altar, where after his Prayer made to God for his Grace, he ſhall offer a Pall and a Pound of Gold, twenty four Pounds in Coin, which ſhall be to him deliver'd by the Lord Great Chamberlain. Then ſhall the King fall groveling before the Altar, and over him the Archbiſhop ſhall ſay this Collect, *Deus Humilium*, &c. Then the King ſhall riſe and go to his Chair, to be prepared before the Altar, his Face to the Altar, and ſtanding, one ſhall hold him a Book; and the Archbiſhop ſtanding before the King, ſhall aſk him, with a loud and diſtinct Voice, in manner and form following;

Will ye grant to the People of England, *and others your Realms and Dominions, the Laws and Liberties of this Realm, and others your Realms and Dominions?*

I grant and promiſe.

You ſhall keep, to your Strength and Power, to the Church of God, and to all the People, holy Peace and Concord.

I ſhall keep.

You ſhall make to be done, after your Strength and Power, equal and rightful Juſtice in all your Dooms and Judgments, with Mercy and Truth.

I ſhall do.

Do you grant to make no Laws, but ſuch as ſhall be to the Honour and Glory of God, and to the Good of the Commonwealth: And that the ſame ſhall be made by the Conſent of your People, as hath been accuſtom'd?

I grant and promiſe.

Then ſhall the King riſe out of his Chair, and by them that before aſſiſted him, be led to the High Altar, where he ſhall make a ſolemn Oath upon the Sacrament, laid upon the ſaid Altar, in the ſight of all the People, to obſerve the Premiſſes; And laying his Hand again on the Book, ſhall ſay,

The things which I have before promiſed I ſhall obſerve and keep. So God help me; and thoſe holy Evangeliſts by me bodily touch'd upon this holy Altar.

That done, the King ſhall fall again groveling before the High Altar, and the ſaid Archbiſhop kneeling before him ſhall, with a loud Voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſtanding, ſhall ſay over the King, *Te invocamus*; and at the end ſhall kneel again, and then ſhall the King riſe and be ſet in the Chair again; and after a little pauſe he ſhall riſe, and aſſiſted with thoſe that did before that Office, go again to the High Altar, where he ſhall be uncloathed by his great Chamberlain, unto his Coat of crimſon Satin; which, and alſo his Shirt, ſhall be open'd before and behind on the Shoulders, and the bowght of the Armes, by the ſaid great Chamberlain, to the intent that on thoſe Places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, muſt hold a Pall over him. And firſt, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall anoint the King, kneeling, in the Palms of his Hands, ſaying theſe Words, *Ungas Manus*; with this Collect, *Reſpice Omnipotens Deus*. After he ſhall anoint him in the Breaſt, in the midſt of his Back, on his two bowghts of his Armes, and on his Head making a Croſs; and after making another Croſs on his Head, with holy Chriſm, ſaying, as he anointeth the places aforeſaid, *Ungatur Caput, ungantur Scapulæ*, &c. During which time of Unction, the Choir ſhall continually ſing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the Pſalm, *Domine in Virtute tuâ lætabitur Rex*. And it is to be remembred, that the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, after the King's Inunction, ſhall dry all the Places of his Body, where he was anointed, with Cotton or ſome linnen Cloath, which is to be burnt. And furthermore, the Places open'd for the ſame, is to be cloath'd by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and on the King's Hand ſhall be put, by the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a pair of linnen Gloves, which the Lord Great Chamberlain ſhall before ſee prepar'd.

This done, the King ſhall riſe, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall put on the King a Tabert of *Tanterton-white*, ſhaped in manner of a *Dalmatic*; and he ſhall put on the King's Head a Quoif, the ſame to be brought by the Great Chamberlain. Then the King ſhall take the Sword he was girt withall, and offer it himſelf to God, laying it on the Altar, in token that his Strength and Power ſhould firſt come from God. And the ſame Sword he ſhall take again from the Altar, and deliver to ſome great Earl, to be redeem'd of the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter* for 100 *s.* which Sword ſhall be born naked afterwards before the King.

Then the King being ſet in his Chair before the Altar, ſhall be crown'd with St. *Edward*'s Crown; and there ſhall be brought, by the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Royal Sandals and Spurs to be preſently put on by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and the Spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the Archbiſhop, with all the Peers and Nobles, ſhall convey the King, ſuſtain'd as before, again into the Pulpit, ſetting him in his ſiege Royal; and then ſhall the Archbiſhop begin, *Te Deum laudamus*; which done, the Archbiſhop ſhall ſay unto the King, *Sta & retine amodo Locum.* And the King being thus ſet, all the Peers of the Realm, and Biſhops, holding up their Hands, ſhall make unto him Homage as followeth: Firſt, the Lord Protector alone, then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor, ſo two and two as they be plac'd.

I. N. *Become your Liege Man, of Life and Limb, and of earthly Worſhip, and Faith, and Truth, I ſhall bear unto you, againſt all manner of Folkes, as I am bound by my Allegiance, and by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. So help us God and Allhallowes.* And then every one ſhall kiſs the King's left Cheek: Which done, all they holding up their Hands together, in token of their Fidelity, ſhall with one Voice on their Knees ſay, *We offer to ſuſtain and defend you and your Crown, with our Lives, and Lands, and Goods, againſt all the World.* And then with one Voice to cry, *God ſave King* Edward; which the People ſhall cry accordingly; Then ſhall the King be led to his

vide p 59

Travers to hear the *High Maſs*, and ſo depart home crown'd in Order, as he ſet forth accordingly.

E. Hertford.
T. Cantuarien.
Tho. Wriotheſley, Cancell.
W. St. John.
J. Ruſſel.
John Liſle.
Cuth. Dureſme.
Anthony Brown.
W. Paget.
Anthony Denny.
W. Herbert.

Num. LIII.

An Inhibition directed to the Biſhop of London *by the King's Commiſſaries for a General and Regal Viſitation, together with a Citation for the ſaid Biſhop to appear before the Viſitors.*

Regiſt. Bonner, fol. 109. Aug. the 20*th* An. Dom. 1547.

ANtonius Cook Miles, Johannes Godſalve Miles, Johannes Goſnald Armiger, Chriſtopherus Neviſon L. L. D, & Johannes Maydew S. T. Profeſſor Illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto Principis & Domini noſtri Domini Edvardi Sexti, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis Fidei Defenſoris, & in Terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hybernicæ ſupremi Capitis, Commiſſarii generales, necnon ad viſitandum univerſas & ſingulas Civitates & Diœceſes Weſtmonaſterienſem, Londinenſem, Norwicenſem, & Elyenſem, Clerumque & Populum eorundem, dicti Domini Regis noſtri legitimè autoritate ſupremâ fulciti, Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Domino Edmundo Londonienſi Epiſcopo, ſalutem.

Cùm dictus Illuſtriſſimus Princeps per Literas ſuas Commiſſionales ſupremâ Authoritate ſuâ Regiâ nobis inter alia Autoritatem commiſerit; quatenus vos Eccleſiamque veſtram Cathedralem Divi Pauli Londinenſ. Necnon Clerum & Populum univerſæ veſtræ London. Dioceſios, tam in locis exemptis quam non exemptis commorantes, viſitemus. Cæteraque omnia & ſingula quæ ad Viſitationem ſuam generalem pertinent peragamus & expediamus. Nos igitur ejus Sereniſſimæ Majeſtatis juſſibus maturè fideliter, citoque parere, obedire, eademque cum omni diligentia perimplere ſtudentes, ac vos & Eccleſiam veſtram Cathedralem prædictam, necnon Decanum & Capitulum ejuſdem, Clerumque & Populum dictæ veſtræ London. Dioceſios univerſum adjuvante Domino propediem viſitare, & defectus inibi repertos Correctione & Reformatione neceſſariâ indigentes, corrigere, priſtinoque ſtatui pro viribus reſtituere & reſtaurare authoritate proponentes. Dictæ Paternitati veſtræ tenore præſentium inhibemus; & per vos Decanis, Archidiaconis, Cancellariis, Commiſſariis, Officialibus, cæteriſque omnibus & ſingulis quocunque & quibuſcunque nomine aut nominibus cenſeantur, infra aut per univerſam Dioceſim veſtram Juriſdictionem aliquam Eccleſiaſticam exercentibus, quorum intereſt aut intererit in hac parte inhiberi volumus & mandamus, nè a tempore receptionis præſentium Juriſdictionem aliquam alicubi infra Dioceſim veſtram in locis exemptis vel non exemptis exerceatis, illorumve aliquis exerceat, quicquamve aliud in præjudicium ſive diſpendium hujus Viſitationis Regiæ qvovis modo attemptetis, illorumve aliquis attemptet, aut ab aliis attemptari faciatis aut permittatis, illive faciant aut permittant. Voſque præfatum Reverendum Patrem Edmundum London. Epiſcopum tenore præſentium peremptoriè citamus, Decanumq; & Capitulum, cæteroſq; Eccleſiæ veſtræ Cathedralis prædictæ Miniſtros, Canonicos, Præbendarios, Cantariſtas, Stipendiarios, & Officiarios quoſcunq; per vos citari peremptoriè volumus & mandamus, quatenus peremptoriè coram nobis ipſi compareatis, compareantque illi & eorum quilibet in Domo Capitulari Eccleſiæ Cathedralis prædictæ quinto die menſis Septembris inter horas octavam & decimam ante meridiem extunc proximè futuri, cum continuatione & prorogatione dierum extunc ſequentium, dictæ Sereniſſimæ Majeſtatis Regiæ Viſitationem tunc & ibidem ſuprema Autoritate Regiâ exercendam debitè & in omnibus ſubituri; Fundationes, Dotationes, Chartas, Idotamenta, Conceſſiones, Compotus, Statuta, Ordinationes, Regiſtra, cæteraque id genus omnia & ſingula, vos, illoſque ac dicti Epiſcopatus Eccleſiæque veſtræ ſtatum concernentia; Scripta inſuper alia ac Munimenta ---- quæcunq; Licentias, Inſtallationes, Collationes, Inſtitutiones, Uniones, Ordinum Literas, Diſpenſationes, Pluralitates, Conceſſiones omnes & omnimodas vobis aut veſtræ Eccleſiæ factas & conceſſas, nobis tunc & ibidem oſtenſuri & exhibituri; ulteriuſque facturi & recepturi, quod hujuſmodi Viſitationis Regiæ qualitas, natura & juſtitia poſtulant, exigunt requiruntque, ſub pœna contemptûs in ea parte vobis illiſque infligend. Mandamus inſuper Autoritate Regiâ prædicta & firmiter injungendo præcipimus tam vobis dicto Reverendo Patri Edmundo London. Epiſcopo quam cæteris omnibus & ſingulis Decanis, Archidiaconis, & Officiariis quibuſcunque Juriſdictionem aliquam Eccleſiaſticam infra Dioceſim veſtram in locis exemptis & non exemptis exercentibus, quatenus citetis aut citari faciatis peremptoriè omnes & ſingulos Collegiorum Cuſtodes, Guardianos, Proprietarios, Præpoſitos, Ludimagiſtros, Rectores, Vicarios, Cantariſtas, Canonicos, Stipendiarios, Curatos & non Curatos, ac Clericos quoſcunque tàm exemptos quam non exemptos, infra Dioceſin veſtram dictam celebrantes, & qualiacunque Beneficia, Dignitates, Promotiones, Servitia, Penſiones, ſive Portiones Eccleſiaſticas quomodolibet obtinentes. Necnon de ſingulis Parochiis tam exemptis quam non exemptis octo, ſex, vel quatuor Viros Laicos Fide inter cæteros digniſſimos, pro modulo cujuſlibet Parochiæ hujuſmodi ſuper inquirend. ab iiſdem meliorem notitiam habentes, quatenus compareant & eorum quilibet compareat coram nobis diebus, locis, & temporibus, in Schedula præſentibus annexa, contentis, Juramentum Fidelitatis & Obedientiæ erga ipſum Dominum noſtrum Regem, Hæredes & Succeſſores ſuos gerendæ, deque renuenda, renunncianda, rejicienda, abjuranda, penituſque abneganda Epiſcopi Romani crudeli, prætenſa, uſurpata, diabolica, & ficta in Regnum ſuum Angliæ, ejuſdemque Dominia Authoritate & Juriſdictione. Et quæcunque alia licita Sacramenta in ea parte præſtari requiſita juxta Statutorum hujus Regni Angliæ in hac parte nuper in Parliamento Anno præchariſſimi Patris ſui Henrici Octavi viceſimo octavo tento Editorum vim, tenorem, & effectum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia præſtituri, & ſubituri per ſeipſos, niſi gravi, arduo & legitimo Impedimento coram nobis Commiſſariis antedictis, diebus & locis prædictis allegand' & proband', alioquin per Procuratores ſuos legitimè conſtitutos Mandatum ſufficiens ad præmiſſa habentes, Titulos, Dignitatem ac Beneficiorum ſuorum ac Fundationes & Ordinationes Cantariarum, Collegiorum, Hoſpitalium, Liberarum, Capellarum, ac Promotionum ſuarum Eccleſiaſticarum quarumcunque, necnon Literas Ordinum, Diſpenſationes, Gratias, Licentias, Exemptiones, in Capellanos Magnatum Admiſſiones, Pluralitates, & Privilegia (ſi quæ habeant) reſpectivè exhibituri. Procurationeſque ratione dictæ Viſitationis ſuæ Majeſtati debitas ſoluturi. Dictique Parochiani veritatem quam noverint, ſuperinquirendis ab eiſdem Viſitationem Regiam hujuſmodi concernent: dicturi. Necnon ea quæ ex parte dicti Domini Regis tunc & ibidem illis proponentur audituri, ulteriuſque facturi & recepturi quod hujuſmodi Viſitationis Regiæ Qualitas, Natura, & Officium de ſe exigunt & requirunt. Necnon Executores Teſtamentorum ſive aliorum quorumcunque ab Inteſtat' ſive per viam Inteſtat' decedentium, infra dictam Dioceſin veſtram tam in locis exemptis quam non exemptis, quod diebus & locis prædictis coram nobis compareant, & eorum quilibet compareat perſonaliter Teſtamenta ipſorum defunctorum, ſi quæ condiderint exhibituri & probaturi, illaque per nos approbari & inſinuari, petituri & audituri; ac onus Executionis in ſe ſuſcepturi vel refutaturi. De diebus verò Receptionis præſentium, Executioniſve veſtræ, ac modo & forma ejuſdem, deque omnium & ſingulorum qui per vos citati & evocati fuerint nominibus & cognominibus Dignitatumque ſuarum Eccleſiaſticarum titulis nos in quadam Schedula Literis veſtris certificatoriis pro quolibet Decanatu infra Dioceſin & Archidiaconatum veſtrum per vos faciendis & præſentibus annexandis, ſingulis diebus & locis quibus Decanatûs prædicti Authoritate noſtra prædicta viſitati fuerint, ut in dicta Schedula exprimitur, unâ cum vero & perfecto Libro, Regiſtro, ſive Rotulo omnium & ſingularum Procurationum de qualibet Eccleſia infra dictam Dioceſin veſtram exeuntium & debitarum diſtinctè, clarè, certè, & abſque aliquâ ambiguitate certificetis ſeu certificari faciatis per Literas veſtras Patentes harum ſeriem continentes ante ſigillatas.

In cujus rei teſtimonium Sigillum quo in hâc parte utimur præſentibus apponi fecimus.

Dat. London. viceſimo die menſis Auguſti Anno Domini 1547.

Johannes Godſalve.
Chriſtoferus Nevinſon.

Num. LIV.

The Bedes, or the antient Form of Bidding Prayer.

Harmar, *Page 166.*

YE ſhulle ſtonde up and bydde your Bedys in the worſhepe of oure Lord Jheſu Criſt, and his Moder Seynte Marye, and of all the holy Companye of Hevenne. Ye ſhulle alſo bydde for the Stat of holy Cherche, for the Pope of *Rome* and of his Cardinalis, for the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, for the Holy Lond, and for the Holy Croys, that Jheſu Criſt ſendt it out of Hedne Mennys hond, into Criſtin Mennys honde. And ye ſhulle bydde for the Erchebiſchop of *Canterburie*, for the Biſcop of *Worceſtrie* our Goſtlie Fader, and all odir Biſcopis, ye ſhall bydde for Abbotes, for Priouris, for Monkis, for Chanounis, for Frieris, for Aneris, for Heremytis, and for alle the Religiouns. Ye ſhall bydde for alle the Preſtis, and Cleerkis that heerine ſeurit and haugty Servit. Ye ſhall bidde for the Pees of the *Londe*, that Jheſu Chriſt hold it that it is, and ſendyt that it nys. Ye ſhall bidde for the King of *England*, for the Queene and for alle her Childryne; for Prince for Dukis, for Yerles, for Barounis, and for the Knytis of this Lond, and for alle her good Counſale and her trewe Servauntis. Ye ſhulle bidde for hem, that the Stat of holy Churche, and of this Lond be well meintein'd. Ye ſhall bidde for the Wederynge, and for the Cornis, and for the Frutys, that beet ikaſt on Herde and on Erthe growynge, and for alle the trewe Erth tyliaris, that God ſende ſwic Wedering fro Hevene to Erthe, that it be hym to convenynge and Mankend to helpe of Lif and Savicion of howre Sawls. Ye ſhall bydde for the Perſown of this Churche and for all his Pariſchons that ben heere other elles war, in Londe, othere in Watre: That our Lord Jheſu Criſt ham ſhilde and warde from alle Myſowneris, and grauntte hem part of alle the Bedys and good Deedis that ben deed in holy Churche. Ye ſhall bidde for hem, that in gwode way beet iwent, odir wendyt, odir thenkit, to wen the heere ſennys to bote; that oure Lord Jheſu Criſt wold warde and ſhilde from alle Myſauntrys, and gronte han ſo goon and comen that it be him to worſhipe, and ham in remiſſioun of heere Sennys, for ham and for oos and alle Chriſtine Folke. *Pater noſter*, *Deus miſereatur noſtri*, *Kyrie eleiſon*, &c. Alſo ye ſhulle bidde for the gwode Man and the gwoode Wyf, that the Charitie hider brocke to Day, and for ham that it firſt voondryn and longeſt holden. Ye ſhull bidde for ham, that this Churche honoure with Booke, with Belle, with Veſtiment, with Twaile, odir with Light, odir with eny odir Ournement to Roof odir to Grounde, with Londe, odir with Rente. Ye ſhall bid for all thilke that bet in good lyve, that God the Reinne ham hold longe, and for thilke that bet in evele lyve, other in dedlick Sinne y bounde, that oure Lord Jheſu Chriſt ham out brenge, and given ham forgeveneſſe of har Sennes. Ye ſhall bid for thilke that to God and to holi Chirche trewliche tethegeuren, that God tham wite and warde from all Miſaintre; and for all thilke that evyl tethegeuren that God ham geve Grace of Amendment, that him ne falle naght in the grete Sentence. Ye ſhall bydde for alle the Seeke of this Pariſche, that oure Lorde hem gyve ſive heele and helpe of Bodi and of Sowle for ham, and for us, and for alle Criſten Men and Wymmen for Charite, *Pater noſter*, &c. Ye ſhulle knelen adoun, and bydde for Faders Sawle, for Moders Sawle, for Godfaders Sawle, for Godmoders Sawle, for Godchildrens Sawles, and for all the Sawles of oure Bredryn and Sooſters Sawles, and for all the Sawles, that we bet in Dette for to bid therefore, and for alle the Sawlys that beet in Purgatoree; that God ham brenge the radyr out of har peynys thorg the byſeching of our bone. Ye ſhulle bidde for alle the Sawlys hwos Bonys reſtyn in this place; for all Sawles hwos Mendeday beet yholde in this Churche othere ein other by the Yere. *De Profundis*, *Kyrie eleiſon*, *Pater noſter*, *&c.* *Amen.*

Num. LV.

A Form of Procuratorial Powers, with which thoſe who repreſented the Convents, or inferior Clergy, were furniſh'd with to ſit in Parliament.

Ann. Dom. 1295. *Dr.* Atterbury's *Rights, Powers,* &c. *of an Engliſh Convocation, Appendix. Num. xi.*

OMnibus Chriſti Fidelibus ad quos præſentes Litteræ pervenerint, H. Permiſſione Divinâ Prior & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Chriſti Cant. Sal. in Domino Sempiternam. Noverit Univerſitas veſtra quod nos facimus, conſtituimus, & ordinamus dilectos nobis in Chriſto Fratres *G.* de *Chylebam* & *R.* de *Clyve* Commonachos noſtros veros & Legitimos Procuratores noſtros conjunctim & diviſim, dantes eiſdem & eorum alteri Poteſtatem *tractandi*, *ordinandi*, & *faciendi* cum *Prælatis* & *Proceribus* & aliis Regni Angliæ *Incolis*, in *Inſtanti Parliamento* Domini E. Regis Angliæ Illuſtris, die Dominica proximè poſt feſtum Sti. Andreæ Apoſtoli proximè futurum apud Weſtm. qualiter ſit dicti Domini Regis & Regni ſui ac etiam totius Communitatis ejuſdem, Periculis & maliciis excogitatis, quatenus eſt licitum, ſalubrius obviandum. Ratum habituri quicquid per prædictos Procuratores noſtros, ſeu alterum ipſorum Tractatum, Ordinatum ſeu factum fuerit in Præmiſſis. Dat. in Capitulo X. Cal. Dec.

Regiſt. *Henr. Prior, F.* 67.

Num. LVI.

Anſwer to certain Arguments rayſed from ſuppoſed Antiquity, and practiſed by ſome Members of the Lower Houſe of Parliament, to prove that Eccleſiaſtical Laws ought to be enacted by Temporal Men, R. B. C.

Paper-Office.

WHAT beſide ſelf regaurd or ſydeing Faction, hath been the main Reaſon of the *Lower Lay Houſe* laboure in Parliament to deal in Lawes of the *Church*, the milder Members have yielded a Right which they would maintain by former Preſident, rayſeing the ſame from

Reaſons out of Preſidents. Imperial Conſtitution. Saxon *Laws. Acts in Parliament.*

1. Primitive Uſe } professing the { 1. *Rom.* Empire.
2. Middle Practiſe } ſame Warrant { 2. *Saxon* Kings.
3. Interrupted } by the Laws { 3. *Engliſh Parli-*
Continuance } of the { *aments* ſo to do.

Which ſince it may rayſe a Prejudice to the *Churches* Peace, or to Sovereigns Power unoppoſed, I will make way in a Word or two to the better Anſwer, of ſome other Pen. What they ſay is not to be denyed, that in the Courſe of Civil Laws under the Chriſtian Emperors, there be often Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, and in the *Councils* of the Church (frequent) the Sovereign's Power, and ſometimes the preſence of Lay Miniſters, yet may their Aſſertion admit to the firſt, this Anſweare of *Juſtinian.*

Juſtinian.

Principes ſapientum Epiſcoporum monita pro fide & Religione Chriſtiana leges Synodicis Canonibus conformes edidere rectè, indicantes ſacerdotum ſanctiones merito Majeſtatis Regiæ nutu roborari; ſo that theſe Decrees of the Civil Laws, will prove but Confirmatives of former Cannons, as may be gathered by that of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, Emperors, who wrote to *Palladius*, their *Prefæctus Prætorio*, that all *Conſtitutions* that were againſt the Cannons of the Church, ſhould ſtand void. And to the ſecond, that their Preſence was to dignifie not to diſpute; the Direction proveth, that the Emperor *Theodoſius* gave to *Candidianus* (an Earl, by him to the *Epheſian* Council ſent) *non ut Queſtiones ſeu Expoſitiones communicaret, cum ſit illicitum eum qui non ſit in Ordine Sanctiſſimorum Epiſcoporum Eccleſiaſticis tractatibus intermiſceri.* And *Valentinian* the Elder, tho' he was petitioned by the Biſhops to be preſent at their Synode, ſaid, *ſibi qui unus è Laicorum numero eſſet, non licere hujuſmodi negotiis ſe interponere*: And by the Council of *Carthage* and *African*, likewiſe it appeared, that even Princes would intermeddle with theſe Matters.

Tripartita Hiſtoria.

Diſtin. 19. cap.

Nicephorus.

Concil. Carthage.

Concil. Affrican.

But then 'twas, *Sæpius rogati ab Epiſcopis*; and the Emperor *Gratian* taught, as *Zozimus* ſaith, *Laicos nihil poteſtatis in res Eccleſiaſticas poſſe ſibi vendicare*; and the former Emperor enacted, *in Cauſa Eccleſiaſtici alicujus ordinis, eum judicare, debere qui nec munere impar eſt, nec in jure diſſimilis: Sacerdotes de Sacerdotibus judicare*, according to that Saying of *Conſtantine* the Great, *vos enim adeo, nobis dati eſtis dii, & conveniens non eſt ut homo judicet Deos.*

Zozimus.

Ambroſe. l. 5. Epiſt. 32.

Ruffin. Eccleſ. Hiſt.

Thus then ſtood the practiſe of the primitive Truth, which when it was in thoſe Times otherwiſe, as under *Conſtantius* the *Arrian.*

Athanaſius ſaith of him, *Hereſis veneno imbutos, Milites ſicarios, Eunuchos, Comites faciebat ſaccerdotum Judices, & cogebat umbratiles Synodos, quibus ipſe cum noſtris illis præſideret*; whereas otherwiſe that Empire, even in the height of the *Pagan* Greatneſs, aſcribed to their Pontifs, and *Sacerdotes propter Religionem Comitia habere propria*, and that *ſtabili ſententia ratum erat quod tres Pontifices communi Decreto ſtatuiſſent.* To the ſecond, as it is in the former Time, that many *Cannons* of the Church are enterlaſed with the Commonwealths; all through the *Saxon* Laws, and that the Eſtabliſhment ſhould be by *Parliament*, which they infer out of the *Frontiſpicium* of *Ina's* Statutes, in theſe Words, *Ego Ina Rex, & ex tractatione Epiſcoporum & Omnium Aldermanorum meorum, & Seniorum ſapientum Regni mei, & Confirmatione populi mei*, do ordain, *&c.* may receive this Anſwer; firſt, that the Commons did but confer, and not diſpute, which to this Day is in their Summons only comprized, *ad conſentiendum*: But whoſoever ſhall collate the Tranſcript Copy with the Original called *Textus Roffenſis*, will find the Ordinances, not called *Leges*, but *Synodalia*, and almoſt all by the King and Churchmen only made; neither was it new in this Iſle, that Prieſts directed alone the Government, when as the beſt Record of our eldeſt Memory ſaith, that the *Druides* (a religious pagan Order,) not only *divinis interſunt, Religiones interpretantur*, but *de omnibus* (as *Cæſar* ſaith) *Controverſiis Publicis, privatiſque conſtituunt. ſive hæreditamento, ſive de finibus, & præmia & pænas conſtituunt.* And if any *ſive privatus, aut populus decreto eorum non ſteterit, ſacrificiis interdicunt*; and this Cenſure amongſt them was *pœna graviſſima.* Neither did the Times of Chriſtianity here bereave the Church of all ſuch Power, will appear, for in the *Saxon* Time they intermeddled in the framing of the temporal Laws, and ought, as appears by an Ordinance of that time, *de Officiis Epiſcopi, cum ſeculi judicibus intereſſe, ne permittent ut illinc aliqua pravitatum germina pullulaverint.* And ſurely ſince thoſe Times the inferior Miniſters of the Church, as well as Biſhops, until of late had Suffrage in Parliament, ſo *John de Rupiciſſa* (a Story as old as King *John's* time) ſays,

Athana. Epiſt. 1. ad ſolit. vitam agent.

Halicarn. Dyoniſius.

2 object. *Eccleſiaſtical Law enacted in Parliament.*

Saxon *Law.* Leges Inæ.

Textus Rof.

Cæſar, Pliny.

Leges Saxon. Regum.

Anno

Eulogium.

All the Clergy Members of Parliament proved by Record, 18 E. 3. Rotul. Parl. 3 R. 2. Rot. Parl. 4. R. 2. Rot. Parl. 11. R. 2.

Anno 1210. *Convocatum eſt Parliamentum Londoniæ Archiepiſcoporum tum clero, & tota ſecta Laicali.* And in the 18th of *Ed.* 3. the Members of Parliament being defective in their Appearance, the King charged the Archbiſhop to puniſh the Defaults of the Clergy, and he would the like touching the Lords and Commons; and in 3 *Rich.* 2. againſt a Petition in Parliament concerning *Proviſions*, the Prelates and whole Clergy make their Proteſtations; and to a demand of the *Lay Commons* for the King's Aid the Year ſucceeding, the *whole Clergy anſwered, that they uſed not to grant any thing but of their free Will.* And in the 11th Year of the ſame King, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made openly in Parliament, a ſolemn Proteſtation for himſelf, and the whole Clergy of all his *Province*; the Effect whereof was, *that albeit they might lawfully be preſent in all Parliaments. yet for that this Parliament matters of Treaſon were to be entreated of*; *whereas by the* Cannon Law *they ought not to be preſent, they therefore abſented themſelves, ſaving their Liberties therein:* (21 R. 2. n. 9, 10.) And in the twenty firſt Year of that Reign, for that divers Judgments were heretofore undone; for that the Clergy were not preſent, the Commons prayed the King to appoint ſome to be their common Proctor, with ſufficient Authority thereunto: The Biſhops and Clergy therefore being ſeverally examined, appointed Sir *Thomas Percie* their Proctor, to aſſent as by their Inſtrument appears. 21 R. 2. n. 31. And the ſame Year, upon the Demiſe of Sir *Thomas Burry*, moſt of the Biſhops and Lords were ſworn before the King again, upon the Croſs of *Canterbury*, to repeal nothing in this Year enacted; ſo did ſundry of the Proctors of the Clergy, and moſt of the Commons, by holding up one of their Hands, affirming that they the ſame would do.

R. 2. 21. n. 58. In the Judgment againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*, the ſame Year, the Name and Aſſent of the Procurator of the Clergy, is alledged; and in the firſt of *Hen.* 4. the Biſhop of *Aſaph* for the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury* for all religious Perſons, the Earl of *Gloceſter* for Dukes and Earls, the Lord of *Barkley* for Barons and Bannneretts, Sir *Thomas Irpingham* Chamberlain, for Batchelors and Commons of the South, Sir *Thomas Gray* for Batchelors and Commons of the North, Sir *William Thurning* and *John Meckham*, Juſtices, for the whole Eſtates, came to the *Tower* to King *Richard*; to whom Sir *William Thirning*, for and in the Name of them all, pronounced the Sentence of Depoſition, and the Words of Reſignation of Homage and Loyalty.

Rot. Par. 31. *H.* 6. n. 27. And when it was enacted, *Anno* 31 *H.* 6. by the King, Lords temporal and Commons, that no Man ſhould contract or marry himſelf to any Queen of *England*, without the eſpecial Licence and Conſent of the King, in pain to loſe all his Goods, and his Lands; the Biſhops and all the Clergy to this Bill aſſented, ſo far as it was not againſt the Law of God. And thus far for anſwer to the ſecond part.

Third Reaſon, Eccleſiaſtical Laws enacted in part.

The laſt, which they ground from Precedents of Parliaments ſince the Conqueſt, they infer out of the Phraſe, and out of the Practice of the firſt, by theſe Words, *Rex Wintoniæ celebravit magnum Concilium coram Epiſcopis, Comitibus & Baronibus*, miſtaking the Words as intending a *Provincial* Synod; whereas *Magnum Concilium* in thoſe Days, was equivalent to a Parliament, and uſed for that purpoſe, the word *Parliament* not occurring in the modern Sence, till the time of *Henry* II. and then but rarely. (Malmesbury. Liber Eccleſiæ Cantuar.) That great Aſſembly, being formerly ſtyled, as I obſerved, *Magnum Concilium*, and till of late were often mentioned by the ſame Name: This is evident from *Benedictus Abbas*, in the Life *Henry* II. (Vita H. 2.) *Circa Feſtum Sancti Pauli venit Dominus Rex uſque Northampton, & Magnum ibi celebravit Conſilium de ſtatutis Regni ſui coram Epiſcopis, Comitibus & Baronibus Terræ ſuæ; & per Concilium militum, & hominum ſuorum.* Here the Intent manifeſted the Nature of that Aſſembly, and the fuller, in that the ſame Author in the ſame Year ſaith, that *Richardus Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus & Rogerus Eboracenſis, cum Suffraganeis ſuis congregatis apud Weſtmonaſterium, in Cappella Monachorum Infirmorum tenuerunt Concilium.* Now this Convocation had been needleſs, if in the firſt they might have done the Church Affairs.

Provincial Conſtitutions.

Here might I enter into a large and juſt Diſcourſe, as well of the Authority and Antiquity of their *Convocation* or Synod Provincial, no leſs ancient, as *Bede* mentions in the Year 596, when *Auſtin* aſſembled in the Council the *Britain* Biſhops; from whence, unto this Day, there is ſucceſſive Record of Councils or *Convocation*, leſs interrupted than of Parliaments.

Practice.

Now touching our practice to Ordain in Parliament, Laws Eccleſiaſtical, either mere or mix'd, altho' it be by Records evident, yet muſt it admit this difference; firſt, that it ſprung not from our Diſpute or Deſire, but ſolely from the Petitions of the Church, as is uſually ſeen in all their Rolls of Parliament, receiving their diſtinct Title from thoſe of the *Common*: And this they did to add *Seculare Brachium* to their former Cannons, too weak to reach to corporal Puniſhments. (Clauſ. 5. R. 2.) As in the firſt of *Richard* II. when to ſuppreſs the Schiſms, the Clergy became in Parliament, Petitioners to the King and Laiety, where by the Tenor of the Record, it appears the Commons were not to have any ſhare in the Conſultations. The Words are theſe, *Habita prius bona & matura deliberatione de communi Concilio ipſius Archiepiſcopi, ſuffraganeorum ſuorum, aliorumque Clericorum ſuper quo idem Archiepiſcopus ſupplicavit, ut pro debita Caſtigatione illorum, qui Concluſiones Schiſmaticas prædicare voluerint, animo obſtinato, dignaremur apponere brachium Regiæ Peteſtatis.* (Chartæ Antiquæ B. B.) And this Aid was in uſe in the Conqueror's time, who by *Edict* commanded, that every Marſhal or Sheriff, *Epiſcopo & Deo faceret rectum, ſecundum Canones & Epiſcopales Leges*: So that if after Excommunication Satisfaction was was not made to the Church, *Fortitudo & Juſtitia Regis adhibeatur:* And this even in the primitive Church was thought convenient. To this purpoſe St. *Ambroſe* applied to the Emperor *Valentinian*. For *non tantas* (ſays this Father) *vires ſermo meus habiturus eſt pro Trinitate Bellum gerens, quantum Edictum tuum.* (Ambroſe.) Hence it was that at this day, the King's Authority is annexed to the *Convocation*, conformably to the Practice of the ancient Church, where the Cannons were fortified with the Royal Authority. But that the Church Laws firſt ever moved from the Lay Members, I take it as far from *Precedent*, as it is beſides the Nature of their Commiſſion; (*Writ of Summons*, Rot. Clauſ. 22. R. 2. m. 7.) the Biſhops and Clergy being only called in the Writ to that Service, their Summons requiring them to come, *in fide & dilectione, ad declarandum Conſilium & Aviſeamentum, & ad Conſentiendum his quæ tunc de Aviſamento & Aſſenſu Cleri noſtri* (and not the Commons) *contigerit ordinari.*

But if any ſhall object, that many Laws, as that of the *Supremacy*, in the Reign of *Henry* 8. had the firſt riſe in Parliament; 'tis manifeſt by the Dates of their *Acts* in *Convocations*, that they had firſt in that place their Originals. And that this was the Uſe of old, nothing will leave it ſo clear as to obſerve the fruitleſs Succeſs of the Laity, in all their endeavours to eſtabliſh Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and this will I manifeſt by the King's Anſwer, out of the *Records*, as far as the Rolls of Parliament reach. Now there is no 18. E. 1. Rot. Parl. Record of this nature extant, till the 18th of *E.* 1. and here the Commons petitioned the King, that a Law may be made againſt Uſurers; the King's Anſwer was, it muſt be remedied *Coram Ordinariis.* And when they deſired Remedy, *de multimodis Injuſtis vexationibus eis factis per Officiales, & alios miniſtros Eccleſiæ:* the King reply'd, *Cancellarius emendat in Temporalibus, Archiepiſcopus faciat in Spiritualibus.*

From hence the Records fail in ſome meaſure, Rot. Parl. 8. E. 3. till near 8 *E.* 3. in which Parliament the *Commons* deſire an *Act* to reſtrain the Clergy in their trivial Citations. The Anſwer from the *Crown* is this; the King *will* charge *the Biſhops to ſee it remedied.* And Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2. 1 *R.* 2. a reſembling Petition was preferred againſt Corruptions of Ordinaries, for receiving pecuniary Puniſhments. The King anſwers, *That he will charge the Ordinaries to do according to the Laws of holy Church:* And in the 5 R. 2. fifth of the ſame Reign they complained of Abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the King anſwers, 15 R. 2. *He will charge the Clergy to amend the ſame.* And in the 15th Year of this Prince, when the Commons required an *Act* to declare the Age of tytheable Wood, they had for anſwer, *the King will move the Biſhops for Order between this and the* 17 R. 2. n. 43. *next Parliament.* And in the 17th Year of this Reign, when they petitioned for a *reſiding, learned Miniſtry, ſo as the Flock for Want might not periſh:* The Anſwer received was, *The King wills the Biſhops (to whom that Office belongs) to do their Duties.*

King *Henry* the IVth being deſired by the Lords and Commons to pacifie the Schiſms in Rot. Parl. 2. H. 4. n. 44. the Church, anſwers, *He will charge the Biſhops to conſider the ſame.* And two Years after, being 4 H. 4. Rot. Parl. importun'd for an Act of *Reſidency*, he gives much the ſame anſwer as thoſe above-mentioned.

And in the 11th Year of the ſame Reign, the King anſwers, *Ceſte materie appartient à St. Egliſe & à eſté remedie en la derraine Convocation.* In 1 H. 5. Rot. Parl. Parliament, under the next Reign, the King anſwers to the Commons Petition againſt the Oppreſſion of Ordinaries, *If the Biſhops do not redreſs the ſame, the King will.*

Rot. Parl. 3. H. 6. And in the 3d of *Hen.* 6. to a Petition that Non-reſidents ſhould forfeit the profit of their Livings, the King gave anſwer, that *He had delivered the Bill to the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *charging them to provide means of Remedy.* And in the Year following, to a Petition Rot. Parl. 4 H. 6. that Patrons may preſent upon Non-reſidency; the anſwer was, *There is a Remedy ſufficient in the Law Spiritual.*

Since then 'tis plain by the *Records* abovementioned, that the Plea of the *Laity* in this matter has a very ſlender Pretenſion, and by the Order of *William* the Conqueror ſuch Interpoſing is wholly reſtrain'd, for (as this Prince ſpeaks,) *Defendo & Authoritate mea interdico, ne ullus Lai-* Charte Antiquæ B. B. *cus homo de legibus que ad Epiſcopum pertinent ſe intromittat.* And then the *Saxon* Synodals are Leges Saxon. rather Cannon Laws, than Laymens Acts; to which we may add, that the Practice of the primitive Church, if well underſtood, is but a weak Prop to theſe Mens deſire; it may not therefore ſeem diſtaſteful from the King (walking in the Steps of his glorious Anceſtors, Kings of this Land,) to return the *Commons* deſires to their proper place, the Church Man's Care. And to conclude this Point, in all Parliaments, as *Marcian* the Emperor did the Council of *Chalcedon*, Concil. Chalced. *Ceſſet jam prophana Contentio, nam verè impius & ſacrilegius eſt qui poſt tot Sacerdotum Sententiam Opinioni ſuæ aliquid tractandum reliquit.*

R. C. B. This Paper was very probably drawn up in the Reign of King *James* I. by Archbiſhop *Bancroft.*

Num. LVII.

The ancient Method of electing Biſhops in the Church of England.

SCiendum eſt quod Eccleſia Regimine Paſtoris Biblioth. Cotton Cleop. E. vi. fol. 142. deſtituta, Capitulum ſive Canones præſentes ſtatuant certum Terminum ad Electionem celebrandam, de quo fiat Publicum Inſtrumentum, in quo narrabitur qualiter tali die vacabat talis Eccleſia: Modus etiam Vacationis declarabitur, an per Mortem vel aliàs. Si per Mortem tunc ejus corpore tradito Eccleſiaſticæ ſepulturæ, qui de Capitulo ſunt, convenientes in unum talem Terminum cum Continuatione & Prorogatione dierum & horarum ſequentium ad electionem de novo celebrandam ſtatuant unanimitur: Qui Terminus erit competens, ſcilicet, quod infra illum Abſentes qui vocandi ſunt, citati commodè venire poſſunt, conſideratis locorum Diſtantiis, & Perſonarum & Temporum Qualitatibus. Deindè fiat Certificatorium Termino ſive Die Electionis adveniente; & vocandi ſunt omnes qui de jure aut conſuetudine debent, volunt, aut poſſunt commodé intereſſe. Et qui ſunt in Poſſeſſione, ſeu quaſi elegendi, ut ſtatuto ad hoc illo Termino poſſunt ad Electionem celebrandam convenire. Omnibus autem in loco ſtatuto convenientibus diligenter deliberent an per viam compromiſſi aut ſcrutinii procedere maluerint; una via electa, eam perficient ſecundum decreta Patrum & Sanctorum Canonum, & quia eſſet nimis longum hic omnia aſcribere, Ideo omitto quamplurima. Electione vere completâ, fiat publicatio ſolennis toti populo, & cantabitur *Te Deum Laudamus*; & Electus deportetur antè ſummum Altare. Quibus peractis infra certum tempus, requirant conſenſum Electi, ut conſentiat Electioni de ſe factæ. Quo præſtito, præſentabitur Decretum Electionis Metropolitano, unà cum Electo, tenor Decreti erit talis.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Domino N. permiſſione divina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato, ejuſve in Spiritualibus Vicario Generali, ſive Officiali Principali, aut alii cuicunque ejus Vices gerenti. Veſtri humiles & devoti Filii Prior & Capitulum ſive Conventus Eccleſiæ Cathedralis noſtræ omnimodas Obedientias, & Reverentias tanto Reverendiſſimo Primati & Patri debitas cum honore; ſacris eſt Canonibus cautum ut ultra tres menſes Pontifice proprio non vacet Eccleſia, nè pro Defectu Paſtoris Dominicum Gregem Lupus rapax Invadat: Aut viduata Eccleſia in ſuis Facultatibus grave Diſpendium patiatur. Ea propter bonæ Memoriæ S. nuper N. Epiſcopo noſtro tali Die & Anno, ſic ut Deo placuit, viam Univerſæ Carnis ingreſſo; Corporeque ipſius, ſic ut moris eſt, Eccleſiaſticæ tradito Sepulturæ. Nos Prior & Capitulum ſive Conventus N. convenientes in unum ad Electionem futuri Pontificis noſtri celebrandam, talem Terminum duximus ſtatuendum. Citatis igitur interim & tunc præſentibus, qui Electioni celebran-

dæ debuerunt, voluerunt, & potuerunt commodè intereſſe, in Capitulo in Domo noſtrâ Capitulari N. qui de jure, conſuetudine & compoſitione interreſſe debebant, recepimus, de Electione futuri Pontificis tractaturi. Sanè poſt diverſos tractatus inter nos habitos, & nominationes diverſarum perſonarum & poſt diſcuſſiones & inquiſitiones multiplices, tandem placuit nobis univerſis & ſingulis, per viam ſcrutinii, ſeu per viam compromiſſi procedere, & ut procedebatur, ita conficietur Inſtrumentum. ---- Sic tum ſcribatur Primati ſeu Metropolitano.

Reverendiſſimæ igitur Paternitati veſtræ duximus unanimiter ſupplicandum ut Electionem ſupradictam dignemini confirmare, & Electo noſtro prædicto munus Conſecrationis per ſacrarum Manuum veſtrarum Impoſitionem impertire. Quatenus, Authore Deo, nobis velut Paſtor idoneus & toti Epiſcopatui, vel (ſi eſt Archicpiſcopus ſeu Primas) toti Provinciæ, in his quæ ad Epiſcopum ſeu Archiepiſcopum ſpectant præeſſe valeat & prodeſſe: Et ut hanc Electionem & Petitionem convenire noſcatis, Benignitati Reverendiſſimæ Paternitatis veſtræ hoc Canonicum decretum Sigillo noſtro communi mittimus roboratum.

Ibid. fol. 140.

Forma Procuratoria ad petendum munus Conſecrationis ab Archiepiſcopo, prout habetur in Regiſtro Lichfieldienſi de Electione facta de Magiſtro Rogero Melund in Epiſcopum Electo ſequitur.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri ac Domino Domino N. Cantuar' Archiepiſcopo, &c. devoti filii ſui Frater Willhelmus Prior & Capitulum Coventr' & Richardus Decanus & Capitulum Lichfield' ſalutem, & tam debitas quam devotas obedientias & reverentias cum honore, ad petendam à vobis Confirmationem Electionis nuper communiter per nos celebratæ de diſcreto viro Domino Rogero Melund Canonico Lichfield' in Epiſcopum Eccleſiarum Coventr' & Lichfield' præficiendo, & ad eandem Confirmationem coram vobis in forma Juris cum effectu proſequend. Dilectos Confratres noſtros in Chriſto Fratrem Nicolaum Monachum ac Præcentorem Coventr' & Magiſtrum Hugonem de W. Canonicum Lichfield' Procuratores noſtros conſtituimus; ratum habentes & gratum quicquid iidem, ſeu alter eorum qui pro tempore præſens fuerit coram vobis fecerit ſeu fecerint in Præmiſſis. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentes Litteras Sigillis Capitulorum noſtrorum fecimus ſigillari.

Dat. Coventr' Feb. 6. 1256.

Num. LVIII.

Sprozzius de Vic' epi. lib. 2. q. 2, 3, & 4. fol. 39.

Quæ ſunt Epiſcopalis Ordinis Dignitatis & Juriſdictionis.

Ordinis.

Paper Office.

Eccleſias, Altaria, Calices, Oratoria, Cæmiteria, cæteraque Loca, Veſtes, Campanas, Mappas & Vaſa divino Cultui deputat' benedicere & conſecrare, & eadem polluta reconciliare.

Abbates & Moniales benedicere & conſecrare.

Chriſma, Oleum Infirmorum & Cathecuminorum conficere die Jovis ſancta.

Pueros & Puellas baptizatos confirmare, Clericos ordinare.

Pontificalia exercere, &c.

Dignitatis.

Habere uſum Mitræ & Pontificalium, honorem ac reverentiam à primoribus Mundi. Concedere Indulgentias & Sacramenta dioceſanis recurrentibus ad eum.

Audire Confeſſiones.

Prædicare.

Injungere publicas & ſolennes Pœnitentias, diſpenſare in quibuſdam. ----

Celebrare Synodum Dioceſanum.

Judicare Clericos.

Cauſas Matrimoniales cognoſcere.

Dimiſſorias ad Ordines & Sacramenta concedere.

Decima Oblationum in caſibus à jure expreſſis, Synodationem, vel Cathedraticum, quartam funeralium exigere.

Procurationes ratione viſitationis pro modo facultatum Eccleſiæ; charitativum ſubſidium ex ea & ejus Cenſus recipere, & ſimilia quæ ſunt dignitatis Epiſcopalis.

Juriſdictionis.

Habere ſubjectionem ſubditorum, recipere ab illis juramentum.

Electos ſibi ſubditos confirmare, novas Parochias & Collegia erigere, erectas rectificare.

Collapſas reſtaurare & in matrices Eccleſias ex eis transferre.

Eligere.

Præſentare.

Præſentatos inſtituere, deſtituere, Beneficia unire.

Conferre.

Reſignationes recipere.

Cauſas ad forum Epiſcopale ſpectan' cognoſcere & judicare.

Viſitare, reformare, ordinare, facere Edict' Conſtitutiones & Præcepta.

Exequi, revocare, carcerare, torquere, condemnare Delinquentes, & ad perpetuos Carceres, corrigere, mulctare.

Excommunicare, abſolvere, ſuſpendere, interdicere, deponere, degradare.

Degradatos curiæ ſeculari tradere, brachium ſeculare invocare.

Mitigare, pœnas indicere, juramentum purgationis, indulgere Delinquentibus, & gratiam facere in caſibus à jure omiſſis.

Pias exequi voluntates, & reliqua ſimilia quæ ſunt Epiſcopalis Juriſdictionis, &c.

Num. LIX.

The Office for the Communion, as it ſtands in the firſt Common-Prayer Book made in the Reign of King Edward *the Sixth.*

The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Maſs.

SO many as intende to bee Partakers of the Holy Communion, ſhall ſignifie their Names to the Curate, over Night; or elſe in the Morning afore the beginning of *Matins*, or immediately after.

Common-Prayer Book printed at London, *June the* 16th A.D. 1549.

And if any of thoſe be an open and notorious evil Liver, ſo that the Congregation by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his Neighbours, by Word or Deed, the Curate ſhall call him, and advertiſe him, in any wiſe not to preſume to come to the Lordes Table, until he have openly declared

declar'd himſelf, to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty Life: That the Congregation may thereby be ſatisfied, which afore were offended: and that he have recompens'd the Parties, whom he hath dooen wrong unto, or at the leaſt bee in full purpoſe to ſo doe, as ſone as he conveniently maye.

The ſame Ordre ſhall the Curate uſe, with thoſe betwixt whom he perceiveth Malice and Hatred to reign, not ſuffring them to bee Partakers of the Lord's Table, until he know them to bee reconcil'd. And that one of the Parties ſo at variaunce, be content to forgive from the botome of his Hearte, all that the other hath treſpac'd againſt him, and to make amendes, for that he himſelfe hath offended: And the other Partie will not bee perſwaded to a godly Unitie, but remayne ſtill in his Frowardneſs and Malice: The Miniſter in that cauſe, ought to admit the penitent Perſone to the Holy Communion, and not hym that is obſtinate.

Upon the Day and at the Time appointed for the Miniſtration of the Holy Communion, the Prieſt that ſhall execute the Holy Miniſtery, ſhall put upon hym, the Veſture appointed for that Miniſtration, that is to ſaye; a white Albe plain, with a Veſtment or Cope. And where there be many Prieſts, or Deacons, there ſo many ſhall be ready to help the Prieſt, in the Miniſtration, as ſhall bee requiſite: And ſhall have upon them likewiſe, the Veſtures appointed for their Miniſtery; that is to ſaye, Albes, with Tunacles. Then ſhall the Clearkes ſyng in *Engliſhe* for the Office, or *Introite*, (as they call it) a Pſalm appointed for that Day.

The Prieſt ſtanding humbly afore the middes of the Altar, ſhall ſaye the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect.

Almightie God, unto whom all Hearts bee open, and all Deſyres knowen, and from whom no Secrets are hid: clenſe the Thoughts of our Hearts, by the Inſpiracion of thy Holy Spirite: that we may perfectly love thee and worthely magnifie thy Holy Name, through Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

Then ſhall he ſaye a Pſalme appointed for the Introite: *which Pſalme ended, the Prieſt ſhall ſaye, or elſe the Clearkes ſhall ſyng,*

iii. Lorde have Mercie upon us.
iii. Chriſt have Mercie upon us.
iii. Lorde have Mercie upon us.

Then the Prieſte ſtanding at Goddes Board ſhall begin.

Glory be to God on high.

The Clearkes.

And in Yearth Peace, good Will towards Men.

We prayſe thee, we bleſſe thee, we worſhip thee, we gloryfie thee, we geve thankes to thee for thy greate Glory, O Lorde God, heavenly Kyng, God the Father Almightie. O Lord the only begotten Sonne Jeſu Chriſt, O Lorde God, Lambe of God, Sonne of the Father, that takeſt away the Synnes of the Worlde, have Mercie upon us: Thou that takeſt away the Synnes of the Worlde, receyve our Prayer.

Thou that ſitteſt at the righte Hand of God the Father have Mercie upon us: for thou only art Holy, thou only art the Lorde, thou only (O Chriſte) with the Holy Ghoſt, arte moſt high in the Glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Then the Prieſt ſhall turne him to the People and ſaye,

The Lorde be with you.

The Anſwere.

And with thy Spirit.

The Prieſt.

Let us pray.

Then ſhall follow the Collect of the Daye, with one of theſe two Collects following.

For the Kyng.

Almightie God, whoſe Kingdom is everlaſting, and Power infinite, have Mercie upon the whole Congregation, and ſo rule the Heart of thy choſen Servaunt *Edward* the Sixt, our Kyng and Governour: That he (knowyng whoſe Miniſter he is) may above all thinges, ſeke thy Honour and Glory, and that we his Subjects (duely conſidering whoſe Auctoritie he hath) may faithfully ſerve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy bleſſed Word and Ordinaunce: Through Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde, who with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth, and reigneth, ever one God, World without ende. *Amen.*

Almightie and everlaſting God, wee bee taught by thy holy Worde, that the Hearts of Kynges are in thy Rule and Governaunce, and that thou doeſt diſpoſe, and turne them as it ſeemeth beſt to thy godly Wiſedom: We humbly beſech thee, ſo to diſpoſe and govern the Hearte of *Edward* the Sixt, thy Servaunt, our Kyng and Governour, that in all his Thoughts, Wordes, and Workes, he may ever ſeke thy Honour and Glory, and ſtudy to preſerve thy People, committed to his Charge, in Wealth, Peace, and Godlynes: Graunt this, O Merciful Father, for thy dere Sonnes ſake, Jeſus Chriſte, our Lorde. *Amen.*

The Collects ended, the Prieſt, or he that is appointed, ſhall read the Epiſtle, in the place aſſign'd for the purpoſe, ſaying;

The Epiſtle of St. *Paul*, written in the------ Chapter of----- to the

The Miniſter then ſhall read the Epiſtle. Immediately after the Epiſtle ended, the Prieſt, or one appointed to read the Goſpel, ſhall ſaye,

The Holy Goſpel, written in the----- Chapter of-----

The Clearkes and People ſhall anſwere,

Glory be to thee, O Lorde.

The Prieſt or Deacon then ſhall read the Goſpell: After the Goſpell ended, the Prieſt ſhall begin.

I believe in one God,

The Clearkes ſhall ſing the reſt.

The Father Almightie, maker of Heaven and Yearth, and of all things viſible and inviſible: And in one Lord Jeſu Chriſt, the only begotten Sonne of God, begotten of his Father before all Worldes. God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, beeyng of one Subſtance with the Father, by whome all things were made, who for us Men, and for our Salvacion, came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghoſte, of the Virgin *Mary*, and was made Manne, and was crucified alſo for us under *Pontius Pilate*, he ſuffer'd and was buried, and the thirde Day he aroſe again according to the Scriptures, and aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right Hand of the Father: And he ſhall come again with Glory, to judge both the Quicke and the Dead.

And I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord and Gever of Life, who procedeth from the Father and the Sonne, who with the Father and the Sonne together, is worſhipped and glorified, who ſpake by the Prophetes. And I believe one Catholike and Apoſtolike Church, I acknowlege one Baptiſme for the Remiſſion of Synnes. Aud I loke for the Reſurrection of the Dead, and the Life of the World to come. *Amen.*

After the Crede ended, ſhall follow the Sermon or Homely, or ſome Portion of one of the Homelies, as they ſhall be herafter divided, where-

in if the People be not exhorted to the worthy receyving of the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Bloude of our Saviour Chriſt: Then ſhall the Curate geve this Exhortation, to thoſe that be minded to receive the ſame.

Derely Beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion, of the Bodie and Bloude of our Saviour Chriſt, muſt conſidre what St. *Paul* writeth to the *Corinthians*, how he exhorteth all Perſones diligently to trie and examine themſelves, before they preſume to eate of that Breade, and drink of that Cup: For as the Benefite is great, if with a truly penitent Heart, and lyvely Faith, we receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we ſpiritually eate the Fleſh of Chriſte, and drinke his Blood, then we dwell in Chriſt and Chriſt in us, we be made one with Chriſte, and Chriſt with us) ſo is the Daunger great, if we receyve the ſame unworthily, for then we become gyltie of the Body and Blood of Chriſt our Saviour, we eate and drink our own Damnacion, not conſideryng the Lord's Body. We kindle God's Wrath over us, we provoke hym to plague us with diverſe Diſeaſes, and ſondery Kyndes of Death. Therefore yf any here be a Blaſphemer, Adoulterer, or bee in Malice, or Envie, or in any other grevous Crime, (except he be truly ſorry therefore, and earneſtly mynded to leave the ſame Vices, and do truſt hymſelfe to bee reconciled to Almightie God, and in Charitie with all the Worlde) lette hym bewayle his Synnes, and not come to the holy Table, leſt after the takyng of that moſt bleſſed Bread, the Devill enter into hym, as he dyd into *Judas*, to fyll him full of all Iniquitie, and bryng him to Deſtruction, bothe of Bodie and Soul. Judge therefore your ſelves (Brethren) that ye bee not judged of the Lorde. Let your Mynde bee without deſire to ſynne, repent you truely for your Synnes paſt, have an earneſt and lyvelie Faith in Chriſte our Savior, bee in perfect Charitie with all Men, ſo ſhall ye be mete Partakers of thoſe holy Myſteries. And above all things, ye muſt give moſt humble and hearty Thankes to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſte, for the Redemption of the Worlde by the Death and Paſſion of our Savior Chriſte, both God and Man, who did humble hymſelf even to the Death upon the Croſſe, for us miſerable Sinners, which laye in Darkneſſe, and Shadowe of Death, that he myghte make us the Children of God, and exalt us to everlaſting Lyfe. And to the end, that we ſhould alway remembre the exceeding Love of our Maiſter, and only Saviour Jeſu Chriſte, thus dying for us, and the innumerable Benefites, which (by his precious Bloodſhedyng) he hath obteigned to us, he hath lefte thoſe holy Miſteries, as a Pledge of his Love, and a continual Remembrance of the ſame his own bleſſed Body, and precious Blood, for us to fede upon ſpiritually, to our endleſs Comfort and Conſolacion. To him therefore with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, let us geve (as we are moſt bounden) continual Thankes, ſubmitting our ſelves wholy to his Holy Wyll and Pleaſure, and ſtudying to ſerve hym in true Holyneſs and Righteouſnes, all the Dayes of our Lyfe. *Amen.*

¶ *In Cathedral Churches or other Places, where there is dailie Communion, it ſhall be ſufficient to reade this Exhortation above-written, once in a Moneth. And in Pariſh Churches, upon the Weke Dayes it may be left unſaied.*

¶ *And if upon the Sonday or Holy Daie the People be negligent to come to the Communion, then ſhall the Prieſte earneſtly exhorte his Pariſhioners, to diſpoſe themſelves to the receyving of the Holy Communion more diligently, ſaiyng theſe or like Wordes unto them.*

Dere Friends; and you eſpecially upon whoſe Soules I have Cure and Charge, on------ next, I do intende by God's Grace, to offre to all ſuche as ſhalle be godlie diſpos'd, the moſt comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Bloude of Chriſte to be taken of them, in the Remembraunce of his moſte fruitfull and glorious Paſſion, by the which Paſſion, we have obteigned Remiſſion of our Sinnes, and be made Partakers of the Kyngdom of Heaven, whereof wee be aſſured, and aſſerteigned, if we come to the ſaid Sacrament, with heartie Repentaunce for our Offences, ſtedfaſte Faith in Goddes Mercie, and earneſt Mynde to obeye Goddes Will, and to offende no more. Wherefore our Duetie is to come to theſe holy Miſteries, with moſt heartie Thankes to bee geven to Almightie God, for his infinite Mercie, and Benefites geven and beſtow'd upon us his unworthie Servauntes, for whom he hath not only given his Body to Death, and ſhed his Bloude, but alſo doth vouchſafe in a Sacrament and Miſtery, to give us his ſaid Body and Blood to feede upon ſpiritually. The whiche Sacrament being ſo divine and holy a thinge, and ſo comfortable to them which receive it worthilye, and ſo daungerous to them that wyll preſume to take the ſame unworthely: My Duty is to exhorte you in the meane ſeaſon to conſider the greatnes of the thing, and to ſerche and examine your own Conſciences, and that not lyghtly, nor after the manner of Diſſimulers with God: But as they which ſhoulde come to a moſte godlie and heavenly Banket, not to come but in the Marriage Garment requir'd of God in Scripture, that you maye (ſo much as lieth in you) be found worthie to come to ſuche a Table. The Waies and Means thereto is,

Firſt, That you be truly Repentant of your former evil Lyfe, and that you confeſſe with an unfayned Hearte to Almightie God, your Synnes and Unkyndnes towardes his Majeſtie committed either by Wylle, Worde, or Dede, Infirmitie or Ignoraunce, and that with inward Sorowe and Teares you bewaile your Offences, and require of Almightie God, Mercie and Pardon, promiſing to him (from the botome of your Heartes) the amendment of your former Life. And emongs all others, I am commaunded of God, eſpecially to move and exhorte you, to reconcile your ſelfes to your Neighbours, whom you have offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your Heartes, all Hatred and Malice againſt them, and to be in Love and Charitie with all the Worlde, and to forgeve other, as you would that God ſhould forgeve you. And yf any Man hath doen Wrong to any other, let him make Satisfaccion, and due Reſtitucion of all Landes and Goodes, wrongfully taken away or withholden, before he come to Goddes Borde, or at the leſte be in fulle Mynde and Purpoſe ſo to doe, as ſone as he is able, or elſe let him not come to this holy Table, thinking to deceive God, who ſeeth all Mens Heartes. For neyther the Abſolucion of the Prieſt, can any thinge avayle them, nor the receyvyng of this holy Sacrament doth any thing but increaſe their Damnacion. And yf there bee any of you, whoſe Conſcience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lackyng Comfort or Counſayll, let him come to me, or to ſome other diſcrete and learned Prieſt, taught in the Lawe of God, and confeſſe and open his Sinne and Griefe ſecretly, that he maye receyve ſuch Ghoſtly Counſayl, Adviſe, and Comfort, that his Conſcience may be releved: And that of us (as of the Miniſters of God and of the Churche) he maye receyve Comforte and Abſolucion, to the Satisfaccion of his Mind, and avoyding of all Scruple and Doubtfulnes, requiryng ſuch as ſhall be ſatisfyed with a general Confeſſion, not to be offended with them that doe uſe, to their farther ſatisfyinge, the auriculer and ſecrete Confeſſion to the Prieſt: Nor thoſe alſo which think needfull or convenient, for the Quietnes of their own Conſciences, particulerly to open their Sinnes to the Prieſte; to be offended with them that are ſatisfyed, with their humble Confeſſion to God, and the general Confeſſion to the Churche. But in all thinges to followe and kepe the Rule of Charitie, and every Man to be ſatisfied with their owne Conſciences, not judgeing other Mennes Mindes or Conſciences, wheras he hath no Warrant of Goddes Worde to the ſame.

¶ *Then ſhall folowe for the Offertorie, one or more of theſe Sentences of Holy Scripture, to be ſong whiles the People doe offer, or els one of them to be ſaied by the Miniſter, immediately afore the Offeryng.*

Mat. v. Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.

Mat. vi. Laye not up for your ſelves Treaſure upon the Yearthe, where the Ruſte and Mothe doth corrupte, and where Theves breake throughe and ſteale; but laie up for your ſelfes Treaſures in Heaven, where neyther Ruſte nor Mothe doth corrupt, and where Theves doe not breake through nor ſteale.

Mat. vii. Whatſoever you would that Menne ſhould doe unto you, even ſo doe you unto them, for this is the Lawe and the Prophetes.

Ibid. Not every one that ſayth unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall entre into the Kyngdom of Heaven, but he that dothe the Will of my Father which is in Heaven.

Luk. xix. Zache ſtode furthe, and ſayed unto the Lorde, Beholde, Lorde, the halfe of my Goodes I give to the poore, and yf I have doen any Wronge to any Man, I reſtore foure folde.

1 Cor. ix. Who goeth a Warfare at any tyme at his own Coſt? Who planteth a Vinearde, and eatheth not of the Fruit thereof? or who fedeth a Flocke, and eateth not of the Milke of the Flocke?

Ibid. If we have ſowen unto you ſpiritual Thinges, is it a great matter that we ſhall reape your worldly Thinges?

Doe ye not knowe, that they whiche miniſter aboute holy Thinges, lyve of the Sacrifice? They which wait at the Alter, are partakers with the Alter? Even ſo hath the Lorde alſo ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel, ſhoulde live of the Goſpell.

2 Cor. ix. He which ſoweth litle ſhall reap litle, and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reap plenteouſly. Let every Manne do accordyng as he is diſpoſed in his Heart, not grudgingly, or of neceſſitie, for God loveth a chereful Gever.

Gal. vi. Let hym that is taught in the Woord, miniſter unto hym that teacheth, in all good Thynges, Be not deceyved, God is not mocked. For whatſoever a Manne ſoweth, that ſhall he reap. While we have time let us do good to all Men, and eſpecially unto them which are of the Houſhold of Faith.

1 Tim. vi. Godlines is great Riches, yf a Man be contented with that he hath: For we brought nothyng into the Worlde, neither maye we cary any thinge out.

Ibid. Charge them which are riche in this Worlde, that they be ready to geve, and glad to diſtribute, laying up in ſtoare for themſelves a good Foundation, againſt the time to come, that they maie attaine eternall Lyfe.

God is not unrighteous, that he will forgette your Woorkes and Labor, that procedeth of Love, whiche Love ye have ſhew'd for his Name's ſake, whiche have mynyſtred unto the Saintes, and yet do miniſter. Heb. vi.

To do good, and to diſtribute, forget not, for with ſuche Sacrifices God is pleaſed. Heb. xiii.

Whoſo hath this Worldes Good, and ſeeth his Brother have nede, and ſhutteth up his Compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the Love of God in him? 1 John iii.

Geve Almoſe of thy Goodes, and turne never thy Face from any poor Man, and then the Face of the Lord ſhall not be turned away from thee. Toby iv.

Bee mercyfull after thy Power: If thou haſt muche, geve plenteouſly, yf thou haſt litle, do thy Diligence gladly to geve of that litle, for ſo gathereſt thou thy ſelfe a good Rewarde in the Daie of Neceſſitie. Ibid.

He that hath pitie upon the Poore, lendeth unto the Lorde: And loke what he laieth out, it ſhall be paied him again. Proverbs xix.

Bleſſed be the Man that provideth for the Sicke and Nedy, the Lorde ſhall deliver hym in the tyme of Trouble. Pſal. xli.

Where there be Clearkes, thei ſhall ſing one, or many of the Sentences above written, according to the length and ſhortneſs of the tyme, that the People be offeryng.

In the meane tyme, whyles the Clearkes do ſing the Offertory, ſo many as are diſpos'd, ſhall offer to the poore Mens Boxe every one accordynge to his Habilitie and charitable Mynde. And at the Offeryng Daies appointed, every Manne und Woman ſhall paie to the Curate, the due and accuſtomed Offerynges.

Then ſo many as ſhall bee Partakers of the holy Communion, ſhall tarye ſtill in the Quire, or in ſome conveniente Place nigh the Quire, the Men on the one ſide, and the Women on the other ſide. All other (that mynde not to receyve the holy Communion) ſhall depart out of the Quire, except the Miniſters and Clearkes.

Then ſhall the Miniſter take ſo muche Breade and Wine, as ſhall ſuffice for the Perſons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laiyng the Breade upon the Corporas, or els in the Paten, or in ſome other comely thyng, prepared for that purpoſe: And putting the Wine into the Chalice, or els in ſome faire or conveniente Cup, prepared for that Uſe (if the Chalice will not ſerve) puttyng thereto a litle pure and cleane Water: And ſetting forth the Bread and Wine upon the Alter: Then the Prieſt ſhall ſaye.

The Lord be with you.

Aunſwere.

And with thy Spirite.

Prieſt.

Lift up your Heartes.

Aunſwere.

We lift them up unto the Lorde.

Prieſt.

Let us give Thankes to our Lorde God.

Aunſwere.

It is mete and right ſo to do.

The Prieſt.

It is very mete, righte, and our bounden Dutie, that we ſhould at all tymes, and in all places, geve Thankes to thee, O Lorde, Holy Father, Almightie Everlaſtinge God.

¶ *Here ſhall folowe the proper Preface, accordyng to the Tyme (yf there bee any ſpecially appointed) or elſe immediately ſhall folowe.* Therefore with Angels, &c.

Propre Prefaces.

¶ *Upon Chriſtmas Day.*

Becauſe thou diddeſte geve Jeſus Chriſte, thyne only Sonne to be borne as this daie for us, who by the Operacion of the Holy Ghoſte, was made very Man, of the Subſtaunce of the Virgin *Mary* his Mother, and that withoute ſpotte of Sinne, to make us clean from all Sinne. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon Eaſter Day.*

But chiefly are we bound to prayſe thee, for the glorious Reſurreccion of thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde, for he is the very Paſcall Lamb which was offer'd for us, and hath taken away the Synne of the World, who by his Death hath deſtroyed Death, and by his riſyng agayn, hath reſtored to us everlaſtinge Lyfe. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon the Aſcenſion Day.*

Through thy moſt dere beloved Sonne, Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde, who after his moſte glorious Reſurreccion, manifeſtly appeared to all his Diſciples, and in theyre Sighte aſcended up into Heaven, to prepare a Place for us, that where he is, thither might we alſo aſcende, and reigne with him in Glory. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitſondaye.*

Through Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde, accordynge to whoſe moſt true Promiſe, the Holy Ghoſte came doune this Daye from Heaven with a ſodain great ſounde, as it had been a mightie Wynde, in the lykenes of fiery Tongues, lightyng upon the Apoſtles to teach them, and to lead them to all Truth, gevyng them both the Gifte of divers Languages, and alſo Boldnes with fervente Zele, conſtantly to preche the Goſpell, unto all Nacions, whereby we are brought out of Darknes and Error into the cleare Light and true Knowlege of thee, and of thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſte. Therefore. &c.

¶ *Upon the Feaſt of Trinitie.*

It is very meete, righte, and our bounden Duty, that we ſhould at all tymes, and in all places, geve Thankes to thee, O Lord Almightie, Everlaſtinge God, which arte one God, one Lorde, not one only Perſon but three Perſons in one Subſtance: For that which we beleve of the Glory of the Father, the ſame we believe of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoſte, without any Difference, or Inequalitie: whom the Angels, &c.

After which Preface ſhall folowe immediately.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy Companye of Heaven, we laud and magnifie thy glorious Name, evermore prayſyng thee, and ſayinge: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſtes: Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory: Oſanna in the Higheſte. Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lorde: Glory to thee, O Lorde, in the Higheſt.

This the Clearkes ſhall alſo ſyng.

¶ *When the Clearkes have doen ſyngyng, then ſhall the Prieſt, or Deacon, turne hym to the People and ſaye.*

Let us praye for the whole State of Chriſte's Churche.

Then the Prieſt turning him to the Altar, ſhall ſaye or ſynge plainly and diſtinctly, this Prayer folowing.

Almightie and everlyvyng God, which by thy holy Apoſtle haſt taught us to make Prayers and Supplicacions, and to geve Thankes for all Menne, We humbly beſeche thee moſt mercifully to receyve theſe our Prayers, which we offre unto thy Divine Majeſtie, beſechyng thee to inſpire continually the univerſall Churche, with the Spirit of Trueth, Unitie and Concorde; and graunt that all they that do confeſſe thy holye Name, maye agree in the Trueth of thy holye Worde, and lyve in Unitie and godly Love. Specially wee beſeche thee to ſave and defende thy Servaunte *Edwarde* our Kynge, that under him we may be godly and quietely govern'd. And graunte unto his whole Counſaile, and to all that be put in Authoritie under hym, that they maye truely and indifferently miniſter Juſtice, to the Puniſhment of Wickedneſs and Vice, and to the Maintenaunce of Goddes true Religion and Virtue. Geve Grace (O heavenly Father) to all Biſhoppes, Paſtors, and Curates, that they maye both by their Life and Doctrine, ſet furthe thy true and lively Worde, and rightly and duely adminiſter thy holye Sacraments. And to all thy People geve thy heavenly Grace that with meke Heart and due Reverence they maye heare and receyve thy holye Worde, truelye ſervynge thee in Holyneſſe and Righteouſnes, all the Dayes of their Life. And wee moſt humbly beſeche thee of thy Goodnes (O Lord) to comforte and ſuccoure all them, which in this tranſitory Life be in Trouble, Sorowe, Nede, Sycknes, or any other Adverſitie. And eſpecially we commend unto thy mercyful Goodnes, thys Congregacion, which is here aſſembled in thy Name, to celebrate the Commemoracion of the moſte glorious Death of thy Sonne: And here we doe geve unto thee moſte high Prayſe and heartie Thankes, for the wonderful Grace and Vertue, declar'd in all thy Saincts, from the begynning of the World, and chiefly in the glorious and moſt bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, Mother of thy Sonne Jeſu Chriſte, our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apoſtles and Martyrs, whoſe Examples (O Lorde) and Stedfaſtneſs in thy Faythe, and kepyng thy holy Commaundmentes, graunte us to folowe. We commend unto thy Mercie (O Lord) all other thy Servaunts, which are departed hence from us with the Signe of Fayth, and nowe do reſte in the Slepe of Peace: Graunte unto them, we beſeche thee, thy Mercy, and everlaſtinge Peace, and that at the Daye of the general Reſurreccion, we and all they which be of the myſtical Body of thy Sonne, maye altogether be ſet on his right Hand, and hear that his moſt joyful Voice: Come unto me, O ye that be bleſſed of my Father, and poſſeſs the Kingdom which is prepared for you, from the begynning of the Worlde: Graunte this, O Father, for Jeſus Chriſte's ſake, our only Mediator and Advocate.

O God, heavenly Father, which of thy tender Mercy diddeſte geve thine only Sone Jeſu Chriſt, to ſuffer Death upon the Croſſe for our Redemption, who made there (by his one Oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and ſufficiente Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satiſfaccion for the Sinnes of the whole Worlde, and dide inſtitute, and in his Holy Goſpell commaunde us to celebrate a perpetual Memorye of that his precious Deathe, untyll his comming agayne: Heare us (O mercyfull Father) we beſeche thee, and with thy Holy Spirite and Worde vouchſafe to bl✠eſſe and ſancti✠fie theſe thy Gifts, and Creatures of Bread and Wyne, that they maye be unto us the Bodie and Blood of thy moſt derely beloved Sonne Jeſus Chriſte, who in the ſame Nyght that he was betrayed, tooke Breade, and when he had bleſſed, and geven Thankes, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſayinge; Take, eate, this is my Bodye whiche is geven for you, do this in remembrance of me.

Here the Prieſt muſt take the Bread into his Handes.

Lykewiſe after Supper he tooke the Cuppe, and when he had geven Thankes, he gave it to them, ſaying; Drinke ye all of this, for this is my Bloude of the *New-Teſtament*, which is ſhed for you and for many, for Remiſſion of Sins: Do this

Here the Prieſt ſhall take the Cup into his Handes.

this as oft as you ſhall drinke it, in remembraunce of me.

¶ *Theſe Wordes before reherſed, are to be ſayed, turning ſtill to the Altar, without any Elevation, or ſhewing the Sacrament to the People.*

Wherefore, O Lorde and heavenly Father, according to the Inſtitution of thy derely beloved Sonne, our Saviour Jeſu Chriſte, we thy humble Servauntes doe celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majeſtie, with theſe thy holy Giftes, the Memoriall which thy Sonne hath willed us to make: having in remembraunce his bleſſed Paſſion, mightie Reſurreccion, and glorious Aſcencion, renderynge unto thee moſte heartye Thankes, for the innumerable Benefites procured unto us by the ſame, entyrely deſiring thy Fatherly Goodnes, mercyfully to accept thys our Sacrifice of Prayſe and Thankeſgevinge: Moſt humbly beſeechyng thee to graunt, that by the Merites and Death of thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſte, and thro' Faith in his Bloud, we and all thy whole Church, may obteigne Remiſſion of our Sinnes, and all other Benefites of his Paſſion. And here we offre and preſent unto thee (O Lord) oure ſelf, oure Soules, and Bodyes, to be a reaſonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee, humbly beſechyng thee, that whoſoever ſhall be Partakers of this Holy Communion, maye worthely receive the moſte precious Body and Bloude of thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſte, and be fullfilled with thy Grace, and heavenly Benediccion, and made one Bodye with thy Sonne Jeſu Chriſt, that he may dwell in them, and they in hym. And altho' we be unworthy (thro' our manyfold Synnes) to offre unto thee any Sacrifice, yet we beſeche thee to accepte this our bounden Duetie and Service, and commaunde theſe oure Prayers and Supplicacions, by the Miniſterye of thy Holy Angels, to be brought up into thy Holy Tabernacle before the ſyght of thy Divine Majeſtie, not waying our Merites, but pardoning our Offences, through Chriſte our Lorde, by whome and with whome, in the Unitie of the Holy Ghoſt, all Honoure and Glorye, be unto thee, O Father Almightie, World without ende. *Amen.*

Let us praye.

As our Saviour Chriſte, hath commaunded and taughte us, we are bold to ſaye: Our Father whiche arte in Heaven, halowed be thy Name. Thy Kyngdome come, thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Geve us this Daye our daylie Breade; and forgeve us our Treſpaces, as we forgeve them that treſpaſſe againſt us. And leade us not into Temptation.

The Aunſwere.

But deliver us from evill. *Amen.*

Then ſhall the Prieſt ſaye,

The Peace of the Lorde be alway with you.

The Clearkes.

And wyth thy Spirite.

The Prieſt.

Chriſte our Paſcal Lambe is offred up for us, once for all, when he bare our Sinnes on his Body upon the Croſſe, for he is the very Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinnes of the Worlde: Wherefore let us kepe a joyfull and holy Feaſt with the Lorde.

Here the Prieſt ſhall turn hym towardes thoſe that come to the Holy Communion and ſhall ſaye.

You that do truely and earneſtly repent you of your Sinnes to Almightie God, and be in Love and Charitie with your Neyghbours, and entende to leade a newe Life; folowing the Commaundements of God, and walkyng from hencefurth in hys Holy Ways, drawe nere and take this Holy Sacrament to your Comforte, make your humble Confeſſion to Almightie God, and to his Holy Churche here gather'd together in his Name, mekely knelyng upon your Knees.

Then ſhall this General Confeſſion be made, in the Name of all thoſe that are mynded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or els by one of the Miniſters, or by the Prieſt hymſelf, all kneling humbly upon their Knees.

Almightie God, Father of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, Maker of al thinges, Judge of all Menne, we knowledge and bewayle our manyfolde Sinnes and Wickednes, which we from tyme to tyme, moſt grevouſly have committed, by Thoughte, Woorde, and Dede, againſt thy Divine Majeſtie, provoekyng mooſt juſtly thy Wrath and Indignacion againſt us. We do earneſtly repente, and be hartely ſory for theſe our Miſdoings, the Remembraunce of them is grevous unto us, the Burthen of them is intollerable: Have Mercie upon us, have Mercy upon us, moſt mercyfull Father, for thy Sonne our Lorde Jeſus Chriſtes ſake, forgeve us all that is paſt, and graunte that we may ever hereafter, ſerve and pleaſe thee in Newneſs of Life, to the Honour and Glory of thy Name: Through Jeſus Chriſt our Lorde.

Then ſhall the Prieſt ſtande up, and turning hymſelf to the People, ſay thus,

Almightie God our heavenly Father, who of his greate Mercye hath promiſed forgeveneſſe of Synnes to all them, which with hearty Repentance and true Faith turn unto hym: Have Mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your Sinnes, confirm and ſtrengthen you in all Goodnes, and bring you to everlaſting Lyfe, through Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde. *Amen.*

Then ſhall the Prieſte alſo ſaye.

Heare what comfortable Woordes our Saviour Chriſte ſayeth, to all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me all that travel and bee heavy laden, and I ſhall refreſh you. So God loved the World, that he gave his only begoten Sonne, to the end, that all that believe in hym, ſhoulde not periſhe, but have Life everlaſtinge.

Heare alſo what Saincte Paule *ſayeth.*

This is a true Saying, and woorthie of all Men to be receyved, that Jeſus Chriſte came into this Worlde to ſave Sinners.

Heare alſo what St. John *ſaith.*

If any Man ſinne, we have an Advocate with the Father Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins.

Then ſhall the Prieſte, turning hym to Goddes Boord, knele down, and ſaye in the Name of all them that ſhall receyve the Communion, this Prayer following.

We doe not preſume to come to this thy Table (O mercyfull Lorde) truſting in our own Righteouſnes, but in thy manifold and great Mercies: We bee not woorthy ſo much as to gather up the Cromes under thy Table, but thou art the ſame Lord whoſe Property is always to have Mercie: Graunte us therefore (gracious Lorde) ſo to eate the Fleſhe of thy dere Sonne Jeſus Chriſte, and to drinke his Bloude, in theſe holy Miſteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that oure ſinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body, and oure Soules waſhed thro' his moſt precious Bloude. *Amen.*

¶ *Then ſhall the Prieſte firſt receive the Communion in both kindes himſelf, and next deliver it to other Miniſters, if any be there preſente (that they maye be readye to helpe the chiefe Miniſter) and after to the People.*

¶ *And when he delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, he ſhall ſaye to every one theſe Words.*

The Body of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt whiche was geven for thee, preſerve thy Bodye and Soule unto everlaſting Lyfe.

And the Miniſter delivering the Sacrament of the Bloud, and geving every one to drinke once and no more, ſhall ſaye.

The Bloud of our Lord Jeſus Criſte, which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Bodye and Soule unto everlaſtynge Lyfe.

If there be a Deacon, or other Prieſt, then ſhall he folowe with the Chalice, and as the Prieſt miniſtreth the Sacrament of the Body, ſo ſhall he (for more Expedicion) miniſter the Sacrament of the Bloud, in fourme before written.

In the Communion tyme the Clearkes ſhall ſynge,

ii. O Lambe of God, that takeſte awaye the Synnes of the Worlde; have mercy upon us.

O Lambe of God, that takeſte awaye the Synnes of the Worlde, graunte us thy Peace.

Beginning ſo ſoone as the Prieſte doth receive the holy Communion: And when the Communion is ended, then ſhall the Clearkes ſyng the Poſt Communion.

¶ *Sentences of holy Scripture, to be ſaid or ſonge every Day, one after the holy Communion, called the Poſt Communion.*

Matth. xvi. If any Man will followe me, let hym forſake hymſelfe, and take up his Croſſe and folowe me.

Mar. xiii. Whoſoever ſhall indure unto the ende, he ſhall be ſaved.

Luc. i. Prayſed be the Lord God of Iſraell, for he hath viſyted and redeemed his People: Therefore let us ſerve hym all the Dayes of our Lyfe, in Holynes and Righteouſnes accepted before hym.

Luc. xii. Happie are thoſe Servauntes, whome the Lorde (when he cummeth) ſhall fynde wakyng.

Luc. xii. Be ye readie for the Sonne of Manne will come at an hower when ye thinke not.

Luc. xii. The Servaunte that knoweth hys Maiſter's Wyll, and hath not prepared hymſelfe, neither hath doen accordynge to his Wyll, ſhall be beaten with many Stripes.

John iv. The howre cummeth, and now it is, when true Woorſhippers ſhall woorſhip the Father in Spirite and Truethe.

John v. Beholde, thou art made whole, ſinne no more, leſte any worſe thing happen unto thee.

John viii. If ye ſhall continue in my Worde, then are ye my very Diſciples, and ye ſhall knowe the Truethe, and the Truethe ſhall make you free.

John xii. While ye have Lyght, beleve on the Lyght, that ye may be the Children of Lyght.

John xiv. He that hath my Commaundements, and kepeth them, the ſame is he that loveth me.

John xiv. If any Man love me, he will kepe my Woorde, and my Father will love hym; and we will come unto hym, and dwell with hym.

John xv. If ye ſhall byde in me, and my Woorde ſhall abyde in you, ye ſhall aske what ye will, and it ſhall bee doen to you.

John xv. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye beare muche Fruite, and become my Diſciples.

John xv. This is my Commaundement, that you love together, as I have loved you.

Rom. viii. If God be on our Syde, who can be againſt us? whiche did not ſpare his own Sonne, but gave hym for us all

Rom. viii. Who ſhall laye any thyng to the charge of Goddes choſen? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that can condemn?

Rom. xiii. The Nyghte is paſſed, and the Daye is at hande, let us therefore caſte away the Dedes of Darkneſs, and put on the Armour of Light.

1 Corin. i. Chriſte Jeſus is made of God, unto us, Wiſdome and Righteouſneſs, and Sanctifying and Redemption, that (according as it is written) he whiche rejoyceth ſhould rejoyce in the Lorde.

1 Corin. iii. Knowe ye not that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirite of God dwelleth in you? Yf any Man defile the Temple of God, hym ſhall God deſtroy.

1 Corin. vi. Ye are derely bought, therefore gloriſie God in your Bodies, and in your Spirites, for they belonge to God.

Epheſ. v. Be you folowers of God as deare Children, and walke in Love, even as Chriſt loved us, and gave hymſelfe for us an Offeryng and a Sacrifice of a ſwete ſavoure to God.

Then the Prieſt ſhall geve Thankes to God, in the Name of all them that have Communicated, turning hym firſt to the People, and ſaying.

The Lorde be with you.

The Anſwere.

And with thy Spirite.

The Prieſt.

Let us praye.

Almightie and everlyvynge God, we moſt heartely thanke thee, for that thou haſt vouchſaf'd to feed us in theſe holy Myſteries, with the ſpirituall Foode of the moſte precious Body and Bloude of thy Sonne, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and haſt aſſured us (duely receyving the ſame) of thy Favour and Goodnes toward us, and that we be very Members incorporate in thy myſtical Bodye, which is the bleſſed Companye of all faithfull People: And heyres through hope of thy everlaſtinge Kingdome, by the Merites of the moſte precious Deathe and Paſſion, of thy deare Sonne. We therefore moſte humbly beſeeche thee, O heavenly Father, ſo to aſſiſte us with thy Grace, that we may continue in that holy Felowſhip, and doe all ſuche good Woorkes, as thou haſte prepared for us to walke in, through Jeſus Chriſte oure Lorde, to whome with thee, and the Holy Goſte, bee all Honour and Glorye Worlde withoute end.

Then the Prieſt turning hym to the People, ſhall let them depart with this Bleſſing.

The Peace of God (which paſſeth all Underſtanding) kepe your Heartes and Mindes in the Knowledge and Love of God, and of his Sonne Jeſus Chriſte our Lord; and the Bleſſing of God Almightie, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Goſt, be emonges you, and remayne with you alway.

Then the People ſhall Aunſwere,

Amen.

Where there are no Clearkes, there the Prieſte ſhall ſaye all things appointed here for them to ſyng.

When the holy Communion is celebrate, on the Workeday, or in private Howſes: Then may be omitted the Gloria in Excelſis, *the Crede, the Homely, and the Exhortation, beginning,*

Dearly beloved, &c.

Collects to be ſaid after the Offertory when there is no Communion every ſuch day one.

Aſſiſt us mercifully, O Lord, &c.

The reſt of the Collects are the ſame with thoſe which ſtand at the end of the Communion *Service* now uſed.

After the Collect, Almightie God, who haſt promis'd to hear, &c. There follows two Collects, the one for Rain, and the other for fair Weather, the ſame with ours.

Num. LX.

The Lady Elizabeth's *Letter to the Queen Dowager* Parr, *then married to the Lord Admiral* Seymour; *'twas written to wiſh the Queen Dowager a good hour.*

Cotton lib. Otho C. x. fol. 462. A. D. 1548.

ALthough your Highneſs Letters be moſt joyful to me in abſence, yet conſidering what Pain it is to you to write, your Grace being ſo great with Child, and ſo ſickly, your Commendation were enough in my **Lord**'s Letter. I much rejoyce at your Health, with the well liking of the Country, with my humble Thanks that your Grace wiſh'd me with you, till I were weary of that Country. Your Highneſs were like to be comber'd, if I ſhould not depart till I were weary being with you. Altho' it were in the worſt Soil in the World, your preſence would make it pleaſant. I cannot reprove my **Lord** * for not doing your Commendations in his Letter, for he did it: And altho' he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for that he ſhall be diligent to give me Knowledge, from time to time, how **his** buſie Child doth; and if I were at his Birth, no doubt I would ſee him beaten, for the Trouble he has put you to. Mr. *Denny* and my Lady, with humble Thanks, prayeth moſt entirely for your Grace, praying the Almighty God to ſend you a moſt lucky Deliverance. And my Miſtreſs wiſheth no leſs, giving your Highneſs moſt humble Thanks for her Commendations. Written with very little leiſure, this laſt day of *July*.

* *This and the next Periods ſhew plainly this Queen was not then married to* K. Henry.

Your humble Daughter,

ELIZABETH.

Num. LXI.

The Names of the two and thirty Perſons Commiſſionated by King Edward *the* VIth *to examine, correct and ſet forth the Eccleſiaſtical Laws.*

K. Edward's *Journal*, Cotton *Library*.

The Biſhops
Canterbury.
Ely.
London.
Wincheſter.
Exeter.
Bath.
Gloceſter.
Rocheſter.

The Divines
Taylor of *Lincoln*.
Tylor of *Hadlee*.
Mr. *Cox*, Almoner.
Sir *John Cheek*.
Sir *Anthony Cook*.
Petrus Martyr.
John Alaſco.
Parker of *Cambridge*.

Civilians
Mr. Secretary *Petre*.
Mr. Secretary *Cicil*.
Mr. *Traherne*.
Mr. *Read*.
Mr. *Coke*.
May, Dean of *Pauls*.
Skinner.

Lawyers.
Juſtice *Bromley*.
Juſtice *Hales*.
Goſnald.
Goodrick.
Stamford.
Carel.
Lucas.
Gawdy.

Num. LXII.

The Forms of Ordaining the lower Orders ſettled by the fourth Council of Carthage.

SUbdiaconus cum ordinatur quià Manus Impoſitionem non accipit, Patenam de Epiſcopi Manu accipiat vacuam, & Calicem vacuum. De Manu verò Archidiaconi Urceolum cum aquâ, & Mantile, & Manutergium.

Morinus de ſacris Ordinationibus, *part* 2. *pag*. 260.

Acolythus quum ordinatur, ab Epiſcopo quidem doceatur, qualitèr in Officio ſuo agere debeat. Sed ab Archidiacono accipiat Ceroferrarium cum Cereo, ut ſciat ſe ad accendenda Eccleſiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat & Urceolum vacuum, ad ſuggerendum vinum in Euchariſtiam Sanguinis Chriſti.

Exorciſta cum ordinatur, accipiat de Manu Epiſcopi Libellum in quo ſcripti ſunt Exorciſmi, dicente ſibi Epiſcopo: Accipe, & commenda Memoriæ, & habeto Poteſtatem imponendi Manus ſuper Energumenum, ſive Baptizatum, ſive Catechumenum.

Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum Epiſcopus ad Plebem, indicans ejus Fidem, ac Vitam atque Ingenium. Poſthæc ſpectante Plebe, tradat ei Codicem de quo lecturus eſt, dicens ad eum. Accipe & eſto Lector Verbi Dei, habiturus, ſi fidelitèr & utilitèr impleveris Officium, Partem cum eis, qui Verbum Dei miniſtraverint.

Oſtiarius cum ordinatur, poſtquam ab Archidiacono inſtructus fuerit, qualitèr in Domo Dei debeat converſari, ad Suggeſtionem Archidiaconi tradat ei Epiſcopus Claves Eccleſiæ de Altario; Dicens: Sic age quaſi redditurus Deo Rationem pro his rebus, quæ his Clavibus recluduntur.

Pſalmiſta, id eſt, Cantor poteſt abſque Scientia Epiſcopi, ſola Juſſione Presbyteri Officium ſuſcipere cantandi, dicente ſibi Presbytero: Vide, ut quod ore cantas, Corde credas: Et quod corde credis, operibus probes.

Sanctimonialis Virgo quum ad Conſecrationem ſuo Epiſcopo offertur, in talibus Veſtibus applicatur, qualibus ſempèr uſura eſt, Profeſſioni & Sanctimoniæ aptis.

Num. LXIII.

Part of the Service at the Conſecration of a Biſhop in the Greek *Church. The Tranſlation examined by the Original.*

-----HEre Domine Deus noſter qui per eximium & omnibus modis celebrandum Apoſtolum tuum conſtituiſti nobis in ſancto Altari tuo Graduum & Dignitatum ordinem, Primùm Apoſtolos, deindè Prophetas, tertiò Doctores ad inſerviendum & miniſtrandum venerandis & immaculatis Myſteriis tuis: Ipſe omnium Domine, confirma & corrobora hunc Electum ut per Manum mei Peccatoris & Adſiſtentium Miniſtrorum & Coëpiſcoporum, ſanctique Spiritus Adventu, virtute, & gratiâ ſubeat Evangelicum Jugum, & Dignitatem Epiſcopalem, ſicut confirmâſti & corroborâſti ſanctos Prophetas tuos; ſicut unxiſti Reges, ſicut ſanctificâſti Principes Sacerdotum; ipſiuſque Hierarchicam Dignitatem irreprehenſibilem effice & conſerva, eumque omni Morum Gravitate Sanctimonia adornans

Morinus de ſacris Ordinationibus ex antiquiſſimo Octingentorum Annorum Codice, *part* 2. *pag*. 64.

dornans ſanctifica, ut dignus ſit qui intercedat apud te, & poſtulet ea quæ ad ſalutem populi ſpectant, & obedientiam ſibi exhibendam, quia ſanctificatum eſt nomen tuum, & glorificatum Regnum tuum, &c.

Dicto Amen, Precem diaconicam recitat præſentium Epiſcoporum unus hoc modo.

In pace Dominum deprecemur, pro ſupernâ pace, & ſalute animarum noſtrarum, Dominum deprecemur.

Pro pace totius mundi, & bono ſtabilique ſtatu ſanctarum Eccleſiarum, & omnium unione, Dominum deprecemur.

Pro Archiepiſcopo noſtro N. ipſius Sacerdotio, Auxilio, Perſeverantiâ, Pace, & Salute, & Operibus manuum ejus, Dominum deprecemur.

Pro eo qui nunc deſignatur & promovetur ad Epiſcopatum, & Salute ipſius Dominum deprecemur.

Ut benignus & hominum amans Deus ipſi largiatur Epiſcopatum ab omni ſorde emaculatum, & irreprehenſibilem, deprecemur.

Pro religioſiſſimo, & a Deo cuſtodito Imperatore noſtro, pro hac Urbe, ut nos liberemur, auxiliare, ſerva, miſerere, intercedente ſanctiſſimâ, & immaculatâ Dominâ noſtrâ Dei Genetrice.

Dum autem profertur hæc Oratio ab Epiſcopo, habet ſimiliter Archiepiſcopus Manum ſuper Caput illius, qui ordinatur ſic orans.

Domine Deus noſter, qui propterea quod non poteſt humana natura Divinitatis ferre præſentiam, conſtituiſti prudenti Oeconomia tua Doctores Affectibus, & Animi Perturbationibus nobis ſimiles, qui Throni tui ſedem occuparent, qui pro univerſo populo tuo Sacrificia & Oblationes offerrent: Tu Domine hunc declaratum Oeconomum Gratiæ Epiſcopalis, effice imitatorem tui, veri Paſtoris, ut ponat animam ſuam pro Ovibus ſuis, ut ſit Cæcorum Dux, Lumen eorum qui in tenebris, Inſtitutor inſipientium, Luminare Mundi, & præparatis recteque inſtitutis animabus ſibi creditis, quandiù luce terrena fruuntur, non erubeſcat, ſed confidenter adſtet Tribunali tuo; magnamque illam mercedem recipiat, quam iis præparâſti qui pro Prædicatione Evangelii tui depugnârunt. *Altâ voce*, tuum enim eſt miſereri, & ſalvare, &c.

Num. LXIV.

Ordinatio Presbyteri.

Morinus de Sacris Ordinationibus. *p.* 2. *pag.* 286. *from an* Engliſh-Saxon *Pontifical.*

Presbyter cùm ordinatur, Epiſcopo eum benedicente, & Manum ſuper Caput ejus ponente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui præſentes ſunt Manus ſuas juxta Manum Epiſcopi ſuper illius ponant Caput.

Oratio ad ordinandum Presbyterum.

Oremus dilectiſſimi Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut ſuper hunc Famulum ſuum quem ad Presbyterii munus elegit, Cœleſtia Dona multiplicet, & qui ejus Dignationem ſuſcipit, ejus exequatur auxilium. Per.

Alia.

Exaudi nos quæſumus Domine Deus noſter & ſuper hunc Famulum tuum ill. *&c. ut ſupra in Corbeienſi primo.* Vid. Morin. de Sacr. Ordin. pag. 270.

Hic mutatur Stola, ſequitur Oratio.

Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens Æterne Deus, Bonorum Autor, & Diſtributor omnium Dignitatum quæ tibi militant: per te proficiunt univerſa, per te cuncta firmantur, *cætera ut ſupra in Corbeienſi primo, niſi quod hic ſcribitur* Sacerdotalis Ordo, mentem, ſacrum Miniſterium, quæſumus hæc, qui quanto Famulum tuum ill. ut acceptum, *Corbeienſem Codicem hoc loco cum verbis noſtris comparans varietatis lectionem facilè intelliget, ſed leviſſimæ ſunt differentiæ.* Vid. Morin.

Benedictio vel Conſecratio Manuum Sacerdotis ante Unctionem Chriſmatis.

Benedic Domine & ſanctifica has Manus Sacerdotis tui ill. ad conſecrandas Hoſtias quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur, & ad cætera benedicenda quæ ad uſus populi neceſſaria ſunt, & præſta quæſumus, ut quæcunque benedixerint, benedicantur, & quæcunque ſacraverint, ſacrentur, Salvator Mundi qui vivis & regnas.

Conſecratio manuum Sacerdotis de Oleo & Chriſmate. Conſecrentur Manus iſtæ, quæſumus Domine, de Oleo ſancto, & ſanctificentur per iſtam Unctionem, ſanctamque Benedictionem, ut quæcunque benedixerint, benedicta ſint, & quæcunque ſanctificaverint, ſanctificata permaneant. Per.

Conſecratio Capitis cum Oleo.

Ungatur & conſecretur Caput tuum cœleſti Benedictione in Ordine Sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi, Reſp. Et cum Spiritu tuo.

Tunc veſtiatur Caſula, ſequitur Oratio.

Benedictio Dei Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti deſcendat ſuper te, & hac Sacerdotali Veſte indutus, protectus, & munitus eſſe valeas ab omnibus impugnationibus malignorum Spirituum, & ſis benedictus, & offeras Hoſtias placabiles pro peccatis atque offenſionibus populi Omnipotenti Deo, cui eſt Honor & Gloria.

Ad conſummandum Presbyteri Officium.

Sit nobis communis Oratio, Fratres, ut hic qui in adjutorium & utilitatem veſtræ ſalutis eligitur, Presbyteratus Benedictionem divini Muneris Indulgentia conſequatur, & Sancti Spiritûs Sacerdotalium Dona Privilegio Virtutum nè impar loco deprehendatur, obtineat.

Item alia.

Deus Sanctificationum omnium Autor, cujus vera Conſecratio plena Benedictio eſt, ſuper hunc Famulum tuum ill. quem ad Presbyterii Honorem ad ill. Eccleſiam dedicamus, Gratiam tuæ Benedictionis infunde, ut gravitate actuum, probet ſe eſſe omnium ſeniorem, his inſtitutis Diſciplinis, quas Tito & Timotheo Paulus inſtituit, ut in lege tua Omnipotens Deus, die & nocte meditans, quod legerit credat, quod crediderit doceat, & quod docuerit imitetur. Juſtitiam, Conſtantiam, Miſericordiam, Fortitudinem in ſe oſtendat, probet, ammonitione confirmet, ut purum atque immaculatum Myſterii donum cuſtodiat, & per obſequium Plebis tuæ Corpore & Sanguine Filii tui immaculatâ Benedictione transformetur ad inviolabilem Charitatem, & in Virum perfectum, in menſuram Ætatis plenitudinis Chriſti, in die juſti & æterni Judicii, Conſcientia, pura, fide plena, Spiritu Sancto plenus appareat, te largiente. Qui vivis, *&c.*

Incipit Ordinatio Epiſcopi.

Epiſcopum qui ordinandus eſt, duo Epiſcopi per manus de Secretario antequam Evangelium legatur, deducant ante Altare, & eo inibi proſternato, ab Archiepiſcopo inchoetur Litania, qua finita, & eo erecto ponatur Evangelium ſuper ſcapulas ejus, & has dicant Epiſcopi ſuper ipſum Orationes. *Oremus* Dilectiſſimi nobis, ut huic Viro ill. ad utilitatem Eccleſiæ provehendo Benignitas Omnipotentis Dei Gratiæ ſuæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum.

Alia.

Adeſto Supplicationibus noſtris, Omnipotens Deus, ut quod humilitatis noſtræ gerendum eſt Miniſterio, tuæ virtutis impleatur effectu. Per.

Alia.

Propitiare Domine Supplicationibus noſtris: Et inclinato ſuper hunc Famulum tuum ill. Cornu Gratiæ Sacerdotalis, Benedictionis tuæ in eo effunde Virtutem. Per Dominum.

Solus vero Archiepiſcopus hanc dicat Conſecrationem cæteris adſtantibus, & duobus Epiſcopis Evangelium ſuper ipſum qui ordinandus eſt tenentibus.

Deus Honorum omnium, Deus omnium Dignitatum, quæ Gloriæ tuæ ſacratis famulantur Ordinibus. Deus qui Moyſen Famulum tuum ſecreti Familiaris afflatu, inter cætera cœleſtis Documenta Culturæ, de habitu quoque indumenti Sacerdotalis inſtituens, electum Aaron myſtico amictu veſtiri inter ſacra juſſiſti, ut intelligentiæ ſenſum de Exemplis Priorum caperet ſecutura Poſteritas, nè Eruditio Doctrinæ tuæ ulli deeſſet ætati: Cum & apud Veteres Reverentiam ipſa ſignificationum ſpecies obtineret, & apud nos certiora eſſent experimenta rerum quàm Ænigmata Figurarum. Illius namque Sacerdotii anterioris habitus, noſtræ mentis ornatus eſt, & Pontificalem Gloriam non jam nobis Honor commendat Veſtium, ſed Splendor Animarum: Quia & illa quæ tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ in ipſis erant intelligenda poſcebant. Et proinde huic Famulo tuo quem ad ſummi Sacerdotii Miniſterium elegiſti, hanc quæſumus Domine, Gratiam largiaris, ut quidquid illa velamina in Fulgore Auri, in nitore Gemmarum, in multimodi operis varietate ſignabant, hoc in ejus Moribus Actibuſque clareſcat. *Hic accipit Chriſma.* Comple Domine in Sacerdote tuo, Myſterii tui ſummam, & Ornamentis totius Glorificationis inſtructum eum cœleſtis Unguenti flore ſanctifica. *Hic mittatur Chriſma ſuper Caput ejus.* Hoc Domine copioſè in Caput ejus influat, hoc in oris ſubjecta decurrat, hoc in totius Corporis extrema deſcendat, ut tui Spiritûs virtus, & interiora ejus repleat, & exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in eo Conſtantia Fidei, Puritas Dilectionis, Sinceritas Pacis, ſint ſpecioſi munere tuo pedes ejus ad evangelizandam Pacem, ad evangelizandum Bona tua. Da ei Domine Myſterium Reconciliationis in verbis, & factis, & virtutibus & ſignis, & prodigiis. Sit Sermo ejus & Prædicatio non in perſuaſibilibus humanæ Sapientiæ verbis, ſed in oſtenſione Spiritûs & virtute. Da ei, Domine, Claves Regni Cœlorum; utatur nec glorietur poteſtate quam tribuis in ædificationem, & non in deſtructionem: Quodcunq; ligaverit ſuper Terram, ſit ligatum & in Cœlis, & quodcunque ſolverit ſuper Terram, ſit ſolutum & in Cœlis. Quorum detinuerit peccata, detenta ſint, & quorum dimiſerit, tu dimittas. Qui benedixerit ei ſit benedictus, & qui maledixerit ei, Maledictionibus repleatur. Sit fidelis ſervus & prudens quem conſtituas Dominum ſuper Familiam tuam, ut det illis Cibum in tempore neceſſario, & exhibeat omnem Hominem perfectum. Sit ſollicitudine impiger, ſit Spiritu fervens, oderit ſuperbiam, diligat veritatem, nec eam unquam deſerat, aut laſſitudine, aut timore ſuperatus. Non ponat lucem tenebras, nec tenebras lucem: Non dicat bonum malum, nec malum bonum. Tribuas ei, Domine, Cathedram Pontificalem ad regendam Eccleſiam tuam, & Plebem univerſam. Sis ei Authoritas, ſis ei Firmitas, ſis ei Poteſtas. Multiplices ſuper eum Benedictionem, & Gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam Miſericordiam tuam tuo ſemper Munere idoneus, tua Gratia poſſit eſſe devotus. Per.

Item alia ſuper Epiſcopum.

Pater Sancte, Omnipotens Deus, qui per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum ab initio cuncta creâſti, & poſtmodum in fine temporum ſecundum Pollicitationem quam Abraham Patriarcha noſter acceperat, Eccleſiam quoque Sanctorum Congregatione fundâſti, ordinatis rebus per quas Legibus à te datis Diſciplinæ Religio regeneretur. Præſta ut hic Famulus tuus ſit Miniſteriis cunctiſque fideliter geſtis Officiis dignus, ut antiquitus inſtituta Sacramentorum Myſteria poſſit celebrare, per te in ſummum ad quod aſſumitur Sacerdotium conſecretur. Sit ſuper eundem Benedictio tua, licet manu noſtra ſit. Præcipe Domine, huic paſcere Oves tuas, ac tribue ut commiſſi Gregis Cuſtodia ſolicitus Paſtor invigilet. Spiritus huic Sanctus cœleſtium Chariſmatum Diviſor adſiſtat, ut ſicut ille Electus Gentium Doctor inſtituit, ſit juſtitia non indigens, Benignitate pollens, Hoſpitalitate diffuſus, ſervet in Exhortationibus Alacritatem, in Perſecutionibus Fidem, in Charitate Patientiam, in Veritate Conſtantiam, in Hæreſibus ac Vitiis omnibus Odium ſciat, in æmulationibus neſciat: In Judiciis gratioſum eſſe ſinas, & gratum eſſe concedas. Poſtremò à te largitore diſcat, quæ ſalubritèr tuos doceat. Sacerdotium ipſum opus eſſe exiſtimet, non Dignitatem. Proficiant ei Honoris Augmenta, etiam ad Incrementa Meritorum, ut per hæc ſicut apud nos nunc adſciſcitur in Sacerdotium, ita apud te poſtea adſciſcatur in Regnum. Per Dominum.

Benedictio de ſeptiformi Spiritu.

Spiritus Sanctus ſeptiformis veniat ſuper te, & virtus Altiſſimi ſine peccato cuſtodiat te, & omnis Benedictio quæ in Scripturis ſanctis ſcripta eſt, ſuper te veniat. Confirmet te Deus Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ut habeas vitam æternam, & vivas in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Conſecratio Manuum Epiſcopi ab Archiepiſcopo, Oleo ſancto, & Chriſmate.

Ungantur Manus iſtæ, & ſanctificentur, & in te Deo Deorum ordinentur. Ungo has Manus Oleo ſanctificato, & Chriſmate Unctionis purificato, ſicut unxit Moyſes verbo oris ſui Manus S. Aaron Germani ſui, & ſicut unxit Spiritus ſanctus per ſuos Flatus, Manus ſuorum Apoſtolorum, ita ungantur Manus iſtæ, & ſanctificentur & conſecrentur, ut in omnibus ſint perfectæ in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiique tui, atque æterni Spiritus S. qui es unus ac ſummus Dominus omnium vivorum & mortuorum, manens in ſæcula ſæculorum.

Hic mittatur Oleum ſuper Caput ejus.

Ungatur & conſecretur Caput tuum cœleſti Benedictione in Ordinem pontificalem in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti. Pax tibi. *Reſp.* Et cum Spiritu tuo.

Benedictio Baculi ut alii volunt.

Tu Baculus noſtræ, & Rector per ſæcula Vitæ
Iſtum ſanctifica Pietatis jure Bacillum
Quo mala ſternantur, quo ſemper recta regantur.

Hic detur Baculus, ſequatur Oratio.

Accipe Baculum Paſtoralis Officii, & ſis in corrigendis vitiis ſæviens; in ira judicium ſine ira tenens: cum iratus fueris miſericordiæ reminiſcens.

Item alia.

Accipe Baculum ſacri Regiminis Signum, ut imbecilles conſolides, titubantes confirmes, pravos corrigas, rectos dirigas in viam Salutis æternæ, habeaſque poteſtatem erigendi dignos, & corrigendi indignos, cooperante Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto vivit.

Cum datur Annulus, hæc Oratio dicatur.

Accipe ergo Annulum Diſcretionis & Honoris, Fidei Signum, ut quæ ſignanda ſunt ſignes, & quæ aperienda ſunt prodas, quæ liganda ſunt liges, quæ ſolvenda ſunt ſolvas; atque credentibus per Fidem Baptiſmatis, lapſis autem & pœnitentibus per Miniſterium Reconciliationis, Januas

Reconciliationis aperias: Cunctis vero de Theſauro Dominico nova & vetera proferas, ad æternam Salutem omnium Conſolator, gratia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti qui cum Patre & Spiritu ſancto vivit & regnat.

Additio in Conſecratione.

Deus Honorum omnium, Deus omnium Dignitatum quæ Gloriæ tuæ ſacris famulantur Ordinibus, huc Famulo tuo ill. quem Apoſtolicæ ſedis Præſulem & Primatem Sacerdotum ac Eccleſiæ tuæ Doctorem dediſti, & ad ſummi Sacerdotii Miniſterium elegiſti, hanc quæſumus Domine Gratiam largiaris, ut Cathedram Pontificalem ad regendam Eccleſiam tuam, & Plebem Univerſam aſcendat. Per.

Hic mittatur in Cathedram Epiſcopalem, & hæc Oratio dicatur.

Omnipotens Pater Sancte, Deus æterne, tu omnem Ordinem dignatus es in Cæleſtibus Sedibus Ordinare, in Cælo Domine in æternum permanet Verbum tuum, ubi Angelos & Archangelos ſuo tibi Ordine manciparis, & in Veteris Teſtamenti Privilegio Moyſen, & Aaron, & Samuel inter eos in Sacerdotibus tuis qui invocant nomen tuum, Patriarchas & Prophetas per Unguinem ordinâſti: In novo per Filium tuum Jeſum Chriſtum Apoſtolos Sanctos, & præcipuè Apoſtolum Petrum in Cathedram Honoris univerſæ Eccleſiæ præpoſuiſti, & Mathiam ejuſdem Conſortem in Apoſtolatum atque Cathedram enumerâſti, & in Numerum Sanctorum omnium Apoſtolorum evocâſti, quæſumus, pro tua immenſa Miſericordia in noſtris Temporibus, da tuam gratiam Fratri noſtro ill. ad inſtar Sanctorum Apoſtolorum tuorum, ſedentium in Cathedra Honoris & Dignitatis, ut in Conſpectu Majeſtatis tuæ Dignus Honore appareat. Per Dominum.

Alia.

Domine Jeſu Chriſte tu præelegiſti Apoſtolos tuos, ut Doctrinâ ſuâ nobis præeſſent, ita etiam Vice Apoſtolorum hunc Epiſcopum, Doctrinam docere, & benedicere, & erudire digneris, ut immaculatam vitam & illæſam conſervet. Per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum.

Benedictio ejuſdem Sacerdotis.

Populus te honoret, adjuvet te Dominus, quidquid petieris præſtet tibi Deus, cum Honore, cum Caſtitate, cum Scientiâ, cum Largitate, cum Charitate, cum Nobilitate. Dignus ſis, juſtus ſis, Humilis ſis, Sincerus ſis, Apoſtolus Chriſti ſis. Accipe Benedictionem, & Apoſtolatum qui permaneat in die iſtâ, & in die futurâ. Angeli ſint ad dexteram tuam, Apoſtoli coronati ad ſiniſtram: Eccleſia ſit Mater tua, & Altare ſit Deus Pater tuus. Sint Angeli amici tui, ſint Apoſtoli Fratres tui, & Apoſtolatus tui gradum cuſtodiant. Confirmet te Deus in Juſtitia, in Sanctitate, in Eccleſia ſancta. Angeli recipiant te, & Pax tecum indiſcrepabilis per Redemptorem Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto, vivit & regnat in ſæcula ſæculorum. *Amen.*

Num. LXV.

A Patent of King *Edward* the Sixth, for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Dutch* Church in *London.*

Le privilege Ottroye par le Roy, a l'Egliſe des Eſtrangers inſtituée à Londres, l'an. 1550.

Paper Office. EDouard ſixieſme par le Grace de Dieu Roy d' Angleterre, France, & Hirlande, Defenſeur de lay Foy, & ſupreme Chef en Terre, ſous Chriſt, de l' Egliſe d'Angleterre & d' Hirlande. A tous ceux auxquels ces preſentes Lettres parviendront, ſalut. Comme ainſi ſoit, que tres grandes & graves Conſiderations, nous ayent induits (ſpecialement á preſent) & auſſi penſans ce, de quelle affection & charité, il convient que les Princes Chretiens ſoyent, prompts, & bien affectiones envers le ſaint & ſacré Evangile de Dieu & á la Religion Apoſtolique, encommencée, inſtituée, & donnée de Chriſt meſme, ſans laquelle, la Police & la Gouvernment Civil ne peut longement durer, ny garder ſon Honneur. Sinon que le Princes, & autres hommes puiſſants, leſquels Dieu á volieu eſtre allis aux Gouvernments des Royaummes, faſchant devant toutes choſes, que par tout le Corps de la Republique, la Religion chaſte, & entire ſoit eſpandue; & que l' Egliſe inſtituée & augmentée aux opinions, & façons vrayment Chretiennes & Apoſtoliques ſoit conſervée par le ſaints Miniſtres, morts a la chair & au monde, (pour autant que nous arreſtons que c' eſt l' officie d' un Prince Chretien, entre autres grandes cogitations, pour bien & noblement adminiſtrer ſon Royaume, de pourvoir a la Religion, & aux Calamiteux, affliges & bannis a cauſe de la Religion) Sachez, que conſiderans non ſeulment les choſes predites, & deſirans garder, de la Tyrranie du Pape l' Egliſe par nous reſtituée en ſa premiere liberte, mais auſi ayant pitie de la condition des Bannis, & Eſtrangers qui ja alles, & long temps y á, ont demuré en Noſtre Royaume d'Angleterre, eſtans condamnez a Baniſſement volontaire a cauſe de la Religion & de l' Egliſe, (car nous n'avons point eſtimé, que cela fut digne d'un homme Chretien, ny de la Magnificence d'un Prince, du quel la Liberalité, doyve eſtre ad ſtreinte ou fermée á toutes gens Eſtrangers, proffligez & chaſſé de leurs Pays, & ſe retirans en noſtres Royaumes á refuge, ayant beſoign d'aides neceſſaires a la vie, en tel eſtat & pourtant que pluſieurs des Allemands & autres Eſtrangers, qui ſont venus, & viennent journellment en Noſtre Royaume tant d'Allemagne que d'autres Pays loingtains, aux quels la liberté de l' Evangile, ſous la Domination de la Papauté a commencée, d'eſtre taché & oprimée n'ont point de lieu certain, ny place ou ils puiſſent en noſtre Royaume faire leurs aſſemblies, ou ils puiſſent entre les hommes de leur Nation, & de leur Langue traitter intelligiblement les Affaires de la Religion & les Choſes Eccleſiaſtiques, ſélon la couſtume & maniere de leur Pays. Parquoy de Noſtre Grace ſpeciale, & de Noſtre certaine Science & plein mouvement, & auſſi par l'advis de Noſtre Conſeil, nous voulons, concedons, & ordonnons, que d'oreſen-avant il y ait un Temple, ou Maiſon dediée en noſtre Cite de Londres lequel ou la quelle on appellera le Temple du Siegneur Jeſus, ou la Congregation & Aſſemblée des Allemands & autres Eſtrangers puiſſe eſtre fait & celebrée. A ceſte intention & propos, que par les Miniſtres de l'Egliſe des Allemands & autres Eſtrangers, le S. & ſacre Evangile ſoit interpreté purement, & les Sacremens adminiſtrer ſelon la parole de Dieu, & Ordonnance Apoſtolique, & par les preſentes, dreſſons, creons, ordonnons & fondons ce Temple, ou Maiſon dediée d'un Superintendant, & de quatre Miniſtres de la Parole. Et que les dits Superintendant & Miniſtres ſoyent & ſeront de fait & de nom, un Corps incorporé & pollitique de ſoy, par le nom de Superintendant & des Miniſtres de l' Egliſe des Allemands & des autres Eſtrangers, par la Fondation, du Roy Edouard ſixieſme. Nous les encorporons par ces preſentes en la Cité de Londres, & Cre-

ons, dreſſons, Ordonnons, Faiſons & Conſtitutions, realment, & de fait par ces preſents, un Corps in corporé & Pollitique par le meſme nom, & qu'ils ayant Suceſſion. Et en outre, de noſtre, Grace ſpeciale, & de noſtre certain Science, & per mouvement, & de l'advis de noſtre Conſeil, nous avons donné & concedé, donnons & concedons aux dits ſuperintendant & Miniſtres de l' Egliſe des Allemanes, & autres Eſtrangers, en la Cité de Londres tout ce Temple ou Egliſe des Auguſtins, qui fuerent par le devant en Noſtre Cité de Londres, & tout la terre, le fons, & le Sol, de les dits Egliſe, Excepte toute le Cœur de la dite Egliſe, & la terre fons & ſol d'iceluy. Les dits ſuperintendant & Miniſtres & leurs Succeſſors auront & jouyront du dit Temple ou Egliſe, & des Choſes ſuſdits, hors de Choſes exceptées, pour les tems de nous & de nos Heritiers & Suceſſeurs en pure & en franche aumoſne. En outre nous donnons de le adviſement predit & de noſtre certaine Science, & des nos Mouvements predits, par ces preſents, nous concedons aux dits ſuperintendant & Miniſtres, & a leurs Succeſſeurs, pleine faculté, puiſſance & Authorité d'augmenter & faire plus grands Nombres de Miniſtres, de les nommer & appunctuer de temps en temps, tels & ſemblables Miniſtres, pour ſervir au dit Temple, qu'il ſemblera eſtre neceſſaires aux dits ſuperintendant, & Miniſtres, & ſeront toutes ces choſes, ſelon le bon plaiſir du Roy. Davantage nous voulons, que Jean à Laſco, Polonnois de Nation, homme fort honorable, á Cauſe de ſon integrité & innocence de vie & de moeurs, & de ſa ſingulaire erudition, ſoit le primier & moderne ſuperintendant de la dit Egliſe, & que Gualterus dè Lænus, Martin de Flandres, Francois de la Riveire & Richard Francois, ſoyent les Quatres primiers & Modernes Miniſtres; nous donnons avantage & concedons aux dits ſuperintendants & Miniſtres, & a leurs Succeſſeurs faculté, Authorité & puiſſance qu' apres la mort ou vacation d'aucuns des dits Miniſtres, de Temps en Temps, d'en choiſir, nommer & ſurroger un autre en ſon lieu, perſone capable & idoyne: Tellement toute fois que la perſone ainſi, nommeé & eſlevé ſoit preſenteé & amenée devant nous, Nos Heritiers & Succeſſeurs, & qu'ils ſoyent Ordoner au dit Miniſtere par nous, ou nos Heritiers & Succeſſeurs. Nous donnons auſi & concedons, aux dits Superintendant & Miniſtres, & a leurs ſucceſſeurs, Faculté, Authorité, & Licence, apres la mort & vacation du ſuperintendant, de Temps en Temps, d'en eſlire nommer & ſurroger un autre en ſa place, qui ſoit perſonnage docte & grave, en ſorte toute fois, que la perſonne ainſi nommeé, & eſlevé ſoit preſenteé & ameneé devant nous, & Nos Heritiers ou Succeſſeurs, & ſoit inſtitueé par nous, ou Nos Heritiers ou Succeſſeurs a l' Office ſuſdits ſurintendant.

Nous mandons & fermement enjoignons, Nous commandons au Maire, Conſeillers & Eſchevins de Noſtre ville de Londres, & a l' Eveſque de Londres & a les Succeſſeurs avec toutes autres Archevéques, Juſticiers, Officiers, & a tous nos autres Miniſtres, qu'ils permettent aux dit ſuperintendant & Miniſtres, de franchement & en repos, joyer, uſer, & exercer aux leurs manieres & Ceremonies propres & la diſcipline Eccleſiaſtique propre & particuliere; non obſtant, qu'ils ne conviennent avec nos Manieres & Ceremonies uſiteés en Noſtre Royaume; & ce ſans empeſchement, trouble ou inquietation d'eux, ou d' aucun d'eux par aucun ſtatute, Acte, Proclamation Injonction, Reſtriction, ou Uſage, qu'ils ont eu auparavant; au contraire, & non obſtant tous Fait, Edits ou Proclamations a ce contraires, pource que aux preſents mention expreſſe aucune n'y a de vraye valeur annuelle, ou de la certitude des choſes preſdits ou d'aucune, d'icelles, ou des autres, dons & conçeſſions par nous cy devant faites, aux dits ſuperintendant, Miniſtres & a leurs Succeſſeurs, ou par aucun Statute, Acte, Ordonance, Proviſion, ou Reſtriction, faits publietz, ordonnez, ou pourveus au contraire, ou non obſtante quelconque autre Choſe, cauſe au Matiere que ce ſoit. En Teſmoignage de quoy, nous avons fait faire ces noſtres Lettres Pattentes. Temoign moy meſme, a Leighes le 24 jour de Juliet, l'an quatreieſme de Noſtre Regne.

Par le bref du Prive Seél & des Choſes donneés par l' Authorite du Parliament.

P. Southwell. W. HARRYS.

Num. LXVI.

Articles agreed upon in the Convocation, and publiſhed by the King's Majeſty.

The Margin contains ſome of the Alterations or Omiſſions made in 1562.

The Difference between theſe Articles and thoſe paſs'd by the Biſhops and Clergy of both Houſes, in the Year 1562, may be ſeen by comparing the Text with the Margin.

I. *Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THere is but one living and true God, and he is everlaſting, without Body, Parts, or Paſſions; of infinite Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, the maker and preſerver of all things both viſible and inviſible. And in unity of his Godhead, there be three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

II. *That the Word, or Son of God, was made very Man.*

The Son which is the Word of the Father * took Mans Nature in the Womb of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, of her Subſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the Godhead and Manhood were join'd together into one Perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very Man, who truly ſuffer'd, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice for all Sin of Man, both original and actual.

** Begotten from Everlaſting, of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father.*

III. *Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.*

As Chriſt died and was buried for us, ſo alſo it is to be believed, that he went down into Hell. † For the Body lay in the Sepulchre until the Reſurrection; but his Ghoſt departing from him, was with the Ghoſts that were in Priſon, or in Hell, and did preach to the ſame, as the place of St. *Peter* doth teſtify.

† The following Words are omited in the third Article of 1562.

‡ IV. *The Reſurrection of Chriſt.*

Chriſt did truly riſe again from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth, until he return to judge Men at the laſt Day.

‡ Of the Holy Ghoſt
The Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God. This is the 5th Article amongſt thoſe paſſed. An. 1562.

V. *The Doctrine of Holy Scripture is ſufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation: So that whatſoever is neither read therein, nor may be proved thereby, although it be ſome time received of the Faithfull as godly and profitable for an Order and Comelineſs, yet no Man ought to be conſtrain'd to believe it as

an Article of Faith, or reputed requiſite to the Neceſſity of Salvation.

VI. *The Old Teſtament is not to be refuſed.*

The Old Teſtament is not to be put away as though it were contrary to the New, but to be kept ſtill; for both in the Old and New Teſtaments everlaſting Life is offer'd to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes.

VII. *The three Creeds.*

The three Creeds, *Nicene* Creed, *Athanaſius*'s Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received *. For they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of Holy Scripture.

* *And believed.*

VIII. *Of Original or Birth Sin.*

Original Sin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, which alſo the Anabaptiſts do now a-days renew) but it is the Fault and Corruption of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is ingendred of the Offſpring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far gone from his former Righteouſneſs which he had at his Creation, and is, of his own Nature, given to Evil, ſo that the Fleſh deſireth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Perſon born in this World, it deſerveth God's Wrath and Damnation; And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are baptiz'd, whereby the Luſt of the Fleſh, called in *Greek* φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which ſome do expound the Wiſdom, ſome the Senſuality, ſome the Affection, ſome the Deſire of the Fleſh, is not ſubject to the Law of God. And although there is no Condemnation for them that believe, and are baptiz'd, yet the Apoſtle doth confeſs, that Concupiſcence and Luſt hath, of it ſelf, the Nature of Sin.

IX. *Of Free-Will.*

We have no Power to doe good Workes pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good Will, and Working in us when we have that Will.

X. *Of Grace.*

The Grace of Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt by him given, doth take away the ſtony Heart, and giveth an Heart of Fleſh; and altho' thoſe that have no Will to good Things, he maketh them to Will, and thoſe that would evil things, he maketh them not to Will the ſame; yet nevertheleſs he enforceth not the Will: And therefore no Man when he ſinneth, can excuſe himſelf as not worthy to be blamed, or condemned, by alledging that he ſinned unwillingly or by compulſion.

XI. *Of the Juſtification of Man.*

Juſtification by only Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, in that Senſe as it is declared in the Homily of Juſtification, is a moſt certain and wholeſom Doctrine for Chriſtian Men.

XII. *Works before Juſtification.*

Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the Inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, foraſmuch as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſu Chriſt, neither do they make Men mete to receive Grace, (or as the School Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of congruity: But becauſe they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the Nature of Sin.

XIII. *Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary Works beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogance and Iniquity. For by them Men do declare, that they do not only render to God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden Duty is required: Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, *When ye have done all that is commanded you, ſay, we be unprofitable Servants.*

XIV. *No Man is without Sin but Chriſt alone.*

Chriſt in the Truth of Nature was made like unto us in all things (Sin only excepted) from which he was clearly void, both in his Fleſh and in his Spirit. He came to be the Lamb without Spot, who by Sacrifice of himſelf made once for ever, ſhould take away the Sins of the World: And Sin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him. But the reſt (yea, altho' we be baptiz'd and born again in Chriſt) yet we offend in many things, and if we ſay, we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us.

XV. *Of Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

Every deadly Sin willingly committed after Baptiſm, is not Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and unpardonable: Wherefore the place for Penitents is not to be denied to ſuch as fall into Sin after Baptiſm. After we have receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into Sin; and by the Grace of God, (we may) ariſe again, and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemn'd, which ſay they can no more Sin as long as they live here, or deny the *Place of Pennance* *, to ſuch as truly repent and amend their Lives.

* *The Place of Forgiveneſs.*

XVI. *Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

All omitted.

Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, is when a Man of Malice and Stubborneſs of Mind doth rail upon the Truth of God's Word manifeſtly perceived, and being Enemy thereunto, perſecuteth that ſame; and becauſe ſuch be guilty of God's Curſe, they entangle themſelves with a moſt grievous and heinous Crime; whereupon this kind of Sin is called and affirmed, of the Lord, unpardonable.

XVII. *Of Predeſtination and Election.*

Predeſtination to Life is the everlaſting Purpoſe of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his own Judgment, ſecret from us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen * out of Mankind, and to bring them to everlaſting Salvation by Chriſt, as Veſſels made to Honour: Whereupon ſuch as have ſo excellent a Benefit of God given unto them, be called according to God's Purpoſe by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon; they thro' Grace obey the Calling: they be juſtified freely: they be made Sons † by Adoption: they be made like the Image of God's only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt: they walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlaſting Felicity.

* *In Chriſt.*

* *Sons of God.*

As the godly Conſideration of Predeſtination and our Election in Chriſt is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable Comfort to godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the Works of the Fleſh, and their earthly Members, and drawing up their Mind to high and heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation, to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God: So for curious and carnal Perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil may thruſt them either into Deſperation, or into Wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean Living, no leſs perilous than Deſperation.

Furthermore, altho' the Decrees of Predeſtination are unknown unto us, yet we muſt receive God's Promiſſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our Doings that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII. *We muſt truſt to obtain eternal Salvation only by the Name of Chriſt.*

They alſo are to be had accurſed and abhorred, that preſume to ſay, that every Man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt whereby Men muſt be ſaved.

XIX. *All Men are bound to keep the Moral Commandments of the Law.*

The Law which was given of God by *Moſes*, although it bind not Chriſtian Men as concerning the Ceremonies and Rites of the ſame, neither is it required that the Civil Precepts and Orders of it ſhould, of neceſſity, be received in any Commonweal, yet no Man, be he never ſo perfect a Chriſtian, is exempt and looſe from the Obedience of thoſe Commandments which are called Moral: Wherefore they are not to be hearken'd to, who affirm that Holy Scripture is given only to the Weak, and do boaſt themſelves continually of the Spirit, of whom they ſay they have learned ſuch things as they teach, altho' the ſame be moſt eminently repugnant to the Holy Scripture.

XX. *Of the Church.*

The viſible Church of Chriſt, is a Congregation of faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly miniſtred according to Chriſt's Ordinance in all thoſe things that of Neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame.

As the Church of *Jeruſalem*, of *Alexandria*, and of *Antioch*, hath erred: ſo alſo the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Living, but alſo in Matters of Faith.

XXI. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it ſo expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore altho' the Church be a Witneſs and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſide the ſame ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for Neceſſity of Salvation.

XXII. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they be gathered (for as much as they be an Aſſembly of Men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, not only in worldly Matters, but alſo in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordain'd by them as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unleſs it may be declared, that they be taken out of the Holy Scripture.

XXIII. *Of Purgatory.*

The Doctrine of School-Authors concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicks, and alſo Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly feigned, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV. *No Man may miniſter in the Congregation except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or miniſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and ſent to execute the ſame: And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and ſend Miniſters in the Lord's Vineyard.

XXV. *Men muſt ſpeak in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as the People underſtandeth.*

It is moſt ſeemly and moſt agreeable to the Word of God, that in the Congregation nothing be openly read, ſpoken in a Tongue unknown to the People; the which St. *Paul* did forbid, except ſome were preſent that ſhould declare the ſame.

XXVI. *Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath knit together a Company of new People, with Sacraments moſt few in Number, moſt eaſie to be kept, moſt excellent in Signification, as is Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

The Sacraments were not ordain'd of Chriſt to be gaz'd upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould rightly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome Effect and Operation, and yet not that of the Work wrought as ſome Men ſpeak; which Word as it is ſtrange and unknown to Holy Scripture, ſo it engendreth no godly, but a very ſuperſtitious Senſe; But they that receive the Sacraments unworthily, purchaſe to themſelves Damnation, as St. *Paul* ſaith.

Sacraments ordained by the Word of God, be not only Badges and Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion: But rather they be certain ſure Witneſſes, and effectual Signs of Grace and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

XXVII. *The Wickedneſs of the Miniſters doth not not take away the effectual Operation of God's Ordinances.*

Altho' in the viſible Church the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometime the Evil have chief Authoritie in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments: Yet foraſmuch as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but do miniſter by Chriſt's Commiſſion and Authoritie, we may uſe their Miniſtry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in the receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of God's Ordinances taken away by their Wickedneſs, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch, as by Faith rightly receive the Sacraments miniſtred unto them, which be effectual, becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, altho' they be miniſtred by evil Men.

Nevertheleſs, it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that Enquiry be made of [*]ſuch, and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have Knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found guilty by juſt Judgment be depoſed.

[*] *Evil Miniſters.*

XXVIII. *Of Baptiſm.*

Baptiſm is not only a ſign of Profeſſion, and mark of Difference, whereby Chriſtian Men are diſcerned from others that be not Chriſtned: But it is alſo a ſign and ſeal of our new Birth, whereby, as by an Inſtrument, they that receive Baptiſm rightly are grafted into the Church: The promiſes of forgiveneſs of Sin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God, are viſibly ſign'd and ſeal'd, Faith is confirmed, and Grace increaſed by vertue of Prayer unto God. The cuſtom of the Church to Chriſten young Children, is to be commended, and in any wiſe to be retained in the Church.

XXIX. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord is not only a ſign of the love that Chriſtians ought to have among themſelves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Chriſt's death. Inſomuch that to ſuch as rightly, worthily, and with Faith, receive the ſame, the Bread which we break is a Communion of the Body of Chriſt; likewiſe the Cup of Bleſſing is a Communion of the Bloud of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiation, or the change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine into the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, cannot be proved by holy Writ: But it is repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, and hath given occaſion to many Superſtitions.

Foraſmuch as the truth of Man's Nature requireth, that the Body of one and the ſelf ſame Man, cannot be at one time in divers places, but muſt needs be in ſome one certain place; therefore the Body of Chriſt cannot be preſent at one time, in many and divers places: And becauſe, as holy Scripture doth teach, Chriſt was taken up into Heaven, and there ſhall continue unto the end of the World; a faithful Man ought not either to believe, or openly confeſs the real and bodily Preſence, as they term it, of Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not commanded by Chriſt's Ordinance to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worſhipped.

XXX. *Of the perfect Oblation of Chriſt made upon the Croſs.*

The Offering of Chriſt made once for ever, is the perfect Redemption, the pacifying of God's Diſpleaſure, and ſatisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin, but that alone. Wherefore the Sacrifices of Maſſes, in the which it was commonly ſaid, that the Prieſt did offer Chriſt for the Quick and the Dead, to have Remiſſion of Pain or Sin, were * forged Fables, and dangerous Deceits.

**Blaſphemous.*

XXXI. *The State of ſingle Life is commanded to no Man by the Word of God.*

Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons are not commanded to vow the State of ſingle Life, without Marriage, neither by God's Law are they compelled to abſtain from Matrimony.

Therefore 'tis lawful for them, as for all other Chriſtian Men, to marry at their own Diſcretion, as they ſhall judge the ſame to ſerve better for Godlineſs.

XXXII. *Excommunicate Perſons are to be avoided.*

That Perſon which by open Denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken, of the whole multitude of the Faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath Authority thereto.

XXXIII. *Traditions of the Church.*

It is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all Places one, or utterly like, for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diverſity of Countries, and Mens Manners, ſo that nothing be Ordained againſt God's Word. Whoſoever through his private Judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of weak Brethren.

XXXIV. *Of Homilies.*

The Homilies of late given and ſet out by the King's Authority, be godly and wholſom, containing Doctrine to be received of all Men, and therefore are to be read to the People diligently, diſtinctly and plainly. *

**The ſecond Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have join'd under the Article, doth contain a godly and wholſom Doctrine neceſſary for theſe Times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the time of* Edward *VI. and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches, by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtanded of the People,*

1. *Of the right Uſe of the Church.*
2. *Againſt peril of Idolatry.*
3. *Of repairing and keep-clean of Churches.*
4. *Of good Works, firſt of Faſting.*
5. *Againſt Gluttony and Drunkenneſs.*
6. *Againſt exceſs of Apparel.*
7. *Of Prayer.*
8. *Of the place and time of Prayer.*
9. *That Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be miniſtred in a known Tongue.*
10. *Of the reverend Eſtimation of God's Word.*
11. *Of Alms doing.*
12. *Of the Nativity of Chriſt.*
13. *Of the Paſſion of Chriſt.*
14. *Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.*
15. *Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*
16. *Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.*
17. *For the Rogation Days.*
18. *Of the State of Matrimony.*
19. *Of Repentance.*
20. *Againſt Idleneſs.*
21. *Againſt Rebellion.*

XXXV. *Of the Book of Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of* England.

The Book which of very late time was given to the Church of *England*, by the King's Authority and the Parliament, containing the Manner and Form of praying and miniſtring the Sacraments in the Church of *England*: Likewiſe alſo the Book of ordering Miniſters of the Church, ſet forth by the aforeſaid Authority, are godly, and in no Point repugnant to the wholeſom Doctrine of the Goſpel, but agreeable thereunto, furthering and beautifying the ſame not a little: And therefore, of all faithful Members of the Church of *England*, and chiefly of the Miniſters of the Word, they ought to be received and allowed with all readineſs of Mind and Thankſgiving, and to be commended to the People of God.

XXXVI. *Of Civil Magiſtrates.*

The King of *England* is ſupreme Head in Earth, next under Chriſt, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Civil Magiſtrate is ordained and allowed of God, wherefore we muſt obey him, not only for fear of Puniſhment, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.

The Civil Laws may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Chriſtians at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear Weapons, and ſerve in lawful Wars.

XXXVII. *Chriſtian Mens Goods are not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title and Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain Anabaptiſts do falſely boaſt. Notwithſtanding every Man ought, of ſuch things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor according to his Ability.

XXXVIII. *Chriſtian Men may take an Oath.*

As we confeſs, that vain and raſh Swearing is forbidden Chriſtian Men, by our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, and his Apoſtle *James*; ſo we judge that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may ſwear when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a Cauſe of Faith and Charity, ſo it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Juſtice, Judgment and Truth.

XXXIX. *The Reſurrection of the Dead is not yet brought to paſs.*

The Reſurrection of the Dead is not as yet brought to paſs, as though it only belonged to the Soul, which by the Grace of Chriſt is called from the death of Sin, but it is to be look'd for at the laſt Day. For then (as Scripture doth moſt manifeſtly teſtifie) to all that be dead, their own Bodies, Fleſh and Bone ſhall be reſtored, that the whole Man may, according to his Works, have either Reward or Puniſhment, as he hath lived virtuouſly or wickedly.

XL. *The Souls of them that depart this Life, do neither die with the Bodies, nor ſleep idlely.*

They which ſay, that the Souls of ſuch as depart hence do ſleep, being without all ſence, feeling, or perceiving until the Day of Judgment; or affirm, that the Souls die with the Bodies, and at the laſt Day ſhall be raiſed up with the ſame, do utterly diſſent from the right Belief, declared to us in the holy Scripture.

XLI. *Hereticks called* Millenarii.

They that go about to renew the Fable of the Hereticks called *Millenarii*, be repugnant to holy Scripture, and caſt themſelves headlong into a *Jewiſh* dotage.

XLII. *All Men ſhall not be ſaved at the length.*

They alſo are worthy of Condemnation, who endeavour, at this time, to reſtore the dangerous Opinion, that all Men, be they never ſo ungodly, ſhall at length be ſaved, when they have ſuffer'd Pains for their Sins, a certain time appointed by God's Juſtice.

The End of the Articles.

Imprinted by John Day, 1553.

The Articles of 1552 alter'd by Additions or Omiſſions by the Convocation, in 1562. Sparrow's Collection, &c.

More Differences of the Articles *paſs'd in 1552, from thoſe afterwards agreed in both Houſes of Convocation, in 1562, with reſpect to the Additions, or Omiſſions.*

The Numbers *refer to the* Articles *made in the Reign of King* Edward VI.

V. *The Doctrine of the holy Scripture is ſufficient to Salvation.*

Omitted.

---- So that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *altho' ſometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful People as pious, and conducing unto Order and Decency.* (Theſe Words in a different Character are left out.)

Added.

In the Name of the holy Scripture we do underſtand thoſe Canonical Books of the old and new Teſtament, of whoſe Authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to ſay, *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1ſt of *Samuel*, 2d of *Samuel*; *the 1ſt Book of* Kings, *the 2d Book of* Kings; *the 1ſt Book of* Chronicles, *the 2d Book of* Chronicles; *the 1ſt Book of* Eſdras, *the 2d Book of* Eſdras; *the Book of* Heſter; *the Book of* Job; *the* Pſalms, *the* Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes *or* Preacher; Canticles *or* Songs of Solomon; *four Prophets the greater, twelve Prophets the leſs.* And the other Books (as *Hierom* ſaith) the Church doth read for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine; ſuch are theſe following, the 3d of *Eſdras*, the 4th of *Eſdras*, the Book of *Tobias*, the Book of *Judith*; the reſt of the Book of *Heſter*, the Book of *Wiſdom*, *Jeſus* the Son of *Syrach*, *Baruch* the Prophet; the Song of the 3 Children; the Story of *Suſannah*; of *Bell* and the *Dragon*; the Prayer of *Manaſſes*; the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, the ſecond Book of *Maccabees*. All the Books of the New Teſtament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.

VI. *The old Teſtament is not to be refuſed.*

Added.

Altho' the Law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

VII. *The three Creeds.*

VIII. *Of Original Sin.*

Omitted.

And as at this Day is affirmed by ſome Anabaptiſts.

IX. *Of free Will.*

Added.

The Condition of Man, after the fall of *Adam* is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own natural Strength and good Works to Faith, and calling upon God.

X. *Of Grace.*

Omitted.

All left out.

XI. *Of the Juſtification of Man.*

Added.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt by Faith, and not for our own Works and Deſerving.

Of good Works.

Added.

Albeit, that good Works which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Juſtification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the ſeverity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleaſing and acceptable to God in Chriſt, and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively Faith, inſomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree diſcern'd by the Fruit.

XXI. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

Added.

The Church has Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith.

XXV. *All things to be done in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as is underſtood by the People.*

Alter'd and added.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the primitive Church, to have publick Prayers in the Church, or to miniſter the Sacrament in a Tongue not underſtanded by the People.

XXVI. *Of the Sacraments.*

Added.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord. Thoſe five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to ſay, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and extreme Unction, are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Goſpel; being ſuch as are grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apoſtles, partly are ſtates of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

Alter'd and omitted.

---- And in ſuch only as worthily receive them, they have an wholſom Effect or Operation.

XXVIII. *Of Baptiſm.*

Added.

The Baptiſm of young Children is in any wiſe to be retained in the Church, *as moſt agreeable to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.*

XXIX. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

Tranſubſtantiation overthrows the nature of the Sacrament, *&c.*

Added.

The Body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and ſpiritual Manner: And the Mean whereby the Body of Chriſt is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

Foraſmuch as the truth of Man's Nature requires, &c. to the end of the Paragraph is left out in the 28th Article of 1562.

The two following Articles are not amongſt thoſe publiſhed in the Reign of King *Edward*, but make the nine and twentieth and thirtieth, afterward paſs'd in the Year 1562. The Title of the nine and twentieth ſtands thus;

Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper.

"The Wicked, and ſuch as be void of a lively
"Faith, altho' they do carnally and viſibly preſs
"with their Teeth (as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith) the
"Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt;
"yet in no wiſe are they Partakers of Chriſt,
"but rather to their Condemnation, do eat and
"drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a
"thing.

The Title of the thirtieth is,

Of both Kinds.

“ The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied
“ to Lay People; for both Parts of the Lord's
“ Sacrament, by Chriſt's Ordinance and Com-
“ mandment, ought to be miniſtred to all Chri-
“ ſtian Men alike.

XXXIII. *Of the Tradition of the Church.*

Added. Every particular or national Church has Authority to ordain, change and aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordain'd only by Mens Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV. *Of the Book of Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of* England.

Alter'd and added. The Book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordering Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* VI. and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is Superſtitious and Ungodly: And therefore whoſoever are conſecrated or ordered, according to the Rites of that Book, ſince the ſecond Year of the afore-named King *Edward*, unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be conſecrated or ordered according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully conſecrated and ordered.

XXXVI. *Of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

The Queen's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes, does appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any foreign Juriſdiction.

Added. Where we attribute to the Queen's Majeſty the chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the Minds of ſome dangerous Folks to be offended; we give not our Princes the miniſtring either of God's Word or the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions alſo ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie: But that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes, in holy Scriptures, by God himſelf. That is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the civil Sword, the ſtubborn and evil Doers.

The XXXIX, XL, XLI, and XLIId Articles, are all omitted in the Articles paſs'd in Convocation, A. D. 1562.

Num. LXVII.

An Account of ſome of the Alienations of Church-Lands in the Reign of King Henry *the VIIIth, and King* Edward *the VIth, not mentioned in the Hiſtory.*

Alienations of Church Lands from the See of Canterbury *in the Reign of King* Henry *the* VIII*th.*

Decemb. 1ſt. 29 *H.* 8. Stripe's *Memorials of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *from* Philpot *and* Kilbern, *pag.* 281, *&* 2.

I. THE Mannor and Palace of *Maidſtone*, which, as *Leland* obſerves, was formerly a Caſtle. II. The Mannor and Palace of *Charing*. III. *Wingham*. IV. *Wingham Barton* in the Pariſh of *Alresford*, demis'd at the King's Inſtance, to Sir *Edward Bainton* for ninety nine Years. V. *Wrottham*. VI. *Saltwood*, which was formerly a Caſtle. 'Twas called an *Honour*, and had a great many Mannors held of it by Knight Service. VII. *Tenham*. VIII. *Bexly*. IX. *Aldington*, where the Archbiſhop had a Seat, with a Park and Chace belonging to it. X. The noble Mannor and Palace of *Otford*, where *Warham* expended more than thirty thouſand Pounds in Buildings. XI. *Knoll*, near *Sevenock*, a Seat not much inferiour to that laſt mention'd; to which we may add the Mannors, of *Cliff*, and *Malinden*, *Pynner*, *Heyes*, *Harrow*, *Mortlack*, &c. Theſe Mannors, excepting *Wingham Barton*, were all convey'd to the King, for which the Archbiſhop had a very ſlender Conſideration in exchange.

Alienations of Church-Lands in the Reign of King Edward *the* VI.

The learned *Harmer* ſpeaking of *Veſey* Biſhop of *Exeter*, obſerves, that he alienated no Poſſeſſions of his *See* but upon expreſs Command of the King, directed unto him under the *Privy Seal* in favour of certain Noble Men and Courtiers. All the Biſhops, as this Author continues, at this time were ſubjected to a like Calamity. Even *Cranmer* was forc'd to part with the better half of the Poſſeſſions of his *See*: And *Ridley*, ſoon after his Entry into *London*, was forc'd to give away four of the beſt Mannours of his *See* in one Day. Theſe two were the greateſt Favourites amongſt all the Biſhops of that Reign. Others were yet more ſeverely dealt with. The common Pretence was to exchange ſome Lands of their Biſhopricks, with other of *religious Houſes* remaining in the King's Hands ſince their Suppreſſion. Even then it was ſuch an Exchange as *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*. Harmer's *Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation*, p. 100.

An Accouut of Church-Lands alienated in the Reign of King Edward *the* VIth. *extracted from the Regiſter of* Thomas Gooderick *Biſhop of* Ely, *and Lord Chancellour.* Ex Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig:

A Patent granted for exchange of Lands *per Bill. Dom: Regis* to the right reverend Father in God, *William*, Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *viz.* The Biſhop was to part with the chief Manſion Houſe of the Deanery of *Wells*, with all the Lands within the Precinct of the ſame. And alſo the Mannour of *Weſtaker* with the right of the Patronage of the Parſonage of *Weſtaker* abovesaid: And the Burrough of *Wellington* and *Staeckſy* in the ſame County of *Somerſet*, and the Demeſne Lands of *Wellington*, extending to the yearly Value of ſixty Pounds two Shilling and ſix Pence: And alſo of the Park of *Wedmore*: And for one Annuity of ſixteen Pounds coming yearly of the Mannor of *Glaſſenbury* in the ſame County.

For the parting with theſe Lands, *&c.* the Biſhop was only to have ſome Lands which had been lately taken from his *See*, and granted to the Lord Admiral *Seymour*, and now by his Attainder return'd to the *Crown*. This Exchange was made *Auguſt* the 1ſt, 1552.

Nov. 1. 1552. A Patent granted to licenſe the Lord Biſhop of *Carliſle* to ſell to the Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral of *England*, *Socam ſive Dominium ſuum de Horn-caſtle cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln*, *in Villis*, *Campis*, *ſive Parochiis de Horn-caſtle*, *Overcompton*, *Nethercompton*, *Aſhby*, *Maring*, *Wilesby*, *Haltham*, *Conisby*, *Boughton*, *Fimbleby*, *Moreby*, *Meckham*, *&* *Innerby in Com. prædict:* to have the ſame to him and his Heirs *tenend. de Domino Rege*, &c. There was likewiſe a Licenſe granted to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the ſaid Conveyance. And for all theſe Lordſhips the

Pur-

vide P 81

Purchaſer was only to pay the yearly Rent of twenty eight Pounds to the Biſhop.

Jan. 9. 1552. A Patent granted to Sir *Henry Nevil*, Knight, of the Prebend of *South-cave* in the County of *York*, with ſome Advowſons.

Mar.28.1553. The Biſhoprick of *Hereford* given to *John Harley*, Doctor in Divinity, with all the Lordſhips and Mannors belonging to the ſame, excepting the Manſion call'd the Biſhop of *Hereford's Place*, lying in *Old Fiſhſtreet*, with the Garden and Houſes belonging to the ſame.

March 1553. A Purchaſe made by *Simon Steward* of *Lackingheath* in the County of *Suffolk*, Gentleman, of the Lordſhip and Mannor of *Thorney*, with the Grains of *Thorney* within the Iſle of *Ely*, ſometime parcel of the Monaſtery of *Ely*.

Jun.29.1553. A Gift made unto *John* Earl of *Bedford*, and *Edmund Downing* Gentleman, of the Mannors of *Boyden*, and *Barton*, and *Bradbridge*, with the Appurtenances in the County of *Cornwall*, and of the Mannor of *Stoke* and *Bradley*, late parcel of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*.

April 1553. A Licenſe granted by Privy Seal to Mr. *Hobbey*, to infeoffe the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Mr. *Blunt* of the *Privy Chamber*, in the Abbey of *Eveſham*, and divers other Mannors in the County of *Glouceſter*, to the intent to make an Eſtate to him again, and to his Heirs Male.

Apr.16.1553. A Purchaſe made by *William Dunch* and *Mary* his Wife, of the Mannor and Lordſhip of *Wokey*, with the Appurtenances in the County of *Somerſet*, late parcel of the Biſhoprick of the *Bath* and *Wells*, lately in the Hands of *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, *cum Nativis & Villanis*, &c.

May 2.1553. A Purchaſe made by *Richard Crammond* and *Roger Prideaux* of all the Mannor of *Billingtons*, *Pinchpoles*, and *Eleenam Croſs*, late parcel of the Poſſeſſion of the Cathedral Church of *Weſtminſter*, in the County of *Middleſex*.

Sept.18.1551. *Council Book.* Ex Biblioth. R. Harley Armig. *Memorandum*, That upon the eighteenth of *September*, the 5th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign King *Edward* the VI. Sir *Richard Read* Knight, one of the Maſters of the Chancery, brought from *Wincheſter*, from the Biſhop, Dean, and Chapter, a Deed of *Feoffment quadripartite* indented, made to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Aſſigns, of the Mannors of *Marden*, *Twiford*, *Marwell*, *Waltham*, *Drokinsfield*, *Brenſted* and *Bithern*, the Hundred of *Waltham*, and the Chaſe nigh the Forreſt of *Beir*, in the Counties of *Southampton* and *Surrey*: And alſo the Mannors of *Sutton*, *Ropely*, *Hedley*, and the Borough of *Alsfoord*, the Hundred of *Sutton* in the Counties of *Southampton* and *Surrey*, together with twenty nine Mannors more, and ſome Burroughs and Hundreds. To proceed to the Words of the *Council*.

Theſe Deeds were agreed to be order'd as follows, *viz.* That one Counterpane thereof ſhould be deliver'd to the Chancellour of the *Augmentation* Court, to remain among the Records of the ſame Court, as the King's Majeſties Evidences for the Lands aforeſaid. And the other three Counterpanes to be deliver'd, the one to Sir *John Gates*, his Majeſties Vice Chamberlain, the other to Sir *Philip Hobby* Knight, one of his Majeſties Privy Council; and the third to Sir *Andrew Dudley* Knight, one of his Majeſties Privy Chamber, to whom the King's Majeſty hath granted ſeverally ſome of the ſaid Lands.

Before this Surrender, the Dean of *Wincheſter* had been committed to the *Marſhalſee*, I ſuppoſe to make him manageable.

Apr.12.1553. *Council Book.* A Letter to the Chancellor of the *Augmentations*, to cauſe a Book to be made from the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, of a Surrender to the King's Majeſty of his Juriſdiction in the Forreſt of *Dean*, with a certain Deanery which belongs of right to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*. And thereupon to make another Book of the Grant thereof from his Highneſs to Mr. *Harley* elect Biſhop of *Hereford*.

Num. LXVIII.

Queen Mary's *Proclamation for prohibiting Preaching and Expounding Scripture without her Licenſe.*

Aug. 18. A.D. 1553. THE Queen's Highneſſe well remembring what great Inconvenience and Dangers have grown to this her Realm in times paſt, thro' the Diverſities of Opinions in Queſtions of Religion; And hearing alſo that now of late, ſithence the beginning of her moſt gracious Reign, the ſame Contentions be again much revived, through certain falſe and untrue Reports, and Rumours ſpread by ſome evil diſpos'd Perſons: Hath thought good to give to underſtand to all her Highneſſes moſt loving Subjects, her moſt gracious Pleaſure in manner following,

Firſt, Her Majeſty being preſently, by the only Goodneſs of God, ſetled in her juſt Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that Religion, which God and the World knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſs'd from her Infancy hitherto. Which as her Majeſty is minded to obſerve and maintain for her ſelf by God's Grace, during her Time; ſo doth her Highneſs much deſire, and would be glad the ſame were of all her Subjects quietly and charitably entertain'd.

And yet ſhe doth ſignifie unto all her Majeſty's loving Subjects, that of her moſt gracious Diſpoſition and Clemeney, her Highneſs mindeth not to compel any her ſaid Subjects thereunto, untill ſuch time as further Order by common Aſſent may may be taken therein: Forbidding never the leſs all her Subjects, of all Degrees, at their Perils, to move Seditions, or ſtir Unquietneſs in her People, by interpreting the Laws of this Realm, after their Brains and Fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is ſaid) further Order may be taken, and therefore willeth, and ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth, all her good loving Subjects, to live together in quiet ſort, and Chriſtian Charity, leaving thoſe new found diveliſh Terms, of Papiſt, and Heretick, and ſuch like; and applying their whole Care, Study and Travail, to live in the fear of God, exerciſing their Converſations in ſuch charitable and godly doing, as their Lives may indeed expreſs the great Hunger and Thirſt of God's Glory, which by raſh Talk and Words, many have pretended: And in ſo doing, they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the Tranquillity of the Realm. Whereof as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any Man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any Aſſemblies of People, or at any publick Aſſemblies, or otherwiſe, ſhall go about to ſtir the People to Diſorder or Diſquiet, ſhe mindeth according to her Duty, to ſee the ſame moſt ſeverely reformed and puniſh'd according to her Highneſſes Laws.

And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is well known, that Sedition and falſe Rumours have been nouriſh'd and maintain'd in this Realm, by the Subtilty and Malice of ſome evil diſpos'd Perſons,

which take upon them without ſufficient Authority, to preach and to interpret the Word of God, after their own Brains, in Churches, and other Places, both publick and private, and alſo by playing of Interludes, and printing of falſe fond Books, and Ballads, Rimes, and other lewd Treatiſes in the Engliſh Tongue, containing Doctrine in Matters now in queſtion, and Controverſies touching the high Points and Myſteries in Chriſtian Religion; which Books, Ballads, Rimes, and Treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers ſet out to ſale to her Graces Subjects, of an evil Zeal for Lucre and Covetouſneſs of vile Gain; her Highneſs therefore ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her ſaid Subjects, of whatſoever State, Condition or Degree they be, that none of them preſume from henceforth, to preach, or by way of Reading in Churches, or other publick or private Places, except in Schools of the Univerſity, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of Points of Doctrine concerning Religion. Neither alſo to print any Book, Matter, Ballad, Rime, Interlude, Proceſs or Treatiſe, nor to play any Interlude, except they have her Graces ſpecial Licenſe in writing for the ſame, upon pain to incurr her Highneſs Indignation and Diſpleaſure.

Num. LXVIII. repeated.

A Form of a Licenſe to preach granted by Queen Mary.

Regiſt. Bonner *fol.* 346.

Maria, &c. ---- ſupremum Caput dilecto Subdito noſtro A. B. Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaurio, ſalutem. Literarum ſcientia, morum honeſtas, ac alia probitatis & virtutum merita ſuper quibus apud nos fide digno commendaris teſtimonio, merito nos inducunt ut perſonam tuam favore benigno proſequamur. Ad prædicandum igitur & exponendum Verbum Dei publicè Sermone Latino vel Vulgari, Clero vel Populo, in quibuſcunque Eccleſiis ac aliis locis ad hoc congruis & honeſtis, quibuſcunque infra Regna noſtra, &c: ſituatis; Tibi quamdiu nobis placuerit & laudabiliter te geſſeris, in hac parte licentiam tenore præſentium impartimur, & plenam in Domino concedimus poteſtatem, Conſtitutionibus, Legibus & Statutis, aliiſque in contrarium editis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

In cujus rei teſtimonium has Literas fieri fecimus Patentes.

Teſte meipſa apud Weſt. viceſimo die Novembris anno Regni noſtri primo.

Per Cancell. virtute Warranti Reginæ.

Num. LXVIII. farther repeated.

The Opinion of Philips, Haddon, Cheney, *and* Philpot *Members of the Convocation concerning the Preſence of our Saviour in the Holy Euchariſt.*

Sententia Walteri Philipps Decani Roffenſis.

Octob. An. Dom. 1553. *Convocation Journal, fol.* 83.

In Pane & Vino conſecrato fideles verè & realitèr & ſubſtantialitèr fide Cordis manducant verum Corpus Chriſti, quod ſedet ad dextram Dei Patris, & ore manducant Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti.

Sententia Jac. Haddon Decani Exon.

Corpus Chriſti realitèr adeſt Sacramentis Corporis & Sanguinis ſui verè & ex Chriſti Inſtitutione adminiſtratis.

Intellige realiter pro vere & non fictè, ſacramentalitèr non autem carnaliter.

Sententia Ri. Cheney Archidiaconi Heref.

In Sacramento Altaris virtute verbi divini à Sacerdote prolati, præſens eſt realitèr Corpus Chriſti conceptum de Virgine Maria.

Itèm, naturalis ejuſdem Sanguis.

Sententia Joh. Philpott Archidiaconi Winton.

Dico per ſacra Cœnæ Dominicæ Symbola ex Inſtitutione Evangelicâ adminiſtratâ, verè exhiberi per Spiritum Sanctum, Corpus & Sanguinem Chriſti ſumentibus ex fide: Adeoque illud ipſum Corpus & Sanguinem in quibus omnem Obedientiam Chriſtus pro ſalute noſtra adimplevit, quo primum cum eo in unum Corpus coaleſcamus, & in bonorum omnium Participatione Virtutem quoque ejus ſentiamus.

Num. LXIX.

Articuli Miniſtrati Presbyteris conjugatis, Menſe Martio, 1554.

Harmar. Specimen, *&c. pag.* 178.

Imprimìs, an fuerit religioſus, cujus Ordinis, & in quo Monaſterio ſive Domo?

Itèm, an fuerit promotus ad ſacros Ordines dum erat in Monaſterio?

Itèm, in quo & quibus ſacris & an miniſtravit in Altaris Miniſterio, & quot Annis?

Itèm, an citrà Profeſſionem ſuam regularem conjunxit ſe Mulieri ſub appellatione Matrimonii?

Itèm, cum quâ, & in quâ Eccleſia fuit Matrimonii Solemnizatio, & per quem?

Itèm, quam duxit, erat Reſoluta an Vidua?

Itèm, an cohabitavit cum eâ in unâ & eadem Domo, ut Vir cum Uxore?

Itèm, an Prolem vel Proles ex eâ ſuſcitaverit? necne?

Itèm, an poſt & citra Matrimonii hujuſmodi Solemnizationem aſſequutus fuit, & eſt Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum habens Curam Animarum, & quot Annis illud obtinuit?

Itèm, an Officio Sacerdotis poſt & citra aſſertum Matrimonium hujuſmodi contractum in Altaris Miniſterio ſe immiſcuit, ac Sacramentis, ac Sacramentalibus miniſtrandis ſe ingeſſit?

Itèm, an præmiſſa omnia & ſingula fuerunt & ſunt vera?

Num. LXXI.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Anſwer to the three Articles given him by the Committee at *Oxford*.

Reſponſio Domini Cranmeri ad Articulos ſupra recitatos in Scriptis exhibita, & per eum ſubſcripta.

Ex MSS. Penes me.

Dominus & Servator noſter Jeſus Chriſtus in Sancta Paraſceve noſtra cauſa obiturus ut nos a morte redimeret æterna, condonaret omnia delicta, ac Chirographum quod contra nos erat, deleret, nè mortis ſuæ ingrati unquam obliviſceremur, perpetuam illius memoriam apud Chriſtianos in Pane & Vino celebrandam pridie Paſſionis in ſacratiſſima ſua inſtituebat Cœna, juxta illud, hoc facite in mei memoriam, & quotieſcunque manducabitis Panem hunc, & Calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniat. Atque hanc Paſſionis ſuæ, id eſt, cæſi Corporis & fuſi Sanguinis in Pane & Vino Memoriam ſive Sacramentum omnes Chriſtianos juſſit ſumere, juxta illud, accipite, & manducate, & bibite ex hoc omnes. Quicunque igitur propter Traditionem humanam Laicis Sanguinis Poculum denegant, palàm Chriſto repugnant, prohibentes fieri quod Chriſtus fieri juſſit, & ſimiles ſunt Scribis illis ac Phariſæis, de quibus Dominus dicebat. Irritum feciſtis mandatum Dei propter Traditionem veſtram. Hypocritæ benè prophetavit de nobis Eſaias, dicens, populus hic Labiis me honorat, Cor autem eorum longe eſt à me. Sine cauſa autem colunt me docentes doctrinas mandata hominum. Panis ille Sacramentalis ſeu Myſticus fractus & diſtributus juxta Chriſti Inſtitutionem, & Vinum myſticum eodem modo hauſtum & acceptum, non tantum Sacramenta ſunt vulneratæ pro nobis Carnis Chriſti, & fuſi cruoris, ſed certiſſima ſunt nobis Sacramenta, & quaſi Signacula divinarum Promiſſionum, ac Donorum: Ut Communionis noſtræ cum Chriſto ac omnibus Membris ejus, cœleſtis Nutritionis, qua alimur ad vitam æternam, æſtuantiſque Conſcientiæ Sitis reſtinguitur; ineffabilis lætitiæ, qua Fidelium Corda perfunduntur, & ad omnia Pietatis Officia roborantur. Unus Panis, inquit Paulus, & unum Corpus multi ſumus omnes qui de uno Pane & de uno Calice participamus. Et manducate, inquit Chriſtus, hoc eſt Corpus meum, bibite, hic eſt Sanguis meus. Et ego ſum Panis vivus, qui de Cœlo deſcendi; qui manducat me, & ipſe vivet propter me: Manent igitur in Euchariſtiâ, donec a fidelibus conſumantur, verus Panis verumque Vinum: Ut quaſi Signacula Divinis Promiſſionibus affixa, divinorum Donorum nos efficiant certiores. Manet & Chriſtus in illis, & illi in Chriſto, qui illius Carnem edunt, & Sanguinem bibunt, ſicut Chriſtus promiſit. Qui manducat meam Carnem, & bibit meum Sanguinem in me manet, & ego in eo. Manet denique & Chriſtus in illis, qui dignè externum Sacramentum ſuſcipiunt & non diſcedit ſtatim conſumpto Sacramento, ſed continuo manet nos paſcens & nutriens, quamdiu nos illius Capitis Corpora manemus & Membra. Nullum agnoſco Corpus naturale Chriſti, quod ſolum ſpirituale ſit, intellectuale & inſenſibile, quod nullis Membris aut Partibus ſit diſtinctum: Sed illud tantum Corpus agnoſco ac veneror quod ex Virgine natum eſt, quod pro nobis paſſum eſt, quod viſibile, palpabile, ac omnibus humani ac organici Corporis formis ac partibus abſolutum eſt. Chriſtus non de ſubſtantiâ aliquâ incertâ, ſed de ſubſtantiâ certâ Panis, quem & Manibus tenebat, & Diſcipulorum Oculis demonſtrabat, dixit, comedite, hoc eſt Corpus meum; & ſimiliter de vero Vino dixit, hic eſt Sanguis meus. Nimirum de Pane qui eſt creatura hujus conditionis, quæ eſt ſecundum nos, qui ex Fructibus Terræ acceptus eſt, de multorum granorum adunitione congeſtus, qui ab hominibus fit, & per manus hominum ad illam viſibilem ſpeciem perducitur, qui rotundæ eſt figuræ, ſenſuſque omnis expers, qui Corpus nutrit, & confortat Cor Hominis, de tali inquam Pane, non de ſubſtantia incerta, & vaga, aiunt Veteres Chriſtum dixiſſe, comedite, hoc eſt Corpus meum; perindè ac de Vino quod eſt Creatura vitis, Fructus vitis, de botris atque acinis plurimis expreſſa, & lætificat Cor Hominis, dicebat Chriſtus bibite, hic eſt Sanguis meus. Adeoque Chriſti Locutionem vocant veteres figuratam, Tropicam, Anagogicam, Allegoricam, quod ita interpretati ſunt, ut quamvis Panis Vinique ſubſtantia maneat, & a Fidelibus ſumatur, Chriſtus tamen ideo appellationem mutavit, & Panem quidem Carnis, Vinum vero Sanguinis nomine appellavit, non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante Myſterio, ut non quid ſint, ſed quæ oſtendant conſideraremus, non carnalitèr, ſed ſpiritualitèr Sacramenta intelligeremus, non ad viſibilem Sacramentorum naturam attenderemus, non humilitèr ad Panem & Poculum intenti eſſemus, non putaremus nos nihil quam quod Oculis objicitur Panem & Vinum videre, ſed exaltatis Mentibus Chriſti Corpus & Sanguinem aſpiceremus fide, mente contingeremus, atque interiore homine hauriremus, ut Aquilæ in hâc vitâ facti ad ipſum Cœlum ſurſum Cordibus evolemus, ubi ad dexteram Patris reſidet Agnus ille qui tollit peccata Mundi, cujus Livore ſanamur, cujus Paſſione in hâc Menſâ ſatiamur, cujus Sanguinem è divino illius latere haurientes æternum vivimus, Chriſtique hoſpites effecti ipſum in nobis veræ Naturæ gratia virtuteque, ac totius Paſſionis efficacia, habitantem habemus: Nec minus certi efficimur Chriſti Carne crucifixa, & fuſo Cruore, neceſſario animarum pabulo nos ſpiritualiter paſci ad vitam æternam quam cibo & potu in hâc vitâ corpora paſcuntur. Atque hujus rei μνημόσυνον, Pignus, Symbolum, Sacramentum, Signaculum nobis ſunt myſticus in Chriſti Menſâ Panis, myſticumque Vinum, juxta Chriſti Inſtitutionem adminiſtrata & accepta. Hinc eſt quod Chriſtus non dixit, hoc eſt Corpus meum, edite; ſed ubi juſſiſſet edere, poſtea addidit, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Quod perinde eſt, ac ſi dixiſſet, in edendo hoc pane, conſiderate illum non communem eſſe, ſed myſticum; non aſpicite quod corporeis Oculis veſtris proponitur, ſed quid intus vos paſcat. Conſiderate Corpus meum pro vobis Cruci affixum. Hoc animis veſtris devorate, ſatiemini morte mea. Hic verus eſt cibus, hic inebrians potus, quo verè ſaturati & inebriati æternum vivetis. Quæ ab Oculo vobis proponuntur Panis & Vinum mei duntaxat Symbola ſunt, ego vero ipſe æternus paſtus ſum. Proinde cum in menſâ meâ Sacramenta aſpicietis, non tam ad illa reſpicite, quam quid per ea vobis pollicear, nempè me ipſum pabulum vitæ æternæ.

De Quæſtione ultima.

Chriſti unica Oblatio, quâ ſeipſum Deo Patri obtulit, in mortem ſemel in Ara Crucis pro noſtra Redemptione, tantæ fuit efficaciæ, ut nullo alio Sacrificio opus ſit, pro totius Mundi Redemptione. Sed omnia veteris Legis Sacrificia ſuſtulit, id re verâ præſtans, quod illa figurabant & promittebant. Quiſquis igitur ſalutis ſuæ ſpem in ullo alio conſtituerit Sacrificio, is à Chriſti excidit Gratiâ, & contumelioſus eſt in ſanctum Chriſti Sanguinem. Ipſe enim vulneratus eſt propter iniquitates noſtras. attritus eſt propter ſcelera noſtra. Omnes nos, quaſi Oves, erravimus, unuſquiſque in viam ſuam declinavit, & poſuit Dominus in eo iniquitates omnium noſtrorum. Ille enim non per Sanguinem Hircorum aut Vitulorum, ſed per proprium Sanguinem introivit, ſemel in ſancta, æternâ Redemptione inventa, & in ipſum Cœlum intravit, ut appareret nunc Vultui Dei pro nobis, non ut ſæpè offerat ſeipſum, alioquin oportebat eum frequenter pati. Nunc autem ſemel ad deſtructionem peccati, per hoſtiam ſuam apparuit. Et quemadmodum conſtitutum eſt hominibus ſemel mori, ſic & Chriſtus ſemel oblatus eſt. Ille unam offerens pro peccatis hoſtiam in ſempiternum ſedet in dextra Dei. Una enim Oblatione conſummavit in ſempiternum ſanctificatos. Ubi enim peccatorum Remiſſio eſt, jam non eſt amplius Oblatio pro peccato, propter hoc Chriſti Sacrificium quiſquis aliud quæſierit pro peccatis, Sacrificium propitians, invalidum & inefficax efficit Chriſti

Sacrificium: ſi enim hoc ad remittenda peccata ſufficiens eſt, alio non eſt opus. Alterius enim neceſſitas hujus arguit infirmitatem ac inſufficientiam. Faxit Deus Omnipotens ut uni Chriſti Sacrificio verè innitamur, ac illi rurſus rependamus Sacrificia noſtra, gratiarum actionis, laudis, confeſſionis nominis ſui, veræ reſipiſcentiæ, ac pœnitentiæ, beneficentiæ in proximos aliorumque omnium pietatis officiorum. Talibus enim Sacrificiis exhibebimus nos nec in Deum ingratos, nec Chriſti Sacrificio indignos. Ecce habetis ex ſacrarum Scripturarum & veterum Eccleſiæ Doctorum ſententiâ, verum & ſincerum Dominicæ Cœnæ uſum, ac veri Sacrificii Chriſti fructum. Quæ quiſquis tortis Interpretationibus aut humanis Traditionibus aliter quam Chriſtus ordinavit mutare aut tranſubſtantiare voluerit, ipſe reſpondebit Chriſto in noviſſimo die, quando intelliget, ſed ſerò nimis, nihil ſibi cum Chriſti Corpore eſſe & Sanguine: ſed ex æternæ vitæ Cœnâ ſe æternam damnationem manducâſſe ac bibiſſe.

THOMAS CRANMER.

Biſhop Ridley's *Anſwer to the ſame Queſtions.*

Reſponſio Domini Nicholai Ridlei ad Articulos ſupradictos in Scriptis lecta & exhibita, per eum ſubſcripta.

In Sacramento Altaris virtute Verbi divini à Sacerdote prolati, præſens eſt realiter ſub ſpeciebus Panis & Vini naturale Corpus Chriſti conceptum de Virgine Maria. Item, naturalis ejuſdem Sanguis. Reſpondeo, Non eſt humano aut ſæculi ſenſu in Dei rebus loquendum. Prima itaque Propoſitio vel Concluſio formata eſt Phraſi a ſacra Scriptura aliena, & multis ambiguis Obſcuritatibus obvoluta & implicata. In ſenſu autem quem docent Scholaſtici, & hodie Romanenſis Eccleſia defendit, falſa eſt & erronea, atq; Doctrinæ quæ eſt ſecundùm pietatem planè contraria.

Explicatio.

Diverſitas & novitas Phraſeos & quam ſit a ſacra ſancta Scriptura aliena, in tota hac prima propoſitione, & ſingulis penè partibus, ita patet & evidens eſt, vel mediocriter verſato in ſacris Libris, ut nihil neceſſe jam putem, in hoc Cœtu doctorum Virorum, in ea re demonſtranda, aliquid temporis niſi id a me poſtea póſtulatum fuerit, collocare.

Ambiguitas eſt in Verbis (Verbi divini virtute) ambiguum enim eſt, quodnam ſit iſtud divinum Verbum, illudne quod legitur in Evangeliis, aut in Paulo aliquid aliud. Si quod eſt in Evangeliis & in Paulo, quodnam illud ſit? ſi non eſt ex illis, quomodo cognoſcitur eſſe Verbum divinum, & tantæ virtutis ut hanc tantam rem efficere valeat.

Item, ambigitur de Verbo (à Sacerdote) an nullus ſit dicendus Sacerdos niſi cui data ſit poteſtas ſacrificandi expiatoriè pro vivis & mortuis? Et unde pateat hanc authoritatem eſſe à Deo ulli mortalium præterquam uni Chriſto commiſſam?

Dubitatur etiam ſecundùm quem Ordinem futurus ſacrificans Sacerdos ſit: utrum ſecundùm Ordinem Aaron, an ſecundùm Ordinem Melchiſedech? Nam plures Ordines Sacerdotii non probat, quod ſciam, ſacra Scriptura.

Item, in Verbo (realiter) ambiguum eſt an ſumatur tranſcendentèr, & ſic poteſt hic ſignare quamcunque rem quæ ad Corpus Chriſti quovis modo ſpectat, & ſic concedimus Corpus Chriſti realiter eſſe in Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ, ſicut inter diſputandum, ſi datur occaſio, a nobis declarabitur, vel rem ipſam corpoream, animatam, quæ aſſumpta eſt in Unitate Perſonæ à Verbo Dei, ſecundùm quam ſignificationem, Corpus Chriſti quum ſit in Cœlis realiter, propter verum Corporis modum, hic in Terris eſſe dicendus non eſt.

Item, in Verbis, ſub ſpeciebus Panis & Vini, ambiguum eſt utrum per ſpecies ſignificatas intelligant formas tantùm accidentales, & exteriores Panis & Vini, an naturas eorundem ſubſtantiales ſuis qualitatibus viſibiles, & externis ſenſibus perceptibiles. Falſitas autem Propoſitionis in ſenſu Romanenſis Eccleſiæ & Scholaſticorum hinc patere poteſt; Illi enim ponunt Panem tranſubſtantiari in Carnem aſſumptam a Verbo Dei, idque ut aiunt, per virtutem ejus Verbi quod illi conceptis Vocibus & Syllabis formaverunt, quod in nullo reperiri poteſt Evangeliſtarum aut in Paulo: Atque inde colligunt Corpus Chriſti realiter contineri in Sacramento Altaris. Quæ Poſitio quoniam fundatur ſuper Fundamento Tranſubſtantiationis, quod eſt Sacramentum monſtroſum, abſurdum; & Analogiæ Sacramentorum interremptivum, idcirco & hæc prima Propoſitio, quæ ſuper hoc putre Fundamentum & vanum ſubſtruitur falſa eſt & erronea, & infami Sacramentariorum errori meritò deputanda.

Reſponſionis jam datæ Confirmatio.

Non eſt ſtatuendum Dogma aliquod in Eccleſia Dei quod diſſentiat a Verbo Dei, & ab Analogia Fidei, & quod ſecum trahit multas Abſurdititates; ſed Dogma hoc primæ Propoſitionis tale eſt, ergò non eſt ſtatuendum in Eccleſia Dei. Major patet, minor probatur ſic. Hoc Dogma ponit realem, corporalem, & carnalem Carnis Chriſti à Verbo aſſumptæ in Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ præſentiam, idque non per Virtutem & Gratiam, quod & Orthodoxi fatentur: Sed quoad integram Eſſentiam & Subſtantiam Corporis Carnis Chriſti: ſed talis Præſentia diſſentit à Verbo Dei, ab Analogia Fidei; & multas ſecum trahit Abſurditates neceſſariò, Ergo. Major eſt manifeſta, & minor adhuc probatur ſic. Talis Præſentia contraria eſt locis aliquot ſacræ Scripturæ, diſſentit ab Articulis Fidei, evacuat & tollit Inſtitutionem Domini de ſuâ Cœna, proſtituit pretioſa profanis, projicit quod ſanctum eſt Canibus, projicit Margaritas Porcis, multa cogit monſtroſa Miracula præter neceſſitatem & authoritatem Verbi Dei ponere, Anſam ponit Hæreticis qua ſuos Errores tueantur, qui non rectè de duabus in Chriſto naturis ſentiebant, Fidem Veritatis humanæ in Chriſto naturæ imminuit. Poſtremò falſificat dicta Patrum orthodoxorum, falſificat & fidem Eccleſiæ Catholicam, quam Apoſtoli tradiderunt, Martyres roboraverunt, & Fideles ut quidam ex Patribus ait, uſque nunc cuſtodiunt. Ergo minor eſt vera. Probatur antecedens hujus Argumenti per partes; talis Præſentia contraria eſt Verbo Dei. Johan. 16. *Veritatem dico vobis, expedit vobis ut ego vadam, ſi enim non abiero, Paracletus ad vos non veniet.* Act. 3. *Quem oportet quidem Cœlum accipere, uſque ad tempora Reſtitutionis omnium quæ loquutus eſt Deus.* Math. 9. *Non poſſunt Filii Sponſi lugere, quamdiu cum illis eſt Sponſus, ſed hîc eſt tempus luctus, beati qui lugent*, &c. Joan. 16. *Iterùm videbo vos, & gaudebit Cor veſtrum.* Joan. 14. *Iterùm veniam, & aſſumam vos ad meipſum.* Math. 24. *Si dixerint vobis, ecce hîc Chriſtus aut illic, nolite credere*; Et ibidem, *Ubicunq; fuerit Cadaver ibi congregabuntur Aquilæ.* Diſſentit ab Articulis Fidei, aſcendit ad Cœlos, ſedet ad dextram Dei Patris, indè, & non aliundè, ut inquit Auguſtinus, venturus eſt ad judicandum vivos & mortuos. Evacuat & tollit Inſtitutionem Cœnæ Dominicæ, utpote quæ tantum juſſa eſt tantiſpèr continuari donec ipſe venerit; ſi igitur nunc præſens eſt realitèr liter in veritate Corporis Carnis, debet hæc Cœna ceſſare. Commemoratio non eſt rei præſentis ſed præteritæ & abſentis; memoria & præſentia differunt; fruſtrà ibi ponitur figura, inquit, ex Patribus quidam, ubi res figurata præſens eſt.

Proſtituit pretioſa profanis, & multa cogit abſurda fateri. Aſſerit enim Adulteros & Homicidas, impœnitentes (ut eſt quorundam apud iſtos opinio) impios & infideles Mures & Canes recipere Corpus Domini noſtri reale & corporale, in quo inhabitat plenitudo Spiritûs, Lucis, & Gratiæ, contra manifeſta verba, *Joan.* 6. in ſex ibidem locis. Statuit 'Ανθρωποφαγίαν, & beſtialem quandam Crudelitatem, crudelius enim eſt Hominem vivum comedere quam interimere.

Cogit multa monſtroſa Miracula præter neceſſitatem & authoritatem Verbi Dei ponere. In adventu hujus præſentiæ Corporis Carnis Chriſti, ſubſtantiam Panis extrudunt, ponunt accidentia ſine ſubjecto, ſubſtituunt Chriſti Corpus ſine ſuis Qualitatibus, & vero Corporis modo. Si Sacramentum tamdiu ſervetur ut muceſcat, & Vermes in eo generentur, quidam dicunt ſubſtantiam miraculoſè redire, quidam negant, quidam Corpus Chriſti dicunt in Stomacho recipientis deſcendere, & ibi tamdiu manere donec ſpecies calore naturali conſumantur. Quidam in bonis manere dicunt quamdiu permanent ipſi eſſe boni. Quidam tam cito Chriſti Corpus in Cœlum rapi dicunt quam cito ſpecies dentibus teruntur. O mirabiliarios! Verè in iſtis impletum eſſe vereor quod prophetabat Paulus, pro eo quod dilectionem Veritatis non receperunt in hoc ut ſalvi ſint, mittet eis Deus efficaciam illuſionis, ut credant mendacio, ut judicentur omnes qui non crediderunt Veritati, 2 *Theſſ.* 2.

Hæc præſentia Commentum illud Concomitantiæ peperit, quæ ſuſtulit hodie, & abrogavit Præceptum Domini de communicando Poculum Dominicum Laicis. Anſam præbet Hæreticis errandi, & ſuos Errores defendendi ut Marcioni qui dixit Chriſtum habere Corpus phantaſticum, & Euticheti qui confundit ipſe duas in Chriſto naturas. Poſtremò falſificat dicta Patrum orthodox. & Fidem Eccleſiæ Catholicam, quam Vigilius Martyr, & Author gravis dixit eſſe traditam ab Apoſtolis, Sanguine Martyrum roboratam, & a Fidelibus ad ſuam uſque ætatem cuſtoditam. Dicta Patrum intelligo, Juſtini, Irenæi, Tertulliani, Origenis, Euſebii Emiſeni, Athanaſii, Cyrilli, Epiphanii, Hieronymi, Chryſoſtomi, Auguſtini, Vigilii, Fulgentii, & Bertrami, quorum omnium atq; aliorum vetuſtiſſimorum Patrum loca in hanc ſententiam ſcio me legiſſe, & librorum meorum copia mihi nunc conceſſa poſſe commonſtrare, idque ſub periculo capitis mei, & amiſſionis omnium, quæ in hoc mundo amittere poſſumus.

Nolite putare Fratres eo quod præſentiam Corporis Chriſti quam hæc prima Propoſitio ponit, improbavimus, utpote quam cenſemus eſſe Commentitiam phantaſticam, & præter Authoritatem Verbi Dei in Eccleſiam a Romanenſibus pernicioſe introductam, propterea nos velle tollere veram iſtam præſentiam Corporis Chriſti in ſuâ Cœnâ ritè & legitimè adminiſtrata, quæ eſt fundata in Verbo Dei, & Patrum orthodoxorum Commentariis illuſtratur; qui de me ita ſentiunt, Deus novit quam multùm illi hallucinentur. Idque ut vobis planum & manifeſtum faciam declarabo pauciſſimis, quam ego veram cum Verbo Dei & priſcis Patribus ſtatuo in Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ, Corporis Chriſti præſentiam. Cum Lucâ Evangeliſtâ & Paulo Apoſtolo dico Panem in quo Gratiæ actæ ſint, eſſe Corpus Chriſti ad memoriam ipſius, & mortis ejus uſque ad adventum ejus perpetuo à fidelibus celebrandam. Dico item Panem quem frangimus eſſe Communicationem Corporis Chriſti. Cum orthodoxis Patribus ſic loquor, & ſentio non ſolum Significationem Corporis Dominici fieri per Sacramentum ſuæ Cœnæ, ſed unà cum illo exhiberi quoque fateor piis & fidelibus Gratiam Corporis Chriſti Vitam, ſcilicet, atque Æternitatis Alimoniam, idque cum Cypriano. Manducamus Vitam, bibimuſque Vitam cum Auguſtino. Sentimus, Dominum præſentem in Gratia cum Emiſſeno. Recipimus Cibum cœleſtem & ſupernè venientem cum Athanaſio. Proprietatem naturalis Communionis cum Hilario. Naturam Carnis & Benedictionem vivificam in Pane & Vino cum Cyrillo, & cum eodem Virtutem proprie Carnis Chriſti, Vitam & Gratiam Corporis unigeniti proprietatem, id eſt, ut Cyrillus ipſe diſertis verbis exponit, Vitam. Fatemur nos cum Baſilio myſticum Chriſti Adventum. Gratiam veræ naturæ, atque veræ Carnis Sacramentum cum Ambroſio. Corpus per Gratiam, cum Epiphanio. Carnem ſpiritualem, ſed aliam ab ea quæ crucifixa, cum Hieronimo. Gratiam influentem in Sacrificium, & Spiritus Gratiam cum Chryſoſtomo. Gratiam, Veritatem inviſibilem, Gratiam & Societatem Membrorum Corporis Chriſti cum Auguſtino. Poſtremo cum Bertramo, qui horum fuit omnium poſtremus, fatemur ſecundum id haberi in Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ Corpus Chriſti, videlicet, ut ille exponit quod ſit in eo Spiritus Chriſti, id eſt, divini Potentia Verbi, quæ non ſolum Animam paſcit, verum etiam purgat, &c. ex hiis opinor omnibus dilucidè patere poteſt quam ſimus ab ea ſententia alieni, quâ nos falſo quidam orbi traducere conantur, dicentes nos nihil aliud docere quam Figuram Corporis Chriſti in Menſa Dominica, à piis & fidelibus recipiendam expectari oportere.

NICHOLAUS RIDLEY.

The Atteſtation of Cranmer *and* Ridley's *Papers above mention'd.*

G. W.

Et ego Gulielmus White perpetuus Socius beatæ Mariæ Winton. in Oxon. ac Winton. Dioceſeos publicus authoritate ſufficienti Notarius, Actorum ſupraſcriptorum ad tunc communi conſenſu pariter & aſſenſu totius Univerſitatis electus Scriba. Quia præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, dum ſic, ut præmittitur, coram præfato venerabili Viro Magiſtro Hugone Weſton, Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſore, & Sacræ Synodi London. Prolocutore, & aliis Commiſſionariis, Viris Doctiſſimis, ſub annis Domini Regnique Reginæ menſibus diebus & locis ſupradictis agebantur & fiebant, unà cum eodem venerabili Viro prædicto & teſtibus fide dignis ſuperius nominatis, omnibus & ſingulis Diſputationibus & hincinde Allegationibus & Doctoris Cranmeri, Ridlei, Latimeri Reſponſionibus in Scripta redactis, lectis ſubſcriptis & exhibitis præſens perſonaliter interfui: eaque omnia ſingula ſic fieri vidi, ſcivi, & audivi, idcirco hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum totum & integrum proceſſum inter Commiſſionarios prædictos, & Doctorem Cranmerum, Ridleum, & Latimerum habitum & factum, complectens, & per omnia cum Originali concordans, manu alienâ (me interim aliundè legitimè impedito) fideliter ſcriptum exinde confeci, ſcripſi, & publicavi, atque in hanc publicam & authenticam formam redegi. Signoque, meoque, & cognomine, & ſubſcriptione meis ſolitis & conſuetis ſignavi in fidem & teſtimonium omnium præmiſſorum ſpecialiter rogatus & requiſitus.

Num. LXXII.

Articles concerning Archdeacons, their Officials and Miniſters. An. 1554.

Bonner Regiſt. fol. 367.

FIrſt, Whether they and every of them have executed and done his Office in all Points according to the order of the Law and eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions and laudable Cuſtoms of the Church?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons have faithfully and profitably viſited all the Churches within their Archdeaconries, enquiring diligently how divine Service in all points has been celebrated and ſaid, the Sacraments and Sacramentals miniſter'd, and how the Ornaments of the Church have been kept, and what Lack has been there of them, or what Fault has been in them; and generally of all things Spiritual and Temporal, appertaining to the good Order of their Archdeaconries and the ſaid Churches, correcting and puniſhing diligently and faithfully all ſuch Offences, Tranſgreſſions and Crimes, as appertains to the worthy Puniſhment and Reformation?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons, their Officials and Miniſters, at all Times, and in all Caſes, have faithfully, truly and diligently put in Execution all and every ſuch Commiſſions and Commandments, which they, or any of them, have at any time received from the Biſhop their Ordinary, and certified the ſame accordingly?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons do grieve and charge the ſaid Churches with ſuperfluous Expences and Charges, or do exact Procurations when they do viſit, or do not behave themſelves diſcreetly, modeſtly, and temperately in the number and quality of ſuch as they bring with them to the Viſitation?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons do receive Money, either not to viſit, to reform, not to correct, puniſh and amend Offences and Faults, or do make unjuſt and unlawful Proceſs againſt any Man, to extort thereby any Money or Reward of him, or do receive by himſelf or others, any Money or Reward for any notorious Offence or Crime done by the Offender thereof?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons be frequent and oft in the Aſſemblies or Chapters obſerv'd and kept in ſeveral and particular Deanaries rural, and whether that in the ſame they do diligently inſtruct and teach the Prieſts and Curates, eſpecially amongſt other things, to live virtuouſly, honeſtly and well, and to underſtand and know perfectly the Words of the Canon of the Maſs, and the Form and Order of Sacraments, eſpecially of Baptiſm, and chiefly in thoſe Words and things which are of the Subſtance of the Sacrament in any wiſe?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons do obſerve and keep certain Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Cuſtoms, eſpecially ſet forth by *Otho* and *Othobon*, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Perſons that do keep Concubines againſt the Order of the ſaid Laws and Cuſtoms; and whether the ſaid Archdeacons do enquire and proceed according to the ſaid Cuſtoms; whereof the one begins, *Licet ad profugandum, &c.* and the other begins, *Quam indecorum, &c.*

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, eſpecially being in holy Orders and beneficed, do obſerve and keep the Tenor, Form and Effect of the Chapter, *Exterior habitus de Vita & honeſtate Clericorum* touching their Habit and Apparel?

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons, and every of them, do obſerve and keep their corporal Oath, given to the Ordinary at the time of their Admiſſion to their Archdeaconries, concerning Obedience and Reverence; and whether the ſaid Archdeacons do content and pay faithfully and truly all ſuch Duties as they ought to pay unto their ſaid Ordinary in any manner of wiſe; and eſpecially Penſions ſeverally going out and payable by them unto the ſaid Ordinary.

Item, Whether the ſaid Archdeacons do foreſee and provide that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar be reverently reſerv'd and kept in a Pix, and hang'd upon the Altar, or otherwiſe decently kept and placed; and that the Hoſt ſo reſerv'd in the Pix, be once in the Week taken and receiv'd of the Prieſt, or ſick Perſon, for whom the ſame is reſerv'd, and another conſecrate Hoſt be put in the place thereof, and the ſame not to be ſuffer'd there long to continue, but changed and renew'd according to the old Cuſtom and Uſage of the Church.

Item, Whether they and every of them, have admoniſhed the Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Prieſts, being call'd, or coming to any ſick Perſon, making his Teſtament and laſt Will, to put the ſick Perſon in remembrnce of the great Spoil and Robbery that of late has been made of the Goods, Ornaments and things of the Church; exhorting charitably the ſame, not only to relieve and help the needy Perſons being abroad, but, alſo according to the old and laudable Cuſtum uſed in times paſt, effectually to remember both his Pariſh Church and the need thereof, and alſo the Cathedral and Mother Church of this City and Dioceſs of *London*, relieving the ſame with ſomething according to his Devotion and Power; and whether the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, Curates and other the ſaid Prieſts have done accordingly?

Articles concerning the things of the Church, and Ornaments of the ſame.

Firſt, Whether there be at the Entry of the Church, or within the Door of the ſame, an holy Water-ſtock or Pot, having in it holy Water to ſprinkle upon the Entry, to put him in remembrance both of his Promiſe made at the time of his Baptiſm and of the ſhedding and ſprinkling of Chriſt's Blood on the Croſs for his Redemption; and alſo to put him in remembrance, that as he waſh'd his Body, ſo he ſhou'd not forget to waſh and cleanſe his Soul, and make it fair with virtuous and godly good Living; and finally to put him in remembrance, that as Water paſſes and ſlides away, ſo ſhall he not tarry and abide in this World.

Item, Whether there be every *Sunday* holy Water and holy Bread, made and diſtributed among the Pariſhoners, the one done for Conſiderations afore rehears'd; the other practiſ'd as well to put Men in remembrance of Unity and Concord, expreſs'd by the ſeveral Grains, which being many, are ground and brought to one Loaf made of them all, as alſo to bring to Memory the Uſage of the Primitive Church, which was to have often, and eſpecially on the *Sunday*, a Communion between the Multitude, for lack of which Communion, this holy Bread is now given Men, to underſtand, that they ſhou'd have done the other, and for lack of the ſame, do now receive this for a Memory thereof.

Item, Whether there be a *Paxe* in the Church, not only to put People in remembrance of the

Peace which Chriſt bequeath'd to his Diſciples, but of that Peace which Chriſt by his death purchaſed for the People, and alſo of that Peace which Chriſt wou'd have betwixt God and Man, Man and Man, and Man to himſelf. And the ſaid *Paxe* in the Church to be kiſs'd by the Prieſt, and to be carry'd to the Pariſhioners at Maſs time, in eſpecial remembrance of the Premiſes.

Item, Whether there be any that refuſes to receive the ſaid holy Water or holy Bread, or refuſes to take the *Paxe*, or to kiſs the Prieſt at the Solemnization of Matrimony, or uſe any ſuch like Ceremonies heretofore uſed and obſerved in the Church.

Item, Whether there be in the Church an high Altar of Stone conſecrated and dedicated, ſpecially to ſing or ſay Maſs upon; and it is not meant any Grave Stones taken from the Burial or other unſeemly Place, and put up for an Altar, but a meet and convenient Stone as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt.

Item, Whether the things under written, which are to be found on the Coſt of the Pariſhioners be in the Church, *i. e.* a Legend, an Antiphonar, a Grayle, a Pſalter, an Ordinal, to ſay or ſolemnize divine Service, a Miſſal, a Manual, a Proceſſional, a Chalyce, two Cruets, a principal Veſtment with Chiſable, a Veſtment for the Deacon and Subdeacon, a Cope with the Appurtenances, *i. e.* an Amyſſe, Albe, Girdle, Stole and Fann on the high Altar, with Apparel in the Front, and other parts thereof; three Towels, three Surplices, a Rochet, a Croſs for Proceſſion, with Candleſticks, a Croſs for the Dead, an Incenſer, a Ship or Veſſel for Frankincenſe, a little Saints Bell, a Pix with an honeſt and decent Cover, and a Veil for the Lent Banners, and for the Rogation Week; Bells and Ropes, a Biere for the Dead, a Veſſel to carry holy Water about, a Candleſtick for the Paſchal Taper, a Font to chriſten Children, with Covering, Lock and Key, and generally all other things, which after the Cuſtom of the Country or Place, they are bound to find, maintain and keep.

Item, Whether there be a Crucifix, a Rood Loft, as in times paſt has been accuſtom'd, &c.

Item, Whether the Water conſecrated being in the Font, be once in the Month at leaſt duly changed and renew'd according to the old Cuſtom of the Church.

Item, Whether in the ſaid Church there is a Chriſmatory for holy Oil and Chriſme, decently and well kept after the old Cuſtom, and whether the ſaid Oil and Chriſm be alſo therein, and frequented, and uſed as they ought to be.

Item, Whether in the ſaid Church there be Seats and Pews for the Pariſhioners to ſit in, honeſtly prepar'd and kept after the old Uſage.

Item, Whether there has been, or be any Plate, Ornaments or Jewels, Bells, Candleſticks or Lead, or other Goods of and in the ſaid Church, what they were or be, and in whoſe Hands they were or are, or whether they be alienated or pledged, declaring the Value thereof.

Item, Whether there has been any Inventory made of the ſaid Church Goods, and where the ſaid Inventorys are, and whether there be wanting the ſaid Plate, Jewels or Ornaments ſpecified in the ſaid Inventories, and being ſuch Want, by what Occaſion and Mean the ſame is, and by whoſe Commandment and doing.

Item, Whether there be Churchwardens in the ſaid Church choſen every Year, and whether the ſame do yearly make a faithful and true Account to the Pariſhioners accordingly, bringing in with them the ſaid Inventories, and doing all ſuch things as on their Behalf are to be done.

In the Articles relating to the Laity, I ſhall only mention theſe following.

Whether there be any that will not ſuffer the Prieſt to dip the Child three times in the Font, being yet ſtrong and able to abide and ſuffer it in the Judgment and Opinion of diſcreet and expert Perſons, but will needs have the Child in the Cloths, and only to be ſprinkled with a few Drops of Water.

Whether there be any Bauds, Men or Women, that does keep within his or their Houſes, or elſewhere, any Strumpets or Harlots, to have the more reſort to their Houſes, and utter thereby their Chaffer and Wares, to their more worldly Advantage, and whether there be any vehemently ſuſpected thereof, or of conveying or keeping young Wenches for ſuch unlawful and ungodly Purpoſes.

Item, Whether there have been any Men, Women or Cildren, of the Age of fourteen Years and above, who upon *Sundays* and Holy-days, have gone a hunting or hawking, Bear baiting, us'd Games and other Plays, Diſport and Paſtimes; or who has upon the ſaid *Sundays* or Holy-days, wilfully abſented themſelves from the Pariſh Church in time of divine Service, and who upon feign'd Occaſion, either upon the Even before, or upon the ſame Day in the Morning, doth uſe to go forth abroad out of their Pariſhes into the Fields or Country, or otherwiſe, or doth ſecretly keep themſelves in their Houſes, and do not come to the Service as they ought to do?

The following Articles ſtand at the beginning.

Firſt, Whether there be any Lay Perſon, Man, or Woman, that is an open and notable Tranſgreſſor of any of the Ten Commandments of God, or an open Offender in any of the ſeven deadly Sins, or of the laudable Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the Catholick Church?

Item, Whether there be any Lay Perſon, Man, Woman or Child, being of ſufficient Age and Ciſcretion, that cannot ſay their *Pater noſter*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Creed*?

Num. LXXIII.

Cardinal Pool's *Legantine Commiſſion from Pope* Julius *the third.*

Regiſt. Pool.

JUlius Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Reginaldo Sanctæ Mariæ in Coſmedin Diacono, Cardinali Polo Nuncupato, ad Chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Mariam Angliæ Reginam illuſtrem, & Univerſum Angliæ Regnum, noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato de latere, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Si ullo unquam tempore licuit, nunc certè expoſitiſſimè licet dicere, *Dextra Domini fecit Virtutem.* Hanc inquam lætiſſimam Vocem licet omnium piorum gaudiis atque Acclamatione celebrare. Quid enim aliud dicamus, quin Dextram Domini hanc tam inopinatam rerum Converſionem feciſſe, ut florentiſſimum Angliæ Regnum, ab Henrico Octavo in Diſſidium ab Eccleſiâ Catholicâ Seceſſionemque ſeductum, ac deindè Edwardi ejus nati Succeſſione in paterno & hæreditario errore corroboratum & firmatum, in eum nunc ſtatum repentè devenerit, ut ad Sanctum Ovile atque ad Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Septa revocari facillimè poſſe videatur? Profectò hoc nihil aliud

eſt quam mutatio dextræ excelſi. Defuncto enim Vita ſupradicto Edwardo, adniſiſque illius Sectatoribus, qui rerum Habenas, qui Arces, qui Exercitum, qui Claſſem obtinebant, Regnum alicui ex ſuâ Sectâ deferre, excluſâ legitimâ Hærede, Chariſſimâ in Chiſto filiâ Mariâ Angliæ Reginâ, illuſtri tunc Principe, & præfati Henrici Regis Nata, quæ ſempèr in Catholicæ fidei Unitate permanſit, atque ut eis videbatur, voto jam potitis; ecce ille Dominator Dominus, & terribilis, *qui aufert ſpiritum Principum*, cuncta iniquorum Commenta disjecit, & repentinâ animorum totius Regni inclinatione atque motu, eâ quam ipſi conſtituerant Regiâ Poteſtate dejectâ, ut ipſa Maria unâ omnium voce Regina, ſalutaretur, effecit. Gratiæ Domino Deo noſtro, qui non obliviſcitur ſuos, qui & huic illuſtriſſimum Præmium Fidei ſuæ invictæque Conſtantiæ, paternum Regnum, quod jam humanitùs amiſerat, divinitùs detulit: Et hanc non parvam gregis ſui Partem, à rectâ ſemitâ jam pridem abactam, & per deſerta diſperſam, reſpicere dignatus eſt. Quam & non dubitamus eodem divino Favore perſeverante, poſtquam Catholicam Principem nacta eſt, etiam ipſam in Catholicæ Fidei viam facilè Converſum iri, & Communioni Eccleſiæ reſtitutum. Cui quidem ſpei ſanctæque Fiduciæ quam habemus in Domino, nos pro Paſtorali, quæ nobis eſt ab illo commiſſa, univerſalis Eccleſiæ curâ, & pro ea Charitate quâ ergà Anglicam Gentem propriè debemus affici, tamque hujus ſanctæ Sedis, cui ſine meritis ullis noſtris, ſed ſolâ ſummi Dei Providentia præſidemus, peculiarem filiam, procuratâ olim ab ipſius Sede divini illic Verbi Diſſeminatione generatam, deeſſe nec volumus, nec debemus. Cum igitur ſuper hujuſmodi tractandâ re, negotioque divina ope conficiendo, & potiſſimum cui hanc Provinciam demandare poſſemus, aſſiduos noſtræ Mentis Cogitatus effunderemus; tu ſemper nobis non tantum primus, ſed ſolus omnium, occurriſti, quem omnino præ cæteris huic curæ præficere debemus. Unde habitâ ſuper his cum Venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, Deliberatione maturâ, de illorum unanimi Aſſenſu & Conſenſu, te ad eandem Reginam Mariam & univerſum Angliæ Regnum noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum delegimus. Sive enim nos natalis Terræ tuæ, & omnium Charitatem, quæ in te ſumma eſſe debet, & certè eſt, ſeu Linguæ ejus Gentis & Morum ſenſuumque Notitiam, ſive ob deductum à ſanguine Regio Genus, Autoritatem & Gratiam, ſeu ſingularem in omni Genere Prudentiam & Eloquentiam, ſeu (quod Caput eſt) Flagrantiſſimum tuum erga Deum & Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, ejuſque ſanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam Amorem atque Obſervantiam, multis jam in rebus cognitam atque perſpectam, ſpectaremus; Perſonam tuam, quam his, quas modo commemoravimus, & pluribus aliis, Virtutibus, omnium Munerum Largitor Altiſſimus exornavit, ad hanc Legationem aptiſſimam, judicavimus. Quamobrem Circumſpectioni veſtræ per præſentes Litteras mandamus, ut Munus iſtud pro eadem tuâ erga Deum Pietate, erga nos & ſanctam hanc Sedem Reverentia, erga Chriſtianam Rempublicam ſtudio atque Amore ſuſcipiens, id pro tua fide, Diligentiâ, Dexteritate exequare; nihilque prætermittas, quo minus Deo bene juvante optatum Legationis fructum aſſequare, in errorem lapſos conſolando, atque in Dei Gratiam & ſuæ ſanctæ Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Communionem reſtituendo. Cujus rei, maximè ſcilicet in ipſius Dei Clementiâ, ſecundum Deum autem cum ſtudio, Prudentia & Virtute tuâ, tum ipſius Mariæ Reginæ in Deum Pietate, Sapientiâ & Devotione, ſpem ponimus.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quinquenteſimo quinquageſimo tertio, nonis Auguſti, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno quarto.

Num. LXXIV.

The King and Queen's Letters Patents to indemniſie Cardinal Pool *for holding a Synod.*

Regiſ. Pool fol. 16. A. D. 1555.

KNow ye, that for ſo much the ſaid moſt reverend Father earneſtly deſiring that his Labour and Travail might take Fruit to the Honour of God, and the Wealth of our Subjects, hath now called a Synod of the Clergy of this our Realm of *England*, to appear before him at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*: We, to avoid all Danger, Doubt and Ambiguity, which might ariſe in that Caſe, by reaſon of any Laws, Statutes, Cuſtoms or Prorogatives of Us, or of this our Realm of *England*, and for the more ample Declaration of our ſaid Letters Patents, have granted, declared, and ſignified, and by theſe Preſents do grant, declare, and ſignifie, that our Will, Pleaſure, and Conſent is, that as well the ſaid moſt reverend Father Cardinal *Pool*, Legate *de latere*, of the Pope's Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick; may freely, without let of us, or danger of any of our ſaid Laws, Satutes, Cuſtoms or Prerogatives, call and celebrate the ſaid Synod, or any other Synods hereafter, at his Will and Pleaſure: And in the ſame, ſtatute ordain and decree, any wholſom Canons for the good Life and Order of the Clergy of this our Realm of *England*, or of any other our Realms and Dominions. And do any other thing for the better executing of their Office and Duty: As alſo the ſaid Clergy may appear and be preſent at the ſaid Synod or Synods, and conſent to fulfil and obey all ſuch Canons as ſhall be ordain'd in the ſame, or any of them, without Let or Impediment of Us, and without incurring any Danger, Penalty or Forfeiture, of any of our Laws or Statutes; any Act, Ordinance or other Matter contrary to the ſame notwithſtanding. And hereto we have given our full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents. In witneſs whereof we have made theſe our Letters to be made Patents, witneſs our ſelves at *Weſtminſter*, the ſecond day of *November*, in the ſecond and third year of our Reigns, *per ipſos Regem & Reginam, &c.*

Num. LXXV.

Cardinal Pole's *Letter to the Princeſs* Elizabeth.

Cotton *Library*, Veſpaſian F. 3.

IT may pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that albeit the long continuance and vehemence or my Sickneſs be ſuch as juſtly might move me, caſting away all Cares of this World, only to think of that to come; yet not being convenient for me to determine of Life or Death, which is only in the Hand of God, I thought it my Duty before I ſhould depart, ſo nigh as I could, to leave all Perſons ſatisfied of me, and eſpecially your Grace, being of that Honour and Dignity that the Providence of God hath called you unto. For which Purpoſe I do ſend you at this preſent mine faithful Chaplain, the Dean of *Worceſter*: To whome may it pleaſe your Grace to give credit, in that he ſhall ſay unto you in my behalf.

I doubt

vide p 89 2 Eliz

I doubt not but that your Grace ſhall remain ſatisfied thereby; whome Almighty God long proſper to his Honour, your Comfort, and the Wealth of the Realm.

By your Grace's Orator,
From Lambehith *the* 14*th of* Nov. 1558. Reg. Car. Cantuarien.

Num. LXXVI.

Cardinal Pole's Significavit *into the Court of* Chancery, *for the puniſhing Hereticks.*

Pole Regiſt. Fol. 30.

ILluſtriſſimis & Sereniſſimis in Chriſto Principibus, & Dominis noſtris Dominis Philippo & Mariæ, Dei Gratia Regi & Reginæ Angliæ, Hiſpaniarum, &c. Reginaldus miſeratione divinâ Sanctæ Mariæ in Coſmedin, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyter Cardinalis Polus, Cantuarienſ. Archiepiſcop. &c. Honorem, Reverentiam, & Obedientiam in eo per quem Reges regnant & Principes dominantur; veſtris regiis Majeſtatibus tenore præſentium ſignificamus, &c. Cum igitur ſancta Mater Eccleſiæ non habeat quod ulterius facere & exequi debeat in hac parte, veſtris regiis ſublimitatibus, & Brachio veſtro ſeculari, dictos Hæreticos & relapſos relinquimus, condigna Animadverſione plectendos.

In cujus rei Teſtimonium nos Reginald. &c. Dat. 17 Jul. A. D. 1558.

Num. LXXVII.

The Differences between the Common-Prayer-Book ſet forth in the firſt Year of Queen Elizabeth, *and the ſecond Book made uſe of in the Reign of King* Edward *the VIth.*

Theſe Alterations were tranſcrib'd by Archbiſhop Whitgift, *and ſent to the Ld. Treaſurer* Burleigh. *MSS.* Burleigh. Strype *Annal.*

FIrſt, King *Edward* his *ſecond Book* differeth from her Majeſty's Book in the firſt *Rubrick*, ſet down in the beginning of the Book; for King *Edward*'s ſecond Book hath it thus;

The Morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be uſed in ſuch place of the Church, Chappel or Chancel, and the Miniſter ſhall turn him, as the People may beſt hear. And if there be any Controverſie therein, the matter ſhall be referr'd to the Ordinary, and he or his Deputy ſhall appoint the Place. And the, &c.

Whereas the Queen's Book hath it thus;

The Morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be us'd in the accuſtomed Place of the Church, Chappel or Chancel, except it ſhall be otherwiſe determined by the Ordinary of the Place. And the Chancels ſhall remain as they have done in times paſt.

Again, King *Edward*'s *ſecond Book* hath it thus;

Again, here is to be noted, that the Miniſter at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Miniſtration, ſhall uſe neither Albe, Veſtment, nor Cope: But being Archbiſhop or Biſhop, ſhall have and wear a Rochet; and being a Prieſt or Deacon, he ſhall have and wear a Surplice only.

The Queen's Book hath it.

And here is to be noted, that the Miniſter, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Miniſtration, ſhall uſe ſuch Ornaments in the Church, as were in uſe by Authority of Parliament in the ſecond Year of the Reign of King Edward *the VIth, according to the Act of Parliament ſet forth in the beginning of this Book.*

Secondly, In King *Edward*'s ſecond Book, in the Litany there are theſe Words; *from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities*; which are not in her Majeſty's Book.

Thirdly, In the Litany, her Majeſty's Book hath theſe Words more than are in King *Edward*'s ſecond Book, *viz. ſtrengthen in the true worſhipping of thee in Righteouſneſs, and true Holineſs of Life*, &c.

Fourthly, In the end of the Litany there is no Prayer in King *Edward*'s ſecond Book for the King, nor for the ſtate of the Clergy. And the laſt Collect ſet in her Majeſty's Book next before the firſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, and beginning, *O God! whoſe Nature and Property is ever to have Mercy*, is not in King *Edward*'s ſecond Book. Further, there are two Collects appointed for the time of Dearth and Famine, whereas her Majeſty's Book has but one. And in King *Edward*'s ſecond Book, this Note is given of the Prayer of St. *Chryſoſtom, the Litany ſhall ever end with this Collect following*, which Note is not in her Majeſty's Book.

Fifthly, King *Edward*'s ſecond Book appointeth only theſe Words to be uſed, when the Bread is delivered at the Communion, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Chriſt died for thee; and feed on him in thine Heart by Faith with Thankſgiving.* And when the Cup is deliver'd, *Drink this in remembrance that Chriſt's Blood was ſhed for thee, and be thankful.*

Whereas in her Majeſty's Book, at the delivering of the Bread, theſe Words muſt be ſaid, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto everlaſting Life: Take and eat this*, &c. And at the delivery of the Cup theſe Words, *The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto everlaſting Life: Drink this*, &c.

Num. LXXVIII.

Certain Conſiderations of a Roman *Catholick, why a Man may not with a ſafe Conſcience, and without offending God, be preſent at the* Service *now uſed.*

Ex Bibl. R. Harley Armig. *Written in the beginning of Queen* Eli*zabeth's Reign.*

FIrſt, for that the ſaid Book was ſet forth by the meer Power and Authority of the Laity only. Their Paſtors, the Biſhops, and the whole Clergy, whom they are bound to obey, as having the Cure of their Souls, and for the which they ſhall give a Reckoning, * and to whome the Explication and Definition of ſuch Matters principally appertaineth, openly reſiſting and repugning.

* Heb. 13.

Secondly, For that ſuch Sacraments are not miniſtred there, as all Chriſten'd Men are bound under pain of eternal Damnation to deſire, procure and receive, and for that the ſaid *Book* is for many Cauſes, erroneous and ſchiſmatical.

Thirdly, For that ſuch Sacraments as are there miniſtred be not miniſtred after ſuch Sort and Order, as the Catholick Church doth miniſter them, nor with ſuch Faith believ'd as the ſaid Church requireth.

Fourthly, For that the firſt Authors and Ordainers, the Fautors and Defenders of this *Book* do utterly neglect, contemn and deride the Order and Form, that the Catholick Church preſcribeth to worſhip God by; and be with divers and grievous Hereſies involved and intricated.

Fifthly, For that the common People imbraceth and alloweth the ſaid *Book*, as containing a true, ſincere and perfect Form and Order of Chriſtian Belief, and to worſhip God, by erring therein damnably.

Now albeit the Premiſſes well, duly and deeply conſidered, it may eaſily appear, that no Catholick may, for the avoiding of any worldly Diſpleaſure or Damage be preſent at ſuch Service, yet we will ſupply ſome other Reaſons and Conſiderations, for the better Corroboration of this Aſſertion.

Numb. 16.

Tit. 3.
2 Theſ. cap. 3.

Firſt, For that the holy Scriptures doth Command us to eſchew and avoid the Society and Company of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks; as where *Moſes* chargeth the People of *Iſrael* to go from the Tabernacles of the ſchiſmatical *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*; *Avoid*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *the Company of an Heretick after the firſt and ſecond Correption. We denounce unto you*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you do withdraw your ſelves from every Brother that walketh diſordinately, and not according to the Tradition you have received of us.* The which and like Authorities and Admonitions of holy Scripture cannot likely, more juſtly, and more neceſſarily take place, then in this our preſent Caſe.

Clemen. Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 2. cap. 65. Cap. 19.

Secondly, For that the Decrees of the holy Apoſtles, and the national and general Councils, do expreſſly forbid all Catholicks to reſort to the Churches, or common Prayers of Hereticks or Schiſmaticks. He can find, ſaith St. *Clement*, no Excuſation in the day of Judgment, that comes to the Churches of Hereticks: And commands all faithful Men, that by all means they abſtain from the Company of Hereticks, and that they neither talk nor pray with them.

Can. 11. Apoſt. & 2. Can. Con. Antioch. & Con. Carthag. Can. 23.

The like Decrees are to be found in the Councils of *Antioch*, of *Carthage*, and of divers others.

Euſeb. *Hiſt.* Eccleſ. lib. 6. cap. 2.

Thirdly, For that the Practice and Uſage of the old, ancient holy Fathers and good Catholicks, hath from the beginning been conformable to the foreſaid Rules, Precepts and Decrees. Yea they did endanger their Lives, rather than they would aſſociate themſelves in common Prayers with Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: Which worthy Examples do frequently occur in the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories as of the great Clerk *Origen*, who being in one Houſe with the Heretick *Paulus*, would in no ways pray with him. The *Arrian* Emperor *Valens* being in a great fury with the Catholick People of the City of *Edeſſa*, for that they would not come to the *Arrian* Churches, but hauing all their Churches taken from them, repaired to the open Fields to make their common Prayers, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that as many as ſhould come thither after the Proclamation, ſhould be ſlain, yet they, this notwithſtanding, the next Day repair'd thither in great Company, both Men, Women and Children, ready to die in the Quarrel, and thinking they ſhould merit Martydom thereby.

Theod. *Hiſt.* Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 14. & 15. *Hiſt.* Tripart. lib. 7. cap. 16.

To this I may adjoin the *Samoſatens*, whoſe noble Conſtancy is worthily commended in this behalf; for their Catholick Biſhop *Euſebius* being baniſhed for his ſincere Faith, and *Eunomius*, an *Arrian*, intruded for him, there was none of the City, nor Poor, nor Rich, nor Men, nor Women, no not as much as any Child would reſort to the Church, while he was there. The like worthy Conſtancy was in the People of *Alexandria*, *Athanaſius* their Biſhop being exil'd, and *George* an Heretick ſubſtitute for him, tho' they were moſt grievouſly tormented for that by the cruel Duke *Sebaſtian*. Semblable Worthineſs was found in the People of *Rome*; *Liberius* their Biſhop being expuls'd, for they would not repair to any common Prayer made by the Anti Biſhop *Felix*. And here is well to be noted, that our Caſe is far different from theirs, and much more dangerous and prejudicial, for that the common Service then was Catholick, and the uſual Service of the Church, the Paſtors being Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: But our Service is plain ſchiſmatical and diſagreeable to the uſual and ancient Service of the Catholick Church: Which thing doth wonderfully aggravate the Offence of 'em, that now come to ſuch common Service.

Theod. *Hiſt.* Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 14.

2 Maccab. 6.

And tho' they therefore might, as it ſeemeth, better be excuſed, then we now, yet do I not find, that they did, or lawfully could pretend ſuch Excuſes, as ſome Men now do: Saying they come not thither to pray with them, but to make their own private and catholick Prayers; and that they in heart diſlike the ſaid *Service*, for if they diſlike it, and think it nought, then ought they to withdraw their Preſence, and in this Point are not far from the *Helkeſites*, who held an Opinion which is condemn'd in the Church, that in time of Perſecution it is enough to *think* well, tho' their *Act* be to the contrary. And tho' the Schiſmaticks do ill to have a liking of that which is nought, and the Catholick doth well in diſliking of the ſame, yet in coming to the *Service*, the Schiſmatick's Fault ſeems the leſs, which repairs to the Service which he eſteemeth good, and the Catholick's Fault the greater, for frequenting that Form which he knoweth to be unlawful. Neither can it be any light Offence before God to diſſemble in a Matter of ſuch Importance, and that touches ſo nearly God's Honour. The good *Eleazarus* is much commended in Holy Scripture for his Plaineſs, who would and did rather die, than that he would once pretend to have eaten Swine's Fleſh againſt the Law, when he had eaten none indeed. Neither can this Man well pretend that he doth not conſent or allow of it, for his perſonal Preſence implies the contrary, and the Intent and Purpoſe why Men come to the Church, implies alſo the contrary. Which Intent and Purpoſe (by the Order and Laws of the Church) is principally to be preſent at the Common-Prayers, and at the holy Sacrifice of the Euchariſt, and not to make our private Prayers. And tho' that be ſuffer'd, yet they that be preſent give alſo their Conſent to the Common-Prayers, either by anſwering *Amen* to the ſame, as the whole People did ſo anſwer in the Primitive Church; or by the Anſwer of ſuch Perſons as be appointed to anſwer in publick Service; whoſe Anſwer in Law and good Conſideration implies and repreſents the Anſwer of the whole People. And ſurely as by the Laws of this Realm, he that is in company of Felons and Murderers, tho' he diſlike of the Act, yet if he do not fly or reſiſt the Act as much as lies in him, but vainly ſtands by, tho' he perchance eſcape the Penalty of Felony, ſhall not eſcape ſome Fine to be ſet on him. So, and much more, he that is preſent in this publick *Service* cannot be before God wholly excus'd. This Man muſt alſo well conſider what occaſion of Scandal or Offence he gives to others, for the which he is anſwerable before God. Such as know him in Heart to miſlike of the *Service*, cannot but judge him a deep Diſſembler; to whom alſo if they be of the ſame Diſliking, he gives occaſion to uſe the like Diſſimulation. Others that know not his Heart, are confirm'd by his Preſence (eſpecially if he be a Man of any regard) to allow and frequent the ſaid Service.

Such kind of Perſons I would wiſh diligently to call to Remembrance, what the Holy Scripture
1 Cor. 10. ture admoniſhes us in ſuch Caſes. *Be ye without Offence*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *towards the Jews*, *the*
Rom. 12. *Gentiles*, *and the Church of God*. *Provide to do well*, *not only before God*, *but before Men alſo.*
Matth. 20. *Woe be to him*, ſaith Chriſt, *by whom any Slander*
1 Cor. 8. & 10. *or Offence cometh*. St. *Paul* reproveth them that did eat Meats offer'd to the Idols, to the Offence of others, that thought it not lawful to eat of the ſame: With many other like Places occurrent in the Holy Scripture.

Num. LXXIX.

An Information made to Queen Elizabeth, *by ----- of the ſeveral Abuſes and Frauds done unto the State in general, and the Crown, by ſuch as have been employ'd by her Father,* &c. *Upon the Suppreſſion of the Abbeys,* &c.

Biblioth. R. Harley Armig. Weaver's *Funeral Monuments, p.*124.

PArt of the corrupt fraudulent and deceitful Dealing of many Subjects of this Realm, *at & ſince* the Suppreſſion and Viſitation of Abbeys, whereby the Poſſeſſions, Revenues, and Treaſure of the Crown have been immeaſurably rob'd and diminiſh'd to the great Offence of God, and Slander of the Goſpel, and to the no ſmall Impoveriſhing and Weakning of the Imperial Crown, and utter undoing of a Number of your Majeſties poor Tenants and Subjects. And ſo to the great Slander of your Majeſty, and withdrawing of their Hearts from you (whoſe Act it is told them to be, and ſo to them it ſeemeth, becauſe ſome of your Seals be at all or moſt part of them, and the Confirmation of your head Officers at the reſt) and to the utter ſpoiling and undoing of a Number of learned Perſons and excellent Wits, who underſtanding that many before them have been thereby greatly enrich'd and advanc'd: And that the Gap thereunto, as unto a Virtue, was made wide open for all, without any Puniſhment, but rather Commendations, were and are ſtill the eaſilier overcome by Temptation of the Wiſdom of *Satan*, the World, and the Fleſh, to ſeek and labour to become rich by like wicked wayes; of whom, as the Number is now of late Years greatly increas'd, ſo alſo deceive they more ſubtily and deteſtably, and in more things than ever before.

And here, after ſome farther length of Invective, he proceeds to inſtance in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth. The Contents of which are.

Deceitful and unrighteous Dealings at and upon the Viſitation and Suppreſſion of Abbeys, &c.

1. Where the Images of Gold and Silver, and what with the coſtly Shrines, Tabernacles, Altars, and Rood-lofts, and the precious Jewels of right Stones, and Pearls, *&c.* belonging to the ſame, and the Pixes, Chalices, Pattens, Baſons, Ewers, Candleſticks, Cruets, Cenſors, and multitudes of other rich Veſſels of Gold and Silver: And, the coſtly Altar-clothes, Curtains, Copes, Veſtments, Aulbs, Tunicles and other rich Ornaments: And the fine Linnen, jett Marble, and precious Wood, Braſs, Iron, Lead, Bells, Stone, *&c.* And the Houſehold Plate, Houſhold Stuff, and Furniture of Houſhold, and the Leaſes and Chattells, and the Horſes, Oxen, Kine, Sheep, and other Cattle, and the ſuperfluous Houſes and Buildings, and multitudes of other things that belong to the Abbeys, were worth a million of Gold.

The Sales of the part whereof were ſo cunningly made, and the Preſervation of the reſt was ſuch, that your Majeſties Father and the Crown of *England* had, in compariſon, but mean Portions of the ſame: Of which much was unpay'd by ill dealing many Years after: For the finding out of which, and puniſhing the great Deceit and Fraud, there was not then, neither hath there been at any time ſince (for the like Evils afterwards alſo committed to this Day) any good Order or diligent Labour taken, but let paſs, as tho' to find out and puniſh ſuch Wickedneſs were no Profit to the Prince and Crown, or good Service to God: All which have been the eaſilier let ſlip, becauſe perhaps ſome of 'em that ſhould have puniſh'd under the Prince, might alſo be partly guilty.

2. *Item*, Whereas diverſe of the Viſitors and Suppreſſors, had afterwards yearly Allowance of Fees, Annuities, Corodies, *&c.* granted by the Abbies to themſelves, their Servants and Friends; was it likely that they came by them without Fraud?

3. The moſt part of the Evidencies of Abbies and Nunneries were pilfer'd away, ſold and loſt, as herein following under the Title of your Majeſties time more plainly appears.

4. Mannors, Lands, and Tenements, and other Hereditaments were often ſold at under yearly Rents by many ſubtle Deceits and Frauds.

5. Many Lands and Tenements, *&c.* were ſome time ſold with the Appurtenances at the old yearly Rents. But where the Woods were undervalued, as often they were, the ſame went from the King without Recompence.

6. Mannors, Lands and Tenements, *&c.* ſold to diverſe. And after the Woods were fell'd and ſold, and the Rents enhanc'd, or for great Fines leas'd out for many Years, then the ſame Mannors were return'd to the King in exchange for other Lands, that had plenty of Woods, and were unenhanc'd and unleas'd in all or in part, or the Leaſes were near expir'd.

7. Much Lands and Tenements, and many great Woods and other Hereditaments were then ſold away, where the Money for the ſame was not paied many Years after the due time of Payment.

Deceits in the Reign of King Edward *the Sixth, your Majeſties Brother.*

Exchanges more than in King *Henry*'s time, and almoſt as bad, whereby the Rents of many of 'em muſt needs decay in a great part, when that Leaſes ſhall end, that were made by the Exchangers, or when the Bonds made to warrant theſe Rents, ſhall either be loſt, forgotten, or not extended.

Much Land ſold at Undervalues by great Deceit of many.

Deceit in the ſhort time of the Reign of Queen Mary, *your Majeſties Siſter.*

Many great Gifts, Sales and Exchanges were then, wherein was great Deceit and Loſs to the Crown.

Deceit in your Majeſties time

All or greateſt part of the Evidences of the Lands, Poſſeſſions, and Hereditaments of all the Abbies, &c. have by little and little by fraudulent Means been ſo pilfer'd and ſold away, and ſo drawn into many private Men's Hands, that there's almoſt none of 'em left to your Majeſties Uſe, ſo that your Majeſty hath nothing to maintain your Title, if need ſo require, but only your long Poſſeſſion and your own Records made ſince the Suppreſſion, whereof a Number of 'em be gone, *ut patet inferius*.

And where ſome Men have bought only the Demeſnes of a Mannor, and have ſo prevail'd by corrupt Means, that the Auditor has put thereto in his Particular thereof, *nomen Mannerii*; or elſe if the Penners of the Letters Patents for that Purchaſe have corruptly put it into the Draught or Tranſcript, and the Peruſer overpaſs it, either by too much Confidence in the Penner, or for lack of time by ſo ſlight conferring of the Particular and Tranſcript, ſuffer'd ſuch a Scape; And ſo if the ſame have paſs'd under the Great Seal, then is there no Remedy, but he muſt have and enjoy the whole Mannor, tho' afterwards it appear never ſo plainly that he purchas'd only a part thereof. Such be the Laws and Statutes they ſay, neither has there been (that ever I could know or hear of) any diligent Enquiry made, or Labour taken to find out by whoſe Corruption it came, and to puniſh the Purchaſer and all his corrupt Inſtruments, as the Wickedneſs of the Act did deſerve. And ſo as all others might by their Puniſhment be terrified from that ill Kind, and innumerable other Kinds of like corrupted Dealing.

Likewiſe of conceal'd Lands whatſoever found out and certified by Commiſſion out of the *Exchequer*, if the Commiſſioners, through Friendſhip or Corruption, have found out a *Mannor*, or other Lands to be worth yearly 5 Shillings; whereas the old yearly Rent of the ſame was no leſs than 20 Pounds by Year: And thereupon if the Procurer of the Commiſſion obtain it by Leaſe or Purchaſe at 5 Shillings by Year, your Majeſty has no Remedy, but he muſt enjoy it *cauſâ Prædictâ*, notwithſtanding the Truth thereof do afterwards never ſo plainly appear.

And alſo of many other things, both of Lands, Goods and Woods, Debts and other things, anſwerable in your Majeſties Court of *Exchequer*, within the Accompts of your Highneſs Sheriffs, Eſcheators, and other Officers, and other Perſons authoriz'd to take the ſame to your Majeſties Uſe, if they find out and ſeize any Mannors, Lands, Hereditaments, Goods, &c. at a far under rate, tho' it be never ſo plainly known, they are not blam'd and puniſh'd for it; no ſome will ſay the Officers would never be ſued for a *pitiful Hearing*.

Stately Mannors, and mean Mannors, with the Parks and Woods have been ſold, given and otherwiſe granted, where the Parks have paſs'd at no Rent, and the Woods at no value, a very little, in compariſon, yea and ſome Mannors, &c. where diverſe Fees of the Keepers of the Park, of the Houſes, &c. have been deducted, ſo that the Values at which the ſaid Mannors have paſs'd, have been a great deal leſs than they ought to have been.

Item, Diverſe of the Copyholders both of your ſtately and mean Mannors, which is your beſt and richeſt Lands, for their ſmall Rent be ſometimes purchas'd, ſometime granted in Fee Farm, and ſometimes leas'd out, whereby the Mannors be diſmembred, your Tenants taken from you, and impoveriſh'd, and your Commons much griev'd, and provoked to murmur, when they ſee Copyhold Tenure, (the good antient Tenure of *England*) whereby the moſt of them hold, and ever have held their Lands, and Livings, to be (now adays) made void and of none Effect.

Item, Perquiſites and Profits of the Courts of diverſe of your Majeſties Mannors be leas'd out, and ſome ſold away; whereby alſo the Mannors be diſmembred, the Tenants and their Services had from your Majeſty. A matter of great weight.

Item, The Profits of the Courts of many of the Mannors that remain in your Majeſty be yearly ill anſwer'd, and ſometimes partly pilfer'd away, and the eaſilier becauſe the Stewards deliver not up yearly *Doubles* of their Court Rolls, as by good Order they ſhould doe. And becauſe Deceit is not ſought out and puniſh'd.

Item, Many of your Majeſties rich Woods, with the Soiles both notable great and ſtately, and alſo both mean and ſmall, ſome lying and being within the Forreſts, Chaſes, Parkes, Commons, &c. and other ſome within the late Demeſnes, or proper Occupation of Abbots, Priors, Nuns, &c. or of other former Owners of Caſtles, Honours, Lordſhips, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments *, common to your Majeſties Anceſtors and to your ſelf, which never yielded any yearly Rent, except ſome Trifle for the Herbage and Pawnage, being kept for royal and ſtately Pleaſure, and common and domeſtical Profit, have been ſold away for little or nothing in compariſon, and ſome part of them letten out to no common Benefit or particular Profit for your Majeſty, becauſe the Rents be ſmall, and the Woods are ſuffer'd to be ſpoild, *ut patet inferius*.

* *He means moſt probably the Honours, Caſtles, Lordſhip's, &c. taken from the Biſhops Sees, and veſted in the Crown by an Act of Parliament, made in the 1ſt Year of this Queen's Reign.*

After Recital of ſeveral other Frauds, too long to mention, he draws towards a Concluſion in in this manner. Your Majeſty, ſays he, would wonder if you knew how much I have been malign'd, reproach'd, brow-beaten, and purſued with ill Offices for my Plaineſs againſt this Miſmanagement. At which your Majeſty may be the more ſurpriz'd, becauſe ſome of 'em bear great Shew and Name of good Men, and *Goſpellers*: But alas piteous ones, God amend them, and us all.

He that gave in this Information, owns himſelf a Profeſſor of the *Goſpell*, that is a Proteſtant, and that he was in a Poſt of Authority: And ſince he brings in ſo high a Charge againſt the Courtiers, and Officers of the *Crown*, the *Reader* needs not be ſurpriz'd to find his Name conceal'd.

Num. LXXX.

The Form of a Congé De'ſlire.

CHARLES R.

Paper Office.

REX &c. dilectis nobis in Chriſto Decano & Capitulo Eccleſiæ Cathedralis & Metropolitanæ Sancti Petri Eboracenſis ſalutem. Ex parte veſtrâ nobis eſt humiliter ſupplicatum, ut cum Eccleſia prædicta per mortem naturalem ultimi Archiepiſcopi ejuſdem jam vacet, & Paſtoris ſit ſolatio deſtituta, alium vobis eligendum in Archiepiſcopum & Paſtorem licentiam noſtram Fundatoris vobis concedere dignaremur. Nos precibus veſtris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinantes licentiam illam vobis duximus concedendam, rogantes, ac in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini præcipientes, quod talem vobis eligatis in Archiepiſcopum & Paſtorem qui Deo devotus,

nobis & Regno noſtro utilis, & fidelis exiſtat: In cujus rei Teſtimonium. &c.

Num. LXXXI.

Archbiſhop Parker's *Homage to Queen* Elizabeth. Apud Weſt. die Feb. 1559.

Paper Office. An Original.

I *Matthew Parker*, Doctor of Divinity, now elect Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, that your Majeſty is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realm, and of all other your Highneſſes Dominions, and Countrys, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things or Cauſes, as Temporal, and that no foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Præeminence, or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical, or Spiritual within this Realm, and therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all foreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities; and do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance unto your Majeſty, your Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors, and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preeminences and Authorities, granted or belonging to your Highneſs, your Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And farther I knowlege and confeſs, to have and to hold the ſaid Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and the Poſſeſſions of the ſame entirely, as well the Spiritualties, as Temporalties thereof, only of your Majeſty and Crown Royal, of this your Realms. And as for the ſaid Poſſeſſions, I do mine Homage preſently unto your Highneſs, and to the ſame, and your Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, ſhall be faithful and true, ſo help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

We alſo whoſe Names be underwritten, being Biſhops of the ſeveral Biſhopricks within your Majeſties Realm, do teſtifie, declare, and acknowledge, all and every part of the Premiſes, in like manner the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* has done.

Num. LXXXII.

At the Confirmation of a Biſhop by the Archbiſhop, the Dean ond Chapter by their Proxy certify the following Particulars, touching the Regularity of the Election before the Archbiſhop, his Vicar General, or Commiſſary.

PArs venerabilium Virorum Decani & Capituli Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lich' dicit, allegat, & in hiis Scriptis ad omnem juris effectum exinde ſequi valentem, per viam ſummariæ Petitionis in jure proponit articulatim, prout ſequitur.

Regiſt. Grindal. *fol.* 62.

Imprimis, viz. Quod Sedes Epiſcopalis Coven. & Lich' per mortem, bonæ memoriæ, Domini Thomæ Bentham ultimi Epiſcopi & Paſtoris ibidem nuper vacare cepit, & aliquamdiù vacavit, Paſtoriſque ſolatio deſtituta exiſtit. Hocque fuit, & eſt verum, publicum, notorium, manifeſtum pariter & famoſum: Ac ponit conjunctim & diviſim ac de quolibet.

Item, quod dictâ Sede Epiſcopali Coven. & Lichen. dudùm, ut præfertur, vacante, Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lichen. prædict' capitulariter congregati, & Capitulum facientes Licentia Regia primitùs in ea parte petita & obtenta, certum Diem ac Domum ſuam Capitularem Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lichen. prædict' pro hujuſmodi Electione fiend' & celebrand' unanimiter & concorditer præfixerunt; Ac omnes & ſingulos ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Canonicos & Præbendarios, jus, voces, & intereſſe in eadem Electione habentes, ſeu habere prætendentes, ad diem & locum prædictos in hujuſmodi Electionis nego tio proceſſur' & procedi viſur' legitimè & peremptoriè citari fecerunt; Hocque fuit & eſt verum, publicum, notorium, manifeſtum paritèr & famoſum. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod præfati Decanus & Capitulum die & loco præfixis, viz. die menſis anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo octogeſimo jam curren' capitulariter congregati, & Capitulum facientes (ſervatis primitus per eos de Jure & Statutis hujus Regni Angliæ in ea parte ſervandis) habitoque per eos Tractatu diligent' de Perſona idonea eligenda in Epiſcopum & Paſtorem Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lichen' prædict' tandem unanimitèr & concorditèr nullo eorum contradicente vel reclamante, venerabilem Virum Magiſtrum Wilhelmum Overton Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſorem in eorum & dictæ Eccleſiæ memoratæ Cathedralis Lichen' Epiſcopum & Paſtorem elegerunt, & Eccleſiæ memoratæ providerunt de eodem. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod Electio hujuſmodi, & Perſona electa die prædicta in Eccleſia Cathedrali Lichen' prædict' coram Clero & Populo tunc ibidem in numero copioſo congregat' debitè publicat' & declarat' fuerunt. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod dictus Electus hujuſmodi Electioni de Perſona ſua in Epiſcopum & Paſtorem Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Lichen' prædict', ut præfertur, factæ & celebratæ ad humilem Petitionem eorundem Decani & Capituli debitis loco & tempore conſentiebat, ac conſenſum ſuum eidem præbuit in Scriptis per eum lectis. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod dictus Magiſter Wilhelmus Overton Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor, fuit & eſt Vir providus & diſcretus Litterarum eminenti Scientia, Vitâ & Moribus meritò commendatus, liber; & de legitimo Matrimonio procreatus, atque in Ætate legitimâ & Ordine Sacerdotali conſtitutus, necnon Deo devotus, & Eccleſiæ memoratæ apprimè neceſſarius; Hocque fuit, & eſt verum, publicum, notorium, manifeſtum pariter & famoſum. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod præfati Decanus & Capitulum hujuſmodi Electionem & Perſonam electam, Sereniſſimæ Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ Elizabethæ, per Litteras ſuas Patentes Sigillo eorum communi roboratas, pro Officii ſui debit' juxta Statuta hujus inclyti Regni Angliæ ſignificaverunt & intimaverunt. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod præſentato pro parte dictorum Decani & Capituli eidem Regiæ Sublimitati Proceſſu Electionis hujuſmodi, eadem Sereniſſima Domina noſtra Regina pro ſua Clementia Regia Electioni hujuſmodi de Perſona præfati Magiſtri Wilhelmi Overton (ut præfertur) factæ & celebratæ, conſenſum & aſſenſum ſuos Regios gratioſè adhibuit & adhibet, illamque ratam & gratam habuit & habet. Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod dicta Sereniſſima Domina noſtra Regina vobis præfato Reverendiſſimo Patri de aſſenſu & conſenſu ſuis Regiis hujuſmodi Electioni (ut præfertur) adhibitis, per Litteras ſuas Patentes vobis inſcriptas & directas non ſolum ſignificavit, verum etiam earundem Litterarum ſuarum Patentium ſerie vobis rogando mandavit, quatenus vos Electionem prædictam & Perſonam electam hujuſmodi confirmare, ipſumque Inſigniis Epiſcopalibus inſignire & decorare, cæteraque peragere quæ veſtro in hac parte incumbunt Officio Paſtorali, juxta formam Statuti in ea parte editi, & Literarum Patentium hujuſmodi velitis, cum favore; hocque fuit & eſt verum, publicum, notorium, manifeſtum paritèr & famoſum; Et ponit ut ſupra.

Item, quod præmiſſa omnia & ſingula fuerunt & ſunt vera, publica, notoria, manifeſta paritèr & famoſa, atque de & ſuper eiſdem laboraverint & in præſenti laborant, publica vox & fama, unde facta fide de jure in hac parte requiſita, ad quam faciend' offert ſe pars iſta proponens, dictorum Decani & Capituli promptam & paratam pro loco & tempore congruis & opportunis; petit eadem pars præfatam Electionem & Perſonam electam confirmandam fore, decerni, & cum effectu confirmari, juxta Juris & Statutorum hujus Regni Angliæ exigentiam, necnon Regiarum Literarum Patentium hujuſmodi vobis direct' in hac parte ſeriem; Curamque Regimen & Adminiſtrationem Epiſcopatûs Coven. & Lichen. eidem Electo committi. Ipſumque in realem, actualem, & corporalem Poſſeſſionem dicti Epiſcopatûs Coven. & Lichen. Juriumque & Pertinentium ſuorum univerſorum inducend' & introthonizand' fore decerni, ulteriuſque fieri & miniſtrari in præmiſſis, & ea concernen' quibuſcunque; quod juſtum fuerit & rationi conſonum, ſupplend' defectus quoſcunque in hac parte intervenientes. Quæ proponit & fieri petit pars iſta proponens conjunctim & diviſim, non arctans ſe ad omnia & ſingula præmiſſa proband' nec ad onus ſuperfluæ probationis de quo proteſtatur; ſed quatenus probaverit in præmiſſis, eatenùs obtineat in petitis; Juris Beneficio in omnibus ſemper ſalvò, veſtrum Officium Domine Judex antedict' humiliter implorand'.

Num. LXXXIII.

The Form of a Commendam.

Paper Office.

Carolus Secundus, &c. omnibus ad quos præſentes Litteræ pervenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis nos, de gratiâ noſtrâ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientia & mero motu noſtris dediſſe & conceſſiſſe, prout per præſentes damus & concedimus dilecto & fideli Subdito noſtro Setho Ward Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori, Exon. Epiſcopo deſignat: quod ipſe ſuo cum Epiſcopatu prædicto, cujus Fructus, Redditus & Proventus adeo tenues, exiles, & diminuti exiſtunt, ut Menſæ Epiſcopali ac aliis dicto Epiſcopat' incumbent' oneri non ſatisfaciunt: Rectoriam Sancti Briok in Com. noſtro Cornub. & Dioceſi prædicta, quam in præſenti obtinet retinere, & ad quam modò inſtitutus exiſtit, poſſidere, unà cum Epiſcopatu prædicto, necnon Vicariam Minhinnet in eodem Com. cum vel ſine Inſtitutione, Inductione, aut aliqua alia juris Solennitate, virtute hujus Commendam acceptare, & durante Vitâ ſuâ naturali, ac quamdiu ipſum dicto Epiſcopatui Exon. præeſſe contigerit, in Commendam recipere, & retinere, illorumque Fructus, Redditus & Proventus congruis eorum ſupportatis oneribus cum omnibus ſuis Juribus, Privilegiis, Proficuis, & Advantagiis, iiſdem pertinentibus, in ſuum uſum & utilitatem convertere & applicare, liberè & licitè ſine quorumcunque impedimento valeat & poſſit. Et quoties ſibi placuerit permutare, ac tot alia ſimilia vel diſſimilia Eccleſiaſtica Beneficia curata vel non curata, cujuſcunque Naturæ Nominis & Diſtantiæ, cum dicto Epiſcopatu retinere, ſine aliqua juris Solennitate, Canonum Obſervatione, Collatione, Inſtitutione, Inductione, aut Inſtallatione in Commendam capere, retinere, & gaudere valeat, aliquo Statuto, Canone, vel Decreto, aut aliqua alia re, cauſa, vel materia quacunque non obſtante, cum quibus Statutis, Canonice decretis diſpenſamus per præſentes.

In cujus rei Teſtimonium has Litteras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teſte meipſo apud Weſtm. 16. die Julii anno Regni noſtri 14.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

Num. LXXXIV.

Sampſon's *and* Humprey's *Letter to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Biſhops of* London, Wincheſter, Ely *and* Lincoln, *to excuſe their non-Compliance, with reference to the Ceremonies.*

Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker. Append. Num. xxx. An. 1564.

Et novum & ſingulare videri poteſt, paucos homines Multitudini, privatos Authoritati, obſcuros vobis, & Doctrinæ & Pietatis Gloria celebratis, propter lanam & linum, vel dicto vel facto, aut velle aut audere obſtrepere. Equidem ingenuè fatemur, & coram Domino teſtamur, patres & fratres in Chriſto obſervandi, ut ſingularis noſtra in Religione ſuaviſſima Conſpiratio fuit, & eſt perjucunda; ſic hac noſtra vel levi à vobis Diſſenſione in vita nihil accidiſſe acerbius. Quanquam illud nos recreare ſolet; & conſolari debet, diſcordare quidem nos, at concordi Diſcordia; evangelicè, non papiſticè, fraternè, non virulentè, ſine Dente & Stomacho, utroſque, ſine Zelo tamen it fervore neutros, diſſidere: In Capite Chriſto Anteſignano noſtro, omnes & ſingulos idem Evangelium, eandem Fidem profiteri: In rebus naturâ ſuâ planè Adiaphoris ſuum quemque Spiritum, & Studium ſequi; ubi libertati eſſe locus poteſt ſæpè, Charitati autem eſſe debet ſemper: Ubi non ſtatim rumpitur Unitas, nec obſcuratur Veritas, ubi aliqua Ceremoniarum cernitur Varietas. Vidit hoc Auguſtinus, Sabbatho alios prandiſſe, alios rurſus jejunâſſe, & in unâ Eccleſiâ uniuſque Regionis Eccleſiis Diſſimilitudinem extitiſſe. Vidit Socrates, Homines qui ejuſdem ſunt Fidei, de Ritibus inter ſe diſſenſiſſe. Vidit Theodoretus, ab omni Antiquitate hanc in Eccleſia Conſuetudinem manſiſſe, ut hic Abſtinentiam amplecteretur, ille Eſculentis veſceretur: Nec hic judicaret illum, nec ille reprehenderet alterum, & omnes tamen claros, inſigneſque redderet Lex Concordiæ. Diſceſſit a Conſtantini decreto, aliarum Eccleſiarum Exemplum ſequuta, noſtra Brittannia. Diſſenſit a Carolo clerus Ravennas: imo a Barnaba Paulus, a Paulo Petrus, a Petro Condiſcipulus Joannes; ab hujus Succeſſoribus Romanis, illius Sectatores Aſiani. Utinam Patres, hic hic vos Operam veſtram interponeretis, ut illic pacificus Irenæus, & Epiſcopi, qui in id ſedulo incubuerunt, ne *Victoris* Sententia Aſianorum Libertati præjudicaret, neve Rituum Diſſonantia Fidei Conſonantiam ſolveret.

Siqua noſtræ in Chriſto Conſociationis ratio, ſiqua συμπάθεια (eſſe autem non dubitamus) patiamini, enitamini, ut quod Paulus præcipit, Auguſtinus perhibuit, in ſuâ quiſque πληροφορία acquieſcat, ut ipſa Fidei Unitas diverſis Obſervationibus celebretur. Cauſæ multæ & magnæ, quæ nos ad petendum moverunt, vos, niſi noſtra de veſtra Pietate & Prudentia fallit Opinio, ad aſſentiendum permovebunt. Teneram Rem eſſe Conſcientiam, vobis non eſt obſcurum, quæ nec tangi, nec angi debet. Hæc quæ â Deo ipſa accepit, nobis tradidit. Non enim profecto turbulenti, aut Contumaces ſumus, ut Eccleſiæ Pacem turbatam libenter aſpiciamus, quam colimus & fovemus: Vel ut Novitati ſtudeamus, qui ad antiquum Eccleſiæ Candorem aſpiramus: Vel ut vinci nolimus, qui ratione perſuaderi & inſtrui cupimus. Verum enimverò nos Conſcientia Magiſtra edocti ſumus, res Natura indifferentes, Opinionibus Hominum non ſempèr indifferentes videri, caſu ac temporibus variari: Legem hanc de Ceremoniis Romanæ Eccleſiæ inſtaurandis cum Servitutis, Neceſſitatis, Superſtitionis Periculo conjungi. Hoc quia vobis non videtur, vos a nobis non damnandi, nobis quia ſic videtur, nos a vobis non divexandi.

Noſtra Conſcientia nos docet, ſi præterita ſpatia ſuperioris Memoriæ Animo repetimus, à nobis ſtare Deum, Chriſtum, primæ Eccleſiæ Patres. Si Oculos per vicina Tempora & loca circumferimus, Doctiſſimos Homines, & vos ipſos, & Eccleſias, quæ quidèm plenè repurgatæ ſunt, univerſas; Deum, cujus voce Reges Judæorum prædicantur, qui omnia vaſa, id eſt, omnia Idolatriæ Inſtrumenta, & apparatum deleverunt: Chriſtum, qui Phariſæorum omne fermentum, Jejunia, Lavacra, Fimbrias, & Phylacteria repudiavit: Patres, qui nec cum Judæis Sabbatho jejunare, aut Paſca celebrare, nec cum Hæreticis lavare, nec cum Manichæis Die Dominico abſtinere, nec ullâ in re, ubi aliqua eſſe poteſt Conſenſionis Significatio, communicare voluerunt: Doctiſſimos, qui noſtrâ ætate nobiſcum in hac fide & Sententia piè vixerunt, & nunc in Domino ſuaviter Obdormientes, idem nos è libris docuerunt: Voſipſos, qui, ſi Conſcientias veſtras appellaremus, nobiſcum ſentiretis, & omnes hos Offenſionis Lapides amotos, penitus optaretis: Deindè Eccleſias puriores, Germanicum, Gallicam, Scoticam; in quibus non modo Religio illibata conſervatur, ſed ritus etiam Religionis Teſtes & Indices, ſimplices, non contaminati, à Chriſtianis Eccleſiis mutuati, non à Romano Synagoga deſumpti, obſervantur.

Poſtremò, quam grave Scandalum hinc oriatur, veſtra non ignorat Prudentia. Adverſarii nobis afflictis inſultabunt: Dein, vos ſuam Cauſam propugnantes, ſuum jus perſequentes, in ſinu tacitè ridebunt; tum invento ſuo, poſtquam à vobis non modo retineri; ſed per vos Fratribus obtrudi viderint, ſibi magis placebunt.

Quamobrem ut tandem aliquando noſtra terminetur Petitio, demiſſiſſimè petimus, ut quod Papiſtis curæ & voluptati, vobis non magnopere cordi eſt, quod à nobis nullo Contemptu veſtri ſed Odio communis Hoſtis fit, id nobis ne fraudi ſit aut Crimini. Ità Eccleſiis proſpicietis optime; ita Sathanæ omnes Vias & Rimulas ad ſubvertendam Religionis Puritatem, obſepietis providentiſſimè. Ita Hoſtibus noſtro malo & miſeriâ Oculos Animoſque paſcentibus, & noſtra hac Diſcordia ſerio triumphantibus Ilia rumpentur juſtiſſime; ita nos ut Fratres in Chriſto diligetis Chriſtianiſſime. Ita vos, ut Patres venerabimur meritiſſimè: Ita dextras Societatis jungemus amiciſſimè; communemque Cauſam communibus Conſiliis, & curis adverſus omnes Hoſtium Machinationes, & inſultus propugnabimus fortiſſimè. Quod ut fiat, faxit Jeſus Eccleſiæ ſuæ Deus ac Dominus Zelotes. Cui veſtram Paternitatem cuſtodiendam, & noſtram Calamitatem ſanandam, etiam atque etiam commendamus.

Num. LXXXIV.

An Univerſity Licence for Preaching, granted by Fiſher, *Chancellor of* Cambridge, *in virtue of a Bull from the Court of* Rome.

Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Parker. *Appendix. Num. xxxv.*

UNiverſis ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Filiis, præſentes Literas inſpecturis vel audituris; Johannes Dei Gratia, Almæ Univerſitat. Cantabrigiæ Cancellarius, & ejuſdem Univerſitatis Cœtus unanimis Regentium & non Regentium, Salutem in Domino ſempiternam. Univerſitati veſtrî notum facimus per præſentes, quod Julianus Epiſcopus Oſtienſis Miſeratione divinâ, pro divini Cultus & Fidei Catholicæ Incremento, ac Chriſtianæ Religionis Augmentatione, ad Petitionem & inſtanc. providi Viri Thomæ Cabolde Domini Papæ pro natione Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, in Romana Curia minoris Pœnitentiarii, per quandam Bullam, quæ ſic incipit. Julianus Epiſcopus, *miſeratione divina Oſtienſis, &c.* conceſſit nobis & Succeſſoribus noſtris, Authoritate Domini Papæ Alexandri ſexti apud Sactum Petrum ſexto Nonas Maii, Pontificatûs ſui Anno undecimo, de ejus habundante gra. & ſpeciali mandato ſuper hoc vivæ vocis Oraculo illi facto, Licentiam & liberam facultatem imperpetuam, eligendi ſingulis annis duodecim Doctores ſeu Magiſtros & Graduatos, in Presbyteratûs Ordine conſtitutos, & ad prædicandi Officium magis idoneos, qui ſub Univerſitatis Sigillo communi electi & deputati, ubique per totum Regnum Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, Populo & Clero Verbum Dei prædicare & ſeminare poſſint, dummodo prædicti Doctores, ſeu Magiſtri & Graduati præfati, & hujuſmodi, ad prædicandi Officium ſic electi & deputati non prædicent in locis, ubi Ordinarii locorum prædicant, niſi de eorum Conſenſu, Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ac Statutis & Conſtitutionibus Provincialibus & Synodalibus, aut Othonis & Octoboni, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque in Regno Anglię, Scotię, & Hiberniæ, non obſtantibus, nec non locorum Ordinariorum Licentia ſuper hoc minimè requiſita; Conſenſu tamen Rectorum Eccleſiarum interveniente. Quæ omnia & ſingula pleniùs & evidentiùs in prædicti Oſtienſis Epiſcopi Bulla apparent.

Nos igitur Johannes Roffenſis Epiſcopus, Cancellarius antedict. cum cœtu unanimi Regentium & non Regentium Univerſitatis prædict. Authoritate præfat. Bullæ nobis in hac parte conceſſæ, ad Officium predicandi hujuſmodi, Dilectum nobis in Chriſto Chriſtopherum Bayley Presbyterum, Artium Magiſtrum, pro anno duntaxat poſt dat. præſentium, eligimus, præficimus, & deputamus. Voſque in Domino oramus & obſecramus, quatenus quum præfatus Chriſtopherus & Alumpnis noſtris unus, ad vos, Eccleſias, vel Capellas veſtras acceſſerit, ad Officium prædicationis hujuſmodi exercendum, ipſum cum omni favore, quo poteritis, admittatis. In cujus rei Teſtimonium Sigillum commune Univerſitatis prædict. appoſuimus. Dat. Cantabrigiæ ultimo die Menſis

Maii Anno Salutis humanæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo ſecundo.

Num. LXXXV.

Queen Elizabeth's *Letters Patents to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *for licenſing Preachers.*

Strype, *Life of Abp.* Parker. *Appen.* Num. *xxxviii.*

ET ulterius de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa Scientia, & mero motu noſtris, pro nobis, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, damus & concedimus præfat. Cancellario, Magiſtris, & Scholaribus Univerſitatis noſtræ Cantabr. prædictis, & Succeſſoribus ſuis; Quod ipſi & eorum Succeſſores, *juxta Conſuetudinem ſuam laudabilem antehac ibidem uſitat. ac Privilegia in ea parte indult.* imperpetuum, habeant Authoritatem & Facultatem, eligendi & emittendi ſingulis annis duodecim Doctores, Magiſtros ſive Graduatos, ad prædicandi Officium idoneos. Qui ſic electi, & ſub Univerſitatis prædict. Sigillo communi admiſſi, ubicunque in, & per totum Regnum noſtrum Angliæ & Hiberniæ, Populo & Clero verbum Dei prædicare & ſeminare poterint, Licentia Ordinariorum Locorum ſuper hoc minimè requiſitâ.

Num. LXXXVI.

Biſhop Grindal's *Letter to* Bullinger, *relating to the Conteſts about the Habit.*

Reverendo in Chriſto D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ Miniſtro fideliſſimo, ac Fratri in Domino chariſſimo, Edmundus Grindallus, &c. Salutem in Chriſto.

E. Biblioth. Tigurin. Strype's *Life of Abp.* Grindal. *Append. Num. xi.*

CLariſſime D. Bullingere, ac Frater in Chriſto chariſſime, D. Joannes Abelus tradidit mihi Literas tuas Dominis Wintonienſi, Norwicenſi, & mihi communiter inſcriptas, unà cum Scripto veſtro de re veſtiaria. Quorum ego Exemplaria ad Dominos Wintonienſem & Norwicenſem ſtatim tranſmiſi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod noſtrarum Eccleſiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me Hominem tibi ignotum Partipicem facis eorum, quæ ad noſtros de rebus controverſis ſcribuntur. Vix credibile eſt, quantum hæc Controverſia de rebus nihili Eccleſias noſtras perturbarit, & adhùc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex Miniſtris Doctioribus videbantur Miniſterium deſerturi. Multi etiam ex Plebe contulerunt Conſilia de Seceſſione à nobis facienda, & occultis cœtibus cogendis. Sed tamen, Domini Benignitate, maxima pars ad ſaniorem Mentem rediit. Ad eam rem Literæ veſtræ, Pietatis & Prudentiæ plenæ, plurimum Momenti attulerunt. Nam eas Latinè ac Anglicè Typis Evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex Miniſtris, veſtro Judicio atque Authoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora Conſilia de Miniſterio deſerendo. Sed & ex Plebe quamplurimi mitius ſentire cæperunt, poſtquam intellexerunt ritus noſtros à vobis, qui iiſdem non utimini, nequaquam damnari Impietatis: Quod ante publicatas veſtras Literas nemo illis perſuaſiſſet. Sunt tamen qui adhuc manent in priori Sententia. Et in his D. Humfredus, & Samſonus, &c. Nihil vero eſſet facilius quam Regiæ Majeſtati eos reconciliare, ſi ipſi ab Inſtituto diſcedere vellent. Sed cum hoc non faciunt, nos apud Sereniſſimam Reginam iſta Contentione irritatam, nihil poſſumus. Nos, qui nunc Epiſcopi ſumus (eos dico, qui in Germania & aliis locis exulaverant) in primo noſtro reditu, priuſquam ad Miniſterium acceſſimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut iſta de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorſus amoverentur. Sed cum illud à Regina & Statibus in Comitiis Regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis Conſiliis, optimum judicavimus non deſerere Eccleſias propter ritus non adeo multos, neque per ſe impios, præſertim cum pura Evangelii Doctrina nobis integra & libera maneret. In qua ad hunc uſque Diem (utcunque multi multa in contrarium moliantur) cum veſtris Eccleſiis, veſtraque Confeſſione, nuper edita, pleniſſimè conſentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos noſtri Conſilii. Nam interea, Domino dante Incrementum, auctæ ſunt Eccleſiæ, quæ alioque Ecceboliis, Lutheranis, & Semipapiſtis prædæ fuiſſent expoſitæ. Iſtæ vero iſtorum intempeſtivæ Contentiones de adiaphoris, (ſi quid ego judicare poſſum) non ædificant, ſed ſcindunt Eccleſias, & Diſcordias ſeminant inter Fratres, &c.

The reſt of the Letter relating to Scotland *ſhall be omitted. The Date and the Ceremony of taking leave, ſtands thus.*

Londini 27. Auguſti, 1566.

Deditiſſimus tibi in Domino

Edmundus Grindallus, *Epiſcopus* Londinenſis.

Num. LXXXVII.

The Form of the Excommunication of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, *pronounc'd in the Synod* An. 1571.

Petyt. MSS. Strype's *Abp.* Parker's *Life in Appen.* April 20. An. Dom. 1571. in CapellâRegis Henrici ſeptimi.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Cum nos Mathæus providentia divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, ritè & legitimè procedens, Reverendum in Chriſto Patrem Dom. Richardum Gloceſtren. Epiſcopum, ac commendatarium Epiſcopatus Briſtolien. alias propter ſuam contumaciam & manifeſtum contemptum in non comparendo coram nobis, neque per ſe, neque per procuratorem ſuum, in hac præſenti Convocatione, ſive ſacra Synodo Provinciali in Domo Capitulari Eccleſiæ Cathedralis D. Pauli London, tertio die præſentis menſis Aprilis inchoata & celebrata, ac de die in diem, uſque ad hos diem & locum continuata & prorogata, juxta citationem & monitionem ultimam & peremptoriam alias ſibi ex parte noſtra fact. pronunciaverimus contumacem, pœnam contumaciæ, ſive hujuſmodi ad arbitrium noſtrum reſervando. Nos Matthæus Archiepiſcopus antedict. pœnam contumaciæ dicti Epiſcopi & commendatarii nunc declarando, eundem Epiſcopum & commendatarium de conſenſu confratrum noſtrorum nobiſcum in hac præſenti Convocatione aſſidentium, excommunicamus in hiis ſcriptis.

Num. LXXXVIII.

Part of the Queen's Mandate *to the Archbiſhop, for confirming and conſecrating the Biſhop of* Man *upon the Earl of* Derby's *Nomination.*

Grindal *Regiſt.* An.Dom. 1576.

CUM perdilectus & perquàm fidelis conſanguineus noſter Henricus Comes Derby, ex indultis & largitionibus progenitorum noſtrorum, Regum & Principum hujus Regni noſtri Angliæ progenitoribus ſuis Comitibus Derb. ab antiquo fact. & elargit. eidem Comiti, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus ſuis ritè & legitimè confirmatis, & longo uſu ſtabilitis, jus habeat Patronatus, Nominationis, Præſentationis, & Diſpoſitionis Epiſcopatus in Inſula de Man, Eboracen. Provinciæ, in qualibet ejus vacatione; ita quod dict. Epiſcopatu quacunque ratione vacante benè liceat eidem Comiti, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus ſuis quamcunque Perſonam Dignitati hujuſmodi idoneam, & habilem, ad eundem Epiſcopatum nominare, &c. Sciatis igitur quod nos eandem Præſentationem acceptavimus, & aſſenſum & favorem noſtrum commendavimus, &c.

Then follows the Queen's Order to the Metropolitan, to confirm and conſecrate the Perſon nominated.

Num. LXXXIX.

The Addreſs of the London *Clergy to the Convocation.*

Billa London.

To the Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Biſhops, and the reſt of the Convocation.

E. Cod. MS. Antonii à Wood *in Muſæo Aſhmoleano*, F. 30. Num. 8494.

I. WHereas throughout the whole Realm the Benefices of *London* are the ſmalleſt, and the Miniſters the poreſt, the Sheape well clad, and the Paſtors go naked, and yet a reaſonable Order taken for Tythes by Statute, and no Order obſerved in payinge ther Tythes, becauſe they are for their Riches ſtoute, and will not paye; and becauſe they maye have Lawe at hande, they uſe many ſhiftes, as may appeare, we humbly require that all Colluſion againſt her Majeſties Laws, and their Paſtors, be puniſhed by triple Dammages to the behoofe of the Partie plaintyffe, yff that ſo fall out that by judgment of Lawe they be convinced of them.

A breeſe Note of a few Colluſions, and of the weakeſt, by the which the poore Cleargie of London *are deceaved, to ſhew our Complaint to be juſt.*

1. The Stranger muſt deliver 300 *l.* to the Landlorde, the Landlorde muſt have the Uſe of the 300 *l.* the Stranger muſt have a fair Houſe for a Pepper Corn Rent, and ſo the Parſon muſt have his Tythe of a Pepper Corn.

2. The Landlord maketh a Tenant a Leaſe after 6 *l. per Annum*, but he muſt pay for Time by Obligation 160 *l.* in five Years, ſo the Rent is 38 *l. per Annum* by Acquittance, and the Parſon muſt receive but after 6 *l.*

3. If a Houſe have a Well, and be worthe 20 *l. per Annum*, and ſo lett, yet the Tenant payeth 16 *l.* for the Well, and 4 *l.* for the Houſe, after which 4 *l.* the Parſon receaveth Tythes.

4. If a Howſe be worthe 10 *l. per Annum*, they will let the Houſe with an old Bedſtead and a Forme called Implements after 8 *l.* for Implements, and 2 *l.* for Rent for the Parſon to receive Tythes by.

5. If a Howſe be worth 20 *l. per Annum*, ther ſhall be two Leaſes made, the one after 40 *s.* yearely, the other after 18 *l.* the firſt to ſhewe the Parſon to receave his Tythe by; the other to pay the Landlorde by.

6. If a Houſe be worth 20 *l. per Annum*, the Tenant ſhall pay 4 *l.* Rent by Leaſe, and 16 *l.* upon a Covenant, ſo the Parſon ſhall receave after 4 *l.* And they have a hundred ſuch Deviſes to couſen us withall.

II. We alſo humbly beſeeche your Fatherhoods and Wiſedomes to tender in greate Pitie the pore Clergie of *London*, whoſe Benefices, by the Mallice of riche Men, have already paſs'd a *Melius inquirendum*; and be racked a-new in her Majeſties Bokes: So that the ſhewe being great, and the Livings ſmall, that ther are not ſix competent Benefices for ſix learned Men in the whole City, as may well be proved; that it may pleaſe you to let looſe the Statute of privye Tythes; with this *proviſo*, That they may be examined by others of ther Gayne. For in this whole Citye yearlie ther is not 40 *s.* yearlie paied for privy Tythe; ſo that a Freeholder of 40 *l.* in the Country paieth more to the Parſon than a Citizen worth 10000 *l.*

III. Moreover foraſmuch as divers *Engliſh* Preachers, diſallowing the State Eccleſiaſtical in *England*, doe publicklye read beyond the Seas in *Flanders*, as in *Antwerp*, in *Germany*, *&c.* Theſe are to deſire you by Proclamation otherwiſe to provide that none hereaſter ſhall paſs over ther to read publicklie anie Lectore unleſs he give Teſtimony to his Ordinarie of his Conformitie before he goe, becauſe by frequenting ther Lectures we receive our Pariſhioners from beyond the Seas verie contemptuouſe, and rebelling againſt our State Eccleſiaſtical. And if he or they ſhall ſo do contrary to any Act made, that then the ſaid Partie or Parties ſhall be held as excommunicate upon ther Return into *England* againe.

IV. *Item*, Becauſe moſt of the Parſonage Howſes in *London* are now in Citizens Hands, and unrecoverable, we humbly require that ſuch Clergiemen as have no Parſonage Houſes, or not convenient Howſes, if they dwell in any Place of the Citie, it may be interpreted for them as a Reſidence.

V. Moreover, becauſe that is generally known thoroughout the whole Citie that no one Pariſh or Parſon can agree together, and that the Cauſe thereof is the privatt Readinge in Howſes, and our publick crienge owt againſt Uſurie, we humbly require that theſe Readers may be forbidden, and ſome ſtraight Puniſhment for this general and horrible Sinne may be appointed, or elſe the Preachers hereafter commaunded to hold the Peace.

VI. Alſo foraſmuch as all ſmall Almes is geven to the Poore, and leſſe now to the Univerſities than ever was at the deathe of many riche Men, but yett much geven to Sectaries and Jeſuitts, theſe are to dequire you that it be enacted, That no ſtraunge Preacher ſhall enter withine anie Man's Charge without Conference had with the Parſon Vickar, or Curate of the ſame Churche, uppon Paine of Impriſonement for one Monthe; and that no Scrivener or anie other ſhall preſume to make anie Will, unleſs the Parſon, Vickar, or Curat be ther preſent, upon Pain of Impriſonment for two Months.

VII. Alſo, foraſmuch as no Manne is in Securitie, what Proffe may ſerve him for reading the Articles, if either his Pariſhioners have forgotten the ſame, or will not teſtifie the ſame, we humbly require that it be enacted, that no Man be driven to make Proofe of reading his Articles after three Yeares quiet Poſſeſſion; ſo that he doe read them withine one Monthes Warninge, beinge at anie time thereunto required.

VIII. Moreover, foraſmuch, as manie Citizens become Members of the *French* and *Dutch* Church, and refuſe contemptuouſly ther owne Churche, we deſier that it be enacted, that no Cittizen ſhall at anie Time become anie Member or Elder in anie ſtraunge Church, but that they kepe ther own Churche, and communicate ther uppon payne of painge to the Poore Box of ther owne Parriſhe, for everie Monthe ſo continewinge, the Summ of 20 *s.* or elſe, to be committed to Priſon at the Ordinaries Appointment, and duringe his Pleaſure.

IX. Alſo, for as much, as the Cannons made in the Convocation 1571, be ſtronge enoughe to rule us of the Clergie, becauſe of owr Othe of Canonical Obedience, and be utterlie contemn'd of the Laitie, becauſe they be not confirm'd by Parliament, ſo that in manie Places of the Citie the Stocke of the Church is lett out to Uſurie, and the riche Men have all the Mony in their Hands, and the Pariſhioners keep Reveſtries at ther Pleaſures, and choſe Church-Wardens and Sidemen contrarie to thoſe Cannons, without the Conſent of the Parſon, we humbly require that thoſe Canons be made ſtronger to bridle all, or that the poore Miniſters be ſet free from them.

Your poore Orators, the miſerable Clergie of London.

Read and Committed, 10 *Febr.* 1580.

Num. XC.

A Draught of Archbiſhop Grindal's *Reſignation of the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury.

Paper Office, A. D. 1583.

IN Dei nomine Amen coram vobis Publicis & Authenticis Perſonis ac Teſtibus Fide dignis hic præſentibus. Ego Edmundus Providentia divina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, primum oculorum & viſus ſolatio jampridem orbatus & diverſis aliis peracerbis Morbis & Infirmitatibus poſtea ſupervenientibus prope confectus, ac propter ingraveſcentem & ſenilem ætatem me ita Corpore debilem & invalidum eſſe ſentiens, ut diutius ampliſſimi hujus Archiepiſcopatûs munus & graviſſimum Pondus utiliter fructuosè & pro Dignitate ſuſtinere non poſſum; & ad tranquilliorem vitæ Rationem me conferre cupiens, & ex certis aliis cauſis veris, juſtis, æquis, & legitimis, me & animum meum in hac Parte ſpecialiter moventibus, ab Onere, Cura, Solicitudine, & Regimine dicti mei Archiepiſcopatus Cantuarienſis eximi penitus & exonerari volens & affectans, eundem Archiepiſcopatum meum Cantuarienſem cum ſuis Juribus, Honoribus, Dignitatibus, prærogativis, præeminentiis, & Pertinentiis univerſis, ex certa ſcientia, animo deliberato, non vi, metu, dolo, aut ullis aliis ſiniſtris mediis inductus, pure, ſponte, ſimpliciter, & abſolute, in manus Excellentiſſimæ, ac Illuſtriſſimæ in Chriſto Principis & Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei Gratia Angliæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Reginæ, &c. Cujus ſingulari favore & benignitate dictum Archiepiſcopatum conſecutus ſum, reſigno: Ac re ac verbo vacuum dimitto, jureque, Titulo, & Poſſeſſione meis in eodem Archiepiſcopatu præhabitis & hactenus mihi quovis modo competentibus, renuncio, cedo, atque ab iiſdem in his ſcriptis totaliter & expreſſe recedo, omnibuſque modis me abdico.

Num. XCI.

Part of Hoſius *Biſhop of* Corduba's *Letter to the Emperor* Conſtantius.

Athanaſ. ad Solit. Vit. Epiſt. *pag.* 839.

ΤΙ' γὰρ τοιοῦτον γέγονε παρὰ Κώνσαντος; τίς ἐπίσκοπος ἐξωρίσθη; Πότε κρίσεως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μέσος γέγονε; Ποῖος αὐτοῦ Παλατῖνος ἠνάγκασε κατά τινος ὑπογράψαι, ἵνα οἱ περὶ Οὐάλεντα πιαῦτα λέγωσι; παῦσαι, παρακαλῶ καὶ μνήσθητι ὅτι θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος τυγχάνεις: φοβήθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, φύλαξον σεαυτὸν εἰς ἐκείνην· καθαρόν, μὴ τίθει σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ σὺ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν παρακελεύου. Ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παρ᾽ ἡμῶν σὺ μάνθανε ταῦτα. Σοὶ Βαλιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησιάς ἐπίστευσε; καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ Διαταξαμένῳ Θεῷ: οὕτω φοβήθητι, μὴ καὶ σὺ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκων, ὑπεύθυνος ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένῃ. Ἀπόδοτε, γέγραπται, τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ. Οὔτε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔξεστιν. Οὔτε σὺ θυμιᾶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, Βασιλεῦ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κηδόμενος τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας γράφω.

Num. XCII.

Part of St. Athanaſius's *Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of the Emperor* Conſtantius.

Athanaſ. Epiſt. ad Solit. Vit. agentes, *pag.* 862.

ΔΕινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πέρα δεινῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα; πρέπουσα δὲ πρᾶξις ὅμως τῷ σχηματιζομένῳ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου. Τίς γὰρ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἐξάρχοντα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ προκαθήμενον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κρίσεων, οὐκ ἀκολούθως ἂν εἴποι τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰρημένον Βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως; Τὸν γὰρ χριστιανισμὸν περιβεβλημένος, καὶ εἰς τοῖς ἁγίοις τόποις εἰσερχόμενος, ἑστηκώς τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐρημοῖ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Παραλύων τοὺς τούτων κανόνας, καὶ τὰ ἴδια κρατεῖν βιαζόμενος, ἆρα τίς ἔτι τολμᾷ λέγειν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰρηνικὸν εἶναι χριστιανῶν, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον Διωγμόν; καὶ Διωγμὸν οἷος οὔτε πώποτε γέγονεν. Οὔτε τάχα τις ποιήσει ποτὲ τοιοῦτον, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Ἀνομίας.

Records, Num. XCIII.

Heads of a Conference agreed upon between the King and the Miniſters, touching Church Diſcipline, for the firſt and ſecond Days meeting.

At Holyrood *Houſe, the 17th of* February 1585.

A. D. 1585. *Paper Office.*

IT is condeſcended to in reaſoning, that the Name of a Biſhop hath a ſpecial Charge and Function annex'd to it by the *Word*.

His Election to be a Preſentation to be directed by his Majeſty to the General Aſſembly, of whom he ſhall receive his Admiſſion, provided always that the particular Flocks being forewarn'd, have Place to oppone, as in the Election of other Miniſters. That he ſhall be appointed to a ſpecial Charge, where he ſhall keep Reſidence, and there ſerve the Cure as a Miniſter.

That the General *Aſſembly* ſhall chooſe out a Senate, or Presbytery, of the moſt learned and godly within his Bounds, to be limited to him, to have the Overſight of, and Viſitation, which ſhall be only us'd by the Advice of the Presbytery.

By the *Senate*'s Advice he ſhall receive all Preſentation of Miniſters within the ſaid Bounds, and by their Advice proceed to their Trial and Collation, which Collation ſhall be ſubſcrib'd by the Biſhop or Commiſſioner, and the greateſt part of the ſaid Senate or Presbytery in Aſſembly lawfully convented; and by himſelf ſhall be done nothing but that which a particular Miniſter or Moderator is aſtricted to by his Office.

If he be ſlanderous in his Life, or Doctrine, he ſhall be anſwerable to the General Aſſembly to be appointed immediately, upon Complaint made thereof to his Majeſty, by one or two of the Miniſters, and if he be ſo found in Deed, to be depriv'd by them. Whereupon another ſhall be immediately preſented by his Majeſty thereto.

If he admit or deprive without the Conſent of the moſt part of the Senate, the Deed to be null and void, and the doing thereof a ſufficient Cauſe of Deprivation to him.

The Number of the *Senate* ſhall be appointed at the firſt by the General Aſſembly, with his Majeſty's Advice, and if any of the Perſons appointed thereupon depart this Life, another to be choſen in his Place by the *Synodal*. His Power to be *Ordinis Cauſa non Juriſdictionis*. He ſhall be Viſitator within his own Bounds to be appointed to him, and where he may not conveniently diſcharge the whole Bounds, called of old the *Dioceſs*, Commiſſioners ſhall be preſented by his Majeſty to the General *Aſſembly*, and ſhall be tried and admitted by them to the Office, as the Biſhops are to theirs, and to be accountable only to the General *Aſſembly*. And the Biſhops to have no Power within the Bounds committed unto them, no more than they have within his.

The Commiſſioners being elected (as is ſaid) to have a like *Senate-Power* in the Execution of their Office as the Biſhops have.

The Biſhops and Commiſſioners ſhall viſit the *Presbyteries*, and the Moderator of the *Presbyteries* ſhall viſit the particular Churches.

The ſame Cauſe of Life and Doctrine to deprive a Biſhop that deprives a Miniſter.

The *Presbyteries* of Perſons Eccleſiaſtical ſhall be erected in convenient Places by the General *Aſſembly*, with the Advice of his Majeſty and Commiſſioners, and the whole Realm to be conveniently divided to that effect.

Where, and in what *Presbytery* the Perſon preſented is to be admitted Miniſter, upon Advertiſement made to the Biſhop, or Commiſſioner, he ſhall repair thither immediately with his Senate of *Presbytery*, and upon tryal taken admitted, or refus'd.

Aſſemblies.

Synodal Aſſemblies to be twice in the Year.

1ſt. Synodal to be the 17th of *April*.

(1.) General *Aſſembly* to be the 10th of *May* next in *Edinborough*, or where his Majeſty ſhall otherwiſe appoint, and to be convocate by his Majeſty's Proclamation, and *Miſſives* to the Biſhops and Commiſſioners. And in the ſaid Aſſembly, where, God willing, his Highneſs means himſelf to be perſonally preſent, his Majeſty, by the Advice of ſuch of the Number preſent as he ſhall adjoin unto him, ſhall adviſe and ſet down good and ſolid Order for the convocating and appointing all other Circumſtances belonging thereto in time to come.

Moderator of the firſt General Aſſembly ſhall be choſen by moſt Voices.

Juriſdiction.

Juriſdiction of the Church conſiſteth in Doctrine, Miniſtration of the Sacraments, and Exerciſes of Diſcipline, and Correction of Manners by Excommunication and other uſual *Cenſures* of the Church, as likewiſe Abſolution of the ſame.

That there are ſome Offences which properly appertain to the Church to enquire upon, as Hereſy, Apoſtacy, Witchcraft, Idolatry, Adultery, and all other Frailty in the Fleſh, Blaſphemy, Perjury, Uſury, abuſing of the Sacraments, breaking of the Sabbath.

That there are other which the Church may puniſh by the *Cenſures*, and not *cognoſce* upon, as Slanderous, Strickers, open Diſobeyers to their Parents, Smoulderers of Children, and ſuch like. And notwithſtanding that the *Civil* Magiſtrates have remitted the Penalty of the Law to the Committer.

That Mr. *Robert Mongommery* Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, ſhall be repreſented to the General *Aſſembly*, and there purge his Offence, and be orderly reconciled to the Church.

That Mr. *William Watſon*, in his odious Compariſon of his Majeſty to *Jeroboam*, and making him inferior to him, is thought to have committed an Offence worthy to be amended, and purg'd in open Pulpit, and which the Miniſters preſent ſhall wiſh and deſire him to do, the rather for his Promiſe made to give Satisfaction.

Apud Holyrood *Houſe*, *the 19th of* February, 1585.

It is agreed and thought meeteſt that the Subdiviſions of divers Cauſes of Deprivation, voting in Parliament, Commiſſioners, and Moderators Stipends, and the ſetting a ſtedfaſt and continual Order of the Miniſters Stipends, ſhall be remitted to a new Conference, to be appointed by his Majeſty here at *Holyrood* Houſe, or where it ſhall pleaſe him to be, for the time of eight or ten Days, before the next General *Aſſembly*, ſome choſen Men of the Miniſtry, and ſuch others as his Majeſty ſhall think meeteſt for that Purpoſe, being warned there.

Touching the Faſting General, (that is a General Faſt) it is remitted to the General *Aſſembly*, the Particular to every particular Church according to their Zeal, and the preſent Occaſion.

Num. XCIV.

Mr. Secretary Knolly's *Letter to Sir* Francis Walſingham.

Paper Office. March 20. 1588.

TOuching the Writing I ſent unto you Yeſterday, concerning the Superiority of Biſhops, I muſt needs ſay unto you, that my Lord Archbiſhop and the reſt take a dangerous Courſe againſt her Majeſty's Supreme Government, for they do claim a Superiority of Government to be knit to their Biſhopricks *jure divino* directly. Altho' they do grant that all the Superiority that they have as Biſhops, that they have the ſame by way of Mediation of her Majeſty, and their Meaning is, that becauſe her Majeſty doth make them Biſhops, whereunto their Superiority is knit (as they ſuppoſe) therefore they do grant it by way of Mediation, they have their Superiority of the Queen's Majeſty, never the leſs when they are once made Biſhops by her Majeſty, then they do claim their ſaid Superiority to be due unto them as knit unto their Biſhopricks directly *jure divino*, how weak ſoever their Reaſons be to maintain their claim'd Superiority. But my Lord Treaſurer is partly perſuaded, that the ſaid Biſhops do not deny that their Superiority is holden by them as a Grant given unto them directly from her Majeſty, and that they do not claim their ſaid Superiority directly to be given unto them, when they are Biſhops *jure divino*, that is to ſay, directly from the Word of God. But I muſt needs ſay, that my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and my Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, have proteſted and plainly avow'd unto me, that the Biſhops of *England* have a Superiority over their inferiour Brethren directly *jure divino*, and prove their ſaid Claim of Superiority to be knit to their Biſhopricks directly *jure divino:* And moreover, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Book againſt *Cartwright* (when the ſaid Biſhop was but Dr. *Whitgift*) doth manifeſtly declare the ſaid Archbiſhop's Opinion in that Behalf in many Places of the ſaid Book: Nevertheleſs, if my Lord Treaſurer would in her Majeſties Name demand of the ſaid Biſhops, whether they would claim any ſuch Superiority directly *jure divino*, to be due unto 'em to the Prejudice of her Majeſty's Supreme Government, then I do verily think that they durſt not ſtand to their claim'd Superiority, unleſs it be upon hope that her Majeſty would yield unto them their claim'd Superiority, to the Prejudice of her Supreme Government, and to the light Regard of the opening the High-way to Popery, to be made by the Jeſuits to follow upon the ſame.

Num. XCV.

Orders which the Right Reverend Father Richard *Lord Biſhop of* London *deſires to be aſſented unto, and carefully obſerved by every Eccleſiaſtical Officer exerciſing Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical under him, within the Dioceſs of* London. *Dat.* March *the* 8*th.* 1595.

Regiſt. Fletcher. A.D. 1595.

1. *General Obſervations of the Conſtitutions.* TOuching the Conſtitutions lately imprinted, publiſhed, and by her Majeſty commanded to be obſerved, that as well every Judge as all Regiſters, Aparritors, and all other inferiour Miniſters, do every one of them, ſo far as they do any way concern himſelf, diligently and carefully put the ſaid Conſtitutions, and every part of them in Execution, and do within the time in any of the ſaid Conſtitutions limited, return Certificates to his Lordſhip of all ſuch Matters as they by the ſaid Conſtitutions are to certifie.

2. *Curates and Schoolmaſters.* It is deſired, that none be received or admitted to ſerve as Curate by any Judge Eccleſiaſtical within this Dioceſs having Authority to grant ſuch Licenſe, nor to teach either Grammar or Petites, either publickly or privately, who ſhall not before he be admitted exhibit unto the Judge either Letters Teſtimonial, commonly called Dimiſſory's, from the Ordinary in whoſe Dioceſs he continued laſt for the ſpace of one Year before, or Letters Teſtimonial under the Hands of the Maſters, and Seniors, or Fellows of the College in *Cambridge*, or *Oxford*, where he had his laſt Reſidence one Year before, or a true Certificate under the Hand-writing of the next Juſtice of Peace to the Pariſh where the Party dwelt for one Year before; together with the Subſcription of the Parſon, Church-Wardens, and other honeſt near Neighbours of the ſaid Pariſh, teſtifying his honeſt Converſation of Life, and his Obedience to her Majeſties Government Eccleſiaſtical, and that for Learning he be qualified as the Conſtitutions require in a Deacon.

3. *Judges Seals.* It is deſired, that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge of this Dioceſs ſhall have any other Seal, but one for the ſealing of all Matters incident to his Office, which Seal ſhall always be kept by himſelf, or his lawful Subſtitute exerciſing Juriſdiction for him, remaining within the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Judge, which Seal ſhall contain the Title of the Juriſdiction which the ſaid Judge executes.

4. *Multiplicity of Courts.* For avoiding the Grievances ſo much complain'd againſt the Judges *in partibus* for the multiplicity of their Courts, whereby the Subject is drawn to an infinite Charge, and to a great Confuſion. It is deſired, that neither Archdeacon nor Commiſſary, do keep Court any oftner than as twenty Years ago they uſually did, and that in their accuſtomed and antiently uſed Places of Court: And that neither the Commiſſary nor Archdeacon do keep any Court within the ſeven Days at the ſooneſt the one of the other.

5. *Bills of Preſentment.* It is deſired, that no Pariſh which is warn'd to any Viſitation either of the Biſhop himſelf, or of any Archdeacon or Commiſſary, do pay for the exhibiting any Bill of Preſentment but only once in the Year, when the firſt Bill is brought in, and then but 4*d*. Neither that any Regi-

ſtrary or other Officer do take any thing for any of the reſt of the Bills, which the ſaid Church-Wardens do the other three Quarters uſually exhibit to the Court.

6. *Judges not to proceed without the Regiſtrary.*

It is deſired that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge of the Dioceſs of *London* do ſpeed any judicial Act whatſoever, aſſuming any to write or ſpeed the ſame, ſave only the ordinary Regiſtrary of that Court, or his lawful Deputy. And that the Regiſtraries *in partibus* do take that Order by themſelves, and their lawful Deputies, that they do give a ſpecial Attendance on the Judges at their ordinary Courts; and likewiſe to attend the Judge at ſuch convenient times as the Parties who do at extraordinary times *implorare judicis officium* ſhall likewiſe require the Regiſtrary's Attendance, and that no Bonds be taken but in the Preſence of the Regiſtrary or his Deputy.

7. *Subſtitutes to Judges.*

It is deſired that all Eccleſiaſtical Judges exerciſing Juriſdiction within the Dioceſs of *London* have a ſpecial Regard to ſubſtitute none to keep any Court for them (if he be a Miniſter) who is not a publick Preacher, and a beneficed Man. If he be no Miniſter, not any under the Degree of Batchellor of Law, and a Man of modeſt and good Converſation; the want of which Care has bred great Contempt and Diſdain to the ſaid Courts.

8. Promotores Voluntarii *in Cauſes of Correction.*

It is deſired that whoſoever prays Proceſs againſt any Party *ad Reſpondendum Articulis ad Promotionem Partis*, ſhall be by the Judge denyed that Proceſs, unleſs he firſt deliver the Articles, or the Effect of them, in writing to the ſaid Judge, and offer *Cautionem Obligatoriam* to the Biſhop of *London*, to proſecute the Cauſe without letting it fall, or making any Compoſition, or uſing any Colluſion to fruſtrate the direct judicial Courſe thereof.

9. Crimina graviora *to be heard only in open Court.*

It is deſired that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge whatſoever, of the Dioceſs of *London*, do hear any Cauſe of Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, Symmony, notorious offenſive Drunkenneſs, or any other publick and ſcandalous Offence, but only in open Court; neither that any of them do appoint any Penance to be done for any ſuch Offence, but publickly in open Court; neither that after they have the Lord Biſhop's Conſent they do make any Commutation but publickly in open Court.

10. *The time of performing of publick Penance.*

It is deſired that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge of the Dioceſs of *London* do appoint any publick Penance for any of the aforeſaid Offences to be done at any other time ſave on the Sunday at Morning Prayer, betwixt the reading of the firſt Leſſon and the Ten Commandments, and that the Form of Confeſſion of the Offender's Fault be conceived by the Judge, and ſet down in Writing by the Regiſtrary, and a Copy of it deliver'd by the Regiſtrary to be pronounc'd by the Party offending, with an audible Voice, ſo as the whole Congregation may hear it, at the time of his Penance doing.

11. *Proceedings* Ex Officio.

Whereas great Offence has heretofore been given againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Judges Proceedings *ex Officio*, upon an Apparitor's Complaint, or without any other good Ground or Preſentment; It is deſired that the Judges of every Court Eccleſiaſtical, of the Dioceſs of *London*, do give their Conſent to an uniform Order, not to proceed in any Matter of *Office*, but upon Preſentment or Notoriety of the Offence. Neither ſo ordinarily as in ſome Juriſdictions heretofore hath been us'd to vex the Subject, by appointing *promotorem neceſſarium*, ſo to draw a Charge of paying for Articles and the Promoters Fees, many times for ſmall Offences, and without any great Ground of Infamy againſt the Party, to warrant the Judges Proceedings. And that the Judges will likewiſe take Order where there is *Clamoſa Inſinuatio*, or publick Infamy rais'd, which is by the Church-Wardens conceal'd, and not preſented; in that Caſe the Judge concealing *Nomen Delatoris* to ſend the Crime and the Fame thereupon rais'd to the Church-Wardens of the Pariſh, where the Offence is related to be; and to cauſe them to inform themſelves againſt the next Court following, or ſooner, (if they ſo can) of the ſaid Fame, and to ſend unto the Judge of that Court, who ſends unto them their Anſwer in Writing unto the ſaid Delation: So ſhall the Court to which the Cauſe is firſt related, be poſſeſs'd of that Cauſe, and Sin ſhall not eſcape unpuniſh'd.

12. Significavit.

It is deſir'd that no *Significavit* be return'd into her Majeſty's High Court of *Chancery* by any Eccleſiaſtical Judge whatſoever, who has not his Commiſſion immediately from the Biſhop for doing thereof. But that all Archdeacons, and other Judges Eccleſiaſtical, do carefully obſerve the Law in that Caſe provided, to ſend Letters of Requeſt to the Biſhop in Caſe where any *Significavit* is by them decreed, certifying the Contempt and the Names of the Parties, according to the uſual Form therein by Law appointed.

13. *Pecuniary* Mulct.

It is deſired that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge of the Dioceſs of *London* ſhall lay any *pecuniary Mulct* upon any Offender before publick Penance enjoyn'd as before, and the Party delinquent have judicially pray'd Commutation of it.

14. *Certificate of proceeding in Cauſes of Correction.*

To the end that I may the better hereafter anſwer ſuch Complaints as ſhall be made againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Courts of this Dioceſs, in compounding or overſlipping enormous Offences complain'd of unto them: It is deſired to be aſſented to by all Judges exerciſing Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within the Dioceſs of *London*, that every one of them do once every Year, namely betwixt *Michaelmas* and *Allhollantide*, certify to me the Biſhop of *London*, under the Hand-writing of every Judge and his ſeveral Regiſtraries, the Names, and Sirnames of all Perſons who are preſented or detected unto them for any Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, Symony, notorious offenſive Drunkenneſs, or any other publick ſcandalous Offence; how many of them have perform'd any publick Penance, and what it was, together with the Day and Form he did it in; how many of them have ſtood Excommunicate for not Appearance; how many in not performing the Penance ſo enjoin'd them, and how long they have ſtood ſo Excommunicate; how many of them have appeal'd from the Judge that proceeded againſt them; what Court has inhibited the Judge, and how long they have ſtood inhibited for that Cauſe; how many of them have had their Penance commuted, by what Warrant it has been done, and to what Uſes the Money ſo order'd to be commuted for, has been employ'd.

15. *The Number of Apparitors.*

It is deſired that every Eccleſiaſtical Judge exerciſing Juriſdiction within *London* Dioceſs, ſhall by *Eaſter* next, certify under his hand Writing, to me the Biſhop, the Number of all the Churches, within every Deanery ſubject to his Juriſdiction, the Names of all the Apparitors who do ſerve under him, the Names of every Deanery for which he ſerveth, to the end that the multiplicity of them may be reſtrain'd according to the Conſtitution in that behalf lately authorized.

16. *Apparitors not to be Adminiſtratores, nor* Collectores Bonorum.

It is deſired that no Apparitor whatſoever be appointed Adminiſtrator of the Goods of any defunct, unleſs he be *proximus Conſanguineus* to the Party, or a Creditor *bonæ fidei* without Colluſion;

neither any Letters *ad Colligendum* (which are not to be granted without the Biſhop's own Conſent to any Party) ſhall be granted to any Apparitor.

17. *Apparitors to make true Returns.*

It is deſired that every Apparitor be bound by the Judge under whom he ſerves, not to vex the Subject with Extortion, and that he ſhall make a true Return of all Proceſſes committed to him to execute; that he ſhall not keep back any Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Interdiction, Sequeſtration, or other Matter incident to his Office deliver'd him to execute, but ſhall make true Return of all Matters committed to his Charge to execute, according to the time by the Judge of the Court limited unto him.

18. *Care of Church-Wardens Oaths.*

It is laſtly deſired that the Archdeacons ſhall require all Pariſh Prieſts, eſpecially thoſe that preach at any Viſitation, in their Sermon to ſtir up the Church-Wardens and Sidemen to a reſpective Care and Conſcience of their Oaths, in diſcharging for their parts their Duties, for the Puniſhment of Sin, and all Offences, which they are charged by the Articles deliver'd to them to make enquiry of.

Num. XCVI.

The Abſolution of Attorney General Coke, *and the Lady* Hatton, *for marrying without Bans or Licenſe.*

Regiſt. Whitgift. *part* 3d. *fol.* 108. A. D. 1598.

-----Claves & Autoritatem Eccleſiæ in ea parte negligendo, eoque intuitu in majoris excommunicationis ſententiam, pœnaſque de Jure Eccleſiaſtico ob dictum crimen debit. incideritis, & ſinguli veſtrûm inciderit. Vos tamen ac unuſquiſque veſtrûm Legum Eccleſiaſticarum Offenſionem in ea parte jam ſentientes per Magiſtrum Barker in Legibus Baccalaureum, Almæ Curiæ Cant. Procuratorum Generalium unum, veſtrum in hac parte Procuratorem legitimè conſtitutum, à nobis humiliter petiiſtis, ac quilibet veſtrûm petiit, ut vobis & veſtrûm cuilibet de aliquo remedio opportuno gratioſè in hac parte providere velimus. Nos igitur conſiderantes quod errore tantum, ac jurium in ea parte ignorantia, animo minimè obdurato, nec contemptui dedito, in diverſas pœnas incidiſtis, quodque in veræ veſtræ recipiſcentiæ Teſtimonium nobis in hac parte vos ſubmiſiſtis, ac unuſquiſque veſtrûm per Procuratorem ſuum ſupraſcript. ſe ſubmiſit. Cum Eccleſia Chriſti nulli ad ſe redeunti Gremium claudat, nos, uti diximus, veſtris humilibus in ea parte ſupplicationibus inclinantes, & annuentes, (facta primò fide) per præfatum Magiſtrum Barker veſtrum in hac parte Procuratorem prædictum in animam & nomine ſingulorum & unuſcujuſque veſtrûm de parendo juri, & ſtando Mandatis Eccleſiæ, tam vos præfatos Edwardum Coke Arm. ac Dominam Elizabetham Hatton, quam te prænominatum Henricum Boſwell Presbyterum, ac Dominum Thomam Burleigh Baronem Burley, &c. ----A quibuſcunque Excommunicationis majoris ſeu minoris, Suſpenſionis, ac Interdicti ſententiis, & aliis Cenſuris & Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque; In quibus de Jure, Facto, aut Canone innodati & irretiti ratione præmiſſorum fuiſtis, quantum in nobis eſt, & quantum de Jure, Legibus, Statutis, Conſtitutionibus & Canonibus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ poſſimus, auctoritate noſtra Metropolica abſolvimus, & pro abſolutis ad omnem juris effectum per præſentes haberi volumus: Priſtinoque veſtro ſtatui, quantum in nobis eſt, Autoritate prædicta, vos, & quemlibet veſtrûm, reſtituimus, ac pro ſic reſtitutis pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus per præſentes. Ac in omnium & ſingulorum, ſic per nos (ut præfertur) Geſtorum Fidem & Teſtimonium, has noſtras Litteras Teſtimoniales fieri decrevimus.

Dat. ſub Sigillo noſtro quo in hac parte utimur ſeptimo Novembris Anno Domini 1598.

Num. XCVII.

Pope Clement *the Eighth's Plenary Indulgence to the* Iriſh, *to encourage them to an Inſurrection againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

CLEMENS *Papa* VIII.

Paper Office. A. D. 1600.

UNiverſis & ſingulis Venerabilibus Fratribus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & Prælatis, necnon dilectis Filiis Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, ac Populis Regni Hiberniæ, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Cum jamdiu, ſicut accepimus, vos Romanorum Pontificum Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum, ac noſtris, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis cohortationibus adducti, ad veſtram libertatem recuperandam, eamque adverſus Hæreticos tuendam, & conſervandam, bonæ memoriæ Jacobo Geraldino primùm, qui durum ſervitutis jugum vobis ab Anglis Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ deſertoribus impoſitum, ſummo animi ardore, depellere, dum vixit, pro viribus procuravit. Deindè Johanni Geraldino ejuſdem Jacobi Conſobrino, & noviſſimè dilecto nobili filio viro Hugoni Principi Oneil, dicto Comiti Tironenſi, Baroni Dungananiæ, & Capitaneo Generali Exercitûs Catholici in Hibernia, conjunctis animis ac viribus præſtò fueritis ac Opem & Auxilium præſtiteritis, ipſique Duces, & eorum Milites, manu Domini exercituum illis aſſiſtentes, progreſſu temporis plurima egregia facinora contra hoſtes viriliter pugnando præſtiterint; & in poſterum præſtare parati ſint. Nos, ut Vos, ac Dux, & Milites prædicti alacrius in Expeditionem hanc contra dictos Hæreticos opem in poſterum etiam præſtare ſtudeatis, ſpiritualibus gratiis & favoribus vos proſequi volentes, eorundem Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum Exemplo adducti, ac de Omnipotentis Dei miſericordia, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, Auctoritate confiſi, vobis omnibus & ſingulis, qui prædictum Hugonem Ducem, ejuſque Exercitum, Catholicæ Fidei Aſſertores & Propugnatores ſequemini, ac illis vos adjunxeritis, aut Concilio, Favore, Commeatibus, Armis, aliiſque bellicis rebus, ſeu quacunque ratione eis in hac Expeditione operam dederitis; ipſis Hugoni Duci, ejuſque exercitûs Militibus univerſis & ſingulis, ſi verè pœnitentes, & confeſſi, ac etiam ſi fieri poterit, ſacra Comunione refecti fueritis, plenariam omnium peccatorum ſuorum veniam, & remiſſionem, ac eandem quæ proficiſcentibus ad bellum contra Turcas, & ad recuperationem Terræ ſanctæ per Romanos Pontifices concedi ſolita eſt, miſericorditer in Domino concedimus. Non obſtantibus, ſi opus ſit, noſtra de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad inſtar, ac ſuſpenſionis Indulgentiarum occaſione Anni Jubilæi, aliiſque Conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque. Verùm quia difficile foret præſentes noſtras ad omnium quorum intereſt Notitiam pervenire; volumus, ut earum Exemplis etiam impreſſis, manu alicujus Notarii Publici ſubſcriptis, ac Sigillo Perſonæ in Dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutæ

munitis, eadem fides ubique habeatur, quæ eiſdem præſentibus haberetur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub Annulo Piſcatoris die xviii. Aprilis, M. DC. Pontificatus noſtri Anno nono.

M. Veſtrius Barbianus.

Num. XCVIII.

Pope Clement *the Eighth's Inſtructions to the Arch-Prieſt* Blackwell.

Dilecto Filio Magiſtro Georgio Blackwello noſtro, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Notario, Regni Angliæ Archipreſbytero.

Paper Office, A. D. 1602.

Dilecte fili noſter Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Venerunt nupèr ad nos nonnulli Sacerdotes Angli, qui de Gravaminibus ſibi à te illatis vehementer conqueſti ſunt, ac multo ante ad nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam appellaverant: Quibus auditis, & diligenter quæ pro utraque parte faciunt, conſideratis: Nos te ante omnia monendum eſſe cenſuimus, ut Autoritate à nobis & Apoſtolicâ Sede tibi conceſſa, cautè & prudenter utaris, neque facultates tuas excedas, ut viſus fuiſti quibuſdam in rebus exceſſiſſe. Nam Juriſdictionem quidèm te habere volumus in omnes Angliæ Sacerdotes, juxta Formam in Literis Deputationis tuæ in Archipreſbyterum à bonæ memoriæ Henrico Cardinale Cajetano factæ tibi hactenus præſcriptam, & in Caſibus in iiſdem Literis Contentis tantum, nullam tamen volumus exercere te poteſtatem in Preſbyteros qui ſeminariorum Alumni non fuerunt, aut in Laicos, neque facultatem tibi competere inſligendi Cenſuras, aut Statuta condendi, neque contra Preſbyteros appellantes qui ad Romanam Curiam venerunt, procedendi, niſi Regni Angliæ Protectore nunc, & pro tempore exiſtente, prius conſulto, & de omnibus certiore facto, ejuſque Sententia expectata, neque auferendi vel ſuſpendendi Facultates à Sede Apoſtolicâ, ſeu aliis Superioribus quovis modo----veſtris Preſbyteris qui ad nos appellaverant conceſſas, niſi de Conſilio & Mandato ejuſdem Protectoris, neque eoſdem Preſbyteros de una in aliam Reſidentiam niſi ex Cauſa transferendi: Quas quidem Facultates iidem Preſbyteri Appellantes ſibi antea conceſſas cauſa & occaſione prætenſi Schiſmatis, Rebellionis, & Inobedientiæ nunquam amiſerant, prout nec eos illas amiſiſſe quatenus opus ſit, per haſce noſtras Literas declaramus. Atque ut tu ſine ulla cujuſquam Offenſione, ac majore cum animi Quiete & omnium Pace & Concordia Officio tuo fungaris, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium tibi in virtutæ ſanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, ut nulla ad Officium tuum ſpectantia expedias, communices, aut tractes cum Provinciali Societatis Jeſu, vel aliis Religionis ejuſdem Societatis in Anglia exiſtentibus, nè ſcilicet nova Diſcordiæ & Contentionis inter eos & Preſbyteros appellantes, Occaſio præbeatur, ac propterea Inſtructionem tibi à dicto Henrico Cardinale Cajetano ſuper hâc re traditam pari Autoritate per præſentes pœnitus tollimus & abrogamus. Inſupèr tibi præcipimus nè de Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Adminiſtratione & Regimine, vel de rebus ad dictum Regimen & Officium tuum, pertinentibus per Literas ſive interpoſitam Perſonam, aut aliter quovis modo cum Religioſis ejuſdem Societatis in Romana Curia, vel alibi ubicunque commorantibus agas, ſed omnia ad nos Romanum Pontificem, aut ad Protectores pro tempore exiſtentes referas, non quod nos aliquid ſiniſtri aut mali de iis Religioſis ſuſpicemur, quos ſcimus ſincero Pietatis zelo duci, & quæ Dei ſunt vere quærere, ſed quod pro pace & quiete inter Catholicos in eo regno tuenda ſic convenire judicemus, quod etiam iidem Religioſi Societatis Jeſu verum eſſe atque expedire cenſuerant. Licitum tamen ſit Rectoribus Collegiorum ſeu Seminariorum, ejuſdem Societatis Alumnis in eorum Receſſu, dare Literas Teſtimoniales & Commendatitias tibi, & pro tempore exiſtente Archipreſbytero directas, juxta Formam à Protectore præſcribendam, ac etiam integrum ſit dictis Religioſis in Anglia commorantibus, eoſdem alumnos in eorum acceſſu fovere, dirigere, & adjuvare; ſimulatque vero contigerit aliquos ex modernis Aſſiſtentibus deficere, ſimiliter tibi mandamus ut tres ex Preſbyteris appellantibus in eorum locum ſucceſſive, prout eos deficere contigerit, ſubſtituas, quorum Opera in officii tui in Negotiis utaris. Monemus etiam ut Eleemoſynas quæ quotannis ex largitione Fidelium copioſè admodum, ut accipimus, colliguntur indigentibus Perſonis, ac præſertìm iis qui pro fide Catholica in Carcere detinentur, largè & fidelitèr diſtribuas; deque Appellationibus ad nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam interpoſitis in Caſibus quibus de Jure deferendum erit, deferas, quæ quidem Appellationes ad Protecterum nunc, & pro tempore exiſtentem, devolvantur. Cæterum ut omnis hujus Controverſiæ Memoria penitus aboleatur, eadem Auctoritate damnamus, & prohibemus omnes libros ubicunque impreſſos in quibus aliquid continetur, contra Inſtitutionem Societatis Jeſu, ſeu contra privatas illius Perſonas, & qui etiam in alterutram Partem criminoſi ſeu quovis modo injurioſi ſunt, illoſque ab omnibus damnari, prohiberi, & interdici mandamus. Ac inſupèr omnibus & ſingulis, ſive Laicis, ſive Clericis Secularibus, ac cujuſvis Ordinis & Inſtituti Regularibus, & Nominatìm ipſis Preſbyteris appellantibus, & Religioſis Societatis Jeſu, aliiſque quibuſcunque ejuſdem Regni Angliæ, ſive in eodem Regno, ſive extra illud, exiſtentibus, ſub amiſſionis omnium facultatum à Sede Apoſtolica vel aliis Superioribus quovis modo ipſis, ut præfertur, conceſſarum, necnon Excommunicationis ipſo Facto abſque alia Declaratione incurrendis pœnis interdicimus, & prohibemus nè libros illos pro alterutra parte in poſterum edant niſi prius obtenta Protectoris ſimilitèr nunc, & pro tempore exiſtentis, Approbatione & Licentia. Quicunque vero aliquod Genus Librorum Literarumque & Tractatuum in quibus alicujus veri Catholici Fama violari poterit, in poſterum, aut aliquando fuerit violata, aut ex quibus excitari poſſint veteres vel novæ contentiones, vel quæcunque alia Scripta contumelioſa, ex quibus Odium diſſidiumve inter partes quovis modo renovari poſſit, communicaverint, ſeu pœnes ſe retinuerint, vel evulgaverint, aut aliquid de hac Controverſia publicè vel privatim ſcripſerint, defendendo vel impugnando unam vel alteram partem, aut Perſonas aliquas vel Domus, aut qui cum Hæreticis in Præjudicium Catholicorum quovis Prætextu vel Cauſâ participaverint aut communicaverint, eos in omnibus & ſingulis Caſibus eiſdem Amiſſionis Facultatum ſuarum, nec non Excommunicationis ipſo Facto, ut præfertur, incurrendis pœnis volumus ſubjacere. Et licet nos ex iis quæ ab utraque Parte audivimus longè plura ad te ſcribere poteramus: Tamen cum te mentem noſtram ex his quæ diximus intelligere poſſe arbitramur, paucis contenti

ti ſuimus, ac ſolummodo tè, ac omnes tam Religioſos quam Presbyteros Seculares quoſcunque, & eos qui ad nos appellarunt hortamur in Domino, ut communi privatæque inter vos Paci ac Concordiæ ſtudeatis, ac id ipſum invicèm ſentiatis, non alta Sapientes, ſed Humilibus conſentientes. Nam ſi Evangelicam Prædicationem in Charitate Chriſti ſuſcepiſtis, cur Evangelicam Pacem in eadem Charitate non ſectamini? Charitas omnia ſuffert, non irritatur, non æmulatur. Charitas docet nos Inimicos diligere, quanto magis amicos & Socios Fidei & Laborum. Itaque vos per Viſcera Miſericordiæ Chriſti obſecramus, ut diligatis invicem, nemini detis ullam Offenſionem, nulli malum pro malo reddatis, ut non vituperetur Miniſterium veſtrum, ut benefaciatis omnibus, providentes bona non ſolum coram Deo, ſed etiam coram Hominibus, & quod ex vobis eſt cum omibus Pacem habentes,, ut fructum quem in Laboribus veſtris in ſummis Periculis & Tribulationibus quæritis, & nos cum Eccleſia univerſa toto Animo expectamus: tandem, adjuvante Domino, qui eſt vera Pax & Charitas, cum Animi noſtri Exultatione referatis. Datum Romæ ad Sanctum Marcum ſub annulo Piſcatoris die quinta Octobris, 1602. Pontificatus noſtri anno undecimo.

Num. XCIX.

The Number of all the Benefices in England, *with their ſeveral Values.*

Extract. è Regiſt. principal. Sedis Archiepiſcopal. Cantuaren. *&c.* *Paper Office.*

The Number of all the Benefices in *England*, 8803

Whereof

Impropriations at the Taxations of the Firſt Fruits, with Vicaridges endowed. 3236

Parſonages impropriated ſince the Taxation, 41

in all 3277

Livings under 10 *l.*	4543	whereof diſcharg'd of Firſt Fruits by Act of Parl. 2978. *viz.*	Rectories of 20 Nobles, and under 1083. Vicaridges of 10 *l.* and under 1895.
Livings of 10 *l.* and under 20 Marks.	1445	Parſonages	905
		Vicaridges	540
Livings of 20 Marks, and under 20 *l.*	1604	Parſonages	1134
		Vicaridges	0490
Livings of 20 *l.* and under 26 *l.*	593	Parſonages	414
		Vicaridges	170
Livings of 26 *l.* and under 30 *l.*	206	Parſonages	163
		Vicaridges	043
Livings of 30 *l.* and and under 40 *l.*	248	Parſonages	188
		Vicaridges	060
Livings of 40 *l.* and upwards.	144	Parſonages	115
		Vicaridges	029
	Total.	Parſonages	5567
		Vicaridges	3236

Num. C.

A brief Note of ſuch Matters as were agreed on by the King's Majeſty, the Lords of his Council, and the Clergy, to be reform'd in the Government of the Church, January 18. 160$\frac{3}{4}$.

HIS Majeſty in an excellent Oration reduced all the Points to certain Heads. The firſt was concerning the Book of Common Prayer, wherein four things were concluded to be amended. *Paper Office.*

Firſt, The Abſolution which contain'd nothing amiſs in the Matter, and only quarrell'd for the Name, therefore hereafter it ſhall be called the Abſolution or general Remiſſion of Sins.

Secondly, The Confirmation, which being ſhew'd to be no Sacrament with us, but of very good Uſe for preparing of Children to the Communion, it was concluded it ſhould remain only with the Alteration of the Name, that it ſhould be called the Confirmation, or rather the Examination of the ſaid Children.

Thirdly, That private Baptiſm now by Laymen, or Women, ſhall be called the private Baptiſm by the Miniſtry and Curacy only. And all the Queſtions in that Baptiſm which inſinuate it to be done by Women, taken away.

Fourthly, The Apocrypha that has any Repugnancy to the Canonical Scripture, ſhall not be read, and other places choſen, which are either Explanations of *Scripture*, or ſerve beſt for Godlineſs and Manners.

The Second, was concerning Matters of Juriſdiction, concerning Biſhops and high Commiſſioners.

For Biſhops, it was concluded that their Juriſdiction ſhould be ſomewhat attenuated, ſo that they ſhould either have the Dean, and Chapter, or ſome grave Miniſtry in Ordination, Suſpenſion, Degradation, *&c.* and not to exerciſe their Authority alone.

For the high Commiſſioners, it was concluded, that the Court ſhould be reformed, and to deal only in Cauſes of an high Nature, and to have no Commiſſioners ſit but Men of high Honour.

Excommunication by Chancellors and Commiſſaries, as is now us'd, ſhall be taken away, both in Name and Nature; and a Writ out of the *Chancery* to puniſh the Contumacious, ſhall be framed.

The third Point for preaching the Word, and maintaining the true Doctrine.

For preaching, that a more learned Miniſtry and Maintenance for them be provided in ſuch places in *England* where there is want.

Then as few double benefic'd Men and Pluralities as may be: where they have double Benefices to maintain preaching, and to have their Livings near one another.

And that the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the Country of *Wales*, and the Borders of *Scotland*, be planted with Schools and Preachers: And for better effecting of this, Commiſſioners beſt experienced in every of thoſe Countries are appointed.

For Doctrine, that there be one uniform Tranſlation of the *Bible* to be made, and that only to be uſed in all the Churches of *England*, and that the Articles of Religion made *primo Eliz.* be explain'd and enlarg'd, and that no Man do read, or preach againſt any of them.

The Fourth Head to be reform'd, rather by Care of good Magiſtrates, than by ſtraitneſs of Law.

As that Care be taken to inhibit popiſh and peſtilent Books, both at home, and for coming over; and if they do come over, to deliver them to Perſons only fit to have them.

Then a Care to be had who do not receive the Communion once a Year; the Miniſters to certify the Biſhops, the Biſhops the Archbiſhops, the Archbiſhops the King.

Laſtly, For matter of Ceremonies and Order, being things indifferent, that the Rule of the Apoſtle be kept, that all things be done to Edification; that ſo neither grave, ſober and peaceable Perſons, be not too far urg'd at firſt, nor turbulent and unquiet Perſons, and buſie Spirits, to do what they liſt.

Theſe are the Concluſions of this Conference, wherein his Majeſty ſate as Moderator, to the great Admiration of all.

Num. CI.

Pope Paul *the 5th's, Brief to the* Engliſh *Roman Catholicks, forbidding them going to the* Engliſh *Service, or taking the Oath of Allegiance.*

Paper Office. Anno Dom. 1606.

DIlecti Filii Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem: Magno cum animi mœrore nos ſemper affecerunt Tribulationes & Calamitates quas pro retinenda Catholica Fide jugitèr ſuſtinuiſtis: Sed cum intelligamus omnia hoc tempore magis exaſperari, Afflictio noſtra mirum in modum aucta eſt: Accepimus namque compelli vos graviſſimis Pœnis propoſitis Templa Hæreticorum adire, Cœtus eorum frequentare, Concionibus illorum intereſſe; profecto credimus, proculdubio eos qui tanta Fortitudine atque Conſtantia atrociſſimas Perſecutiones, infinitas propemodùm Miſerias perpeſſi ſunt, ut immaculatè ambularent in Lege Domini, nunquam commiſſuros eſſe ut coinquinentur Communione Deſertorum Divinæ Legis. Nihilominus Zelo Paſtoralis Officii noſtri impulſi, ut pro Paterna Solicitudine, qua de Salute Animarum veſtrarum aſſiduè laboramus, cogimur monere vos, atque obteſtari, ut nullo Pacto ad Hæreticorum Templa accedatis, aut eorum Conciones audiatis, vel cum ipſis in Ritibus communicetis, nè Dei Iram incurratis. Non enim licet vobis hoc facere, ſine Detrimento Divini Cultûs & veſtræ Salutis. Quemadmodum etiam non poteſtis, abſque evidentiſſima graviſſimaque Divini Honoris Injuria, obligare vos juramento, quod ſimiliter cum maximo Cordis noſtri Dolore audivimus propoſitum vobis fuiſſe præſtandum infra ſcripti tenoris, *viz.* Ego A. B. verè & ſincerè agnoſco, profiteor, teſtificor & declaro in Conſcientia meâ coram Deo & Mundo, quod ſupremus Dominus noſter Jacobus Rex, *&c.* prout ſequitur in ipſo Juramento.

Quæ cum ita ſint, vobis ex Verbis ipſis perſpicuum eſſe debet, quod hujuſmodi Juramentum ſalva Fide Catholica, & Salute Animarum veſtrarum præſtari non poteſt; cum multa contineat quæ Fidei & Saluti apertè adverſentur. Propterea monemus vos ut ab hoc, & ſimilibus Juramentis præſtandis omnino caveatis. Quod quidem eò acrius exigimus à vobis, quia experti Fidei veſtræ Conſtantiam, quæ tanquam Aurum in Fornace perpetuæ Tribulationis igne probata eſt, pro comperto habemus, vos alacri Animo ſubituros eſſe quæcunque atrociora Tormenta, atque Mortem denique ipſam conſtanter oppetituros, potius quam Dei Majeſtatem ulla in re lædatis. Et Fiducia noſtra confirmatur ex his quæ quotidiè nobis afferuntur, de egregia Virtute atque Fortitudine, quæ, non ſecus ac in Eccleſiæ Primordiis, reſplendet noviſſimis hiſce temporibus in Martyribus veſtris. *State ergo ſuccincti lumbos veſtros in Virtute, & induti loricam Juſtitiæ, ſumentes Scutum Fidei, confortamini in Domino in Potentia virtutis ejus*, nec quicquam vos detineat: Ipſe enim qui coronat certamina veſtra è cælo intuetur, *bonum Opus quod in vobis cæpit perficiet*, nôſtis quia Diſcipulis ſuis pollicitus eſt, *ſe nunquam eos relicturum eſſe Orphanos*, *fidelis enim eſt qui ſe promiſit.*

Retinete igitur Diſciplinam ejus, hoc eſt *radicati & fundati in Charitate*, quicquid agitis, quicquid conamini, in Simplicitate Cordis, & in Comitate Spiritûs, ſine Murmuratione aut Hæſitatione unanimes facite. Siquidem in hoc cognoſcunt omnes quia Diſcipuli Chriſti ſumus *ſi dilectionem ad Invicem habuerimus.* Quæ quidem Charitas cum ſit omnibus Chriſti Fidelibus maximè appetenda, vobis certè dilectiſſimi Filii prorſus neceſſaria eſt: Hac enim Charitate veſtra Diaboli Potentia infringitur, qui nunc adverſus vos tantoperè inſurgit, cum ipſa Contentionibus atque Diſſidiis noſtrorum Filiorum præcipue nitatur. Hortamur itaque vos per Viſcera Domini Jeſu Chriſti cujus Charitate è faucibus æternæ Mortis erepti ſumus, ut ante omnia mutuam inter vos Charitatem habeatis. Præſcripſit ſanè vobis Præcepta maximè utilia de fraterna Charitate viciſſim exercenda felicis Recordationis Clemens Papa Octavus. Suis Litteris in forma *Brevis* ad dilectum Filium Magiſtrum Georgium Archipresbyterum Regni Angliæ dat. quinto Octobris 1600. Ea igitur diligenter exequimini & nè ulla Difficultate aut Ambiguitate remoremini. Præcipimus vobis ut illarum Litterarum verba ad amuſſim ſervetis, & ſimplicitèr prout ſonant & jacent accipiatis, & intelligatis, ſublata omni Facultate illa aliter interpretandi. Interim nos nunquam ceſſabimus Deum Patrem Miſericordiarum precari, ut Afflictiones & Labores veſtros clementer reſpiciat ac vos continua Protectione cuſtodiat atque defendat; quos Apoſtolica Benedictione noſtra clementèr impartimur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum ſub annulo Piſcatoris 10. Calend. Octobris 1606. Pontificatus noſtri anno ſecundo.

Num. CII.

Cardinal Bellarmine's *Letter to the Archprieſt* Blackwell *againſt the Oath of Allegiance.*

Admodum Reverendo Domino Georgio Blackwello Archipresbytero Anglorum, Robertus S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarminus S. D.

Paper Office. Anno Dom. 1607.

VEnerabilis in Chriſto Domino Frater. Anni ſunt ferè quadraginta quod invicem non viderimus, ſed ego tum veteris noſtræ Conſuetudinis nunquam oblitus ſum, *teque in Vinea Domini ſtrenuè laborantem*, quando aliter non potui,

Orationibus Deo commendare non deſtiti, me quoque in tua Memoria toto hoc tempore vixiſſe, & in tuis Orationibus ad Altare Domini locum aliquem habuiſſe non dubito.

Ita igitur ad hoc uſque Tempus non Verbis aut Literis, *ſed Opere & Veritate*, ut Sanctus Joannes loquitur, alter in alterius Dilectione permanſimus. Sed hoc Silentium rumpere coegit Nuncius, qui diebus iſtis de tuis Vinculis & Carcere ad nos venit, qui quidem Nuhcius etſi triſtis videri poterat ob jacturam paſtoralis tuæ Solicitudinis quam Eccleſia iſta fecit, tamen lætus quoque videbatur quoniam ad Martyrii Gloriam, quo dono Dei nullum eſt fœlicius, propinquabis, ut qui tot annis gregem tuum verbo & Doctrina paviſſes, nunc Exemplo Patientiæ glorioſus paſceres. Verum hanc lætitiam non mediocriter interturbavit ac ferè corrupit triſtis alius Nuncius, qui de Conſtantia tua in recuſando illicito Juramento ab Adverſariis tentata, forte etiam labefacta & proſtrata, ſucceſſit. Neque enim, Frater Chariſſime, Juramentum illud ideo licitum eſſe potuit quod aliquo modo temperatum & Modificatum offerebatur. Scis enim ejuſmodi Modificationes nihil eſſe aliud quam Satanæ Dolos atque Verſutias, ut Fides Catholica de Primatu Sedis Apoſtolicæ vel apertè vel obſcurè petatur, pro qua Fide tot inclyti Martyres in iſta ipſa Anglia ad Sanguinem uſque pugnarunt. Certè enim quibuſbunque Verbis Juramentum ab Adverſariis Fidei concipiatur in Regno iſto eo tendit, ut Autoritas Capitis Eccleſiæ a Succeſſore Sancti Petri ad Succeſſorem Henrici Octavi in Anglia transferatur. Quod enim obtenditur de periculo vitæ Regis, ſi Summus Pontifex eam in Anglia Poteſtatem habeat, quam in aliis omnibus Chriſtianis Regnis habet, inane prorſus eſſe, omnes qui ſunt aliqua Prudentia præditi facile vident, neque enim auditum eſt unquam ab initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ uſque ad hæc noſtra Tempora, ut ullus Pontifex Maximus Principem ullum quamvis Hæreticum, quamvis Ethnicum, quamvis Perſecutorem cædi mandaverit, aut cædem fortè ab aliquo patratam probaverit. Et cur quæſo unus Rex Angliæ timet quod ex tot Chriſtianis Principibus nullus timet! Sed ut dixi varii iſti Prætextus decipula ſunt & Stratagemata Satanæ, qualia non pauca in Hiſtoriis veterum temporum inveniuntur, quæ facile referre poſſim, ſi non Epiſtolam, ſed librum integrum ſcribendum ſuſcepiſſem; unum tantum Exempli Gratia ad Memoriam tibi revocabo. Scribit Sanctus Gregorius Nazianzenus in prima Oratione in Julianum, Imperatorem illum ut ſimplicibus Chriſtianis imponeret, in imaginibus Imperatoris quas Romani civili quodam genere honoris pro more adorabant, imagines Deorum falſorum admiſcuiſſe, ut nemo poſſet Imperatoris Imaginem adorare quin ſimul Deorum ſimulachris Cultum adhiberet. Hinc nimirum fiebat, ut plurimi deciperentur, & ſi qui forte Fraudem ſub Imperatoris adorati Imaginem venerari recuſarent, ii graviſſime punirentur, ut qui Cæſarem in ſua Imagine contempſiſſent. Tale aliquid in Juramento vobis oblato mihi videre videor, quod ea fraude compoſitum eſt, ut nemo poſſit Proditionem in Regem deteſtari, civilemque Subjectionem profiteri, quin Primatum Sedis Catholicæ perfidè abnegare cogatur. Sed Chriſti Servi ac præſertim primarii Domini Sacerdotes ubi Periculum Fidei ſubeſſe poſſit tantum abeſſe debent à ſuſceptione illiciti Juramenti; ut ab omni etiam ſuſpicione ſimulationis præſtiti Juramenti cavere debeant, nè fidelibus populis ullum Prævaricationis exemplum reliquiſſe videantur. Quod egregiè præſtitit inſignis ille Eleazarus, qui neque porcinas carnes comedere, neque ſimulare comediſſe voluit, quamvis graviſſima Tormenta ſibi cerneret imminere, nè aut ipſe (ut in ſecundo libro Maccabæorum) aut multi Juvenum per eam ſimulationem ad Legis prævaricationem animarentur. Neque minus fortitèr magnus Baſilius & exemplo ad res noſtras magis accommodato, cum Valente Imperatore ſe geſſit. Nam ut in Hiſtoria ſcribit Theodoretus cum Præfectus Imperatoris Hæretici hortaretur ſanctum Baſilium ut non vellet propter parvam Dogmatum ſubtilitatem Imperatori reſiſtere: Reſpondit Vir ille ſanctiſſimus & prudentiſſimus, non eſſe ferendum ut de Dogmatibus divinis vel una ſyllaba corrumpatur, ſed potius pro eorum Defenſione omne Genus ſupplicii amplectendum. Equidem arbitror non deeſſe apud vos qui Dogmatum ſubtilitatem eſſè dicant, quæ in Juramento Catholicis Hominibus propoſito, continentur, & non eſſe propter Rem tam parvam Regis Imperio reluctandum: Sed non deerunt etiam Viri ſancti ac magno Baſilio ſimiles, qui palam affirmabunt, non eſſe de divinis Dogmatibus vel minimam aliquam ſyllabam corrumpendam, etiamſi Tormenta & Mors ipſa toleranda proponatur. Inter hos unum, vel potius horum Principem atque Anteſignanum te eſſe par eſt. Et quamvis vel inopinata comprehenſio, vel acerbitas perſecutionis, vel ſenectutis imbecillitas, vel quid aliud in cauſa fuerit, ut conſtantia titubaverit, confidimus tamen de Domini pietate, & de diuturna tua virtute fore, ut qui Sancti Petri, & Sancti Marcellini caſum aliqua ex parte imitatus videris, eorundem fortitudinem in viribus reparandis, & veritate aſſerenda, felicitèr imiteris. Nam ſi rem totam diligenter apud te cogitare volueris, videbis pròfecto non eſſe rem parvam quæ ob Juramentum iſtud in diſcrimen adducitur, ſed unum ex præcipuis fidei noſtræ capitibus, ac Religionis Catholicæ fundamentis. Audi enim quid Apoſtolus veſter magnus Gregorius ſcribit, Apoſtolicæ Sedis Reverentia nullius præſumptione turbetur. Tunc enim membrorum ſtatus integer perſeverat, ſi caput Fidei nulla pulſatur injuria. Itaque Sancto Gregorio teſte cum de Primatu Sedis Apoſtolicæ, vel turbando, vel minuendo, vel tollendo, ſatagitur, de ipſo capite Fidei amputando, ac de totius corporis omniumque membrorum ſtatu diſſipando ſatagitur. Quod ipſum Sanctus Leo confirmat in ſermone tertio de aſſumptione ſua ad Pontificatum, cum ait, ſpecialis cura à Domino ſuſcipitur, & pro fide Petri propriè ſupplicatur, tanquàm aliorum ſtatus certior ſit futurus, ſi mens Principis victa non fuerit. Ex quo idem ipſe in Epiſtola ad Epiſcopos Viennenſis Provinciæ affirmare non dubitat, neceſsè eſſe exortem illum myſterii eſſe Divini, qui auſus fuerit à Petri ſoliditate recedere. Qui rurſum ait, quiſquis huic ſedi Principatum exiſtimat denegandum, illius quidem nullo modo poteſt minuere Dignitatem, ſed inflatus ſpiritu ſuperbiæ ſuæ ſemetipſum in inferno demergit. At hæc quidem & alia ejuſdem generis multa tibi notiſſima eſſe certe ſcio, qui præter cæteros libros Viſibilem Monarchiam Sanderi tui Scriptoris Diligentiſſimi, & de Eccleſia Anglicana optimè meriti, ſæpè legiſti, quique ignorare non potes, ſanctiſſimos viros, eoſque doctiſſimos, Johannem Roffenſem, & Thomam Morum, pro hoc uno graviſſimo dogmate, duces ad martyrium plurimis aliis cum ingenti Anglicæ Nationis gloria, noſtra memoria, fuiſſe. Sed ad memoriam revocare tibi volui, ut colligas te, & magnitudinem rei conſiderans, non tuo judicio nimis fidas, neque plus ſapias quam oportet ſapere. Etſi forte lapſus tuus non ex inconſideratione, ſed ex infirmitate humana, ex metu carceris & ſuppliciorum profectus eſt, non anteponas libertatem temporalem, libertati *Gloriæ Fi-*

liorum Dei: Neque ob momentaneam & levem Tribulationem fugiendam, amittere velis *æternum Gloriæ Pondus*, quod ipſa Tribulatio operatur in te: Bonum Certamen diu certâſti, *Curſum* fermè *conſummâſti*, *Fidem* tot annis *ſervâſti*. Noli igitur tantorum Laborum præmium tam facilè perdere; noli Corona Juſtitiæ, quæ tibi jamdudum paratur, teipſum privare. Noli tot Patrum & Filiorum tuorum Vultus confundere: In te ſunt hoc tempore conjecti Oculi totius Eccleſiæ. Quinetiam *ſpectaculum factus es Mundo, Angelis, & Hominibus:* Noli in extremo actu ita te gerere, ut & tuis Luctum, & Gaudium hoſtibus relinquas. Sed contra potiùs, quod omnino ſperamus, & pro quo ad Deum noſtrum aſſiduè Preces fundimus, vexillum Fidei glorioſe, erigas, & quam contriſtaveras, lætam facias Eccleſiam, nec jam ſolum veniam merearis à Domino, ſed Coronam; Vale, viriliter age, & *confortetur Cor tuum.*

Romæ 28. *Sept.* 1607.

Reverende admodum Domine, veſter Frater & ſervus in Chriſto.

ROBERTUS CARDINALIS BELLARMINUS.

Num. CIII.

Negotium Conſecrationis & Dedicationis Parochialis Sancti Olavi in Silver-ſtreet Civitat. London. A. D. 1610.

Abbot Regiſt. Fol. 393. A. D. 1610.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Georgius London' Epiſcopus hanc Eccleſiam de novo jam erectam, conſtructam, & edificatam divino Cultui & Divinorum Celebrationi, ac tam ad Sacramenta & Sacramentalia in eadem miniſtrand. quam ad divinas Preces Deo fundend. & Verbum Dei purè & ſincerè proponendum & prædicandum ac demortuos inhumandum & ſepeliendum, ac cætera omnia ſacra & divina perficiendum, quæ de Jure divino ac etiam Legibus, Sanctionibus & Conſtitutionibus Eccleſiæ noſtræ Anglicanæ in ea parte ſunt requiſita & neceſſaria, ac ſi ſigillatim eſſent in præſentibus ſpecificata modo & forma in ſimilibus jam de jure uſitatis & uſitandis, in Dei honorem, & pro ſalute Animarum & uſu Parochianorum ejuſdem (quantum in nobis eſt & de Jure, Legibus, & Statutis hujus inclyti Regni Angliæ poſſumus, & nobis licet) Conſecramus & Dedicamus, per Nomen Sancti Olavi in Silver-ſtreet, & ſic Conſecratam, Dedicatam, & Aſſignatam eſſe & in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere, palam & publicè pronunciamus & declaramus, & per Nomen prædictum, (prout antea appellabatur) perpetuis futuris temporibus nominand. & appelland. fore decernimus, & ſic nominamus.

G. London.

Num. CIV.

Archbiſhop Abbot*'s Letter to the Biſhop of* Peterborough, *touching the reſtraining Mr.* Dod, *and other Nonconformiſts from Preaching.*

Paper Office, Nov. 24. 1611.

MY very good Lord, I have received Advertiſement more Ways than one, that ſome of the Miniſters of your Lordſhip's Dioceſs (formerly deprived) as by name Mr. *Barbon*, and Mr. *Shafferld*, do, at their pleaſure, preach in *Northamptonſhire* or *Rutlandſhire*; and that Mr. *Dod*, lately of *Hanwell*, near *Banbury*, doth ſometimes alſo Exerciſe within your Lordſhip's Dioceſs. What the King's Majeſty's Judgment is concerning ſuch unconformable Miniſters, your Lordſhip may perceive by thoſe Inſtructions which not long ſince, in the Name of his Highneſs, I ſent unto you. But let me add this withal, that his Majeſty being lately informed of the preaching of Mr. *Hilderſham*, ſometimes Miniſter of *Aſhby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, was much offended with the Biſhop of *Lincoln* for permitting the ſame; and commanded me by Letter to ſignifie ſo much unto his Lordſhip. I hear that Mr. *Cataline* is much more peaceable than in former times, but yet keepeth no Order for the *Communion Book*, but ſuffers all excommunicated Perſons in the Pariſhes adjoining, to repair unto his Church; I pray your Lordſhip to have an Eye to theſe things, leſt more Offence grow than your Lordſhip conceives, ſo wiſhing, *&c.* I reſt

Your Lordſhip's very loving Friend,

G. CANT.

Num. CV.

The Opinion of a Learned Civilian, whether Biſhops may be Tranſlated at the Prince's Pleaſure.

Paper Office, Sept. 1616.

MOſt gracious and my honourable good Lord, being commanded by your Grace to conſider of a Point in Law for his Majeſty's Service, I have made bold to preſent my Opinion thereof unto your Grace in Writing, ſubmitting the ſame to your Grace's acceptance.

Your Grace hath been not untruly informed, by ſome, no doubt, learned in the Laws and Hiſtories of the Church, that the Pope did heretofore tranſlate Biſhops from one Biſhoprick to another, at his own Pleaſure, and contrary to the good Will of the Parties themſelves; of which, tho' I find not any Precedents in Hiſtory, yet I find many Teſtimonies to that Purpoſe in the Writings of the Canoniſts and Expoſitors of the Canon Law, ſundry of which have alſo delivered for good Doctrine, that the Pope might do it lawfully: Which notwithſtanding it may well be doubted, whether his Majeſty hath in himſelf any ordinary Power at this preſent to tranſlate a Biſhop from one Biſhoprick to another, contrary to the Parties Will, as the Law underſtandeth, and that for theſe Reaſons following;

1ſt. For that the foreſaid Opinion of the Canoniſts is not grounded upon any poſitive Law, or Canon of the Church, but as only a Concluſion drawn by them from that univerſality of Power and Juriſdiction, which they imagine and maintain to be in the Pope of *Rome*.

According to which Opinion it is, that one ſaith, that *omnia Beneficia Mundi ſunt Obedientialia reſpectu Papalis Poteſtatis, & ideò poteſt pro libitu voluntatis transferre Epiſcopum de ſuo Epiſcopatu ad alium, i. e.* That all Benefices in the World are in Subjection to the Pope, and therefore that he may remove and change, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure. And to this effect may ſundry of their Sayings be recited, which I will not trouble your Grace withal. But ſeeing this dependeth not upon the regular, but upon that unlimited

Power which former times attributed to the Pope, and which the late Statutes of this Land have utterly diſclaimed; it may be queſtion'd, how any ſufficient Argument may hence be drawn, to juſtify his Majeſty's legal Authority in the like Caſe.

2dly. For that alſo ſome Canoniſts have maintain'd the Authority foreſaid to be in the Pope, ſo others have abſolutely denied it; and therefore they ſay, that in this Caſe a Biſhop may conſent to his Tranſlation if he will, and if he will not, he may chuſe.

3dly. For that this tranſcendent Power of the Pope hath been limited and reſtrain'd by ſundry Councils in former times: For, firſt, *Panormitan*, a great Canoniſt, and an earneſt maintainer of the Pope's Authority in this Point, confeſſeth that this was done at a Council held at *Piſa* in *Italy*, adding, that 'twas done *propter Imprudentiam quorundam ſummorum Pontificum*: For the folly of ſome Popes who would often make ſuch Tranſlations out of Spleen rather than upon juſt Occaſion. Others likewiſe affirm, that there was the like Canon made at *Conſtance* in *Germany*, and that they have ſeen it, tho' it be not now to be found in the printed Copies.

4. If it ſhould be granted there were a poſitive Law or Canon to be produced for this Purpoſe, yet the ſame was never received nor practiſed in *England*, neither as I ſuppoſe, could have been; the Reaſon is, for that in this Kingdom every Biſhop hath a double Capacity, one as he is a Biſhop, in regard of his Spiritualties; and another, as he is a Lord of Parliament, in regard of his Temporalties. And both thoſe are reckon'd to him as a kind of Free-hold, which the Cuſtom of this Land would never ſuffer the papal Authority to deal withal, otherwiſe than according to the Laws.

And laſtly, it may pleaſe your Grace, in your great Wiſdom, to look into the Conſequence of this Queſtion, if it ſhould be moved eſpecially at this preſent, for if this ſhould be eſſay'd in one, that ſame would forthwith be apprehended and feared in all: For not only the Biſhops and Archbiſhops, but alſo and much more every particular Dignitary and Parſon of a Pariſh Church may be removed from his Benefice at diſcretion, which would happily fill the whole Church with Complaints and Outcries, and give turbulent Spirits occaſion to ſay, that by this one Act our Clergy is made more miſerable than any other.

Neverthele's as much as this is a mixt Queſtion, and dependeth as much, or rather more, upon the common Law, than it does upon the Canon; your Grace may be pleas'd to refer the Conſideration thereof to his Majeſty's Council at the common Law, upon whom I ſhall be ready to give my Attendance, and to have their Advice therein alſo, that from both the Laws your Grace may receive a more perfect Reſolution in this Point for the Service of his Majeſty.

Your Grace's
Moſt humble devoted Servant,

F. RIVES.

Num. CVI.

Dr. Joſeph Hall*'s Speech at his taking leave of the Synod at* Dort.

A. D. 1619. Fuller Church Hiſt. Book 10.

NON facilè verò mecum in Gratiam redierit Cadaveroſa hæc Moles, quam ægrè uſque circumgeſto, quæ mihi hujus Conventus Celebritatem toties inviderit, jamque prorſus invitiſſimum a vobis importunè avocat, & divellit. Neque enim ullus eſt profecto ſub Cœlo locus æquè Cœli æmulus, & in quo Tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujuſque adeo geſtiet mihi animus meminiſſe. Beatos vero vos, quibus hoc frui datum! Non dignus eram ego (ut fideliſſimi Romani querimoniam imitari liceat) qui & Chriſti & Eccleſiæ ſuæ Nomine, Sanctam hanc Provinciam diutius ſuſtinerem. Illud vero Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι. Nempe audito, quod res erat, non aliâ me quam adverſiſſimâ hic uſum valetudine, Sereniſſimus Rex meus miſertus miſelli Famuli ſui, revocat me Domum, quippe quod Cineres meos, aut Sandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodeſſe poſſe nôrit, ſuccenturiavitque mihi Virum è ſuis ſelectiſſimum, quantum Theologum! De me profecto (mero jam ſilicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus ſum. Vobis quidem ita felicitèr proſpectum eſt, ut ſit cur Imfirmitati meæ haud parum gratulemini, quum hujuſmodi inſtructiſſimo ſuccedaneo cœtum hunc veſtrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam (ſi Deus mihi vitam & Vires indulſerit) ut & Corpore ſimul & animo, abeſſe videar. Interea ſanè huic Synodo, ubicunque terrarum ſum, & vobis, Conſiliis, Conatibuſque meis quibuſcunque, res veſtras me, pro virili ſedulo, ac ſerio promoturum, Sanctè voveo. Interim vobis omnibus ac ſingulis Honoratiſſimi Domini Delegati, Reverendiſſime Præſes, Graviſſimi Aſſeſſores, Scribæ Doctiſſimi, Symmyſtæ Colendiſſimi, tibique Venerandiſſima Synodus Univerſa, ægro Animo ac Corpore æternum valedico. Rogo vos omnes obnixiùs, ut præcibus veſtris imbecillem reducem facere, comitari, proſequi velitis.

Num. CVII.

The States-General's Letter to King James, *given to the* Engliſh *Divines at the breaking up of the Synod of* Dort.

Sereniſſime Rex.

A. D. 1619. Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* lib. 10.

QUemadmodum hoc unicè propoſitum nobis fuit, ut quæ in Civitatibus Provinciiſque noſtris, ante annos aliquot, exortæ erant, infelices de Religione Contentiones, eruditorum, ac piorum Hominum Judicio, legitimè tolli ac componi poſſent; ut & Conſcientiis eorum, quibus nos præeſſe Deus immortalis voluit, ipſiſque pariter Reipublicæ, ſua in Religione, ac Pietate ſimul, Ratio conſtaret, & Tranquillitas; Ita nos benignè is reſpexit, cui hactenus curæ fuimus, qui Conventui noſtro Nationali, quem ex omnibus idem ſentientibus Eccleſiis convocavimus, ita benedixit, ut, re tanta ad felicem atque optatum exitum perducta, domum, & ad ſuos ſe conferant. Quibus, Benedictionem Domini, Studium noſtrum in promovendo Pietatis Negotio, Conſenſum planè cum aliis Eccleſiis unanimem, indicabunt. Inter quos, cum præcipui & Conſilio & Loco, fuerint Magnæ Britanniæ Theologi, quos, pro ſingulari, & divino, in nos & Eccleſias noſtras Affectu, ad nos mittere dignata eſt Majeſtas tua; Curæ nobis fuit, ut quantopere hujus Beneficii magnitudinem æſtimemus, ex nobis intelligeret Majeſtas tua. Eſt vero illud, Rex Sereniſſime, etiamſi cum reliquis quæ infinita ſunt, conferatur, tanto majus, quanto uberiores ſunt Fructus, quos ex Dei Cauſa expectamus, quantoque id Majeſtatis tuæ nomini eſt

Convenientius, qui, cum nulla re externa, atque humana, quæ potiſſimum aliis Principibus conciliant Dignitatem, quoquam Rege ſit inferior, *Fidei Defenſionem*, tanquam Dei, Eccleſiæque Patronus in his Terris, ſibi merito aſſumit. Neque dubitare poſſumus, quin & Majeſtatis tuæ Regna tot & tanta; reliquæque quæ in hoc Negotio nobis operam navârunt, Eccleſiæ, magnam utilitatem ex hoc Inſtituto noſtro percepturæ ſint, quæ exemplo noſtro diſcent, quanto Periculo conjunctum ſit, quæ benè in Religione conſtituta ſunt temerè movere, quum ſint felices, atque fortunatæ, quamdiu ſimili Remedio Opus non habebunt: Cui hactenus abundè, Majeſtatis tuæ cura, atque vigilantia, proſpectum fuit. In Theologis porro utriuſque Regni Veſtri omnibus, & ſingulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendiſſimus Dominus Georgius Landavenſis Epiſcopus, Imago, atque expreſſa Virtutis Effigies; eam Eruditionem, Pietatem, Pacis Studium, eumque Zelum deprehendimus, ut cum ipſius Beneficii Cauſa Majeſtati tuæ multum debeamus, magna Pars ipſius Beneficii nobis videatur, quod ipſi ad nos miſſi ſunt.

Deus Immortalis Majeſtati tuæ, Rex Sereniſſime, ita benedicat, ut illius Benedictionis partem, Orbis Chriſtianus, ex diuturnitate Regni tui, & Eccleſiæ Defenſione, diu percipiat.

Num. CVIII

Diſpenſatio cum Georgio *Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, ſuper Irregularitate.*

Reliq. Spelman. A.D. 1621.

REverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Georgio Providentia divina Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, *Johannes* Lincoln. *Georgius* London. *Lancelotus* Winton. *Samuel* Norwicenſ. *Thomas* Coven. & Lich. *Arthurus* Bathon. & Wellen. *Nicolaus* Elienſ. & *Georgius* Ciceſtrenſis Permiſſione divina reſpective Epiſcopi de Provincia Cantuar. Salutem & Gratiam in Domino ſempiternam. Recepimus Literas Commiſſionales a Sereniſſimo in Chriſto Principe ac Domino noſtro Domino *Jacobo* Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rege, Fidei Defenſore &c. Sub Magno Sigillo Angliæ confectas & nobis directas, quarum Tenor ſequitur in hæc Verba.

Jacobus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, fidei Defenſor &c. Reverendo in Chriſto Patri & perdilecto & perquam fideli Conſiliario noſtro *Johanni* Epiſcopo Lincoln. Cuſtodi Magni Sigilli noſtri Angliæ, ac Reverendo in Chriſto Patri *Georgio* Epiſcopo London. ac Reverendo in Chriſto Patri ac perdilecto & perquam fideli Conſiliario noſtro *Lanceloto* Epiſcopo Winton. necnon Reverendis in Chriſto Patribus *Samueli* Norwicen. *Thomæ* Coven. & Lichen. *Nicholao* Elien. *Arthuro* Bathon. & Wellen. & *Georgio* Ciceſtren. reſpectivè Epiſcopis, Salutem & Gratiam.

Humili nobis Supplicatione expoſuit Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater, perdilectus & perfidelis Conſiliarius noſter *Georgius* Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, quod cum nuper in Parco quodam vocato Bramzil-Park apud Bramzil in Comitatu noſtro Southhampton. per honorandum Virum ejuſdem Parci Dominum rogatus & invitatus Damam Sagitta figere deſtinaret, debita adhibita Diligentia nè quid indè Periculi cuiquam eveniret, fortè tamen accidit ut Sagitta ab eo emiſſa & in Feram directa, in quendam *Petrum Hawkins* ad tunc parci prædicti Cuſtodem, improvidè & temerè ſe Periculo ictus Sagittæ exponentem, & per locum ubi à præfato Archiepiſcopo conſpici non potuit cum Impetu tranſcurrentem incideret, eique Brachium ſauciaret: Ex quo quidem vulnere infra unius Horæ ſpatium expirabat: Et quamvis propter hujuſmodi Homicidium caſuale, nulla præfati Archiepiſcopi Culpa, ſed ipſius Occiſi temeritate contingens, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater bona fretus Conſcientia, ſe nullam omnino Irregularitatem incurriſſe, perſuaſiſſimum habeat, provida tamen Animi Circumſpectione, & ut omnis Infirmorum Mentibus ſcrupulus eximatur, ſecum à nobis ſuper omni & omnimoda Irregularitate, & Irregularitatis nota, aut ſuſpicione, ſi quam Præmiſſorum ratione contraxiſſe forſitan aliquibus videri poſſit, ad Cautelam & ex ſuperabundanti diſpenſari humilitèr ſupplicavit. *Sciatis* igitur quod nos Petitionis hujuſmodi vim & efficaciam regio Animo & pio Affectu ponderantes, & de veritate Præmiſſorum ſolicita Indagatione certiores facti, & ut piam Reverendiſſimi Patris Intentionem hac in re ſequamur, & ad abundantiorem Cautelam, perfidelis Conſiliarii noſtri optimeque de Eccleſia & Republica meriti præſulis, Statum Famam & Dignitatem, noſtri etiam Patrocinii munimine tueri & firmare dignoſcamur, ad præſentem venimus Diſpoſitionem: Vobiſque vel aliquibus ſex veſtrum, quorum vos præfat' *Johannem* Lincoln. *Georgium* London. *Lancelotum* Winton. & *Samuelem* Norwicen. reſpectivè Epiſcopos, quatuor eſſe volumus: de quorum etiam fide, Judicio, & Induſtria plurimum confidimus, mandamus & de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, & ex Auctoritate noſtra regia Suprema & Eccleſiaſtica qua fungimur, pro nobis, Hæredibus, & Succeſſoribus noſtris damus & plenam concedimus Facultatem & Poteſtatem per præſentes, quatenus vos vel aliqui ſex veſtrum; quorum vos præfatos, *Johannem* Lincoln. *Georgium* London. *Lancelotum* Winton. & *Samuelem* Norwicen. reſpectivè Epiſcopos, quatuor eſſe volumus. Cum præfato Reverendiſſimo Patre ſuper omni & omnimod. Juris vel facti defectu, Cenſura ſive pœna aliqua Canonica & Eccleſiaſtica, præſertim vero Irregularitate omni ſeu Irregularitatis nota, (ſi quæ forſitan ratione Præmiſſorum contracta fuit) vel quibuſdam contracta eſſe videantur, utque in ſuſceptis Ordinibus & Juriſdictionibus ſecundum concreditam ſibi ratione Ordinis, & Archiepiſcopatus ſui Poteſtatem liberè Miniſtrare, frui, exercere, & gaudere valeat, ad majorem Cautelam diſpenſetis, ac cætera omnia, & ſingula quæ ad Statum, Commodum, & Honorem præfati Reverendiſſimi Patris conſervandum & corroborandum in hac parte neceſſaria fuerint, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna faciatis, & Diſpenſationem hujuſmodi, cæteraque ſic ut præfertur per vos aut aliquos ſex veſtrum, quorum vos præfatos, *Johannem* Lincoln. *Georgium* London. *Lancelotum* Winton. & *Samuelem* Norwicen. reſpectivè Epiſcopos, quatuor eſſe volumus, facienda in debita juris Forma concepta, & in ſcripta, reducta, Sigilliſque veſtris ſeu Sigillo aliquo authentico munita, præfato Archiepiſcopo tradere non differatis. Quam quidem Diſpenſationem, cæteraque ſic ut præfertur per vos aut aliquos ſex Veſtrum, quorum vos præfatos, *Johannem* Lincoln. *Georgium* London. *Lancelotum* Winton. & *Samuelem* Norwicen. reſpectivè Epiſcopos, quatuor eſſe volumus, peragendam ſub magno inſuper Sigillo noſtro Angliæ confirmari volumus, & ſuper his præfati magni Sigilli noſtri Cuſtodi aliiſque Cancellariæ noſtræ Miniſtris quibuſcunque expreſſè Mandamus, & plenam tenore Præſentium concedimus Poteſtatem. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmon. Viceſimo ſecundo die Novembris, anno Regni noſtri Angliæ,

gliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, decimo nono & Scotiæ LV. ſecundum Tenorem & Exigentiam Literarum Commiſſionalium præcecitatarum, & ad eximendum omnem Scrupulum ab Infirmorum Mentibus, ſi quis forſitan ſit aut fuerit in ea parte conceptus.

Nos prædicti, *Johannes* Lincoln. *Georgius* London. *Lancelotus* Winton. *Samuel* Norwicen. *Thomas* Coven. & Litchfeld. *Arthurus* Bathon. & Wellen. *Richardus* Elien. & *Georgius* Ciceſtren. reſpectivè Epiſcopi, Dei Nomine primitus invocato ac Deum præ Oculis ſolum habentes, & conſiderantes, atque pro certo habentes quod dicta Venatio cui per te data erat Opera, quando dictum caſuale Homicidium (te nihil tale ſuſpicante) accidebat, erat modeſta, decens, & quieta, & quod debita per ſe adhibita erat Diligentia in dicta Venatione ad præcavendum nè quid Periculi alicui indè eveniret, tecum Præfato *Georgio* Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ſuper omni Irregularitate, & Irregularitatis nota, ſi quam forſitan ratione caſualis Homicidii ſive Mortis præfati *Petri Hawkins* incurriſti, vel aliquibus incurriſſe videaris, ad omnem & qualemcunque juris Effectum Diſpenſamus; Teque præfatum *Georgium* Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem ac Perſonam tuam ab omnibus & ſingulis Inhabilitatibus, Suſpenſionibus, Irregularitatibus, aliiſque Pœnis, Impedimentis, Cenſuris, & Coercionibus quibuſcunque Eccleſiaſticis ſive Canonicis (ſi quam forſitan ratione Præmiſſorum aut eorum alicujus incurriſti aut aliquibus incurriſſe videaris) ad omnem & qualemcunque Juris effectum liberamus, ac tenore præſentium pro liberato haberi decernimus, & pronunciamus: Quemque Defectum, Labem, Notam, ſive Maculam, (ſi quam forſitan Ratione Præmiſſorum aut eorum alicujus contraxiſti, aut aliquibus contraxiſſe videaris, penitus abolemus, ac pro abolitis haberi decernimus, & pronunciamus: Teque etiam præfatum *Georgium* Archiepiſcopum Cantuarien. ex ſuperabundanti & ad majorem Cautelam, rehabilitamus & reſtituimus ad omnem & qualemcunque Juris effectum: Et ut in ſuſceptis Ordinibus, & Archiepiſcopatu prædicto, ac in omnibus & ſingulis Juriſdictionibus, Privilegiis, Præeminentiis, Prærogativis, Dignitatibus atque aliis rebus quibuſcunque, aliquo modo ad dictum Archiepiſcopatum ſpectantibus, & pertinentibus, libere miniſtrare valeas, concedimus & indulgemus, perindè ac ſi prædictum Caſuale Homicidium commiſſum non fuiſſet; Canonibus, Legibus, Decretis, Ordinationibus, & Conſtitutionibus Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque contrariis (ſi quæ ſint in ea parte contraria) in aliquo non obſtantibus. In cujus rei Teſtimonium, Sigilla noſtra Epiſcopalia hiſce præſentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. duodecimo die Decembris, Anno Domini milleſimo ſexcenteſimo viceſſimo primo.

Teſte Rege apud *Weſtmon.* 24. die *Decembris* Anno Regni Regis *Jacobi*, &c. xix. & *Scotiæ* quinquageſimo quinto.

Num. CIX.

Pope Urban *the Eighth's Letter to the English Roman Catholicks.*

Paper Office. A. D. 1626.

Dilecti Filii Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Non ſemper terrena fœlicitas eſt beneficium Cœli, & patrimonium pietatis: Pacem enim peccatorum videns Eccleſia non rarò experta eſt potentiam mortalium, eſſe Stipendium Sceleris; quare Catenas Martyrum anteferimus Coronis Triumphantium, & Deus Sempiternus Principatus Cœleſtes pollicetur, non iis qui ſuperbo pede jura proterunt ſed qui perſecutionem patiuntur propter juſtitiam. Veritatem hanc è Theſauris Divinitatis delatam in Terris contemplans Apoſtolus, non modò animum non deſpondebat, ſed ſuperabundabat gaudio in omni tribulatione fidelium: Qui enim Digni habentur pro Nomine Jeſu contumeliam pati, ii teſſeram Divini Amoris videntur poſſidere, & eo pretio abundant quo ſunt venalia diademata Æternitatis. Mallemus equidem humanæ imbecillitatis memores, Gloriam & Divitias eſſe in Tabernaculis juſtorum, etenim cum veſtras miſerias contemplamur Dilecti Filii, tantum veſtræ virtuti & Chriſto propugnanti fidimus, ut vobis audeamus gratulari Segetem Triumphorum: Speravit equidem Eccleſia fore ut potentiſſimi Regis animus, qui è Catholica Conjuge procreare optavit Hæredes, Patriis, Regnis Imperaturos delinitus ſuſpiriis Uxoriæ pietatis pateretur Regalis Connubii dotem eſſe, libertatem fidei: Nunc autem formidantur Acta & Concilia Inimicorum veſtrorum. Et cum Religio Orthodoxa Regali Diademate in optima Regina coronetur; iſti tamen non deſunt qui filiis noſtris audeant Carcerem, & Supplicia minitari! Credimus eſſe inter vos qui mortificationem Jeſu Chriſti proprio Corpore circumferre cupiunt, & blanditias voluptatis, atque ambitionis titulos, poſt habeant Lanienæ Carnificum, ac Vinculorum Contumeliis. Siqui tamen iſtinc ſunt quos præſentis etiam proſperitatis deſiderium teneat, eos certiores fieri cupimus de illorum ſalute mirificè ſollicitam eſſe Pontificiam Charitatem. Nullum à nobis relinquitur Officium quod minacem ingruentis tempeſtatis caliginem poſſit in optatam Conſolationis auram convertere: tamen ſi dilatet infernus os ſuum & Martyrum ſanguinem ſitiat impacata Crudelitas, armari debetis Scuto inexpugnabili bonæ voluntatis, & Cœlum in Carcere, Coronam in Equuleo, Immortalitatem in Morte, cogitare. Inter Britannicos naufragantis Religionis Scopulos Crux Chriſti fuit Tabula quæ vos perduxit in Portum bonæ voluntatis veſtræ. Hanc opus eſt amplexari in præſentia, cujus virtute dulceſcet amarities pœnarum. Cogitate dilecti Filii in qua ſtatione commoremini, & quorum Oculis facti ſitis Spectaculum. Vos Angelicæ Legiones circumvolitant quæ phialis aureis deſideria Fidelium excipiunt, & ad Sanctuarium ferunt Miſericordiâ Omnipotentis. Patefactis Cœli foribus ſpectat idem & munerator Chriſtus, vobis ſacros civium veſtrorum Triumphos oſtendit, quos Anglia proprio Sanguine intulit Cœlitum Conciliis. Anxiæ preces ſuſpirantis Eccleſiæ vobis à Deo petunt Spiritum Charitatis & Fortitudinis: Veſtram ſalutem juvant concilia ſenatus Apoſtolici, & vota Chriſtianitatis. In tanto Cœli terrarumque theatro, quem vobis Conſcientiæ victricis vigorem, quam Animi triumphantis Sublimitatem ineſſe decet? Fuerunt in conſimili diſcrimine concilia Majorum veſtrorum: Lumina Spiritus Sancti & arma lucis: Sint verba veſtra Oracula Sapientiæ, ſint veſtræ actiones exempla fortitudinis: Quod ſi eoúſque vis progredietur ut vos ad noxium illud & illicitum Anglicanæ fidelitatis Juramentum adigat, mementote Nationem veſtram ab univerſo Angelorum ſpectantium conſeſſu audiri; & adhæreat Lingua veſtra faucibus veſtris priuſquam Autoritatem Beati Petri, eâ juris jurandi formula imminutum eatis. Non enim ibi id ſolum agitur uti fides Regi ſervetur, ſed ut ſacrum univerſæ Eccleſiæ Sceptrum eripiatur vicariis Dei Omnipotentis. Quod fœlicis Recordationis Paulus Quintus Prædeceſſor noſter in tam gravi deliberatione

ratione decrevit, id omnino tanquam edictum veritatis ſervare debetis dilecti filii: Tributum hoc Principi Apoſtolorum debitum, nulla hominum miræ aut blanditiæ unquam à vobis extorqueant: qui ſecus ſuadent ii viſionem mendacem, & Divinationem fraudulentam prophetant vobis. Citius enim vero Chriſtiano debet Potentiarum gladius vitam eripere quam fidem. Quod ſi Angelus etiam de Cœlo deſcendens vos aliter quam Veritas Apoſtolica doceat Anathema ſit. Nos interea Patrem Luminum orabimus, ne excæcari patiatur cor Anglicani Regis qui certè diſcere debebit quanta in iis quæ polliceri Poteſtis fides habenda ſit Catholicis Subditis, qui ne ſe Perjurii alligent, malunt Spiritum emittere, quam Vocem. Ut autem virtus veſtra inveniatur prætioſior auro quod igne probatur docete Regnum iſtud tantam non ineſſe vim Hoſtium Sævitiæ, ut in Cordibus veſtris poſſit æternum Charitatis Ignem extinguere. Orate pro perſequentibus vos: Humilitas, Concordia, Jejunium, Oratio, Arma ſunt quæ in tam ſæva Dimicatione debetis diſtringere, ut palmæ Cæleſtium Triumphorum floreſcant in Manibus veſtris. Cum enim ipſius Chriſti Carnifices vetitus ſit Beatus Petrus gladio vulnerare, hortamur vos præſens Eccleſiæ bonum præ Oculis habentes ut cogitetis interea cogitationes pacis, & Regi etiam dum mortalem vitam adimit, æternam vitam exoptetis. Ita belligerari fas eſt Milites Chriſti ſub Vexillo Crucis, confundantur ora loquentium iniqua, cum odiſſe etiam neſciatis qui vos excruciant. Cæterum Dominus qui poteſt triſtitiam veſtram in gaudium convertere erit a dextris veſtris ne commoveamini, & illius Teſtamenti nunquam obliviſcetur quo Hæriditatem Regni cæleſtis imitatoribus ſuis legavit. Complectimur noſtris Apoſtolicæ Charitatis Brachiis dilecti Filii, quibus paternum Patrocinium pollicemur, & Benedictionem noſtram permanentem impartimur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub Annulo Piſcatoris 30 die Maii. 1626. Pontificatûs noſtri tertio.

Johannes Campholus.

A tergo
Dilectis Filiis Catholicis Anglicanis.

Num. CX.

King Charles *the Firſt's Letter to Archbiſhop* Laud, *for encouraging the* Greek *Preſs.*

Regiſt. Laud. *Part* 1. *fol.* 194. A. D. 1633.

MOſt reverend Father in God, right truſty and right entirely beloved Councellor, We greet you well. Whereas Our Servant *Patrick Young*, Keeper of our Library, hath lately with great Induſtry and Care, publiſhed ~~in~~ Print an Epiſtle of *Clemens Romanus* in *Greek* and *Latin*, which was never printed before, and has done this to the Benefit of the Church, and Our great Honour; the Manuſcript by which he printed it being in Our Library. And whereas We further underſtand, that the right reverend Father in God, *Auguſtin Lyndſell* now Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and Our ſaid Servant *Patrick Young*, are reſolved to make ready for the Preſs, one or more *Greek* Copies every Year, by ſuch Manuſcripts as are either in Our *Library*, or in the Libraries of Our Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, or elſewhere, if there were *Greek* Letters, Mattrices, and Money ready for the Work, which Pains of theirs will tend to the great Honour of Our Self, this Church and Nation: We have thought good to give them all poſſible Encouragement herein. And do therefore firſt require you, that the Fine, lately impoſed by *Our High Commiſſioners* upon *Robert Barker* and *Martin Lucas*, for baſe and corrupt printing of the Bible, being the Sum of three hundred Pounds, be converted to the preſent buying of ſuch and ſo many *Greek* Letters and Mattrices, as ſhall be by you thought fit for this great and honourable Work. And Our further Will and Pleaſure is, that the ſaid *Robert Barker* and *Martin Lucas*, Our Pattentees for printing, which either now are, or ſhall hereafter ſucceed them, being great Gainers by that *Patent*, which they hold under Us, ſhall at their own proper Coſtes and Charges of Ink, Paper, and Workmanſhip, print, or cauſe to be printed, in *Greek*, or *Greek* and *Latin*, one ſuch Volume in a Year, be it bigger or leſs, as the right reverend Father aforeſaid, or Our Servant *Patrick Young*, or any other of Our learned Subjects ſhall provide and make ready for the Preſs.

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 13th Day of *January*, in the IXth Year of Our Reign.

Num. CXI.

Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church of New England, *received* 1634.

Paper Office, A. D. 1634.

CAnones Regiminis Eccleſiaſtici conſtituti, & in reformatis Eccleſiis Nov-Anglicanis obſervati, breviter, in ordinem digeſti.

1. Quatuor potiſſimum Miniſterii ordines.
   - Miniſtri.
   - Doctores.
   - Seniores.
   - Diaconi.

De Miniſtris.

Ad verbi miniſterium nemo admittatur ſine legitimâ Vocatione, Electione, juſtoque Examine Doctrinæ vitæque anteactæ.

Ad Electionem Miniſtri requiruntur ſequentia.

1. Celebretur jejunium.
2. Nominetur à Presbyterio & Claſſe.
3. Examinetur ab utriſque.
4. Siſtatur coram Magiſtratu & tota Eccleſiâ ut intra dies quatuordecem tacitis Fidilium Suffragiis comprobetur.
5. Confirmetur coram Eccleſia cum Oratione ad Deum, & Exhortatione ad populum, poſtquam ad iſta interrogata reſponderit.

1. An ſe legitimè ſentiat ad hoc Miniſterium vocatum?
2. An ſola biblica ſcripta pro Dei Verbo recipiat?
3. An ea fideliter Populo prædicare velit?
4. An ſe ſubjiciat Eccleſiaſticæ Diſciplinæ?

Qui ſemel legitime in ſacro Miniſterio ſunt confirmati, illud dum vivunt non deſerent, niſi legitima incidat occaſio, de qua judicium erit penes Synodum.

Fidei Paſtoris & Miniſtri officia ſunt.

1. Verbum Dei cum Reverentia & Simplicitate prædicare.
2. Sacramenta adminiſtrare.
3. In Oratione perſeverare.
4. Diſciplinam Eccleſiaſticam exercere.
5. Procurare ut omnia decenter & in ordine peragantur.

Honeſta & juſta Merces Miniſtro danda eſt.

Siquis Senio vel Morbo fiat ad Miniſterium inutilis, ab Eccleſiâ nihilominus alendus eſt.

De Miniſtrorum Viduis & Orphanis habenda ſimiliter eſt ratio.

Nullus Miniſter in Miniſtros alios Primatum aut Dominatum habebit, ſed equaliter Eccleſiaſticum Onus ferent.

Si Miniſter in hoc ſacro Munere ſe non condignè geſſerit adeo ut Infamiæ notam ſibi inuſſerit, à Miniſterio ſuſpendatur, vel deponatur, idque Magiſtratûs conſenſu.

II. De Doctoribus nondum viſum eſt aliquid conſtituere.

III. De Senioribus.

1. Eliganter Seniores à Verbi Miniſtris, & Conventu Eccleſiaſtico cum jejunio, & oratione ad Deum, & confirmentur in Eccleſiâ.

2. Munus Seniorum eſt cum Verbi Miniſtris Gregi invigilare, Eccleſiæ membra inviſere, Ægrotos conſolari, ſcandala ad Conſiſtorium deferre, cum Verbi Miniſtris de ſcandalis judicare, & quantum poterunt ex Eccleſiâ tollere.

3. Numerus Seniorum ſit pro arbitrio neceſſitate cujuſque Eccleſiæ.

IV. De Diaconis.

1. Diaconi ſunt eligendi & confirmandi eo modo quo Seniores.

Diaconorum Munus eſt.

1. Eleemoſynas & alia Pauperum Bona diligenter colligere.

2. Fideliter & diſcrete diſtribuere.

3. Pauperes & Ægros amanter inviſere & conſolari.

4. Ne inutiliter Eleemoſynæ conſumantur vigilanter proſpicere.

5. Collectæ & expoſitæ pecuniæ rationem, ſingulis Menſibus coram Synedrio Eccleſiaſtico reddent.

In omnibus Eccleſiis ſive naſcentibus, ſive vegetis, Prophetiæ ordo ex Pauli inſtituto obſervetur.

Ad hoc Collegium cooptentur non modo Miniſtri, ſed etiam ex Senioribus & Diaconis, atque adeo ex ipſa Plebe, ſiqui ſunt qui donum ſuum à Domino acceptum, in communem Eccleſiæ utilitatem conferre velint; ita tamen ut prius Miniſtrorum atque aliorum probentur judicio.

1. Unaquæque Eccleſia ſuum habeat Conſiſtorium ex Verbi Miniſtro vel Miniſtris, & Senioribus dictæ Eccleſiæ, conſiſtens; qui ſingulis ſeptimanis ad minimum ſemel convenient ad res incidentes pertractandum.

2. Verbi Miniſtri per vices præſideant, deſignetur ſcriba, qui notatu digna ſcripta conſignet.

3. Præſidis Officium eſt.

1. Ex ordine ſententias rogare.
2. Loquacibus ſilentium imponere.
3. Ex collatis ſuffragiis res concludere.

Quod in Conſiſtorio commodè terminari non poteſt, ad Claſſicum Conventum deferatur.

Claſſicalis Conventus conſiſtat ex Verbi Miniſtris & Senioribus Vicinarum aliquot Eccleſiarum. Huic Conventui Miniſtris & Senioribus etiam non deſignatis intereſſe liceat, & ſententiam dicere: Interim deſignatorum ſententiæ ſuffragii vires tantum obtinebunt: Synodus eſt Conventus vicinarum Claſſium.

Ex unaquaque Claſſe duo Miniſtri & Seniores duo deſignentur qui ſingulis annis ad minimum ſemelconveniant, & in Conventu Claſſico quod commodè decidi non poterit, ad Synodum deferatur.

Sancti Baptiſmi Sacramentum à ſolis verbi Miniſtris eſt adminiſtrandum, unica vel trina tinctio cenſetur ἀδιάφορα.

Infantibus non ſunt danda Nomina barbara, ſuperſtitioſa, ſed in ſacris Literis expreſſa.

Pueri Peregrinorum ad Baptiſmum ne afferantur, nec aliorum, niſi qui ſunt Membra Eccleſiæ.

Sacra Cœna Dominica à ſolis verbi Miniſtris eſt adminiſtranda.

Nemo ad Cœnam admittatur niſi qui Fidei Confeſſionem ante reddiderit, Diſciplinæ Eccleſiaſticæ ſe ſubjecerit, & vitæ inculpatæ Teſtes produxerit.

Fractio panis neceſſaria omnino cenſetur.

Verba ſanctæ Cœnæ præcepta, & Apoſtoli Pauli Declarationi conſentanea, ſunt retinenda.

Liberum eſt ſtando, ſedendo, vel eundo Cœnam celebrare, non autem geniculando, ob ἀρτολατρείας periculum.

Ante Cœnæ diem fiat Concio preparatoria, & à Concione inter Miniſtros, Seniores, & Diaconos fraterna exerceatur cenſura.

Neque Mulier preſumat ſacris Cœtibus adeſſe, niſi capite velamine tecto.

Vigilandum eſt ne ulla Eccleſia, neglectâ Eccleſiaſticâ Diſciplinâ inſtituatur.

Conſtat autem Diſciplina, tum in Cenſurâ Doctrinæ, tum in legitimâ Morum Correctione, in juſto Clavium à Domino Eccleſiæ datarum uſu.

Hæc Correctio & Cenſura nequaquam Delinquentem liberat à Civili Judicio & Magiſtratûs Gladio.

Si quis peccaverit in Doctrinæ Puritate, ſive Morum Sanctitate, ſi occultum ſit, obſervabitur Regula quam præſcribit Chriſtus, Matt. 18.

Si privatâ admonitione fratrem lucratus es, noli ejus crimen ad Conſiſtorium deferre; ſed ſi duos aut tres fideliter admonentes non audierit, deferatur, ut in viam reducatur.

Peccata ſuâ Naturâ publica aut per admonitionis privatæ contemptum, publica, ex totius Conſiſtorii arbitrio modo & formâ, ad ædificationem maximè accomodata, ſunt corrigenda.

Qui pertinaciter Conſiſtorii admonitiones rejecerit à Cœna Domini ſuſpèndatur.

Si ſuſpenſus poſt iteratas Admonitiones nullum Pœnitentiæ ſignum dederit, ad Excommunicationem procedat Eccleſia.

Proceſſus ad Excommunicationem ſic erit.

Miniſter à ſuggeſto (peccatoris nomine occultato) quid cum gravi quodam Peccatore actum ſit ſignificabit: Et Eccleſiam ut pro peccatore impenitenti ſedulò oret, movebit.

Peccatoris nomen præ Cœtu publicabit, & ſignificabit, ni reſipiſcat excommunicandum eſſe: Si ne ſic quidem ad reſipiſcendum adduci poteſt, coram Eccleſia pertinacis hujuſmodi Peccatoris à Corpore Eccleſiæ fiet Excommunicatio & Abſciſſio.

Movebuntur Fideles ne familiarem, & non neceſſariam cum excommunicato conſuetudinem habeant: Sed ejus Conſortium vitent, hoc præcipue Conſilio ut pudore ſuffuſus Excommunicatus de Repſipiſcentiâ ſerio cogitet.

Qui gravia & Eccleſiæ probroſa commiſit peccata (ei etiam ſi verbis pœnitentiam teſtetur) à Cœnæ tamen Communione aliquot diebus, pro Conſiſtorii arbitrio ſuſpendatur.

Si Miniſter aut Senior, aut Diaconus aliquo crimine (quod Deus avertat) ſe contaminaverit, ab Officio erit movendus; ſi autem Crimine aliquo occulto teneatur, à Claſſico Conventu cenſuram expectet, pro criminis magnitudine vel levitate.

Ut huic Cenſuræ Ordo commodius obſervetur, utile erit in binos, vel minimum in trinos menſes Claſſium cujuſque Conventum haberi, in quo de hujuſmodi rebus diligens fiat exploratio.

Claſſium Conventus non ſemper uno habendus eſt voce (*forſan loco*) ita ut Eccleſiarum alterius in alteram cenſura impediatur; tum vero ut ſingularum Eccleſiarum exploratio fiat diligentior, de Verbi

Doctrina, vitæ Ceremoniis (forſan Sanctimoniâ) ac Diſciplinæ ratione.

(*Hic Articulus, Librarii vitio, ſenſus eſt impeditioris.*)

Concluſio.

Hi Articuli ad legitimum ordinem Eccleſiæ ſpectantes, ita mutuo conſenſu ſunt conſtituti; ut ſi utilitas Eccleſiarum aliud poſtulet, mutari, augeri, & minui poſſunt & debent. Non erit tamen privatæ alicujus Eccleſiæ id facere: ſed dabunt omnes operam ut illas obſervent donec Synodo aliter conſtituatur.

Num. CXII.

A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado, or Apoſtate from the Chriſtian Religion to Turciſm.

Regiſt. Laud. fol. 290. A.D. 1637. LET the Offender's Conviction be firſt judicially had before the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, that ſo they may ſtand (*apud Acta*) his Detection or Confeſſion, and that thereupon an Excommunication be decreed and denounced, both in the Cathedral and Pariſh Church where he lives; yet ſo as that upon his Submiſſion there in Court, he may be abſolved in *diem*, and the Form of his Penance enjoined him in manner following;

Let the Miniſter of the Place have frequent Conference with the Party in private, lay open and aggravate the heinouſneſs of this Sin, both in reſpect of God, the Church and his own Soul, and ſee whether his Conſcience be troubled with any other grievous Crime, that ſo he may be the better fitted for Abſolution of all together.

Let there be an Order decreed in Court, referring him to the Miniſter of the Place, to ſee his Penance performed accordingly, and to reconcile him to the Church, and let that Order be publiſhed in the Pariſh Church, on a *Sunday* at Morning Prayer next before the Communion Service.

The next *Sunday* following, let the Offender be appointed to ſtand all the time of divine Service and Sermon in the Porch, (order muſt be taken that Boys and idle People flock not about him) of the Church, (if it have any) if none, yet without the Church-door (if extremity of Weather hinder not) in a penitent faſhion, in a white Sheet, with a white Wand in his Hand, his Head uncovered, his Countenance dejected, not taking particular notice of any one Perſon that paſſes him. And when the People come in and go out of the Church, let him, upon his Knees humbly crave their Prayers, and acknowledge his Offence in this Form;

Good Chriſtians, remember in your Prayers a poor wretched Apoſtate or Renegado.

The ſecond *Sunday* let him ſtand in the Church Porch, and in his penitential Habit, as before; and then after the *Te Deum* ended, let him be brought in by one of the Church Wardens, ſo far as to the weſt ſide of the Font of the ſaid Church, there let him penitentially kneel till the ſecond Leſſon be ended; then let him make his Submiſſion, and ask mercy of God in the Form following;

O Lord God of Heaven and Earth, be merciful to me a moſt wretched Sinner: (This ſaid, let him ſmite his Breaſt three times) *I confeſs, O Lord, I have juſtly deſerved to be utterly renounced by thee, becauſe I have yielded to renounce my Saviour, and that holy Profeſſion which I had formerly made of his Name, whereby I was received into thy Church. O God forgive me this heinous and horrible Sin, with all other my grievous Sins againſt thee; and let me, upon thy gracious Pardon and infinite Mercy, be reſtored to the Rights and Benefit of this bleſſed Sacrament, which I have ſo wickedly abjured, and be received, tho' moſt unworthy, into thy gracious Favour, and the Communion of thy faithful People, even for thy great Mercy ſake, in Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Lord and Saviour.*

Which done, let him, in an humble and devout Manner, kiſs the bottom Stone of the Font, ſtrike his Breaſt, and preſently depart into the Church-porch, as before.

The third *Sunday*, let him, at the beginning of the divine Service, be brought into the Body of the Church, and be placed near the Miniſter's Pew, and there let him ſtand in his penitential Habit, during the time of divine Service; where the Miniſter, immediately before the Apoſtle's Creed, ſhall publickly put the Offender in mind of the foulneſs of his Sin, and ſtir him up to a ſerious Repentance, adviſing him, that a ſlight and ordinary Sorrow is not enough for ſo grievous an Offence. ----- Which done, the Miniſter ſhall ask the Penitent publickly, whether he have found a true and earneſt Remorſe in his Soul for this Sin; and whether he has thoroughly humbled himſelf before God for it, and whether he does deſire that the whole Congregation ſhould take notice of his Humiliation and Repentance.

In ſignification whereof the Offender ſhall ſay theſe Words, or to the like Effect, after the Miniſter,

I (let him here name himſelf, both by his Chriſtian and his Sirname) *do here*, in the preſence of Almighty God, *and before you his faithful People, humbly and penitently confeſs, that I have grievouſly offended the Majeſty of God, and deeply wounded my own Soul, in that I ſo far yielded to the weakneſs of my ſinful Fleſh, as that I ſuffered my ſelf, through the Cruelty of God's Enemies, to be miſcarried, to the renouncing of my dear Saviour, and that true Chriſtian Religion wherein I was brought up: I do well know what I have deſerved, both at the Hands of God, and of his Church, for this wicked and graceleſs Act: And now, as I have often heretofore, betwixt God and mine own Soul, waſhed this Sin with my Tears, and and craved his merciful Forgiveneſs; ſo I beſeech you all to take Knowledge of this my Sorrow and publick Humiliation, and both to pardon and forgive that juſt Offence which I have herein given to you alſo, and the whole Church of Chriſt; and alſo to join with me in humble and hearty Prayers to Almighty God, that he will be pleaſed to ſeal unto my Soul, the full Pardon and Remiſſion of this my grievous Sin, even for the ſake of his dear Son, my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer; in whoſe Name and Words I deſire you to accompany theſe my Prayers, ſaying with me, Our Father*, &c. After this the Miniſter, ſhall ſpeak to the Congregation to this Effect.

Seeing now, dear Chriſtian Brethren, that this Offender has given ſo good and full Teſtimony of his true Repentance, and has ſo humbly and fervently craved the forgiveneſs of God and his Church, I ſhall not need to uſe many Words in perſwading you, how ready you ought to be, both to conceive full hope of God's gracious Pardon of him, (as who is always ready to prevent and meet us in our turning to him) and alſo to profeſs your forgiveneſs of him, for ſo much as concerns his Offence towards you, and charitably to embrace him with the Arms of tender Pity and Compaſſion, as a true Chriſtian Convert to his Saviour: Gladly to welcome him into that holy Communion, which his ſinful fear and frailty cauſed him to forſake; now therefore I do earneſtly beſeech you, in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt our bleſſed Saviour, to paſs by the great Offence of this ſorrowful Penitent, as well conſidering the weakneſs of our frail Nature, when it is over preſſed with violence and extremity of Torments, and both to commiſerate his fearful *Apoſtacy*, and to encourage and comfort him in this happy return to Chriſt and his Church.

Here let the Penitent kneel down again Eaſtward, and bowing to the very Pavement, let him ſay thus, either by himſelf, if he be able to read it, or elſe after the Miniſter.

O my Soul, bleſs the Lord; bleſſed by the Father of Mercies, and the God of all Conſolation: Bleſſed be the Lord Jeſus, the Son of God, the Saviour of the World: Bleſſed by the Holy Spirit, God the Holy Ghoſt: Bleſſed be the holy Trinity, one God everlaſting: Bleſſed be the holy Catholick Church, and all you the Servants of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The Name of God be bleſſed evermore for the Aſſembly of his Saints, and for the divine Ordinances of his moſt holy Word *and Sacraments, and of his heavenly Power committed to his holy Prieſts in his Church, for the Reconciliation of Sinners unto himſelf, and the abſolving them from all their Iniquity: Lo! here I, upon the bended Knees of my Body and Soul, moſt humbly beg the Aſſiſtance of all your Chriſtian Prayers, and the Benefit of that his holy Ordinance. And I humbly beſeech you (Sir) as my ghoſtly Father, a Prieſt of God, and the Churches Deputy, to receive me into that Grace, and into the Boſom of the Church; and by looſing me from the Bands of my grievous Sins, to make me partake of that ineſtimable Benefit, and ſo to reconcile me unto the myſtical Body of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord and Saviour.*

Then let the Prieſt come forth to him, and ſtand over him, and laying his Hand on his Head, ſay as is preſcribed in the Book of Common Prayer, thus;

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has left Power to his Church, to abſolve all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thine Offences; and by his Authority committed to me, I abſolve thee from this heinous Crime of Renunciation, *and from all other thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Amen.

Then let the Prieſt, turning himſelf Eaſtward, kneel down in the ſame Place, the *Penitent* kneeling behind him, and ſay the Collect which ſtands after the *Abſolution* in the Viſitation of the Sick, but changing the latter part of it thus;

O moſt merciful God, who according to the multitude of thy Mercies, doth ſo put away the Sins of thoſe which truly repent, that thou remembreſt them no more; open thine Eye of Mercy upon this thy Servant, who moſt earneſtly deſires Pardon and Forgiveneſs, renew in him, moſt loving Father, whatſoever has been decayed by the Fraud and Malice of the Devil, or by his own carnal Will and Frailneſs; preſerve and continue him in the unity of the Church, conſider his Contrition, and accept his Humiliation: And foraſmuch as he puts his full Truſt only in thy Mercy, impute not unto him his former Abnegation *of thee; but receive him into thy Favour, thro' the Merits of thy beloved Son Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour.* Amen.

After that let the Miniſter take him up, and take away his white Sheet and Wand, and taking him by the Hand, ſay unto him;

Dear Brother (for ſo we all now acknowledge you to be) *let me here adviſe you, with what Care and Diligence evry Day of your Life, you ought to conſider how much you are bound to the Infinite Goodneſs of God, who has called you out of that woful Condition, whereinto you had caſt your ſelf; and how much it concerns you ever hereafter to walk worthy of ſo great a Mercy, being ſo much more careful to approve your ſelf in all holy Obedience to God, by how much more you have diſhonoured him by this your ſhameful revolt from him, which the ſame God the Father of Mercies, vouchſafe to enable you unto, for the ſake of the dear Son of his Love, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous.* Amen.

After this let him be openly promiſed, that upon any Communion-Day following, he ſhall be admitted to the Holy Sacrament; for which let him be directed to prepare himſelf. And when he receives, let him make a ſolemn Oblation, according to his Ability, after the Order ſet down in the *Service-Book*.

Num. CXIII.

The Sentence of Depoſition, &c. pronounc'd againſt Mr. John Guthry *Biſhop of* Murray, *Mr.* John Graham *Biſhop of* Orkney, *Mr.* James Ferley *Biſhop of* Liſmoir, *Mr.* Neile Campbell *Biſhop of the Iſles; by the Pretended Aſſembly at* Glaſcow.

THE General Aſſembly having heard the Libels and Complaints given in againſt the foreſaid pretended Biſhops, to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and ſundry Presbyteries within their Dioceſs, and by the ſaid Presbyteries referred to this *Aſſembly* to be tryed; the ſaid pretended Biſhops being lawfully cited, often times called, and not compeering, proceeded to the Cognition of the Complaints and Libels exhibited againſt them; and finding them guilty of the Breach of the Cautions agreed upon in the Aſſembly of *Montroſe*, *Anno* 1600, for reſtricting of the Miniſter-Votes in Parliament, from incroaching upon the Liberties and Juriſdictions of this Kirk, which was ſet down with Certification of Depoſition, Infamy, and Excommunication; and eſpecially for receiving Conſecration to the Office of Epiſcopacy, condemned by the *Confeſſion of Faith*, and *Acts* of this Kirk, as having no Warrant nor Fundament in the Word of God; but by vertue of this uſurp'd Power, and Power of the *High-Commiſſions*, preſſing the Kirk with Novations in the Worſhip of God; and for their refuſal to underly the Tryal of the reigning Slander and of ſundry other groſs Tranſgreſſions and Offences laid to their Charge. Therefore the *Aſſembly* moved with Zeal to the Glory of God, and purging of this Kirk, ordains the ſaid pretended Biſhops to be depoſed, and by theſe Preſents doth depoſe them, not only of the Office of Commiſſionary to vote in *Parliament*, *Council*, or *Convention*, in the Name of the Kirk; but alſo of all Functions, whether of Pretended Epiſcopal, or Miniſterial Calling; and likewiſe in caſe they acknowledge not this *Aſſembly*, reverence not the Conſtitution thereof, and obey not the Sentence, and make not their Repentance conform to the Order preſcrib'd by this *Aſſembly*, ordains them to be excommunicated, and declared to be of theſe whom Chriſt commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the Faithful, as *Ethnicks* and *Publicans*, and the Sentence of Excommu-

Ruſhworth. *Hiſt. Collect. part 2d. pag.* 865. A. D. 1638.

communication to be pronounced upon their Refuſal, in the Kirks appointed by any of theſe who are particularly named, to have the Charge of trying their Repentance or Impenitency. And that the Execution of this Sentence be intimate in all the Kirks within this Realm, by Paſtors of every particular Congregation, as they will be anſwerable to their *Presbyteries* or *Synods*, or the next General *Aſſembly*, in caſe of negligence of the *Presbyteries* and *Synods*.

Num. CXIV.

The Earl of Traquair, Lord High Commiſſioner for Scotland, *his Inſtructions with Reference to the General Aſſembly at* Glaſcow.

C. R.

July 27. A.D. 1639. Ruſhworth *Hiſt. Collect. part 2. pag.* 949.

AT the firſt meeting of the Aſſembly, before it be brought in diſpute who ſhall preſide, you ſhall appoint him who was Moderator in the laſt Aſſembly to preſide in this, till a new Moderator be choſen.

We allow that Lay-Elders ſhall be admitted Members of this Aſſembly, but in Caſe of the Election of Commiſſioners for Presbyteries, the Lay-Elders have had Voice, you ſhall declare againſt the Informality thereof; as alſo againſt Lay-Elders having Voice in fundamental Points of Religion.

At the firſt opening of the Aſſembly, you ſhall ſtrive to make the Aſſembly ſenſible of our Goodneſs.-----And that for great and weighty Conſiderations, we have commanded the Archbiſhops and Biſhops not to appear at this Aſſembly.

You ſhall not make uſe of the Aſſeſſors in publick, unleſs you find you ſhall be able to carry their having Vote in the Aſſembly.

You ſhall labour to your utmoſt, that there be no Queſtion made about the laſt Aſſembly; and in caſe it come to the worſt, whatever ſhall be done in Ratification, or with relation to the former Aſſembly, our Will is that you declare the ſame to be done as an Act of this Aſſembly, and that you conſent thereto only upon theſe Terms, and no ways as having any Relation to the former Aſſembly.

You ſhall by all means ſhun the Diſpute about our Power in Aſſemblies; and if it ſhall be urged, or offered to be diſputed, whether we have the negative Voice, or the ſole Power of indicting, and conſequently of diſſolving, except you ſee clearly that you can carry the ſame in our favour, ſtop the Diſpute; and rather than it be decided againſt us, ſtop the Courſe of the Aſſembly until we be advertiſed.

For the better facilitating of our other Services, &c. we allow you to declare, That notwithſtanding our own Inclination, or any other Conſiderations, we are contented for our Peoples full Satisfaction to remit Epiſcopacy, and the Eſtate of the Biſhops, to the Freedom of the Aſſembly; but ſo as no reſpect be had to the Determination of the Point in the laſt Aſſembly.

But in giving way to the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, be careful that it be done without any Warrant from the Biſhops; and if any offer to appear for them, you are to enquire for their Warrant, and carry the Diſpute ſo, as the Concluſion may ſeem not to be made in Prejudice of Epiſcopacy, as unlawful, but only in Satisfaction to the People for ſettling the preſent Diſorders, and ſuch other Reaſons of State.

The General Aſſembly is not to meddle with any thing that is Civil, or which formerly has been eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament, but upon his Majeſty's ſpecial Command or Warrant.

We will not allow of any Commiſſioner from the Aſſembly, or any ſuch Act, as may give ground for the continuing of the *Tables* or Conventicles.

In caſe Epiſcopacy be aboliſh'd at this Aſſembly, you are to labour, that we may have the Power of chooſing ſo many Miniſters as may repreſent the fourteen Biſhops in Parliament; or if that can't be, that fourteen others whom we ſhall preſent, be agreed to, with a Power to chuſe the *Lords of the Articles* for the Nobility for this Time, till the Buſineſs be farther conſider'd.

We allow that Epiſcopacy be aboliſh'd for the Reaſons contain'd in the Articles, and the Covenant of 1580, for the Satisfaction of our People be ſubſcrib'd; provided it be ſo conceiv'd that thereby our Subjects be not forc'd to abjure Epiſcopacy as a Point of Popery, or contrary to God's Law, or the Proteſtant Religion; but if they require it to be abjur'd, as contrary to the Conſtitution of the Church of *Scotland*, you are to give way to it rather than make a Breach.

Some part of the Inſtructions foreign to the Argument have been omitted.

The King at his Return to London *wrote the following Letter to the Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews.

Num. CXV.

Right Truſty and Well-beloved Councellor, and Reverend Father in God, we greet you well.

Auguſt 6. A. D. 1639. Ruſhworth *Hiſt. Collect. part 2. p.* 951.

YOur Letter and the reſt of the Biſhops (ſent by the Elect of *Cathneſs*) to my Lord of *Canterbury*, has by him been communicated to us: And after ſerious Conſideration of the Contents thereof, we have thought fit our ſelf to return this Anſwer to you for Direction, according to our Promiſe, which you are to communicate to the reſt of your Brethren.

We do in part approve of what you have adviſed concerning the prorogating the Aſſembly and Parliament, and muſt acknowledge it to be grounded on Reaſon enough, were Reaſon only to be thought on in this Buſineſs: But conſidering the preſent State of our Affairs, and what we have promis'd in the *Articles of Pacification*, we may not (as we conceive) without great Prejudice to our ſelf, and Service, condeſcend thereunto; wherefore we are reſolv'd (rather neceſſitated) to hold the *Aſſembly* and *Parliament* at the Time and Place appointed; and for that End we have nominated the Earl of *Traquair* our Commiſſioner; to whom we have given Inſtructions not only how to carry himſelf at the ſame, but a Charge alſo to have a ſpecial Care of your Lordſhips, and thoſe of the inferior Clergy, who have ſuffered for their Duty to God, and Obedience to our Commands. And we do hereby aſſure you, it ſhall be one of our chiefeſt Studies how to rectify and eſtabliſh the Government of that Church aright, and to repair your Loſſes, which we deſire you to be moſt confident of.

As for your *meeting* to treat of the Affairs of the Church, we do not ſee at this time how that can be done; for within our Kingdom of *Scotland*, we cannot promiſe you any Place of Safety; and in any other of our Dominions we cannot hold it convenient, all things conſider'd; wherefore we conceive, that the beſt way would be for your Lordſhips to give in, by way of *Proteſtation* or *Remonſtrance*, your Exceptions againſt the *Aſſembly* and Parliament, to our Commiſſioner, which may be ſent by any mean Man, ſo he be truſty, and deliver it at his entring into the Church; but we would not have it either read or argued in this *meeting*, where nothing but Partiality is to be expected, but to be repreſented to us by him; which we promiſe to take ſo into Conſideration as becometh a Prince ſenſible of his own Intereſt and Honour, joined with the Equity of your Deſires; and you may reſt ſecure, that though perhaps we may give way for the preſent to that which will be prejudicial both to the Church, and our own Government, yet we ſhall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both.

We muſt likewiſe intimate unto you, that we are ſo far from conceiving it expedient for you, or any of my Lords of the Clergy, to be preſent at this meeting, as we do abſolutely diſcharge you going thither; and for your Abſence, this ſhall be to you, and every of you, a ſufficient Warrant. In the interim, your beſt Courſe will be to remain in our Kingdom of *England*, till ſuch time as you receive our farther Order, where we ſhall provide for your Subſiſtence; though not in that Meaſure as we could wiſh, yet in ſuch a way as you ſhall not be in want.

Thus you have our Pleaſure briefly ſignify'd unto you, which we doubt not but you will take in good part. You cannot but know that what we do in this we are neceſſitated to, ſo we bid you farewel.

Witehall, *Aug.* 6. 1639. *C. R.*

Num. CXVI.

Farther Inſtructions given to the Earl of Traquair, *Lord High Commiſſioner at the General Aſſembly at* Edinborough.

Charles R.

Right Truſty,

Ruſhworth *Hiſt. Collect. part* 2. *p.* 953.

WE have hitherto commanded *Hamilton* to anſwer ſeveral of your Letters, but that of the ſixteenth of *Auguſt* being of more weight than any of your former, we have thought fit to anſwer it our ſelf.

And whereas you ſay nothing will ſatisfy them except *in Terminis* the laſt Aſſembly be nam'd and ratify'd, or that way be given to the diſcharging of Epiſcopacy as abjur'd in that Church, as contrary to the *Confeſſion of Faith* in 1580, and the Conſtitutions of the ſame. You being yet in ſome Hope that the Word *abjur'd* may be got chang'd, and that in drawing up the Words of the Act it be only condemn'd as contrary to the Conſtitution of the Church. We in this Point leave you to your Inſtructions, they being full, if you conſider what we have ſaid concerning *Epiſcopacy*, and ſubſcribing the *Confeſſion of Faith* in 1580. We thinking it fit to declare hereupon unto you, That let their Madneſs be what it will, farther than we have declar'd in our Inſtructions in theſe Points, we will not go.

For the *Service-Book* and Book of *Canons*, though we have been and are content they be diſcharg'd, yet we will never give our Voice nor Aſſent that they be condemn'd, as containing divers Heads of Popery and Superſtition. In like manner, though we have been and are content, that the *High-Commiſſion* be diſcharg'd, yet we will never acknowledge that it is without Law, or deſtructive to the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Judicatures of that our Kingdom. Nor that the *five Articles* of *Perth*, tho' diſcharg'd with our Approbation, be condemn'd as contrary to the foreſaid *Confeſſion*.

As concerning the late *Aſſemblies*, we can't give our Conſent to have them declar'd null, ſince they were ſo notoriouſly our Father (of happy Memory) his Acts; it ſeeming ſtrange that we having condeſcended to the taking away theſe things that they complain'd of, which were done in thoſe *Aſſemblies*, they will not be content therewith, without laying an Aſperſion on our Father's Actions.

Wherefore if the Aſſembly will, in Deſpight of your Endeavour, conclude contrary to this, you are to proteſt againſt their Proceedings in theſe Points, and be ſure not to ratify them in Parliament.

The Article in your Inſtructions, which is only that the *Covenant* 1580 ſhall be ſubſcrib'd, you muſt have an eſpecial Care of, and how you proceed therein; that the Bond be the ſame which was in our Father's time *mutatis mutandis*; and that you give your Aſſent no otherwiſe to the Interpretations thereof, than may ſtand with our future Intentions well known to you. Nor is the ſame otherwiſe to be ratify'd in Parliament.

The reſt is omitted.

Num. CXVII.

A Letter and an Addreſs from the Univerſity of Cambridge *to the Houſe of Commons, and read in the Houſe,* May 12, 1641.

Honoratiſſimi Viris Equitibus, Civibus, & Burgenſibus, Supremæ Curiæ Parliamentariæ Senatoribus Conſultiſſimis.

Summâ cum Demiſſione.

Senatores Honoratiſſimi,

Ruſhworth *Hiſt. Collect. part* 3. *p.* 272.

NON veremur ne volventibus tanta Negotia moleſti ſimus Academia Cantabrigienſis, cum nihil ſit aut ad Religionem certiùs, aut ad Splendorem Nominis excelſius, quam ſuſcipere Literarum Clientelam. In quo ſtudio cum ſingularis Animi veſtri Propenſio ſemper eluxerit, tum nullâ in re magis poſſit eminere, quam ſi Eccleſiæ honeſtamenta ea, quæ ſub optimis Regibus tamdiu optinuerunt, indelibata tueamini.

Non enim agitur unius Academiæ, non unius ætatis cauſa; nam nec induſtria poterit non relangueſcere, nec bona Indoles ali, atque augeri, nec vota parentum non in irritum cadere, niſi ſpe non vanâ ſuffulciantur. Quam præmaturum putemus bonis Artibus Occaſum imminere, ſi ſtipendium idem Militi ſit quòd Imperatori? Sunt qui expediendis Scholaſticorum ambagibus, evolvendis antiquorum Patrum monumentis, expurgandæ fæci Romanæ, velut Augeæ ſtabulo, ſe totos impenderunt; nec aliam Mercedem prenſant, quam in Eccleſia Cathedrali, tandem aliquando quaſi in Portu conquieſcere; ita fit, ut quod ignavis aſylum inſcitiæ eſt, id Candidioribus Ingeniis pro ſtimulo ſit ad optima perſequenda, nec æquitas judiciorum veſtrorum feret improbitatem nonnullorum in publicam Calamitatem redundare. Impetigo Romana quam amplam tum ſibi nacta videbitur ſe defendendi materiam, cum non ſit niſi imbelles adverſarios habitura? Neque enim Certamini vacare poſſunt, qui id unicè agunt, ut in Roſtris Concionibus ſudent; etiamnum perſentiſcere nobis videmur nudam & inanem Academiam, & antiquam paupertatem quaſi præludio perhorreſcimus: Nec veſtra progenies non aliquando ventura eſt, in tantarum miſeriarum partes. Quin itaque, Senatores Ampliſſimi! Per ſpes Parentum, per illecebras Induſtriæ, per ſubſidia ſimul & ornamenta Pietatis, per vincula, nervos & firmamenta Literarum, velitis ſplendorem Eccleſiæ, qui longiſſimis ab uſque Temporibus, ad noſtra Tempora deductus eſt, Authoritate veſtra communire. Sed quia Lingua nativa dolores & deſideria ſua fœlicius exprimit, annexam Litteris Petitionem benevolis auribus excipietis.

Datæ è frequente Conventu noſtro Cantabr. tertio Idûs Aprilis, 1641.

Honori veſtro deditiſſimi Procancellarius, reliquuſque Cœtus Accademiæ Cantabrigienſis.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, aſſembled in Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioners having heard of divers Suggeſtions offered to this honourable Court, by way of Remonſtrance, tending to the Subverſion of Cathedral Churches, and Alienation of thoſe Lands, by which they are ſupported, being the ancient Inheritance of the Church, founded and beſtowed by the religious Bounty of many famous and renowned Kings and Princes of this Land, and other Benefactors both of the Clergy and Laity, and eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd unto them by the Laws of this Kingdom; and ſo accordingly have been employ'd to the Advancement of Learning, the Encouragement of Students, and Preferment of learned Men; beſides many other pious and charitable Uſes.

May it pleaſe this Honourable Court, out of their great Wiſdom and tender Care for the cheriſhing of Learning, and furtherance of the Studies and Pains of thoſe who have and do devote themſelves to the Service of the Church, graciouſly to protect and ſecure thoſe religious Foundations from Ruine and Alienation; and withal to take order that they may be reduc'd to the due Obſervation of their Statutes; and that all Innovations and Abuſes, which have by ſome Mens Miſcarriages crept in, may be reformed, that ſo the Students of our Univerſity, which by the preſent Fears are diſcouraged, may be the better invited to purſue their Studies with alacrity, and the Places themſelves diſpoſed to the moſt ſerviceable and deſerving Men, according to their firſt Inſtitution.

And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

The Application of the Univerſity of *Oxon*, is much to the ſame Senſe, and runs thus.

To the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, the humble Petition of the Univerſity of Oxon.

Sheweth,

Ruſhworth, *Hiſt. Collect. Part* 3. *P.* 27. Nalſon's *impartial Collect. &c. Vol.* 2. *Page* 305. Anno Dom. 1641.

THat whereas the Univerſity hath been inform'd of ſeveral Petitions concerning the preſent Government of this Church, and Maintenance of the Clergy, which have of late been exhibited to this honourable Aſſembly; we could not but think our ſelves bound in Duty to God, and this whole Nation, in Charity to our ſelves and Succeſſors, who have, and are like to have, more than ordinary Intereſt in any Reſolution that ſhall be taken concerning Church Affairs, in all Humility, to deſire the Continuance of that Form of Government, which is now eſtabliſhed here, and hath been preſerved in ſome of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, in a continued Succeſſion of *Biſhops*, down from the very Apoſtles to this preſent time, the like whereof cannot be affirmed of any other Form of Government in any Church. Upon which Conſideration, and ſuch other Motives as have been already repreſented to this honourable Parliament from other Perſons and Places (with whom we concur) in behalf of *Epiſcopacy*, we earneſtly deſire, that you would protect that Ancient and *Apoſtolical Order* from Ruine or Diminution.

And become farther Suitors for the Continuance of thoſe pious Foundations of *Cathedral Churches*, with their Lands and Revenues.

As dedicated to the Service and Honour of God, ſoon after the Plantation of Chriſtianity in the *Engliſh* Nation.

As thought fit and uſeful to be preſerved for that End, when the Nurſeries of Superſtition were demoliſh'd, and ſo continu'd in the laſt and beſt Times ſince the bleſſed Reformation, under King *Edward* 6. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, Princes renowned through the World, for their Piety and Wiſdom.

As approved and confirmed by the Laws of this Land, ancient and modern.

As the principal outward Motive and Encouragement of all Students, eſpecially in Divinity, and the fitteſt Reward of ſome deep and eminent Scholars.

As producing and nouriſhing in all Ages many godly and learned Men, who have moſt ſtrongly aſſerted the Truth of that Religion we profeſs, againſt the many fierce Oppoſitions of our Adverſaries of *Rome*.

As affording a competent Portion in an ingenuous way, to many younger Brothers of good Parentage, who devote themſelves to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel.

As the only Means of Subſiſtance to a multitude of Officers and other Miniſters, who with their Families depend upon them, and are wholly maintain'd by them.

As the main Authors or Upholders of divers Schools, Hoſpitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other publick and pious Works.

As ſpecial Cauſes of much Profit and Advantage to thoſe Cities where they are ſituate, not only by relieving their Poor, and keeping convenient Hoſpitality, but by occaſioning a frequent reſort of Strangers from other Parts, to the great Benefit of all Tradeſmen, and moſt Inhabitants in thoſe Places.

As the goodly Monuments of our Predeceſſors Piety, and preſent Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of foreign Nations.

As the chief Support of many thouſand Families of the *Laity*, who enjoy fair Eſtates from them in a free way.

As yielding a conſtant and ample Revenue to the Crown; and as by which many of the learned *Profeſſors* in our Univerſity are maintain'd.

The Subverſion or Alienation whereof muſt (as we conceive) not only be attended with ſuch Conſequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the Mouths of our Adverſaries, and of Poſterity againſt us, and is likely in Time to draw after it harder Conditions upon a conſiderable part of the *Laity*, an univerſal Cheapneſs and Contempt upon the Clergy, a lamentable drooping and defection of Induſtry and Knowledge in the *Univerſities*; which is eaſy to foreſee, but will be hard to remedy.

May it therefore pleaſe this honourable Aſſembly, upon theſe and ſuch other Conſiderations as your great Wiſdoms ſhall ſuggeſt, to take ſuch pious Care for the continuance of theſe religious Houſes, and their Revenues, according to the beſt Intentions of their Founders, as may be to the moſt furtherance of God's Glory and Service, the Honour of this Church and Nation, the Advancement of Religion and Learning, the Encouragement of the modeſt Hopes and honeſt Endeavours of many hundred Students in the Univerſities.

Who do, and ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

Dat. An. Dom. milleſimo Sexcen' quad' primo è Domo Convocationis in celebri Conventu Doctorum ac Magiſtrorum, omnibus & ſingulis Aſſentientibus.

Num. CXVIII.

King Charles *the Firſt, his Vindication of himſelf from the Miſrepreſentations of the* Aſſembly-Divines, *in a* Manifeſto *to the Proteſtants beyond Sea.*

Hiſtory of the Engliſh *and* Scotch *Presbytery written in* French *by an eminent Divine of the reformed Church, and made* Engliſh *by* Matteew Playford, *Miniſter of* Stanmore *in* Middleſex, *printed An. Dom.* 1659.

Carolus, ſingulari Omnipotentis Dei Providentia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, *&c.* univerſis & ſingulis qui præſens hoc ſcriptum ceu proteſtationem inſpexerint, potiſſimum reformatæ Religionis cultoribus cujuſcunque ſint gentis, gradûs, aut conditionis, ſalutem, *&c.*

CUM ad aures noſtras non ita pridem fama pervenerit, ſiniſtros quoſdam rumores, Literaſque politica vel pernicioſa potius, quorundam induſtriâ ſparſas eſſe, & nonnullis Proteſtantium Eccleſiis in exteris Partibus emiſſas, nobis eſſe Animum & Conſilium ab illâ orthodoxâ Religione quam ab incunabulis imbibimus, & ad hoc uſque momentum per integrum vitæ noſtræ curriculum amplexi ſumus recedendi; & Papiſmum in hæc Regna iterum introducendi. Quæ Conjectura, ſeu nefanda potius Calumnia, nullo prorſus nixa vel imaginabili Fundamento, horrendos hoſce Tumultus, & rabiem pluſquàm belluinam in Anglia ſuſcitavit ſub prætextu cujuſdam (chimericæ) Reformationis, Regimini, Legibuſque hujus Dominii non ſolum incongruæ, ſed incompatibilis: Volumus, ut toti Chriſtiano Orbi innoteſcat, ne minimam quidem animum noſtrum incidiſſe Cogitatiunculam hoc aggrediendi, aut tranſverſum unguem ab illa Religione diſcedendi, quam cum Corona, Sceptroque hujus Regni ſolemni, & ſacroſancto juramento tenemur profiteri, protegere & propugnare. Nec tantum conſtantiſſima noſtra praxis, & quotidiana in exercitiis præfatæ Religionis præſentia, cum crebris in facie noſtrorum agminum aſſeverationibus, publiciſque procerum hujus Regni teſtimoniis, & ſedulâ in Regiam noſtram ſobolem educando, circumſpectione, (omiſſis plurimis aliis argumentis) luculentiſſimè hoc demonſtrat, ſed etiam fæliciſſimum illud Matrimonium quod inter noſtram Primogenitam, & illuſtriſſimum Principem Auriacum ſponte contraximus, idem fortiſſime atteſtatur: Quo nuptiali Fœdere inſuper conſtet, nobis non eſſe propoſitum illam profiteri Solummodo, ſed expandere & corroborare quantum in nobis ſitum eſt.

Hanc ſacroſanctam Anglicanæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ Religionem, tot Thelogorum Convocationibus ſancitam, tot Comitiorum edictis confirmatam, tot Regiis Diplomatibus ſtabilitam, una cum Regimine Eccleſiaſtico, & Liturgia ei annexa, quam Liturgiam, Regimenque, celebriores Proteſtantium Authores, tam Germani quam Galli, tam Dani quam Helvetici, tam Batavi quam Bohemi, multis Elogiis, nec ſine quadam invidia, in ſuis publicis Scriptis comprobant & applaudant, ut in tranſactionibus Dordrechtanæ Synodûs, cui nonnulli noſtrorum Præſulum, quorum Dignitati debita præſtita fuit Reverentia (interfuerunt;) apparet; iſtam inquimus Religionem quam Regius noſter Pater (beatiſſimæ memoriæ) in illa celeberrima fidei ſuæ Confeſſione, omnibus Chriſtianis Principibus (ut & hæc præſens noſtra Proteſtatio exhibita) publicè aſſerit: Iſtam Religionem ſolenniter proteſtamur, nos integram, ſartam, tectam, & inviolabilem conſervaturos, & pro virili noſtro (Divino adjuvante numine) uſque ad extremam vitæ noſtræ periodum, protecturos, & omnibus noſtris Eccleſiaſticis, pro muneris noſtri, & ſupradicti Sacroſancti Juramenti ratione, doceri & prædicari curaturos. Quapropter injungimus, & in mandatis damus omnibus Miniſtris noſtris in exteris Partibus, tam Legatis, quam Reſidentibus, Agentibuſque, & Nunciis, reliquiſque noſtris Subditis ubicunque Orbis Chriſtiani Terrarum, aut Curioſitatis aut Commercii Gratia Degentibus, hanc ſolennem & ſinceram noſtram Proteſtationem, quandocunque ſeſe obtulerit loci & temporis opportunitas, communicare, aſſerere aſſeverare.

Dat. in Academia & Civitate noſtra Oxonienſi, pridie Idûs Maii, 1644.

Num. CXIX.

Conceſſions made by the Church Commiſſioners at the Savoy, *for Alterations in the Common Prayer.*

Papers that paſs'd between the Commiſſioners at the Savoy *Conference*, &c. Anno Dom. 1661.

WE are willing that all the Epiſtles and Goſpels, be uſed according to the laſt Tranſlation.

That when any thing is read for an *Epiſtle*, which is not in the *Epiſtles*, the Superſcription be, [*for the Epiſtle.*]

That the *Pſalms* be collated with the former *Tranſlation*, mention'd in *Rubrick*, and printed according to it.

That the Words [*this Day*] both in the *Collects* and *Prefaces*, be uſed only upon the Day it ſelf, and for the following Days it be ſaid [*as about this time.*]

That a longer Time be required for Signification of the Names of the Communicants, and the Words of the *Rubrick*, be changed into theſe [*at leaſt ſome time the Day before.*]

That the Power of keeping ſcandalous Sinners from the Communion, may be expreſſed in the *Rubrick*, according to the 26 and 27 *Canons*, ſo the Miniſter be obliged to give an Account of the ſame immediately after to the Ordinary.

That the whole *Preface* be prefixed to the *Commandments*.

That the *ſecond Exhortation* be read ſome *Sunday* or Holy-day before the Celebr Communion, at the Diſcretion of the

That the general Confeſſion at the Co on be pronounced by one of the Mi People ſaying after him, all kneeling hu on their Knees.

That the manner of conſecrating the Ele be made more explicite and expreſs; and t Purpoſe thoſe Words be put into the R [*then ſhall he put his Hand upon the Brea break it*] then ſhall he put his Hand un Cup.

That if the *Font* be ſo placed as the Co gation cannot hear, it may be referred t *Ordinary* to place it more conveniently.

That thoſe Words [*Yes, they do perfor &c.*] may be alter'd thus; [*becauſe the them both by their Sureties.*]

That the Words of the laſt *Rubrick* be *Catechiſm* may be thus alter'd, [*That Chi ing baptized, have all things neceſſary for th vation, and dying before they commit act be undoubtedly ſaved, though they be not con*

That to the *Rubrick* after *Confirmation* Words may be added [*or be ready and be confirmed.*]

That thoſe Words [*with my Body I thee worſhip,*] may be alter'd thus; [*with my Body I thee honour,*]

That thoſe Words [*till Death us depart*] be thu alter'd [*till Death us part.*]

That the Words [*ſure and certain*] ma left out.

FINIS.

[illegible]
Ecclesiastical Hist

AN INDEX OF THE Principal Matters AND PERSONS Mention'd in the foregoing HISTORY.

A

Abbey (Battle) viſited by the Biſhop of Chicheſter Page 71

Abbeys (the Leſſer) diſſolved. The Regularity of the greater Abbeys own'd by the Parliament. Remarks *upon their Diſſolution. Their Annual* Revenues. *Their ſerviceableneſs to the Publick. The Founders ſuffer by this Suppreſſion* 113. 114, 161, to 164, 165. ibid. ibid.

Abbot and Prioreſſes, under what Method Elected. Their Oath to the Dioceſan. The Form of Conſecration of an Abbeſs and Nunn 107. ibid. ibid. See Records No. xxxiiii.

Abbot (George) *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *He Eſpouſes the Palſgrave Intereſt with great earneſtneſs. His Misfortune at* Bramſil. *He procures a* Royal *Diſpenſation to ſecure his Character. An Apology written for him. He is ſuſpended, and why. His Death* 719. 720, 721, ibid. 740, 741, 757

Abbots of Reading, Colcheſter, *and* Glanſenbury, *Executed, and why. The Number of thoſe Mitred* 164. ibid.

Abſolution (The Form of) in Knox's *Liturgy* 562

Abſtinence from Fleſh, provided for by Act of Parliament 264

Aberdeen, *a pretended Aſſembly held there* 688

Act (An) for ſuppreſſing Conventicles 895

Act (An) for Union of Churches in Cities, &c. Page 894

Act (An) For granting the Crown, Mannors, &c. *belonging to Biſhopricks for Impropriations,* &c. *by way of* Exchange. Remarks *on the Exchange* 422. 423

Adam's *Sermon at* Cambridge *gives Offence, and why* 772

Adamſon *Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews *proteſts againſt the Authority of the Kirk, is* Excommunicated, *and makes a Submiſſion* 597. 598

Adrian *the Sixth, Choſen Pope. His Death* 18. ibid.

Addreſſes for Liberty of Conſcience 400

Adminiſtration (Perſonal) of Juſtice, a Branch of the Civil Soveraignty 422

Adultery Death in Scotland, *by Act of Parliament* 492

Ailmer (John) *Argues againſt Tranſubſtantiation, is made Biſhop of* London, *his Death,* &c. 355. 642

Alienation of Biſhops Lands 207

Allen (*Cardinal*) *his Death,* &c. 642

Alaſco (John) *has a Church allowed him in* London, *with a Patent of Priviledge* 292

Altars Order'd to be removed. The Reaſons for this Appointment Page 433. ibid.

Ambaſſadors (The German) write to King Henry for a further Reformation. They argue againſt Communion in one kind and private Maſſes 143. ibid. and 144

Anabaptiſts Burnt for Hereſy. Anabaptiſts (the Engliſh) their Addreſs to King Charles the Second 99. 869

Anabaptiſts (Dutch) Burnt for Hereſy 549

Annates the Payment of them reduced. The Annual Rates paid by the reſpective Sees 65. 66

Anne of Cleve, her Divorce from King Henry Confirm'd in Parliament 178

Anne (Queen) Impriſon'd, Divorc'd, and Executed. Her Character 116. 117, ibid.

Annebault the French Ambaſſador, his Diſcourſe with King Henry for concerting a Reformation 211

Annexation Act what? The King's Cenſure of it. 'Tis repealed 604. 605, 691

Annotations on the Genevian Tranſlation of the Bible, diſliked by King James, and why 678

Andrews (Lancelot) Biſhop of Wincheſter, his Death, &c. 739

Antonius de Dominis Archbiſhop of Spalato, quits the Communion of the Church of Rome, and his honourably received in England. He returns to his firſt Belief and miſcarries at Rome 726. 727

Archbiſhop of Glaſcow turned out by the Aſſertory Act and reſtored 891

Arminius (James) his Memory harſhly treated by King James 707

Arthington ſee Hackett

Articles of Faith, and Heads of Doctrine touching the Sacraments, and Ceremonies ſubſcribed by the Biſhops and Clergy in Convocation. The Six Articles enacted. 122. 128, 168

Articles of Religion paſs'd An. Dom. 1552. and by what Authority 325. to 327

Articles of Marriage between Queen Mary and King Philip 358. and 366

Articles Thirty Nine, The Clergy obliged to Subſcribe them. The Statute enacts Subſcription to all of them. 529. 530

Ask (Robert) Heads the Northern Rebels. He is Executed 132. 135

Askue (Anne) and ſome others Burnt for denying the Corporal Preſence 212

Aſſaulting the Lives of the Clergy, or attempting to rob their Houſes, Capitally puniſhed 895

Aſſembly (The Scottiſh) Their hardy Petition to the Queen. Her Majeſties Anſwer. Their Reply. Their Letter to the Engliſh Biſhops in Favour of the Diſſenters. Their Agreement with the Lords of the Faction. They are made the laſt Judges of the Qualifications of Miniſters by the Parliament. Their Conſtitutions for Diſcipline. Debate the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy. Their Committee for drawing a new Form of Church Polity. They forbid the Election of Biſhops. Their Decree againſt Epiſcopacy. They paſs the Second Book of Diſcipline. Their Remonſtrance. Petition the Parliament againſt Prelates Page 499. 500, ibid. 506, 513, 515, 517, 550, 558, 560, 572, 574, 588, 604

Aſſembly (An) of Divines Conven'd at Weſtminſter. Their Powers. The King forbids their meeting. Their Letter to the Reformed of Holland, Switzerland, &c. They make a Confeſſion, and Two Catechiſms. Their Prolocutor's Speech to Gilleſpy 823. 824, ibid. 826, 842, 854

Aſſertory Act 895

Athanaſius (St.) his Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of the Emperor Conſtantius 613

Atkinſon's (Mr.) his Speech againſt the Bill of Aſſurance 482

Attainders for Treaſon frequently enacted in the Reign of Henry the Eighth 173

Attachment (An) Superceded by the Privy Council 412

Aubrey (William) Grindall's Vicar General approves of the Scottiſh Aſſembly's Ordinations 579

Augustan Confeſſion wherein different? From the Reformation under King Henry the Eighth 153

Auſtin Fryars in London granted to the Dutch and Germans 440

B

BAbbington (Gervace) Biſhop of Worceſter his Death, &c. 703

Bacon (Sir Nicholas) Lord Keeper, his Speech concerning Religion. 412. 413, 480

Bagſhaw's Speech againſt the Biſhops conſider'd 795

Balcanquell (Walter) a Scottiſh Preacher, his Intemperate Sermons outrages the Court 575 653

Bancroft (Richard) his Sermon at St. Paul's Croſs againſt the Puritans. He is made Biſhop of London, and entertains ſome of the Secular Prieſts. Aſſiſts at the Hampton Court Conference. Is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Exhibits Articles againſt the Judges. His Scheme for improving the Maintenance of the Clergy. His Death 609. 664, 673, 687, 688, 697, to 700

Baptiſme (Private) to be adminiſtred by none but the Clergy Page 552

Barebones's *Parliament reſigns the Adminiſtration to* Cromwell 867

Barlow *Biſhop of St.* David's *informed againſt for Heterodoxy* 135

Barlow *(Dr) writes the Conference at* Hampton Court. *He is unjuſtly Charged with Miſrepreſentation* 673. 683

Baroe *(Dr.)* Margaret *Profeſſor determines againſt Irreſpective Reprobation* 645

Barton (Elizabeth) *pretends to Viſions. Owns her ſelf an Impoſtor, and is* Executed 86. 87

Barnes, Jerome, *and* Gerrard, *Attainted of Hereſy. Their* Recantation. *They retract their* Recantation, *and are Burnt* 181. ibid. ibid. and 182

Baſſwick *See* Burton

Baxter (Richard) *draws a Liturgy. His perplex'd manner in arguing* 884. 885

Beale (Robert) *his Principles and Miſbehaviour to Archbiſhop* Whitgift 584

Beaton *(Cardinal) breaks the Treaty of Marriage between* Prince Edward *and the Queen of* Scots. *He is Aſſaſſinated* 199, 209

Beaton (James) *Archbiſhop of* Glaſcow, *his Death and Character* 671

Beckett *(Archbiſhop) his Tomb defaced, his Bones Burnt, and his Memory over-charged* 150

Bellarmine *(Cardinal* Robert*) diſſwades taking the Oath of Allegiance. Miſtakes it for that of Supremacy* 695. ibid.

Benedictines *their* Rule 107

Benefices the Fifth Part of them allowed the Ejected Clergy 867

Beza *(Theodore) his* Remonſtrance *againſt the Church of* England. *The Puritans Cenſured by him. His Confeſſion of Faith refuſed by the* Engliſh *Clergy: His Animadverſions upon the Articles of the* Dutch *Congregation. His Letter to* Knox. *His Conceſſions to Archbiſhop* Whitgift 503. 511, 517, 538, 623

Bible (The) Tranſlated for publick Uſe, Printed in a large Volume. Prohibited to all under the degree of Gentlemen. An Act for Tranſlating it into Welſh. The Geneva *Tranſlation ſtopt the Preſs, and Why? Biſhops Bible Publiſhed* 183. 188, 484, 504, 541

Bidding of Prayer 227

Bilney *(Thomas) Abjures. Returns to his former Belief, and is Burnt for Hereſy at* Norwich 25. ibid. 64

Bing *(Dr.) his Letter to the Lord* Burleigh 538

Biſhops (The Engliſh*); whether their Oaths to the Pope and the King Inconſiſtent? The Peerage own'd by the Houſe of Lords. Their Elections ſettled by Act of Parliament. They renounce the Pope's Divine Right to Supremacy. Swear to the Regale. Their Juriſdiction ſuſpended by the Regale. They take out new Commiſſions under King* Edward *the Sixth. The Inconſiſtency of the Inſtrument. Some of them move toward a farther Reformation. Barr'd granting their Eſtates for more than Twenty one Years, or Three Lives, unleſs to the Crown. Nominated by Kings Letters Patents, without* Conge d'eſlire. *The Antient Method of Electing them. The Rate of Fees to be paid by them. Not now under the Penalty of the firſt of* Edward *the Sixth,* Cap. 2. *a Committee of them draw up a Form for Adminiſtring the Holy Euchariſt in both kinds. Their Anſwer to ſeveral Queſtions touching that Sacrament. Ordered to draw up a Book for Divine Service. Are to be Tryed by their Peers. Great Alienations of their Lands. Secular Employments whether Inconſiſtent with their Function. Several of thoſe Reformed Committed. Biſhops Elect Solicit Queen* Elizabeth, *againſt Seizing the Eſtates of the Biſhopricks. The Reaſons for their Addreſs. Publiſh a Form of Belief. Addreſs the Queen againſt the Uſe of Images. Their Reaſons Examined. Their Orders for the Government of both Provinces. They are to be Tryed by their Peers. Charged with Forging a Clauſe in the Twentieth Article. This Imputation diſproved. Their Advertiſements for Conformity in the Clerical Habit. Their Reſolution touching this Point. Their Character not Convey'd by Parliamentary Authority. By whom the firſt* Scottiſh *Reformed Biſhops received their Character. Whether neceſſary for them to paſs through the Inferior Orders before Conſecration. Their Defence for their enjoyning the Reading of King* Charle's *Declaration, touching Sports. Their Exerciſe of Juriſdiction in their own Names Vindicated. Move for Abſence at the Earl of* Strafford's *Tryal. Some of them Conſulted by the King to ſettle his Conſcience about the Bill againſt that Earl Thirteen of them Impeached by the Commons. The Proſecution dropt. Inſulted by the Rabble. Their Proteſtation againſt Acts of Parliament, Paſs'd in their Abſence. This Expedient defended. They are Impeached and ſent to the* Tower: *And Diſcharg'd without Tryal* Page 68. 69, 83, 84, 94, 95, 104, 219, ibid. 225, 430, 236, ibid. ibid. 243, ibid. and 245, 252, 263, 306, 317, 318, 346, 437, ibid. to 439, 463, 464, ibid. and 465, 476, 483, 486, 487, to 491, 495, 498, 510, 535, 702, 767, 775, 801, ibid. 805, ibid. 817, 818, ibid. and 819, ibid.

*Biſhops (*Scottiſh*) Reſtored to their Right of Sitting in Parliament. Proteſt againſt the General Aſſembly at* Glaſcow. *Their Reaſons* 658. 784, ibid. and 785

Biſhop (John) a Papiſt, Writes againſt the diſloyalty of the Miſſionaries 574

Blackwell (George) *Archprieſt, Abhors the* Gunpowder-plot. *He diſſwades all Attempts againſt the Government. Takes the Oath of Allegiance.* 690. ibid. and 691. 694

Blake *(David) Preaches an Invective againſt the King and Council. Declines the Juriſdiction of* *of the Temporal Courts. The Charge againſt him. Refuſes to ask the Queen's Pardon. Page* 649. 650, 651, 652

Boleyn (Anne) *her Two Letters (as 'tis ſuppoſed) to Cardinal* Woolſey. *Privately Married to King* Henry 33. 71

Bonner (Edmond) *Biſhop of* London, *the Contents of his Commiſſion extraordinary. The other Biſhops take Commiſſions from the King of the ſame Tenor. His Admonition touching the uſe of the* Engliſh *Bible. His Injunctions. Demurs to the Injunctions, ſubmits and is ſent to the Fleet. New Orders ſent him by the King. Cited before the Commiſſioners. His Defence. Exhibits an Information againſt* William Latimer, *is roughly treated by Sir* Thomas Smith : *Exceeds in his Reſentment. His Appeal to the King rejected : He is Deprived by the Commiſſioners. Remarks on his Deprivation. His Homilies. His Objections to the Oath of Supremacy* 169. 170, ibid. 184, 186, 230, 277, 278, 279, ibid. 282, ibid. 382, 493

Bononia *A dangerous Determination there, touching Civil Government* 499

Boors (The) by the Inſtigation of Fifer *and* Muncer, *make an Inſurrection in* Germany 22

Bothwick (*Sir* John) *Articles of Heterodoxy exhibited againſt him* 174

Bouloigne *taken by King* Henry 202

Bound (*Dr.*) *his Singularities, touching the Morality of the Sabbath* 643

Bourne *Aſſaulted in the Pulpit by the Mob. Is Reſcued by* Bradford 345. ibid.

Bourne (Gilbert) *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, *his Death,* &c. 523

Bramhall (John) *Archbiſhop of* Armagh, *his Death,* &c. 891

Bray *See* Pocklington

Brown (Robert) *his Heterodoxy. His Recovery* 581. 582

Brook (*Lord*) *Miſrelates the Biſhops Extraction* 806

Bruce (Robert)

Bryan (*Sir* Francis) *and Mr.* Vannes *King* Henry*'s Agents at* Rome. *They have Inſtructions to Enquire the Power and Diſpoſition of the Court of* Rome 29. ibid. and 30

Bucer *a* German *Divine, refuſes to Sign the Interim, and comes over into* England. *His Anſwer to* Peter Martyr, *touching the Real Preſence in the Holy Euchariſt. Writes to* Hooper *in Defence of the Epiſcopal Habit, and other Ceremonies. Diſputes publickly at* Cambridge. *His Singularity in ſome Points. Makes Animadverſions on the firſt* Common-prayer-book. *Writes a Book concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt. His Death* 268. 274, 294, 295, ibid. 296, to 300, ibid. to 304, 307

Bulls gained by Surprize not Binding Page 25

Bull (a Decretal) *The Form of this Inſtrument drawn up in* England, *and Tranſmitted to* Rome 31

Bullenger*'s Anſwer to* Sampſon, *and* Humphrey*'s, Queries, concerning the Lawfulneſs of the Sacerdotal Habit. His Letter to* Horne *Biſhop of* Wincheſter 501. 502, 542

Burchett (Peter) *his deſperate Opinion* 545

Burgeſs (*Dr.*) *Recovered from Puritaniſme, by King* James 687

Burleigh (*Lord*) *his Propoſal to the Diſſenters. See Sir* William Cecill 586

Burton, Baſſwick, *and* Prynn, *Publiſh Libels againſt the Church. They are Proſecuted in the* Star Chamber. *Their Sentence* 770, 773, ibid.

Butcher (Joan) *Burnt for Hereſy* 291

C

CAjetan (*Cardinal*) Treats Luther *ruggedly* 9

Calvin (John) *his pretended Letter, touching the Divorce between King* Henry, *and* Catherine *of* Spain. *Confeſſion of Faith, with Reference to the Real Preſence,* &c. *His Letter to the Protector. He declares for Subſcription to the Articles of Religion approves a Form of* Common-prayer, *and Recommends the Puniſhing thoſe by the Civil Magiſtrate, who Diſſent. His Exceptions to the firſt Reformed* Common-prayer-book. *His Opinion concerning the Regale. He Cenſures the* Engliſh *Reformation. And* Common-prayer. *His Reſolution of ſome Queſtions put by the* Engliſh *Preciſians. He Concurs with* Knox, *for the Doctrine of Reſiſtance. His Letters to* Knox. *His Opinion concerning our Saviours Paſſion* 55. 275, 283, 284, ibid. 285, 309, 395, 475, 540, ibid. 707

Calviniſme *the Progreſs of this Perſwaſion in* Ireland 708

Cambridge (*the Univerſity of*) *Viſited by* Lee, Cromwell*'s Deputy. The New Regulations for the Government of this Society. A publick Diſpute there touching* Tranſubſtantiation, *and the Sacrifice of the Maſs. And concerning the Habit. Diſorders there. A Conteſt upon the Five Points. Their Loyalty and Sufferings. Their Addreſs to King* Charles *the Second* 109. ibid. 275, 503, 524, 644, 853, and 854, 903

Campegio (*Cardinal*) *ſent into* England, *to demand a* Tenth, *but Miſcarries. Comes into* England *again, and brings a Decretal Bull with him. He is joyned in Commiſſion with* Woolſey, *for trying the Cauſe of the Divorce. He Endeavors to perſwade Queen* Catherine, *to retire to a Monaſtery* 9. 31, 32, ibid.

Campian (Edmond) *his Letter to his General. His* Treaſonable *Anſwer. His Execution* 570. 574, ibid.

The INDEX.

Canons (The) which of them to ſtand good in Law Page 202

Canons Publiſhed for the Scotiſh *Church. Exceptions againſt them, with reſpect to matter and manner* 762. 764

Canons made Anno 1640. *Approved by the Privy Council and Judges. Exceptions againſt them Anſwered* 793. ibid.

Carleton (George) *Biſhop of* Landaff, *ſent by King* James *to the Synod of* Dort 716

Cartwright (Thomas) *Attacks the Government of the Church. Some of his Presbyterian Aſſertions. He is Charged upon ſeveral Articles by the High Commiſſion. Refuſes to Anſwer Interrogatories. Diſengages with* Coppinger. *Relents and Proves Inoffenſive.* 524. 525, 623, 626, 628, 640

Catechiſm Publiſhed in the Reign of Edward *the Sixth, whether it Comprehends the Forty* Two *Articles* 368

Caſaubon (*Iſaac*) *his Death,* &c. 707

Catherine *of* Spain *Queen of* England, *appears at* Black-fryers *before the Legates. Her Speech to the King. She Solicits the Emperor for an Avocation of the Cauſe, and Prevails. Refuſes to Relinquiſh her Marriage. Her laſt Letter to the King. Her Death* 35. ibid. 36, 75, 86, 113, ibid.

Caudry's *Caſe with the Judges* Opinion 634

Cecill (*Sir* William) *Retouches Queen* Elizabeth's *Injunctions. Affirms the Queen may do as much as the Pope. His Scheme for Church Government. His Speech (when Lord* Burleigh) *for Conformity* 434. 519, 538, 546

Champney's (John) *his Errors and Recantation* 266

Chappel (St. Stephen's) *Diſſolved* 248

Chapter (A) Corporation tho' without an Eſtate 660

Charles *the Fifth Emperor, Arrives in* England, *and Engages to Marry the Princeſs* Mary 18

Charles *Prince of* Wales, *goes* Incognito *into* Spain, *and Courts the* Infanta. *He is Carreſs'd at the Court of* Spain, *but keeps firm to his Religion. Writes to the Pope. His Match with the* Infanta *breaks off. Marry's* Henrietta *the* French *King's Siſter. Succeeds his Father. His Coronation Oath. He Publiſhes a Proclamation to Silence the Diſpute between the Calvinian, and Anti-calvinian Divines. Publiſhes a Declaration with the Thirty Nine Articles. His Inſtructions to* Abbot *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *His Letter to the Lords Juſtices of* Ireland, *in behalf of the Clergy. His Letter to the Biſhops, touching Ordination. His Declaration concerning Sports. His Letter to the* Turky *Merchants. His Reſentment of the Motions of the Covenanters. Nulls the* Scotiſh Common-prayer, *Canons, and Articles of* Perth, *and puts down the High Commiſſion. Publiſhes a Declaration againſt the Covenanters, Marches againſt them. Makes a Pacification at* Berwick. *His Speech in defence of the Biſhops. His Anſwer to the Commons Remonſtrance. His Conceſſions to the* Scots *at his Second Journey thither. Paſſes the Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament. His Solemn Proteſtation touching his Religion. His Manifeſto upon that* Head *to the Proteſtants beyond Sea. He Argues in ſeveral Papers for Epiſcopacy againſt* Henderſon. *His Anſwer to the Parliament* Divines *at the Iſle of* Wight. *His Conceſſions to the Parliament Commiſſioners. He is brought before the pretended* High *Court of Juſtice. And Murthered by the Rebels.* His *Character* Page 726. 727, ibid. 728, 733, ibid. 735, 738, 746, 748, 749, 757, 758, 761, 782, 783, 786, 787, 797, ibid. 806, 819, 826, 829, 842, to 848, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, ibid.

Charles *the Second King of* Great Brittain, *&c. Addreſſed by the* Scotiſh *Covenanters. Marches from* Scotland *to* Worceſter, *and is defeated by* Cromwell. *His Declaration at* Breda *touching Liberty of Conſcience. His Reſtoration. His Indulgence to the Nonconformiſts. Another Indulgence; 'tis recalled at the Inſtance of the Commons. He approves the* Scottiſh *Secret Councils Explanation of the Teſt. His Death,* &c. 862. 865, 870, 871, 889, 895, 896, 901, 904

Charters for Erecting Biſhopricks 183

Cauntries, Colleges, &c. *granted to the King. The deſign of theſe Endowments. The meaning of their Foundation. They are Diſſolved, and why. Their Revenues Miſapply'd.* 207. ibid. 238, ibid. 242

Cheek (*Sir* John) *his Invective againſt the* Norfolk *Rebels* 272

Cheney *Biſhop of* Glouceſter *complained of for Heterodoxy. He is Excommunicated by the Convocation, and why* 518. 530

Church, Plate, and Ornaments, Seiz'd by Order from the Crown 335

Church of England *(The) not Reformed upon the Calviniſt Scheme* 648

Church Revenues at whoſe diſpoſal 714. 715

Chryſoſtome (*St.*) *his Epiſtle to* Cæſarius *touching the Holy Euchariſt* 368

Claſſes their Method and Buſineſs 603

Clement *the Seventh Elected Pope. And Congratulated by* Woolſey. *He grants a Commiſſion for Trying the Cauſe of the Divorce between the* King *and* Catherine *of* Spain. *And ſends the King a Diſpenſation. But manages with a Reſerve in the Inſtrument delivered. He ſuggeſts a free Expedient to the King. He Signs a Decretal Bull for the ſame purpoſe. Refuſes the* Engliſh *Privy Council, a ſight of the Decretal* Bull. *And why. He Cloſes with the Emperor. Sends an Excuſe to* Woolſey *upon the matter of the* Divorce. *Grants an Avocation of that Cauſe to* Rome. *And Inhibits the Proceedings of the Legats. Whether rightly charged with allowing Poligamy.* His *Anſwer to the* Engliſh

Nobilities Remonſtrance touching the Divorce. Seems diſpoſed to give King Henry *Satisfaction Page* 19. ibid. 28, 29, ibid. 31, 33, 34, ibid. 35, 36, 37, 56, 59, 60

Clement *the Eighth, His Briefs prohibiting the acknowledging any in* England, *unleſs of his own Communion. He encourages the* Iriſh *to an Inſurrection* ibid. 664

Clergy (The Engliſh) unreaſonably charged with burning People for teaching the Lord's Prayer, &c. *Brought under a Premunire for owning Cardinal* Woolſey's *Legantine Authority. This Proſecution conſider'd. They acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church, but not without a Reſerve. They Guard farther in the manner of their Submiſſion. They are Pardoned by Act of Parliament. They are willing to own the King's Supremacy with Reſpect to Temporals without any Limitation. Their Anſwer to the Commons Supplication. They Claim a Power Independent of the State for making Canons, &c. They relinquiſh the Priviledge of making new Canons without the conſent of the Crown. Their Submiſſion paſſed into an Act. They declare againſt the Popes Supremacy* Jure Divino. *An Order for enquiry into their Eſtates. They Remonſtrate againſt ſeveral Statutes touching Religion. Frequently Marryed before the Reformation. The Secular Clergy not obliged to part with their Wives in Queen* Mary's *Reign. A Declaration of thoſe in Priſon. The Number of thoſe ejected in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign. The Loyal Clergy diſtreſſed by the Rebels. Conſent to be Taxed in Parliament. A Clauſe for reſerving their Antient Right* 10. 61, ibid. 62, ibid. 63, ibid. 66, 67, ibid. 70, 83, 94, 95, 134, 262, 366, 370, 431, 828, 892, 893.

Clergy (the Iriſh*) Claim a Priviledge of being Members in the Houſe of Commons* 137

Coke (*Sir* Edward) *his remark upon the Diſſolution of the Abbeys. His report concerning Attainders. His Argument for the Deanry and Chapter of* Norwich. *He is proſecuted in the Archbiſhops Court. His Inconſiſtency* 161. 180, 660, 662, 688

Cole (*Dr.*) *his Argument for Prayers in a Language not underſtood by the Vulgar* 415

Coleman (Chriſtopher) *his Letter to Secretary* Cecill 522

Coldwell (John) *Biſhop of* Salisbury *his diſſervice to that See* 657

Collet (*Dr.*) *Founds St.* Paul's *School, his Death and Character* 11

Commendone (Franciſco) *diſpatch'd to* England *by Cardinal* Pool. 351

Commendams how far within the Prerogative to grant them 710

Commons make an Inſurrection in Devonſhire, Norfolk, *and elſewhere. Their Demands upon the Government. The King and Archbiſhops Anſwer their Remonſtrance* 270. ibid. and 271. 272

Commons (The Houſe of) no Bills touching Religion to be brought in there, 'till firſt Examined by the Clergy. Their Submiſſion for having appointed a Faſt. There Petition to the Lords in favour of the Diſſenters, with the Lords Anſwer. Some Members Committed by the Privy Council Page 535. 569, 593, 594, 637

Committee of Divines *for drawing up the* Common-prayer. *This matter managed by the Clergy and not by the Parliament* 430. ibid.

Commiſſion of ſurrenders what 756

Common-prayer-book (*The firſt Reformed.*) *Wherein different from the Second.* Defended: *Brought under a Review. The difference between the firſt and ſecond Book. An Honourable Teſtimony given to the firſt by the Parliament. 'Twas Confirmed by a Synod. Uſed in* Scotland 255. ibid. and 25[illegible], ibid. to 260, 309, 310, 263, 320, 442, 562

Communion Table, Conteſts about placing it 760. for 764

Con *the Popes Agent. His Management.* 780. ibid.

Concealers what 659

Concomitancy Maintain'd by King Henry 149

Conference (A) between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Clergy of Scotland 476

Conference (A) at the Savoy. *The Presbyterian Divines Exceptions to the* Common-prayer. *The Anſwer of the Church Commiſſioners. The Meeting ends without Succeſs* 876. 878, ibid. 879, to 884, 885

Confeſſion (Private) whether unwarranted by Scripture. Defended *by* Eraſmus *and* Hammond 247. ibid.

Confeſſion of Faith (The Scotiſh*) Paſſed in the pretended Parliament at* Edinborough. *Books Publiſhed againſt it* 467. 477

Confeſſion (The Negative.) This Teſt not ſerviceable to the Presbyterian Scheme 572. ibid.

Congregation See Scots

Conſanguinity See Marriages

Conſecrations of Biſhops why ſo long deferred at Queen Elizabeth's *Acceſſion to the Throne* 437

Conſecration of Biſhops Confirmed by Act of Parliament 509

Conſiſtory (The) at Rome *diſguſted at King* Henry, *upon Miſinformation, give Sentence againſt the Divorce* 80

Covenants, National and Solemn League, &c. *declared Unlawful* 888

Covenanters (Scotiſh) *Their Reſolution againſt the Government. Their Demands. Their Diſloyal Tenents. Their ſcandalous Preachers. Their Adherence to their Covenant,* &c. *Articles granted them by the King. They Diſingage with King* Charles *the Second, and are routed at* Dunbar. *They Crown the King at* Schone. *Their Diſcipline*

pline and Kirk broken by the Engliſh *Commiſſioners* Page 782, ibid. 785, 786, ibid. 787, 798, 863, 864, 867

Convention (The) at Edinborough *Sign a Promiſe for the Reſtitution of the Patrimony of the Church* 518

Coverdale *Biſhop ſent to* Denmark 380

Council (A) at the Lateran: *The* Engliſh *Repreſented there* 3

Councils, Their *deep Cenſure of Perjury and* Rebel*lion* 696

Council. (The Privy) Their Orders with Refe*rence to Church Affairs* 239. 246

Coppinger *a deſperate Enthuſiaſt. Queries to* Cartwright 627. ibid.

Convocation, what Members Sate in each Houſe. When this Settlement was made. Declare againſt the Popes Supremacy Jure Divino. *Complain of ſeveral Erronious Tenents. Their Opinion of General Councils. They declare the Marriage between the King, and* Anne *of* Cleve *void* 74. 75, 94, 119, 128, 177, 178

Convocation (The Lower Houſe of) Move to Sit in the Houſe of Commons. And found their Claim upon Antient Uſage. Their Canons in Eccleſiaſtical Matters bind the Laity, and why. They Claim a Right to Examine Parliamentary Bills relating to Religion. Their Addreſs for recovering the Priviledge of the Church. Their Articles delivered to the Biſhops. Their Aſſent neceſſary for determining Hereſy 233. 234, ibid. ibid. 376, 413, 421

Convocation (A) at St. Paul's. *The Preliminary Ceremonies. A motion there for alteration of ſome Rights, and Habits. Some Heads of Diſcipline projected. They paſs a Body of Canons. Whether they may Sit after the Diſſolution of the* Parliament 485. ibid. ibid. 491, 687, 792

Convocation (A) Meets at Weſtminſter, *Reviews the* Common-prayer. *The Convocation at* York, *ſends a Committee to* London, *and joyns the Province of* Canterbury 886. 887

Cox *(Dr.) Forms the* Franckford *Congregation towards the* Engliſh *Model. Made Biſhop of* Ely, *Expoſtulates with the Privy Council* 396. 543

Cozens (John) *his Collection of Private Devotions. Attacked by* Prynn, *&c. His Vindication againſt* Smart 742. ibid. 798

Cranmer (Thomas) *his Cenſure of the* German *Divines. Promoted to the See of* Canterbury. *He Swears to the Pope with a Proteſtation. Gives Sentence for the Divorce. Takes a Licence from the Crown to Support his Viſitation. Subſcribes an Inſtrument where the Independency of the Church is maintained. Reſolves a Caſe concerning Marriage. Addreſſes the King for a further* Reformation. *Argues in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Six Articles. His Letter to the King in Behalf of* Cromwell. *His Miſtake touching the Origine of Eccleſiaſtical Authority. Suſpected of Hereſy by the King. A Deſign to Commit him and bring him to his Tryal. He is preſerved by the King. Complains of the Alienation of Church Lands. Extracts part of the Canon Law. One of King* Henry *the Eighth's Executors. He takes out a Commiſſion for the Exerciſe of his Spiritual Juriſdiction. His Speech at the Coronation of King* Edward. *He Compiles Homilies. He oppoſes the Bill for Diſſolving the Chauntries. Publiſhes a Catechiſm. His Opinion of the Benefit of Abſolution. Draws up a Body of Articles. Signs King* Edward's *Settlement of the Crown. Publiſhes a Manifeſto in Defence of the Reformation. Is ſent to the Tower. Is Tryed for Treaſon. His See declared Vacant when. He is Convey'd to* Oxford *to Diſpute. His Opinion of the Euchariſtick Sacrifice. He Oppoſes* Harpsfield *upon the Queſtion of Tranſubſtantiation. This Archbiſhop,* Latimer, *and* Ridley, *ill uſed at the Diſputation at* Oxford, *and Pronounc'd Hereticks. A defect in the Authority of their Judges. They are brought before the Queen's Commiſſioners.* Cranmer *Affirms the Power of the Keys lodged in the Crown. He Recants, Retracts his Recantation and is Burnt. His Character. His Manuſcripts recovered* Page 56. 73, 74, 75, 104, 129, 130, 131, 167, 168, 176, 198, 200, ibid. ibid. and 201, 204, ibid. 217, 218, 220, 222, 238, 251, ibid. 310, 337, 347, ibid. 354, ibid. 367, ibid. 368, 369, ibid. 384, 385, 391, 392, ibid. 493

Crome (*Dr.* Edward) *Purges himſelf upon ſeveral Articles* 48

Cromwell (Thomas) *Defends Cardinal* Woolſey *in the Houſe of Commons. Is made Vicar General. The Extent of this Commiſſion. Viſits the Monaſteries by Deputies. His Injunctions. Reads the Burning Sentence againſt* Lambert, *and Juſtifies the Execution. He is Committed for High Treaſon, Crimes Charg'd upon him in his Attainder. His Execution and Character. What Religion he Dy'd in* 43. 104, ibid. ibid. 129, 150, 152, 176, 177, 180, 181, ibid.

Cromwell (Oliver) *Beats the* Scotiſh *Covenanters. Purges himſelf from diſturbing the* Scots *in their Religion. And from being falſe to the Ends of the Covenant. Defends Laymens Preaching, and Argues from Events. His canting Letter upon his Victory at* Worceſter. *He turns out the Rump in a contemptuous manner. Accepts the Government with the Title of Lord Protector* 863. ibid. 864, ibid. 865, 867, ibid.

Croſs, creeping to it is forbidden 203

Cuſtoms for paying Tithes prejudicial to the Incumbent and why 715

D

DAY (*Biſhop of* Chicheſter) *committed to the* Fleet, *and why. He is deprived* 306. 312

Davenant (*Biſhop of* Sarum) *Preaches on the Quinquarticular Controverſy at Court and gives Offence. His Apology* 750. ibid.

Deanery and Chapter of Norwich *reſcued from the Fraud of Concealers* 659

Dearing (Edward) his Tenents. His Letter to the Lord Burleigh. Is brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners Page 532. 537, ibid.

Declaration (A) of the Faith, Uſes, &c. Touching Articles of Belief, Rites, and Ceremonies, in England 172. 178

Declaration (A) for diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament 898

Defence (A) for Puniſhing Hereſy Capitally 383

De Marca, his Opinion touching the Regale 616

Deuteronomy: Whether the Diſpenſation with the Law of Leviticus, concerning the Marrying the Brothers Relict, reaches the Chriſtians 57

Depraving the Common-prayer, how Puniſhed 430

Dioceſe (The) Cheſter annexed to the Province of York 184

Digby (Lord) his Speech againſt the Convocation 795

Diſpenſations granted by the See of Rome declared Void by the Parliament 119

Diſpenſing with a non Obſtante, affirmed part of the Prerogative 665

Directory the Abſtract of it 835

Diſputation (A publick) between the Papiſts and the Reformed in Weſtminſter Abbey. 414

Diſcipline (A Book of) laid before the Convention at Edinborough. Signed by ſome few of the Nobility, &c. Their Second Book of Diſcipline what. Formed upon Beza's Writings 468. 471, 563, to 567, 568

Diſcipline (The Book of) Subſcribed by Cartwright, &c. Something of its manner 606. 626

Diſſenters alias Puritans, their Principles, with reſpect to the Regale. Their Conceſſions upon this Head. An Act of Parliament againſt them. A Form of Submiſſion required of them 610. 616, 636, 637

Divines (The Reformed) Their reaſoning to prove every particular Church has Authority upon Rites and Ceremonies. They diſprove the Imputation of Novelty, Hereſy, &c. 417. to 420, 439, 440

Divine Service Antiently performed in the Language of the Country. This Practice defended 253. 254

Divorce between King Henry and Queen Catherine, Arguments for and againſt it. Orders to defend it in the Pulpits 57. 100, 101

Dort a Synod held there. The Engliſh Divines proteſt againſt the Thirty firſt Article of the Belgick Confeſſion. Queries upon the Authority of this Synod 716. 717, 718

Doway a College Founded there for Engliſh Papiſts 520

Drum (The Laird of) his Letter to the Presbytery of Aberdeen 866

Dudley (John) Earl of Warwick, Defeats the Norfolk Rebels. Declares for the Reformation. Created Duke of Northumberland. Commands the Army for the Lady Jane Grey. Is Committed. Tryed and Executed 272. 288, 313, 334 for 342, 344, 346

Duke (The) of Norfolk Attainted, and Eſcapes narrowly 213

Dundee, a General Aſſembly there. They give the Crown Satisfaction 657. ibid. 658

Dury (John) Juſtifies the Ruthen Conſpiracy 589

E

EArls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland Raiſe a Rebellion 520

Eccius a Divine, Writes againſt Luther 8

Edinborough (The Treaty at) not Ratified by the Queen of Scots, and why. A pretended Parliament held there. And Aſſembly of the Kirk there. They Appoint a Faſt. The Miniſters there refuſe to give Thanks for the King's deliverance from the Gowry Conſpiracy. Some of them recollect themſelves. A Parliament there reſtores the Church their Temporal Juriſdiction. Made a Biſhops See. The General Aſſembly there Confirms the Proceedings at Glaſcow. The Parliament there Confirms the Acts of the Aſſembly, and Erects the Barons into a Third Eſtate. The Aſſembly there Complain of the Engliſh Apoſtacy. Acts of Parliament made there relating to the Church 466. ibid. 648, ibid. 664, ibid. 700, 756, 788, ibid. 854, 891

Eccleſiaſtical Laws (a Body of) drawn up in the Reign of Edward the Sixth 326. to 333

Edward the Sixth (King) his Injunctions. Conveys the Religious Houſe of Grey-fryars for the Relief of poor Orphans. Settles the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey. His Death and Character. His Charitable Foundations 225. 325, 337, 338, 339, ibid.

Elizabeth (Queen) Diſpenſes with the Act for Uniformity, with a non Obſtante. Refuſes King Philip's Overture for Marriage. Reſolves reſtoring the Reformation. Forbids Preaching by Proclamation. Her Coronation. Enters into an Alliance with the Lords of the Congregation. Refuſes to indulge the Engliſh Exiles, a Conformity to Foreign Churches. Her Anſwer to the Popiſh deprived Biſhops. Her Proclamation againſt defacing Churches. Engages not to Prejudice the Scotiſh Queen's Succeſſion. Publiſhes a Manifeſto to juſtify her Alliance with the French Proteſtants. Impowered by the Parliament to Appoint New Ceremonies. She Aſſiſts the French Proteſtants. Her Injunctions Miſprinted to diſadvantage. A Paper for Executing the Queen of Scots put into her Hands. The Strength of it Examined. She ſends Forces againſt Edinborough Caſtle. Orders the Suppreſſing of Propheſying. Diſpleaſed with the Rigors of the Magiſtracy. Refuſes to admit any Alteration in the Diſcipline of the Church. Threatens the Biſhops with

with Deprivation. *Her Proceedings againſt the Queen of* Scots *Cenſured. The Reaſons of altering her* Conduct *with reſpect to Papiſts and Puritans.* Commands *the Speaker not to read any Bills relating to Eccleſiaſtical* Cauſes. *Her* Death *and* Character *Page* 260. 410. ibid. 411, 412, 460, ibid. ibid. 471, 476, 478, 496, 519, ibid. 536, ibid. 546, 559, 591, 595, ibid. 601, 607, 636, 669

Elſtow (Fryar) *and* Peto *Preach boldly againſt the Divorce. Their reſolute Anſwer before the Privy* Council. 86. ibid.

Engliſh *Miniſters in* Holland, *Petition King* James *for the continuance of their Worſhip and Diſcipline* 757

Enthuſiaſts (An) Five Lights 862

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland. *Several Acts of Parliament in Favor of that Government* 887. ibid.

Erudition (*A neceſſary*) *A Book containing the Doctrine of the* Church *of* England. *The difference between this* Tract *and the* Inſtitution, &c. 189. 190, 191

Eſſex (*The Earl of*) Divorced *from his Lady* 707

Euchariſt, (*The Holy*) *thoſe not counted Chriſtians who do not receive this Sacrament thrice a Year. The warrantableneſs of receiving it under one kind endeavoured. Guarded by Statute againſt irreverent Language. To be given in both kinds, excepting in Caſes of Neceſſity. Ordered to be received at Funerals. Conſidered as a Sacrifice by the Primitive Church. How the Fathers expreſs them; touching the Dignity of this Sacrament* 13. 145, 146, 235, 236, 259, 260, 275

Euchariſtick Bread given in the Form of a Wafer 526

Excommunication the Form of this Cenſure in Knox's *Liturgy* 561

Exiles (*The*) *in Queen* Mary's *Reign, Petition her againſt perſecuting the Reformed. Part of their Addreſs not defenſible* 383. ibid.

Extemporary publick Prayers Indefenſible 253

F

F*Amily of Love Addreſs* (*The*) *King* James 687

Farrar *Biſhop of* St. David's, *Indicted upon the Statute of Premunire, for* Exerciſing *his Juriſdiction in his own Name. He is Burnt at* Carmarthen 319. 380

Fathers (*The*) *preferable to the Moderns, and why* 519

Featherſtone (Edward) *Counterfeits King* Edward *the Sixth* 379

Faſt (*The Lenten*) *the Antiquity and Diverſity of this Cuſtom* 265

Fecknam (*Dr.*) *his Funeral Sermon for Queen* Mary. *His Speech againſt the* Bill *for Uniformity of* Common-prayer. *His Exceptions to the Oath of Supremacy. His Approach towards the* Engliſh *Reformation. His Death Page* 405. 424, 504, ibid. 596

Feoffes *appointed by the Puritans for purchaſing Impropriations.* Remarks *on this* Settlement 754. ibid.

Feuds in Scotland, *Suppreſs'd by King* James *the Sixth* 621

Fifth Monarchy Men their Frantick Inſurrection 876

Ferdinand *the Second Emperor of* Germany, *his Funeral Solemniz'd at* London. *Biſhop* Grindall *in his Sermon gives him an honourable Character* 498. ibid.

Firſt Fruits and Tenths granted to the Crown 94

Firſt Fruits and Tenths the ſame 713

Fiſh Days, the Privy Councils reaſons for keeping them 557

Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *diſſatisfy'd about the Rupture with the Pope. Refuſes Swearing the Preamble of the Succeſſion Act. Is ſent to the* Tower. *His Apologetical Letter to the Houſe of Lords. His Tryal, Death, and Character* 82. 85, ibid. 87, 96, 97

Fiſher *the Jeſuit, Nine Queſtions propoſed to him* 728

Flower (*William*) *Wounds a Prieſt at the Altar* 381

Fletcher (*Richard*) *Biſhop of* London, *his Regulations for his Dioceſe* 648

Fox (Richard) *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *his Death and Benefactions* 32

Fox (*Edward*) *Biſhop of* Hereford *ſent Ambaſſador to the Princes of* Germany. *His Speech to the Congreſs at* Smalcald. *His Death*, &c. 110. ibid. 152, 153

Fox (John) *Miſreports Cardinal* Woolſey. *His hidious Aſſertion upon the Murder of Cardinal* Beaton. *His intemperate Language. Miſrelates the Cauſe of the Pannick at the Duke of* Somerſets *Execution. Miſplaces his Cenſure of the Duke of* Suffolks *Servant. Maltreats Judge* Morgans *Memory. Ridicules Devotion. His Story of Biſhop* Gardiners *Barbarity diſproved. His Panegyrick upon the Queen. His Petition for Anabaptiſts* 43. 45, 209, 233, 316, 362, 363, 374, 386, 501, 549

Francis *the firſt, the* French *King declares againſt the Marriage between King* Henry *and* Catherine *of* Spain 119

Fox (George) *begins the Sect of the Quakers* 864

Franckford *an* Engliſh *Church opened there. The manner of their Church Service. Their Diſ-*

putes. Their Anſwer to the Engliſh *at* Geneva *Page* 393. ibid. ibid. 394, and 400, 412

Frith (John) *Burnt in* Smithfield. *His Character* 72. ibid.

Fryars (Obſervants) Suppreſſed 88

Fuller (*Dr.* Thomas) *his remarks touching Subſcription,* &c. 537

G

Gardiner (Stephen) *his Opinion of the Treaty between the King and the Princes of* Germany. *Writes a Book* de vera Obedientia, *againſt the Popes Supremacy. An Account of the Argument. He is promoted to the See of* Wincheſter, *complains of Outrage, in the pulling down Images. Argues for the uſe of Holy Water. Diſſwades Innovation in Religion, and complains of the ridiculing Lent. Argues in* Defence *of the* neceſſary Erudition. *His Letter to Sir* John Godſalve *againſt Compliance. He Founds his Diſſent partly upon the Conſtitution. He is Committed to the* Fleet. *He Charges* Eraſmus's *Paraphraſe on the* New Teſtament *with Inconſiſtency and Error. His Defence before the Council. His Anſwer to* Cromwell's *inſnaring Queſtion. His Challenge to* Cranmer. *His Complaint for being denied the Priviledge of coming to* Parliament. *His Affairs further Embarraſs'd. He Preaches before the King but gives no Satiſfaction. Is Committed to the* Tower. *Writes to the Council for his Enlargement. Has New Articles put upon him. Is brought before the King's Commiſſioners and deprived. This Uſage conſider'd. He is made Lord Chancellor. He draws the Articles of Marriage between Queen* Mary *and King* Philip. *His Sermon upon the Reconcilement to the Pope. He ſuggeſts Extremities. His Death and Character* 115. 138, ibid. 222. ibid. 223, 225, 228, ibid. 230, ibid. and 231, 232, ibid. ibid. 233, 249, 250, 251, 286, 305, ibid. ibid. 346, 359, 374, 378, 386

Garnett (Henry) *Executed for concealing the* Gunpowder Plot. *He repents his Crime* 690. ibid.

Geneva *the* Engliſh *Refugees there, make uſe of* Calvin's Common-prayer. *A Deſcription of this Service. They move for a Coalition with the* Engliſh *at* Franckfort, *&c.* 401. ibid. 412

Genevians, *their Remarks upon the Articles of the* Dutch Congregation. *Their Form for publick Service brought into the* Scotiſh *Churches. An Enquiry into the Riſe of their Republick* 516. 517, 562, 578

Glamis (*Lord*) *his Letter to* Beza 534

Glaſcow *a General Aſſembly there, reſtores the Epiſcopal Authority. A pretended General Aſſembly there. Sits notwithſtanding its being diſſolved by Proclamation* 700. 784, 785

Goldwell (Thomas) *Cardinal* Pool's *Agent to Queen* Mary 352

Goodman (Chriſtoper) *Juſtifies* Wyats *Rebellion. His lame Recantation of his Treaſonable Principles* *Page* 363. 440

Goodman *Petitions for Execution, and why* 797

Goodrick *Biſhop of* Ely *made Lord Chancellor* 317

Goſtwick (*Sir* John) *his Charge againſt Archbiſhop* Cranmer 199

Gowry's *Conſpiracy* 663

Grange (*The Laird of*) *Governor of* Edinborough Caſtle *for the Queen of* Scots, *he is Executed by the Regent* Morton 546

Greek a Conteſt about the Pronunciation of this Language 387

Greenwood *and* Barrow *Charge the Church of* England *with Idolatry,* &c. *They are Executed* 638. ibid.

Grey (*The Lady* Jane) *takes the Title of Queen. She Miſcarries in the Uſurpation. Is Executed. Her Character* 334. miſpaged for 342, 344, 361, ibid.

Grey *Duke of* Suffolk *Engages in* Wyat's *Rebellion. His Execution* 359. 361

Grey (*Lady* Catherine) *her Marriage Cenſured by Archbiſhop* Parker

Grindall (Edmund) *Archbiſhop of* York: *His Complaint of* Cartwright *to Secretary* Cecill. *His Articles of Viſitation. He is promoted to the See of* Canterbury. *Articles of Enquiry at his Viſitation. His Regulations for the Exerciſe of Propheſying. Writes to the Queen in defence of the Exerciſe of Propheſying. His Juriſdiction Sequeſtred. His Letter to the Lords of the* Star Chamber. *He is charged with Remiſneſs. Offers to Reſign, but Dyes Archbiſhop* 525. 531, 551, 552, 553, 554, 559, 560, 571, 580

Gueſt *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *his Anſwer to the Six Reaſons againſt the Sacerdotal Habit* 496. to 498

Guernſey *the State of Religion in that Iſland and* Jerſey, *ſince the Reformation* 705. to 707

Gunpowder Plot *diſcovered* 689

H

Habit of the Clergy conteſted 493

Hackett, Coppingher, *and* Arthington, *Three Enthuſiaſtick Conſpirators.* Hackett *Proclaimed King of* Europe. *Tryed and Executed. These Enthuſiaſts not under Diſtraction* 627. 630, 631, 632

Hackett (*Dr.* John) *his Argument before the Commons in Defence of Deanries and Chapters* 802. 803

Hall (*Biſhop of Exeter*) *Publiſhes a Tract of the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy* 789

Hamilton (Patrick) *his Tenets. He Suffers at the Stake.* 26. ibid.

Hamil-

Hamilton (Catherine) *Proſecuted for Hereſy* Page 27

Hamilton (John) *Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews *Executed* 523

Hamilton (*The Marquiſs of*) *High Commiſſioner of* Scotland. *His Report of the Behaviour of the Covenanters* 782. ibid.

Hampton Court *A Conference there between the Church and the Puritans* 673

Hamond (Matthew) *Burnt for Hereſy* 569

Harding (*Dr.* John) *Engages in the Controverſy againſt* Jewell 462

Harpsfeild (John) *his Sermon in Convocation* 354

Harpsfeild (Nicholas) *Cruel in proſecuting the Reformed. His Writings and Death* 381. 587

Harſnett *his Sermon at* Paul's Croſs, *againſt the Predeſtinarians* 646

Hatton (*Sir* Chriſtopher) *made Lord Chancellor. And Chancellor of* Oxford 603. 620

Heath *Biſhop of* Worceſter *deprived* 312

Heath *Archbiſhop of* York, *his Speech againſt the Bill for the Queen's Spiritual Supremacy. He Exhorts Queen* Elizabeth *to return to the Communion of the Church of* Rome. *Her Anſwer* 421. 431, 432

Hebrew (*An*) *Lecture Founded at* Cambridge 183

Henderſon (Alexander) *his Argument againſt Epiſcopacy. Exchanges ſeveral Papers with King* Charles *the firſt, in Defence of the Presbyterian Party* 837. 842, to 847

Henry *the Eighth, a Learned and Promiſing Prince: He is contracted to* Catherine *of* Spain. *He proteſts againſt the Contract in his Fathers Reign, but Marries the Princeſs upon his own Acceſſion to the Crown. He declares War againſt* France. *He Aſſerts his Prerogative againſt the Encroachments of the Clergy. Publiſhes a Book in Defence of the Seven Sacraments againſt* Luther. *His Succeſs in the Argument. Has a Title of Defender of the Faith granted by the Pope. His Majeſty's Reply to* Luther's *Letter.* H*is Letter to Cardinal* Woolſey. H*is Scruples touching the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage. He Reſolves to ſend Agents to* Rome *about this matter.* H*is Speeech to the Lords,* &c. *to Silence the Clamours raiſed upon this Occaſion. Writes an Expoſtulating Letter to the Pope. Is diſguſted with the Proceedings of the Legates. Publiſhes a Proclamation againſt acting upon the Popes Bulls. Argues for his Spiritual Supremacy. Endeavors to juſtify his Conduct touching the Divorce. Appeals to a General Council. Impowred by Act of Parliament to ſuppreſs all Errors and* Hereſies. *Author of the Book againſt* Luther. H*is Anſwer to the Proteſtant Princes of* Germany. *Proteſts againſt the Council Summoned to* Mantua. *Siezes the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of* Norwich. *Writes to the Biſhops againſt Innovation. Is enacted* Head *of the Church of* Ireland. H*is Coronation Oath. Marries* Anne *of* Cleve. *And reſolves to part with her. Argues with Biſhop* Latimer *for Purgatory.* H*is Speech to his laſt Parliament.* H*is Death, Will, and Character.* H*is Will. Thirteen Executors nominated; their Power. The Will ſet aſide with Reference to the King Deceaſed* Page 1. 2, 3, 7, 11, 17, ibid. 21, 20, 23, 24, 32, 36, 37, 60, 63, 64, 76, 77, 88, 99, 116, 129, 130, 134, 137, ibid. 175, 176, 207, 208, 213, 214, 217, ibid. 220

Henry *Marqueſs of* Exeter, *and* Henry *Lord* Montacute, *with ſome others, Excuted, and Why* 153

Hephburn (James) *Earl of Bothwell, impriſoned in* Denmark, *and dyes there* 514

Hereticks relapſed, whether to be delivered to the Secular Magiſtrate. The Tenets of ſome of them in the Iſle of Ely 65. 545

Hereſy, *Statutes concerning it Repealed.* How *much encreaſed ſince the Rebellion of* 1642 83. 855

Heylin (Peter) *his Letter to a Miniſter of State, for the ſitting of a Convocation* 886

Hide *Earl of* Clarendon *and Lord* Chancellor, *his Speech upon the Subject of Religion. He draws the King's Declaration upon this* Head. H*is Speech againſt the Diſſenters* 873. ibid. and 874. 888

Holgate *Archbiſhop of* York, *Impriſoned, and why* 349

Holydays, their Number retrenched 129

Holydays and Faſts, ſettled by Act of Parliament 321

Holy-rood Houſe, *Inſulted by the Burghers of* Edinborough 492

Homilies (The) Maintain'd Doctrine, Inconſiſtent with ſome of the Lambeth *Articles* 645

Hooker (Richard) *his Death and Character* 663

Hooper (John) *Nominated to the See of* Glouceſter, *Scruples the Epiſcopal Habit, and the Oath of Supremacy. Gets over his Exceptions, and is Conſecrated. He is Burnt at* Glouceſter. *His Apology againſt the Charge of* Diſloyalty 292. 307, 379, 491

Horſy (Dr.) *Charg'd with the Murder of* Hun. *And Acquitted* 4. 7

Hoſius *Biſhop of* Corduba, *his Letter to the Emperor* Conſtantius 612

H*oſpitality to be maintained by the Purchaſers and Grantees of the Abbeys* 114

H*oſpitals, Colleges,* &c. *Tamper'd with to reſign to King* Henry 188

H*ouſe of Lords ſometimes, forbear ſitting on Convocation* Days, *and why* 480

Houſe of Commons their Remonſtrance to King Charles *the firſt, upon the Head of Religion. Their Declaration of the Senſe of the Thirty Nine Articles. They complain of Innovations in Religion. Their Reſolve againſt the Canons of* 1640. *Complain of Ceremonies. And other Innovations. Remonſtrate againſt King* Charles *the Seconds Indulgence to the Diſſenters* Page 744. 747, 748, 806, 808, 889

Howard (*Queen* Catherine) *Executed* 184

Hun *Proſecuted for Hereſy, and found Dead in the Biſhop of* London's *Priſon. His Council miſlead him in the Buſineſs of a Premunire* 4. ibid.

Humphrey (Lawrence) *Scruples wearing the Habit. His Conformity* 496. 501

Hutton *Archbiſhop of* York, *his Letter to Archbiſhop* Whitgift 645

J

JAmes *the Fifth King of* Scotland, *refuſes an Interview with King* Henry. *His Reaſons for not diſſolving the Monaſteries. Is defeated at* Solway, *and Dyes* 175, ibid. 186

James *the Sixth King of* Scots, *his Letter to Queen* Elizabeth *in Favor of* Cartwright. *He Expoſtulates with the Kirk Commiſſioners. Offers the Kirk an Accommodation. Argues with the Miniſters. Publiſhes a Declaration againſt them. He is inſulted at* Edinborough. *He removes the Court of Juſtice to* Lethgow. *Refuſes the* Edinburghers *Submiſſion. Publiſhes Articles relating to the Government, &c. of the Church. Demands an Affirmative Reſolution from the Kirk, upon ſeveral Queſtions. Articles agreed between the Crown and the Kirk. He Publiſhes his* Doron Baſilicon. *Succeeds to the Kingdom of* England. *Argues at the* Hampton Court *Conference. His Speech to his firſt* Engliſh *Parliament. He Founds* Chelſea College. *His Directions to the High Commiſſion in* Scotland. *Publiſhes a Declaration againſt* Vorſtius. *His Directions for Young Students in the Univerſities. His Declaration for Recreation on Sundays. Abbets the Contra Remonſtrants. Sends Four Divines to the Synod at* Dort. *Refuſes to own the* Palſgrave *King of* Bohemia. *Treats a Match for Prince* Charles *with the* Infanta. *His Reaſons for not intermedling in the Diſpute between the* Palſgrave *and the Emperor. His Directions to the Pulpits. He is charged with a deſign of tolerating Popery. He comes over to the Anticalvinian Divines. His Death and Character. Makes ſome Advances for ſetling a Liturgy in* Scotland. *His commendable Cuſtom at the Election of Biſhops* 629. 649, 651, 652, 653, ibid. ibid. 654, ibid. 656, 657, 662, 671, 674, 686, 697, 702, 704, 708, 711, 716, ibid. 720, ibid. ibid. 723, 728, 730, ibid. 754, 755

James *Duke of* York, *promotes the repealing the Act for Burning Hereticks. Is High Commiſſioner in* Scotland. *The Benefit of his Adminiſtration publickly acknowledged by the* Scotiſh *Biſhops* 897. 900, 901

Jeſuits, and Popiſh Prieſts, required to depart the Kingdom, and under what Penalties. A Conteſt between this Order and the Secular Prieſts Page 594. 643

Jewell (John) *Draws the* Oxford *Addreſs to Queen* Mary. *His Letter to* Bullinger. *Made Biſhop of* Sariſbury *his Challenge to the Papiſts. His Anſwer to* Seignior Scipio. *His Apology. An Anſwer to the Diſſenters, ſuppoſed written by him. His Death.* Page 349. 432, 461, 476, 479, 507, 535

Jews *whether Lawful to permit them ſettling in* England, *and under what Conditions* 869

Images expoſed and charged with Impoſture. The Uſe of them how far defenſible. Ordered to be all removed. Burning them not defenſible 149. 150, 241, 434, ibid.

Independents, their Riſe and Principles. They Argue with the Committee of the Aſſembly *of Divines for a Toleration, but without Succeſs* 829. 838, to 840

Independency of the Church in things purely Spiritual, Aſſerted in the Scotiſh *ſecret Councils Explanation of the* Teſt 900

Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man *abſtracted* 139. to 143

Inſurrection (An) in Lincolnſhire, *and* Yorkſhire. *The Rebels Demands. The King's Anſwer* 131. 132, ibid. 133

Interim what 267

Interrogatories put to the Students in the Inns of Court 522

John (*St.*) Baptiſt's College *in* Oxford *Founded* 406

Johnſon (Robert) *What Subſcription required from him* 632

Ireland *Erected into a Kingdom. The condition of this Country, with reſpect to Religion. The Convocation there Addreſs King* Charles *the firſt. And receive the* Engliſh *Thirty Nine Articles. Their acknowledgment to the King. Epiſcopacy and the* Common-prayer *diſcharged there* 184. 750, 763, ibid. ibid. 862

Iriſh *Clergy how Impoveriſhed* 528

Iriſh *Articles of Religion, wherein different from the* Engliſh. *They are Confirmed by King* James's *Lord Deputy. Acts in favour of the Church there* 708. ibid. 794

Iriſh *Biſhops declare ſtrongly againſt tolerating the Papiſts* 739

Judges pronounce the awarding a Citation againſt Standiſh, *a Breach upon the Statute of Premunire. Their Reſolution Examined. They declare the King may hold a Parliament without the Biſhops. Their reaſoning diſproved. Their miſtake concerning the* Lollards. *Their Opinion concerning a Spiritual Office ſurrendered and newly erected. Their Reſolution in* Bunting's *Caſe, touching Marriage Subſequent to a Contract with a Third Perſon. Their Reſolution touching the* Extent of the Regale. *Acknowledge their Error in* *in not ſtaying their Proceedings at the King's Order. They declare the Earl of* Strafford *Guilty,* &c. *Page* 6. ibid. ibid. ibid. and 7, 92, 306, 322, 634, 710, 801

Julius *the Second Pope, diſpences with the Marriage between Prince* Henry *and* Catherine *of* Spain. *He draws King* Henry *the Eighth, into a War againſt* France, *and makes him head of the League with the* Italian *Princes. His* Death 2. ibid. 7.

Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, reſtored to the Crown by Act of Parliament 420

Juxon *Biſhop of* London, *and Lord Treaſurer* 765

K

Kalendar *for the* Common-prayer *review'd,* &c. 472

Kett (Robert) *Heads the* Norfolk *Rebels* 272

Keyes (The Power of) more than declarative. Whether the Exerciſe of them depends on the Permiſſion of the Civil Magiſtrate 248. 251

King (John) *Biſhop of* London, *his Form for Conſecrating a Chappel. His Death. A forged Writing Publiſh'd in his Name* 709. 722, ibid.

Kirk Miniſters refuſes to Pray for the Queen of Scots *as their Soveraign. Their Miſbehavior. They prohibit Commerce with* Spain. *Solicite the Laity to appear in Armes. Refuſe to Obey the King's Proclamation. And to come to a Temper with the Court. They Endeavor to keep on the Faction. Their Treaſonable Letter to the Lord* Hamilton. *The Number of the Miniſters who are to Vote in Parliament. The Conditions they are Obliged to Sign. They make ſomewhat of an Advance towards the Church of* England 524. 578, 641, ibid. 642, 651, 654, ibid. 661, ibid. 668

Knewſtub's *Repreſents the Puritans at the* Hampton Court *Conference. His Exceptions againſt Interrogatories in Baptiſm. And againſt Signing with the Croſs.* 673. 680, ibid.

Knight (Dr.) *King* Henry's *Agent at* Rome, *his Letter to Cardinal* Woolſey 28

Knights (The) of St. John *of* Jeruſalem *ſuppreſſed* 179

Knox (John) *Preaches to the Aſſaſſins of Cardinal* Beaton. *Exceeds in his Exceptions to the Church of* Rome. *Articles prefer'd againſt him. Choſen Miniſter by the* Engliſh *Refugees at* Franckford. *Himſelf and his Party miſreport the* Engliſh Common-prayer. *He is Charged with High Treaſon, and retires to* Geneva. *Addreſſes the* Scotiſh *Nobility to proceed with their Reformation. His Libel againſt Queen* Mary *of* England. *More of his Treaſonable Doctrine. His Ignorant Cenſure of the* Engliſh Common-prayer. *His Blaſt againſt the Government of Women. His Salvo for Queen* Elizabeth. *He Animates the Mobb to pull down Monaſtries. Preaches Reſiſtance of the Government, and wreſts the Scripture to Rebellion. The Succeſs of his Sermon. His Seditious Tenents. He adviſes the depoſing the Queen Regent. His falſe reaſoning upon the Caſe. His Coarſe Prayer. His Treaſonable Aſſertions. His Letter to the Aſſembly at* Sterlin. *His Death and Character. Whether the Author of the Hiſtory of the* Scotiſh *Reformation,* &c. *His Liturgy Page* 210. ibid. ibid. 394, ibid. 396, 440, 441, 442, ibid. 443, ibid. 447, 456, ibid. 458, 459, ibid. 499, ibid. 533. 539, 541, 561.

L

Laity (The) not allowed Voting in the Scotiſh *General Aſſemblies* 598

Lambeth, *a Conference with the Diſſenters there. Articles concluded there. They are Suppreſſed* 593. 644, 645

Lambert (John) *Proſecuted for Hereſy, and Tryed before the King.* Cranmer *and ſeveral other Biſhops argue againſt him. He is Burnt* 151. ibid. 152

Latimer (*Biſhop* Hugh) *Preaches againſt Purgatory, and Sacriledge. Complains in a Court Sermon of Licentiouſneſs, and want of Diſcipline. His Opinion touching the Real Preſence* 75. 242, 295, 368

Laud (William) *Tranſlated from* Bath, *and* Wells, *to* London. *His Scheme for regulating the Foreign Churches in* England. *He is Tranſlated to* Canterbury. *Gives an Annual Account of his Province to the King. His Letter to the Factory at* Delph. *Excepts againſt the Brief for the* Palatines. *Claims and carries a Right for viſiting the Univerſities* jure Metropolitico. *Reforms the Statutes of* Oxford. *Defends ſome Paſſages in the* Scotiſh *Liturgy. Vindicates himſelf and the Biſhops from the Charge of Innovation. Complains of the* Roman Catholicks. *Reprints his Conference with* Fiſher. *Regulates the Preſs. His Animadverſions upon Biſhop* Hall's *Tract of Epiſcopacy. He is Impeached of* High *Treaſon and ſent to the* Tower. *His Tryal. His Councils Argument. His Speech at his Execution. His Character* 745. 753, 757, 762, 760, for 764, ibid. 766, 767, 770, 774, 780, 781, ibid. 789, 797, 830, 831, ibid. 833, ibid. and 834, ibid.

Laws (Eccleſiaſtical) Thirty Two Perſons Aſſigned to Examine them 287

Lawyers (Common) whether qualified to pronounce upon the Regale 92. 93

Lay Chancellors not to Execute Church Cenſures 186

Layton, *and* Lee, *Two Viſitors of the Monaſteries under Vicar General* Cromwell. *Their Eraſtian Letter to* Cromwell 105. ibid.

Lay Puritans their Argument for ſeizing the Patrimony of the Church, turned upon them 609

Lee *Archbiſhop of* York, *declares againſt the Military Appearance of the Northern Petitioners.* His Death, &c. 135. 202

Lectures miſmanaged. Brought under Regulation 771. 781

Leiceſter (*The Earl of*) *his Letter to Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *in behalf of* Cartwright *Page* 595

Leighton *Writes a ſcandalous Pamphlet againſt the Queen and Biſhops* 748

Leith *a General Aſſembly there, ſettle the Polity of the Church, and reſtore Epiſcopacy* 533

Leo *the Tenth, Pope, he Publiſhes Indulgence. Cites* Luther *to* Rome, *but afterwards is willing the Cauſe ſhould be Tryed in* Germany. *Publiſhes a Bull in defence of his Indulgence. And Cenſures* Luther's *Tenents. He is refuſed a Contribution by the* Engliſh *Clergy* 7. 8, 9, ibid. ibid.

Letters Patents for the Erection and Endowment of any Dean and Chapter, or College, confirmed by Act of Parliament 660

Libels (Seditious) how puniſhed. Several publiſhed againſt the Church 570. 606

Liberius *Biſhop of* Rome, *his Diſcourſe with the Emperor* Conſtantius *touching the Regale* 611

Libraries deſtroy'd at the Diſſolution of the Abbeys. at Weſtminſter *and* Oxford, *remarkably uſed* 166. 307

Licence (A) to Preach, granted by King Henry 143

Litany. In Engliſh 111. 202

Liturgy tranſlated. The Antient Liturgies remarked 206, 252, 253

Liturgy (The Scotiſh*) how much different from the* Engliſh Common-prayer. *'Tis diſliked by the* Scots. *And why. Read at* Edinborough *and inſulted. Miſcarries and why* 767. 769, 770, 777, 778

London *Divines Publiſh a Book againſt wearing the Habit* 503

London *Clergy Petition the Convocation againſt Frauds in detaining Tithes. Addreſs the King upon the ſame Subject* 570. 760, for 764

Lord Chancellors, Judges, Recorders, &c. *Take a Text when they make publick Speeches* 188

Lords of the Congregation run to Arms, Attack the Government, raze the Monaſteries. Their Pretences unwarrantable. They Publiſh an Ordinance to diſcharge the Queen Regents Authority 457, ibid. 459

Lords of the Articles what? And how Elected 466

Lords of the Privy Council, Write to Archbiſhop Whitgift, *in Favour of the Diſſenters* 585

Lords (The Houſe of) Order againſt Innovating in Religion. Voted uſeleſs 806. 862

Love *a Presbyterian Miniſter, tryed for High Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, and Beheaded* 865

Luther (Martin) *appears againſt Indulgences. He Writes to Pope* Leo *upon this Subject, and ſubmits himſelf to his Holyneſſes Cenſure. He Replies to* Eccius *and* Prierias. *And manages the Conference with Cardinal* Cajetan *with unexpected Freedom. He Appeals from the Pope to a Council. Comes forward to new Exceptions. And Burns the Pope's Bull, and the Canon Law. His Exceptions to the Canonicalneſs of* St. James's *Epiſtle. His manner intemperate in his Reply to the King's Book. He Confeſſes his Misbehavior. His Tenents ſpread in* England. *Ridicules the Reformation of the Court of* Rome Page 7. 8, ibid. ibid. 9, ibid. ibid. 16, 17, 22, 45, 139

Lutheran Divines their Opinions concerning the Divorce. Their advances towards an Accommodation 55. 56, 171

Lutherans (The) Cenſure the Engliſh *Reformation* 405

M

Malta *beſieged by the Turks: A Thankſgiving for the Deliverance of that Iſland* 505

Man (*The Biſhop of*) *The royal Mandate neceſſary for his Conſecration* 552

Manners (Diſſolution of) laſhed in the Jewel of Joy 335

Manwaring (*Dr.* Roger) *Preaches up Arbitrary Power. He is proſecuted by the Commons, and and Cenſured by the Lords. He is prefer'd by the King* 743. ibid. and 744, 747

Mary (*Princeſs*) *her Legitimacy ſcrupled by the* French *Ambaſſador. Her Submiſſion to the King her Father. Writes to the Council for Liberty of Conſcience. Their Anſwer. The Emperor Solicits for her. The King refuſes her the Exerciſe of her Religion. She renews her Application to the King's Council. Puts up her Claim to the Crown. She Succeeds* 22. 118, 276, ibid. ibid. 308, 311, 312, 333, for 341, 343

Mary (*Queen*) *Promiſes the* Suffolk *Men not to alter the Religion Eſtabliſhed. Pardons moſt of thoſe who appeared againſt her. Reſtores the Biſhops deprived in her Brothers Reign. Silences all the Pulpits. The Legality of her Proclamation Examined. Her Mother's Marriage with King* Henry *declared Lawful by the Parliament. She Reſolves to Revive the Popes Supremacy. Writes upon this Subject to Cardinal* Pool. *Her Speech at* Guild-hall. *Her Commiſſion for depriving the reformed Biſhops. Her Perſon Aſpers'd, her Religion and Government Inſulted. Her Directions to the Privy Council touching* Religion. *She is Maltreated in the Prayers of ſome of the* Reformed. *Reſtores the Abbey Lands in her Poſſeſſion. Procures an Act for reſtoring the Firſt Fruits and Tenths to the Church. Founds Religious Houſes. No* Razure *of* Records *in her Reign. She diſſwades the Pope from recalling the Cardinal. Loſes* Calais. *Her Commiſſion for Enquiring into Lollardies,* &c. *Examined. Her Death and Character* 343. 344, ibid. 345, ibid. 349, 351, 352, 360, 364, 370, 371, ibid. 375, 380, 387, 397, 398, 399, 403, 404, 405, 406

Mary *Queen of* Scots, *puts up her Claim to the Crown of* England. *Expoſtulates with the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador. Excuſes her having uſed the Arms and Title of* England. *Arrives in* Scotland, *and allows her Subjects their Religion. Petitioned againſt tolerating Popery. Paſſes ſeveral Acts in Favor of the Reformation. Marries the Lord* Darnly. *And after his Death the Earl of* Bothwell. *Is ſent Priſoner to* Lockleven. *Forced to Reſign the Government to the Prince her Son. Cleared from having any knowledge of the King's Murther. Eſcapes from* Lockleven, *retires into* England, *and is made Priſoner. Her Letter to the Pope. She is deſerted in* Scotland. *Her expoſtulating Letter to Queen* Elizabeth. *A Commiſſion to Try her. Her Death and Character* Page 432. 473, 474, ibid. 478, 492, 498, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 527, 545, 592, 599, 600

Mary *of* Lorain, *Queen Regent of* Scotland, *Countenances the reforming Lords*, &c. *and why. She Allows the* Congregation *Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. Articles on the Head of Religion, preſented to her by the* Congregation. *Her Anſwer Unſatisfactory. She Signes a Treaty with the* Congregation. *Attacked by the Lords of the* Congregation. *Denyed a Church in* Edinborough *for the Exerciſe of her. Religion. Her Death and Character* 444. 445, ibid. 446, 456, 457, 458, 465

Marriages and Degrees of Conſanguinity, ſettled by Act of Parliament 179

Martinengo *Nuncio to Pope* Pius *the Fourth, refuſed Admiſſion by Queen* Elizabeth 474

Martyr (Peter) *Diſputes Publickly at* Oxford *againſt Tranſubſtantiation. His Letter to* Bucer *upon this Subject. Argues for the Lawfulneſs of the Epiſcopal Habit. Is permitted to quit the Kingdom* 273. ibid. 293. 347

Maſſes (Private) defended 147. to 149

Maſſes (The hearing or ſaying of) made Capital by the Convention at Edinborough 468

Match (A) between Prince Edward, *and the Queen of* Scots *Agreed* 199

Melancton, *whether for Poligamy. His Letter to King* Henry 55. 56, 153

Melvill (Andrew) *Preaches Seditiouſly, and declines the Juriſdiction of the Council Board* 589

Meddleton (Marmaduke) *Biſhop of St.* David's, *ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion* 637

Militia Act what 888

Millenary Petition 672

Miniſters (Scotiſh) *whether well qualified, to be decided by the Lords of the Council and Seſſion* 707

Miſnomer not ſufficient to avoid any Grants made to Bodies Politick or Corporate, by K. Edward 660

Miſſionaries (*Some*) *maintain dangerous* Opinions 571

Mockett (*Dr.*) *leaves out the conteſted Clauſe in the Twentieth Article of the Church of* England. *His Book Burnt* Page 711. ibid.

Monaſteries (The leſſer) Articles of Enquiry of their Behavior. Several Charges againſt them diſproved 105. 108

Monaſteries (The greater) diſſolved. Over-loaded with the Charge of Immorality. The Regularity of theſe Houſes proved from Records and the Teſtimony of the Parliament. The Method uſed for bringing on the Diſſolution 155. ibid. 156, 157, 160, 157, to 160, 161

Monaſteries put under the Juriſdiction of the Crown. Speeches for and againſt their Diſſolution 84. 102, 103

Monks (Chartreux) *Executed for denying the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy* 100

Monk (George) *reſtrains the Exerciſe of the* Scotiſh *Diſcipline* 866

Moine's (Le) D'Angles, & Claude's, *Letters to the Biſhop of* London, *with Reference to the* Diſſenters 898. 899,

Morſe (Roderick) *his Satyr upon Avarice and Sacrilege* 332. for 340

Montgomery (Robert) *Archbiſhop of* Glaſcow, *Excommunicated by the Aſſembly* 575

Montroſs *a General Aſſembly held there* 648

Montague (Lord) *his Speech againſt the Oath of Supremacy* 481

Morton (*The Earl of*) *is made Regent of* Scotland. *He diſappoints the Churchmen. He is Executed for High Treaſon* 545. 548. 574

Moor (*Sir* Thomas) *defends the Biſhop of* London *from the Imputation of Rigor againſt* Hun. *Refuſes to Swear the Act of Succeſſion, and is Impriſoned. Writes to the King and Purges himſelf from any Diſloyal Correſpondence with the Maid of* Kent. *Is Tryed for High Treaſon. His Death and Character* 5. 85, 87, 98, 99

Mountague (Richard) *Writes an Anſwer to a Popiſh Book called a* New Gag for the Old Goſpel. *This Performance Cenſured by the Puritans. He is wrongfully charged with abetting Popery. Three Biſhops Write in his Behalf to the Duke* of Buckingham. *Articles Exhibited againſt him* 729. ibid. ibid. 734, 736

Muncer, *and* Fifer, *Two Seditious Preachers in* Germany *See* Boors

Murray (*Earl of*) *declared Regent of* Scotland. *He is Aſſaſſinated. His Character* 514. 523, ibid.

Muſick (*Church*) *Encouraged by Queen* Elizabeth 433

N

NAſh (Thomas) *Writes pleaſantly againſt the Puritan Libels* 606

New England, *The Nonconformiſts ſet up a Calviniſtick Church there* 761. for 765

Newark *(The Vicount of) his Speech in defence of the Biſhops* Page 803. 804

Nix (Richard) *Biſhop of* Norwich *proſecuted, and why* 130

Nicholas (John) *a Jeſuit, renounces the* Roman *Communion* 573

Nobility (The Engliſh) *their expoſtulating Letter to Pope* Clement *the Seventh* 58

Nonconforming Miniſters proſecuted in the Star Chamber. *They refuſe to Anſwer Queſtions. Their Conduct whether Defenſible, with reſpect to* Coppinger *and* Hackett. *They Remonſtrate againſt the High Commiſſion. Ejected by the* Bartholomew *Act* 630. ibid. 632, 635, 889

Nonconformiſts Tranſport themſelves to Holland. 781

Norfolk *(The Duke of) his Attainder declared Void by the Parliament* 351

Norwich *(The Biſhoprick of) ſecured againſt the Concealers by Act of Parliament* 659

Northampton *(The Marqueſs of) his Divorce Examined by a Committee of Biſhops. Judgment is given for him to Cohabit with his Second Wife, Living the firſt. The Sence of the Civil Law in this Caſe:* This Marqueſs *defeated by the* Norfolk *Rebels* 240. 241, 272

Nowell *Dean of* St. Paul's *his Catechiſm paſſed in Convocation. His Exceptions to the Clerical Habit. His Death* 491. 498, 668

O

OAtes (Titus) *his Narrative of the Popiſh Plot. Tryed for Perjury and found Guilty* 897. 904

Oathes the Tenor *of ſome enjoyned by Parliament. Oathes for renouncing the Pope* 199. 202, 203

Oath of Supremacy, in what ſence Queen Elizabeth *was willing to receive the taking it. Required no farther than the* Tenor *of the Queen's Injunctions* 433. 481

Oath taken in the Engliſh *Seminaries* 520

Oath ex Officio, *the Objections againſt it Anſwered. Maintained by Sir* John Popham. *Defended by the Lord Chancellor,* &c. 602. 629, 682

Oath of Allegiance. Oath taken by the Scotiſh *Miniſters at their Admiſſion to a Benefice. Oath with the,* &c. *defended* 695. 701, 793

Oglethorp *(Dr.) Complies with the Reformation* 306

Orders (Holy) given by the Authority and Hands of the Biſhops. The Practice and Reſolution of the Antient Church for this Point 290. 291, ibid.

Order of Biſhops, Diſtinct from that of Presbyters 617

Orders (Holy) given by none but Presbyters, accounted Null *for the firſt Fifteen Hundred Years* 619

Order (An) of the Scotiſh *Aſſembly, for ſubſcribing the Second Book of Diſcipline* 621

Ordinance (An) for ſequeſtring Biſhops, and other Delinquents Eſtates. Againſt Monuments of Superſtition. Touching Ordination of Miniſters. For ſetting the Common-prayer *aſide, and bringing in the* Directory. *Another touching Ordination of Miniſters. For ſettling Presbyterial Government. For repealing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Againſt Blaſphemy. For turning Law Books, and proceedings in Courts into* Engliſh 822. 830. ibid. 835, 840, 841, 861, 863, 865

Ordinal (An) drawn up by a Committee of Biſhops, &c. *Defended from Precedents of Antiquity. Confirmed by Act of Parliament* 288. ibid. & deinc. 321

Ordinations (Unlawful) an Act of Parliament at Edinborough *againſt them* 897

Osbaldſton *Proſecuted for Writing a myſterious Letter to Biſhop* Williams 777

Overſeers for the Poor, firſt ſettled by Act of Parliament 321

Oxford *(The Univerſity of) Addreſs Queen* Mary. *Their Decree touching* Religion. *Anſwer the Millenary Petition. Their Sence of the* Covenant, *the Negative Oath, and the* Directory. *Their Decree againſt rebellious Principles.* Oxford *Act againſt Conventicles* 349. 568, 673, 849, to 853, 902, 893

P

PAnzani *the Popes Agent* 780

Papiſts come to the Engliſh *Church Service ſeveral Years in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign* 436

Parker *(Dr.* Matthew) *Preaches to the* Norfolk *Rebels, and Endeavours to bring them to Recollection. Conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Four Biſhops aſſiſt at the Conſecration. He Complains of the Queen's Cenſure of the Clergies Marriage. His Gentleneſs towards the* Roman *Catholicks. Required by the Queen to preſs Conformity. Regulates his Court of Faculties. His Speech in the Convocation. His Letter touching the Puritans. Writes in Defence of the Biſhops* Titles. *Author of the* Antiquitates Britanicæ, *His Death,* &c. 272. 460, 472, 482, 494, 526, 537, 543, 544, ibid. 548, 549

Paræus's *Doctrine of Reſiſtance, Condemned by the Univerſity of* Oxford 724. to 726

Parliament (The) Pronounces thoſe Excommunicated that Quarrel in Churches 322

Parliament (The Iriſh) *made the laſt Judge of Hereſy. Eſtabliſhes the* Engliſh Common-prayer. *Returns* First Fruits *and* Tenths *to the Crown. Prohibits the Election of Biſhops by* Conge d'Eſlire, *and the Choice of* Dean *and* Chapter 462. ibid. ibid. ibid.

The INDEX.

Parliaments (The Scotiſh) *The Clergy repreſented there, and by whom. Acts againſt ſeditious Preachers* Page 534. 589

Parr (*Queen* Catherine) *ſuſpected of Heterodoxy. She diſentangles her ſelf* 212. 213

Paul *the Third, Pope, his fulminating Bull againſt* King Henry. *His Name ſtruck out of the Offices of the Church. Excommunicates King* Henry, *and Abſolves his Subjects from their Allegiance,* &c. *Endeavours to regain the King but without Effect. His excommunicating Bull publiſhed* 98. 100, 102, 118, 153

Paul *the Fourth, Pope, pretends to Erect* Ireland *into a Kingdom. Demands a full Reſtitution of Church Lands. His Plenary Indulgence. He revokes* Pool's *Legantine Commiſſion. His lofty Demands upon Queen* Elizabeth 380. 381, 383, 399, 432

Paul *the Fifth, Pope, forbids the* Engliſh *Papiſts taking the Oath of Allegiance* 692

Paul's (St.) *Cathedral Burnt and how. Repaired* 475. 751

Pax (The) what 242

Penalty for not coming to Church what 569

Pennance (Publick) antiently done for Sins privately confeſſed. The Primitive manner of this Diſcipline. Not wholly diſuſed in England *before the Reformation* 247. ibid. 248

Penry (John) *indicted for ſeditious Books. The Contents of the Indictment. He is Executed. His poſthumous Tract* 638. ibid. and 639, 640, ibid.

Perſecution in Queen Mary's *Reign. Remarks upon the Uſage* 381. ibid. and 396, 397

Perth, *a Mob Reformation begun there, under the Countenance of the* Congregation. *A General Aſſembly held there. A General Aſſembly, there Decree Kneeling at the Holy Euchariſt, Confirmation obſerving Feſtivals,* &c. 447. 539, 712

Petitions in behalf of Epiſcopacy, and the Common-prayer 821

Peto (*Fryar*) *See* Elſtow

Philip (*King*) *his Confeſſor Preaches againſt Perſecution. The Terms of his Peace with Pope* Paul *the Fourth* 382. 403

Philpott (John) *Argues againſt the Corporal Preſence in the Convocation. Is Burnt for Religion in* Smithfield 355. 390

Pilkington *Biſhop of* Durham, *Anſwers a Paper againſt the* Common-prayer. *His Letter in Favor of the Diſſenters* 436. 494

Pius *the Fourth, Pope, Writes a ſmooth Letter to Queen* Elizabeth. *Invites her to ſend Biſhops or Ambaſſadors to the Council of* Trent 463. 474, 475

Pius *the Fifth, his excommunicating Bull againſt Queen* Elizabeth 521

Plays acted in Churches by whom 187

Pluralities an Act againſt them. Reaſons againſt paſſing a Bill to take them away 47. 666

Pocklington, *and* Bray, *Cenſured by the Houſe of Lords* 798

Pont (Robert) *Enters a Proteſtation againſt ſeveral Acts of Parliament. Proteſts againſt the Proceedings of the King and Council* 590. 651

Pool (Reginald) *made a Cardinal. Refuſes the King's Invitation for returning into* England. *Writes an Anſwer to Biſhop* Tonſtall's *Letter touching the Regale. He is made Legate. Hinders his own Promotion to the Popedom. Is made Legate to* Julius *the Third, and ſets forward for* England. *His Advice to Queen* Mary. *His Speech to both Houſes of Parliament. He Abſolves the Kingdom. He Recommends gentle Methods with the Reformed. His Plan for reforming the Church, paſſed in Convocation. Promoted to the See of* Canterbury. *His Viſitation Articles. His Death and Character* 135. ibid. 137, ibid. 286, 351, 352, 353, 372, 374, 377, ibid. 388, 393, 402, 406

Pope, (The) His Cenſures of Excommunication, &c. *ſet aſide* 65

Powel (*Dr.*) *Seconds the King in the Controverſy againſt* Luther, *he is Executed for denying the Regal Supremacy* 17

Prayer for the Dead, the general Practice of the Primitive Church. Prayer for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the conſecrated Elements. This Prayer Poſterior to the Words : This is my Body 257. 260, ibid.

Precedency of the Lords in Parliament regulated. 160

Predeſtination See Lambeth *Articles*

Preachers (The Reformed) in Priſon, Addreſs the King, Queen, and Parliament 378

Preferments (Spiritual) given to Secular Men 219

Premunitory Clauſe in the Biſhops Writ to Parliament 234

Prelates (The Scotiſh) *Sit in Parliament after the Annexation Act* 605

Presbyterians their Pretences for Parity between Biſhops and Prieſts diſproved. Their Church Government ſettled in Scotland *by Act of Parliament* 617. to 619, 635

Presbyterian Miniſters Remonſtrate againſt Trying the King. Their miſtaken Principle. Endeavor to Vindicate themſelves from being Anſwerable for the King's Murther. Publiſh Papers againſt a General Toleration, in which Popery and Prelacy were excepted. They wait on King Charles *the Second at the* Hague. *Their propoſal for an Accommodation with the Epiſcopal Party. They come ſhort of Primate* Uſher's *Plan. They Addreſs the King for the Benefit of his Declaration* 859. ibid. 861, ibid. 870, 871, 872, 886

Prierias *a* Dominican *Writes againſt* Luther 8

Primer (A) Printed An. 1535. *Complains of ſuperſtitious Books for Devotion* 110

Prieſts (Married) have the ſame Benefit from the Conſtitution with the Laity. The Penalty for diſturbing them at Divine Service 323. 350

Priories and Convents turned into Deanries and Prebends 183

Proclamation (A) for prohibiting ſeveral Books 211

Procuratorial Letters what? Of what Antiquity, and how long continued 234

Proviſions for the diſcharge of the Paſtoral Function Prior to the Reformation 187

Prinn (William) *proſecuted in the* Star Chamber. *His Sentence* 761. ibid.

Proteſtation enjoyned Papiſts and Puritans 532

Proteſtation (The) taken by the Houſe of Commons. puritanically explained 802. 803

Pſalms turned into Meetre by Hopkins, *and* Sternhold. *They are rather permitted than allowed* 325. 326

Pſalmody, the Antiquity and Manner 263

Pucci (*Cardinal*) *procures a Commiſſion for Trying the Divorce in* England 28

Puckering (John) *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Argues for the Execution of the Queen of* Scots 600

Puritans Outrages committed by them. They Form ſeparate Congregations. *The* Genevians *declare againſt them. Their ſeparation Condemned by ſome of the moſt conſiderable diſſenting Miniſters. Their Two Admonitions to the Parliament. They Subſcribe an Adherence to* Cartwright's *Book their* Proteſtation. *They inſiſt on the Reſtitution of the Abby Lands.* 609. *Propoſals for checking their*

Growth. They reſolve to put Cartwright's *Book of Diſcipline in Practiſe. Their Claſſical, Provincial, and General Aſſemblies. Their National Synod. They move the* Parliament *for paſſing a Form of* Common-prayer *Page* 508. 511, ibid. ibid. 536, 543, 544, 547, 582, ibid. 592, 593

Pym, *his Speech againſt the Biſhops* 807

Q

Quarrelling in Churches, puniſhed by Act of Parliament

R

Rabble (The) Inſult the Court and Parliament 801

Rationale (A) of the Church Ceremonies uſed in the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth* 192. to 198

Rebellion in defence of Religion, a hideous Expedient 362

Reformation in Scotland, *allows the* Roman Catholick *Biſhops their Revenues, and their priviledge of Voting in Parliament* 533. 534

Reformation of the eſtabliſhed Church projected by a Committee for Religion. Innovations, and Exceſſes complained of 799. ibid.

Refugees (The Engliſh*) at* Zurich, *Officiate by the* Engliſh Common-prayer 394

Refugee (Scotiſh) *Miniſters Remonſtrate againſt the Government. They are diſowned by the Burghers of* Edinborough. *Their Clamour againſt an Accommodation between* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *and Queen* Elizabeth. *They are Careſſed by the* Puritans 590. ibid. 592, ibid.

Regale, Arguments for it conſidered. Further reported. The Sence of Antiquity touching this Privilege 80. 81, 89, 610

Regiſter (A Pariſh) when firſt provided 150

Regulations of the Clergy paſſed in Convocation 551

Relicks 149

Religion, *a Free* Thinkers *Speech concerning it* 45

Religious *an enquiry into their Eſtates. How provided for at the* Diſſolution *of their Houſes* 95. 166

Religious *Houſes, newly erected, diſſolved* 424

Remonſtrants, *and* Contra-Remonſtrants, *the riſe of the Controverſy between them* 715

Reſiſtance of the Government upon what pretence ſoever, no better than the Enterpriſe of Corah, Dathan, Abiram 277

Reynolds (William) *his Death and Character* 642

Reynolds (John) *one of the* Puritans *Agents at the* Hampton Court *Conference. His Exceptions to the* Doctrine, Common-prayer, *and Diſcipline of the Church of* England 673. 675, 680

Ridley (Nicholas) *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and afterwards of* London, *Viſits the Univerſity of* Cambridge. *Refuſes to go the lengths of the Court. His Reaſons for turning Altars into* Tables. *He is ſent to* Oxford *to diſpute. Is degraded and Burnt there. His Character* 278. ibid. 304, 367, 385, 386

Rippon *a Treaty there, with the covenanting* Scots 794

Rites and Ceremonies brought under a Review 191

Rome, *Suing thither for Diſpenſations prohibited. All* Payments *forbidden there* 47. 84

Roman Catholicks, *come to Church ſeveral Years in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign* 524

Root and Branch Bill, what 808

Rough (John) *Preaches to the Garriſon who aſſaſſinated Cardinal* Beaton. *Articles exhibited againſt him* Page 210. ibid.

Rudyer (*Sir* Benjamin) *his Speech for the Augmentation of ſmall Livings* 743

S

Sabbatarians, their extravagant Opinions 643

Sampſon *Biſhop of* Chicheſter *ſent to the* Tower, *and why* 184

Saltmarſh *a Puritan Miniſter, his Advice to the Rebels* 826

Sampſon (Thomas) *Scruples the Habit. His Evaſive Subſcription to the Biſhops Reſolution,* &c. 496. 498

Sanders (Nicholas) *Cenſures the Queen for aſſiſting at her Brothers Funeral. Blames the* Roman Catholick *Clergy for Officiating, before giving Satisfaction purſuant to the Canons. Makes a Martyr of the Earl of* Northumberland. *His Remarks on the Northern Rebellion. His treaſonable Letter to the Iriſh. His Death* 345. 346, 520, ibid. 588, ibid.

Sanderſon (Robert) *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *his Death,* &c. 891

Sandys (Edwin) *Biſhop of* London, *Claims Juriſdiction over the* Dutch Congregations *in* London. *His Authority over-ruled by the Regale* 532. 533

Saravia (Adrian) *Writes againſt* Beza *for Epiſcopacy.* 622. 623

Savage (John) *undertakes the Murder of* Queen Elizabeth 599

Savoy *See Conference*

Scambler (*Biſhop* Edmond) *his Miſmanagement upon the Sees of* Peterborough, *and* Norwich 472

Scotland *harraſſed by King* Henry's *Forces* 202

Scots *Addreſs the Queen Regent for a Reformation. They offer to be Tryed by the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Laws of* Juſtinian. *Enter into an Aſſociation, and Reform in defiance of the Government. Their Second Addreſs to the Regent. Their Proteſtation to carry on their religious Enterpriſe againſt all Oppoſition. They Shelter the ſeditious Preachers from Juſtice. Their Commiſſioners hardy Anſwer to the Queen* Regent. *They renew their Covenant at* Perth 443. 444, ibid. 445, 446, ibid. ibid.

Scotiſh *Clergy-men Conſecrated Biſhops at* London 702

Scott (Cuthbert) *Biſhop of* Cheſter, *his Speech againſt the Queen's Supremacy. Againſt the Bill for Uniformity of* Common-prayer. *He Argues from the Importance of the matter, the Obſcurity of the Caſe, and the danger of miſtaking the Points,* &c. 422. 426, to 430,

Scriptures (The) allowed private Perſons. Ordered to be Read in Churches 173. 186

Seaton (Alexander) *diſconforms to the Belief of the* Scotiſh *Church. He maintains ſome Singularities, and retires into* England 26. ibid. and 27

Secular Prieſts, their Loyal Proteſtation. They charge the Jeſuits with Diſloyalty 664. 668

Sees intended to be Erected by King Henry 172

Seymour (Edward) *Earl of* Hartford, *one of the Executors of King* Henry *the Eighth's Will. made Lord Protector with a Negative Vote upon the reſt of the Council. Marches into* Scotland, *and Defeats the* Scots. *Made Duke of* Somerſet, *Builds* Somerſet Houſe *with unuſual Materials. Is ſent to the* Tower *and*

and Impeached. His Submiſſion. A miſunderſtanding between him, and the Earl of Warwick. *Impriſoned again and Tryed. Is found Guilty of Felony. His Speech at his Execution* Page 217. 221, 229, 269, 283, 287, 312, 313, 315, 316

Seymour (Thomas *Lord*) *Courts the Lady* Elizabeth. *Is attainted for High Treaſon and Executed* 268. ibid. and 269

Selden (John) *Writes the Hiſtory of Tithes. He is Anſwered by* Mountague *and* Tilleſly. *Part of the Argument abſtracted. His Recantation* 712. ibid. ibid. & deinc. 717

Seminaries Founded by Engliſh *Papiſts in* Flanders *and* Spain 520

Service Books (Old Divine) Ordered to be called in and deſtroyed 286

Seſſion (The Lords of) Their Conteſt with the General Aſſembly 628

Shaxton (Nicholas) *Biſhop of* Sarum, *his Submiſſion to the Six Articles* 212

Shirburne (Robert) *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *his Death*, &c. 130

Sickneſs (The Sweating) 311

Sibthorp *(Dr.) Aſſerts the Prerogative too far* 740

Simony: The Penalty to Clerk *and* Patron 608

Six Articles, ſeveral Executed upon this Act. The Penalty mitigated 184. 201

Smith (Dr.) *his Tenents and Recantation. Recants his Book of the Celibacy of the Clergy*, &c. 223. 307

Solemn League and Covenant, taken by the Scots *and* Engliſh 826

Sommerville *Attempts the Aſſaſſinating Queen* Elizabeth 587

Sorbon *Divines Aſſert the lawfulneſs of the* Engliſh *Oath of Allegiance* 697

Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, whether he has a Vote 667

Squire (Edward) *Tryed for an Attempt to Aſſaſſinate Queen* Elizabeth 662

Stafford (Thomas) *Heads an Inſurrection* 398

Standiſh (Dr.) *The King's Spiritual Council: His Argument for the Trying Clerks before the Temporal Judges in Criminal Cauſes. He is Cited before the Convocation, a Bill Exhibited againſt him. His Anſwer to the Queſtions put. He is diſcharged by the Convocation* 4. 6, ibid. 7

Stapleton *(Dr.* Thomas*) his Death*, &c. 662

Star Chamber, *and High Commiſſion Courts put down* 808

Statutes (Penal) touching Religion repealed. Thoſe againſt the See of Rome *repealed* 235. 375

Stews (The) ſuppreſſed 214

Steward (Dr.) *his Anſwer to* Henderſon *in defence of Epiſcopacy.* 838

Stokeſly *Biſhop of* London, *Conteſts the Archbiſhops Juriſdiction, and Appeals to the King* 104

Stone (Thomas) *a diſſenting Miniſter, makes a diſcovery of the Diſcipline and Practice of the Puritans. His Defence* 632. 633

Stafford *See* Wentworth

Straſbourgh: *The Narrative of the* Engliſh *Exiles there* 353

Stubbs (John) *Publiſhes a Libel againſt Queen* Elizabeth. *His Puniſhment* 568. 573

St. Martin's Le Grand *(The College of) diſſolved* 248

St. John *(Mr.* Solicitor*) his Argument againſt the Biſhops Peerage* 807

Subſidies granted by Convocation, when firſt Confirmed by Parliament, and why 795. 796

Suffragans, their Election and Authority ſettled. Not revived by 26 H. 8. Cap. 14. 94. 95

Superintendents (The Scotiſh*) Their Office and Juriſdiction* Page 535

Supplication of Beggars: A Libel upon the Clergy Anſwered by Sir Thomas Moor 48

Supremacy (The Papal) argued Pro *and* Con *in Two Speeches. Diſclaimed by the Univerſities* 77. to 79, 94

Supremacy (The Regal) refuſing to Swear it, and renounce the Popes Authority, High Treaſon 119

Surry *(The Earl of) Tryed and Beheaded* 213

Suſſex *Miniſters, their Exceptions to part of the Rubrick* 587

Symſon (Edward) *Recants part of his Sermon Preached before King* James 711

T

Tables (Four) ſet up againſt the Government at Edinborough. *Their Buſineſs* 779. ibid.

Tecel (John) *a* Dominican, *Publiſhes ſeveral Theſes againſt* Luther 8

Tenths and Firſt Fruits returned back to the Crown 420

Teſt (The Sacramental) enacted 897

Teſt. (The Scotiſh*) Explained by the Council* 900. ibid.

Thomas (William) *a deſperate Rebel* 362

Throgmorton (Francis) *Rack'd in the* Tower, *and for what* 591

Tithes the Payment of them ſettled by Act of Parliament. A Statute for the better Payment of them. How many paid by the Jews. Due jure Divino. *Teſtimonies of Fathers and Councils in Proof of this Point* 179. 264, 713, ibid. 714

Tottes *(Fryar) his odd Paraphraſe upon the Lord's Prayer* 320

Tranſlation of the Bible propoſed in Convocation. undertaken at the Inſtance of King James. *In what Method carried on, and by whom* 185 692, 693, 694

Tranſlations of Biſhops, Canons of the Antient Church, concerning them 709

Treſham *(Dr.* William*) diſputes at* Oxford *againſt* Peter Martyr 275

Tranſubſtantiation argued Pro *and* Con *in the Convocation* 355. to 359

Treaſon (High) to reconcile, or be reconciled to the Pope 529

Travers *Lecture at the* Temple, *a Conteſt between him and* Hooker. *Their different manner in Preaching,* Travers *ſilenced by the High Commiſſion. His Defence at the Council Board* 633. ibid. 634,

Trinity College *in* Oxford *Founded, by whom* 406

Tryers, a Committee of them ſettled for the Approbation of Preachers 867

Tyndall *ſome of his* Opinions 72

Tunſtall (Cuthbert) *Biſhop of* Durham, *remonſtrates againſt the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy. Endeavors to juſtify the King's Proceedings in a Letter to Cardinal* Pool. *Pens the Anſwer to the* German *Ambaſſador. Diſmiſſed the Council Board. A Bill brought into the Parliament againſt him. He is deprived. His Death and Character* 63. 136, 145, to 149, 233, 324, 334, 461

U

Vagabonds, a Statute againſt them, pointed upon the Monks 237

Vannes *See* Bryan

Udall *a Nonconforming Miniſter, indicted for a ſeditious Libel* 622

Veſey *(Dr.) Dean of the Chappel Royal, commanded*

manded by the King to deliver his Opinion concerning the Tryal of Clerks before Temporal Judges. He Seconds Standiſh, and Argues for the Juriſdiction of the Temporal Courts 6. ibid.

Vicaridges, their ſlender Maintenance. Acts of Parliament in Favor of them. Augmented by the Clergy Impropriators. An Act for perpetuating theſe Augmentations 224. ibid. 890. 897

Viſitation. (A Regal) The Commiſſioners moſt Laymen. The Extent of their Power. Their Inſtructions at Doncaſter 221. 224, ibid. 241, and 269, 435

Univerſities conſulted, about the Marriage between Prince Arthur, and Catharine of Spain. Their Reſolution upon the Caſe. Whether tampered with. The Number of them for the Divorce miſcomputed. They Addreſs King Henry to preſerve their Eſtates againſt an Act of Parliament. Their Declenſion. Several Heads and Members ejected. Licences for Preacking, by whom firſt granted 52. 53, 54, 58, 74, 209, 242, 349, 504

Univerſity of Cambridge receives new Statutes from the Lord Burley their Chancellor. Their Letter to this Nobleman, touching Predeſtination. They Addreſs the Parliament for preſerving their Society 537. 647, 804

Vorſtius (Conradus) his Heterodoxies. King James Solicits the States of Holland againſt him 703. 704, ibid.

Urban the Eighth, Pope, his Conſolatory Letter to the Engliſh Roman Catholicks 739

Uſher (James) Lord Primate of Ireland, abets the Predeſtinarian Scheme. His defence of Epiſcopacy. His Death and Character. His Scheme for Epiſcopal Government 750. 808, 867, 871

Uxbridge, a Treaty there, between King Charles, and the revolted Parliament. Conceſſions on the Kings part 836. 837

Uſury Cenſured in the Preamble of a Statute 324

W

WAdham College Founded 707

Wakes ſuppreſſed by the Judges 758

Wallace (Adam) Burnt for Hereſy 319

Wanſworth a Presbytery erected there 541

Walſingham (Sir Francis) recommends waving Subſcription to the Three Articles. His propoſal for diſcharging Offenſive Ceremonies. Founds a Divinity Lecture at Oxford. His Letter to Monſieur Critoy 586. ibid. 597, 607

Walton (Bryan) Publiſhes the Poliglott Bible 869

Warham (William) Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeveral Perſons abjure for Hereſy before him. He Argues for the Exemption of the Clergy. His Death and Character 2. 7. 71

Warwickſhire Claſſis their Reſolution upon ſeveral Queſtions 606

Welſh his Treaſonable Sermon at Edinborough 654

Wentworth (Thomas) Earl of Strafford, impeached for High Treaſon. His Tryal. He Writes to the King to paſs the Bill againſt him. His Execution and Character 797. 800, 801, 802

Weſtminſter (The Biſhoprick of) diſſolved 324

Weſtminſter Abbey disfurniſhed of the Conſecrated Plate. &c. 336

Weſtminſter (The Collegiate Church of) new Founded 472

Weſton (Dr.) Prolocutor, defends the Corporal Preſence in Convocation 356

Weſton a Jeſuit claims a Juriſdiction over the Seculars 643

Whitgift (Dr. John) Writes an Anſwer to the Puritans Admonition, &c. Is preferr'd to the See of Canterbury. Preſſes Subſcription to Three Articles. His Anſwer to the Kentiſh, and Suffolk Petitions. And to the Privy Council. His Viſitation Articles. His Letter to the Queen. His Expoſtulatory Letter to the Treaſurer. He is put in the Commiſſion for Trying the Queen of Scots. He aſſiſts at the Hampton Court Conference. His Death and Character. His Diſcourſe to Queen Elizabeth againſt Sacriledge Page 537. 581, ibid. 583, 585, ibid. 595, 596, 599, 673, 684, 685

White (Dr.) Writes an Anſwer to Fiſher 729

Whitlock his Argument in the Houſe of Commons, for turning Law Books, and the Proceſs in Courts of Juſtice into Engliſh 864

Whittingham Dean of Durham, Writes againſt the Clerical Habit 495

Wickliffiſts, an Extract of their Opinions 48

Winchelcomb (The Abbot of) Preaches againſt an Act of Parliament, and maintains the Clergy ought not to be tryed in Criminal Cauſes before Temporal Judges 4

Wight (The Iſle of) a Treaty there between the King and the Two Houſes at Weſtminſter 856

Wild (Sergeant) his Speech againſt the Biſhops 805

Williams (Tho. Eſq;) Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, his Speech upon the Subject of Religion 480

Williams (John) Biſhop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, his Letter to the Judges in vindication of the Government. His Letter for explaining the King's directions to the Clergy. The Broad Seal taken from him. He is proſecuted for Subordnation. And complains of hard Uſage. Enlarged from his Impriſonment. His Speech in behalf of the Biſhops and Clergy. His Scheme for regulating the Biſhops Juriſdiction. His Death, &c. 722. 724, 735, 776, ibid. 796, 803, 805, 862

Willock (Jo.) Adviſes the depoſing the Q. Regent 459

Wiſhart (George) Tryed at St. Andrew's for Hereſy, and Burnt. His Character 205. ibid. 206

Witchcraft, an Act againſt it. 484

Woolſey (Cardinal) brought into the Adminiſtration. Made Legate à Latere. Founds a Greek Lecture at Oxford. Summons a Convocation. Attempts to gain the Papacy. Diſſolves ſome Monaſteries. Whether he ſuggeſted the Divorce to the King examined. He ſends Inſtructions to Rome upon that Affair. He Writes a preſſing Letter to the Pope, to Null the Marriage. Receives a Commiſſion from the Pope to diſſolve thoſe Monaſteries, which fell ſhort of the Number of Twelve. He complains of the Popes unfair dealing, with reſpect to the Divorce Preſſes for an Enlargement of his Commiſſion. Excepts againſt the Brief of Julius the Second. Has a Royal Warrant for the Execution of his Papal Commiſſion. Sits with Campegio at Black Fryars, upon the Buſineſs of the Divorce. Waits upon the Queen and Solicits her to Acquieſce. Reſigns the Broad Seal upon demand. Makes the King a large Preſent. Conveys York Place to the Crown. Is Caſt in a Premunire. Articles exhibited againſt him. Some of them conſidered. The Bill againſt him thrown out of the Houſe of Commons. His Pardon. He is arreſted for High Treaſon. His Death and Character 3. 10, ibid. 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 30, 31, 34, ibid. ibid. 35, ibid. 37, ibid. ibid. 38. ibid. ibid. 43, ibid. 44, ibid. and 45

Wootton (Dr. Nicholas) his Death, &c. 512

Wray (Chriſtopher) Speaker to the Commons, his Argument for the Regale Examined 528

Wrenn (Matthew) Biſhop of Ely, impeached by the Commons, and ſent to the Tower 805

Writ de Excommunicato capiendo: An Act for the better executing it 484

Wyat (Sir Thomas) Heads an Inſurrection. Miſcarries, and ſurrender himſelf 359. 360

Y

YOrk, an Act for pulling down Churches in that City 238

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM